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## **Spatial Pattern of Urban Growth and Agricultural Development**

SMALL and intermediate cities influence agricultural development and are being positively affected by agricultural development (Bhalla and Kundu 1982:67). The importance of strong agriculture sector to the vitality of small towns has also been highlighted by other studies as well. Richardson (1982:337) argues "small cities provide critical marketing and supply services to agriculture and public services to the rural population. Many of the industrial and commercial activities of the towns are linked, either on the supply or demand side with agriculture. The periodic markets that are based in towns provide a significant outlet for the output of small farmers. The informal sector generates incomes, not only for city residents, but also for circular migrants from villages and farms."

"The planned and integrated development of small and medium towns and cities alongwith slowing down of the growth of big metropolises" has been identified as one of the major constituents of comprehensive plan for urban development in the Seventh Plan. It was planned during the Seventh Plan period that "a concerted effort should be made to channelize private industrial investment in the vicinity of small and medium towns so that migration of population is diverted to these from going to metropolises" (Planning Commission 1985:298). A centrally sponsored scheme of Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns (IDSMT) was introduced during the Sixth Plan with a provision of 96 crores. It was proposed to continue the scheme during the Seventh Plan with the central assistance of Rs. 88 crores.

The approach to the Eighth Five Year Plan emphasised that "large number of small towns are and should increasingly be linked with neighbouring villages in terms of provision of services and inputs on the one hand, and utilizing rural produce and providing employment to workers from villages, on the other. Area plans must explicitly recognise such rural urban continuum and promote a balanced employment oriented development of rural areas" (Planning Commission 1990 : 16).

In view of the importance of agricultural development for the growth of small and medium towns and vice-versa, it was thought rewarding to study the pattern of growth of cities and towns in the agriculturally developed regions of North India. The study has analysed the 1991 Census data released in a recent publication, *Provisional Population Total: Rural Urban Distribution* (paper 2 of 1991). It has given 1981-91 growth rates of individual

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towns with a comparative picture of the 1971- 81 growth rates. Population growth has been found to be a very poor measure of urban growth. In fact, inverse correlation between population growth, income and welfare has been observed. But in the absence of data about other variables, population growth has been used as a variable to study growth of a particular town and city. The study has concentrated on three agriculturally most developed regions, out of the 15 agro-climatic regions identified by the Planning Commission (1989:2). These regions are:

1. Trans-Gangetic Plains Region (Region VI)
2. Upper-Gangetic Plains Region (Region V)
3. Middle-Gangetic Plains Region (Region IV)

Trans-Gangetic Plains region comprises the states of Haryana and Punjab, the Union Territories of Chandigarh and Delhi and Ganganagar district of Rajasthan. It covers, in all, 31 districts with a population of 48 million. The region is arid and semi-arid with the highest proportion of net sown area and irrigated area. This region has developed from a food deficit area to a food surplus area. Now it is the major contributor of rice and wheat to the country.

Upper Gangetic Plains region comprises 34 districts of Uttar Pradesh covering a population of 83 million. This region is characterised by a cropping intensity of 144 per cent and the irrigation intensity of 131 per cent. It has a good dynamic ground water potential. The productivity of rice and wheat has increased to a high level during the last decade. The net sown area has reached its limit.

Middle Gangetic Plains region comprises 16 districts of Eastern Uttar Pradesh and 29 districts of Bihar plains. This zone covers a geographical area of 16.2 million with a population of 107 million. This region is characterised by rich soil resources and favourable climatic factors, high rainfall and fairly developed irrigation and the cropping intensity at 140 per cent. But the land productivity is comparatively at a low level.

The towns and cities as per 1991 census are given in Table 1.

TABLE 1: TOWNS AND CITIES ACCORDING TO SIZE CLASS OF POPULATION IN THE THREE REGIONS, 1991

<i>Regions</i>	<i>Size Class of population</i>						<i>Total</i>
	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>VI</i>	
Trans-Gangetic Plains	25	28	50	80	40	11	234
Upper-Gangetic Plains	31	28	85	160	131	14	449
Middle-Gangetic Plains	19	29	79	85	48	4	264
	75	85	214	325	219	29	947

Size class I- 100,000+  
 II - 50,000-99,999  
 III - 20,000-49,999  
 IV -10,000-19,999  
 V - 5,000-9,999  
 VI - less than 5,000

In this study we would first analyse rural urban growth differentials as revealed by 1991 Census by taking district as the unit of analysis. Then we would study the pattern of growth in different size classes of towns and cities separately for the two census decades, 1971-81 and 1981-91. We would be concentrating on three broad size classes: 100,000 + (class I), 20,000-100,000 (class II and III) and less than 20,000 (class IV, V and VI). Finally, we would study the decadal change in the pattern of growth in the three size classes, I, II and III separately for the two census decades 1971-81 and 1981-91. The three size classes, I, II and III cover the urban population in 20,000 and above towns and cities, which is treated as effective urban population.

### **Rural-Urban Growth Differentials**

The acceleration in the process of urbanization is indicated by rural urban growth differentials. Perusal of Table 2 reveals that out of 110 study districts, 38 districts have shown a growth rate of less than 20 per cent in rural areas which can safely be assumed to be out-migration districts. Lucknow district, with a rural content of about 38 per cent population has shown a rural growth rate of only 7.8 per cent, while the urban growth rate is above 60 per cent. Examining the pattern of growth in different towns in Lucknow district, we find that Lucknow urban agglomeration which comprises Lucknow Municipality and Lucknow Cantonment has shown a growth rate of 63 per cent. There is no absorption of rural areas in the urban agglomeration as out growth, but it appears that it is a case of city-ward migration or absorption of contiguous rural areas in city municipal boundaries. Other 7 small towns in the district with a population of less than 20,000 had growth rates of less than 20 in each of them.

The 6 other districts with rural growth rate of less than 15 per cent are Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur in Punjab, Rohtak in Haryana, Meerut in U.P. and Pashchimi Champaran in Bihar. All the Punjab districts have shown growth rates of less than 25 per cent in urban areas. Out of 12 districts of Punjab, 5 have shown less than 20 per cent rural growth and 25 per cent urban growth. Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur have shown rural growth rate of less than 15. Except, Ludhiana and Rupnagar, rest of the Punjab districts have shown low growth rates. In fact they have shown a phenomenon of depopulation. This may be due to socio-political situation in Punjab which is forcing population to move out. Even Rupnagar's comparatively higher urban growth is due to presence of Mohali, near Chandigarh, showing a growth rate of 140 per cent. Higher growth rate in Ludhiana city may be due to better coverage. In view of the adverse socio-political situation in the state, it would be difficult to interpret the movement of population due to economic forces.

Besides, 7 districts of Punjab, 5 districts of Haryana from the Trans-Gangetic Plains, 14 districts in Upper Gangetic Plains and 5 districts in Middle Gangetic Plains (in all 31 districts) have shown rural growth rates varying between 15 to 20 per cent. They form a little over 28 per cent of the study districts. Rohtak in Haryana and Meerut in U.P. have shown the rural growth rate of 14 per cent and 13 per cent respectively, while the urban growth rates are respectively 52 per cent and 47 per cent. Higher urban growth in these two districts may be partly due to proximity to Delhi, but also due to urban-ward migration as a result of agricultural prosperity.

TABLE 2 : DISTRIBUTION OF DISTRICTS ACCORDING TO RURAL AND URBAN GROWTH RATES IN THE AGRICULTURALLY DEVELOPED REGIONS DURING 1981-91

<i>Rural growth rates, 1981-91</i>	<i>Urban Growth Rates, 1981-91</i>								
	75-20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45	45-50	50+	Total
A: Middle- Gangetic Plain Region									+
< 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10-15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
15-20	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	2	5
20-25	-	3	4	4	4	4	1	5	25
25-30	2	1	2	4	-	1	-	1	11
30-35	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
35-40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
40+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	2	6	7	10	4	5	1	10	45
B: Upper Gangetic Plain Region									
< 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
10-15	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
15-20	-	-	4	4	4	2	-	-	14
20-25	-	-	2	1	4	2	-	3	12
25-30	-	1	2	2	-	1	-	-	6
Total	-	1	8	7	8	5	1	4	34
C: Trans-Gangetic Plains Division									
10-15	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	4
15-20	1	1	3	1	1	2	2	1	12
20-25	1	-	2	2	-	2	-	1	8
25-30	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	3
30-35	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2
35-40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
40+	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2
Total	3	3	5	7	3	4	3	3	31
D: Aggregate of the Thre Regions									
< 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
10-15	1	2	-	1	-	-	1	1	6
15-20	1	3	8	5	5	4	2	3	31
20-25	1	3	8	7	8	8	1	9	45
25-30	2	2	4	8	1	2	-	1	20
30-35	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	4
35-40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
40+	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2
Total	5	10	20	24	15	14	5	17	110

There are 6 districts which have shown urban growth rates less than rural growth rates. They are Kapurthala (Punjab), Chandigarh and Delhi in Trans-Gangetic Plains, Ghazipur (U.P.), Begusarai and Gaya (Bihar) from Middle-Gangetic Plains and Rampur (U.P.) from Upper-Gangetic Plains. Higher rural growth rate of Delhi and Chandigarh may be explained in terms of influx of migrants to these metropolises, which could not be accommodated in core city. Hence, they were accommodated in the rural periphery. There are 17 districts which have shown an urban growth rate of more than 50 per cent. Thus, districts from Punjab have shown low growth rates both in urban and rural areas. Districts from Haryana, Western and Central U.P. have shown low rural growth rates with medium to high urban growth rates. Few districts like Pashchimi Champaran, Jehanabad and Gorakhpur from Eastern U.P. and Bihar have shown low rural growth rates and high growth rates of more than 50 per cent in urban areas. Sonbhadra, a new district in U.P. is showing distinctly higher rural growth rate of 35.3 per cent and 52.1 per cent in urban areas.

### **Pattern of Growth in Cities and Towns during 1981-91**

There were 947 cities and towns in this region in 1991. Out of these 868 towns were in existence at the 1981 census, 79 new towns came up during the inter-censal decade. We have studied the pattern of growth of 868 towns. The unit of analysis is an individual town. Wherever size class has been referred, it pertains to 1991 Census. The growth rates varied from a negative in case of 9 towns to a high of 525 per cent in case of Panchkula urban state in Haryana and 354 per cent in case of Maharajganj town in Eastern Uttar Pradesh. About 21 per cent of the towns have shown a growth rate of above 40 per cent, while a little over 17 per cent have shown growth rate of less than 20 per cent.

Comparing the pattern of growth among different size classes of towns as existing in 1991 census, it is revealed that about 23 per cent of cities of class size I (100,000 and above population) have shown growth rate above 40 per cent, while the corresponding percentage for class size II and III (combined) is 25.3 per cent and for class size IV, V and VI, it is 18 per cent. On the contrary, 16.1 per cent of class I cities have shown a growth rate of less than 20 per cent against 13.1 per cent in case of class II and III towns (Table 3).

The inter-regional variations in the pattern of growth show that in the Middle-Gangetic Plains region covering Eastern U.P. and Bihar, 31.5 per cent of class I cities have shown growth rates exceeding 30 per cent against 52.4 per cent in case of class II and III towns. Similarly, in the Upper-Gangetic Plains region, the corresponding percentages are 50 per cent for class I towns and 70 per cent for class II and III towns. But in Trans-Gangetic Plains region, if we look at the growth rate exceeding 40 per cent, there are 16 per cent of the towns in class size I against 21 per cent in class size II and III. But if we combine 30 to 40 per cent growth rate category to 40 per cent and above, then the percentage reverses, being 56 per cent for class size I and 46 per cent for class size II and III. This is because 40 per cent of class size I cities have shown growth rates ranging between 30 to 40 per cent as against 25 per cent in case of class size II and III. On the contrary, 21 per cent of towns of class size I in Middle-Gangetic Plains, 10 per cent in Upper-Gangetic Plains and 20 per cent in Trans-Gangetic Plains have shown growth rates of less than 20 per cent as against 13 per cent, 4.5 per cent and 25 per cent in case of class size II and III respectively in the three regions. The distinct pattern in Trans-Gangetic Plains region may be due to the state of Punjab forming part of this region, where the pattern of growth appears to be affected by the abnormal socio-political situation.

TABLE 3: GROWTH RATES BY SIZE CLASS OF CITIES AND TOWNS IN AGRICULTURALLY PROSPEROUS REGIONS DURING 1981-91

Class of Towns	Growth Rates, 1981-91					Total
	<10	10-20	20-50	30-40	40+	
A: Middle-Gangetic Plains Region						
I	-	4 (21.05)+	9 (47.37)	3 (15.79)	3 (15.79)	19
II+III	4 (3.38)	10 (9.70)	37 (33.98)	31 (32.04)	21 (20.39)	103
IV+V+VI	(0.85)	12 (10.17)	42 (35.59)	38 (32.20)	25 (21.19)	118
Sub-Total	5 (2.08)	26 (10.83)	88 (35.83)	72 (30.83)	49 (20.42)	240
B: Upper-Gangetic Plains Region						
I	-	3 (10.00)	12 (40.00)	5 (16.67)	10 (33.33)	30
II+III	-	5 (4.55)	28 (25.45)	41 (37.27)	36 (32.73)	110
IV+V+VI	6 (2.16)	39 (14.03)	96 (34.54)	81 (29.14)	56 (20.14)	278
Sub-Total	6 (1.44)	47 (11.24)	136 (32.54)	127 (30.38)	102 (24.40)	418
C: Trans-Gangetic Plains Region						
I	1 (4.00)	4 (16.00)	6 (24.00)	10 (40.00)	4 (16.00)	25
II+III	4 (5.26)	15 (19.74)	22 (28.95)	19 (25.00)	16 (21.05)	76
IV+V+VI	10 (9.17)	30 (27.52)	42 (38.53)	17 (15.60)	10 (9.17)	109
Sub-Total	15 (7.15)	49 (23.33)	70 (33.33)	46 (21.43)	30 (14.76)	210
D: Aggregate of the Three Regions						
I	1 (1.35)	11 (14.86)	27 (36.49)	18 (24.32)	17 (22.97)	74
II+III	8 (2.77)	30 (10.38)	87 (30.10)	91 (31.48)	73 (25.25)	289
IV+V+VI	17 (3.36)	81 (16.03)	180 (35.64)	136 (26.93)	91 (18.02)	505
Sub-Total	26 (3.00)	122 (14.06)	294 (33.87)	245 (28.23)	181 (20.85)	868

Note: Figures in parantheses are row percentages.

TABLE 4: GROWTH RATES BY SIZE CLASS OF CITIES AND TOWNS IN AGRICULTURALLY PROSPEROUS REGIONS DURING 1971-81

<i>Size class of town</i>	<i>Growth Rate, 1971-81</i>							<i>Total</i>
	<i>&lt; 10</i>	<i>10-20</i>	<i>20-30</i>	<i>30-40</i>	<i>40-50</i>	<i>50-60</i>	<i>60+</i>	
A: Middle-Gangetic Plains Region								
I	-	-	3 (15.79)	11 (57.89)	-	4 (21.05)	1 (5.26)	19
II+III	-	3 (3.33)	13 (14.44)	24 (26.67)	18 (20.00)	10 (11.11)	22 (24.44)	90
IV+V+VI	2 (4.65)	1 (2.33)	10 (23.26)	14 (32.56)	6 (13.95)	3 (6.98)	7 (16.28)	43
Sub-Total	2 (1.32)	4 (2.63)	26 (17.11)	49 (32.24)	24 (15.79)	17 (11.18)	30 (19.74)	152
B: Upper-Gangetic Plain Region								
I	-	2 (6.67)	10 (33.33)	4 (13.33)	5 (16.67)	4 (13.33)	5 (16.67)	30
II+III	-	1 (1.09)	23 (25.00)	34 (36.%)	23 (25.00)	6 (6.52)	5 (5.43)	92
IV+V+VI	1 (2.17)	5 (10.87)	11 (23.91)	17 (36.96)	10 (21.74)	2 (4.34)	-	46
Sub-Total	1 (0.60)	8 (4.76)	44 (26.19)	55 (32.74)	38 (22.60)	12 (7.14)	10 (5.95)	168
C: Trans-Gangetic Plains Region								
I	-	1 (4.00)	1 (4.00)	9 (36.00)	4 (16.00)	4 (16.00)	6 (24.00)	25
II+III	4 (5.63)	2 (2.82)	13 (18.31)	17 (23.94)	13 (18.31)	12 (16.90)	10 (14.08)	71
IV+V+VI	6 (7.23)	21 (25.30)	19 (22.89)	17 (20.48)	11 (13.25)	2 (2.41)	7 (8.43)	83
Sub-Total	10 (5.59)	24 (13.41)	33 (18.44)	43 (24.02)	28 (15.64)	18 (10.06)	23 (12.85)	179
D: Aggregate of the Three Regions								
I	-	3 (4.05)	14 (18.92)	24 (32.43)	9 (12.16)	12 (16.22)	12 (16.22)	74
II+III	4 (1.58)	6 (2.37)	49 (19.37)	75 (29.64)	54 (21.34)	28 (11.07)	37 (14.62)	253
IV+V+VI	9 (5.23)	27 (15.70)	40 (23.26)	48 (27.91)	27 (15.70)	7 (4.07)	14 (8.14)	172
Sub-Total	13 (2.60)	36 (7.21)	103 (20.64)	147 (29.46)	90 (18.04)	47 (9.42)	63 (12.63)	499

### **Growth during 1971-81**

Cities and towns have shown a comparatively higher growth rate during 1971-81 than 1981-91. A little over 40 per cent of the towns had shown growth rates exceeding 40 per cent as compared to 21 per cent in 1981-91. On the other hand, 9.8 per cent had shown growth rates less than 20 per cent in 1971-81 against 17 per cent in 1981-91. The pattern of growth in different size class of towns has distinctly changed during the two inter censal decades. A little over 32 per cent of class I cities have shown growth rates exceeding 50 per cent as against nearly 26 per cent in case of class II and III cities (Table 4). The same pattern is shared by Upper-Gangetic and Trans-Gangetic Plains. But in the Middle Gangetic Plains the pattern is reverse, with class size II and III towns showing a higher growth rate.

### **Changes in Growth Rates during the Decades 1971-81 to 1981-91**

Cross-classification of growth rates in 1981-91 by 1971-81 for each size class of town has been carried out to study the pattern of change over time in different size class of towns (Table 5). Considering first the 74 class I cities which existed at all the three points of time, we find that in case of 17 cities (23 per cent) there is no change in the class interval of growth rates with an interval of 10 points, while 46 cities (62.2 per cent) have been pushed down to a lower class interval, with 2 cities which had above 50 per cent growth rate during 1971-81 have shown a growth rate of 10-20 per cent in 1981-91. Similarly 3 towns in 70 per cent and above growth category have receded to 20-30 per cent category. Only 11 cities have shown a growth rate category higher than that in 1971-81.

Focussing on class size II category, we find that here too only 17 out of 82 (20.7 per cent) towns have maintained the same interval of growth rates during the two decades: 51 (62.2 per cent) have receded to class interval lower than the existing, while 14 have grown up to higher class interval. 8 towns with growth rates above 30 per cent came down to 10 to 20 per cent growth rate range. Similarly, there were 5 towns with growth rates above 60 per cent that came down to 30-40 per cent category. In class size III towns, out of 171 towns, 43 towns (25.1 per cent) have maintained the *status quo*, while 39 (22.8 per cent) have moved to higher class interval and 89 (52 per cent) have receded to lower class intervals. There are some extreme cases. There are two towns which had over 100 per cent growth rate in 1971-81, but below 20 per cent growth rate in 1981-91. Similarly, there are 3 towns with over 100 per cent growth rate which have come down to 20-30 per cent category in 1981-91. Thus, in all the three size classes, the pace of growth was higher in 1971-81 decade as compared to 1981-91 decade.

### **Concluding Observations**

The analysis shows that in the Trans-Gangetic Plains region, which is agriculturally the most developed region in the three regions, disturbed conditions in Punjab and presence of Delhi and Chandigarh metropolises have failed to reveal a clear picture of trend of growth of small and intermediate towns due to agricultural prosperity. However, in the state of Haryana in this region, a number of districts have shown a low rural growth rate and high urban growth indicating an urban-ward migration in small and medium towns. Same pattern emerges in Western and Central Uttar Pradesh. Few districts in Bihar and Eastern U.P. have also shown a phenomenon of low rural growth rates with a medium to high urban growth rates.

TABLE 5 : CROSS-CLASSIFICATION OF TOWNS IN AGRICULTURALTY DEVELOPED REGIONS ACCORDING TO GROWTH RATES IN 1981-91 BY 1971-81

Growth rate 1971-81	Growth rates, 1981-91										Total	
	<10	10-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	70-80	80-90	90-100		100+
Size class : 100,000+(1991)											+	
< 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10-20	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
20-30	-	3	6	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	14
30-40	1	5	9	6	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	24
40-50	-	-	4	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
50-60	-	1	4	5	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	12
60-70	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
70-80	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
80-90	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
90-100	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
100+	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	4
Total	1	11	27	18	11	2	2	-	2	-	-	74
Size class II : 50,000-100,000												
< 10	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
10-20	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
20-30	1	2	4	4	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	13
30-40	1	6	12	5	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	27
40-50	-	-	5	5	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	17
50-60	-	1	1	6	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	11
60-70	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	4
70-80	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
80-90	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
90-100	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
100+	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Total	3	10	24	25	11	5	1	1	-	2	-	82
Size class III : 20,000-50,000												
< 10	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
10-20	-	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
20-30	-	5	17	11	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	36
30-40	-	2	18	17	9	1	-	-	-	-	1	48
40-50	1	7	5	13	3	7	1	-	-	-	-	37
50-60	-	2	5	6	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	17
60-70	1	-	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	6
70-80	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
80-90	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
90-100	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	5
100+	1	1	3	4	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	11
Total	4	19	55	55	17	13	4	1	-	1	2	171

Pattern of growth in cities and towns during 1981 to 1991 shows that comparatively higher percentage of towns of class size II and III have shown rates of growth of population higher than either class size I or smaller towns in classes IV, V and VI. This gives an

indication of the growth of small and intermediate cities. This phenomenon is more pronounced in Middle and Upper Gangetic Plains.

The pace of growth has slowed down during the 1981-91 decade as compared to 1971-81 decade. Over 60 per cent of towns in class size I, II have receded to lower class intervals of population growth rate with an interval of 10 points. However, in case of class size III comparatively lower percentage of towns have receded to lower class intervals showing a pace of growth comparatively a little higher in class size in towns and cities.

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