
UNIT 1 URBANIZATION: AN OVERVIEW

Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Urbanization: Concepts and Meaning
- 1.3 Causes of Urbanization
- 1.4 Urbanization and Urban Problems
- 1.5 Sustainable Urban Development
- 1.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 1.7 References and Selected Readings
- 1.8 Check Your Progress- Possible Answers

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The World is urbanizing very fast and more than 45 per cent of the World's population today are residing in urban areas. According to UN estimation, the World population is expected to increase by 72 percent by 2050, from 3.6 billion in 2011 to 6.3 billion in 2050. Customarily urbanization means increasing population living in cities and suburbs of a country. In 19th and 20th century, majority of the cities in the world are undergoing growth of urban population. In India also urban population which was 0.37 percent in 1951 has risen to 27.81 percent in 2001 and 31.16 percent in 2011 and is increasing day by day. According to Asian Development Bank, the national increase and net migration are the major contributory factors to urban growth. The share of world's population living in urban areas has increased from 39 percent in 1980 to 48 percent in 2000. However, urbanization without proper planning has given rise to several problems such as housing, sanitation, education, provision of safe drinking water, unemployment, etc. particularly in underdeveloped countries. This unit on "Urban Development: An Overview" will provide you information and knowledge regarding urbanization, its trends, impact and idea about sustainable urban development. After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain meaning and trend of urbanization
- Narrate various causes of urbanization
- Discuss urbanization and urban problems
- Describe about sustainable urban development

1.2 URBANIZATION: CONCEPTS AND MEANING

Urbanization is popularly defined as the rise of population in urban areas. United Nations perceives urbanization as movement of people from rural to urban areas. Mishra (1998) defines urbanization in the following way "Urbanization is not a product. It is a process by which a people, instead of living in predominantly dispersed agricultural villages, start living in towns and cities dominated by industrial and service functionaries. It involves multiplication of urban places and/ or an increase in size of cities. Growth of urban population is only one of dimensions of urbanization." One of the eminent demographers Kingsley Davis

has classified the process of urbanization into three stages. The Stage-I is the initial stage, characterized by traditional rural society with predominance in agriculture and dispersed pattern of settlement. The stage-II is where proportion of urban population gradually increases from 25% to 40%, 50%, 60% and so on. This is otherwise called as the stage of acceleration where basic restructuring of the economy and investments in social overhead capitals including transport, communication take place. The stage-III is known as the terminal stage, where urban population exceeds 70% or more. According to Davis, at this stage, the level of urbanization remains more or less same or constant. Urbanization is derived from the Latin “Urbs” a term used by the Romans to a city.

The Census of India has broadly categorized urban areas in into following types:

- i) **Statutory towns:** all places with municipality, corporation, cantonment board, notified town area committees, etc.
- ii) **Census towns:** all villages with a minimum population of 5000 persons in the preceding census, at least 75 percent of male main working population engaged in non-agricultural activities and a population density of at least 400 persons per sq. km.
- iii) **Urban Agglomerations (UAs):** a continuous urban spread comprising one or more towns.
- iv) **Urban Growths (OGs):** areas around a core city or town, such well recognized places like railways colony, university campus, port areas, etc. lying outside the limit of town.

Table 1.1: Number of Urban Agglomerations/Towns and Out Growths in India

Types of Urban Units		2001 Census	2011 Census
1.	Towns	5161	7935
	a) Statutory Towns	3799	4041
	b) Census Towns	1362	3894
2.	Urban Agglomerations	384	475
3.	Out Growth (OGs)	953	981

Source: Census - 2011

However, in India, the Municipal Law classification of urban areas is different to that of the Census one. The categories according to the Municipal Laws are as follows: (i) **The Municipal Corporation** having population about 3 lakh; (ii) **Municipal Council** with 1 to 3 lakh population and (iii) **Nagar Panchayats** having 5000 – 10,000 population. The Municipal Council are further subdivided on the basis of their population which is as follows:

Type	Population
A or Class-I	1 to 3 lakh
B or Class-II	50,000 to 1 lakh
C or Class-III	25,000 to 50,000
D or Class-IV	10,000 to 25,000

Source: Census – 2011

1.2.1 Trends in Urbanization

The 2005 data envisages that the world is projected to continue to urbanize and 60 percent of the global population is expected to live in cities by 2030. According to UN estimation, the World population is expected to increase by 72 percent by 2050, from 3.6 billion in 2011 to 6.3 billion in 2050. After knowing about urbanization, let us now discuss the trend of urbanization in developed and developing countries.

Urbanization is taking place in almost all the countries of the world. It is generally faster in developed countries as compared to developing countries. The figure given in Table-1 clearly reveals that the percentage of urbanization in developed countries is 76, while that of developing countries is 40.

According to Asian Development Bank, the national increase and net migration are the major contributory factors to urban growth. The share of world's population living in urban areas has increased from 39 percent in 1980 to 48 percent in 2000.

Table 1.2: Total Urban and Rural Populations by Development Group, Selected Periods, 1950-2050

Development group	Population (billion)					Average annual rate of change (Percentage)			
	1950	1970	2011	2030	2050	1950-1970	1970-2011	2011-2030	2030-2050
Total population									
World	2.53	3.70	6.97	8.32	9.31	1.89	1.55	0.93	0.56
More developed regions	0.81	1.01	1.24	1.30	1.31	1.08	0.51	0.23	0.06
Less developed regions	1.72	2.69	5.73	7.03	7.99	2.23	1.85	1.07	0.65
Urban population									
World	0.75	1.35	3.63	4.98	6.25	2.98	2.41	1.66	1.13
More developed regions	0.44	0.67	0.96	1.06	1.13	2.09	0.89	0.52	0.29
Less development regions	0.30	0.68	2.67	3.92	5.12	4.04	3.33	2.02	1.34
Rural population									
World	1.79	2.34	3.34	3.34	3.05	1.36	0.87	-0.01	-0.44
More development regions	0.37	0.34	0.28	0.23	0.18	-0.48	-0.48	-0.92	-1.14
Less development regions	1.42	2.01	3.07	3.11	2.87	1.74	1.03	0.07	-0.40

Source: United Nations, World Urbanization Prospects, the 2011 Revision, Department of Economic & Social Affairs, Population Division.

Table 1.3: World top ten Countries with largest Urban Population and World top ten Urban Agglomeration (2011)

Country*	Urban Population, 2005 (in Million)*	Urban Agglomeration**	Population**	Rank**
China	535.96	Tokyo, Japan	37.2	1
India	312.89	Delhi, India	22.7	2
USA	232.08	Mexico, Mexico	20.4	3
Brazil	151.93	New York, USA	20.4	4
Indonesia	104.05	Shanghai, China	20.2	5
Russia	102.73	Sao, Paulo, Brazil	19.9	6

Japan	101.83	Mumbai, India	19.7	7
Mexico	80.07	Beijing, China	15.6	8
Germany	72.41	Dhaka, Bangladesh	15.4	9
Nigeria	62.62	Kolkata, India	14.4	10

*Source: www.mapsofworld.com

**Source: United Nations, World Urbanization respects The 2011 Revision, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, population Division

1.2.2 Trends in Developed Countries

The important trends in urbanization in the developed countries are suburbanization, urban renewal, gentrification and megalopolitan development.

- a) **Suburbanization:** One of the most significant changes in urban form that has happened in advanced capitalist countries in the twentieth century is the growth of suburbs. It has taken place around the edges of major towns and cities. A suburb is an area of residence, a neighbourhood of houses rather than mixed land use type of neighbourhood found in the city proper. Suburbanization has primarily been caused by the migration of people into the countryside escaping from the drawbacks of urban life. Customarily, suburbanization implies a separation between home and workplace, perhaps the most important is relatively cheap transport, as transport connectivity extends the distance of suburbs from the central city. Since 1945, the rate of suburban growth in the USA has been tremendous.
- b) **Urban Renewal:** Urban renewal is a continuous process of remodelling urban areas by means of rehabilitation and conservation as well as redevelopment. In urban renewal, the emphasis is given on those parts of the city which have fallen below current standards of public acceptability. They are commonly found to be in the residential part of the inner city and also in the central parts of the inner city, face problems of inadequate housing, environmental deprivation, social malaise and the presence of non-conforming uses. The central business city part faces problems of traffic congestion and obsolescence of building and obsolescence of building and sites.
- c) **Gentrification:** means change in the social character of neighbourhood as a result of professional higher income groups seeking residence in central city location. Gentrification is socially important in attracting some middle to high income residents back to central areas. Gentrification is so to say selective in nature not only in terms of population to attract but also of the conditions under which it occur. In the USA, most of the major cities are now experiencing varying levels of gentrification in their central area neighbourhoods. In Britain, the process has occurred in a few cities namely Bristol and London.
- d) **Megapolitan Development:** One of the most important facets of urbanization in the developed countries is the growth of cities not in terms of population but in terms of area. Here the cities expand physically and the same number of people is living in the cities but at low densities. The examples of megapolitan type of development are characteristics of Atlantic sea board of USA, and in Japan it has appeared naturally and in the Netherlands it has

appeared by design and planning. The United States megapolis extends over 600 miles from Boston to Washington D.C., the Tokaido megapolis extends from Tokyo, Yokohama to Osaka-Kobe-Kyoto and the Randstad megapolis comprises of three major cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague. This process has also started in developing countries.

1.2.3 Trends in the Developing Countries

Some of the trends of urbanization in developing countries are as follows:

- i) Urbanization in the developed countries is higher as compared to the developing countries. As per UN statistics, the percentage of population residing in the urban areas of developed countries is 79.1%, while that of less developed countries is 46.8%.
- ii) The urbanization in the African region is found to be slightly higher than the Asian region. However in both the region, urbanization is comparatively lower than those of Europe and USA.
- iii) Urbanization takes place without much industrialization and strong economic base. Lack of industrialization led urbanization has resulted in growth of unorganized sector which is characterized by lower wage rate and poor service condition which affect the quality of life of urban population.
- iv) Unplanned urbanization in developing countries has led to growth of urban slum areas characterized by low quality housing, poor sanitation, access to unsafe drinking water, etc.
- v) It is not a flight of fancy, but delicately, the current pattern of urbanization in developing countries is alarming if viewed from a historical, spatial and cross country perspective. The unplanned urbanization greatly concerns most of the government in these countries.

Some of the features of urbanization as mentioned by the WHO are as follows:

- i) More than half of the world's population now live in cities.
- ii) By 2030, six out of every ten people will be city dwellers, which will rise to seven out of every ten people by 2050.
- iii) One in three urban dwellers lives in slums.
- iv) Urban air pollution kills around 1.2 million people each year around the world, mainly due to cardiovascular and respiratory diseases Tuberculosis incidence is much higher in big cities.
- v) Urban environment tends to discourage physical activity and promote unhealthy food consumption.

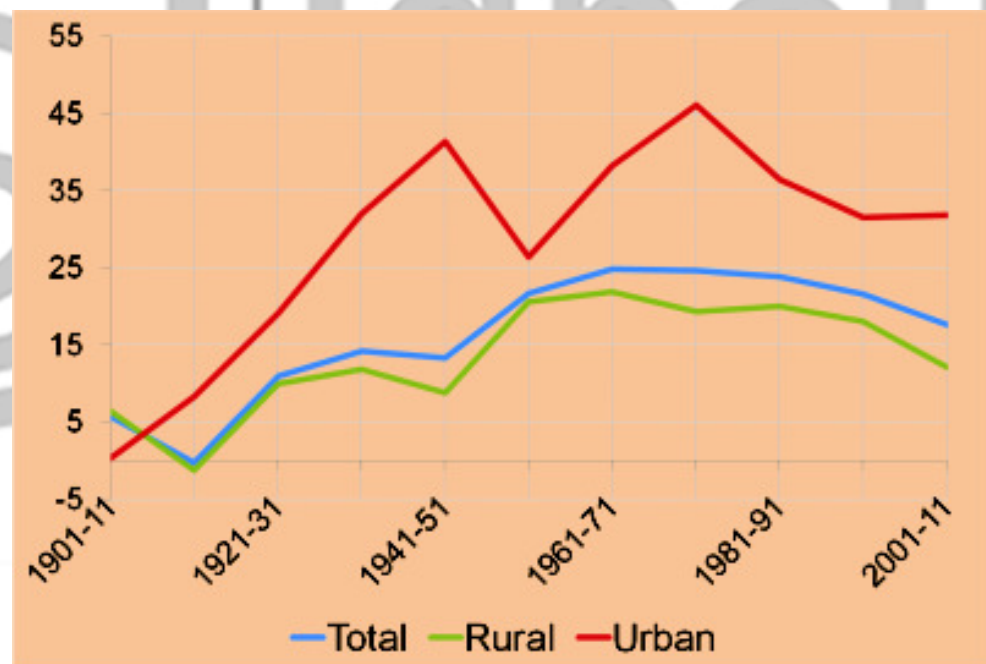
1.2.4 Trends of Urbanization in India

The trends of urbanization in India are as follows:

- i) Urban population in India was 0.37 percent in 1951 has risen to 27.81 percent in 2001 and 31.16 percent in 2011. According to 2011 census, 377 million populations live in urban areas of India.

Table 1.4: Population of India by Residence

Census years	Number of Urban agglomeration/ town	Urban population	Rural	Urban-Rural Ratio (Percent)
1901	1827	25851873(10.84)	212544454(89.15)	12.16
1911	1825	25941633(10.23)	226151757(89.71)	11.47
1921	1949	28086167(11.18)	223235046(88.82)	12.58
1931	2072	33455989(11.99)	245521249(88.82)	13.63
1941	2250	44153297(13.86)	274507283(88.01)	16.08
1951	2843	62443709(17.29)	298644381(86.14)	20.91
1961	2363	78936603(17.97)	360298168(82.71)	21.91
1971	2590	109113977(18.24)	489045675(82.03)	22.31
1981	3378	159462547(23.33)	523866550(76.66)	30.44
1991	3768	217177625(25.72)	627146597(74.28)	34.63
2001	5161	285354954(27.78)	741660293(72.22)	38.47
2011	7935	377105760 (31.16)	833087662 (68.84)	50.84



Sources: Various Census reports

- ii) In India, there is lopsided urbanization and the growth of population in class-I cities having more than one lakh population is higher as compared to other cities. According to 2001 Census, 69 percent of urban population lived in class-I cities. The percentage of urban population in class I, II, III, IV, V and VI cities according to census 2001 are 68.6, 9.67, 12.2 6.8, 2.3 and 0.2 percent respectively. Besides census 2001 also shows that nearly 37 percent of population live in million plus cities.

Table 1.5: Number of towns and percentage of urban population in different size categories

Number of towns							Percentage of urban population					
Census Year	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V	Class VI	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V	Class VI
1901	24	43	130	391	744	479	26.00	11.29	15.64	20.83	20.14	6.10
1911	23	40	135	364	707	485	27.48	10.51	16.40	19.73	19.31	6.57
1921	29	45	145	370	734	571	29.70	10.39	15.92	18.29	18.67	7.03
1931	35	56	183	434	800	5009	31.20	11.65	16.80	18.00	17.14	5.21
1941	49	74	242	498	920	407	38.23	11.42	16.35	15.78	15.08	3.14
1951	76	91	327	608	1124	569	44.63	9.96	15.72	13.63	12.97	3.09
1961	102	129	437	719	711	172	51.42	11.23	16.94	12.77	6.87	0.77
1971	148	173	558	827	623	147	57.24	10.92	16.01	10.94	4.45	0.44
1981	218	270	743	1059	758	253	60.37	11.63	14.33	9.54	3.58	0.50
1991	300	345	947	1167	740	197	65.20	10.95	13.19	7.77	2.60	0.29
2001	393	401	1151	1344	888	191	68.67	9.67	12.23	6.84	2.36	0.23

Note: Size categories (Class) of towns by population:

Class I : 100,000 or more; Class II : From 50,000 to 99,999; Class III : From 20,000 to 49,999; Class IV: from 10,000 to 19,999; Class V: from 5,000 to 9,999 Class VI: Below 5,000.

Source: Census of India for different years.

Source: Kundu, A "Trends & Processes of Urbanization in India", Human Settlements Group, IIED, Population and Development Branch, UNFPA, 2011

Annual exponential growth rates of population in different categories of Urban Centre (1981-2001)

Types	1981-91	1991-2001
Metro cities	3.3	2.9
Capital cities	3.4	2.8
Class I cities	3.0	2.8
Common towns (excluding new and declassified towns)	2.8	2.6
Total urban growth	3.1	2.7

Source: Kundu, A "Trends & Processes of Urbanization in India", Human Settlements Group, IIED, Population and Development Branch, UNFPA, 2011

- iii) The top three states in terms of percentage of urban population in India according to 2011 Census are Maharashtra (13.5%), Uttar Pradesh (11.8) and Tamil Nadu (9.3%). Most of the North Eastern states are in the bottom line of the urban population. Mizoram (0.1%), Arunachal Pradesh (0.1%) and Sikkim (negligible).
- iv) The top three cities in terms of urban population in India according to the figure of 2011 census are Mumbai (18.41million), Delhi (16.31 million) and Kolkata (14.11 million).
- v) The spurt in urban population in India is largely due to (a) migration, (b) natural increase, and (c) inclusion of new areas under urban.

- vi) There has been a consistent increase in both male and female literacy rate in urban areas. The steady increase in female literacy has reduced the gender gap from 13.41 percent in 2001 to 9.75 in 2011.

Data Profile-Urban Agglomerations India, 2011 Census (provisional)

Indicator	2011 Census	2001 Census
Population (in million)	377.105	167.4
Sex ratio	926	888
Population (0-6) (in million)	41.2	37.3
Sex ratio (0-6)	902	904
Literacy rate (above 6 yrs) (in %)		
Persons	89.84	82.45
Males	93.79	87.91
Females	85.44	76.30

- vii) The sex-ratio in urban India is lower as compared to rural. The sex-ratio in 2001 and 2011 census are 900 and 926 respectively; while in rural it is 946 and 947 respectively for 2001 and 2011.

- viii) The growth of urban population in urban areas has given rise to urban agglomerations. In 2001, there were 35 urban agglomerations in India and it has risen to 53 in 2011, having a population more than one million or more.

Million plus UAs/ Cities

Distribution of Million Plus UAs/ Cities, 2011

Uttar Pradesh, Kerala	7 each
Maharashtra	6
Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu	4 each
Rajasthan, Jharkhand and Andhra Pradesh	3 each
Punjab, West Bengal and Chhattisgarh	2 each
J&K, Chandigarh, Haryana, NCT Delhi, Bihar and Karnataka	1 each

Source: Census of India, 2011(Provisional)

In this section, you studied about the meaning and features and trends of urbanization, now answer the questions given in *Check Your Progress-1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Write your answer in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit

- 1) What do you mean by urbanization?

.....
.....

2) Write the key features of urbanization?

Urbanization: An Overview

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

1.3 CAUSES OF URBANIZATION

The causes of urbanization are many; however, a few important reasons of urbanization are narrated below:

- i) **Agricultural Development:** Development of agriculture due to farm mechanization has resulted in fewer demands for labour force in the agriculture sector. These surplus labour usually migrate to urban sector for employment and livelihood. The labourers deployed in the construction and other low menial work and self employed activities are largely migrants from rural areas. It is also seen that agriculture development in Punjab has resulted in migration of rural Punjab population not only to the cities of different states of India but also to the cities of other countries of the world.
- ii) **Industrialization:** Generally, it is observed that industrialization takes place in and around the cities. This industrialization help people add value to their product and this in turn helps more and more people to earn livelihood and settle down in the outskirts of the cities. The industrial workforces in the cities are mostly migrants from the rural areas.
- iii) **Market Forces:** The proliferation of consumer goods industries through the play of market forces leads to an increase in the importance of the market oriented locations. Towns provide large readymade markets for consumer goods and thus attract new industries for the manufacturing of these goods. These new industries and the supply of labour in turn increase the size of the potential market. A snowball effect is set in motion and urban growth becomes self-sustaining.
- iv) **Growth Services Centres:** With the growth of cities, the living standards of the city dwellers rises and along with these trading increases and the tertiary sector services by their very nature, tend to be centralized in towns providing retailing, entertainment, catering, banking, insurance and administration. As more and more services are required, it attracts more and more people and gradually the urban area grows.
- v) **Emergence of towns as socio-cultural centres:** Now a day's towns have become the epi-centre of most of the socio-cultural activities of the nation-state. They have emerged more as a centre of entertainment. Towns with facilities such as cinemas, theatres, art galleries, museum, parks, etc, act as magnets to the surrounding population. Many people simply enjoy being near the centre of urban life .Because of the concentration of many socio-cultural activities, urban areas have become zones of immense opportunities.

People concentrate more and more in urban areas as success in urban areas is more attainable. The glamour of staying in urban areas becomes much more compared to rural areas. The influx of people makes the urban areas overcrowded.

- vi) **Improvement in transport and communication:** Development of nation-state focuses on improvement in infrastructure facilities and greater connectivity between rural and urban areas. More roads are constructed which improves the connectivity between rural and urban areas. As a result of improved communication and transport facilities, the migration of population from rural to urban areas becomes faster and easier. As the job opportunities available are manifold compared to rural areas more and more people prefer to migrate to urban areas leading to rise in urban population. The development of rail communication in backward areas also promoted migration of population from these areas to the towns, cities and metropolis.
- vii) **Natural increase of population:** This is one of the most important factors for the current urbanization in the world. Although the upper and middle class population of urban areas have lower fertility leading to natural increase of population in urban areas. In fact the growth and natural increase of population in urban areas are lower compared to rural areas, but it cannot be overemphasised as one of the factors of increase in population in urban areas. All these factors are responsible for urbanization.

1.4 URBANIZATION AND URBAN PROBLEMS

The rapid Urbanization has brought in its wave a host of problems particularly for the government of the developing countries. Although, higher income is an added benefits to the urban dwellers, yet urban poverty and unemployment and a host of problems associated with pollution and congestion are the most noted indicators of urban failures. According to Tolley and Thomas, there are three types of externalities associated with over urbanization and these are:

- i) First, environmental externalities such as those connected with pollution and congestion, meaning that cities sizes are large maximum national income and welfare;
- ii) Second, protected employment that maintain urban wages above market-clearing levels may make cities large or smaller than they otherwise would be, depending on the elasticity for labour; and
- iii) The attractiveness of urban areas can lead to excessive urbanization. On the whole, although, urbanization is contributing towards economic development and growth of a nation, yet the over urbanization has caused a sundry of problems to developing countries. Some of the important problems are given below.

Some of the problems due to urbanization are as follows:

1.4.1 Urbanization and Health

The World Summit on sustainable development identified health as an integral component of sustainable development and called for a more efficient, equitable, accessible and appropriate health care system for the population that rely on them. Urban areas, particularly the slums are exposed to many types of health

problems because of unhealthy environment and poor living conditions. The overcrowded and congested housing in the urban slum areas expose the slum dwellers to high rates of infectious diseases such as pneumonia, tuberculosis and diarrhea. Besides, the overcrowding combined with poor sanitary conditions and inadequate waste disposal creates conditions favorable to spread of infectious diseases. People in general and children in particular are susceptible to diseases when they are born and brought up in an environment characterized by overcrowding, poor hygiene, excessive noise and lack of space for recreation and study. Moreover, like the children, women and particularly pregnant women are vulnerable to environmental contaminants. Pregnant women's exposure to filthy environment increases the risk of abortion, birth defects, fetal growth and perinatal death. Many studies have shown that exposing pregnant women to carbon monoxide can damage the health of the fetus. Among the general population in the slum of the cities some of the diseases found occurring are HIV/ AID, tuberculosis, yellow fever and dengue. According to Trivedi, Sareen and Dhyan (2008) the range of disorders and deviances associated with urbanization is enormous and includes psychoses, depression, sociopathy, substance abuse, alcoholism, crime, delinquency, etc. such negative impact often results in unreasonable means which may result in communal violence. WHO has rightly remarked that "while urban living continues to offer many opportunities, including potential access to better health care, today's urban environments can concentrate health risks and introduce new hazards,"

1.4.2 Urbanization and Education

Although access to education is not a problem in urban areas, however, affordability is a problem particularly for the urban poor. Urbanization has boosted higher education in metropolis and cities. With the proliferation of cities, schools, colleges and universities have been established. As a result, literacy rate in urban areas are comparatively higher than that of the rural areas. However, education in the urban slum areas is still a concern. The migration of rural population to urban and semi-urban areas has put tremendous pressure on educational infrastructure and manpower in urban areas. Numbers of NGOs are seen to be working in education sector in urban slum. Despite free education, children of urban poor families are found to be engaged in income earning activities. Education for urban poor is still a luxury, particularly as far as the quality and higher education are concerned.

1.4.3 Urbanization and Sanitation

World Bank (1992) remarked that poor are the agents and victims of environmental degradation. The urban sanitation is a big problem as the provision of sanitation infrastructure is falling short of the growing population in urban areas. Customarily, sanitation means safe disposal of waste. It is estimated that 40 million people reside in slum without adequate sanitation. The drainage system in many unorganized slums either not exist and if existing are in a bad shape and in bits resulting in blockage of waste water. The open drainage passing through the slum colonies deeply affect the health of the people. Urban garbage disposal is one of the critical garbage management which has always remained a major challenge before the municipal areas and administration. In mega cities, urban people in general and children in particular suffer from many urban environment related health problems because of exposure to unhygienic garbage disposal.

Table1.6: Distribution of Urban Households by Means of Sanitation in India

Categories		Percentage
1.	Bathroom facility within the house	29.6
2.	Pit Latrine	14.6
3.	Water Closet	46.1
4.	Other Latrine	13.0
5.	No Latrine	26.3
6.	Closed Drain	34.5
7.	Open Drain	43.4
8.	No Drainage	22.1

Sources: Census of India, 2001

The National Urban Sanitation Policy has stipulated the norm for total sanitation of cities those that are open defecation free city; universal access to toilets for all including the urban poor; elimination of manual scavenging; safe collection, treatment and disposal of all wastewater, etc.

1.4.4 Urbanization and Safe Drinking Water

Securing a safe water supply in urban areas is an increasing problem in most of the urban areas of developing countries. The United Nations recognizes access to clean drinking water as a human right, but it remains out of reach of millions of people. According to UN statistics, some 400 million people in Africa live in urban areas but as of 2008, 55 million of them lacked access to clean drinking water. According to Stockholm International Water Institute, global effort to improve access to drinking water has been hindered by rapid urbanization. It has been remarked that bad water kills more people than HIV, malaria and wars together affecting the lives of families and the economic development of many countries around this world.

Most of the urban areas do not have adequate access to safe and reliable supply of drinking water. The safe drinking water surveillance lays emphasis on following five important aspects:

- i) Quality of drinking water
- ii) Quantity of drinking water
- iii) Accessibility of people to safe drinking water
- iv) Affordability that is paying capacity of the people towards water tariff and
- v) The continuity that is percentage of time a household spend for fetching which drinking water is available.

Although the percentage of households having access to safe drinking water is higher in urban areas as compared to rural areas, yet the poor management and distribution of water has resulted in unequal access to safe drinking water. The breakage in the water pipe sometimes leads to the contamination of drinking water sources. This has resulted in outbreak of waterborne diseases. The water shortage during summer and water contamination during the rainy season is problems which need to be tackled.

1.4.5 Urbanization and Housing Problem

One of the key challenges of urbanization is to provide healthy housing to urban population. However, the rising urban population has created serious housing problem, thus, leading to growth of urban slum featured with poor housing. Excessive urbanization has created manifold problems such as the haphazard growth of unauthorized housing colonies and slum and squatter settlements has become a well know phenomenon in the metropolitan cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Ahmadabad, etc. Ricard Arnott has pointed out that the unauthorized and squatter housing are astoundingly high in low income and lower middle income countries. The underdeveloped countries are unable to provide healthy housing to its urban population particularly migrating from rural to urban areas.

Table1.7: Rates of owner-occupancy, unauthorized housing and squatter housing by country income group, 1990(%)

Country type	Low Income	Lower Middle Income	Upper Middle Income	High Income
Owner Occupancy	33	59	57	59
Unauthorized Housing	64	27	9	0
Squatter Housing	17	16	4	0

Source: Ricard Arnott, "Housing policy in Developing Countries: The importance of the informal economy, <http://www.growthcommission.org/storage/cgd>

1.4.6 Urbanization and Pollution

Urbanization and pollution has become the most common phenomenon in mega cities. The growing numbers of vehicles and slums have escalated the urban pollution problems in big cities. Besides this, outdoor population caused by vehicles and factories, the indoor air pollution caused by the use of fuel store and fire woods, etc. by slum population has increased the risk of chronic obstructive pulmonary disease and acute respiratory infections in childhood. It is one of the most important causes of deaths among children below five year age in India. Besides, car, factories and burning wastes also emit dangerous gases that affect the air quality in the cities. Dangerous gases like carbon dioxide and nitrogen oxides cause respiratory diseases, has long effect on physical environment and human health.

1.4.7 Urbanization and Poverty

It is remarked that the most widely observed and acutely felt urban problem in developing countries is the large number of poor and unemployed people in the cities. According to ILO one third of the world's urban population approximately 400 million people were living in poverty. In has also noted that poverty-related problems such as overcrowding, hunger, disease, crime and malnutrition are increasingly prevalent in cities of many countries both developing as well as developed. Economic development and urbanization are closely correlated. For example in India, cities contribute 55 percent to country's GDP. Therefore for India, urbanization is considered an important component of economic growth. However, on the other hand, it is interesting to note that the ratio of urban poverty in some of the mega cities is even higher than the rural poverty which is termed

as “Urbanization of Poverty”. This urban poverty is a responsible factor for several problems in urban areas such as housing and shelter, water, sanitation, health education, social security and livelihood. It has been rightly remarked that with growing poverty and slums, Indian cities are grappling the challenges of making the cities sustainable i.e. inclusive, productive, efficient and manageable.

Table 1.8: Percentage of poor in different size classes of cities/ towns in India

Categories	1993-94	1999-2000
Large towns/ cities	18.4	14.2
Medium towns/ cities	27.6	20.4
Small towns	33.2	24.2
All urban areas	27.4	19.9
Rural areas	35.7	23.9

Eradication of poverty from urban areas was a major challenge before the government. Thus urban poor constitute nearly 20 percent of urban population. Thus unplanned urbanization has escalated the size of urban poverty.

Table 1.9: State specific poverty lines 2004-2005 (Urban Areas) in India

State	Per Capita Monthly Income
Andhra Pradesh	542.89
Assam	378.64
Bihar	435.00
Chhattisgarh	560.00
Delhi	612.91
Goa	665.90
Gujarat	541.16
Haryana	504.49
Himachal Pradesh	504.49
Jammu & Kashmir	553.77
Jharkhand	451.24
Karnataka	599.39
Madhya Pradesh	570.15
Maharashtra	665.90
Orissa	528.49
Punjab	466.16
Rajasthan	559.63
Uttar Pradesh	483.26
Uttarakhand	637.67
West Bengal	449.32
Dadar & Nagar Haveli	665.90
All India	538.60

Source: Centre for Good Governance, Hyderabad, 2007

1.4.8 Urbanization and Unemployment

Generating employment for the increasing number of urban population is a challenge for the government. It is said that nearly 45 percent of the urban households are engaged in unorganized sector. The urban underemployment and casual employment is another problem which has resulted in poor quality of living among the urban poor. The ILO has remarked that most urban unemployment in developing countries takes the form of underemployment, in which people are obliged to undertake any available economic activity, however, productive and unproductive, because there are no social-safety nets and no alternatives in the form of unemployment insurance or job training in the formal sector. In sub-Saharan Africa, the urban informal sector is estimated to employ more than 60 percent of the urban labour force at extremely low incomes. In Latin America and the Caribbean, 83 percent of all new jobs created between 1990-93 were in the informal sector, the bulk of these jobs are poorly remunerated, unsafe and of low productivity. The large majority of Latin America's urban poor work in the informal sector.

1.4.9 Urbanization and Transport Issues

Transport is one of the factors which influences the rate and pattern of urbanization in a globalized world. Urban transport planning requires road layout, traffic lights and vehicle passages. The number of vehicles plying in the cities is not in consonance with the capacity of city roads. Another aspect of transport problem is the provision of public transport and its poor interface with the private transport. One of the exponents of urban transport has proposed economic rationale for preferring small and less capital intensive vehicles over large metropolitan buses. Another problem of urban transport is the number of accidents and casualties because of rush driving. All these problems are associated with urban transport. In fact, most of governments do not have urban transport policy.

1.4.10 Urbanization and Urban Administration

Unbridled urbanization can pose surmountable challenges before the administration and municipal governance. Problems will arise as how to organize new administrative structure and manpower development, how to prevent uncontrolled expansion, how to organize transport and communication system, how to finance public services, prepare master plans etc. Prioritizing the needs amidst socio-political pressure is a challenge before the district administration. Besides civic problems, the urban administration has to tackle other problems which population brings forth such as people's resentments and disregarding rules and regulations, spoiling public and private property and showing utter disregard for the rights and feelings of fellow citizens. Other issues like illegal migration, trafficking, etc. can pose problems for urban administration.

In this section you studied about the causes of urbanization and various problems of urbanization, now answer the questions given in *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Write your answer in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit

1) Give an account of urban poverty.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

2) Unemployment is one of the burning problems of urbanization-Explain.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

1.5 SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) envisaged that sustainable development has now assumed a broader significance as a process of change in which the use of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development and institutional changes must all contribute to enhancing the quality of human life, today as well as tomorrow, within the carrying capacity of supporting economic systems. It broadly emphasises on the establishment of a condition of ecological and economic stability that is sustainable far into the future. The United Nations Environment Programme and its partners have been persuading the nations of the short and long-term benefits to be gained from the sound environmental management of natural resources. WCED declared that “all human being have the fundamental right to an environment adequate for their health and well-being. There has to be sustainable development which will be durable and beneficial to the present and future generation.”

Sustainable Urban Development must be the aim of all developing countries. The UNCHS (United Nations Conference on Human Settlement) defined sustainable city is a city “where achievements in social, economic and physical development are made to last”. A Sustainable city has lasting supply of the natural resources on which its development depends and a lasting security from environmental hazards which may threaten development achievements.

Sustainable urban development is important because urban areas now a day contribute significantly to the Gross Domestic Product. They contribute increasingly to export and is a rich place for capital formation. Cities offer quality education and health care; arts and science; technology and innovation and transport and communication.

Some of the pre-requisites of sustainable urban development are :

- i) Income and output to be produced at a constant or even increasing return to scale.
- ii) City should assure minimum level of living to its inhabitants.
- iii) A shift in the attitude of the people in the direction towards enterprise and equity.
- iv) City should become self reliant and sustain itself without much depending on external sources.
- v) The developmental institutions undergo a continual renewal to maintain their relevance to the needs of the urban areas.
- vi) Participation of private sector, NGOs and CVOs should be encouraged in order to maintain the level of development.
- vii) Management of Urban growth to promote minimal use of environmental capital, while meeting social and economic goals.

The Agenda 21 of WCED held in 1992 in Rio-de-Janerio for promoting Sustainable Human Settlement Development is:

- a) Providing adequate shelter to all
- b) Improving human settlements management
- c) Promoting Sustainable land use planning and management.
- d) Promoting the integrated provision of environmental infrastructure: water, sanitation, drainage, hazardous and solid waste management.
- e) Promoting sustainable energy and transport systems in human settlements.
- f) Promoting human settlement planning and management in disaster prone-areas.
- g) Promoting sustainable construction industry activities.
- h) Promoting human resources development and capacity building for human settlement development

To summarise, the aim of sustainable urban development is to ensure a sustainable city to the urban dwellers for improving the well being and quality of life.

1.6 LET US SUM UP

Many cities in the world are experiencing growth in urban population. The globalization and migration of population from the rural to urban areas has hastened the process of urbanization in India. In India, the metropolitan cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai and Kolkata are experiencing pressure of urban population growth. The growth of urban population has given rise to sundry of urban problems such as unemployment, housing, sanitation, safe drinking water, etc. In this unit you studied about the meaning, features and problems of urbanization.

1.7 REFERENCES AND SELECTED READINGS

Bhatnagar, K.K and K.K. Gadeock (e.d), (2007), *Urban Development and Administration*, Aalekh Publishers, Jaipur.

ILO, “Unemployment threatens World Cities, Jobs are needed to Check Growth in Urban Poverty”, <http://.oit.org/global/about-the-ilo>.

Mishra, G.K, G.C. Mathur , LNP Mohanty and A.Sarada (1997), *Sustainable Urban Development*, Uppal Publishing House.

Misra, R.P,(1998), “*Urban in India Challenges and Opportunities*”, ICSSR-North Eastern Regional Centre, Shilling.

Siddharta, K and S.Mukherjee (1996), “*Cities, Urbanization and Urban Systems and Urban Systems, Tran world Media and Communication*”, New Delhi

Trivedi, J.K.Sareen, H and Dyani, M (2008), “Rapid Urbanization- Its impact on Mental health: A South Asian Prospective”, *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*, vol.50 (3), July-September.

WHO, Bulletin of the World Health Organization, vol.88, 2010 number 4,
<http://www.who.int/bulletin/volumes/88/4/10>.

1.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) What do you mean by urbanization?

Urbanization is a process by which a people, instead of living in predominantly dispersed agricultural villages, start living in towns and cities dominated by industrial and service functionaries. It involves multiplication of urban places and/ or an increase in size of cities. Growth of urban population is only one of dimensions of urbanization

- 2) Explain key features of urbanization.

Some of the key features of are:

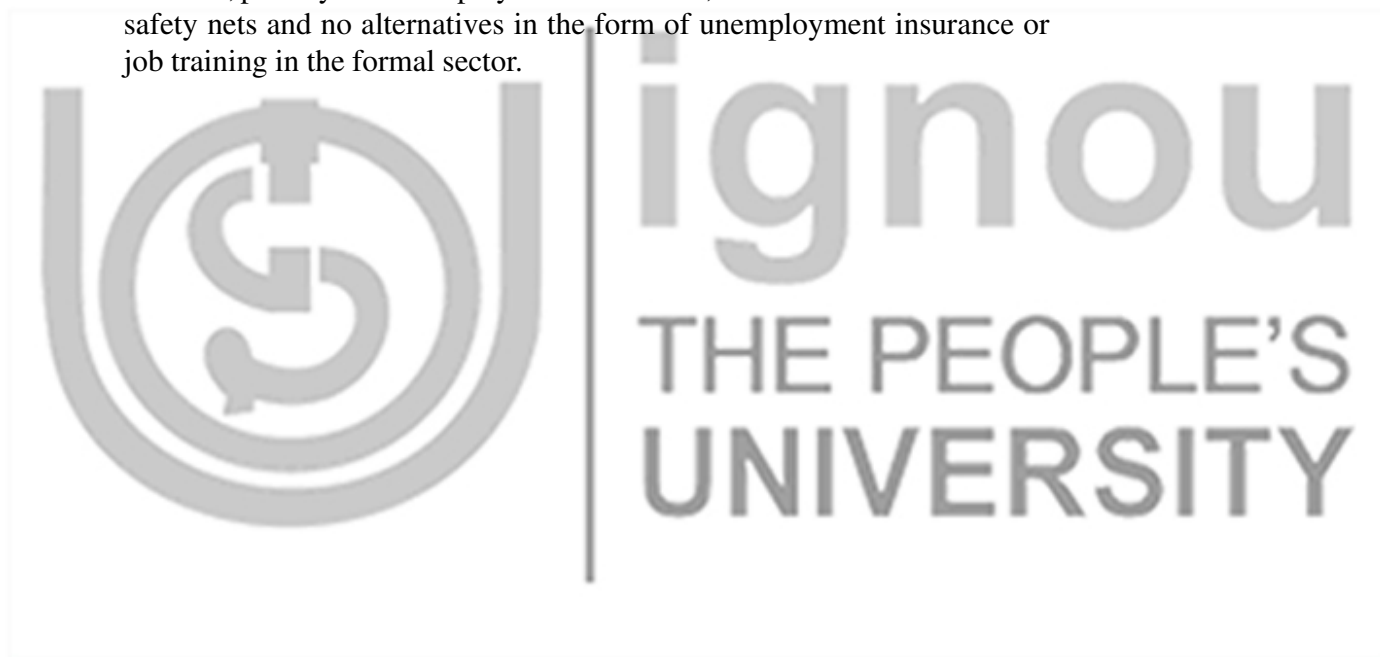
- i) Urbanization in the developed countries is higher as compared to the developing countries.
- ii) The urbanization in the African region is found to be slightly higher than the Asian region.
- iii) In India, there is lopsided urbanization and the growth of population in class-I cities having more than one lakh population is higher as compared to other cities.
- iv) Urbanization takes place without much industrialization and strong economic base.

- 1) Give an account of urban poverty.

According to ILO, one third of the world's urban population approximately 400 million people were living in poverty. It has also noted that poverty-related problems such as overcrowding, hunger, disease, crime and malnutrition are increasingly prevalent in cities of many countries both developing as well as developed. Economic development and urbanization are closely correlated. For example in India, cities contribute 55 per cent to country's GDP. This urban poverty is a responsible factor for several problems in urban areas such as housing and shelter, water, sanitation, health education, social security and live hood.

- 2) Unemployment is one of the burning problems of urbanization-Explain.

Generating employment for the increasing number of urban population is a challenge for the government. It is said that nearly 45 per cent of the urban households are engaged in unorganized sector. The urban underemployment and casual employment is another problem which has resulted in poor quality of living among the urban poor. The ILO has remarked that most urban unemployment in developing countries takes the form of underemployment in which people are obliged to undertake any available economic activity, however, poverty and unemployment are critical, because these are no social-safety nets and no alternatives in the form of unemployment insurance or job training in the formal sector.



UNIT 2 THEORIES OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Theories of Urban Development
- 2.3 The New Urbanism
- 2.4 The Just City
- 2.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 2.6 References and Selected Readings
- 2.7 Check Your Progress-Possible Answers

2.1 INTRODUCTION

A theory in literary definition is a more or less verified or established explanation, accounting for known facts or phenomena. It is generally understood to refer to a proposed explanation of empirical phenomena, made in a way consistent with scientific methods.

Many scholars in several ways have also defined theory i.e.:

- ❖ *Theory is something to do, not simply to read (Calhoun et al.2007 cited in Jean Hiller, 2010)*
- ❖ *Theory is an explanatory supposition, which can be defined broadly or narrowly (McConnell, 1981)*
- ❖ *The key element of theory is that it abstracts a few characteristics of reality in an attempt to isolate and describe its central features (Simon, 1985)*

Theories can be categorized as under depending on their characteristics:

Type of theory	Characteristics
Normative	Concerns how the world ought to be
Prescriptive	Concerned with best means of achieving a desired condition
Empirical	Concerned with explaining reality
Models	Representation or stylized and simplified pictures of reality
Conceptual frameworks or perspectives	Ways of looking at or conceiving an object of study
Theorizing	Thinking about some aspect of a phenomenon

Source: *Theories of Urban Politics, David Judge, Gerry Stoker and Harold Wolman (Eds.) (1995)*

The theories pertaining to planning and development of urban areas has a history of common debates about ideas and practices and is rooted in a critical concern for the ‘improvement’ of human and environmental well-being, particularly as

pursued through interventions which seek to shape environmental conditions and place qualities.

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- explain the theories of development
- discuss new urbanism
- describe the just city

2.2 THEORIES OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The theories of urban development have evolved over time, with the classical theories having been followed by the postmodern thoughts.

2.2.1 Classical Theories

The classical theories of urban development include Von Thunen Model, Concentric Zone Theory, Wedge or Radial Sector Theory and Multiple-Nuclei Theory.

i) The Von Thunen Model

Based on a series of simplifying assumptions, Von Thunen described a model that account for a spatial distribution of sites across a theoretical geographical area that would have varying rent generating capacities dependent upon transportation costs and distance from a central site. Von Thunen's model was highly generalized and was based on a series of simplifying assumptions (Krugman, 1996):

- 1) The space in which the model was framed was assumed to be an infinite or boundless, flat, and featureless plane, over which climatic conditions and natural resources were uniformly distributed.
- 2) The central attracting area was assumed to be a central market.
- 3) Transportation to this central market was assumed to be by horse and cart.
- 4) An allowance for the production and sale of different goods was made, but these goods were regarded as differing in bulk, therefore, having varying costs of transportation from point of production to the central market.
- 5) For each of these products, transport costs were assumed to vary with distance from the point of production to the point of sale at the central market.
- 6) The profits to be gleaned from the cultivation of one hectare of land were assumed to be the same for each product.

Based on these assumptions, and operating over the hypothetical space that Von Thunen proposed, he argued that agricultural land uses would segregate into a spatially hierarchic structure akin to that demonstrated in Figure 2.1.

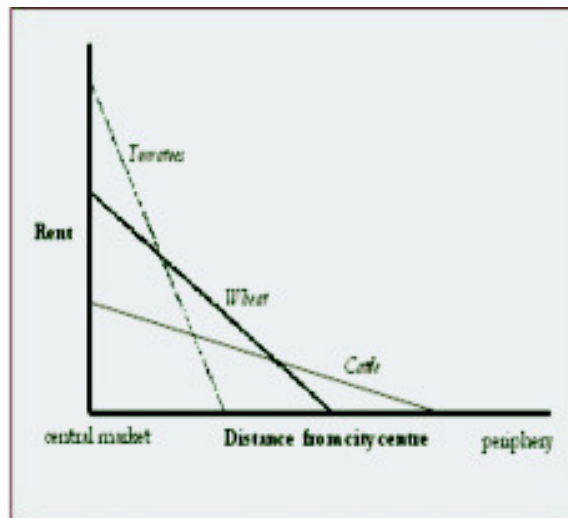


Fig. 2.1. The spatial organization of agricultural land uses proposed by the von Thunen model.

ii) Concentric Zone Theory

EW Burgess developed the concentric zone theory of urban land use in the mid-1920s based on an examination of the historical development of Chicago through the 1890s. It contrasts from the Von Thunen's approach in being *descriptive* rather than *analytical* (Harvey, 1996). The concentric zone theory of urban land use is based on the assumption that a city grows by expanding outwards from a central area, radially, in concentric rings of development.

Burgess classified the city into five broad zones as shown in Figure 2. These five broad zones are:

- 1) **The Central Business District (CBD):** the focus for urban activity and the confluence of the city's transportation infrastructure.
- 2) **The Zone of Transition:** generally a manufacturing district with some residential dwellings.
- 3) **The Zone of Factories and Working Men's Homes:** a predominantly working class population living in older houses and areas that were generally lacking in amenities characterized this zone.
- 4) **The Residential Zone:** this band comprised newer and more spacious housing for the middle classes.
- 5) **The Outer Commuter Zone:** this land use ring was dominated by better quality housing for upper class residents and boasted of an environment of higher amenity.

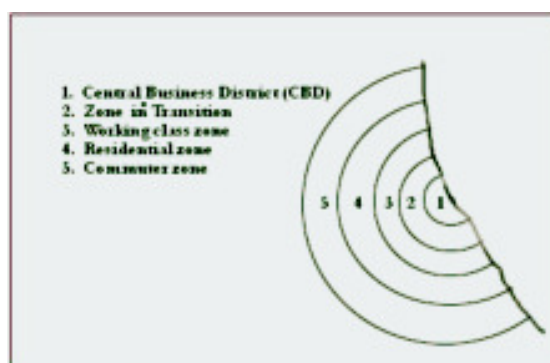


Fig. 2.2: The Burgess model of Chicago (after EW Burgess, 1925; Carter, 1981).

While useful in a descriptive sense for explaining the location of land uses in a mono-centric city, both the work of Burgess and Von Thunen has (by extrapolation to urban cases), has been criticized on the grounds that the models are too rigid to ever accurately represent actual land patterns (the mono-centric city assumption is perhaps the largest flaw). They have also been accused of overlooking the important influence of topography and transport systems on urban spatial structure and have been criticized for failing to accommodate the notion of special accessibility and ignoring the dynamic nature of the urban land use pattern (Harvey, 1996).

iii) **Wedge or Radial Sector Theory**

Development of the wedge or radial sector theory of urban land use is generally attributed to the work of Hoyt (1939). Hoyt's model concerns itself primarily with the location of residential uses across urban areas; it refers to business location only in an indirect fashion. The model seeks to explain the tendency for various socio-economic groups to segregate in terms of their residential location decisions. In appearance, Hoyt's model owes a great deal to Burgess's concentric zone model: Hoyt presents wedge-like sectors of dominant urban land use, within which he identifies concentric zones of differential rent. The model suggests that, over time, high quality housing tends to expand outward from an urban centre along the fastest travel routes. In this way, Hoyt transforms Burgess's concentric zones into radial or sectoral wedges of land use (Figure 2.3).

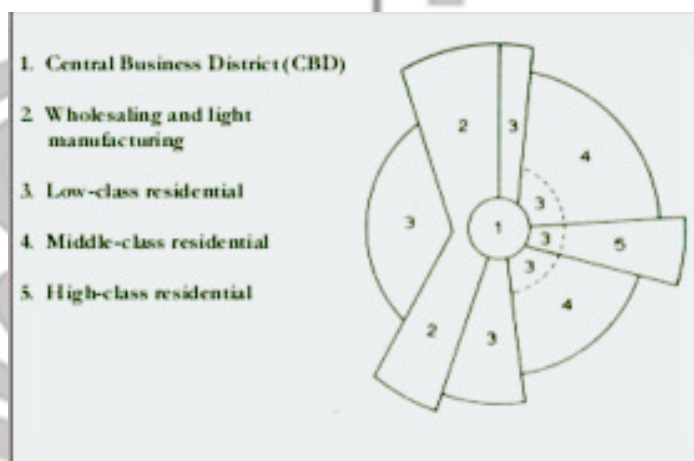


Fig. 2.3: Hoyt's sector model (after H. Hoyt, 1939; Carter, 1981).

The innovative element in Hoyt's model was in considering direction, as well as distance, as a factor in shaping the spatial distribution of urban activity. Hoyt's model also goes further than its predecessors in recognizing that the Central Business District is not the sole focus of urban activity (Kivell, 1993). One major criticism, however, is that the model overlooks the location of employment, which itself is the major determinant of residential location (Harvey, 1996).

iv) **Multiple-Nuclei Theory**

The work of Harris and Ullmann (1945) in developing a multiple-nuclei theory of urban land use is amongst the most innovative descriptive or analytical urban models. Their model is based on the premise that large cities have a spatial structure that is predominantly cellular. This, they explain, is

a consequence of cities' tendencies to develop as a multitude of nuclei that serve as the focal point for agglomerative tendencies. Harris and Ullmann proposed that around these cellular nuclei, dominant land uses and specialized centres may develop over time.

The novelty in multiple-nuclei theory lies in its acknowledgement of several factors that strongly influence the spatial distribution of urban activity, factors such as topography, historical influences, and spatial accessibility. The theory is also innovative in its recognition of the city as polycentric, as shown in Figure 2.4. In this sense, it moves closer to explaining why urban spatial patterns emerge.

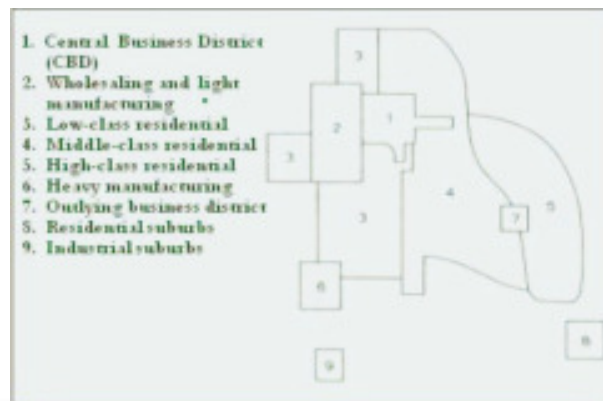


Fig. 2.4: Diagram illustrating Harris and Ullman's multiple nuclei model (after CD Harris and EL Ullman, 1945; Carter, 1981).

v) **Central Place Theory**

Central Place Theory is an attempt to explain the spatial arrangement, size, and number of settlements. A Central Place is a settlement, which provides one or more services for the population living around it. A German geographer Walter Christaller who studied the settlement patterns in southern Germany originally published the theory in 1933. In the flat landscape of southern Germany, Christaller noticed that towns of a certain size were roughly equidistant. By examining and defining the functions of the settlement structure and the size of the hinterland he found it possible to model the pattern of settlement locations using geometric shapes.

The theory consists of two basic concepts

- threshold — the minimum population that is required to bring about the provision of certain good or services and
- range of goods or services — the average maximum distance people will travel to purchase goods and services

From this he deduced that settlements would tend to form in a triangular or hexagonal lattice, this being the most efficient pattern to serve areas without any overlap. In the orderly arrangement of an urban hierarchy, Christaller, providing different groups of goods and services, has identified seven different principal orders of settlement. Settlements are regularly spaced - equidistant spacing between same order centers, with larger centers farther apart than smaller centers. Settlements have hexagonal market areas, and are most efficient in number and functions.

vi) **Weber's Theory of Location**

Alfred Weber, published the theory in 1909 which assumes that industrialists choose a least-cost location for the development of new industry. The theory is based on a number of assumptions, among them that: (i) markets are fixed at certain specific points, (ii) transport costs are proportional to the weight of the goods and the distance covered by a raw material or a finished product, and (iii) perfect competition exists. Weber postulated that raw materials and markets would exert a 'pull' on the location of an industry through transport costs. Industries with a high material index would be pulled towards the raw material. Industries with a low material index would be pulled towards the market. Industrial location may be swayed by agglomeration economies.

2.2.2 Modern Theoriesi) **Public Choice Theory**

Two theories emerged in the 1980s to explain the motivations and formulae pushing urban development and to comment on the conflicts and pressures facing modern American cities. These theories superseded the debate between the post-war theories of democratic pluralism and regime politics that had dominated the field for two decades. First and most significant of these new ideas was the "public choice theory" advanced by Paul Peterson in his 1981 book, "City Limits". Peterson states that urban politicians and governing regimes are subordinate to the overall economic principles that force cities to compete to capture new investment and capital. He writes that the competitive nature of cities encourages the business elite and politicians to favor new development projects, concluding that successful cities require a local infrastructure that is supportive of the needs of business and economic development.

In 1987 John Logan and Harvey Molotch published "Urban Fortunes" as the first substantial criticism of Peterson's ideas. "Urban Fortunes" describes the combination of entrepreneurs and urban politicians as a "growth machine" — a powerful, pro-development network of business interests and local politicians whom favor increased economic development at the expense of neighborhood residents and other vulnerable stakeholders. Logan and Molotch argue that the close relationship between City Hall and the business world creates the growth machine and fuels its ability to overpower weaker forces attempting to influence the development process. Logan and Molotch also identify the costs and externalities created by the growth machines drive for economic development that were absent from Peterson's theory. The free market and fiscal growth models emphasized in Peterson's theory are the guides for city officials and entrepreneurs intent on spurring economic development within their city. The "public choice theory" of urban development outlined in City Limits suggests that market values and motivations drive city officials to pursue economic revitalization with the goal of attracting more private investment. This economically-based theory is built upon the belief that cities should "seek to upgrade their economic standing" by competing against other cities to attract new businesses and jobs through economic development. Cities are successful when they entice new jobs and development projects inside their boundaries following the logic that what is good for business becomes good for the city. Framing

urban development in strictly economic terms, Peterson claims the decisions of the city are governed by rational principles designed to increase public utility.

2.2.3 Planning Theories

i) Traditional Planning Theories

Planning efforts in the field rarely make obvious reference to philosophical synthesis or organizational development theory, nor are much attention given to lessons of historical experience based on case studies of past planning efforts. Planning theory has long been at tension over its normative versus descriptive or predictive nature. Is planning theory philosophically oriented toward laying out the correct way to plan, in an ethical sense? Or is it scientifically oriented toward showing the likely implications of undertaking various planning behaviors? Both traditions have always existed, but movement seems to be away from philosophy and toward science. The notion of a contingency use of planning theories has accompanied this trend. In the 1970s, Hudson (1974) published a widely cited article likening the planning theory universe to an Indian sitar whose strings represent synoptic, incremental, transactive, advocacy, and radical planning. The practitioner plays the strings at appropriate times. (Christensen 1985; Alexander 1996).

The most important of these other traditions include incremental planning, transactive planning, advocacy planning, and radical planning. These by no means exhaust the range of contemporary planning traditions, but they cover enough ground to illustrate the major developments in planning theory and practice since roughly 1960, developments which have grown up in response to recognized deficiencies in the synoptic approach.

ii) Synoptic Planning

Predominant concern has generally centered on the tradition of rational comprehensive planning, also known as the synoptic tradition. The synoptic approach has dominated both American planning practice and the planning of development assistance programs overseas. The approach is well suited to the kind of mandate bestowed on government agencies: a set of constrained objectives, a budget, and accountability. There are, however, several other counterpoint schools of thought, most of which differ from the confines of the synoptic approach. Synoptic planning, or the rational comprehensive approach, is the dominant tradition, and the point of departure for most other planning approaches. Synoptic planning typically looks at problems from a systems viewpoint, using conceptual or mathematical models relating ends (objectives) to means (resources and constraints) with heavy reliance on numbers and quantitative analysis. Synoptic planning has roughly four classical elements:

- 1) Goal-setting,
- 2) Identification of policy alternatives,
- 3) Evaluation of means against ends, and
- 4) Implementation of policy.

The process is not always undertaken in this sequence, and each stage permits multiple iterations, feedback loops and elaboration of sub-processes. For

example, evaluation can consist of procedures such as benefit cost analysis, operations research, systems analysis, and forecasting research. Forecasting can be broken down into deterministic models (trend extrapolation, econometric modeling, curve-fitting through multiple regression analysis); or probabilistic models (Monte Carlo methods, Markov chains, simulation programs, Bayesian methods) or judgmental approaches (Delphi technique, scenario writing, cross-impact matrices).

iii) **Incremental Planning**

Incremental planning came up as a response to the synoptic planning approach that has been criticized for its bias toward central control-in the definition of problems and solutions, in the evaluation of alternatives, and in the implementation of decisions. The case for incremental planning derives from a series of criticisms leveled at synoptic rationality, its insensitivity to existing institutional performances capabilities; its reductionist epistemology; its failure to appreciate the cognitive limits of decision-makers, who cannot “optimize” but only “satisfies” choices by successive approximations.

Charles Lindblom is one of the advocates of the theory of ‘Incrementalism’ in policy and decision-making (also called ‘Gradualism’) in 1959. The approach is to take “baby-steps”, or “Muddling Through”, in decision-making processes. In it, policy change is, under most circumstances, evolutionary rather than revolutionary. He stresses that policy decisions are better understood, and better arrived at, in terms of the push and tug of established institutions that are adept at getting things done through decentralized bargaining processes best suited to a free market and a democratic political economy. Incremental planning adheres more closely to the economic logic of individuals pursuing their own self-interest. Incrementalists also take issue with the synoptic tradition of expressing social values (a priori goal-setting; artificial separation of ends from means; presumption of a general public interest rather than pluralist interests).

iv) **Advocacy Planning**

The most influential of the 1960s challenges to rational planning came from a Hunter College professor who had worked with poor communities in Philadelphia and New York and believed in their lack of representation in the planning process. Paul Davidoff’s (1965) article, “Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning,” resonated with the frustration of many planners in their inability to meaningfully address the social and economic issues tearing at the fabric of American cities. Davidoff called for the distribution of planning services into low-income, minority neighborhoods through a cadre of advocate planners who would be physically located in neighborhoods and would represent the interests of neighborhood residents in city-level planning processes. Based on analogy with the legal advocacy system, Davidoff thought that many neighborhoods would arrange their own advocates. If these were not forthcoming, it was the duty of the city government to appoint advocates to represent the neighborhood. Debates among the various advocate planners would take place “in the coin of the public interest”- so that the prevailing positions would be those showing themselves as the most closely aligned with the broader needs of the city. The advocacy planning movement grew up in the sixties rooted in adversary procedures modeled upon the legal

profession, and usually applied to defending the interests of weak against strong-community groups, environmental causes, the poor, and the disenfranchised against the established powers of business and government. (Alinsky 1971; Heskin 1977.) Advocacy planning has proven successful as a means of blocking insensitive plans and challenging traditional views of a unitary public interest. In theory, advocacy calls for development of plural plans rather than a unit plan (Davidoff 1965). The advocacy planning movement liberated planners from positions labeled as comprehensive or public interest defined. It quickly spread well beyond the inner city. The use of publicly supported advocates spread even beyond the realm of planning and they became common in the service of environmental groups, trade associations, and even corporations. In practice, however, advocacy planning has been criticized for posing stumbling blocks without being able to mobilize equally effective support for constructive alternatives (Peattie 1968). One effect of the advocacy movement has been to shift formulation of social policy from backroom negotiations out into the open. Particularly in working through the courts, it has injected a stronger dose of normative principles into planning, and greater sensitivity to unintended side effects of decisions. A residue of this can be seen in the increasing requirements for environmental, social, and financial impact reports to accompany large-scale project proposals, whether originating in the private or public sector. Another result has been the stronger linkage between social scientists and judiciary processes in policy decisions. Advocacy planning has both reflected and contributed to a general trend in planning away from neutral objectivity in definition of social problems, in favor of applying more explicit principles of social justice. Much of the previous assumptions of city planners became the subject of conscious discussion and debate. Reflections from the advocate planners showed their work to be enormously difficult and conflicted. Critics pointed out tendencies of advocate planners to be demographically quite different from the residents they served. Advocacy planning seemed to raise expectations that could not be met in those communities. Ultimately, Davidoff was moved by the argument that you have to be from a community to effectively advocate in its behalf. He relocated to the suburbs where his organization, Suburban Action Institute, became influential in promoting federal fair share housing requirements (Needleman and Needleman 1974; Mazziotti 1974; Davidoff, Davidoff and Gold 1974).

By the early 1970s, it was normal to distinguish procedural planning theory focusing on planning process from substantive planning theory focusing on the growth and development of cities. Andreas Faludi, the Dutch planning theorist labeled these two subjects, theory-of-planning and theory-in-planning (Faludi 1973). The distinction was and remains controversial, with many scholars and practitioners arguing that one cannot study process without an understanding of substance, and vice versa. One aspect of the controversy is the tendency of the procedural emphasis to separate planning theory from design approaches to planning which are so rooted in the physical aspects of cities (Hightower 1969; Fischler 1995). Following the first experiences with advocacy planning, planning theorists began diverging in many directions. The rational planning model gradually lost ground. Indeed, in the late 1970s, it was common to talk about a “crisis in planning theory” resulting from the loss of a center to the field (Goldstein and Rosenberry 1978; Clavel, Forester and Goldsmith 1980).

v) **Radical Planning**

The criticisms of advocacy led to a wave of radical approaches to planning for the underprivileged. Stephen Grabow and Alan Heskin's (1973) wrote in the "Foundations for a Radical Concept of Planning," on the inabilities of the current planning framework to respond to the needs of the poor. They called for a systemic change including decentralization, ecological attentiveness, spontaneity, and experimentation. Yet, it spawned the progressive planning movement seeking out incremental changes that over time would result in structural changes promoting equality, participation, and legitimacy. Progressive planners promoted public ownership of land and job generating industries, worker-managed enterprises, tax reform, community organizations, and leveraging of public resources through partnerships with private organizations that would agree to serve public purposes. Notable examples include Berkeley, California; Hartford, Connecticut; and Burlington, Vermont. Some progressives worked outside the mainstream government doing opposition planning or organizing community self-help initiatives (Krumholz and Clavel 1994; Friedmann 1987).

vi) **Urban Regime Theory**

Urban regime theory came to prominence with the publication of Clarence Stone's study of Atlanta in 1989, although earlier work by Fainstein and Fainstein (1983) and Elkin (1987) has also been influential. The urban regime theory holds that in certain places, community leadership has a certain framework, or regime, for examining issues. Individuals or interest groups that argue from outside that regime will find it very difficult or even impossible to win decisions. This results in an effective disenfranchisement of the outsiders. Implications for planners are both descriptive and normative: power lies in speaking the language of the dominant regime(s). If planners want to influence decisions, they will have to make arguments in a manner that the dominant regime(s) will understand and be responsive to (Lauria 1997).

vii) **Transactive Planning**

During the development of the radical critique, other planning theorists were reconsidering the overtly political directions of planning theory. A series of new directions emerged; focusing on planners' facilitative roles in shaping decisions emerged. Often referred to as social learning theories, these contributions emphasized planners' roles in bringing stakeholders together, gathering and sharing information, and helping social structures to learn from their experiences. John Friedmann's transactive planning emphasized that citizens and civic leaders, not planners, had to be at the core of planning if plans were to be implemented. Others defined a social experimentation process using elements of incrementalism. Chris Argyris and Donald Schon began to articulate a theory of action in which the planner, acting as catalyst strives to create a self-correcting decision structure capable of learning from its own errors (Argyris and Schon 1974; Friedmann 1987).

The transactive planning approach focuses on the intact experience of people's lives revealing policy issues to be addressed. Planning is not carried out with respect to an anonymous target community of beneficiaries, but in face-to-face contact with the people affected by decisions. Planning consists less of field

surveys and data analyses, and more of interpersonal dialogue marked by a process of mutual learning transactive planning also refers to the evolution of decentralized planning institutions that help people take increasing control over the social processes that govern their welfare. Planning is not seen as an operation separated from other forms of social action, but rather as a process embedded in continual evolution of ideas validated through action (Friedmann 1973). In contrast to incremental planning, more emphasis is given to processes of personal and organizational development, and not just the achievement of specific functional objectives. Plans are evaluated not merely in terms of what they do for people through delivery of goods and services, but in terms of the plans' effect on people, on their dignity and sense of effectiveness, their values and behavior, their capacity for growth through cooperation, their spirit of generosity.

2.2.4 The Post-Modern Challenge and Response

The postmodern philosophy emerged in the 1980s and early 1990s in the United States. It evolved in an environment of increasing pressures on poor communities, heightened awareness of ethnic, racial and gender differences in the society, with multiculturalism becoming a leading political force and illegal immigration, welfare programs, and affirmative action taking center stage. Ethnic wars in Africa, Asia, and Europe only reinforced the sense that differences among sub-groups within a country matter much more than collective interest. In this environment, planners were receptive to the introduction of post-modern philosophy. This stance highlighted diversity in points of view about social and political issues, rejected notions of human progress and saw domination of one group by another at every turn. Despite the French post-modern philosophers' high pessimism about the prospects for positive social change, planning theorists who have drawn upon them actively look for the solutions to this pessimism. They call for acknowledging and respecting diversity and difference, recognizing the varying forms of evidence persuasive among different populations, as well as meaningfully involving communities early in planning processes and sharing both power and theorizing activities with those they plan for. Still, the postmodern challenge is considerable and planning theorists are not at all clear about meeting them (Harper and Stein 1995; Mandelbaum 1996; Sandercock 1998).

Theories of social capital are a recent development to capture the imaginations of planning theorists as a response to the multicultural challenge. They have not yet been applied to planning settings in a full way. They emphasize the complexity and effectiveness of social networks and community leadership in moving a community toward an operable response to new challenges (Briggs 1997; Putnam 1995). Feminist planning theory, comfortable operating within the post-modern critique, calls planners to task for valuing economic production while undervaluing or ignoring familial and community re-production, as well as ignoring the different ways men and women use space. The feminist theorists argue that economic efficiency measures universally used in planning analyses attach zero value to home child care, or to volunteer work in community organizations, among others. They also cite transportation models as oriented around the journey-to-work. Women, in particular, tend to make more trips other than the conventional journeys from home to workplace (Moore Milroy 1991; Ritzdorf 1995).

While mainstream-planning theory has increasingly focused on the procedural side of planning, external developments on the substantive side are increasingly pushing the profession in new directions and demanding responses. The self-proclaimed new urbanism of Peter Calthorpe (1993) and Andres Duany (Duany and Plater-Zyberk 1992) has captured the imagination of public officials and homebuyers. They are essentially physical design oriented proposals justified largely by claims about enhancing civic life and social capital, entering the procedural realm. The sustainability movement, which has grown to enormous international proportions since the 1987 Brundtland Commission Report (Krizek and Power 1996) appears to focus on resource renewability and preservation, with as much concern for the relationship of rich to poor. The movement proposes new decision criteria and models based on global cooperation and advancement of equity. Finally, recent explorations into environmental justice issues have potential to lead to a new understanding of the nature of social divisions in both rich and poor countries (Petrikin 1995). Procedural planning theory must respond to these ideas but has not yet done so.

Till now you have read about the theories of urban development. Now, answer the following questions given in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Write your answer in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit

1) What are the classical theories of development? Explain any one

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

2) What do you understand by Planning Theories? Explain briefly

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

2.3 THE NEW URBANISM

“The New Urbanism” refers to a design-oriented approach to planned urban development. Developed primarily by architects and journalists, it is perhaps more ideology than theory, and is supported by academics and also planning practitioners. New urbanites have received considerable attention in the United

States and, to a lesser extent, in Great Britain. Their orientation resembles that of the early planning theorists—Ebenezer Howard, Frederic Law Olmsted and Patrick Geddes—in their aim of using spatial relations to create a close-knit social community that allows diverse elements to interact. The approach is characterized by an easy elision of physical form with social conditions; an urban design that includes a variety of building types, mixed uses, intermingling of housing for different income groups, and a strong privileging of the “public realm”. The basic unit of planning is the neighborhood, which is limited in physical size, has a well-defined edge, and a focused center: “The daily needs of life are accessible within the five minute-walk” (Kunstler 1996). The new urbanism stresses the substance of plans rather than the method of achieving them. In practice, it has stimulated the creation of a number of new towns and neighborhoods, of which Seaside, in Florida, is the best known. The New Urbanism is vulnerable to the accusation that its proponents oversell their product, promoting an unrealistic environmental determinism that has threaded its way throughout the history of physical planning. David Harvey (1997) praises certain aspects of the New Urbanism, its emphasis on public space, its consideration of the relationship between work and living, and its stance toward environmental quality.

For planning theory, the most interesting aspect of the new urbanism is that its assurance of a better quality of life has inspired a social movement. Its utopianism contrasts with communicative planning, which offers only a better process. The movement, however, does not recognize that the fundamental difficulty with modernism was its persistent habit of privileging spatial forms over social processes (Harvey 1997). The movement is less convincing in its approach to social injustice. Harvey fears that the new urbanism can commit the same errors as modernism--of assuming that changing people’s physical environment will somehow take care of the social inequalities that warped their lives. To be sure, with its emphasis on community, it is unlikely to commit the principal sin of modernist redevelopment programs, destroying communities in order to put people in the orderly environments that were thought to enhance living conditions. The real problem replicates the one that defeated Ebenezer Howard’s radical principles in the construction of garden cities. In order to achieve investor backing for his schemes, Howard was forced to trade away his aims of a socialist commonwealth and a city that accommodated all levels of society (Fishman, 1977). The new urbanists must also rely on private developers to build and finance their visions; consequently they are producing only slightly less exclusive suburbs than the ones they dislike. Although, their creations will contain greater physical diversity than their predecessors, their social composition will not differ markedly.

2.4 THE JUST CITY

Engels (1935) laid out a role for intellectual understanding in bringing about a desirable transformation, as well as a picture of the future that only avoided the label of utopianism through an assertion of historic inevitability, the claim that once the working class seized power, it inevitably would create a just society. Depicting a picture of a just city puts the planning theorist in the role of advocate, not necessarily the advocate for a particular group, as in Davidoff’s concept of advocacy planning but as the advocate of a program. Just City theorists fall into two categories: radical democrats and political economists. The former differ

from communicative planning theorists in that they have a more radical concept of participation that goes beyond the involvement of stakeholders to governance by civil society, and they accept a conflictual view of society. They believe that progressive social change results only from the exercise of power by those who previously had been excluded from power. Participation is the vehicle through which that power asserts itself. Whereas the communicative planning theorists primarily speak to planners employed by government, calling upon them to mediate among diverse interests, Just City theorists do not assume the neutrality or benevolence of government (Marcuse 1986). For them the purpose of their vision is to mobilize a public rather than to prescribe a methodology to those in office. A theory of the just city values both participation in decision-making by relatively powerless groups and equity of outcomes (Sandercock, 1998). The key questions asked of any policy by political economists have been who dominates and who benefits? The “who” has typically been defined by economic interest, but economic reductionism is not necessary to this mode of analysis; evaluation of outcomes can also be performed with regard to groups defined by gender, race, and sexual orientation. Nor does the stress on material equality need to boil down to an expectation that redistribution should proceed to a point where there is no reward to achievement.

A persuasive vision of the Just City needs to incorporate an entrepreneurial state that not only provides welfare but also generates increased wealth; moreover, it needs to project a future embodying a middle-class society rather than only empowering the poor and disfranchised. Recent work on industrial districts, social markets, local economic development, and national growth rates has pointed in a direction more sympathetic to middle-class aspirations (Storper 1997, Sayer and Walker 1991, Fainstein and Markusen, 1993, Bluestone and Harrison, 1997). Still, a great deal more attention needs to be paid to identifying a formula for growth with equity (Sanyal, 1998). And such an approach has to take into account the perseverance of a capitalist world economy and the evident success, at least for the moment, of a liberalized US economy.

Participation in public decision-making is part of the ideal of the Just City, both because it is a worthy goal in itself and because benevolent authoritarianism is unlikely. At the same time, democracy presents a set of thorny problems that have never been theoretically resolved and can only be addressed within specific situations. The almost exclusive preoccupation with participation that has come to characterize much of left thought since the demise of socialism in the Soviet bloc evades the problems that have vexed democratic theory throughout its history. Within a formulation of the Just City, democracy is not simply a procedural norm but rather has a substantive content (see Pitkin 1967). Given the existing system of social domination, it cannot be assumed that participation by stakeholders would be transformative in a way that would improve most people’s situation. Consequently, deliberations within civil society are not ipso facto morally superior to decisions taken by the state. Rather, “it is the double-edged nature of the state, its ability to effect both regressive and progressive social change that must be stressed” (Yiftachel, 1998).

Till now you have read about new urbanism and the just city. Now, answer the following questions given in *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Write your answer in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit

1) What do you mean by New Urbanism?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

2) Explain the concept of Just City.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

2.5 LET US SUM UP

The principal question of planning theory is the analysis of the possibility for attaining a better quality of human life within the context of a global capitalist political economy. One way to approach this question is to frame a model of the good city and then to inquire how it is achievable. The model can be an abstract utopia—the cohesive city of the new urbanists’ dreams or be derived from the identification of places, which seem to provide an exceptionally good quality of life (thus conforming to Hoch’s description of pragmatic inquiry described above).

The types of theory pertaining to planning and development described above embrace a social reformist outlook and various perspectives for the growth and development of the city. They represent a move from the purely critical perspective that characterized much theory in the seventies and eighties to one that once again offers a promise of a better life. Whereas reaction to technocracy and positivism shaped planning theory of that period, more recent planning thought has responded to the challenge of post-modernism. Communicative planning theory has evaded the issue of universalism by developing a general procedural ethic without substantive content. The new urbanists claim that their design prescriptions incorporate diversity and provide people what they really want rather than what archaic zoning laws and greedy developers impose on them. Just City Theorists work from “the basic premise that any distributional conception of social justice will inevitably be linked to the broader way of life in which people engage” (Smith 1997, p. 21). The argument is that while there may be no universal standards of good and bad, there are criteria for judging better and worse (Smith 1997; Fainstein 1997). For Just City theorists, it concerns the development of an urban vision that also involves material well-being but which

relies on a more pluralistic, cooperative, and decentralized form of welfare provision than the state-centered model of the bureaucratic welfare state. Like their nineteenth century predecessors, they are seeking to interpose the planning process between urban development and the market so as to produce a more democratic and just society. The communicative theorists have reasserted the moral concerns that underlay nineteenth century radicalism' the new urbanists have promoted a return to concern with physical form, and just city theorists have resurrected the spirit of utopia that inspired Ebenezer Howard and his fellow radicals.

2.6 REFERENCES AND SELECTED READINGS

Bhownik, K.L (1988), *Urban Development*, Inter –Indian Publication, New Delhi.

Downs, Anthony and Bradbury, Katharine, L. (edited) (1984), *Energy Costs, Urban Development and Housing*, Brookings Institution, Washington D.C.

Campbell, Scott and Fainstein, S.Susan, (1996), *Readings in Planning Theory*, Blackwell Publishing, London.

Ghosh, Pradip, K., (1984), *Urban Development in the Third World*, Greenwood Press, Westport.

Kantor, Paul, and David , Stephen ,(1988), '*The Dependent City, the Changing Political Economy of Urban America*', Scott, Foresman and Company, Glenview

Singh, Kamaldeo Narain (1998), *Urban Development in India*, Abhinav Publication, New Delhi.

2.7 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) What are the classical theories of development? Explain any one

The classical theories of urban development include Von Thunen Model, Concentric Zone Theory, Wedge or Radial Sector Theory, Central Place Theory and Multiple-Nuclei Theory.

Central Place Theory is an attempt to explain the spatial arrangement, size, and number of settlements. A Central Place is a settlement, which provides one or more services for the population living around it.

- 2) What are Planning Theories? Explain briefly

Planning Theories include incremental planning, transactive planning, advocacy planning, synoptic planning and radical planning. Synoptic planning typically looks at problems from a systems viewpoint, using conceptual or mathematical models relating ends (objectives) to means (resources and constraints) with heavy reliance on numbers and quantitative analysis.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) What do you mean by New Urbanism?

“The new urbanism” refers to a design-oriented approach to planned urban development. The approach is characterized by an easy elision of physical form with social conditions; an urban design that includes a variety of building types, mixed uses, intermingling of housing for different income groups, and a strong privileging of the “public realm.” The basic unit of planning is the neighborhood, which is limited in physical size, has a well-defined edge, and a focused center. The daily needs of life are accessible within the five minute-walk.

- 2) Explain the concept of Just City.

Radical democrats have a concept of participation that goes beyond the involvement of stakeholders to governance by civil society, and they accept a conflictual view of society. They believe that progressive social change results only from the exercise of power by those who previously had been excluded from power. Participation is the vehicle through which that power asserts itself.



UNIT 3 EVOLUTION OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT: GLOBAL OVERVIEW

Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Urbanization in the North
- 3.3 Urbanization in the South
- 3.4 Current Scenario of Urban Development in the World
- 3.5 Globalisation and Cities
- 3.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 3.7 References and Selected readings
- 3.8 Check Your Progress- Possible Answers

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This unit will introduce you to how urbanization developed in the European and American countries (Northern Hemisphere) and how it developed in the global South (less developed countries who largely fall in the Southern Hemisphere). The patterns of urbanization in these two parts of the globe are extremely distinct, producing distinct realities, as reflected in the nature of the cities and the problems faced. We therefore try to understand these historical differences in the paths to urbanization. This unit will also acquaint you with the current scenario of urbanization in the world and how globalization creates links between different cities of the world. All of these factors together create distinct challenges for policy makers and planners. An appreciation of this history and current status is necessary for developing a perspective on realities of Indian urbanization which will be discussed in the next unit.

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- describe the distinct historical paths of urbanization in the North and the South of the Globe;
- explain these distinct paths of urbanization to the current urban realities in cities in the global South; and
- discuss the current status of urbanization in the world and its implications for India.

3.2 URBANIZATION IN THE NORTH

In the more developed countries of the world, urbanization in the modern sense emerged during the sixteenth century. Three factors were crucial in this experience of urbanization:

- a) Renaissance, b) Development of Modernity and c) Industrialization.

Renaissance refers to a period around the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, where Europe in particular experienced the emergence of several new ideas. These

ideas spanned several fields- in arts such as sculpture, and painting, literature, architecture, and science. The distinctive feature of these new ideas was that they represented a movement away from traditional thinking which was derived from religion (the Church) and expressed aspirations for liberation and democracy. Renaissance paved the way for the revolutions in France, Italy which expressed these new ideas and even forged a contract for a new kind of State which derived from all the citizens and which was therefore, obligated to extend liberation and rights to all its citizens. This was a tremendous departure from earlier ideas of society where the State represented by religion and the kings was seen as the ultimate authority, never to be questioned. The renaissance thus, laid the foundation of the development of modern thinking, science and technology and new political and thinking in Europe.

Development of modernity was an evolution from the foundations of renaissance. Modernity involved an emphasis on rationality as against earlier explanations deriving from God, Magic or fate. It involves the seeking of scientific explanations. It also involves an emphasis on materialism i.e. seeking of opportunities for betterment within this life rather than deferring it to an afterlife. It gave an emphasis to the individual as the basis of society as opposed to earlier emphasis on communities. This meant that social relationships and family structures underwent a change. It also meant that new knowledge was generated. This was paralleled by the development of modern systems and institutions of education, health care, social welfare and most importantly institutions of governance. These institutions of governance were more democratic in nature, and sought to give opportunities for all its citizens. It is evident that renaissance and development of modernity were linked. These two factors unfolded themselves over a century to unleash a third, most directly related factor to urbanization in Europe i.e. industrialization.

The most important and immediate factor which led to urbanization was industrialization. New scientific inventions fueled the way for more organized production in factories. The factory was a centralized unit of mass production of goods; this was different from earlier local and low scale sites of production that involved specific work skills. Now the machines helped to produce at a large scale. Production in factories required labour and this paved the way for people from the countryside to come to these factory sites for work. As industrial revolution increased in its pace, urbanization emerged as a counterpart. Cities were thus sites of production, of mass settlement. They were important territories for administration and necessitated new ways to think about how to provide for these mass collectivities- in terms of housing, services, recreation, and government etc. The basis for this had been laid down by the renaissance and the development of modernity. Urbanization in the North was thus an organic process as it emerged as a natural progression of economic, social, technological fields in society. The pace of these developments was gradual. It was accompanied by the formation of institutions that also followed this path.

The development of factories and cities was accompanied by a thirst for more raw materials and for food for the burgeoning work force in cities. Colonization played an important role in fulfilling these needs. Colonization began as an exploration of new territories for trade and rapidly progressed from mercantile to imperial objectives. Different European nations thus established themselves in colonies in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. These colonies fulfilled different

needs. Colonies like South Africa, Australia provided food while others such as India, Malaysia provided raw materials. They also paved the way for new commodities like rubber which further gave rise to new industries. Colonies of the European countries in the other continents thus proved to be shock absorbers for tiding over issues that accompanied urbanization such as food and raw materials.

Cities in Europe and the global North represented an evolution of society to a distinct stage of development where all these developments found full expression. Urbanization in the global North was a process that was linked to the accumulation of wealth and the emergence of this part of the world as economic and political powers. Cities thus were the centers of prosperity and places of opportunity.

Thus the critical features of urbanization in the North were:

- It was an organic and gradual process of evolution of society which happened over nearly hundred years or so.
- It was accompanied by the development of modern thinking and the development of new institutions of governance.
- The presence of colonies helped to reduce or offset some of the problems in urbanization such as large scale needs of food and raw materials.

3.2.1 An Illustration of Urbanization in the North: Tracing the Development of London

The City of London is a small area within Greater London, England. It is the historic core of London around which the modern conurbation grew and has held city status since time immemorial. London traces its history to the beginnings of the 2nd century. The city has witnessed several surges and declines appropriate to its status as a historical city. The most critical period for the development of modern London was the sixteenth and the seventeenth century. During this period, London's population grew tenfold, but that increase was more than matched by an expansion in the range of skills practiced by its inhabitants, in both manufacturing and services. This was the period during which the traditional pattern of built form, in which shop, counting-house, warehouse, and residence were intermixed was replaced by one in which new types of large-scale building, including exchanges and office blocks, were dominant. The city centre ceased to be a place where people dwelled. This was also accompanied by family and household transformations. After the Great Fire of London in 1666, a number of plans were drawn up to remodel the City and its street pattern into a renaissance-style city with planned urban blocks, squares and boulevards. Simultaneously, the city was also learning to cope with its food, sanitation and health needs.

The 18th century was a period of rapid growth for London, reflecting an increasing national population, the early stirrings of the Industrial Revolution, and London's role at the centre of the evolving British Empire. The urban area expanded beyond the borders of the City of London, most notably during this period towards the West End and Westminster. During this period London emerged as the world centre for financial, insurance, and commodity markets. Throughout the 19th century, the City served as the world's primary business centre, and continues to be a major meeting point for businesses to this day.

The development of London as a modern city thus happened over a three centuries from the 16th to the 19th century. The city faced several crises during this period from fires to the Second World War which devastated London. The descriptions of Engels of some of the worker settlements in London in the nineteenth century are not very different from the slums in developing countries today. The tremendous prosperity generated through the process of industrialization and colonization, however acted as strong shock absorbers which helped the city to tide over these crises and emerge as a premier city in the world.

Reflection

What would have been the nature of urbanization in the North, if it was not accompanied by colonization?

To what extent is the current pattern of development and urban development, reflective of the pattern set by colonization ?

3.3 URBANIZATION IN THE SOUTH

3.3.1 Experience of Urbanization under Colonization

Many countries in the South, including India had their own settlement system developed over centuries of history, which also included cities. The degree of sophistication differed across countries. Thus countries like India and China had an elaborately developed settlement system while African countries, Latin America, Canada, and Australia were less populous and had sparse and distinct settlements. Some of the countries had traditional societies structured around subsistence agriculture and others had substantial urban settlements of varying degrees of economic and political complexity.

From the sixteenth century onwards, several of these countries experienced colonization by the countries in the North, for lesser or greater periods. The colonizers were distinct in their approach to colonization and settlement. Yet, the development of urbanization in several of these countries is marked by the influence of the colonial period, though not in a uniform way. The creation of cities that profoundly changed the traditional settlement trajectory was an important part of the colonial strategy. These new cities were distinct in their built form and performed very different functions as compared to their traditional form. Some cities were privileged and became part of the colonizers' regime of control. The colonizers also introduced distinct systems of planning, governance and service provision. All cities played different roles as part of the colonial regime.

Anthony King (1990) suggests the following lines of inquiry for understanding this urbanization led by colonization:

- The city's built environment, form and functions- How does this reflect the colonial past? For example, the colonial imprint is very clear in several parts of Bombay(now, Mumbai) island or in hill stations like Shimla
- The role of the city in its immediate geographical region – How did the development of the city impact the local production, transport system? Were new modes of transport created? How did it influence the settlement pattern of the region? Were labour movements affected and how?

- The role of the city in the colonial territory – Was the city conceived as an administrative territory? What was its role in exploitation of raw material, food, etc? How did it impact the traditional hierarchy of settlements? What role did it play in indigenous- colonial conflicts?
- The role of the city in the empire- Was it a defensive battalion like Singapore? Was it a gateway like Bombay (now, Mumbai)? Or was it a transport node like Eden?
- The role of the city in the world economic system – how did the city facilitate the expansion of industry or transfer of resources to another part of the world? How did this change over time?

These questions point us towards the fact that colonization had a deep reaching influence on cities in the Southern Hemisphere. This influence is directly seen in the built forms and buildings in cities but the more deeper influences have to do with the changes in the hierarchy of cities and settlement patterns, the introduction of systems that changed an entire way of life, the changes in connectivity and most importantly through the changes in the political economic systems of the colonized countries.

The introduction of urbanization through colonization has meant that urbanization in the countries in the South developed a few distinct patterns:

- Urbanization is not a result of organic processes produced through internal societal and technological changes but imposed by the colonizers on a society which was not prepared for it
- The imposition of form and function meant that cities reflect a segmented form – a colonial part and an indigenous part. The colonial part was orderly, planned while the indigenous parts were poor, overcrowded and unplanned.
- The cities are often characterized by economic systems that also have this divided character. Thus, there were segments of the city that benefited from the growth of industries while there were many who came to the city due to distress but did not find equal opportunities.
- The systems of urban governance also reflect a foreign character as they have not developed in synch with the local realities. They were oriented to serving the planned parts of the city and stressed much more on control than development.

3.3.2 An Illustration of a Colonial City: Tracing the Development of Metro Manila

The Philippines were claimed for Spain by Magellan in 1521 and by the 1570s, the role of Manila as the primary economic and political focus for this multiple-island state was firmly established. The subsequent colonial transfer to the United States in 1899 and to independence some 50 years later have only served to emphasize this pre-eminence, especially since the creation of the National Capital Region in the mid- 70s. At present Metro Manila has a population of almost thirteen million people, or more than one quarter of the country's urban population.

Metro Manila is a divided city. Its beaches, infrastructure, film center, hotels stand in sharp contrast to the dwellings on Smokey Mountain and other areas which house one-third of its urban population.

As rapid population growth continues, prospects for abundant employment and education opportunities become increasingly inaccessible. About 50% of the city residents are working in the informal sector, the proportion of in formalization has been growing in the last decade. Officially, only 5% of Manila's population is poor but according to recent year's findings, two thirds of poor households have a parent whose educational attainment level of only elementary grade. As most families have six or more family members, too often the eldest child is given the burden of foregoing school in order to take care of the house and take care of their siblings. Often times, they end up as secondary or even primary breadwinners

Activity:

You can exercise by the following activities in order to enhance your knowledge and understanding regarding urbanisation.

- Trace the history of a town or city known to you.
- When was the town created? By whom? For what purpose?
- Who were its dwellers?
- What was its economic base?
- What was its geographical size and features?
- What were the key features of the built form of the town?
- Then try to answer these questions as per the different historical milestones in the town.
- Finally answer all the above questions in relation to current status.
- Reflect on and analyze- Which forces and factors have shaped the urban development of this town or city? How?

3.3.3 Urbanization In The Post Colonial Era

The colonial influence on urbanization in the less developed countries has been perpetuated through the pattern of development in the post colonial era in several of the less developed countries. This has produced several distinctive features, which were earlier not observed in the urbanization experienced of more developed countries. Some of the important features are :

- In some of these countries, a phenomenon called urban primacy is observed. This means that one city dominates over all others in a settlement system in terms of population, economy, and socio- political dominance and geographical concentration. For example, 80% of the population of Thailand is rural. Out of the 20% urban population, 60% stays in a single city i.e. Bangkok. About two thirds of the migrants from the less developed north east parts of the country prefer to move 600-900 km to Bangkok than any other regional urban center. This is because the city has a disproportionately high share of economic and other social opportunities. The city thus becomes an island of opportunity amidst a sea of widespread poverty. Urban primacy is considered to be problematic because of the imbalance in the settlement

pattern and because the impact of development is not spread to the rest of the country.

- Urbanization in the Northern Hemisphere was characterized and accompanied by changes in overall economy which required fewer people in agriculture, changes in education, other aspects of society, formation of institutions etc. Thus it was not just a process of population growth in urban areas but was associated with economic, social and political change. However, the urbanization in the less developed countries is often seen to be in variation with a rise in education, agriculture- industry shift, scientific thinking and institution formation. Some of the countries are thus said to be characterized by 'over urbanization' which means urbanization that is not in consonance with other social, economic and political indicators.
- As a result of such over urbanization, the cities are characterized by high presence of migrants who are not prepared for 'urban' in terms of education, skills etc and in rates disproportionate to the rate of economic opportunities available in the cities. Thus, cities come to be characterized by a division. There are those who are part of the city's formal economy and services while others are compelled to resort to obtaining opportunities and services in the informal market. The active presence of an informal economy which often, parallels the formal economy is a key characteristic of cities in the less developed world. The informal economy is seen to have active links with the formal. It provides services (maids, drivers, security guards, ironing, laundering), goods (vending, recycled goods). It is actively engaged with the collection and recycling of waste and it creates at least few opportunities for housing, education, health etc for the poor migrants who come to the cities. This also translates into significant proportions of urban poverty.

Till now you have read about urbanization in the global north and urbanization in the global south. Now, answer the following questions given in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Write your answer in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit

1) Distinguish between evolution of urbanization in the North and the South?

.....

.....

.....

.....

2) What is meant by Urban Primacy? Give an example.

.....

.....

.....

.....

3.4 CURRENT SCENARIO OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE WORLD

The world has become predominantly urban in the last decade. In 1990, the World Bank recorded for the first time that there were as many people living in cities as in rural areas with the global rate of growth of urban population being 4.5 percent per annum. By now, this urban world is a pronounced reality. The axis of this urbanization is tilted towards the less developed countries. For e.g. Urban population in East Asia is expected to rise by 450 million over the next two decades. In South and Central Asia, the increase is expected to be almost 350 million and in Sub Saharan Africa, the urban population could rise by 250 million. Between 1985-2005, the urban population in developing countries grew by more than 8.3 million a year, almost three times the annual increase of 3 million experienced in countries of the global North in the period 1880-1900.

The less developed countries have demonstrated a propensity for urbanization at much faster rates than were seen in the North countries. To give an example, the urban growth in Europe throughout the nineteenth century amounted to some 45 million people – a total exceeded by China in the 1980s. Another example may be a comparison between United States which was 40 % urbanized in 1900, 70% urbanized in 1960 and 75% urbanized in 1990 as against North Korea which was 40% urbanized in 1870 and 78% urbanized in 1990. Between 1950-75, the urban population of the less developed world increased by 400 million and it rose by another billion in 2000. What these examples illustrate is that these countries are urbanizing at much faster rates than the developed countries.

As urbanization becomes a prominent phenomenon in the world, the size of cities has expanded phenomenally. The average size of the world's largest cities has grown to almost 10 times their size in 1900. Such agglomerations pose another serious challenge to policy. The sheer scale of urban size in some of the cities is astounding. These increasing city sizes have led to several new terms- mega cities, agglomerations, city regions etc. Mega city refers to a city size in terms of population while agglomeration brings in the idea of both population and geographical size; city region refers to several connected cities which are like nuclei in a particular region. To give an example, in Vietnam, between one-third to one-half of the population of the entire country lives in Ho Chi Minh City. It is estimated that currently, about 15 of the world's biggest cities are located in the less developed parts of the world.

This phenomenon of massive rise in quantum of urban population is not matched by an equal rise in economic growth. Thus substantive proportions of both urban and rural populations of these countries live amidst poverty. Urbanization with poverty is a phenomenon which the world has not experienced by the world so far. Knowledge of urban planning and governance as it has emerged in the North is located in a starkly different context from the one being experienced in the South. It thus calls for developing new knowledge about urban planning and governance.

3.5 GLOBALIZATION AND CITIES

The context within which this rapid urbanization is taking place is that of a world which is globalizing. Globalization represents an intensification of linkages

between the nations of the world. These links have been fostered by the development of technology, transport and communication. However there are many other dimensions to globalisation. First is the driving force of economic integration as transnational operations draw capital, human resources and physical resources from around the world into a global network of production and marketing. Second, there is an accompanied rescaling of national entities. Thirdly there is a convergence of local and international cultures into a lumpy but largely homogenous hybrid.

There are several debates about globalization. Some scholars view it as a process by which capitalist forces are being deeply entrenched into global South geographies. There are others who view it as a more multilateral process. However, one feature of globalization is increasingly becoming clear; it is that it is extremely uneven and creates some pockets which enhance in value while others get undermined. It is this feature that has particular relevance for cities. Cities across the world are emerging as the loci of globalization.

Under the influence of globalization, cities across the world increasingly get connected to a world system of cities. In this system, some cities appear as command and strategic control centers, these are called the 'world cities' (Friedman, 1982) or global cities (Sassen, 1994). Then there are other cities which play the role of regional command centers, there are cities which play more specialist roles such as production centers for particular sectors or financial centers etc. Locating this economic niche has become an increasingly important challenge for cities as they have to compete with each other for resources and investment. Mumbai thus has to compete with other financial centers of the world or Bangalore (now, Bengaluru) has to compete with Chennai and Singapore for location of IT industries.

The implication of this competitiveness is that cities now have to develop entrepreneurial capacities and economic strategies; it calls for a sea change in orientations of local governments of cities, which till now were oriented towards their internal issues and services. These external orientations necessitate a lot of need for reform in local government role and capacity. Increased importance to the local government is part of this change.

The external orientations of cities causes fragmentation within cities, thus while some parts of the city are benefited and get linked to these external processes, there are others who get neglected. Some population segments also get neglected. The process of global unevenness thus gets recreated within cities. City governments also need to manage this unevenness and the discontent arising from it.

On the other hand globalization has also meant sharing of knowledge across borders. It has meant availability of resource support across these boundaries too. This makes it possible to create new linkages and learn from each other. We can thus learn how Porto Alegre in Brazil created a participatory budgeting process which led the path for more inclusive and accountable governance of the city or how Bogota brought about a change in its transportation system towards creating a public bus transport system. Such lateral learning, (whether across national borders or within them) has a tremendous potential for generating the need for new knowledge required for meeting current challenges of urbanization.

Globalization thus acts as a contrast filled backdrop on which the phenomenon of urbanization is unfolding. It presents opportunities as well as creates new challenges for urban governance and planning.

Till now you have read about current scenario of urban development in the World and globalisation and cities. Now, answer the following questions given in *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Write your answer in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit

1) Explain the meaning of over urbanization?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

2) What is the linkage between globalization and urbanization?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

3.6 LET US SUM UP

In the more developed countries of the world, urbanization in the modern sense emerged during the sixteenth century. Three factors were crucial in this experience of urbanization-a) renaissance b) development of modernity and c) industrialization. Urbanization in the North as an organic and gradual process of evolution of society which happened over nearly hundred years or so. It was accompanied by the development of modern thinking and the development of new institutions of governance. Also the presence of colonies helped to reduce or offset some of the problems in urbanization such as large scale needs of food and raw materials.

On the other hand, urbanization is not a result of organic processes produced through internal societal and technological changes but imposed by the colonizers on societies which was not prepared for it. This has produced several distinctive features, which were earlier not observed in the urbanization experienced of more developed countries. Urban forms, functions, economic systems and governance institutions in these societies reflect a segmented and divided character. Presence of large informal sector, urban primacy and over urbanization are some of the phenomena observed in urbanization in the global South.

The world has become predominantly urban in the last decade. The axis of this urbanization is tilted towards the less developed countries. The less developed countries have demonstrated a propensity for urbanization at much faster rates than were seen in the North countries. As urbanization becomes a prominent phenomenon in the world, the size of cities has expanded phenomenally this phenomenon of massive rise in quantum of urban population, however is not matched by an equal rise in economic growth. Thus substantive proportions of both urban and rural populations of these countries live amidst poverty. Urbanization with poverty is a phenomenon which the world that has not been experienced by the world so far.

The context within which this rapid urbanization is taking place is that of a world which is globalizing. Globalization represents an intensification of linkages between the nations of the world. Under the influence of globalization, cities across the world increasingly get connected to a world system of cities. Cities have to compete with each other for resources and investment and thus, locating an economic niche has become an increasingly important challenge for city growth. The implication of this competitiveness is that cities now have to develop entrepreneurial capacities and economic strategies; it calls for a sea change in orientations of local governments of cities, which till now were oriented towards their internal issues and services. These external orientations necessitate a lot of need for reform in local government role and capacity. The external orientation of cities causes fragmentation within cities. On the other hand globalization has also meant sharing of knowledge across borders. Globalization thus acts as a contrast filled backdrop on which the phenomenon of urbanization is unfolding. It presents opportunities as well as creates new challenges for urban governance and planning.

3.7 REFERENCES AND SELECTED READINGS

Friedman, J and Wolff G, (1982), '*World City Formation: An Agenda For Research and Action*', in International journal of Urban and Regional research,6: 309-344 .

King , Anthony ,(1990), '*Urbanism, Colonialism and the World Economy-Cultural and Spatial Foundations of World Urban System*' ,Routledge Publications, London, New York .

Mahadevia Darshini (Eds) ,(2008), '*Inside the Transforming Urban Asia*', Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi .

Sassen, Saskia, (2002), '*Locating Cities on Global Circuits in Environment and Urbanization*', Vol 14, No1.

Safa, Helen, (1982), '*Towards A political Economy of Urbanization in Third World Countries*', Oxford University Press, Delhi.

Shaw, Annapurna (eds) , (2007), '*Indian Cities in Transition*', Orient Longman ,New Delhi

Smith, David Drakakis, (2000), '*Third World Cities*', Routledge Publications, New york

United Nations, (2009), '*Towards A New Economic Geography*', World development Report, 2009.

3.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Distinguish between evolution of urbanization in the Global North and the Global South?

Urbanization in the North was an organic and gradual process of evolution of society which happened over nearly hundred years or so. It was accompanied by the development of modern thinking and the development of new institutions of governance. Further, it was accompanied by colonization; the presence of colonies helped to reduce or offset some of the problems in urbanization such as large scale needs of food and raw materials. On the other hand, urbanization in the Global South was not a result of organic processes produced through internal societal and technological changes but imposed by the colonizers on a society which was not prepared for it. The imposition of form and function meant that cities reflect a segmented form – a colonial part and an indigenous part.

- 2) What is meant by urban primacy? Give an example.

Urban primacy means that one city dominates over all others in a settlement system in terms of population, economy, and socio-political dominance and geographical concentration. For example, 80% of the population of Thailand is rural. Out of the 20% urban population, 60% stays in a single city i.e. Bangkok. About two thirds of the migrants from the less developed north east parts of the country prefer to move 600-900 km to Bangkok than any other regional urban center. This is because the city has a disproportionately high share of economic and other social opportunities.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Explain the meaning of over urbanization?

‘Over urbanization’ means urbanization that is not in consonance with other social, economic and political indicators such as shift from primarily agricultural economy to industrial or service based economy, transformations in education, institutions and mechanisms of governance etc. Several developing countries which show the presence of very large cities with overall low levels of socioeconomic development are said to be over urbanized. However over urbanization is a contentious concept as it is west centric.

- 2) What is the linkage between globalization and urbanization?

Cities across the world are emerging as the loci of globalization; the urban has become much more prominent. Under the influence of globalization, cities across the world increasingly get connected to a world system of cities in which cities need to compete with each other to attract investment and develop economic niches. The external orientations of cities causes fragmentation between and within cities, thus while some parts of the city are benefited and get linked to these external processes, there are others who get neglected. On the other hand globalization has also meant sharing of knowledge across borders. Globalization thus acts as a contrast filled backdrop on which the phenomenon of urbanization is unfolding. It presents opportunities as well as creates new challenges for urban governance and planning.

UNIT 4 URBAN DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE IN INDIA

Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 India's Urbanisation: Basic Features and Pattern
- 4.3 Phases of Urbanization in India
- 4.4 Challenges of Managing Urbanization
- 4.5 Let Us Sum UP
- 4.6 References and Selected Readings
- 4.7 Check Your progress – Possible Answers

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Cities around the world are playing an ever increasing role in creating wealth, enhancing social development, attracting investment and harnessing both human and technical resources for achieving unprecedented gains in productivity and competitiveness. At the same time, cities play a critical role in driving the transition to sustainable development and promise better access to improved social amenities (health, education, culture and recreation among others) and a range of civic services (water, power, sewerage, sanitation, roads and transportation etc) to upgrade the quality of life of inhabitants. As countries develop, cities and urban settlements account for a larger share of the national income and often generate a disproportionate share of gross domestic product (GDP) and provide huge opportunities for investment and employment.

However in reality, cities, particularly in developing countries, are often plagued with severe shortcomings. Displaying a differentiated pattern, they contain centres of affluence as well as concentrations of abject poverty and neglect. While they offer some of the best social services (including world class education and health facilities), cities are also host to a great many social ills – chronic poverty, poor sanitation, crime, environmental pollution and social unrest.

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the trends and pattern of urbanization
- Describe the role played by various policies and programmes in urban development and management
- Analyze the impact and outcome of these policies and programmes

4.2 INDIA'S URBANISATION: BASIC FEATURES AND PATTERN

Although India is less urbanized compared to many Asian countries including China. Indonesia and South Korea, nevertheless with nearly a third of the population – in absolute numbers about 286 million urban inhabitants in 2001 – India had the second largest urban population in the world, next only to China.

Given current trends in population growth and migration, estimates of the United Nations indicate that India is witnessing an ‘urban explosion’ with India’s urban population likely to reach 575 million by 2030 (40.90 percent of total population).

The importance of India’s urban sector is indisputable. The urban sector’s contribution to India’s net domestic product is estimated at between 50 – 52 %, while at the same time, 64.7 % of employment in trade, commerce, and financial services; 65 % in manufacturing; and 68 % in the transport sector are concentrated in urban areas.

Basic feature of urbanization in India can be highlighted as:

- 1) Skewed and lopsided urbanization.
- 2) Urbanisation occurs without industrialization and strong economic base.
- 3) Urbanisation is mainly a product of demographic explosion and poverty induced rural - urban migration.
- 4) Rapid urbanization leads to massive growth of slum followed by misery, poverty, unemployment, exploitation, inequalities, degradation in the quality of urban life.
- 5) Poor quality of rural-urban migration leads to poor quality of urbanization.

The pattern of urbanization in India is characterized by continuous concentration of population and activities in large cities. Urbanisation process is not mainly “migration lead” but a product of demographic explosion due to natural increase. India’s urbanization is followed by some basic problems in the field of: 1) housing, 2) slums, 3) transport 4) water supply and sanitation, 5) water pollution and air pollution, 6) inadequate provision for social infrastructure (school, hospital, etc).

Indian urbanization is involuted not evolved. Poverty induced migration occurs due to rural push. Megacities such as Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai, Hyderabad and Bangalore grow in urban population not in urban prosperity. Hence it is urbanization without urban functional characteristics. These mega cities are subject to increasing slum and inadequate shelter, drinking water, electricity and sanitation. Urbanisation is degenerating social and economic inequalities which warrant social conflicts, crimes and anti-social activities. Lopsided and uncontrolled urbanization leads to environmental degradation and degradation in the quality of urban life, i.e pollution in sound, air, water, created by disposal of hazardous waste.

In this section you studied India’s urbanization basic features and pattern. Now, you should be able to answer some questions relating to this section given in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Write your answer in about 50 words

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What are the basic features of Urbanisation?

.....

.....

.....

- 2) Explain the pattern of India's Urbanisation.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

- 3) What are the basic problems in India's rapidly growing cities?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

4.3 PHASES OF URBANIZATION IN INDIA

Urban planning and policy discussions in India have invariably and only dealt with issues like relationship between urbanisation and economic development, distribution of urban population in various size-classes of settlement, regional development, growth of large (especially metropolitan) cities, infrastructure and services, urban local bodies and institutional aspects (including finance and legal issues). A good number of reports, documents and papers have been published on these issues, a list of which (only the government-sponsored ones) is given in the Box below.

Basically the thrust of most of these reports have been that: i) large cities have grown faster than, and at the expense of, small and medium towns; ii) this is undesirable; iii) measures should be taken to arrest large city growth; by making greater investment in small and medium towns; and iv) effective industrial location policy, set to achieve at intra-regional balance in industrial location. This section focuses on an analysis of urban policy at the national level. It should be remembered however that urban development, housing, urban policy and urban planning in India are state subjects under the Constitution and therefore without a thoroughgoing analysis of urban development policies in different states, it is not possible to paint a comprehensive picture of urban policy in India. The Centre can, at the most, "issue directives, provide advisory services, set up model legislation and fund programmes which the states can follow at will". The urban policy existing in the states is largely an off shoot of that outlined in the national five years plans and other policies and programmes of the central government. It is in this context that an analysis of the national level urban policies and programmes become important to understand the general direction of urban policy in India.

4.3.1 The First Phase: 1951-56

The 1st Five Year Plan (1951-56) was mainly concerned with housing and rehabilitation of refugees. The Ministry of Works and Housing was set up to

ensure speedy spatial and occupational rehabilitation of refugees. A large number of rehabilitation colonies and sub-towns were set up in Delhi, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab and Calcutta. The city of Chandigarh was created in the same period as a symbol of 'modern' India. In the same plan period the National Buildings Organisation and the School of Planning and Architecture were set up in order to improve the quality and efficiency of built environment building, research and develop housing technologies and create a cadre of trained town planners. Furthermore, the central government also set up the Town and Country Planning Organisation to provide guidance and assistance to central and state governments on urban problems and also to prepare the Delhi Master Plan which was conceived as the model plan which was subsequently to provide a framework for master plans to be prepared for other cities. The other two issues that the First Five Year Plan was concerned about were industrial and employer housing and slums.

The Plan was categorical about the need for slum clearance. Terming slums a 'national problem' and a 'disgrace to the country' it stated that "it is better to pay for the cost of clearing than to...suffer their destructive effects upon human lives and property indefinitely". It is be noted however that the use of the term 'slum' in the First Plan refers exclusively to dilapidated and over-congested areas such as the Walled City in Delhi. The 2nd Plan (1956-61) identified "rise in land values, speculative buying of lands in the proximity of growing towns, high rentals and the development of slum areas" as features common to most large towns and cities. It also predicted an escalation in these problems given the trends in industrialization. The Plan thus introduced the theme of regional planning and emphasized the importance of preparing master plans. While recognizing growing housing deficits in urban areas it placed the problem of housing in the wider context of urban and regional planning and called for construction of housing for low income groups. Thus Town and Country Planning legislation was enacted and in many states institutions were set up for the preparation of master plans. In 1956, the *Slums Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act* was passed. The Act defined slums as: "any area (where) buildings...(a) are in any respect unfit for human habitation, or (b) are by reason of dilapidation, over-crowding, faulty arrangement and design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation, or any combination of these factors, are detrimental, to safety, health or morals" For preventing the growth of slums, the Plan recommended strengthening local authorities and mobilizing "the support of enlightened public opinion" in enforcing the implementation of building codes and municipal by-laws.

It was in the 3rd Plan (1961-66) that urban policy and development planning began to acquire a cogent form. During this period, Master Plans for various cities were prepared and the need to strengthen urban local governments, especially their financial and administrative aspects, was recognized. In order to guide and enforce the planned development of cities through the implementation of master plans, para-statal development authorities, such as Delhi Development Authority (DDA), Mumbai Metropolitan Regional Development Authority (MMRDA), Madras Metropolitan Development Authority (MMDA), were set up. It is noteworthy that the master planning approach to tackling urban problems was an uncritical import from the then prevalent town planning and regulatory practices in Britain and the United States of America. The important features of these master plans were "a) designing of land use with a future perspective; b) a

city without slums, or in other words, a standard 'decent' housing for everyone; c) detailed modernized Central Business District; d) division of major land use into zones; e) an efficient highway and transportation system; and f) adequate community facilities with residential areas divided into neighbourhoods". The master plans give pre-eminence to the planned and orderly development of cities through a strict spatial segregation of functions such as housing, commerce, industries, etc. in mono-use zones.

The 3rd Plan also emphasized the need for balanced spatial and demographic development through locating new industries far away from cities, adopting the concept of the 'region' in the planning of large industries and strengthening rural-urban linkages. The Plan expressed concern about increase in land prices in cities and the growth of slums. The concept of urban community development was introduced to tackle problems of urban slums. Earlier the central government had introduced a scheme in 1959 to give loans to state governments for a period of ten years acquisition and development of land in order to make available building sites in sufficient numbers. Moreover, various measures such as freezing of land prices, acquisition and development of land and taxation of vacant land were suggested to control and regulate the urban lands. The Plan period also saw significant dispersal of urban planning and development activities from the centre to the states with massive amounts of investment poured into developing state capitals and new cities such as Gandhinagar in Gujarat and Bhubaneswar in Orissa. Thus we see that the first phase of urban policy was characterized by the lack of a comprehensive vision on urbanization or urban process in India. The Plans prepared during this period largely had an *ad hoc* and piecemeal approach towards urban issues and problems. Though from the second plan onwards, planned development of cities became a major theme, there was little attempt to reconcile the technocratic blueprint of master plans with the complex realities of a predominantly poor, newly independent, post colonial country.

4.3.2 The Second Phase: 1969-1984

Achieving balanced urban growth through dispersing populations in smaller urban centres was the overriding thrust of the 4th Plan (1969-74). This was to prevent the concentration of population in metropolitan cities such as Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The creation of small towns and ensuring the spatial location of economic activity in a planned manner consistent with the objectives of the Plan was underscored. The Plan articulated the need for urban land policy at the state level and provided specific guidelines for the formulation of the same. It recommended that the state level urban policies should aim at: (a) the optimum use of land; (b) making land available to weaker sections; (c) checking the concentration of land ownership, rising land values and speculation of land; and (d) allowing land to be used as a resource for financing the implementation of city development plans.

In 1970, the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) was set up to provide loans to urban development authorities and state housing boards for housing and other development projects such as infrastructure development, land acquisition and essential services. One of the main goals of the HUDCO was the promotion of housing for the persons belonging to low income groups and economically weaker sections. The central government launched the Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums (EIUS) scheme in 1972-73 to provide a minimum level of services, such as, water supply, sewerage, drainage,

pavements in 11 cities with a population of 8 lakhs and above. The scheme was later extended to nine more cities. In 1973, towards the end of the fourth plan, the World Bank started its urban sector operations in India with the launching of the Calcutta Urban Development Project. The 5th Plan (1974-79) was mainly concerned with introducing measures to control land prices in cities; providing a framework for the development of small and medium towns; augmenting basic services in cities and towns; addressing the problems of metropolitan cities with a regional perspective and assist development projects having national significance in metropolitan cities. The priorities expressed in the Plan were based partly on the National Urbanisation Policy Resolution of the Town and Country Planning Organisation. In order to evolve a framework for the development of small and medium towns, the central government constituted a Task Force on Planning and Development of Small and Medium Towns in 1975. The main objectives of the Task Force, were to examine laws relating to local administration and urban development, and to suggest suitable modifications of these laws, keeping in view the need to assist in the planned growth of small and medium towns, and to formulate guidelines and regulations in the matters such as zoning, setbacks, building control and such other relevant matters. The report of the Task Force was published in 1977 and recommendations included giving priority to the development of existing towns and cities within a population range of 50,000-3,00,000. The framework for the selection and consequent development of small and medium towns consisted of the following recommendations: (a) formulation of a national urban policy; (b) urban land policy to ensure proper use of land (c) development of small and medium towns, cities and metropolises with organic linkages to their immediate areas; (d) identification of growth points in the region that may be delineated; (e) evolution of location policies in the context of regional development; (f) provision of inviolable greenbelts around settlements of certain sizes; (g) working out of rational and feasible norms and standards of urban development; and (h) creation of appropriate statutory local government agencies at various levels. The Plan also emphasized the need for infrastructural development of cities with population over 300,000. To achieve this goal a scheme called Integrated Urban Development Programme (IUDP) was launched. Also, the Sites and Services Scheme for making serviced land available to the poor was launched in this Plan period.

One of the most important steps that were taken to check land prices and speculation in land during the fifth plan period was the promulgation of the Urban Land (Ceiling and Regulation) Act (ULCRA), 1976. The ULCRA aimed at preventing concentration of urban land in the hands of a few thereby checking speculation in and profiteering from land. It enabled the socialization of urban land to ensure equitable distribution amongst various social classes and orderly development of urban built environment. The Act provided for fixing ceiling on the possession and ownership of vacant land in urban areas and acquisition of excess land for creating housing stock for the poor.

The focus of the 6th Plan (1980-85) was largely on the development of small and medium towns and provision of basic services in urban slums. Though the Plan underlined the need to improve environmental conditions in slums through improvement in drainage, sewerage and sanitation the urban component of the 6th Plan is remembered primarily for the introduction of a centrally sponsored scheme called the Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns (IDSMT) with the objective of promoting growth in towns with less than 100,000 population

through provision of infrastructure and basic services. The components eligible for central assistance under the IDSMT included land acquisition and services, construction of new markets, provision of industrial estates, provision of other services and processing facilities for the benefit of agricultural and rural development in the hinterland and low cost sanitation. The state components included slum improvement, small-scale employment generation, low-cost water supply schemes, drainage and sanitation, sewerage, preventive medical facilities, parks and playgrounds. To begin with the scheme included 231 towns in various states and union territories, selected on the basis of the ratio of urban population in the state to the total urban population in the country. Later on, a few additional towns were added to this list. There was also a lot of emphasis on containing the growth of metropolitan cities by dispersing industrial and economic activities in small and medium towns in general and satellite towns of large cities in particular. However, stagnation in agriculture and skewed investment policies coupled with favourable economies of agglomeration enjoyed by large cities thwarted all attempts at 'balanced regional development'.

4.3.3 The Third Phase: 1986 Onwards

In mid 80s the Indian economy started taking its first tentative steps towards liberalization. The urban policy reflected the trend in economic policy. The 7th Plan heralded a shift in urban policy by initiating a process of opening up avenues for private sector participation in urban development. The Plan called for radical (re)orientation of all policies related to housing and entrusted the main responsibility of housing construction to the private sector. The government's role was sought to be reduced to mobilization of resources for housing, provision for subsidized housing for the poor and acquisition and development of land. In order to boost the housing finance market, it recommended setting up of the National Housing Bank. It also proposed to set up a National Urban Infrastructure Development Finance Corporation to augment the capacity of urban local bodies to undertake infrastructure creation, particularly water supply and sewerage facilities.

In the 1988, the first ever National Housing Policy (NHP) was announced. The objectives of the NHP included removal of houselessness, improving the conditions of the inadequately housed and provision of minimum level of basic services to all. The Policy conceived the role of the government as a provider for the poorest and vulnerable sections and as a facilitator for other income groups and private sector by the removal of constraints and the increased supply of land and services. The IDSMT continued to be the most important scheme for the urban sector under the Seventh Plan as well. In the Plan period, the coverage of the scheme was extended to 102 additional towns. The Plan reiterated the need to integrate town level plans into the regional systems. Thus in 1985 itself the National Capital Region Planning Board was formed to reduce population pressure on Delhi by dispersing and diverting population and economic activity to other urban centres within the National Capital region thereby ensuring the balanced development of the region as a whole. Emphasis was also laid on community participation at the town/city level. Recognising the need to directly address the problem of urban poverty, the Plan also launched an urban poverty alleviation scheme called the Urban Basic Services (UBS) with a focus on improving the status of women and children in urban low-income families through community participation, integrated development and cost effectiveness. The UBS was later merged into the EIUS in 1990 and the name changed to Urban Basic Services for Poor (UBSP).

Another important scheme, namely, Nehru Rozgar Yojana (NRY) was launched in 1989 to generate employment opportunities for the urban poor. The NRY had three basic components of microenterprises, wage employment and shelter upgradation. In the same year, the National Commission on Urbanisation (NCU) submitted its report. The Commission was entrusted with the task of making a detailed investigation into the process, pattern, trends and issues of urban development and planning and suggesting appropriate framework and guidelines for urban policies and programmes in the coming years. The NCU emphasized close link between urbanisation and economic development. The NCU marked a significant departure from the policy pronouncements of earlier government policies and plans as it abandoned the concept of backward area because it was felt that instead of forcefully inducing investments in areas which are backward and have little infrastructure and in which the concessions are likely to be misused the identified existing and potential urban centres at intermediate levels could be developed to attract the migrants as they are located in closely related regions. Consequently, the Commission identified 329 cities called GEMs (Generator of Economic Momentum) which were further divided into NPCs (National Priority Centres) and SPC (State Priority Centres). Apart from GEMs, National and State Priority Centres, the Commission also identified 49 Spatial Priority Urban Regions (SPURs). The future growth in urbanisation was expected to take place along these nodes and corridors.

The Plan expressed the need to link urban growth with economic development and advanced the following policy directives:

- a) Consolidation and operationalisation of spatial and economic dimensions of planning by:
 - involving an integrated hierarchy of rural and urban settlements based upon primary economic functions; and
 - linking the urban development plans with respective district level planning processes including the programmes of various state level and central departments like agriculture, rural development, environment, telecommunications, industries and other such organizations.
- b) Convergence of all related programmes, i.e. IDSMT, housing and infrastructure development programmes of HUDCO, NRY and UBSP to create the desired impact in small and medium towns beyond the threshold level.
- c) Taking legal, organizational and financial measures for enhanced and equitable supply of urban land and promotion of housing, including review of master plan standards, amendments to Land Acquisition Act, Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act, Transfer of Property Act and Rent Control Laws.
- d) Promoting public-private partnerships in the urban development sector.
- e) Developing appropriate specialized institutional support at the central and state levels to deal with financing and development of urban infrastructure.

In the same Plan period, in 1995, another programme called Prime Minister's Integrated Urban Poverty Eradication Programme (PMIUEP) was launched. The PMIUEP was a five year long scheme applicable to all class II cities with a population ranging between 50,000 to 1, 00, 00 subject to the condition that elections to local bodies had been held. In 1992, the Town and Country Planning Organisation prepared a draft National Urban Policy. The main objectives of the

draft NUP were to: a) evolve a spatial pattern of economic activities and population distribution based on regional development and planning considerations; b) secure a balanced distribution of population among the urban centres of various sizes, so as to maximize economic gain and minimize social costs of urbanization; c) control further growth of metropolitan cities by dispersal of economic activities in the new growth centres; d) prioritise development of those urban centres which have been identified as prime economic movers in national economic development, such as the National Priority Cities (NPCs), State Priority Cities (SPCs) and Spatial priority Urbanisation Regions (SPURs); and e) improve the efficiency of the urbanisation process by removing bottlenecks and breakdowns in the supply of urban services.

At the beginning of the 8th Plan period, in 1992, the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act was promulgated. It was a landmark Act which sought to decentralize decision making in cities and towns through creation of elected urban local bodies (ULBs) as institutions of democratic self governance and devolution of essential functions related to city planning and service provision to these bodies. The salient features of the 74th CAA are introduction of the Twelfth Schedule which lists the functions of the ULBs, establishment of ward committees in areas having a population of over three lakhs, periodic and timely elections of ULBs, and devolution of finances to ULBs as per the suggestions of the State Finance Commissions (SFSs). The Mega City Scheme a centrally sponsored scheme launched in five cities, namely, Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai, Hyderabad and Bangalore during the 8th Plan had the express purpose of preparing municipalities to use institutional finance and eventually market instruments like municipal bonds for capital investment requirements. One of the highlights of the 8th Plan period was the publication of the India Infrastructure Report. India Infrastructure Report was widely considered a landmark document in the push towards privatization and/or commercialization of infrastructure creation and management, service provision and regulatory and governance systems.

The 9th Plan (1997-2002) was greatly influenced by the India Infrastructure Report. The Plan recognized the skewed nature of urban process in India with urbanization and economic growth mainly concentrated in certain parts of the country and certain parts of a state. It thus admitted that the IDSMT, that had been launched in the sixth plan to reduce regional disparities, had largely been a failure. The 9th Plan reiterated its commitment towards reducing regional disparities; however, the primary responsibility for achieving the same was now with the state governments who were urged to raise resources for their activities from outside the Plan, specifically from financial institutions and capital markets. The Plan sought to make ULBs and parastatal agencies accountable and financially viable by cutting down on budgetary allocations for urban infrastructural development. The Plan recognized that while larger municipalities may be in a position to raise funds from capital market and financial institutions directly, the smaller ULBs simply do not have the financial and technical capability to do so. It thus proposed to create an 'Urban Development Fund' based on the principle of 'pooled finance' to help smaller towns realize commercial borrowings.

In terms of focus, the Plan recommended streamlining of employment generation programmes and creating housing stock for economically weaker sections and lower income groups through rationalisation of existing centrally sponsored urban poverty alleviation programmes. The sectoral objectives of the Ninth Plan were: (a) development of urban areas as economically efficient, socially equitable and

environmentally sustainable entities; (b) accelerated development of housing, particularly for the low income groups and other disadvantaged groups; (c) development and up gradation of urban infrastructure services to meet the needs of a growing population; (d) alleviation of urban poverty and unemployment; (e) promoting accessibility and affordability of the poor to housing and basic services; (f) improvement of urban environment; (g) promoting private sector participation in the provision of public infrastructure and of the community and NGOs in urban planning and management of specific component of urban services; and (h) democratic decentralization and strengthening of municipal governance.

The Hashim Committee, set up to review and streamline these programmes suggested phasing out NRY, PMIUPEP and UBSP and introducing Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana (SJSRA) to reorganize self-employment and wage employment parts of the earlier programmes. The shelter upgradation component of NRY and PMIUPEP was merged with the National Slum Development Programme (NSDP). The SJSRY had two sub-schemes, namely, (a) Urban Self Employment Programme and (b) Urban Wage Employment Programme. The SJSRY sought to provide gainful employment to the urban unemployed or underemployed poor by encouraging the setting up of self-employment ventures or provision of wage employment. The implementation of the scheme was to be done through the setting up of community organizations like Neighbourhood Groups, Neighbourhood Societies and Community Development Societies. The responsibility of identifying beneficiaries, viable projects suitable for the area, preparation of applications, monitoring of recovery and general support was entrusted to the Community Development Societies. The Urban Self Employment Programme included schemes on Self Employment through setting up Micro-enterprises and Skill Development, confined to BPL beneficiaries who have education up to the 9th standard, and Development of Women and Children in Urban Areas for poor women who decide to set up self-employment ventures on a group basis. The Urban Wage Employment Programme was conceived to provide employment to persons Below Poverty Line in urban local bodies with a population of less than 5 lakhs. The Plan also suggested that the responsibility of distribution of water in urban areas should be given over to local bodies or to the private sector. It encouraged private sector participation in construction and maintenance of water supply and sanitation schemes.

In 1998, the National Housing and Habitat Policy (NHHP) was announced which specifically emphasized that housing construction in both rural and urban areas should be left in the hands of the private sector and that the government should restrict itself to the role of a facilitator. The Policy promised “Shelter to All” by the year 2001 but this promise was to be realized through the invisible hand of the market which was supposed to ensure affordable housing to all if all impediments to its efficient functioning were removed. As a follow up to the recommendations of the NHHP 1998, the Two Million Housing Programme was launched in 1998-99. It was a loan based scheme promoting the construction of 20 lakh additional housing units every year (13 lakh for rural areas and 7 lakh for urban areas). Out of this HUDCO was to meet the target of 4 lakh dwelling units in urban areas and 6 lakh in rural areas annually. In 1999, the Draft National Slum Policy was announced which proposed the integration of slum dwellers in the mainstream of urban life through in-situ up gradation. The Draft Policy included all underserviced settlements in its definition of slums and proposed

their up gradation and improvement as opposed to eviction. It also spoke about granting tenure to slum dwellers inhabiting government land apart from providing them with basic civic amenities. The Draft National Slum Policy was never adopted, however in 2001, a Rs. 20 billion subsidy based scheme called the Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY) was started with the aim to provide/upgrade shelter to urban slum dwellers.

In the 9th Plan period two other major steps were taken to further the process of liberalization of land and real estate markets. The first step was the repeal of the Urban Land (Ceiling and Regulation) Act in 1999. The second major step was taken in 2002 when the government allowed 100 percent Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in integrated townships, including housing, commercial premises, hotels and resorts. FDI was also permitted in infrastructure projects such as roads, bridges, mass rapid transit systems and for the manufacturing of building materials. The minimum area to be developed was fixed at 100 acres.

The 2001 Census had shown that contrary to the expectations and predictions of a wide array of actors, the rate of growth of urban population was steadily declining. This has been attributed to cities becoming inhospitable to poor migrants due to the promulgation of neo-liberal urban policies. However, the 10th Plan celebrates this fact and attributes it to the success of rural development programmes along with the limited availability of land for squatting in central urban areas. The Plan identifies urbanization as a key determinant of the economic growth in the 1980s and 1990s, boosted by economic liberalization. The 10th Plan (2002-07) was prepared in the backdrop of the Union Budget of 2002-03 which had announced radical measures to push cities into carrying out comprehensive urban reforms. The overriding thrust of the 10th Plan was to promote overhauling of the legislative, governance and administrative structure of cities through a set of market-friendly urban reforms and promotion of PPPs in urban infrastructure and services. A lot of emphasis was placed on making urban local bodies financially strong so that they have to rely less and less on state transfers. To enable ULBs to raise their own resources the Plan advocated reform in property tax, levying of user charges, increasing non-tax revenues, controlling establishment costs, better utilization of municipal assets and overhauling municipal accounting systems. These reforms, it was suggested, would enhance the credit-worthiness of ULBs and make them capable to mobilising funds from capital market and investors. The Plan also spoke about substantially increasing investment in up gradation of urban infrastructure and services but made it clear that central assistance in this regard would be made conditional upon states and ULBs carrying out sector reforms, in particular better standard of services and levying of user charges

4.3.4 Current On-Going Programmes

The process of urban reforms which tentatively began in the 8th Plan reached its high point when in December 2005, the Prime Minister launched the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban renewal Mission (JNNURM). The JNNURM is basically a reform linked incentive scheme for providing assistance to state governments and urban local bodies (ULBs) in selected 63 cities, comprising all cities with over one million population, state capitals and a few other cities of religious and tourist importance for the purpose of reforming urban governance, facilitating urban infrastructure and providing basic services to the urban poor. The total

budget of the Mission is estimated to be Rs. 1,26,000 crores out of which the central government shall provide Rs. 50,000 crores. It is thus by far the single largest initiative of the central government in the urban sector.

The broad framework of the Mission is as follows:

- Preparation of City Development Plans (CDPs) by respective cities with a 20-25 years perspective.
- Sector-wise detailed project reports to be prepared by identified cities listing projects along with their financial plans.
- A Memorandum of Agreement (MoA) to be signed between the central government, state governments and ULBs containing the time bound commitment on the part of states/ ULBs to carry out reforms in order to access central funds under the Mission.
- Funding pattern in terms of percentages would be 35:15:50 (between Centre, States and Urban Local Bodies) for cities with over 4 million population, 50:20:30 for cities with populations between one and four million, and 80:10:10 for other cities.
- Assistance under the Mission to be given directly to nominated State Level Nodal Agencies, who in turn would give the same to state government/ ULB in the form of soft loan or grant-cum-loan or grant.
- The assistance thus provided would act as seed money to leverage additional funds from financial institutions/capital markets.
- Public Private Partnership (PPP) to be the preferred mode of implementing projects.

The Mission is comprised of two sub missions, namely, Sub-Mission for Urban Infrastructure and Governance and Sub-Mission on Basic Services to the Urban Poor. The admissible components under both these sub-missions together include urban renewal, water supply and sanitation, sewerage and solid waste management, urban transport, slum improvement and rehabilitation, housing for urban poor, civic amenities in slums. The priorities of the government become even clearer when we look at the set of reforms that the state governments and ULBs are supposed to carry out if they wish to avail central assistance under the JNNURM. These reforms have been divided into two parts - mandatory reforms and optional reforms.

Mandatory Reforms: State Level

The state governments seeking assistance under the JNNURM would be obliged to carry out the following mandatory reforms: a) effective implementation of decentralization initiatives as envisaged in the Constitution (seventy-fourth) Amendment Act, 1992; b) repeal of Urban Land (Ceiling and Regulation) Act, 1976; c) reform of rent control laws; d) rationalisation of stamp duty to bring it down to no more than 5 percent within seven years; e) enactment of a public disclosure law; f) enactment of a community participation law, so as to institutionalize citizens' participation in local decision making; and g) association of elected municipalities with the city planning function.

Mandatory Reforms: Municipal Level

The Municipality seeking assistance under JNNURM has to: a) adoption of a modern, accrual-based, double entry system of accounting; b) introduction of a system of e-governance using IT applications, GIS and MIS for various urban services; c) reform of property tax so as to raise collection efficiency to 85 per cent; d) levy of user charges to recover full cost of operation and maintenance within seven years; e) internal earmarking of budgets for basic services to the urban poor; and f) provision of basic services to the urban poor, including security of tenure at affordable prices.

Apart from these, there is a set of optional reforms common to both state governments and ULBs, any two of which they are supposed to implement each year. These include: a) revision of bye-laws to streamline the approval process for construction of buildings, development sites etc; b) simplification of legal and procedural frameworks for conversion of agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes; c) introduction of property title certification; d) earmarking of at least 20-25 per cent developed land in housing projects for economically weaker sections and low income groups with a system of cross-subsidisation; e) introduction of computerized registration of land and property; f) administrative reforms including reduction in establishment cost by introducing retirement schemes and surrender of posts falling vacant due to retirement; g) structural reforms; and h) encouraging public private partnership.

The JNNURM was accompanied by another scheme called the Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme for Small and Medium Towns (UIDSSMT) which is more or less the same in content except for the minor difference that towns under the UIDSSMT do not have to prepare City Development Plans. 5098 cities and towns which have a population of less than one million and are thus not covered under the JNNURM come under the UIDSSMT. Earlier schemes such as IDSMT and Accelerated Urban Water Supply Programme (AUWSP) have been merged with the UIDSSMT. Similarly the Mega City Scheme and the VAMBAY have been partially subsumed under the JNNURM.

There seems to be a formidable consensus that the urban reform agenda, as enunciated in the JNNURM, the UIDSSMT and several other programmes and policies, is one of the key instruments for keeping the country on the path of high growth.

In this section you studied urban policies and their impact. Now, you should be able to answer some questions relating to this section given in *check your progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Write your answer in about 50 words

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) In which five-year plan period, the emphasis was laid on the preparation of master plans? Please specify the major features of master plans?

.....

.....

.....

- 2) Specify the main thrust of National Housing and Habitat Policy, 1998?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

- 3) What is the broad framework of Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM)?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

4.4 CHALLENGES OF MANAGING URBANISATION

The challenge of urbanisation in India is to ensure service delivery at the enhanced minimum standards that are necessary when planning ahead.

The major challenges of Urbanisation are the following:

- Strengthening ULBs through better capacity building and financial management,
- Increasing the efficiency and productivity of cities with emphasis on reducing incidence of poverty and promoting sustainable development,
- Provision of essential urban infrastructure, amenities and services with public – private partnerships,
- Establishing regulatory/ institutional framework to oversee the functioning of public and private sector;
- Integration of economic and spatial planning with a view to achieving a rational spatial – economic development at city, state and national levels,
- Strict enforcement of anti – pollution laws and to reduce dangerous levels of air pollution particularly in metro cities,
- To establish a cost effective, energy efficient, socially desirable and transport system.

The challenge of managing urbanisation will have to be addressed through a combination of increased investment, strengthening the framework for governance and financing, and a comprehensive capacity building programme at all levels of government.

In this section you studied challenges of managing urbanization. Now, you should be able to answer some questions relating to this section given in *check your progress 3*.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: a) Write your answer in about 50 words

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What are the main challenges of Urbanisation?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

2) What needs to be done to facilitate sustainable urbanisation in India

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

4.5 LET US SUM UP

India is urbanising. This transition, which will see India's urban population reach a figure close to 600 million by 2031, is not simply a shift of demographics. It places cities and towns at the centre of India's development trajectory. In the coming decades, the urban sector will play a critical role in the structural transformation of the Indian economy and in sustaining the high rates of economic growth. Ensuring high quality public services for all in the cities and towns of India is an end in itself, but it will also facilitate the full realisation of India's economic potential.

India's economic growth momentum cannot be sustained if urbanisation is not actively facilitated. Nor can poverty be addressed if the needs of the urban poor are isolated from the broader challenges of managing urbanisation. Cities will have to become the engines of national development. India cannot afford to get its urban strategy wrong, but it cannot get it right without bringing about a fundamental shift in the mindset which separates rural from the urban.

India's municipal corporations, municipalities and nagar panchayats, commonly known as urban local bodies (ULBs) need to be strengthened as local self-government with clear functions, independent financial resources, and autonomy to take decisions on investment and service delivery. They must also be made accountable to citizens. Elements of this shift are already present in the local government framework as reflected in the 74th Constitutional Amendment, the

Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), and the emphasis placed on the urban sector by the Thirteenth Central Finance Commission.

To sum up, the steps needed to facilitate sustainable urbanisation in India are;

- Increasing investment in urban infrastructure
- Engaging in renewal and redevelopment of urban areas including slums
- Improving regional and metropolitan planning with integration of land use and transportation
- Ensuring access to services for all including the poor to meet the recommended norms
- Reforming systems of service delivery
- Improving governance of cities and towns
- Strengthening and securing the financial base of ULBs

4.6 REFERENCES AND SELECTED READINGS

- 1) Background Paper on Urban Infrastructure, (Prepared for the 25th Meeting of the Central Council of Local Government and Urban Development), unpublished, NIUA New Delhi, December 1994.
- 2) Mohan, R., and S. Dasgupta, 'The 21st Century: Asia Becomes Urban', *Economic and Political Weekly*, January 15, 2005.
- 3) National Environmental Engineering Research Institute (NEERI), Nagpur, quoted in J.P. Singh "Challenges of Urbanization and Environmental Degradation in India", *Think India* (Social Science Journal) Vo.5 No. 3, July – September 2002, New Delhi.
- 4) O. P. Mathur, *India's Urban Sector : An Assessment*, National Institute of Public Finance and Policy (NIPFP), New Delhi, 2005.
- 5) O.P.Mathur and S. Thakur, *India's Municipal Sector – A Study for the 12th Finance Commission*, NIPFP, New Delhi, 2004.
- 6) Report of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Urban Development (2010) quoted in the *Economic Times* (New Delhi), 22 April, 2010.
- 7) *Task Force on Planning of Urban Development*, p.68, Planning Commission, Government of India, 1982.
- 8) UN-Habitat, *State of the World's Cities*, Nairobi, 2006.
- 9) UN – Habitat, *State of the World's Cities*, Nairobi, 2008 Part 3.2 pp.130 – 140 "Cities and Climate Change". City examples from UN – Habitat Best Practices database, <www.bestpractices.org>
- 10) Urban Statistics Handbook, National Institute of Urban Affairs (NIUA), New Delhi, 2008.
- 11) 'Urbanization and the Future of Cities' in Base-cum-Issues paper Habitat II (Istanbul Summit) , Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India, (mimeo), August 1994.

- 12) Vaidya, C., *Urban Issues, Reforms and Way Forward in India, Working Paper*, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, GOI, July 2009.
- 13) Report of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Urban Development (2010) quoted in the *Economic Times* (New Delhi), 22 April, 2010.

4.7 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) What are the basic features of Urbanisation?

Urbanisation is characterized by continuous concentration of population and activities in cities and towns. It is a process characterized by rural-urban migration, natural increase in population and increase in municipal area. Rapid urbanization leads to massive growth of slum followed by misery, poverty, unemployment, exploitation, inequalities, degradation in the quality of urban life. Poor quality of rural-urban migration leads to poor quality of Urbanisation.

- 2) Explain the pattern of India's Urbanisation.

The pattern of urbanization in India is skewed and is characterized by growth of cities and towns in regions of agricultural surplus, stagnant or backward region. The big cities attained inordinately large population size leading to virtual collapse in the urban services and quality of life. Migration and natural increases are the predominant factor of urban growth.

- 3) What are the basic problems in India's rapidly growing cities?

Problem of urbanization is manifestation of lopsided urbanisation, faulty urban planning, urbanisation with poor economic base. Due to rising demand for infrastructural provisions in the rapidly growing cities, and ineffective supply of services and facilities, the cities and towns environment is deteriorating in terms of : 1) poor housing, 2) increase slums, 3) inefficient transport 4) ineffective provision of water supply and sanitation, 5) increase in air and water pollution, and 6) inadequate provision for social infrastructure.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) In which five-year plan period, the emphasis was laid on the preparation of master plans? Please specify the major features of master plans?

It was in the 3rd Plan (1961-66) that emphasized the preparation of Master Plans for various towns and cities. The important features of these master plans were "a) designing of land use with a future perspective; b) a city without slums, or in other words, a standard 'decent' housing for everyone; c) detailed modernized Central Business District; d) division of major land use into zones; e) an efficient highway and transportation system, and f) adequate community facilities with residential areas divided into neighbourhoods".

2) Specify the main thrust of National Housing and Habitat Policy, 1998?

In 1998, the National Housing and Habitat Policy (NHHP) was announced which specifically emphasized that housing construction in both rural and urban areas should be left in the hands of the private sector and that the government should restrict itself to the role of a facilitator. The Policy promised “Shelter to All”. As a follow up to the recommendations of the NHHP 1998, the Two Million Housing Programme was launched in 1998-99.

3) What is the broad framework of Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM)?

The JNNURM is basically a reform linked incentive scheme for providing assistance to state governments and urban local bodies (ULBs) in selected 63 cities, comprising all cities with over one million population, state capitals and a few other cities of religious and tourist importance for the purpose of reforming urban governance, facilitating urban infrastructure and providing basic services to the urban poor. The total budget of the Mission is estimated to be Rs. 1,26,000 crores out of which the central government shall provide Rs. 50,000 crores. It is thus by far the single largest initiative of the central government in the urban sector.

Check Your Progress 3

1) What are the main challenges of Urbanisation?

The major challenges of Urbanisation are the following:

- Strengthening ULBs through better capacity building and financial management,
- Increasing the efficiency and productivity of cities with emphasis on reducing incidence of poverty and promoting sustainable development,
- Provision of essential urban infrastructure, amenities and services with public – private partnerships,
- Establishing regulatory/ institutional framework to oversee the functioning of public and private sector;
- Integration of economic and spatial planning with a view to achieving a rational spatial – economic development at city, state and national levels,
- Strict enforcement of anti – pollution laws and to reduce dangerous levels of air pollution particularly in metro cities,
- To establish a cost effective, energy efficient, socially desirable and transport system.

2) What needs to be done to facilitate sustainable urbanisation in India

Some of the steps that needs to be taken are the following:

- Increasing investment in urban infrastructure
- Engaging in renewal and redevelopment of urban areas including slums
- Improving regional and metropolitan planning with integration of land use and transportation
- Ensuring access to services for all including the poor
- Reforming systems of service delivery

Selected-documents dealing with various aspects of national urban policy.

- 1) 1961: Third Five Year Plan (Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi)
- 2) 1965: Report of the Committee on Urban Land Policy (Ministry of Health, Government of India, New Delhi)
- 3) 1966: Rural Urban Relationship Committee' Report (Ministry of Health, Government of India, New Delhi)
- 4) 1983: Task Force Reports on Urban Development (Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi)
- 5) 1988: Report of the National Commission on Urbanization (Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply, Government of India, New Delhi)
- 6) 1988: State of India's Urbanization (National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi)
- 7) 1992: National Urban Policy (Draft) (Town & Country Planning Organization, Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India, New Delhi)
- 8) 1994: Background Paper on Urban Development Strategy (Planning Commission & Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India, New Delhi)
- 9) 1991 Manual on Water Supply and Urban Development, Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India.
- 10) 1992: The Constitution (Seventy-Fourth) Amendment Act 1992. Government of India.
- 11) 1996 : National Training Policy. Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions, Government of India.
- 12) 1996: Urban Development Plan Formulation and Implementation Guidelines. Ministry of Urban Affairs and Employment, Government of India.
- 13) 2000: Municipal Solid Waste Rules 2000. Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India.
- 14) 2005: Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission Overview. Ministry of Urban Development and Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, Government of India.
- 15) 2006 : Road Transport Year Book. Ministry of Road Transport & Highways, Government of India.
- 16) 2006: Nagara Raj Bill 2006. Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India.
- 17) 2008: Road Accidents in India. Ministry of Road Transport & Highways, Government of India.

- 18) 2008: National Urban Sanitation Policy (Draft) Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India.
- 19) 2008: Handbook of Service Level Benchmarking. Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India.
- 20) 2008: Traffic and Transportation Policies and Strategies in Urban Areas in India. Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India.
- 21) 2009: Basic Road Statistics of India (2004-05 to 2007-08). Ministry of Road Transport & Highways, Government of India.
- 22) 2009: Service Level Benchmarks for Urban Transport. Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India.
- 23) 2009: National Urban Sanitation Policy: A Perspective. Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India.
- 24) 2010: National Mission on Sustainable Habitat. Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India.
- 25) 2010: National Rating and Award Scheme for Sanitation for Indian Cities. Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India.
- 26) (2010b): Improving Service Outcomes 2008-09. Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India.
- 27) 2011: The High Powered Expert Committee (HPEC) for Estimating the Investment Requirements for Urban Infrastructure Services, Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India.