



Subaltern Urbanization in India?

Movement of People
Transformation of Place

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References

- Basic references

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“Subaltern Urbanisation”

- *“If the ‘global city’ were labelled as just another example of an ‘industrial’ district (perhaps it should rather be called: new industrial districts of transnational management and control), it might not have attracted the attention it did.”*
 - Jennifer Robinson (2002: 536)
- At one level, ‘subaltern urbanisation’ perhaps best seen as a literary device to:
 - focus attention on our area of inquiry
 - increase the possibility of discursive engagement
- Attempt to:
 - Interpret: “contribution made by the people *on their own, that is independently of the elite*”
 - Read official urbanisation data ‘against the grain’
- Not about the city, but about the urban system

Plan of Presentation



- How urban is India?
- Diversity of urbanisation
 - Large Cities
 - Census Towns
- Economic Structure of Non-Metro Urban Areas
- Conclusion



How Urban is India?

Defining 'Urban Areas' over Time



1872: settlement with a population of 5000.

1881: *“a collection of numerous dwellings near each other within a limited area having shops which provide a continual open market for the supply of goods especially of manufactured goods”*

- density
nature of economic activity.

1891: population size of 5000 reinstated as a criterion for settlements not under “Municipal or Chaukidari Act”

- place should not be “merely a large village but should have some distinctly urban character as that of a market town”
- to exclude “a considerable number of the large aggregates of homesteads on the Malabar coast which are merely revenue units of a purely agrestic nature”.
 - “undesirable to classify as towns overgrown villages which have no urban characteristics”.

1951: “places with a smaller population [than 5000] with definite urban character may be treated as separate towns”.

1961: current three-fold definition

‘Census Towns’

1921: 1040 settlements comprising 22% of the urban population which were “*towns arbitrarily classified as such for census purposes*”

1931 increase in administratively designated towns by 699 and a decrease in the number of such “arbitrarily classified” towns to 600 with 11% of urban population.

2001: 1362 Census Towns comprising 7.4% of the urban population

2011: increase in administratively designated towns by 242 and a increase in the number of such ‘census towns’ towns to 3894 with around 15% of urban population.

Source: Asok Mitra Population and area of cities towns and urban agglomerations 1872-1971 Allied Bombay 1980



Only in India...

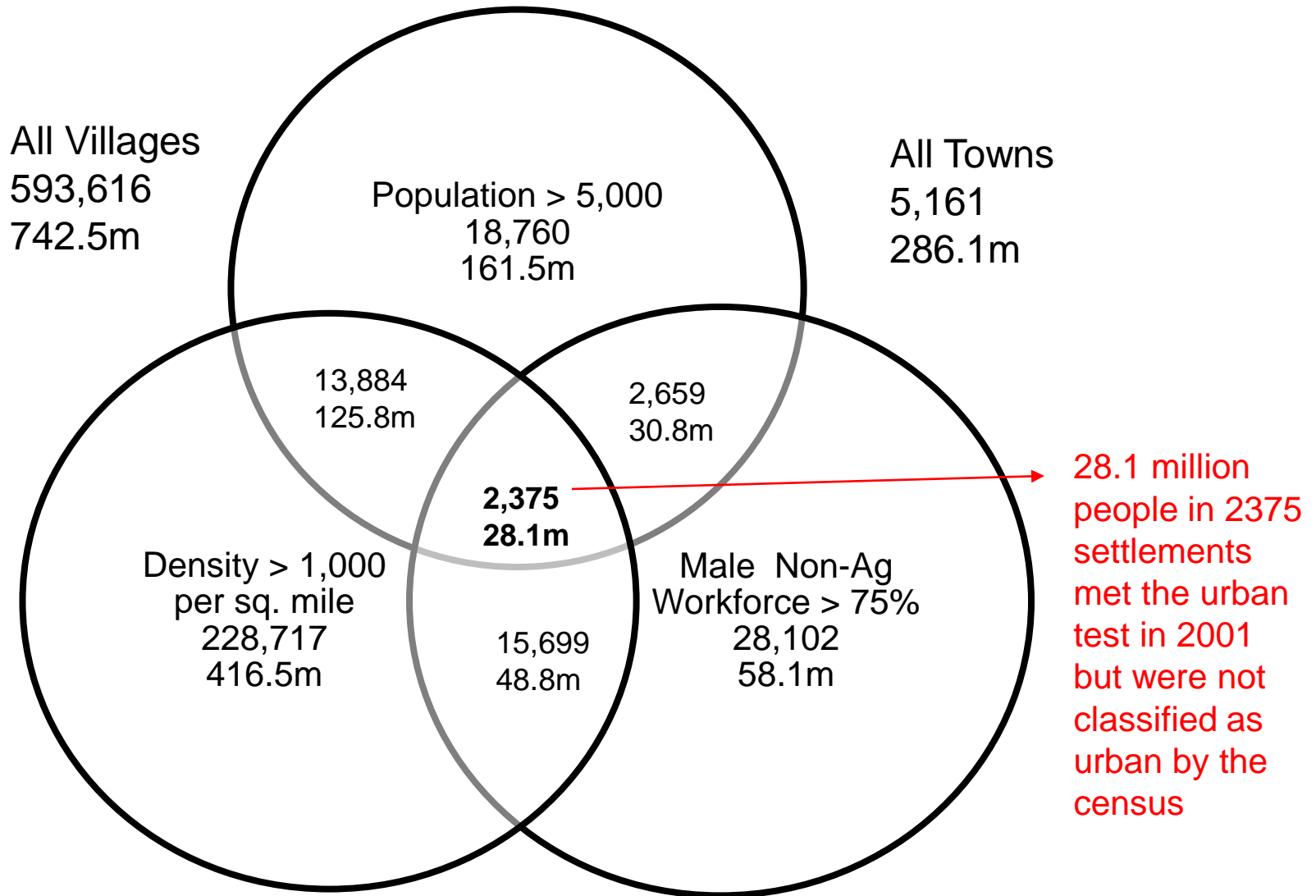
Administrative	Population Size	Density	Economic Activity	Others#	No. of Countries	Notes
X					50	
	X				22	
				X	9	
X	X				5	
X		X			1	China
	X		X		2	
	X	X			7	
OR	X		OR		1	Sudan
One of these criteria AND				X	2	
Either administrative OR all three					1	India

Specific types of urban infrastructure e.g. street lights proximity of built up areas etc.

Source: United Nations Demographic Year Book 2005

- International definitions can be non-comparable
 - Economic criteria is used only in six of hundred countries
- Indian urban definition is unique and the intersection of three criteria
 - On economic activity India's threshold of 75% is the highest
 - Japan is 60% Lithuania is 2/3 "commercial importance" in Sudan Zambia is majority Botswana does not use a labour force criterion but overall economic activity

Settlement Structure 2001



India may be more urban than it seems



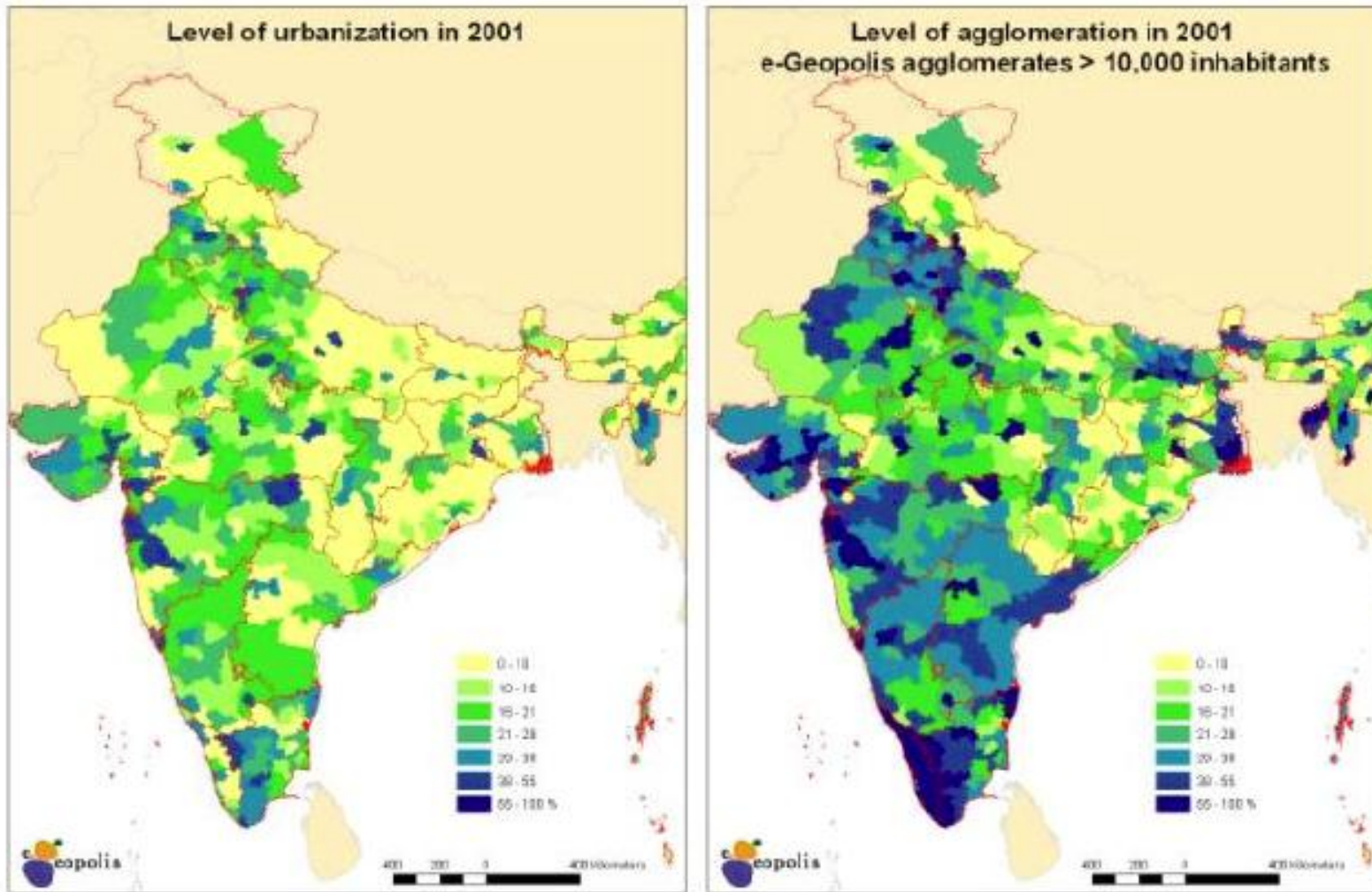
Uchida and Nelson (2008)

- Extensive inter-country exercise using GRUMP data
- Proximity definition
 - The road network and settlement data are used to determine travel times between settlements
- India (based on 2001 census)
 - 42.9% live within an hour of at least a Class I town
 - 52% live within an hour of at least a Class II town
- China
 - Stays at official number of 36%
- **Is India more urban than China?**

Denis and Marius-Gnanou (2011)

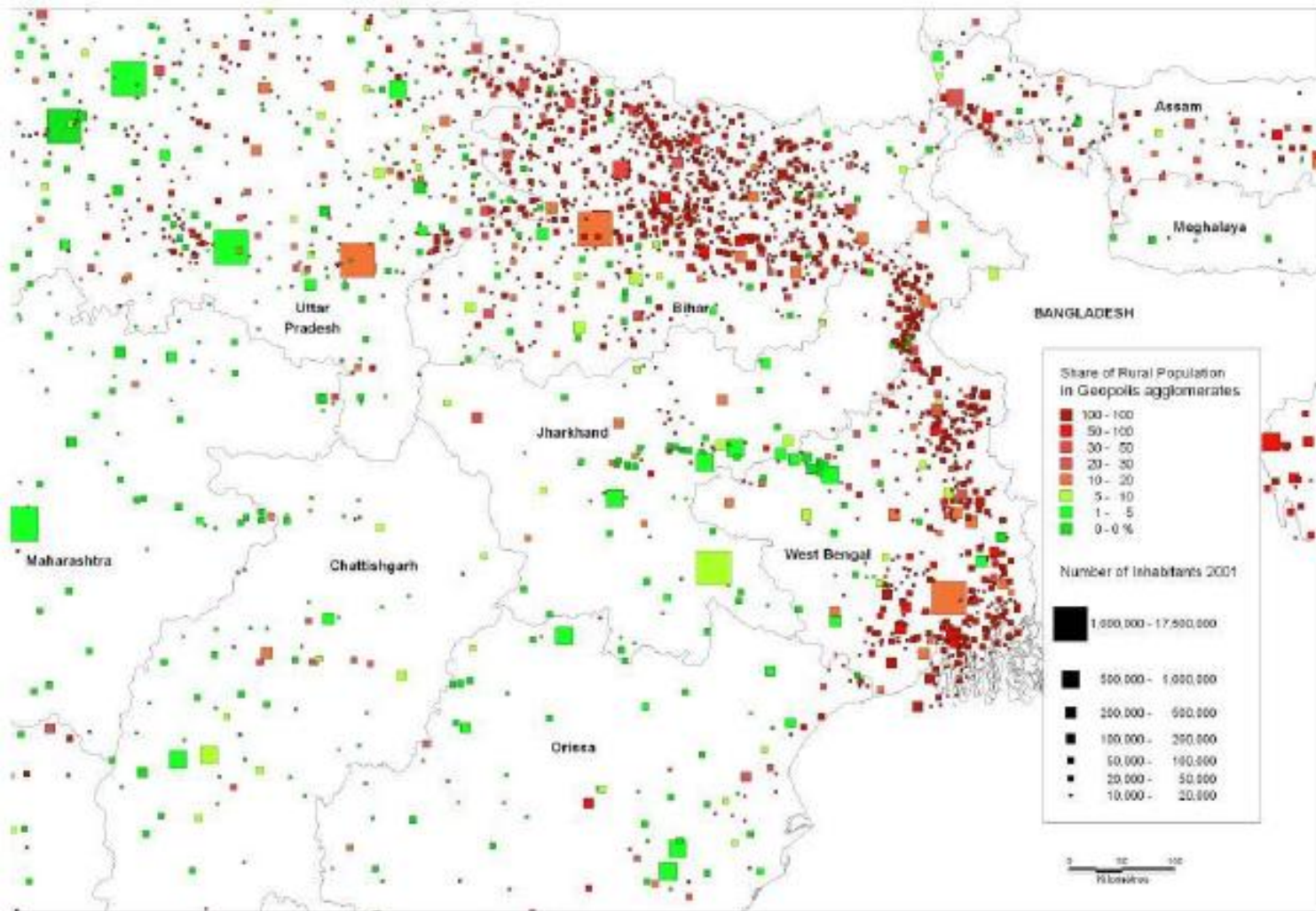
- Global e-geopolis exercise
- Built-up definition
 - Locations of contiguous (defined as less than 200 metres apart) built up areas from satellite imagery are matched geo-spatially with settlements from the Census
- India
 - 37.1% in agglomerations of more than 10000 compared to 26.6% in towns of more than 10000
 - Built-up settlements may or may not meet the economic activity criteria but are likely to meet the density and population criteria
 - Bihar goes from 10.4% to 31.2%
 - Villages do not meet the non-farm criterion

Official and....



Source: Denis and Marius-Gnanou (2011)

Bihar: from 10.4% to 31.2%



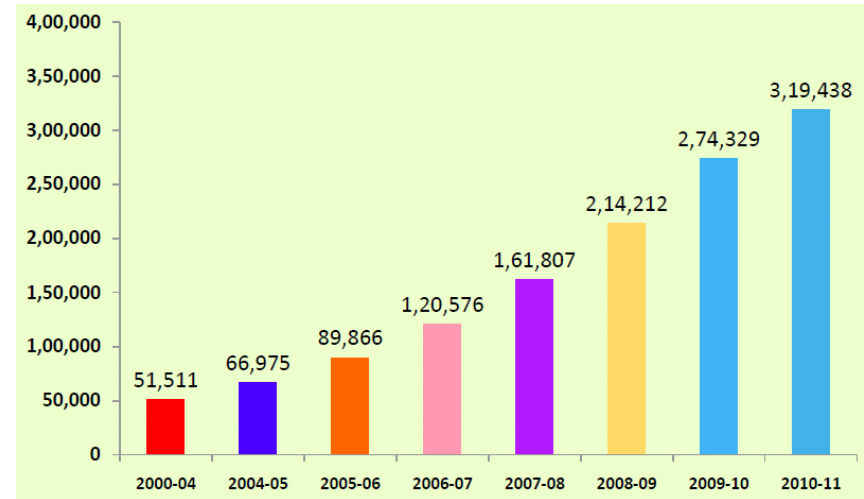
Source: Denis and Marius-Gnanou (2011)

India may be more urban than it seems

Chandrasekhar (2011)

- NSS 2009-10
- Commuting
 - People who live in rural areas and work in urban areas
- Results
 - 8.05 million rural non-agricultural workers commute to urban areas
 - 9.1% of the total urban non-agricultural workforce
- Attractions of village life or urban exclusion?
 - Greif and Tabellini (2012) find that urbanization was slower and more sparse in European regions where family traditions denote stronger kin-based obligations

Growing Connectedness



- 300,000 km of rural roads constructed under the Prime Minister's Rural Roads Program
 - Fifteen years ago, India had almost no four lane highways.
 - As of April 2011, 15,000 km is four-laned and 10,000 km is under implementation



Takeaway

- Urban may be more important than appears from the Census
 - Many people live in close proximity to a large town
 - Rural non-farm economic activity may be linked to urban proximity
 - Himanshu et. al. (2011)
 - 2009-10: 27.1% of labour force is rural non-farm vis-à-vis 25.5% in urban non-farm
 - Even in areas where farm activity dominates the population is living in large built-up agglomerations
- Some 'urban areas' are not classified as urban
 - 28.1 million people in 2375 settlements met the urban test in 2001 but not classified as such
 - Of these, 18.7 million people in 1625 settlements are new census towns in 2011 (Pradhan 2012)



Subaltern Urbanisation in India

ERIC DENIS, PARTHA MUKHOPADHYAY, MARIE-HÉLÈNE ZÉRAH

The concept of subaltern urbanisation refers to the growth of settlement agglomerations, whether denoted urban by the Census of India or not, that are independent of the metropolis and autonomous in their interactions with other settlements, local and global. Analysing conventional and new data sources “against the grain”, this paper claims support for the existence of such economically vital small settlements, contrary to perceptions that India’s urbanisation is slow, that its growth is uneven, and that cities do not function as traditional nuclei. It looks at the growth of settlements using the axes of spatial proximity to metropolises and degree of administrative recognition, and looks at the potential factors for their transformation along economic, social and political dimensions. Instead of basing policy on illusions of control, understanding how agents make this world helps comprehend ongoing Indian transformations.

The phrase “subaltern urbanisation”, at one level, is perhaps best seen as a literary device to focus attention on our area of inquiry, to increase the possibility of discursive engagement, arguably in the tradition of another such phrase, viz, “global city”. As Robinson (2002: 536) put it:

If the ‘global city’ were labelled as just another example of an ‘industrial’ district (perhaps it should rather be called: new industrial districts of transnational management and control), it might not have attracted the attention it did.

At another level, we would be remiss if we did not acknowledge that there is a link, howsoever tenuous, with the wide literature on uneven urbanisation in metropolitan areas. In an attempt to do this, we have drawn on the work of the *subaltern studies* movement, by which the term “subaltern” (emphasis in original) and a whiff of reading the official urbanisation data against the grain. To engage and locate our attempt within this intellectual tradition is outside the scope of this paper and our competence. It is for others, with a deeper understanding of this tradition, to critically appraise the relationship, if any.

For the purposes of this paper, subaltern urbanisation refers to autonomous growth of settlement agglomerations (which may or may not be denoted urban by the Census of India) that are generated by market and historical forces, which are not (i) “dependent” on large traditionally important settlements or “planned” cities like Chandigarh and the French colonial townships (ii) Mithapur, in the Gujarat coast. The aim is to investigate growth of settlements beyond that (i) driven by the economics of agglomeration, as advanced by the new economic geographers (summarised by Robinson, 2002) or (ii) directed towards the state. Private/corporate enterprise and control of the improvement of the state cannot be assured completely, e.g. the improvement of roads and the provision of electricity are all necessary elements in the growth of settlements, but these are usually not spatially directed towards a specific settlement. Others, such as the establishment of a mandi, are more spatially focused, but more limited as interventions, compared to “planned” cities.

It is useful at this stage to distinguish this notion from a few other concepts currently in use, such as subaltern urbanism, peri-urban, suburbanisation, exclusionary urbanisation and rurbanisation. Roy (2011: 227) offers two prominent themes, viz, “economic entrepreneurialism and political agency”, while advancing the notion of subaltern urbanism. In spirit, there is substantive similarity in our approach. But while subaltern urbanism is an innovative conceptual theorisation

Diversity of Urbanisation

draws liberally on

Denis, Mukhopadhyay and Zerah (2012)

The paper has benefited substantially from constructive comments of an anonymous referee. The authors would also like to thank foremost the SUBURBIN team for many useful and contentious conversations that helped to shape this paper, and the other participants of the SUBURBIN workshop held on 16 and 17 April 2012. Sangey Chakraverty and Pratik Bhattacharya provided incisive and helpful comments. We are also indebted to Kanha Charan Pradhan for invaluable assistance with the analysis and for sharing his preliminary findings. Shamintra Roy assisted with the geospatial analysis and Manika Bajaj provided valuable editorial comments. All errors are our responsibility.

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Diversity of Urbanisation

Larger Cities

Political Influence on Urban Growth?



	Single Growth Centre	Multiple Growth Centres
District(s) of/including State Capital	Karnataka	Chhattisgarh Madhya Pradesh Orissa
District(s) Near State or National Capital	Andhra Pradesh Arunachal Pradesh Haryana Punjab	Maharashtra Tamil Nadu Jammu and Kashmir Uttar Pradesh
Other District(s)	Jharkhand Kerala	Gujarat Rajasthan West Bengal
<p>Note: Growth centre districts are population growth outliers (those with population growth rate 1.65 standard deviations more than the state population growth rate). Includes only states with more than ten districts. Assam Bihar Himachal Pradesh Nagaland and Uttarakhand do not have any outlier districts</p>		

- Bengaluru is the only district including the state capital which has the highest growth rate in the state
- In other states districts including the state capital or districts near the state capital are high-growth districts (relative to the state growth rate)
- **Is the political primacy of state capitals influencing the spatial character of urban growth in India?**

Major Indian Cities (above 5 mn.)



B: Ahmedabad

C: Mumbai

I : Pune

D: Bengaluru

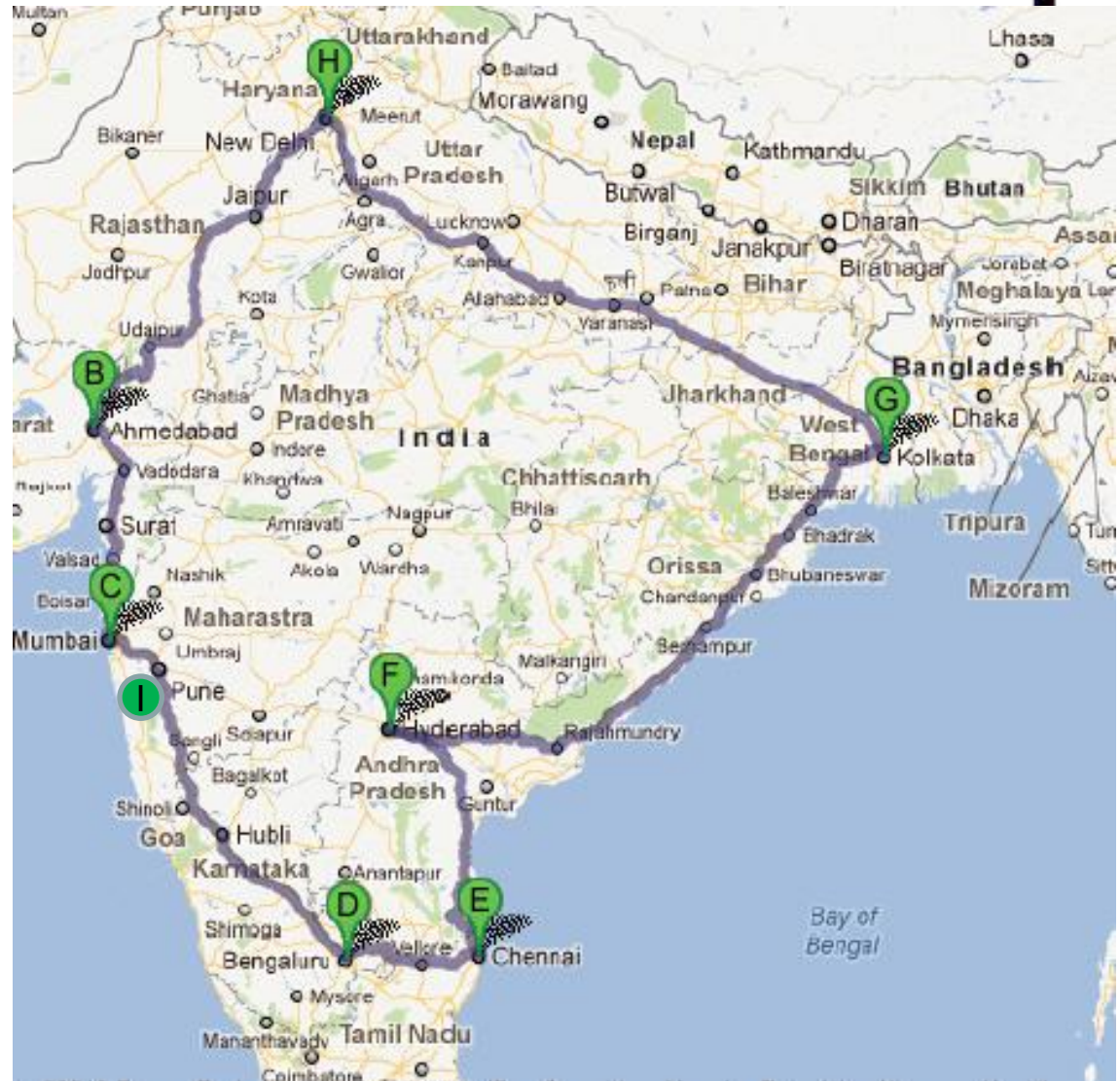
E: Chennai

F: Hyderabad

G: Kolkata

H: Delhi

- Each one of these, except Pune, is the administrative capital of the state where it is located
- Well distributed but with a peripheral character



Growth is happening around large cities



City	Population 2011 (UA) mn.	Core Growth (% p.a)	Peripheral Growth (% p.a)	Peripheral District
Mumbai*	18.4	0.4	3.6	Thane
Delhi	16.3	2.1	7.4	Gurgaon
Kolkata	14.1	1.3	1.8	South 24 Parganas
Chennai	8.7	0.8	3.9	Kancheepuram
Bengaluru	8.5	4.7	1.6	Bengaluru Rural
Hyderabad	7.7	1.6	4.8	Rangareddi
Ahmedabad	6.4	2.1	1.2	Gandhinagar
Pune	5.0	3.4	3.0	Pune

*Mumbai includes Mumbai and Mumbai (Suburban)

Urban Growth around Delhi and Mumbai

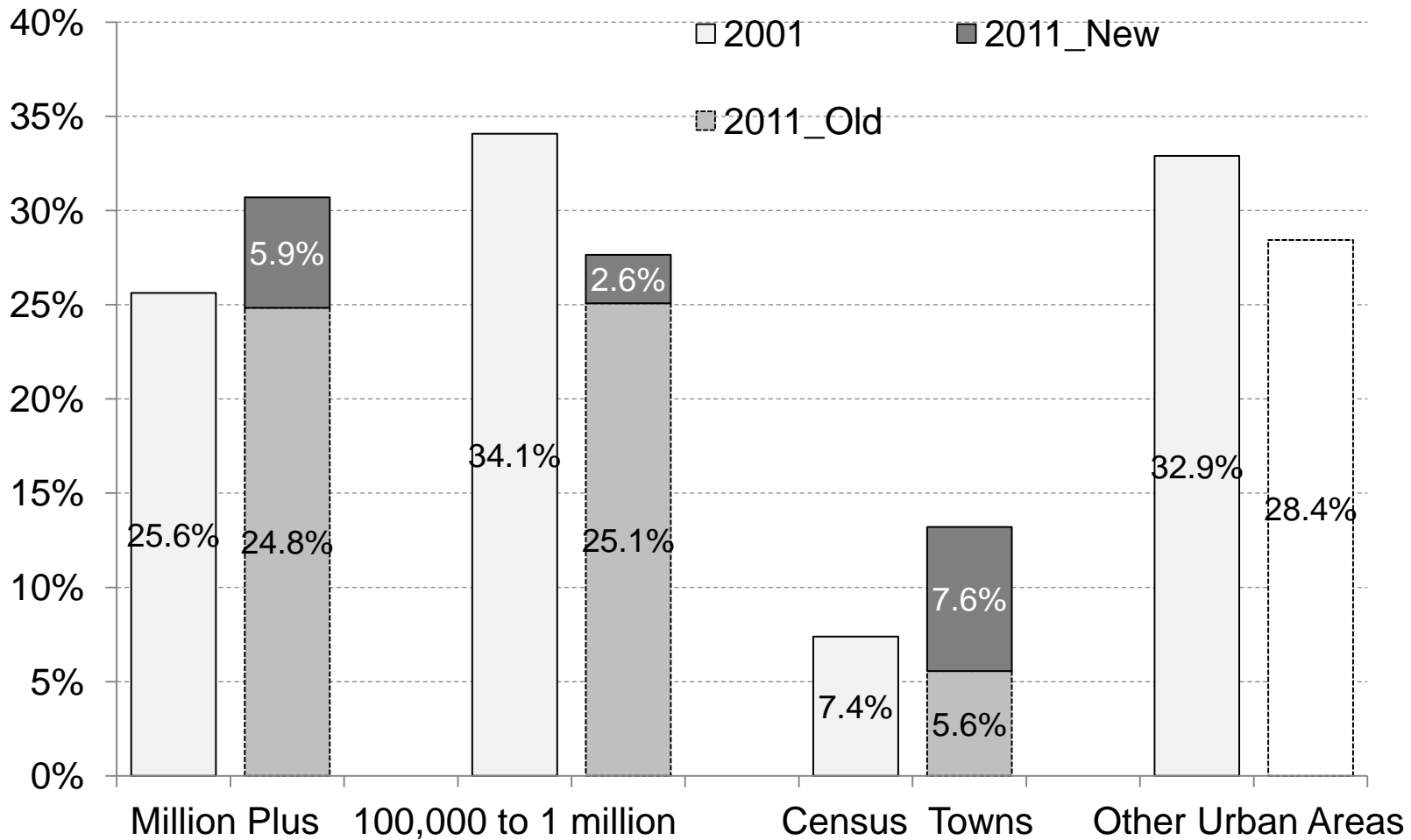


Urban Population	2001	2011	Growth p.a.
NCT of Delhi	12906065	16333916	2.4%
Ghaziabad	1816413	3144574	5.6%
Faridabad	1062286	1429093	3.0%
Gurgaon	309704	1042000	12.9%
G. B. Nagar (NOIDA)	442271	997410	8.5%
NCT Neighbourhood	3630674	6613077	6.2%
Meerut	1451992	1762573	2.0%
Bulandshahar	681583	867791	2.4%
Panipat	392076	552945	3.5%
Sonipat	321371	451687	3.5%
Rohtak	329593	444819	3.0%
Baghpat	229440	274135	1.8%
Jhajjar	195097	242974	2.2%
Palwal	159038	235663	4.0%
Rewari	136172	231411	5.4%
Mewat	59301	124017	7.7%
Rest NCR	3955664	5188015	2.7%
NCR	20492403	28135008	3.2%

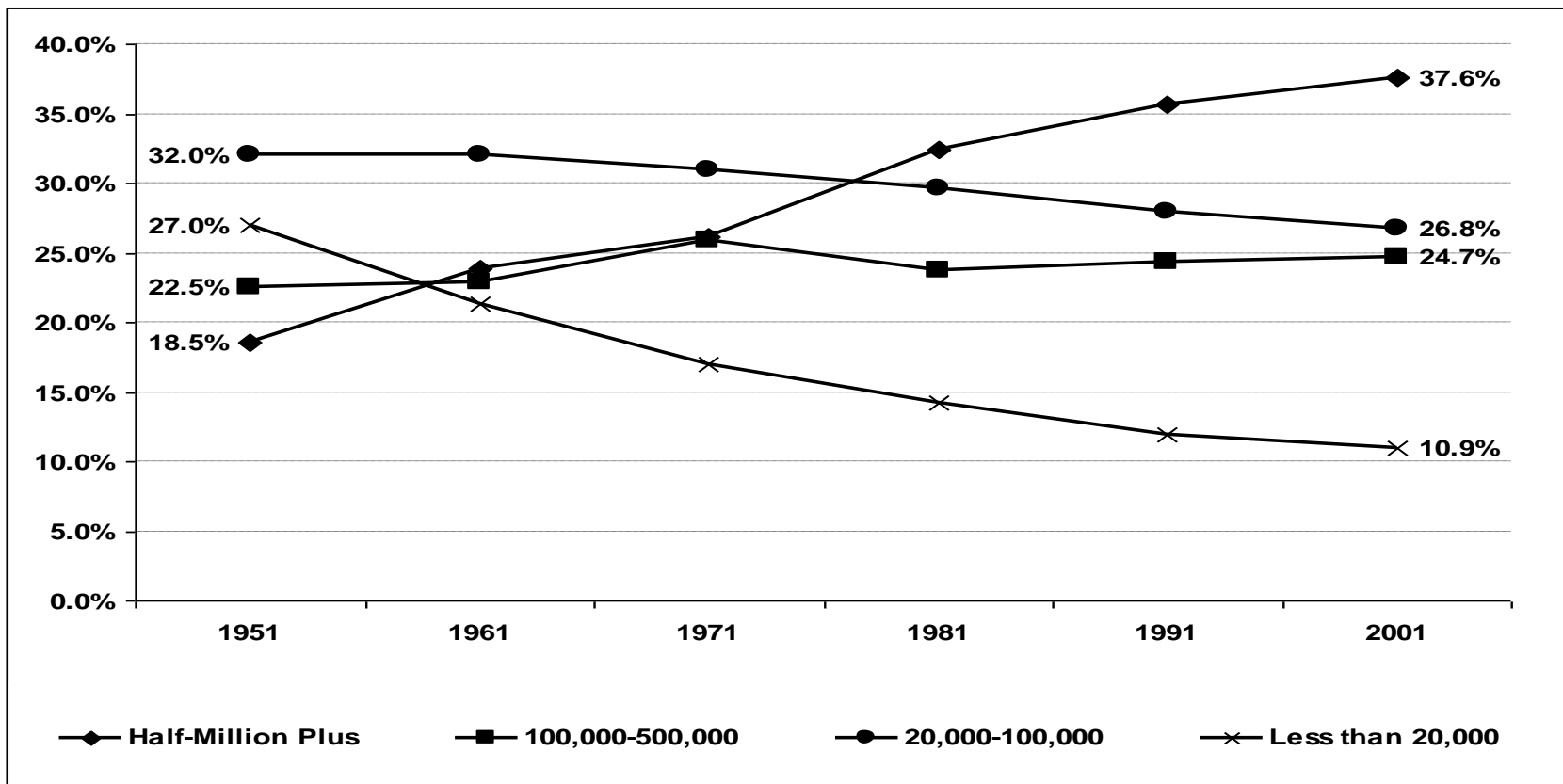
Urban Population	2001	2011	Growth p.a.
Mumbai City	3337895	3145966	-0.6%
Mumbai Suburban	8640386	9332481	0.8%
Mumbai	11978281	12478447	0.4%
Thane	5902467	8503094	3.7%
Raigarh	534834	972809	6.2%
Neighbourhood	6437301	9475903	3.9%
Total	18415582	21954350	1.8%

- While population growth in the core of both Delhi and Mumbai have slowed down Delhi's immediate neighbourhood is growing much more rapidly than Mumbai.
- Delhi's neighbourhood is smaller in proportion to the core city compared to Mumbai
 - Is this due to concavity or the presence of other strong urban centres nearby, e.g., Pune and Nashik?

Changing Size Distribution 2001-11



Urban population is in larger cities



Source: Town Directory, Census of India 2001

In 1951 41% of urban population was in settlements of more than 100,000 which rose to 62% in 2001 and 70% in 2011, if we consider urban agglomerations. The share living in cities over 500,000 rose from 18.5% in 1951 to 50.5% in 2011

But, more large cities are visible...



	UA existing in 2001 by size			New UA in 2011	
	Less than 500,000	500,000 to 1 million	More than 1 million	Less than 500,000	500,000 to 1 million
Growth of UA (2001-2011)	3.0%	2.9%	2.3%
Growth of Core City (2001-2011)	2.0%	2.0%	2.5%	1.3%	2.5%
Share of Core City in UA Pop.	76%	79%	72%	86%	84%
Share of UA in Urban Pop.	10.2%	7.0%	34.0%	2.1%	2.0%
Share of UA in Urban Pop. (2001)	10.0%	6.9%	35.7%
Share of Core in Urban Pop.	7.8%	5.5%	24.5%	1.8%	1.7%
Share of Core in Urban Pop. (2001)	8.4%	5.9%	25.3%	1.6%	1.3%
Number of UAs	139	28	31	38	8

- Growth in share of population in large cities is not driven by migration to big cities. It is also the growth of existing mid-level cities
- The share of population of half-million plus UAs that existed in 2001 has declined in 2011 from 42.6% to 41% but 8 new half-million plus UAs have emerged in 2001, that add 2% of urban population

and, large cities have small beginnings



Size 1961 \ Size 2011	100 to 200	200 to 300	300 to 400	400 to 500	500 to 1 million	More than 1 million
N.A.	6%	13%	5%	14%	7%	6%
Less than 50	67%	34%	22%	10%	10%	3%
50 to 100	25%	41%	42%	25%	12%	6%
100 to 200	1%	10%	31%	45%	43%	7%
200 to 300		1%		5%	23%	10%
300 to 400					5%	10%
400 to 500						7%
500 to 1 mn.						11%
More than 1 mn						41%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

- Diverse origin of today's class I cities
 - Over 50 years, a four-fold increase means 2.8% growth p.a.
 - While a number of the super-fast (10X) growing towns are administrative or near large metros, many are not
 - Nashik, Bhiwandi and Aurangabad (Maharashtra) Surat and Vapi (Gujarat), Rudrapur (Uttarakhand), Akbarpur (UP), Saharsa (Bihar), Miryalaguda (AP)
- What do we know of such towns?

China's in-situ urbanization



China

- In-situ urbanization (Zhu 2002)
 - Cities like Jinjiang and Quanzhou in Fujian grew from inside-out
 - Historical contingency
 - Good road and telecom connectivity
 - Population density
 - Local access to capital
 - Independently connected to global markets

India

- Similar process leading to dispersed urbanization and fast growing Indian cities
 - Surat (Gujarat) is an old trading town,
 - Aurangabad, (Maharashtra) is a textile centre that now has many industries,
 - Miryalaguda (Andhra Pradesh) is a rice market town that has diversified
 - Tiruppur (Tamil Nadu) is a global knitwear production centre



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Unacknowledged Urbanisation: The New Census Towns of India

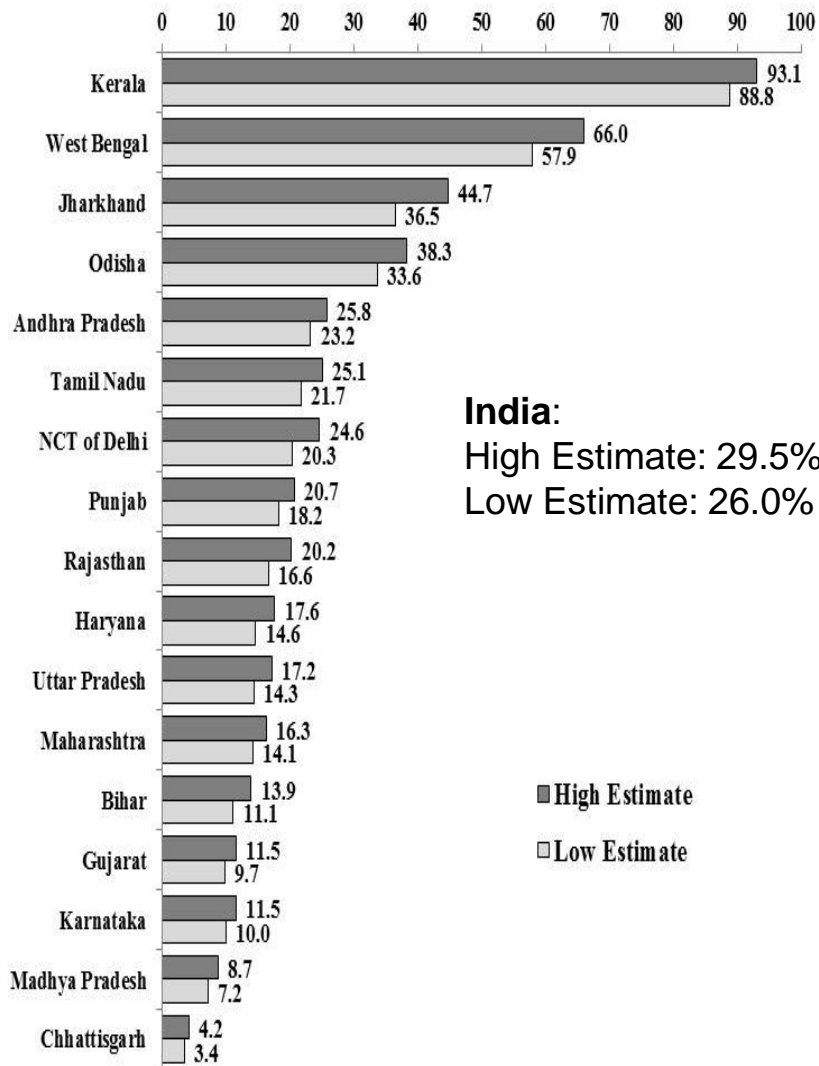
Diversity of Urbanisation

KANTHU CHARAN PRADHAN

Census Towns Based on Pradhan (2012)

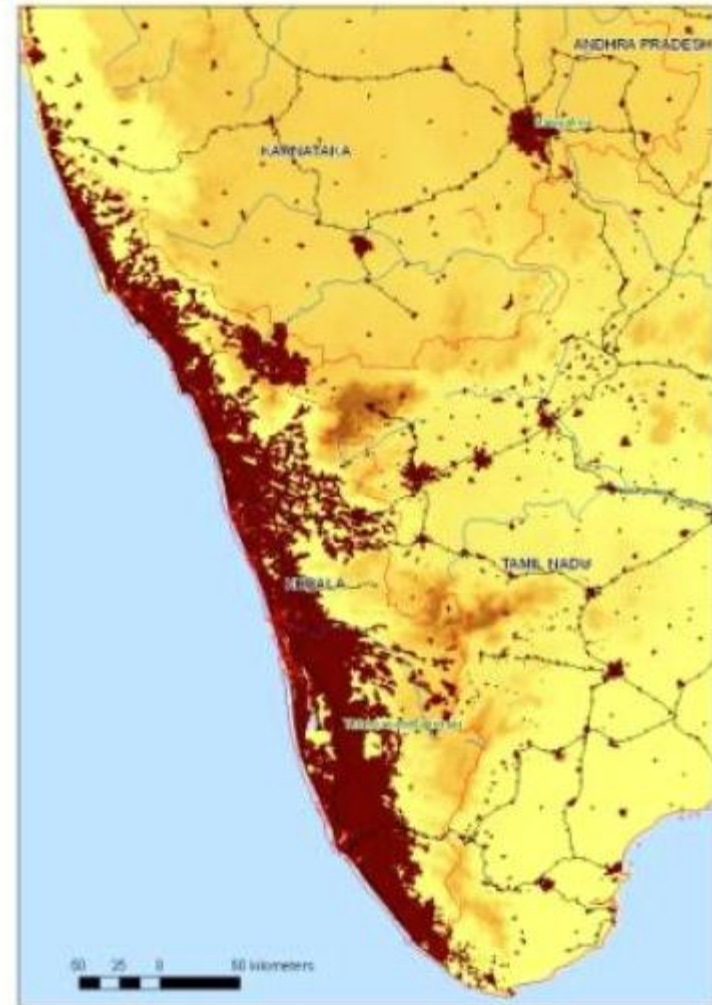
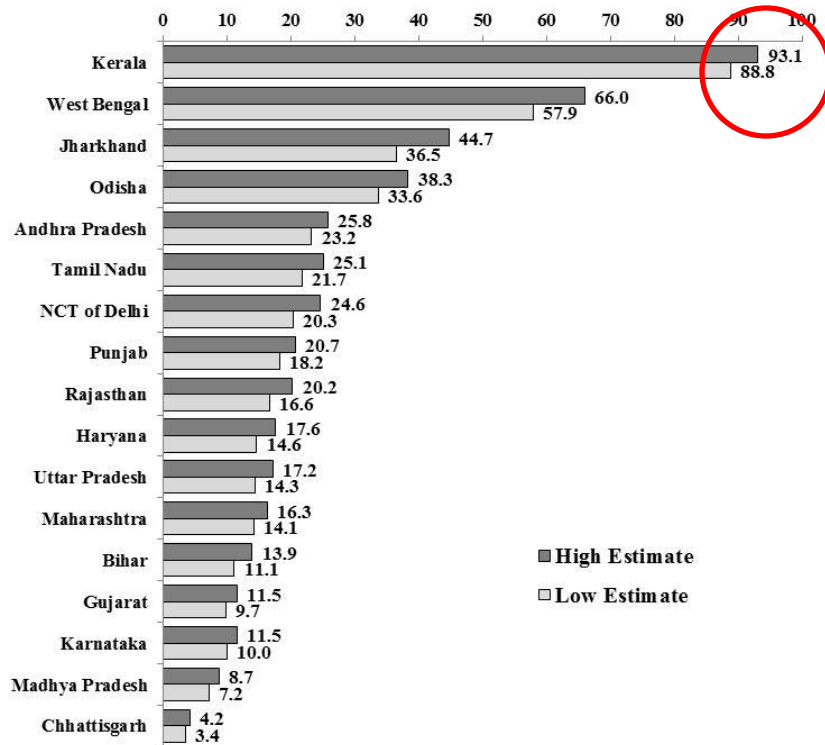
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The drops in the Ocean...now 15%



- In-situ urbanisation?
 - Almost a third of the growth in urban population over 2001-11 is reclassification of villages as census towns
 - Estimated by matching new census towns to villages in 2001 and increasing village populations in 2001 by the state population growth rate
 - Extent varies across states
- **Estimate of migration is 22.2%**
 - 44% natural growth (Bhagat 2011)
 - 29.5% villages to Census Towns
 - 2.3% villages to Statutory Towns
 - 2% boundary expansion (minimum)
 - 22.2% is residual estimate of migration

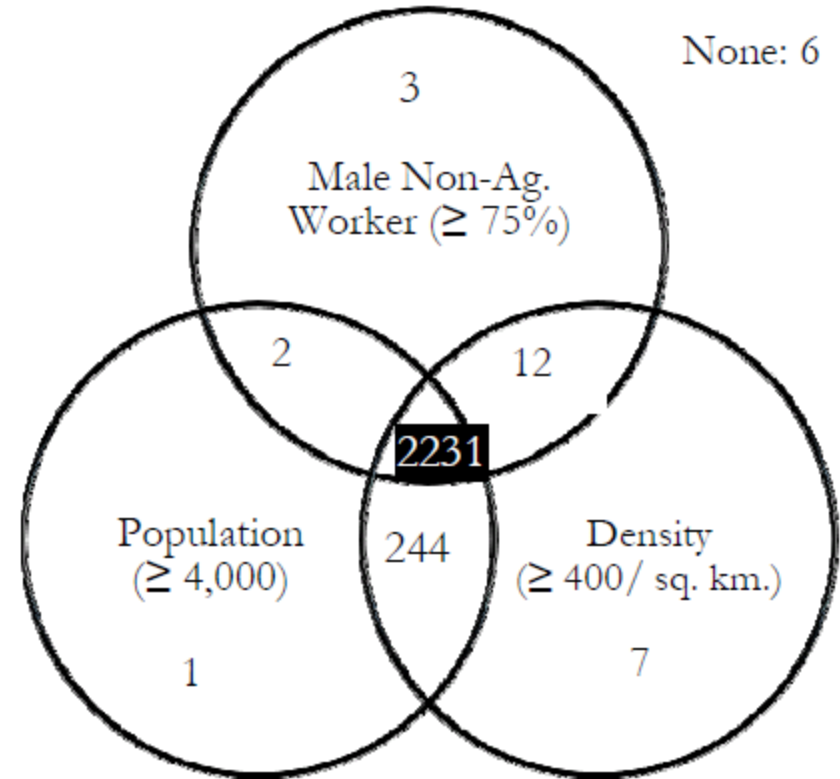
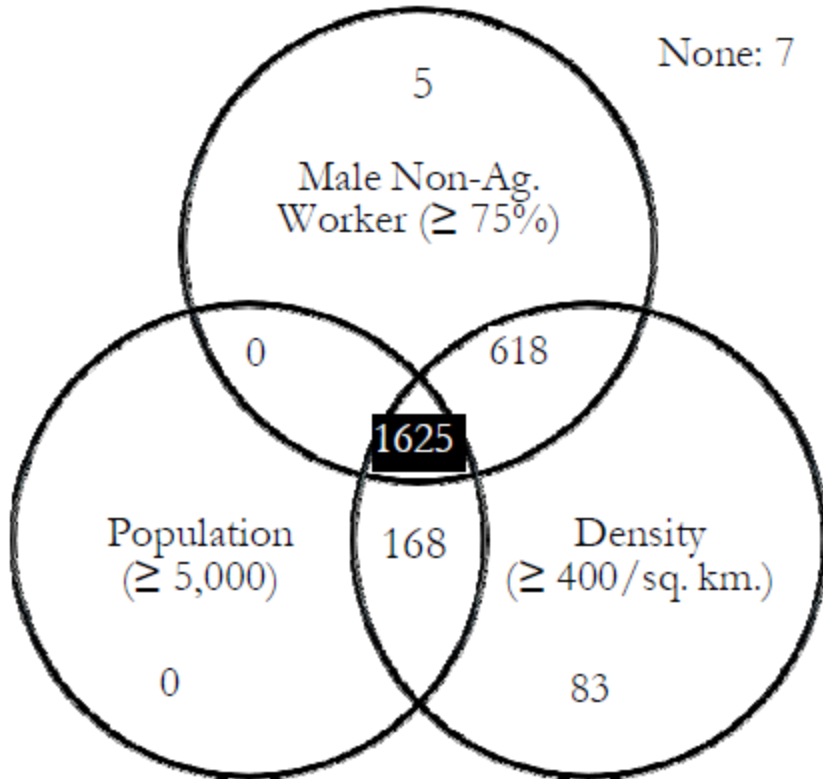
Kerala Desakota



Source: Denis and Marius-Gnanou (2011)

Almost all the urban growth in Kerala over 2001-11 is due to the growth of census towns

Census Towns of 2011, c. 2001



- 64% (1625 of 2553) settlements of 18.5 mn classified as new census towns in 2011 already met the three-fold test in 2001
 - Remember the 28.1 million ‘unrecognised’ urban people
- 90% (all except 258) of new census towns in 2011 met the density and economic activity test in 2001 (urban under the 1951 definition)

New Census Towns are not outgrowths



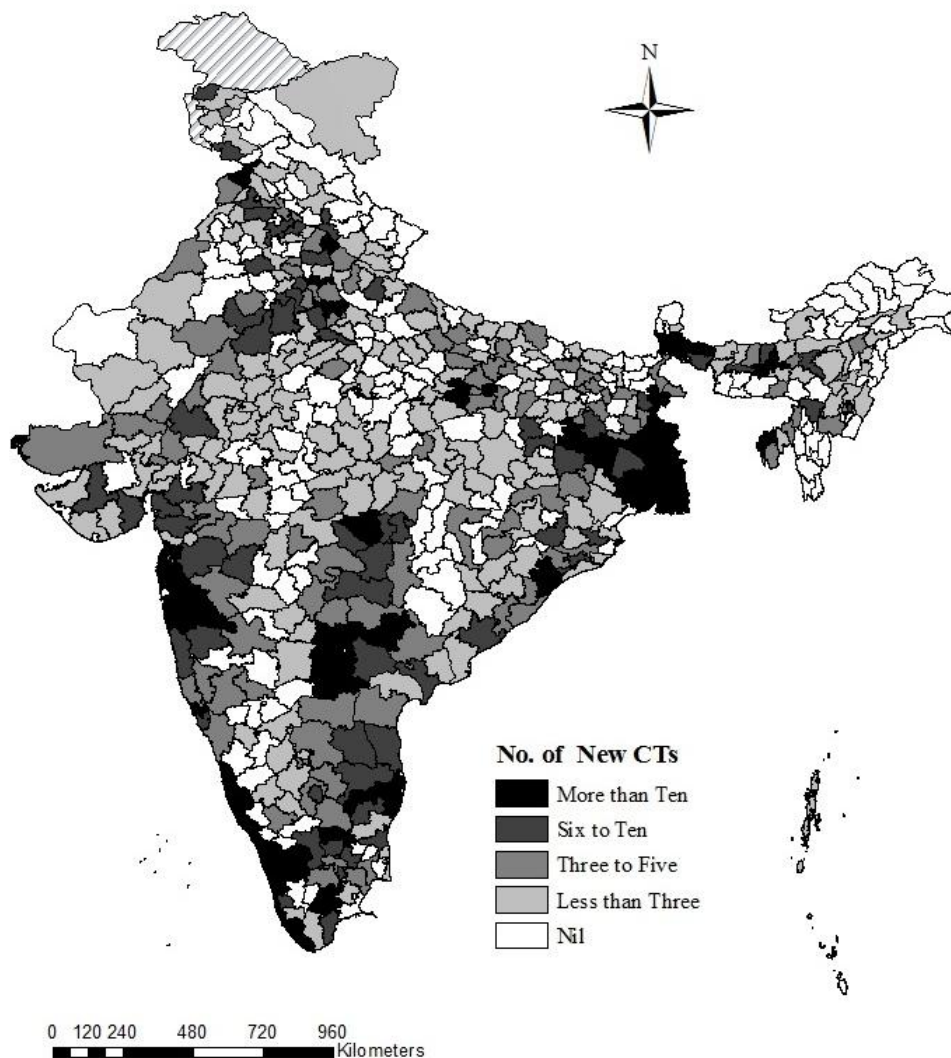
Size Class of Class I Towns (base case radial distance)	Case-I (Base) No (Pop.)	Case-II (+25%) No (Pop.)	Case-III (-25%) No (Pop.)
100,000 to 500,000 (10 km)	45.1% (42.3%)	41.9% (41.1%)	51.7% (49.4%)
500,000 to 1,000,000 (15 km)	14.8% (18.6%)	14.9% (18.3%)	14.7% (17.5%)
1,000,000 to 4,000,000 (20 km)	18.4% (15.6%)	17.1% (14.3%)	19.5% (16.5%)
More than 4,000,000 (25 km)	21.7% (23.4%)	26.1% (26.3%)	14.1% (16.7%)
Proximate to Large Towns	926 (7.8)	1115 (9.5)	735 (6.2)
Distant from Large Towns	1563 (15.4)	1374 (13.7)	1754 (16.9)

Note: If a CT is near multiple classes of city proximity, then it is considered under the proximity of larger city class.

- Population of new CTs within a radial distance of Class I towns is only 33% (41% in case II)
 - Proportion near million plus is only 13% (17% in case II)
 - Much less than proportion of urban population in larger towns
- Two broad types of relationship with larger towns?
 - Proximate (dependent?)
 - Distant (independent?)

New Census Towns are Widely Spread

While there appears to be a concentration around the large cities of Delhi, Mumbai, Pune, Chennai, Hyderabad and Kolkata, there is also a large number that are spread widely around the country



Widely spread but not isolated



Size of SA (2001) \ Size of new CT(2001)	Less than 10,000	10,000 to 30,000	30,000 to 50,000	50,000 to 100,000	100,000 to 200,000	200,000 to 500,000	Greater than 500,000	Total in SA	Not in SA
Less than 5,000	12	52	22	34	52	41	128	341	376
5,000 to 10,000	413	138	36	86	99	67	280	1119	35
10,000 to 20,000		158	23	30	23	28	189	451	11
20,000 to 50,000		19	11	8	3	6	162	209	4
More than 50,000				1		1	5	7	
Total	425 (20.0%)	367 (17.3%)	92 (4.3%)	159 (7.5%)	177 (8.3%)	143 (6.7%)	764 (36%)	2127 (100%)	426

- Of the 1836 census towns that had a population of more than 5,000 in 2001, all but 50 are part of a settlement agglomeration, as defined by Denis and Marius-Gnanou (2011)
 - 988 of them part of agglomeration of more than 50,000



Subaltern Urbanisation in India

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The concept of subaltern urbanisation refers to the growth of settlement agglomerations, whether denoted urban by the Census of India or not, that are independent of the metropolis and autonomous in their interactions with other settlements, local and global. Analysing conventional and new data sources “against the grain”, this paper claims support for the existence of such economic units. It argues that the growth of these smaller settlements are stagnant and its cities are not productive. It offers a classification scheme for settlements using the lens of neo-liberalism to metropolises and their dependent agglomerations and looks at the potential factors for their transformation along economic, social and political dimensions. Instead of basing policy on illusions of control, understanding how agents make this world helps comprehend ongoing Indian transformations.

The phrase “subaltern urbanisation”, at one level, is perhaps best seen as a literary device to focus attention on our area of inquiry, to increase the possibility of discursive engagement, arguably in the tradition of another such phrase, viz, “global city”. As Robinson (2002: 536) put it:

If the ‘global city’ were labelled as just another example of an ‘industrial’ district (perhaps it should rather be called: new industrial districts of transnational management and control), it might not have attracted the attention it did.

A similar case would be made for the ‘global city’ if we did not have the ‘global city’, but the ‘global city’, with its literature on subaltern studies. In particular, there is an attempt in our work to interpret as Guha (1982: 39) says, the “contribution made by the people on their own, that is independently of the state”. This is not to say that the act of reading the official literature on development is outside the scope of this paper and our competence. It is for others, with a deeper understanding of this tradition, to critically appraise the relationship, if any.

For the purposes of this paper, subaltern urbanisation refers to autonomous growth of settlement agglomerations (which may or may not be denoted urban by the Census of India) that are generated by market and historical forces, which are not (i) “dependent” on large traditionally important settlements or (ii) “planned” cities like Chandigarh and other planned townships like Mithapur, in Gujarat district, Gujarat. The attempt is to investigate growth of settlements beyond that (i) driven by the economics of agglomeration, as advanced by the neo-economic geographers (summarised by Robinson 2002) or (ii) dependent on the state. The state, private/corporate enterprise and control of the improvement of the state cannot be assured completely, e.g., the improvement of roads and the provision of electricity are all necessary elements in the growth of settlements, but these are usually not spatially directed towards a specific settlement. Others, such as the establishment of a mandi, are more spatially focused, but more limited as interventions, compared to “planned” cities.

It is useful at this stage to distinguish this notion from a few other concepts currently in use, such as subaltern urbanism, peri-urban, suburbanisation, exclusionary urbanisation and ruralisation. Roy (2011: 227) offers two prominent themes, viz, “economic entrepreneurialism and political agency”, while advancing the notion of subaltern urbanism. In spirit, there is substantive similarity in our approach. But while subaltern urbanism is an innovative conceptual theorisation

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Economic Structure of Non-Metro Urban Areas

Based on

Denis, Mukhopadhyay and Zerah (2012)

Million-Plus cities are but one part



Sector	1993-94	2004-05	2007-08	2009-10	Notes
Mining	3.0%	8.3%	4.4%	8.4%	Up
Food Mfg.	10.6%	16.3%	13.7%	12.9%	Stable
Clothing Mfg.	22.9%	33.2%	36.6%	33.8%	Up strongly
Machinery Mfg.	39.0%	44.5%	48.5%	41.2%	Stable
Other Mfg.	27.6%	35.3%	35.6%	32.8%	Up
Utilities	18.6%	28.6%	21.2%	17.7%	Stable
Construction	24.4%	25.5%	22.5%	16.9%	Down strongly
Govt. services	28.5%	27.2%	29.1%	28.3%	Stable
Traditional services	23.6%	27.9%	30.4%	27.5%	Up
Modern services	37.4%	45.0%	45.0%	42.5%	Up
Social services	19.9%	25.4%	23.1%	22.2%	Stable
Household service	34.3%	42.6%	43.1%	46.6%	Up strongly
Total	22.7%	28.7%	29.7%	27.0%	Up

- Share of urban employment in million plus cities by economic sectors
 - Million-plus cities are not the main hub of urban economic activity
 - Share is not growing, except in clothing manufacturing and modern services
- Construction is growing strongly in smaller urban areas
 - Is this because these areas are being built or because the construction workers stay in these areas and work in the larger cities?

Economic Structure of Urban Areas



	1993-94		2004-05		2007-08		2009-10	
	Million Plus	Other Urban	Million Plus	Other Urban	Million Plus	Other Urban	Million Plus	Other Urban
Mining	0.2%	1.7%	0.2%	1.1%	0.1%	0.9%	0.2%	0.9%
Manufacturing	27.4%	27.9%	28.2%	24.9%	28.5%	24.3%	27.0%	23.1%
Food Mfg.	1.8%	5.1%	1.6%	3.7%	1.3%	3.7%	1.3%	3.5%
Clothing Mfg.	9.1%	10.1%	10.5%	9.3%	10.6%	8.5%	10.5%	8.2%
Machinery Mfg.	5.0%	2.6%	3.9%	2.1%	4.8%	2.4%	4.5%	2.6%
Other Mfg.	11.6%	10.1%	12.1%	9.7%	11.8%	9.8%	10.7%	8.8%
Utilities	1.2%	1.8%	0.9%	1.0%	0.7%	1.2%	0.7%	1.3%
Construction	7.2%	7.5%	7.6%	9.7%	6.7%	10.7%	6.6%	13.0%
Govt. services	13.1%	10.9%	6.3%	7.4%	6.4%	7.2%	6.8%	7.0%
Traditional svc	34.3%	36.9%	33.9%	38.6%	36.5%	38.6%	34.9%	36.9%
Modern svcs	8.7%	4.8%	12.0%	6.5%	13.1%	7.4%	14.1%	7.7%
Social services	5.0%	6.7%	6.3%	8.1%	5.2%	8.0%	6.1%	8.6%
Household svc.	3.0%	1.9%	4.6%	2.7%	2.8%	1.7%	3.5%	1.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

- Modern services is growing in million-plus cities but still relatively small part
 - Manufacturing is stable but may be moving from smaller cities
- Economic structure of smaller cities is similar to large cities
 - Similar functions at a different scale?



Conclusion



Conclusion

- Urban may be more important than appears from the Census
- Indian urbanisation is a distinct (subaltern?) story; a “contribution made by the people on their own”
 - Many facets of urbanisation and metropolitan growth is but one of them
- Many economically vital small settlements
 - Contrary to perceptions that India’s urbanisation is low, its smaller settlements are stagnant and its cities are unproductive (Nijman 2012)
- Not just movement of people, also the transformation of places

A Classification Scheme for Urbanisation					
Administrative Recognition	Invisible	Denied	Contesting (I)	Contesting (II)	Recognised
Spatial proximity					
Non-peripheral					
Peripheral					

Note: Contesting (I) refers to a situation where the settlement wants to be urban but the administrative classification is rural, while the reverse situation is Contesting (II)



Thank You

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