CHAPTER - II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The study of urban development and quality of urban life incorporates several dimensions of a city life their physical and quality of life keeping all this in view, we can categorise the available literature on urbanisation under separate heads like: (i) Concept of Urbanisation (ii) Processes of Urbanisation (iii) Urbanisation, Environment and Development and (iv) Components of Good Quality of Urban Life.

(i) Concept of Urbanisation

Mumford (1938)\(^\text{16}\) had defined the city as a geographical place, an economic organisation, industrial process, thereafter of social action and aesthetic symbol of collective unity.

The term urbanisation also implies the movement of people to the urban areas. Taylor (1953)\(^\text{17}\) had used the term in the same way and had stated that "Urbanisation is a shift of people from villages to city". Davis and Golden (1954) had also explained urbanisation in an elaborate way. According to them, "urbanisation represents a revolutionary change in the

whole pattern of social life and itself is a product of basic economic and technological developments”.

**Definition of Urban Community**

Urban communities can be defined in any number of ways including by population size, population density, administrative or political boundaries, or economic function. Some countries define their urban population as those people living within certain administrative boundaries—such as in administrative centres or municipals (as in El Salvador), municipality councils (as in Iraq), or in places having a municipality or a municipal corporation, a town committee, or a cantonment board (as in Bangladesh or Pakistan). Other countries prefer to classify their urban population using either population size or population density as the primary consideration.

The ‘United Nations’ report world urbanization prospects, upon which much of this section is built, merely presents urban data that reflect national definitions, which are far from consistent.

*Thomson (1955)*\(^{18}\) had viewed urbanisation as being the same and he provided a broad idea about it and had stated that urbanisation is

characterised by movement of people from small communities to generally larger ones whose activities are primarily centred in government, trade, manufacture or allied interests. The definition of urban area has been also given by United Nations Demographic Year Book (1955), and its definition can be categorised into three major groups: (1) Classification of minor civil divisions on chosen criteria which includes: (a) type of local government, (b) number of inhabitants, and (c) proportion of population engaged in agriculture; (2) Classification of administration centres of minor rural areas as urban; and (3) Classification of certain size localities (agglomerations) as urban, irrespective of administrative boundaries.

According to Ehrlich (1956), urbanisation is a process of population concentration towards city and the scholar has identified the elements in the process i.e. (i) the multiplications of points of concentration, and (ii) increase in the size of individual concentrations themselves.

Gibbs (1961) had referred the word 'urban' in terms of demographic attributes (size/density) or economic variables (per centage of non-agricultural workers). He had also stated that in its demographic sense, urban

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is usually considered as an agglomeration of a given size. In terms of economic variables he had identified an urban area as one, where more than three-fourth of the total population is engaged in non-agricultural occupations.

**Hauser (1965)**\(^{21}\) had characterised urbanisation as a change in the pattern of population distribution, involving an increase in the relative size of the urban population and also a growth in the number of such places. Riesman (1964) had interpreted urbanisation as the whole process of changing a society. The consequences of this has been also explained by him. Urbanisation results into a transformation of a society from a homogenous one to a heterogeneous mass.

**Gosal (1922)**\(^{22}\) had provided a detailed description about the town. "According to him an urban place acts as a central place for its umland. It is the focus of distinct human settlement, characterised by the complexity of human life and economic activities. He had further described that a town has an internally differentiated land use pattern, and is essentially the centre of innovation and diffusion of new ideas.

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Prakasa Rao (1983)\textsuperscript{23} had expressed, a similar thought about urbanisation and had stated that urbanisation involves the transformation of rural attributes to urban ones, the concentration of people at a point and also the multiplication of points of concentration, i.e. urban settlements.

Singh and Singh (1988)\textsuperscript{24} had chosen certain socio-economic parameters to define urbanisation and were of the view that urbanisation meant the proportion of total population concentrated in urban settlements. It is also the expression of the contemporary political, social, economic and cultural processes prevailing in a region.

Mandal (1998)\textsuperscript{25} had provided an extensive definition of urbanisation. He had used certain demographic, social and economic parameters and had categorised them into four factors in explaining urbanisation. These factors are: (a) concentration of people at one place, (b) population shift (migration) from rural to urban area, (c) occupational shift from agriculture to non-agriculture and (d) land use shift from agriculture to non-agriculture.

Processes of Urbanisation

Urbanisation does not occur evenly over space and time, because processes leading to urbanisation change from one region to another and from one period of time to another. Dayal (1959)\(^{26}\) had placed forward the opinion that rural poverty and unemployment problem push people from rural areas, whereas higher wages and better living conditions in urban areas pull population, towards cities thus increasing the urban population.

Bogue and Zachariah (1962)\(^{27}\) had opined that in India and in fact almost everywhere in the world, the rate of reproductive change is not very different in rural areas from the urban areas, and urbanisation does not take place as a result of the vital processes alone. They have cited the example of Calcutta, where the registered number of deaths was always greater than the registered number of births up to 1951.

Davis (1967)\(^{28}\) had suggested that the factor of natural increase was scarcely significant for the growth in urban population. Haggett (1972)\(^{29}\) had observed in his study that urbanisation in European countries was

mostly a product of industrialisation and rural to urban migration. But urbanisation in developing countries had been the product of population explosion in the rural areas, which accelerated the massive migration of population to the urban centres.

Many scholars have treated urbanisations as the child of industrial revolution. So with the rise of industrialisation, the pace of urbanisation increases. However, according to Sundra Ranising (1979)\textsuperscript{30}, five major factors determine the process of urbanisation, They are, (i) agricultural revolution, (ii) industrial revolution, (iii) commercial revolution, (iv) increasing efficiency of transportation, and (v) the demographic revolution.

Bogue (1979)\textsuperscript{31} had studied the processes of urbanisation in the U.S. in 1950s and had been of the view that urbanisation has a positive relationship with industrialisation and negative relation with agricultural density. He had also pointed out that high agricultural density indicates the lack of modernisation in agriculture, which ultimately results in low percentage of urban population. He found that in rural areas where agriculture was highly mechanised and modernised, very less number of people lived.

Preston (1979)\(^\text{32}\) had studied the urbanisation process in developing countries. He viewed that urban growth in these countries had been mainly due to natural increase of urban population. In one of his studies he had examined the data of 29 developing countries and had found that 24 countries had a faster rate of urban natural increase than net in-migration.

Premi (1981)\(^\text{33}\) had provided a broad analysis of the factors of urbanisation and had identified them as: (a) natural increase in the existing urban areas, (b) net rural to urban migration, (c) relocation of the rural settlements in urban areas due to the extension of municipal boundaries, and (d) the emergence of new points of concentrations. Premi had also pointed out that the first three components indicate concentration of urban activities in the already existing urban centres, while the emergence of new towns and cities suggest a dispersal of urban functions over a wider geographical area.

It has been pointed out in the Census of India (Occasional Paper, 1981) that besides natural growth (net addition due to birth and death) and area changes (emergence of new towns); net gain due to movement of human population from rural to urban area had been a significant factor in


the process of urban growth of any geographical area. Again, Rakesh Mohan (1985) had taken urbanisation as a determinant as well as a consequence of economic development.

Ramchandran and Ramchandran (1987) had explained that the survival and growth of cities depend upon the functions they perform. In ancient times towns evolved due to surplus agricultural production and concentration of political power. Today organised commerce and manufacturing technology are the new forces resulting in the urbanisation. (Ghosh, 1987).

Mitra (1992) had analysed India's urbanisation in the light of a number of aspects such as unprecedented growth of urban areas and had pointed out the proliferation of slums in recent years. He had stated that one of the demographic features of urbanisation in several newly developing countries in the past decades was the substantial increase in labour force through the natural increase of population and rural to urban migration in particular.

Urbanisation, Environment and Development

Many scholars believe that not only the increasing population pressure but also industrialisation and economic development are deteriorating the urban environment. For example Khosla (1988) held the same view and according to him population growth contributed to urban pollution. Basically, industrialisation processes raise the standard of living of the people involving more per capita transportation, energy usage, industrial gas consumption, and results in urban environmental problems. World Council on Environment and Development (1987) in a report had brought forth that basically the majority of essential human needs can be met only through goods and services provided by industries. But in this process, industry at one hand extracts materials from the natural resource base and on the other hand releases both wasteful materials and pollution into the human environment. Therefore, industries have the ability to create regional imbalance by causing either resource depletion or environmental degradation.

On the basis of 1981 Census data, Gupta (1989) had studied the relationship between industrialisation, urbanisation and rural development, in the context of the major Indian States. This paper is divided into two sections and in the first section, the author had discussed industrialisation, economic and technological development and urbanisation links. The author had also selected ten variables to determine industrial, economic and technological development of the study area.

Pollution problems in India are becoming more and more serious due to rapid and unplanned urbanisation and industrialisation, and the most serious effects of these include the increase in air pollution, water pollution, noise pollution, problems of solid waste management, and proliferation of slums and squatters. Singh and Kayastha (1989), in their study had demonstrated that in case of Jamshedpur town, the wastes in the form of liquid and gas from iron and steel industry have created several environmental ills. These pollutants not only result in morbidity among the population but also significantly pollute river Subarnarekha and the soils of the surrounding region.

A strong relationship and an inseparable association between development and environment had been identified by Dafuiani (1991)\textsuperscript{41}. This relationship had been so strong that a non-concomitant concentration of effects of one negates the importance of others and results into distortion and disequilibrium of the environment. As a result, environmental problem per se are those, which could be overcome by the developmental process. However, development without goal-oriented objectives will create environmental problems, resource depletion, physical, chemical and biological pollution.

\textbf{Choudhary (1995)}\textsuperscript{42} had examined the impact of population growth and economic development separately on global warming. According to him the nature of environmental problems depend upon the level of economic development (GNP), the nature of industrialisation, the degree of urbanisation and the effectiveness of public policies. In general, due to low economic development, developing countries experience immediate environmental problems related to scarcity and safety of drinking water, inadequate sanitation facilities, air pollution in urban areas, soil depletion


and degradation, indoor pollution from burning biomass (wood, coal and dung) and outdoor pollution from burning coal for industrial production.

Generally, large metropolitan centres and large cities dominate economic development and economic activities and also contribute towards the corresponding environmental damages/stress. Prasad (1995)\(^43\) in his report had pointed out that India's current position in economic development had identified its relationship with urban environment. He had stated that by 2025, one out of every four households would suffer from lack of safe drinking water. Similarly, according to Gosal (1972)\(^44\) one out of every four households would face inadequate Sanitation by (2025). Concentration of sulphur dioxide would increase by 70 per cent, and per capita municipal waste has been projected to double by the year 2025 from the present level.

Henderson (1988)\(^45\) held the same view that there is a strong relationship between economic development and urbanisation. In many developing countries the worst forms of environmental problems occur in very large urban areas because of the heavy polluting industries that are forced to be set up in the large urban areas. He had suggested that these


industries should be located in small cities and in hinterlands where raw materials are located. This would not only limit the size of large urban areas but perhaps a part of the population would also migrate there.

Park (1997)\(^{46}\) in his book had set up the interrelationship between population, resource and environment. For this he had devised a model which shows the inter linkages among them. It is stated by the author that an increase in the number of people on the earth will increase the utilisation of limited resources and thus it would inevitably lead to decrease in environmental quality resulting in the emergence of several health problems. The extensive use of resources leads to depletion of resources which in turn reduce the per capita availability.

Lodha and Tatya (1997)\(^{47}\) had studied the environmental hazards due to industrial pollution in Udaipur and Jodhpur and had described that the various large scale chemical units of Rajasthan are responsible for the widespread air and water pollution in their neighbourhood. It is also mentioned that these units are wrongly situated from the point of view of both drainage and wind direction. Therefore, the effluents from these factories are spoiling the surface as well as the ground water resources.


Dube and Kumar (1997) in their study had highlighted the environmental problems of Varanasi city. They mentioned that increasing population, urbanisation and consumerism are adding to solid waste generation and disposal problems in the city. They had stated that despite all possible efforts by the people of Varanasi, wastes remain lying for several days in the garbage dumping sites. Thus the wastes pollute the entire surrounding.

The large increase in the number of vehicles particularly in the urban areas also raises the level of air pollution. According to Ramchandran (1998) the density of petrol driven vehicles in Hyderabad-Secundarabad had gone up nine times per square kilometre, during 1981-96. This had resulted in frequent traffic jams and deceleration of speeds of vehicles on roads. Other manifestations had been the emission of higher level of hydrocarbons and carbon monoxide due to partial burning of the fuel.

In India large scale migration from the villages to urban centres for employment, services, education, medical facilities etc. have caused changes in the socio-economic and cultural life style and also have resulted in

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unplanned and haphazard urban development according to Dube and Kumar (1997). The misuse, overuse and exploitation of natural resources also have resulted in land scarcity, housing congestion, overcrowding and traffic congestion problems in cities. Simultaneously, these have resulted in the non-availability of fresh air, pure drinking water along with various environmental problems like sewerage, garbage disposal, water, air and land pollution.

**Components of Good Quality of Urban Life**

There is no unanimity over the constituents of a good quality of life. Initially standard of living has been related with economic development of the country, but economic development is not an end in itself, rather than it is a means to better life. Gardener (1965) had stated the same view, that the object of economic development is the welfare and dignity of the individuals. We must concern ourselves, not with aggregate statistics, but with the progress made in assuring each person a full satisfactory life, adequate levels of personal consumption, including food and housing, health and education and also satisfaction of those political, cultural and spiritual needs that are fundamental to all human beings. So there is no direct

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relationship between economic goods or commodities on one hand and welfare or well being on the other.

Lowdon Wingo (1973)\textsuperscript{52} in his article had mentioned that quality of life is a term in the public domain, any one has right to define it in his /her own way. It is fundamentally a normative construct, like welfare and happiness and presents problems of clarity in its definitions. He has further mentioned that the definition of quality of life must include two fundamental elements, (a) an internal psycho-physiological mechanism which produces the sense of gratification, and (b) external phenomenon which engages that mechanism.

Liu (1974)\textsuperscript{53} had considered quality of life as a concept, which varies across time, place and individuals. It had been defined as the output of two aggregate inputs: physical quantifiable goods and services and material wealth and non-physical non-measurable psychological factors such as common belongings; self-actualisation, and others.


William (1976)\textsuperscript{54} had been of the view that defining the term 'quality' even for an individual is a difficult task and that for the society, it is perhaps impossible. He had also observed the quality of life in terms of basic human needs and these needs are essentially related to the totality of goods, services and situations.

Research by Andrews and Whitey (1976)\textsuperscript{55} shows that structural analysis of the aspects of quality of the life reveals three clusters of domains. The first cluster represents satisfactions, with domains related to important primary groups such as family, marriage and friendship. The second cluster is concerned with the satisfaction of the domains related to transactions with the environment such as work and level of education. The third cluster represents satisfaction with domains related to less personal aspects of the environment such as transportation and neighbourhood. Olsen and Merwin (1977)\textsuperscript{56} had observed that whatever contributes to the quality of life of a population, ultimately it is the people who determine it. People's notion of quality of life is thoroughly infused with normative values concerning what

is good and right in their life. Thus, in a similar manner, Helburn (1982)\(^{57}\), for instance, had argued that in a given time, place and society, both necessities and amenities are culturally defined. Therefore, quality of life is highly relative and evaluative, and what is beneficial to one group of people may be detrimental to another.

Mukherjee (1987)\(^ {58}\) states that even though concept of quality of life quality of life(QOL) is new in most of the developing countries, its notion has spread all over and the venture has become so popular that politicians, policy makers, researchers and social workers who previously spoke of welfare of the masses, now speak of 'QOL of people. According to Ceccato and Snickers (1998)\(^ {59}\) quality of life is a complex concept which has often been associated with numerous other concepts such as level or people's satisfaction with their conditions. Therefore, it is difficult to have a consensus about what QOL is, especially because QOL has been based on so many different approaches. Basically, quality of life is not an absolute concept but it is multidimensional by nature. It is quite possible that what


may appear very important to a particular person in one context may appear to be meaningless to another.

Many researchers and scholars had opined that quality of life approach is very much concerned with the level of satisfaction of the needs of population. It is assumed that satisfaction of these needs generates the welfare of the population and enhances the quality of life. Studies in the past also identified a number of approaches to the study of satisfaction in life. However, two different but complementary approaches have been frequently used. They are the discrepancy approach and the domain satisfaction approach \textit{(Hooi and Keng, 1995)}\textsuperscript{60}. The discrepancy approach assumes that feelings of satisfaction are dependent on the way individuals perceive and evaluate aspects of their lives in relation to important standards. The other approach is based on the premise that individuals tend to divide their lives into separate but related aspects (called domains), such as family, work, health and so on.

The effects of the processes of urbanisation are not confined to the economic transformation of a society alone, but their consequences are to be seen in the physical and social transformation of the people also. \textbf{Mitchell} \textsuperscript{60}

(1956) argues that urbanisation has accelerated the process of economic development. It does not only imply the growth of national income but also qualitative changes in the levels of living, provision of basic amenities and emergence of a healthy value system and modern culture.

**Holford (1959)** states that, amenity is not a single quality. It is a catalogue of values which include the beauty that an artist sees, and an architect designs for. Amenity includes utilities like light, clean air, water, domestic and community services, comfort stations or facilities that reduce the drudgery and hazards of mere existence.

**Gardener (1965)** believes that education plays a multifaceted role in the development process. It enhances people's understanding among themselves, society, and their natural environment, living skills, increases productivity by improving work skills, and lowers reproduction by raising women's status in society. It plays an important part in the nature and quality of an individual's life and work. So education is a process and the end product for the achievement of good quality of life.

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Hartley (1972)\textsuperscript{64} states that continuous increase of population makes the job of improving the quality of life in general, and human potential in particular, more difficult and automatically it also reduces the per capita income.

A number of studies have consistently showed dual quality of life is very much related with family life. Andrews and Whithey, (1976)\textsuperscript{65}; Northam (1975)\textsuperscript{66} states that perhaps in terms of their relative explanatory powers, it is the socio-economic component that can be considered as the most significant element of the quality of urban life.

Richard (1994)\textsuperscript{67} points out that the experience of several countries clearly shows that improvement in the physical quality of life can be brought about even at low levels of per capita GNP and that a high level of per capita GNP does not necessarily bring about improvement in the physical quality.


Several studies have shown that the higher income groups have better access to the basic requirements of medical and educational facilities. For example, Singh and D'Souza, (1980)\textsuperscript{68} in a study of slum and pavement dwellers of different cities of the country have observed that people with higher income are more equipped to send their children to good schools for the quality education. Panikar and Soman (1984)\textsuperscript{69}, also report that in cities, poor have very little access to higher quality and free medical services. It has been also pointed out that better quality of life is primarily determined by the health status of a population and their health status is shaped by factors such as the level of income, standard of living, housing, sanitation, water supply and by the coverage and accessibility of medical care facilities.

Streeten (1984)\textsuperscript{70} has pointed out that basic amenities mainly refer to the minimum specified quantities and level of such things like shelter, water, sanitation, medicine, and education that are necessary to prevent ill health and underdevelopment of human beings. According to Ceccato and

Snickars (1998)\textsuperscript{71}, people living in a place with better services and infrastructure are highly satisfied and their working capability is better than those who do not.

According to UNDP's Human Development Report (1988)\textsuperscript{72} human development depends on the extent of the availability of the resources required to fulfil the basic choices of the people: (i) to lead a healthy life, and (ii) to acquire knowledge and access to the common resources needed for a decent standard of living.

Haq (1995)\textsuperscript{73} considers that, level of human development depends mainly on the literacy levels, per capita income and life expectancy. Sharma and Prabhavati (2000)\textsuperscript{74} have stated that besides per capita income of any person, their quality of life also depends on health, education amid nutritional status. However the role of GDP/GNP cannot be ignored as it still acts as a good facilitator for most aspects of development and is closely associated with human development indicators.


Beyer (1965)\textsuperscript{75} has explained the causes for the emergence of slums in the cities, and is of the opinion that poor people can afford housing only in fragile and deteriorated environments, and because of their high concentrations in rather small habitable spaces, the housing stock gets deteriorated fast, and as this leads, the neighborhood also deteriorates further, reinforcing the initial sub-standard conditions.

Rao and Desai (1965)\textsuperscript{76} in their study of greater Delhi had focused on the impact of immigration during the period 1940-1957, which led to the rapid expansion of the city and changed the socio-economic setup of the urban area.

The concept of quality of life, as applied to the urban environment, is usually understood in two ways. Firstly it concerns the living environment and involves the patterns of inequitable advantages and opportunities that affect each citizen through accessibility to services, facilities and amenities. Proximity to these is a key factor in improving living conditions. The other elements of the living environment include economic vitality and social equity, which encapsulate an infinite number of specific issues for example, quality and affordability of housing. The second approach in understanding

urban quality of life, according to Period (1969)\textsuperscript{77} relates to the natural environment in urban spaces. This approach holds that such factors as air, water and soil quality and the amount of green space available affect the way we live. If population growth is rapid, then there will be more gaps between the resources and the needs of the city. A World Bank Report (1972)\textsuperscript{78} has articulated this dilemma in these terms ‘what most distinguishes the current problems of the developing countries is their scale and intensity. The severity of the problems reflects primarily the overall rapid population growth and acute shortage of resources. In many developing countries, cities have grown far beyond anything imagined only a few decades ago. The essential infrastructure for a city like roads, public transport, health services, water supply, sewerage and sanitation are under pressure. Often, contaminated drinking water causes several water borne diseases like diarrhoea, dysentery; hepatitis, typhoid etc. (WCED 1987)\textsuperscript{79}.

Within the developing countries negative impacts of rising level of pollution are greater for citizens living in slum and squatter settlements than for the elites and growing middle class in the city. Here, most of the low

income settlements are located in areas with low or even dangerous levels of environmental quality. (Douglass and Zoghlin, 1994)\textsuperscript{80}.

Smith (1995)\textsuperscript{81} has supported the view of Douglass and had stated that industrial pollution of land, air, and water in the city affect the poor more than any other section of the community since it is primarily the poor who work and live in polluted environments. This situation is of course made much worse by the failure of the urban authorities to provide adequate infrastructural facilities, particularly in the fields of energy, water supply, and waste disposal, all of which combined with inadequate diets and inadequate housing conditions produce very high levels of morbidity and mortality amongst the urban poor.

Chakravarti (1997)\textsuperscript{82} has raised different issues, and has stated that little attention has been paid to the dangerously growing problems of non-industrial pollution of air, water, soil and noise; directly related to the overcrowding of the urban areas, in the developing countries. For example in India, where specific data and report on non-industrial environmental pollution are not available and are not collected by private or government agencies.


agencies, lack of awareness is creating deteriorating environmental condition in many crowded areas.

**Evaelawn and Bengali (1993)**\(^83\) have stated that the city provides good chances to their residents for upward mobility, particularly economic development, that are often absent in rural areas, and for that reason urban areas act as magnets for rural migrants. In case of basic amenities like medical and educational facilities, studies have shown that higher income groups have better access to these facilities.

**Singh (1986)**\(^84\) has reported that the poor have little access to higher quality of medical services available in the cities. He has also pointed out that rich people are better equipped to avail schooling and educational facilities than the low income groups. Of the socio-economic dimensions explaining much of the variability in urban quality of life, the housing component is most visible. Even a casual visitor or passerby cannot fail to notice differences in the physical quality of the housing. **Ceccato and Snickers (1998)**\(^85\) in their study on the 'Quality of Life in Stockholm Region' have stated that people living in a place with better services and

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infrastructure evaluate their living places more highly than those who do not, even if in both areas the population affirm to be, in general, satisfied with their living place.

Suresh (1999)\textsuperscript{86} has identified the house as a basic need and being as important as food and clothing. He states that high and rapid urbanisation and high cost of conventional dwelling units have continued to widen the gap between demand and supply in housing.

All over the world growing urban population has become a key challenge for the urban planners and policymakers. Reliable energy, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, efficient transport and modern telecommunication systems are very much essential for every resident of urban centres. Therefore, proper financial measures are essential to improve the quality of infrastructure and that of basic services in urban areas.

Past studies have shown that cities containing large population and having high urban growth find themselves in an extremely difficult situation. While studying public expenditure on urban infrastructure Roy and Nath (1986)\textsuperscript{87} have asserted that the ability of developing countries to maintain


and expand their stock of urban infrastructure, in response to population
growth depends upon administrative, financial, and management skills of
their administrators.

**Bahl and Linn (1983)** have set out a framework for pinpointing the
sources of revenue that are appropriate to finance expenditure. He has also
viewed that borrowing is an appropriate source of financing capital outlays
on infrastructural services, particularly public utilities and roads.

**Baross and Linden (1990)** have asserted that 'urban chaos' is
perhaps the most accurate description of metropolitan or large-scale city
growth in developing countries and this has been especially true in Africa
where urban administration appears not to be up to the mark.

**Chatterji and Mitra (1990)** have mentioned that in India
nationalisation of peripheral land in Delhi has completely failed. They have
pointed out that access to land for low-income-housing has become
impossible for the poor people and it is not because of the policy, but

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Countries,' in Charles E. MacLure, Jr., (ed.), Tax Assignment in Federal Countries, Canberra: Australian
National Press, p. 56.
York, pp. 36-52
90 Chatterji, Mitra, B. (1990): 'Land Supply for Low-Income Housing in Delhi', in: Baross, P. and Lindon,
J.V.D. (eds.) The Transformation of Land Supply Systems in Third World Countries, London, Avebury,
pp. 193-224.
because of the inefficient administration and unrealistic price control mechanisms.

Cohen (1990)\(^91\) has recognised that public-sector bureaucracy has played a major role in the build-up of the current crisis. He has argued that the inflated expectations of the public sector carried within them the seeds of ultimate financial crisis. While comparing the different modules of urban governance, Pierre (1999)\(^92\) has argued that despite different models of local urban management, state factors play an important role in shaping urban governance.

Gilbert (1992)\(^93\) states that few governments in the developing nations have ever managed their cities very well and in general, their water systems leak: there are frequent electricity black-outs; there is a lack of competent policing and there are pot and rat holes on the roads. Therefore governments of these countries should take more efforts in this direction.

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Johannes and Deborah (2002) have placed forward three arguments in support of fiscal decentralisation. The first is that if expenditure and tax rates are determined by those who run the city rather than those who run the country; local preferences will be better addressed, local services will improve, and local residents will be more satisfied with government services. The second argument made in support of fiscal decentralisation is that stronger local governments will contribute to the development of democratic institutions, because people can identify themselves more closely with local rather than the central government. The third argument is that local revenue mobilisation will increase, because local governments are more aware of and can tax more effectively than the central governments.

Mohan and Dasgupta (2005) have explained that it is not necessary that higher tax rates would improve the income of urban local bodies, actually improved tax administration and better compliance will go a long way in increasing resources for investment in urban infrastructure. They

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have also proposed an improvement in the user charges that account a very small proportion of total revenues in developing countries.

Kim (1997)\(^9^6\) states that enormous wealth generated through urbanisation is not being utilised properly to finance shelter and urban infrastructure development and service delivery; so as to further economic development and to improve the quality of life of urban dwellers.

The model proposed emphasises the trade-off between increasing returns and transport costs, traditionally highlighted by central place theory. Losch (1940)\(^9^7\), developing the work of Christaller (1933)\(^9^8\), describes the distribution of economic activity as a compromise between maximising the number of firms operating in a market (presumably because of some form of aggregate increasing returns) and minimising transport costs (Mulligan, 1984)\(^9^9\) can be seen for a review of the literature on central place theory, and Henderson, (1972)\(^1^0^0\) for a critical evaluation of this theory.

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\(^9^7\) Losch (1940)“Market Failure and Externalities”, American Economic Papers on Sociology, Vol.60, PP.486.
\(^9^8\) Christaller (1933), City and Region, Freeman Company, San Fransisco USA.
Urban economists have built on a similar tension between agglomeration and dispersion forces, but have generally stressed commuting costs and congestion rather than transport costs as the main factor limiting urban growth. The distinction can be regarded as a historical one: commuting costs, land rents and pollution have gained importance recently, during early urbanisation it is mainly the need to serve activities, such as agriculture, which makes use of dispersed resources that constrained city growth.

The main reason for this is the existence of multiple equilibrium in the location of economic activity, which arise from circular causation in the location, decisions of agents, firms and workers tend to locate close to large markets, which are in turn those where more firms and workers locate (There are a variety of concepts related to this argument, such as Perroux's, (1955)101, 'growth poles', Myrdal's, 1957102, 'circular and cumulative causation', or Hirshman's, (1958), 'forward and backward linkages', although its application to regional growth is usually associated with Pred, (1966).

These concepts, while extremely insightful, find it difficult to make their way into mainstream economic theory. Increasing returns to scale are

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essential for explaining the geographical distribution of economic activities
(Scotchmer and Thisse, 1992) call this the 'Folk Theorem of Spatial
Economies). However, only recently the developments in industrial
organisation and trade theory have produced the tools to deal with increasing
returns and imperfect competition in a tractable way. Of course, there are
ways to get around imperfect competition, the most common of which is to
rely on pure externalities to deal with agglomeration within a perfectly
competitive framework. This strategy has yielded very useful insights on
issues like why there are cities of different sizes and functions, notably in the
work of Henderson (1974, 1988). The down side of relying solely on
pure external economies is that one cannot relate the strength of
agglomeration forces to micro features of the economy.

An overview of the process of urbanization and its impact on
agriculture is essential to contextualize the urbanization process in India and
to specify appropriate econometric models to study the drivers of
urbanization and its impacts on rural sector. The most conspicuous but often
neglected tension in the modern development paradigm is probably the
competition for land and water resources between rural and urban users. The

growing tension between the interests of vast majority of geographically widely distributed rural communities with very limited political power and the more concentrated urban elites with high degree of political and market power has the potential for snowballing into a major conflict between these two groups (Balasubramanian, 2003).  

Therefore, sustaining agricultural growth in the context of expanding and intensifying urban pressure has become an important policy issue in recent times. Population pressure together with increasing urbanization and industrialization has considerably reduced the land available for agricultural production, thus forcing agricultural intensification with attendant negative consequences for rural landscapes and agricultural environment (Alauddin and Quiggin, 2008).

Urban growth is likely to have wide-ranging impacts on rural landscapes including loss of land used in food production, loss of open space for environmental uses, and seriously limiting the farmers’ option to remain in farming (Larson, et al, 2001).

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Through increased pressure on selling their land and water for non-agricultural purposes, urbanization leads to increased opportunity costs of farming. Further, the present institutional arrangement in land, viz. market allocation of land to urban and agricultural uses allows the allocation of land to its highest priced use, rather than its highest valued use. The increased private control over land has led to the loss of rural landscapes in Poland, because both the farmers and the local governments stand to gain from the conversion of land from agricultural to urban uses. Low profitability in agriculture along with high prices of land for urban uses shifts their interest in favour of selling the land for non-agricultural purposes (Wasilewski and Krukowski, 2002).\(^{108}\)

Similar trends are observed in many parts of Tamil Nadu where decreasing profitability in agriculture and increasing price of lands for non-agricultural purposes have encouraged farmers to sell lands for non-agricultural, urban uses. In many areas, pollution and over exploitation of groundwater resources are the direct results of demographic shifts from rural to urban areas. Urban areas form concentrated points of demand for water

with relatively little fluctuation [in the demand for water] (Moench, 1992).  

The loss of productive agricultural lands and water resources causes reduction in food production, which may necessitate food imports. For example, urbanization and industrialization were found to be the important driving forces behind the conversion of farmlands in China (Zhang et al, 2004). In view of the fact that India’s population pressure on land and water resources is equally severe as that of China, the Chinese experience is likely to be repeated in India. Further, the process of urbanisation cannot be sustained in the long run since poverty induced expansion in informal sector in urban areas seems to be reaching an upper limit (Kundu, 2000).  

Because of the high costs associated with “reconverting” land back from urban to agricultural uses, it is important to consider if the continued loss of farmland to urban land could exacerbate a possible shortage of productive agricultural land in the future (Plaut, 1980).  

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Even before the actual transfer of land for urban uses occurs there is a tendency for land being idled in anticipation of conversion \(\textit{(Berry, 1978)}^{112}\) especially in the suburban areas, which could be witnessed in many parts of the world. In addition to the transfer of land and water resources, these resources are also degraded due to pollution caused by urban wastes and industrial effluents, thus rendering them unfit for agricultural production. In addition to the direct transfer of land from agricultural to urban uses, urbanization also affects agriculture indirectly through regulatory effects, technical efficiency effects, speculative effects and market effects (See Lopez et al, (1988) for more details on these effects). All these indirect effects are most likely to reduce the efficiency of production, increase costs and reduce the profitability of staying in agriculture. The lands purchased by real estate developers from the farmers are not put to use immediately and remain idle for several years. In many parts of Tamil Nadu, speculative activities in land markets in the urban fringes have led to wasteful use or sub-optimal use of resources. A kind of urban absentee landlordism is emerging as a new phenomenon due to speculative activities in land market. Secondly, the transfer of water especially groundwater towards urban uses also leads to fallowing of land and / or under use of lands. Thus, the transfer

or degradation of one resource (land/water) has a direct bearing on the extent of use of the other resource (water/land). Increasing employment opportunities in urban areas leading to scarcity of labourers and higher wage rates for agricultural workers is also a major factor responsible for decline of agriculture in the peri-urban areas. Not only the members of agricultural labourer households but also of the agricultural families are increasingly opting for non-agricultural avenues for earning their livelihood. All these factors lead to decline of agriculture in urban fringes.

In Benin, the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Analysis considers any head town of a district must be with a population of 10,000 inhabitants or more, and with at least four of the following: post office, tax office, public treasury, bank, running water supplies, electricity, health centre and secondary school. Population density and the proportion of non-agricultural activities are not considered (Tingbé-Azalou, 1997).\textsuperscript{113} This is often the case in sub-Saharan Africa, where small towns are defined on the basis of administrative, demographic and infrastructural characteristics even when the majority of the population engages in agricultural activities (Gado

and Guitart, 1996)\textsuperscript{114}, Exceptions to rules, however, include Senegal’s main religious centre, Touba, which is effectively a “sacred site” ruled by the religious hierarchy and where Islamic legislation prevails over state legislation. Indeed, Touba is still classed as a village despite an estimated population of over 300,000 which makes it the country’s second largest settlement (Gueye, 1997).\textsuperscript{115}

Asia remains predominantly a rural continent, with two-thirds of its population living in rural areas in 1990. However, if both India and China were to change their definition of urban centres to one based on a relatively low population threshold - as used by many Latin American and European nations a large proportion of their population would change from rural to urban category. In many nations, all settlements above a certain threshold, often 2,000 or 2,500 inhabitants and, in some countries, only a few hundred inhabitants, are considered urban. A large proportion of India’s and China’s rural population live in settlements which under such definitions would be reclassified as urban. Since India and China have a high share of Asia’s population this, in turn, would significantly change Asia’s level of


urbanization - and even change the world’s level of urbanization by a few percent (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1989; UNCHS, 1996).116

b. Definitions of Urban Boundaries

A second problem is the definition of urban centres’ boundaries. Especially in South East Asia, the growth of extended metropolitan regions where agricultural and non-agricultural activities are spatially integrated makes the distinction between rural and urban problems (Firman, 1996117; Hugo, 1996118; Ginsberg et al., 1991119). The term kotadesasi joins the Indonesian words kota (town) and desa (village) to describe urban and rural activities taking place in the same geographical area (McGee, 1987).120 The process occurs in many different locations with a radius as large as 100 kilometres and involves an intense mixture of land use with agriculture, cottage industries, industrial estates, suburban developments and other uses existing side by side, as well as the extreme mobility and fluidity of the population, including commuting and the movement of goods within the

region (ibid). In Africa, transformations in the peri-urban areas reflect regional differences and, while agricultural activities still prevail, significant shifts in land ownership and employment patterns take place, often involving the marginalization of both rural and urban poor. In northern Nigeria, the high cost of food and accommodation in the cities has resulted in high levels of daily commuting from peripheral villages which show a strong involvement in the urban food market, a high proportion of non-farm employment, a substantial increase in agricultural wage labour force and a burgeoning land market (Swindell, 1988).

**c. The Ecological Footprints of Urban Centres**

Another uncertainty regarding the definition of urban boundaries is the fact that urban residents and enterprises depend for basic resources and ecological functions on an area significantly larger than the built-up area. This is illustrated by the concept of cities’ ecological footprints, developed by Rees (1992) and Wackernagel and Rees (1995), which points to the large land area on whose production the inhabitants and businesses of any city depend for food, other renewable resources and the absorption of

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carbon to compensate for the carbon dioxide emitted from fossil fuel use. The size of a city’s ecological footprint is typically several times the area of the city itself although its size as a multiple of the city area will vary considerably, and is influenced by the wealth of the city and the energy intensity of its production base as well as by such factors as the basis on which the city boundary is defined. Although resources may be drawn from far beyond the city-region, especially for wealthy cities, for most urban areas, many such resources are drawn from close by. The concept is linked to the idea of carrying-capacity, or the need to balance resource consumption and waste discharge with the preservation of the functional integrity and productivity of relevant ecosystems (UNCHS, 1996).124

d. Sectoral Interactions

Definitions based on a sharp distinction between urban and rural settlements often assume that the livelihoods of their inhabitants can be equally reduced to two main categories: agriculture based in rural areas, and a reliance on manufacture and services in urban centres. However, recent research has shown that the number of urban households engaging in agriculture and that of rural households whose income is derived from non-

farm activities is far higher than usual thought (Abramovay and Sachs, 1996\textsuperscript{125}; Bhooshan, 1986\textsuperscript{126}; Bryceson and Jamal, 1997\textsuperscript{127}; Misra, 1986\textsuperscript{128}; Saint and Goldsmith, 1980\textsuperscript{129}). These sectoral interactions can also have a spatial dimension. For example, when one or some of their members migrate but, (as is often the case) retain strong links with their relatives in rural home areas, households can be defined as multi-spatial, combining farm and non-farm activities and rural and urban residence. Even where activities can be described as either rural or urban and are spatially separated, there is a continued and varied exchange of resources. Urban centres may provide markets as well as social and producer services for the rural population whereas, for many urban individuals, access to rural land or produce through family or reciprocal relationships can be crucial. The policy implications of sectoral interactions are particularly important. For example, rural development programmes have traditionally tended to increase


\textsuperscript{128} Misra, H.N. (1986): “Rae Bareli, Sultanpur and Pratapgarh districts, Uttar Pradesh, North India” in Hardoy, J.E. and D. Satterthwaite (editors), Small and Intermediate Urban Centres; their role in Regional and National Development in the Third World, Hodder and Stoughton, UK and Westview Press, USA, pp. 185-224.

agricultural production but have rarely included non-farm activities such as the processing of raw agricultural materials and the manufacturing of agricultural equipment, tools and inputs, and this has resulted in the marginalization of some groups in rural areas. Similarly, urban housing strategies for low-income groups tend to neglect their need to diversify their incomes or produce foodstuffs for household consumption (for example, through urban agriculture) and maintain or to expand their social networks with rural areas (for example, by hosting newly arrived migrants in their homes) which can be restricted by narrow controls over settlement and land use in public housing projects (Chase, 1997). Straddling the rural-urban divide is, in some cases and for some groups, an important part of survival strategies. Policies which neglect this may increase their poverty and vulnerability.

III. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Much of the development debate of the last 40 years has centred on the changing relationship between agriculture and industry and on the “correct” allocation of investment between the two sectors. Policies aiming at economic growth traditionally followed one of two different approaches. The first favours investment in the agricultural sector, which can then provide the necessary surplus for industrial and urban development, whereas
the second approach argues that industrial and urban growth are pre requisites for a more modern and productive agricultural sector (Escobar, 1995 gives a detailed analysis of the development economics discourse). The relative influence of these theoretical positions has changed over time, as summarized below.

**a. Modernization through Industrialization and Urbanization**

In the early 1950s, development was conceptualized in terms of national economies taking off through the increase in the size of domestic markets and the creation of inducements to invest. In this way, the modern sector would progressively encroach upon the traditional sector, and the money economy upon subsistence or near subsistence. This dualistic construction based essentially upon Nurske’s (1953)\textsuperscript{130} and Lewis’ (1954)\textsuperscript{131} models has pervaded economists’ and donors’ views for several decades. Industrialization and urbanization were the part and parcel of the modernization process. Lewis (1954) assumed that in densely populated rural settlements in the Third World, marginal productivity would be minimal. Therefore, the transfer of labourers from rural agriculture to urban industry could occur without decline in agricultural productivity. Indeed,


until the mid-1960s, rural to urban migration was perceived as a positive process and several studies focused on the implications of permanent settlement of workers and their families in urban areas (for example, Elkan, 1960\textsuperscript{132}). However, by the end of the decade, it became clear that job creation in the manufacturing sector was much lower than expected and could not absorb the fast-growing urban populations. Concern with over-urbanization translated into policies attempting to curtail labourer migration to the cities. At the same time, the first studies on the urban informal sector (Hart, 1973\textsuperscript{133}; ILO, 1972\textsuperscript{134}; Weeks, 1973\textsuperscript{135}) sparked the still on-going debate on the sector’s development potential (for example, Portes, Castells and Benton, 1989\textsuperscript{136}; Moser, 1978\textsuperscript{137}; Standing and Tokman, 1991\textsuperscript{138}).

b. Urban Bias

In this context, Lipton’s (1977)\textsuperscript{139} notion of urban bias made an important and provocative contribution to the debate. In his view, the rural


poor were dominated and exploited by powerful urban interests. The most important class conflict in the Third World is between the rural classes and the urban classes, since “...the rural sector contains most of the poverty and most of the low-cost sources of potential advance; but the urban sector contains most of the articulate-ness, organization and power” (1977:13). Lipton’s argument was subjected to intense criticism, mainly on the grounds of his conceptualization of indifferenced urban and rural societies which do not take into account the existence of urban poor and rural rich (Corbridge, 1982). On a descriptive and empirical level, Lipton provided a useful account of the relative flows of surpluses between rural and urban areas. However, the conflation of people with places makes it difficult to explain why these flows occur (Unwin, 1989). Bates (1981) extended the criticism of urban élites in his analysis of the role of African bureaucracies which, in the name of industrialization, were seen as overcontrolling their economics, skewing incentives and infrastructural investment towards urban areas and, generally, undermining the real material base of African economics, that is, agricultural production. More

recently, the attack on rent-seeking, urban based bureaucratic élites has been taken over by neoclassical economics and implemented through structural adjustment packages aiming to drastically reduce the role of the State.

c. Structural Adjustment, Globalization and Decentralization

Neo-classical economics, underpinning IMF and World Bank reform of Third World economies, advocates rolled-back governments and public sectors and competitive free markets determining human capital formation, resource allocation and growth. Development strategies are export oriented and this, for many Third World Countries, means export of primary commodities, including foodstuffs. The hard currencies then earned can be used to buy-in foreign grains or increase the private capital pools available to farmers. In both cases, it is expected that, once the distorted price systems associated with import-substitution industrialization and other urban biased state policies have been removed, “...local agricultural production will blossom and expand” (Corbridge, 1989). However, for many small farmers, and especially in Africa, structural adjustment has resulted in a price squeeze with the cost of agricultural inputs and consumer goods rising faster than the prices of agricultural produce. Government cutbacks in

subsidies often means that only large-scale farmers can buy inputs in bulk and sell in bulk to overcome high transport costs, or can afford to wait and sell their produce some time after harvesting, benefiting from seasonal price fluctuations. Hence, despite the goal of SAPs to reduce the rural-urban income gap (and, as a consequence, to lower the rates of rural to urban migration), access to international markets has proved not to be equal for all producers and deepening social differentiation in both towns and countryside is part and parcel of economic reform. Migration as a survival strategy has, therefore continued, together with income diversification and what Jamal and Weeks (1988) have typified as the “trade-cum-wage earner-cum-shamba class”, for whom straddling the rural-urban divide is an essential element of either survival or accumulation strategies.

Another central aspect of rural-urban relations in the 1990s is the decentralization of administrative functions, at least in part due to the increasing pressure from the international financial institutions and the donor community for political democratization and State reform. However, in many countries, this process is not immune from contradictions between the theory and practice of decentralization, and local authorities often face significant problems in escaping control and interference from the central government and in realizing financial and administrative autonomy.
(Bertrand and Dubresson, 1997\textsuperscript{144}; Jaglin and Dubresson, 1993\textsuperscript{145}; Nyassogbo, 1997\textsuperscript{146}; Stren, 1991\textsuperscript{147}; Ziavoula, 1997\textsuperscript{148}). In policy terms, decentralization has renewed interest in regional development planning as well as in the role of small and intermediate urban centres in Third World development.

IV. RURAL-URBAN INTERACTIONS AND SPATIAL PLANNING

In surveying development strategies which affect rural-urban interactions, it is difficult to know what to exclude since virtually all policies have some effect on the form and the spatial distribution of national development. Macro-economic or pricing policies, or sectoral priorities which make no explicit reference to spatial dimensions, are often the most powerful influences affecting linkages between urban centres and the countryside. Neglecting the impact of these policies is often a major factor in the failure of spatial development strategies (\textit{Hamer, 1984}\textsuperscript{149}; Hardoy and

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{146} Nyassogbo, G. (1997): “Développement local, villes secondaires et décentralisation au Togo” in Bertrand, M. and A. Dubresson (editors), Petites et moyennes villes d’Afrique Noire, Karthala, pp. 89-110.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Despite widespread criticism of spatial planning (see Gilbert, 1992 for a review), its popularity with governments does not seem to have diminished. The next sections examine two main categories of spatial policies: those attempting to limit urban growth and control migration, and those whose goal is to increase the role of small and intermediate towns in regional development.

a. Controlling Urban Growth and Rural-Urban Migration

Concern over the over-urbanization of the Third World tends to portray urban growth as due mainly to rural-urban migration. This is seen as an indicator of regional and sectoral distortions in patterns of development as well as the origin of practical administrative difficulties in planning urban public services, and a possible source of social unrest in the cities. Such alarmism is often unjustified since natural increase is usually the primary reason for urban growth, which has also been faster where economic growth is the highest (Preston, 1988; UNCHS, 1996). Despite the fear of uncontrolled urbanization has resulted in widespread policies designed to

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150 Hardoy, J. E. and D. Satterthwaite (1986a): “Government policies and small and intermediate urban centres”
limit urban growth and control rural-urban migration on the grounds of migrants’ pressure on already insufficient housing and infrastructure. These policies usually have little impact aside from lowering welfare, especially for the poor and the middle-classes. In Dares Salaam and Jakarta, the only real effects of migration controls were to make life for the poor much harder while often increasing corruption as “illegal” migrants have to bribe officials in order to secure their stay in the city (Jellinek, 1988; Gilbert, 1992). Authoritarian regimes in China and Kampuchea, and apartheid South Africa are able to implement drastic migration controls at a very high human cost and within political systems which contravened many human rights. After 1978, China began to relax its migration control largely, because these proved incompatible with the rapidly changing demand for labourer, especially in and around major foreign trade centres in the coastal regions (Chen and Parish, 1996). In many cases, policy makers are deeply unaware of the impact of macro-economic policies on migration and urban development (Becker and Morrison, 1996).

liberalization and decreasing government intervention in the national economy have a significant impact on population movement and on the physical form of urban settlements. In Thailand, the government’s efforts to influence the pattern and process of industrialization, to control the growth of Bangkok’s extended metropolitan region, have not been effective despite incentives offered to firms to relocate outside the area. Indeed, it is transnational firms allied with local industry rather than the State which control the shape, form and character of urbanization in the region (Parnwell and Wongsuphasawat, 1997\textsuperscript{158}). The trend towards mega-cities is often linked to the continuing concentration of offshore enclave manufacturing enterprises in main urban areas, where the availability of cheap labourer, often female and migrant, is likely to be higher (Potter and Unwin, 1995\textsuperscript{159}).


b. Small Towns and Regional Planning

Although, traditionally, the debate on rural-urban interactions has been dominated by interest in the ways in which very large cities influence the development of national space, small and intermediate urban centres are often seen as playing a crucial role in rural-urban interactions given the usually strong link and complementary relationship with their rural hinterland (Baker and Claeson, 1990\textsuperscript{160}). Interpretations of rural-urban relationships and planning prescriptions are clearly linked and, while policy and theoretical considerations tend to overlap, they are discussed separately here for analytical purposes. This section reviews three main views on the role of small urban centres in regional development: the optimistic one, the pessimistic one and the intermediate position. It then summarizes recent models of spatial planning.

i. The Role of Small Towns in Rural Development: Changing Views and Perceptions

In the 1950s and 1960s, small towns were generally seen as playing a positive role in development as the centres from which innovation and modernization would trickle down to the rural populations. A more recent

and highly influential contribution to this positive view was the development of the concept of “urban functions in rural development” (Rondinelli and Ruddle, 1978\textsuperscript{161}; Belsky and Karaska, 1990\textsuperscript{162}) for which the most effective and rational spatial strategy for promoting rural development is to develop a well-articulated, integrated and balanced urban hierarchy. This network of small, medium sized and larger urban centres is described as “...locationally efficient - it allows clusters of services, facilities and infrastructure that cannot be economically located in small villages and hamlets to serve a widely dispersed population from an accessible central place” (Rondinelli, 1985\textsuperscript{163}). The location of more service supply points supplying a variety of services, agricultural inputs and consumer goods to the rural areas is seen as playing a crucial role in rural development. While this approach has been widely used by large international donors such as USAID, and still influences more recent regional planning models, it has been criticized on the grounds that low rural consumption is caused by social inequality and low incomes rather than by difficult access to supply


(Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1986b\textsuperscript{164}; Morris, 1997\textsuperscript{165}; Pedersen, 1997\textsuperscript{166}; Simon, 1992\textsuperscript{167}).

Southall (1988)\textsuperscript{168} articulated the pessimistic view, also in response to Rondinelli’s model. The main argument, echoing the “urban bias” debate, is that small towns contribute to rural impoverishment as they are “vanguards of exploitation” of the rural poor by external forces which, according to the case, may be colonial powers, multinational enterprises, central national government, local administrators and élites and, in some cases, international donors. However, when there is a relatively egalitarian class structure and free access to land, and where the stimulus to urban growth results in activity primarily by the people and for themselves ... small scale urbanization may be beneficial locally.

Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1986a, 1986c, 1988)\textsuperscript{169} are probably the most representative proponents of the third position which has been defined


\textsuperscript{169} Hardoy, J. E. and D. Satterthwaite (1986c): “Some tentative conclusions” in Hardoy, J.
as “intermediate” (Baker and Claeson, 1990). Unlike much of the previous literature, Hardoy and Satterthwaite’s conclusions are drawn from detailed empirical studies from Latin America, Asia and Africa, and one major finding is that universal generalizations and prescriptions, which formed the basis of most spatial planning models, are not valid. Therefore, centralized policies may not be efficient since they cannot take into account the peculiarities and specifics of small towns and their regions. What is needed instead is real decentralization of decision-making, with investment and resource-raising at the local level which will allow the articulation of local needs and priorities and which will stimulate both rural and urban development. Moreover, wider socio-economic issues are also likely to affect small towns and, by extension, migration to larger cities. For example, inequitable land-owning structures in South India are one of the reasons why rapid growth in agricultural production has not stimulated development in many small urban centres (Harriss and Harriss, 1988). Government crop purchasing policies and taxation can also influence the levels of rural and urban prosperity and deprivation: for example, government’s promotion of citrus production in Brazil has paradoxically resulted in increased out-

migration due to land ownership concentration (Saint and Goldsmith, 1980).\textsuperscript{172} Finally, attention must be given to the social dimensions of small towns and to the complexity of social networks, kinship and family ties which often blur the social distinctions between what is rural and what is urban (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1986c).\textsuperscript{173}

ii. Approaches to Spatial Planning

The need for some sort of state intervention to promote development has long been recognized although the forms it has taken have changed over time. In the 1960s, in line with the then prevailing development paradigm, spatial strategies were designed to achieve economic growth by stimulating industrial development in designated centres ("growth poles") through public investment. However, the expected trickle-down effect failed to materialize and, in many cases, these policies ended up enriching already privileged social groups, regions and large conurbations (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1986a).\textsuperscript{174}

By the 1970s, the failure of “growth centre” policies and a major shift in the development paradigm resulted in the view that urbanization was a


\textsuperscript{173} Hardoy, J. E. and D. Satterthwaite (1986c): “Some tentative conclusions” in Hardoy, J.

\textsuperscript{174} Hardoy, J. E. and D. Satterthwaite (1986a): “Government policies and small and intermediate urban centres”.
parasitic process leading to underdevelopment and the neglect of agriculture. In policy terms, Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDP) were seen as the “appropriate” strategy. IRDP focused on agricultural change with little, if any, attention to the role of urban centres in the rural economy (Baker and Pedersen, 1992; Escobar, 1995). The disappointing results of this sectoral strategy, together with major changes in macro-economic policies and in the global socio-economic context, brought about another shift in planning concerns.

Rural-urban linkages have recently become the focus of renewed interest among policy makers and researchers (see Evans, 1990; Gaile, 1992; UNDP/UNCHS, 1995). A first reason for this is associated with the increasing prevalence of market based development strategies and their emphasis on export oriented agricultural production which rely on efficient economic linkages connecting producers with external markets. Access to the latter is assumed to transform potential demand into effective demand.

which, in turn, will spur local production. Growing incomes in the agricultural sector will then result in increased demand for services and manufactured goods. From this viewpoint, small towns are seen as playing a key role in linking their rural hinterlands with both domestic and international markets as well as in providing the rural population with non-farm employment opportunities and thus broadening the local economy’s base.

A second important reason, related to the first, is the increasing priority given, partly by design and partly as a consequence of funding cuts, to government reform, to the decentralization of resources and responsibilities, and to the strengthening of local public institutions. In addition to their traditional role as infrastructure and service providers, local authorities are also responsible for supporting economic development and poverty alleviation. However, infrastructure provision has been refocused towards that directly related to productive activity, usually at the expense of social infrastructure such as health and education. On the positive side, this shift from the central to the local level has fostered a more flexible approach to regional planning. This is also based on the recognition that the failure of previous “growth pole” policies was largely due to over-generalizations of urban centres’ development potential, and “small towns programmes” now
tend to give more attention to the needs and potential of individual sites. However, the emphasis on economic efficiency and market-led development tends to treat society as an undifferentiated whole, diverting attention from the living conditions of the most vulnerable groups in both rural and urban areas. The next sections review empirical studies, showing how changes in rural-urban interactions are interrelated with growing social polarization in both towns and countryside.

V. FLOWS OF PEOPLE

While international migration has attracted increasing attention in recent years (often because of its political implications in destination countries), little is known about internal migration despite the fact that its scale, direction and demographic characteristics (such as sex and age composition) are fundamental to an understanding of urbanization processes. Traditional approaches to migration have relied on the notion of “push-pull” factors as the main explanatory elements. In the neo-classical perspective, decisions to move are made at the individual level in response to hardships in source areas (the “push” factors) and to be perceived comparative advantages in destination areas (the “pull” factors). Individuals rationally decide to migrate because they are attracted by the bright lights of the city which promise, in the long-term, to offer better economic opportunities than
the countryside. The structuralist approach to migration, on the other hand, tends to portray migrants as victims rather than rational decision makers, since movement is determined by macro-social, historical and dialectic processes such as the socio-spatial restructuring of production at the national and global levels. Push-pull factors are seen here as a process of polarization with respect to access to resources, and migration as one of a few options available to the most vulnerable population strata.

a. Changes in Migration Types and Direction

Push-pull models of population movement inherently assume that the direction of migration is essentially from rural to urban areas. The income gap between the two areas is an important explanatory factor. However, recent research in sub-Saharan Africa has requested that, since the mid 1970s, economic decline has greatly reduced the gap between real urban incomes and real rural incomes in the region (Jamal and Weeks, 1988). The rate of urban growth in some African countries has slowed considerably and, following structural adjustment programmes and general economic decline, significant numbers of retrenched urban workers may engage in urban-rural migration and return to home areas where the cost of living is

lower (Potts, 1995; Potts with Mutambirwa in this issue). Although little research has been conducted on return migration, it is likely to have important impacts on destination areas, as returnees may compete for scarce resources with the local population while, facilitating the introduction of innovation, both technological and socio-cultural.

Secondary cities have also increased their role as destinations. In some regions, generally within more industrialized areas or close to large cities, many smaller urban centres have succeeded in attracting new investment that previously would have tended to concentrate in large cities. Many secondary cities within 200 kilometres of Sao Paulo metropolitan area have attracted major new enterprises in competition with Sao Paulo, with the help of a much improved regional transport and communication infrastructure (UNCHS, 1996). This increased role for secondary cities as destinations for rural-urban migration is sometimes associated with State policies, as in Mexico where export-processing areas have attracted industrial investment to cities on or close to the border with the United States (ibid). It is also sometimes associated with a renewed emphasis on export agriculture, with the secondary cities within or close to the exporting region benefiting more than major cities. In many Latin American nations, national capitals and major cities became less attractive to migrants during the 1980s, with many
factors contributing to this including economic stagnation or decline, the shift in macro-economic and industrial policies away from protection and import substitution, and the reduction in staff and income levels within the public sector.

In sub-Saharan Africa too, economic stagnation or decline and the reduction in staff and income levels within the public sector helped to discourage migration to national capitals although the extent of this is not well-documented, partly because of the lack of recent census data from this region. In Tanzania, migration during the 1980s veered away from the larger and primate cities towards smaller towns with populations of between 20,000 and 50,000 where urban household self-provisioning of food was more feasible. However, recent municipal estimates suggest that, in the 1990s, the pattern of movement has reverted towards the largest cities in response to the concentration of wealth and the centralization of economic activity in profitable centres of demand which followed the reinstatement of foreign aid flows and market liberalization (Bryceson, 1997a). In other cases, migration may not involve urban destinations at all. For example, landless peasants may be forced to engage in rural-rural migration following

technological changes in agricultural production and the decline of labour requirements by large commercial estates (see Boyce, 1993\textsuperscript{182} on the Philippines). Movement may not always be intended as permanent or even long-term, and evidence suggests that circular migration is also increasing as a result of higher costs of living in the cities.

b. Gender and Age Selectivity

The complexity of migration direction and duration is matched by that of the composition of the flows. While inequalities in control over resources are often likely to give rise to out-migration, this is not limited to low-income groups but may also take place at the intra-household level where it is usually grounded in ideological constructions of roles and relations between men and women, and parents and children. Consequently, gender and generation may play a crucial role in migration decision-making and selectivity (Chant, 1992\textsuperscript{183}). For example, women (either mothers or daughters) are more likely to feel responsible for the well-being of other household members than their male counterparts and this may be an important factor in migration decisions especially when women’s employment opportunities in home areas are limited. Migration can also provide an


escape from social and family constraints and give women a level of independence they may not easily have access to in their home areas (Gadio and Rakowski, 1995).184 Young men with restricted access to family land and waged work may also decide to move. While in all cases the impacts on areas of out-migration may be significant (in terms, for example, of labour availability, remittances, household organization and agricultural production systems), they are also likely to vary depending on who moves and who stays.

In Philippines, male labourer force participation in households receiving remittances from migrant members appears to decline whereas women’s remains constant (Go and Postrado, 1986).185 In some areas of Turkey, the migration of men has involved changes in land use: share-cropping (traditionally men’s work) is usually abandoned but women remain responsible for subsistence agriculture, around which reciprocity based community relations are organized (Ilcan, 1994).186 In the Sahel region, population movement is diverse and constantly changing in response to wider socio-economic dynamics. While traditionally, migrants are

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predominantly young and male, increasingly, young women embark on the migratory journey to the cities. However, for the women who stay behind in the rural areas, male out-migration does not always result in more involvement in natural resource management activities, as these are mediated by several factors including gender divisions of labour within households, land tenure, women’s decision-making power and women’s workloads (David et al. 1995). However, when policies are grounded in local needs and built upon the resources provided by migrants, they can play an important role in improving conditions in areas of out-migration. In Swaziland, the combination of remittances from their male relatives, employed in South Africa’s mines, and the governmental provision of a tractor-hiring service, has allowed women to increase agricultural productivity despite the lack of male labourers (Simelane, 1995).
