Chapter I

Introduction
1.1 Concept of Urbanisation

1.1.1 The term ‘urbanisation’ is derived from the Latin ‘Urbs’, used by the Romans meaning city. It meant differently to different people. Kwasi (2004, p. 1) perceives urbanisation as ‘the shift from a rural to an urban society and involves an increase in the number of people in urban areas during a particular year’. So the term urbanisation can represent the level of urban relative to overall population, popularly called ‘level of urbanisation’. Alternatively, it can represent the rate at which the urban proportion increases in a given period which refers to it as a process (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urbanization). Thompson (2004, p. 1) has defined it as ‘the movement of people from communities concerned chiefly or solely with agriculture to other communities, generally larger, whose activities are primarily centred in government, trade, manufacture or allied interests’ (www.sociologyguide.com). It is the movement of population from rural to urban areas and the resulting increase in the proportion of population that resides in urban rather than rural places. It takes place because of the increase in the extent and density in urban areas (http://alumni-conference).

1.1.2 Urbanisation results from social, economic and political developments leading to urban concentration and growth of large cities; this brings in concomitant changes in landuse and transformation from rural to metropolitan pattern of organisation and governance (Sahu et al., 2009). Historically, cities focused on administration and were centres of art, pleasure and worship; it became possible after agricultural revolution which brought in some leisure but the productive activity was still oriented primarily to the rural surrounding (Jones, 1970). However, during post-industrial revolution period, cities became the centres of manufacturing activity that generally grew out of some location advantage in the form of transport nodality or raw material. Hence economic forces, especially employment opportunities and the resulting migration became a major cause of urbanisation (Cerrutti and Bertoncello, 2003); people move from villages, where small family farms had little opportunity to improve one's standard of living
beyond basic sustenance, 'rural flight', to settle in cities in hope of a higher standard of living. This process is expedited where farm living is dependent on unpredictable environmental conditions, and in times of drought, flood or pestilence, survival becomes extremely problematic. Initially, this migration is of temporary nature but soon gets perpetuated because of lure of urban life. Moreover, in modern times, industrialisation of agriculture has negatively affected the economy of small and middle-sized farms and strongly reduced the size of the rural labour market. Cities offer opportunities and are known to be places where wealth and money are centralised. Furthermore, educational institutions, healthcare system, civic amenities and social welfare mechanism are located in cities (Sahu et al., 2009); this further contributes to migration to cities. Living in cities permits individuals and families to take advantage of the opportunities of proximity, diversity, and marketplace competition. Urbanisation continues to be promoted by scale economies, information externalities, technology development and substitution of capital for land (Mohan and Dasgupta, 2005). In nutshell, urbanisation is promoted by both 'push' and 'pull' factors (Bhagat, 2001). Today, one also finds influence of corporate efforts in promoting urbanisation seeking to reduce time and expense in commuting and transportation while at the same time improving opportunities for jobs, education, housing, and transportation.

1.1.3 Industrialisation is the process of social and economic change that transforms a human group from an agrarian society to an industrial one which is a part of a wider modernisation process. These developments are closely linked to technological innovation, oriented to large-scale energy and metallurgy production involving extensive organisation of an economy for the purpose of manufacturing, requiring organisation nodes in the form of urban centres that emerge to discharge this function (Sullivan and Sheffrin, 2003). They then attract people from less productive rural areas leading to further urbanisation. The towns grow in size to become cities which in their life cycle initially go through expansion process marked by urbanisation and suburbanisation (Jain et al., 2011). On rising living costs in suburbs, people move out to
smaller urban areas, peri-urban areas or post-suburbia, at a distance of 50 to 120 km from dominant agglomeration, initiating the process of des-urbanisation. These areas tend to have higher landuse and functional diversity; they are, therefore, sometimes called rurban areas or fringe and are the ‘landscape interface’ between town and country (Berry and Kasarda, 1977; Pryor, 1968). The process of expansion this way often leads to decline of the core forcing the governments to bring back life there leading to reurbanisation. Efficient transport and communication systems enable cities to extend the range of their services and establish intimate contact with distant areas; this has led to emergence of metropolitan regions. The symbiotic relationship makes the cities represent regional character and they become the organisational foci for the hinterland (Gras, 1922; McKenzie, 1933). Expansion in external relationship increases the dominance of cities and they act as magnet attracting both capital and entrepreneurs. As their viability increases their hinterland automatically expands. Once a community or urban region reaches a threshold size in an urbanised society, it develops its own innovational and inventive resources which shield it against growth disabilities. It is then able to maintain its vitality. Cities organising such self-generating economies are called metropolitan cities and the process is called ‘metropolitanisation’. Each stage of urban expansion is characterised by peculiar demographic, socio-economic and spatial development, along with associated problems, which are found to prevail everywhere unless governments take appropriate policy measure (Berg et al. 1982). Apart from urban sprawl this way, urbanisation can also take place through emergence of new urban centres, government policy and growth of urban population itself.

1.1.4 The economically more developed countries have passed through the above stages. Since 1950s, however, they have experienced ‘counter-urbanisation’ which involves deliberate movement of people out from cities to the surrounding areas. This has been made possible by innovations in transport and communication technologies. The increase in car ownership since then has made people more mobile leading to an increase in their capability of commuting. Also, the advancement in information
technology, viz. internet access, video conferencing etc., has provided more people an option to work from home. Simultaneously, urban areas have also become increasingly unpleasant places to live due to pollution, crime and traffic congestion. Moreover, there is an increasing tendency to locate new business parks on the edge of cities, seeking Greenfield sites, that has reduced the need to travel to the city centre. People living on the outskirts of the city are thus now near to their place of work. Such new avenues also attract retired people who tend to move out from inner part of the city. But these developments have created another problem that of decline in manufacturing in the city core and a shift to service dominated employment elsewhere leading to economic decline of inner city; this is the post-industrial city (Lever, 1991). It has forced governments to take gentrification measures to bring life to these areas (Berry, 1980; Holcomb, 1981; Home, 1982).

1.1.5 Economically less developed countries, as compared to the western world, are often characterised by high rate of population growth in both rural and urban areas; they have been in the second stage of demographic transition. The rural to urban migration rates are high in these countries, due to population pressure and lack of resources in rural areas; moreover, it is often believed that the standard of living in urban areas is much better than that in rural ones that enhances migration. Subservience of agriculture to demands of the global market has also led to massive emigration from rural areas (Abu-Lughod, 1977). Further, natural growth rates of urban centres are also high. This has resulted in the emergence of mega cities within a short span of time. Urbanisation, here, is thus negative being a reaction against the absence of rapid economic growth (Myrdal, 1968). Compared to western urbanisation, which followed a gradual shift in economic base from agriculture to industry and then to tertiary sector, the economic development here is being triggered by service sector growth ever since their early stages of development (Pandit and Casseti, 1989). This is partly due to their late start in industrialisation, but growth of informal sector also plays a crucial role. The small volume and semi-processed nature of goods in their export
trade have also been responsible for such distortion (Pandit, 1986). This has pushed the urbanisation process to higher levels but without much of job creation in the formal sector. Unable to cope up with the population pressure, along with continued implementation of colonial laws, forced the cities to expand horizontally than vertically consuming huge productive land (Annez, et al. 2010). Moreover, development of infrastructure has not kept pace with urban growth leading to several problems, such as, congestion; those who were forced to go out are facing problems in commuting. The social cost of urban life has increased tremendously. The National Commission on Urbanisation (1988) has termed this as factor of ‘demographic momentum’.

1.1.6 Urbanisation in India was traditionally oriented to feudal administration and quality manufacturing (Stein, 2002). Introduction of overseas trade led to urbanisation in coastal areas because of prominence of ports in regional economy (Govt. of Maharashtra, 1978). Colonial period distorted this pattern, essentially in response to the requirements of the new regime (Nairne, 1894). The prevailing economy generated strong stimuli for commodities and population to flow towards its key ports and administrative towns which also became the processing centres (Chattopadhyaya and Raza, 1975). Consequently, this had inevitably weakened the regional centripetal forces established earlier through the inter-settlement linkages and bi-directional movement between the core and periphery (Chakma, 2011). The four major urban agglomerations (UAs) at port sites served, unlike their Western counterparts in the medieval period, as focal points for generating and extracting economic surpluses. The traditional rural-urban links were gradually replaced by port oriented commodity flows. Movement of population that became necessary to sustain the new urban centres (and also the plantation fields) further disrupted the core–periphery relationship and strengthened the centrifugal forces (Pearson, 1976). Over the years there has been continuous concentration of population in these towns developing primacy (Das and Dutt, 1993). On the contrary the concentration of population in medium and small towns either fluctuated or declined (Kundu, 2006). This has resulted top heavy structure of urban
population in India which continued even after attaining independence (Datta, 2006). India's urbanisation is, therefore, often termed as 'over-urbanisation' or 'pseudo-urbanisation', which is marked by the growth of a few cities rather than emergence of new towns (Hartshorn, 1980; Mwiinga, 1996). Unlike their counterparts in developed countries, the Indian cities were not a product of economic development but rather the consequence of demographic explosion and poverty induced rural-urban migration (Correa, 1988; Sivaramakrishan, 2001; Kundu, 2011). The scenario has, however, undergone a change on adoption of regional measures (Mathur, 1977). Deliberate emphasis on developing infrastructure in backward areas and taking industries there as a part of regional measures, have led to some changes in both development and urbanisation scenario (C.S.D. I. 1979; Mahajan, 1986). The country has already moved from concentration phase to a phase of deconcentration (Mookherjee, 2003). But globalisation, liberalization, privatization are addressing negative process for urbanisation in India (Datta, 2006). The post-globalisation period is also making it increasingly necessary to bridge the gap between urban and rural areas. No city in India at present adequately fulfills the basic needs of citizens in terms of physical services and civic amenities. Mckinsey Report (2010) points out that across all major quality-of-life indicators, Indian cities fall well short of delivering even a basic standard of living for their residents. Class I cities have reached saturation level of employment generating capacity due to capital intensive technologies. Thus, rural poverty is slowly being transferred to urban areas (Pitale, 2011). The rural-urban transition is, thus, slowly emerging in place of rural-urban dichotomy that prevailed in the past (McGee, 1998). Cities continue to serve as attractive destinations for rural migrants, but government investment in infrastructure has facilitated rural-urban interaction. The rural communities have derived some benefit in the process and have thus ceased to be rural in their behavioural pattern (Brookfield et al. 1994).

1.1.7 Rapid urbanisation has become a more dominant trend since the adoption of Agenda 21 in 1992 (Shafeeu, 1996; Tibaijuka, 2002). It is estimated that the number of
people living in urban areas all over the world would touch 5 billion mark by 2030 (Cohen, 2002; U.N. 2004). The phenomenon is closely linked to the development process through complex system of interaction (Misra, 1972). Urbanisation leads to economic growth, but also creates social and spatial inequalities (Barkley et al. 1994; 1996). One, therefore, comes across a socio-economic chasm between these centres and their hinterland (Whitehand, 1967; Taylor, 2001).

1.2 Urbanisation in the State: A Historical View

1.2.1 Urbanisation is a process of transformation from traditional rural agricultural economies to non-agricultural ones. It is a cycle through which nations pass as they evolve from agrarian to industrial society (Davis and Golden, 1954). Spatially, it is a process of switch over from the spread out pattern of human settlements to one of concentration in urban centres (Davis, 1962; 1965). During the ancient period, there was limited scope for urbanisation, when the economic organisation comprised self-sufficient rural agrarian settlements. Local administration and trade arising out of royal patronage provided some seeds for early urbanisation (Govt. of Bombay Presidency, 1954; Dikshit, 1970; Kosambi, 1988); the towns then were the centres of administration or trade. It is only here that one could find some scope to take up activities, such as, small manufacturing, construction, services that were divorced from land.

1.2.2 In Maharashtra, conditions conducive to such a process were unfavourable, as the area was peripheral to land based powers of both the north and the south; there was very little interaction between these two power groups because of the geographical barriers like the Satpudas and the Vindhyas. It is not surprising then that urbanisation emerged rather late on the development scene of the State. Later on, when information and modes of transport improved, it started acting as a bridge between the north and the south of the subcontinent, and the political, cultural and military activity initiated the urbanisation in the State (Bhide and Baksi, 2011). Administrators who worked under the cover of land-based powers initiated the process. The oldest known urban
centre, viz. Surparks (present day Sopara) was thus the administrative headquarters of Aparanta while Pratigam (Paithan), which came later, was the capital of Paithanakas (Govt. of Maharashtra, 2009). The initial focus of city development was thus political and administrative control. Development of religious centres was another force that led to emergence of Nashik, a sacred Hindu city (Thapar, 1966). The process also established trade connections overseas, especially with the Arab world, leading to development of port towns along the shore (Thapar, 1996). The earliest urban centres were thus inland governmental towns, linked by trade routes through the mountain passes to the coastal ports which evolved at a slightly later date. (Kosambi, 1988). This proved to be a harbinger of urbanisation in the State is the coastal belt of Konkan. The maritime commerce of the Konkan ports had three major components: local coastal trade within the region, coastal trade with Gujarat and Malabar ports and foreign trade. The prosperity and foreign commerce of the Konkan ports was assured when the Konkan and the Deccan were unified under a strong centralized rule, while in times of territorial fragmentation they were restricted to coastal local trade.

1.2.3 The goods traded through overseas trade links used to move east-west taking advantage of gentle gradients along the river valleys, passes in the Sahyadri, navigability of Konkan rivers due to extension of tidal influence 15-20 km. inland and protective harbour sites along the submerged shore. As a result of the policy of the Mauryas, along with the spread of Buddhism in Maharashtra, there was also an increase in trade. The ports of Sopara, Kalyan and Thane were connected with the trading centres to the east of the Sahyadri, namely, Junnar, Nashik and Paithan through passes, such as, Naneghat and Thalghat. These port cities were important centres for international trade and the emergence of some of these, at a particular point in the political history, over the others was a consistent phenomenon till the colonial times. The cave temples in and around Mumbai indicate that along this route Buddhist caves and Buddhist colonies came into existence. (Govt. of Maharashtra, 2009). Gharapuri, founded during the same period showed the influence of Hindu Kings as is clear from
the carvings. Simultaneously with the port locations, the sites at the head of navigation gained prominence as they acted as the points of break-of-bulk; some towns also emerged as gateway towns (Dept. of Geography, 2003).

1.2.4 The next phase in urbanisation came during Satvahana and Vakataka period when there was a patronage to art and architecture; temple towns like Ramtek became prominent. Later division of Vakataka rulers gave rise to towns like Akola, Pravarapur (Padampur) and Vatsagulma (Wasim). Nashik and Naldurg gained importance in the rule of Chalukyas of Badami as an administrative centre. Kolhapur came into prominence during the rule of Shilaharas. Devgiri (Daulatabad) became important as the capital of Yadavas.

1.2.5 After the fall of Yadavas, Khilji, Tughlak and Bahamani dynasties ruled Maharashtra. In the early fourteenth century, Daulatabad was the political centre of the Deccan under Mohammed Tughluq, and its trade was directed partly to Cambay in Gujarat, and partly to Thane, via Naneghat, which was the closest Konkan port (Nairne, 1894; Govt. of Maharashtra, 1982). Achalpur was also an administrative centre tributary to the Delhi rule. Bid was an important trading centre during this period. In the mid-fourteenth century, the Deccan-Konkan region was claimed by the Bahmani kingdom set up in revolt against Tughluq, and the capital moved from Daulatabad to Gulberga. Consequently the south Konkan ports, especially Dabhol, received the Bahmani trade. The subsequent fragmentation of the Bahmani kingdom into five smaller kingdoms was followed by the emergence of Ahmadnagar in the north Deccan and Bijapur in the south Deccan as the strongest among them. The Ahmednagar king patronized Chaul, through Borghat and, the Bijapur kings favoured Dabhol, via Kumbharlighat, for the overseas trade of their respective territories (Govt. of Maharashtra, 1978; Pearson, 1981). Solapur also became important during this period. Malik Ambar founded Khadki as his capital which later came to be known as Aurangabad. Panvel also came to prominence being at the head of navigation.
1.2.6 The arrival of the Marathas on the political scene as a revolt against the Bahamani rulers saw a shift towards the hill forts on the eastern slope of Sahyadris which served the purpose of guarding and defending a territory acquired. This was primarily due to their poor numerical strength and equipment and preferred to use guerrilla warfare; this did not give rise to larger urban centres, although ones like Panhala, Mahad, Rajapur and Chiplun did get some importance. The scene of urbanisation in Maharashtra underwent a change during the Peshwa period, which gave numerous cities to the western region of the State. The urban centres during this era served numerous functions, the primary amongst which was political control as was the case with Nashik, Pune, Satara, Karad, Sangli, Miraj, Kolhapur, Nagpur, Shriwardhan and Khopoli. The religious towns like Wai, Pandharpur, Dehu, and Alandi became important because of political patronage while ports like Kalyan, Thane and Kolaba (Alibag) became important as strategic centre of coastal defence and trade (Bhide and Baks, 2011).

1.2.7 At the end of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese arrived on the west coast of India; they disrupted the existing trading patterns, mainly because of their philosophy of monopoly, both of trade routes and trade items such as spices (Pearson, 1976). They were not really interested in trade as such but, with their naval superiority, wanted to dominate as escorts of trading vessels under their passport. Early in the sixteenth century, the Portuguese utilised their naval strength and established themselves at a few strategic locations along the west coast, in a string stretching from Diu and Daman in Gujarat southward through Vasai and Chaul, to Goa to the south along the Konkan coast (Pearson, 1981); thus they did not build any new ports but selected the existing ports on their strategic value with a view to controlling oceanic trade. The actual sites of the Portuguese ports were chosen on the consideration of facilitating naval defence. In contrast to the indigenous emphasis on protected sites along rivers and creeks, the Portuguese focused on off-shore islands. Indigenous ports, such as, Dabhol which could
not be acquired were attacked and plundered with view to destroy them (Barbosa, 1918; Pires, 1944; Govt. of Maharashtra, 1962). Wherever, they showed interest in the case of a mainland site, choice was based on a spot bounded by the sea on one side and a stream on the other. This is well exemplified by the Portuguese town of Chaul that was built between the Muslim town of Chaul and the sea, emphasising its oceanic and naval orientation.

1.2.8 When the Dutch, British, Danish and French East India Companies opened their direct trade links with India in the seventeenth century, their activities centred on ports with rich hinterland like Gujarat, Bengal and Peninsular India. On the west coast, commercially the most attractive location was the Moghul port of Surat in Gujarat where the European merchants maintained their factories (trading establishments) so as to fully utilise the existing infrastructure, availability of merchandise, docking facilities and access to its inland communications network (Dasgupta, 1970). In the absence of significant commercial activity, the Konkan coast attracted only sporadic European attention, in the form of smaller factories at Rajapur (English and French), Malvan (English), and Vengurla (Dutch), with the exception of Mumbai, that too a result of extraneous circumstances rather than any purposeful design; its excellent natural harbour was more of a bonus than a requirement at that time (Kosambi, 1980; 1985). This site also retained the advantage of proximity to Surat.

1.2.9 The real boost to urbanisation was provided during the colonial rule but it also changed the spatial structure of urban scenario; the appearance of the British on the scene thoroughly transformed the historical pattern. Mumbai was vigorously promoted as the primate city, in spite of the absence of any significant natural trade and port facilities which were, however, soon developed in early eighteenth century. Urban transformation resulted into creation of a new hierarchical urban system focused around the city of Mumbai, from which the new communication networks, such as, roads and railways were made to radiate. This modern urbanisation concomitant with
the rapid industrialisation focused on Mumbai as a modern textile centre and, in turn, destroyed the indigenous manufacturing centres resulting into the decline of indigenous cities like Pune. Once the former got established, it became the main hub of colonial trade leading to the decline of the old established ports (Govt. of India, 1909). The extreme concentration on Mumbai also rendered the earlier east-west axes linking the ports to inland centres via the major gaps in the Sahyadri obsolete. The new categories of towns, such as, cantonment cities and hill stations came into existence. The era also saw emergence of municipal governance and concepts of town planning.

1.2.10 The process of urbanisation in Maharashtra received impetus with the introduction of the railway in 1853. All these developments contributed to the decline of the rural society making it gradually urban by attracting migrant population. Digby (1901) observed that ‘there were two Indias, viz. the India of the Presidency and the Chief provincial cities, of the railway systems and the hill stations. There were two countries, i.e. Anglostann, the land especially ruled by the English, in which English investments have been made, and Hindustan, practically all India fifty miles from each side of the railway lines’. It was applicable to the then existing Maharashtra (Bose, 1974). This provided incentives for urbanisation along the nodes and junctions; a bead-like pattern of urban centres came into existence as a result. They then provided infrastructure needed for administration and thus became administrative headquarters. Many district and taluka level headquarters were situated this way on transport lines. However, despite such developments, Mumbai continued to grow as the government policy always indirectly favoured concentration and the orientation was always external (Chattopadhyaya and Raza, 1975).

1.2.11 The city grew strong day by day and this process continues till the date; in earlier phases, it was due to colonial policy of concentration and in later stages it was the result of the continuation of the centripetal forces due to requirements of the time. Mumbai became a symbol of the industrial and financial growth of the State and the consequent
urbanisation. In fact, it has emerged as a national centre for manufacture, trade and commerce. During this period, urbanisation was thus more related to development of industries. Its increasing expanse has generated impulses into other cities in the vicinity and the locus of urbanisation in Maharashtra has now widened to form a golden triangle between Mumbai, Pune and Nashik. (Bhide and Baksi, 2011).

1.2.12 During planning era, it was felt that an effective way of arresting unusual and undesirable growth of Mumbai city would be to check the concentration of industrial growth within the city limits. A policy of industrial dispersal was, therefore, evolved (Gadgil, 1966; Mathur, 1977; Planning Commission, 1980; Nair, 1982). Regional measures thus attempted to take some function away from the already developed areas and thereby stem migration to city of Mumbai. But the development, instead of becoming a real dispersal into other parts of Maharashtra, turned out to be a mere spill-over first into the suburbs and later into Thane-Belapur, Kalyan-Sahad-Ambarnath belts and the adjoining parts of Thane and Raigad districts (Gupta and Prasad, 1996; Sita and Bhagat, 2003)). A few centres outside the immediate vicinity of Mumbai emerged in the neighbourhood of the old administrative centres, particularly those with divisional administration, and this induced growth of Pune, Aurangabad and Nashik. Today, the pattern appears to be that of concentrated decentralisation. The process of in-filling took place along the highways and railways connecting these centres with Mumbai and one finds an extension of bead-like pattern along Mumbai-Pune and Mumbai-Nashik corridors (Phadke and Mukherji, 2004). Meanwhile, some development had also taken place in western Maharashtra because of the co-operative movement, particularly in sugarcane belt, and that gave rise to some industrial centres related to manufacture of sugar and agriculture oriented machinery. Pune-Satara-Kolhapur belt has come up this way (Govt. of Maharashtra, 2009).

1.2.13 An important consequence of these developments is the absence of urban hierarchy which could have provided the basis for a spatially balanced development in
the State. Restriction of infrastructure to only certain areas has prohibited the dispersal of industries across the State. Saturation of Mumbai and Pune, however, forced industrialisation to slowly trickle down to the distant areas. New industrial and urban belts are, thus, developing along corridors, such as, Mumbai-Nashik, Mumbai-Palghar-Dahanu and Pune-Satara-Kolhapur tracts. With the emergence of the national highway (NH 17) and Konkan Railway, coastal areas of central and south Konkan are also emerging to the forefront of industrial development and this has become the potential urbanisable zone. Industries are also moving to Marathwada and Vidarbha; in the former, they are infrastructure seeking, as at Aurangabad (Sita and Bhagat, 2003), and in the latter, they are resource seeking as at Chandrapur (C.S.D.I., 1979). Their spread, however, is restricted spatially and so is that of urbanisation.

1.2.14 The scenario is again due for a change with liberalisation in the eighties (Srivastava, 1996) and opening of the national territory to outside capital since 1991. The locations that are currently being sought after are those with developed infrastructure. The activities are, therefore, limping back to major urban centres with such infrastructure or their backyards (Sita and Bhagat, 2003). It is interesting to watch the impact of these changes on urbanisation and development scenario in future.

1.2.15 The present day urbanisation in the State is thus closely linked to colonial administration, consequent trade links and industrialisation. At the same time, provision of infrastructure and services of the global standard are also becoming important. The old established centres like Mumbai, therefore, show a change in the thrust from manufacturing to service activities (Phadke and Mukherji, 2001). With the above background, it is but natural that the levels of urbanisation in the State are influenced by related developments in industrialisation, infrastructure and services on which it depends; demography and landuse also show concomitant changes. The rise and fall of cities are, thus, contingent upon a number of factors including urban
functions, economic sustenance, political support, features of location and site and
access to communication routes.

1.3 Present Scenario in Maharashtra

Level of urbanisation in Maharashtra has been high throughout; it was 28.22% in
1961 as compared to India as a whole, i.e. 17.98%, it rose to 42.4% in the year 2001 as
against 27.8% for India and in 2011 it has reached the figure of 45.2% as against all India
figure of 31.2%. As one of industrialised states of India, it holds a lion’s share in the
national economy; GDP share is 11% in 2011. State capital, Mumbai, is the financial
capital of the country. Growth of Mumbai is in conformity with the characteristics
found in developing countries, but other towns are also growing. There were only 12
Class I towns in 1961; the number has gone up to 40 in 2001: this has reached a figure of
45 in 2011. However, not all the Class I towns are growing equally fast and hence their
contribution is uneven. Desai (1986) in her study of metropolitan dominance indicates
that urban growth tends to be concentrated in metropolitan centres and their immediate
vicinity creating a shadow zone beyond. The primary cause of metropolitan dominance
is heavy concentration of activities; the situation has not changed substantially today
and, in fact, after liberalisation and globalisation one finds more concentration in the
vicinity of large cities, especially Mumbai. This corroborates with the earlier
observations by Kamat (1980). Phadke and Mukherji (2004) argue that the pattern of
urbanisation has shown significant impact of large cities in their contribution to the
process. Medium towns have increased their influence over years but that of small
towns has weakened. This pattern of urbanisation is not a new phenomenon; being a
colonial country it has experienced primacy. This led to a concentration of resources
and technology in a single city, which grew at the expense of its hinterland, diverting all
resources towards itself. Many smaller centres lost their importance and despite
phenomenal population growth, they stagnated or even declined economically. This
dominant-dominated relationship continued even after independence and it is only
recently that new urban policies have deliberately tried to modify and rectify the situation. However, by then it was too late to modify it easily. The post-1991 scenario is rather disturbing as it is likely to concentrate the activities and FDI in the vicinity of large cities. It is, therefore, interesting to study the scenario during the recent decades.

1.4 Overview of Literature

1.4.1 Developed world has experienced urbanisation along with industrialisation, which is not the case with third world country like India. The rise of cities in third world must be viewed as a product of diffusion rather than of indigenous urban growth (Clark, 1940). Urbanisation in India was associated with administration and quality manufacturing in artisan workshops during ancient times, trade during the medieval period and industries during modern times. One also finds an influence of colonial administration (Masand, 1988).

1.4.2 Bala (1981) in her study has related urbanisation in India to historical evolution of cities. There is a marked metropolitan shadow zone where urban growth appears to be inhibited by the towering metropolitan centres (Chatterjee, 1989). Desai (1988) corroborates these views and finds a parallel for the state of Maharashtra.

1.4.3 There are a few studies on urbanisation in Maharashtra. The earlier studies highlighted historical aspects of urban evolution (Edwardes, 1902; Dikshit, 1970). Deshpande (1976) analysed urban centres in their geographical perspective. He has used a variety of cartographic and simple quantitative techniques to draw inferences for cities and towns in western India for the period 1961-71: the same theme was dealt with in his book (Deshpande, 1971), as a part of an overall scenario. The focus of the later studies was on growth of Mumbai vis-à-vis that in other parts of the State (Brahme, 1978; Sita and Phadke, 1983). Dikshit (1986) has highlighted overall urbanisation pattern but very little attention has been paid to process as such. The study by Lalvani (1988) has emphasised the socio-economic and political implications of urbanisation while that
by Pendse (1988) has attempted to unravel relation between urbanisation and economic growth along with associated problems. Sita and Phadke (1985) in their study of urbanisation in Maharashtra, have focused attention on patterns related to urbanisation during the decade 1971-81. Khadpekar (1988) has studied urbanisation of Maharashtra in an environmental perspective. Recent studies indicate that the State continues to follow colonial legacy (Kosambi, 1988). Uneven urbanisation is still prevailing along with increasing metropolitanisation.

1.4.4 Some studies have tried to explain the urban scenario after Independence in the context of related political development. The study by Kamat (1980) is a review of politico-economic development in the State after independence; he laments that concentration of activities in Mumbai is primarily the result of the urban orientation of the political leadership despite the fact that it was drawn from the rural area. Many researchers indicate that such pattern is the product of the uneven spread of the fruits of development (Patwardhan, 1988; Deshpande, 2003). Kewalramani (2002) observes that metropolitan development in the State is tending to be polycentric and in the aftermath of globalisation the city has emerged as a technopole rather than a heavy industrial centre.

1.4.5 From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that studies related to urbanisation are either for specific period or on specific theme; they do not bring out the overall scenario in a spatio-temporal framework. Moreover, all the above studies have discussed the scenario only upto 1991 and the present study would focus attention on 2001 pattern. The study aims at an analysis of the scenario of urbanisation in relation to landuse, economic and socio-cultural factors. The analysis will throw light on the spatio-temporal pattern and processes behind it. This would also help in identifying the constraints faced by policy makers for more desirable pattern.

1.5 Objectives of the Study
The present study attempts to understand the patterns of urbanisation in the State in the years 1961 and 2001, and the processes responsible for the change, if any. The main factor influencing such a change is economic and hence the process of economic development is considered; this is attempted making use of work participation data and an occupational shift. The overall improvement in the economy also results into social change and alteration of landuse pattern; these aspects are to be considered both as effect of earlier urbanisation as well as cause promoting later urbanisation. Since the larger cities, especially the metropolitan cities, are expected to guide the pattern of urbanisation, the study related to metropolitan dominance is carried out in anticipation of getting a clue to such dominance, if any. The specific objectives of the study are, therefore, as follows:

1. To analyse the change in urban scenario of the State between 1961 and 2001. The starting point is the first census year after reorganisation of the State in its present form, while the end point is the last census for which data are available. This has been attempted in the following format:

   a) Level of urbanisation
   b) Contribution of towns belonging to different census classes
   c) Contribution of large, medium and small towns
   d) Spatio-temporal changes in the scenario with the help of three indices related to process of urbanisation, viz. pace of urbanisation, pace of urban growth and contribution of urban to total growth.

2. To analyse the spatial patterns of the work participation to see whether there are any significant changes over time. This has been done under the following heads:

   a) Total work participation
   b) Female work participation
   c) Non-agricultural workers along with their two broad categories for which data
are available for both the years
d) Since data are available separately for main and marginal workers in the year 2001, the analysis is also extended for that year. This has also been done separately for urban workers.

3. To study the changes in landuse patterns of the area in 1961 and 2001, and understand the significant temporal variations, if any. The variables have been selected based on their relation to urbanisation which are as follows:

   a) Gross cropped area as a percentage of net sown area
   b) Net sown area under irrigation (percentage)
   c) Gross irrigated area under food crops other than food grains (percentage)
   d) Gross irrigated area under non-food crops (percentage)
   e) Gross irrigated area under cash crops (percentage)

4. To understand the temporal changes in socio-economic characteristics of population of the State, in relation to level of urbanisation. This has been done under the following heads:

   a) Density of population
   b) Sex ratio
   c) Total literacy
   d) Female literacy
   e) Females among the literate
   f) Growth rate of population

5. To determine the extent and nature of relationship between level of urbanisation, on the one hand, and the process of urbanisation, occupational structure, landuse and socio-economic characteristics, on the other.
Factor analysis has been employed to analyse the spatial pattern of association of urbanisation with above variables in order to understand the impact of their simultaneous occurrence; this has helped to group variables.

6. To classify the talukas of Maharashtra on the basis of level of urbanisation and its causal factors.

This has been done by mapping the factor scores and deriving factor structures; this has enabled grouping of spatial units.

7. To analyse the spatial distribution of urban population in terms of distance from major metropolitan centres.

Six metropolitan cities of the State have been selected for this analysis. The distance decay effect has been assessed to determine the metropolitan shadow effect, if any. In order to understand the metropolitan dominance, crude urban growth, its contribution to total growth, contribution of towns of different sizes to total urban growth and percentage of workers engaged in non-agricultural activities have been considered in each distance band. It was intended to analyse the increase in built up area in different bands to assess the spread of urbanisation process over four decades but the data on this aspect were not available and hence urban spill-over on agricultural land has been considered as a surrogate measure. This has been done by considering the absolute decline in net sown area over the period.

1.6 Hypotheses

a) The spatial pattern of urbanisation in Maharashtra has undergone a change over four decades. This has been tested by preparing maps for the concerned years and then quantifying the cartographic findings with the help of correlation technique of inferential statistics.

b) Urbanisation in the State is dominated by large cities.
This has been tested by analysing classwise and sizewise contribution of towns to total urban population.

c) It is urban growth rather than change in designation of settlements from rural to urban that has contributed to higher level of urbanisation in the State.

This has been verified using several means such as contribution of different town sizes to urban population as also correlation between level of urbanisation and pace of urban growth.

d) Urbanisation in the State has increased work participation, especially among the females.

This has been demonstrated cartographically as well as statistically using correlation between level of urbanisation and work participation.

e) Urban growth in the State has resulted in an occupational shift from agricultural to non-agricultural activities.

This has been examined by cartographically and statistically analysing such a shift between the two concerned years.

f) Urbanisation in the State has induced opportunities for household industries.

This has been examined by cartographically and statistically analysing such a shift between the two concerned years. The change in the definition of workers in household industry as also division of workers into main and marginal categories in the year 2001 has been given due attention.

g) Commercialisation of agriculture in the State has brought in urbanisation to hitherto rural areas.
To test this hypothesis, commercialisation in agriculture has been envisaged as a change indicated by gross cropped area as a proportion of net sown area, net sown area under irrigation, gross irrigated area under i) food crops other than food grains, ii) non-food crops and iii) cash crops. Correlation has been worked out between level of urbanisation and these landuse related variables over and above maps.

h) Urbanisation in the State has encouraged socio-economic development.

To test this hypothesis indicators such as density of population, sex ratio and literacy - total and female as also females among literates have been considered. Correlation has been worked out between level of urbanisation and these variables, in addition to maps showing spatial distributions.

i) Factors leading to urbanisation in different parts of the State are not the same.

Factor analysis has been employed to test this hypothesis. Variables with potential to bring in urbanisation or acting as its effects, such as, density, sex ratio, literacy, contribution of medium and small towns, workers in household industry as also landuse related to remunerative crops have been carefully watched in this regard. The talukas have been classified on the basis of dominant factor. This has been done using the factor score values.

j) There is a sharp distance-decay in terms of urban growth from metropolitan centres of the State.

The concentric zones of 25 km have been marked around six metropolitan centres and analysis of the contribution of different bands has been carried out to test this hypothesis.

k) The spatial contrasts in the State is determined by the relative dominance of a metropolis.
In order to test the metropolitan dominance hypothesis crude urban growth, its contribution to total growth, contribution of towns of different sizes and percentage of workers engaged in non-agricultural activities have been considered in each distance band. Data have been analysed by using appropriate cartographic technique, viz. graph.

1.7 Scheme of the Chapters

The thesis work is organised in the following way:

1.7.1 The first chapter of the thesis deals with the conceptual background and depicts historical view of the urbanisation pattern in the State. It covers the latest scenario in the State and gives the general idea of the earlier studies. It identifies the gaps in the earlier studies and the requirement for the present study. The objectives of the study are clearly specified and hypotheses which are needed to be tested are mentioned.

1.7.2 The second chapter of the study covers the design for the study. It explains the choice of taluka as unit of analysis and difficulties in their compilation. It notifies the sources of the data and their quality. It describes the selection of indicators. It also provides information on methodology adopted. The techniques used for the analysis are described.

1.7.3 The third chapter of the thesis depicts the spatial pattern of urbanisation for both the census years. The analysis has been extended to study the urban population residing in towns belonging to different classes based on size. Spatio-temporal patterns in growth have been studied with the help of three different indices, viz. pace of urbanisation, pace of urban growth, and, contribution of urban to total growth.

1.7.4 The fourth chapter covers the analysis of occupational structure in relation to urbanisation. Variables related to work participation have been considered. Due to non-availability of data, only broad category of non-agricultural workers has been analysed. Since the data on workers in household industry are available for both the years they
have been analysed separately. As data are also available separately for main and marginal workers for the year 2001, the analysis has also been extended to incorporate these for that year.

1.7.5 The fifth chapter is related to the study of landuse. Landuse changes, from cultivation of food grains to other food and non-food crops, are a potential factor to bring in urbanisation, although they are also in themselves induced as a result of the process, and hence they have also been included in the analysis; landuse categories have, therefore, been selected on the basis of their relation to urbanisation process.

1.7.6 The sixth chapter analyses pattern of socio-economic variables. The variables like density of population, sex ratio, literacy, female literacy, female among the literates and growth rate of population have been considered as these variables sometimes reflect on the cause and at other times on the effect of urbanisation. Correlation matrices for the variables are prepared to analyse inter-variable relationship as done in the earlier chapters. In addition, changes in correlation values over years with respect to socio-economic variables in relation to level of urbanisation have been analysed.

1.7.7 The seventh chapter classifies the talukas of the State based on level of urbanisation and its causal factors. This is done with the help of factor analysis. Common factors have been identified in both the census years and spatial patterns are interpreted. Based on the strongest factor spatial pattern of the State is also interpreted for both the years.

1.7.8 The eighth chapter deals with the metropolitan dominance. Concentric zones of 25 km. width from major metropolitan centres have been marked to allot urban centres in both the years to appropriate metropolitan cities. The metropolitan shadow effect has been determined. In order to understand the metropolitan dominance, crude urban growth, its contribution to total growth, contribution of towns of different sizes and percentage of workers engaged in non-agricultural activities have also been considered
in each distance band. Correlation has been worked out to determine the nature of relationship between urban growth and increase in non-agricultural workers.

1.7.9 The ninth chapter covers the summary of findings and conclusion. The results of the previous chapters are brought together in the form of summary of findings and the major characteristics of the spatial patterns of urbanisation in Maharashtra in 1961 and 2001 are highlighted. In the light of the major features that emerge, suitable suggestions for guiding future urban development policies are touched upon.