

## MEDIUM TOWNS AS DEVELOPMENT NODES (Some observations from Maharashtra)

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**ABSTRACT:** This paper examines the role of medium towns in the diffusion of economic development. With the above perspective the methods to identify medium towns which can act as growth centres for regional development have been reviewed. Using growth behaviour, functional attributes and population size, the medium towns for Maharashtra have been identified.

### INTRODUCTION

While metropolitan areas and big cities have always received serious attention from all quarters—social scientists, development planners, and administrators and policy makers—the small and medium towns have largely been neglected by all. It is only recently that the importance of medium towns for diffusing regional development has been realised by the government, and considerable attention is being focused on initiating a number of schemes and projects to stimulate them. For example, the Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns (IDSMT) scheme and the policy recommendations made by the National Commission on Urbanisation (NCU) are some of the concrete steps to reorient growth away from the metropolitan areas. Unfortunately, the evaluation report based on Maharashtra's experience of the IDSMT scheme has few success stories to report. Instead, what is surprising is that one finds examples (side by side) which have helped to perpetuate the existing inequality of urban - economic development in the four mega cities which still dominate the country's urban eco-

omic scene. The above issue thus calls for careful consideration, if a proper assessment is to be made, as to why medium towns have remained so, what constraints operate against their growth, and how these could be overcome. The paper proposes to throw light on some of these issues with evidence gathered from the study of the 'medium' town affairs in Maharashtra.

### WHY PROMOTE MEDIUM TOWNS AT ALL?

There are innumerable examples and sufficient empirical evidence which point that, left to themselves, medium towns have rarely displayed any vigour to generate development from within. The economic apparatus they possess is geared more to the provision of some civic services and skeletal urban amenities to their people and to those in their close neighbourhood. Glaring omission of the virtues the large cities possess, in terms of superior infrastructure, excellent connectivity, (both, inter and intra urban) large capital base and skilled human resources have been stumbling blocks in the way of rendering medium

towns less attractive locations for industrial and urban development. Unable to create the required climate for penetrating and diffusing development, they remain virtually trapped in their traditional role of central places, retaining poorly articulated links with the cities in whose shadows they retain a ghostly presence. This makes one question the very bias of the planning philosophy which recommends diverting precious public funds to create an artificial climate for promoting small and medium towns as development nodes.

In the present context, the rationale for promoting medium towns is based on the premise that a well articulated system of urban settlements is the only alternative for reducing spatial inequity in regional development. It is also believed that the comparative status of medium towns is a sensitive indicator of the state of the regional economy and the working of the urban processes.

## METHODOLOGY

Starting with a brief review of works on small and medium towns, a working definition of medium towns, relevant to the Indian context is culled out. This is followed by a historical perspective on Maharashtra's medium towns, which provides the necessary background for appreciating their present day status, functional role, growth trends and other unique features. Using overall development levels of different regions within Maharashtra, a regionalisation scheme is proposed to bring out the factors which have led to differential development of medium towns in the area. In the concluding remarks some soul searching has been done as to why strategies to promote medium towns have generally failed to bring in the desired results; what went wrong with the plans and what could be done in future are some of the concerns of this paper.

*Defining a medium town* can be an arduous task, which has not only frustrated but eluded many a serious worker. By its very (nebulous) nature, it defies a label. The concept of a medium town can vary widely with different densities of population for different areas, and as such becomes a subjective choice, depending on the need and purpose of any study. Indian scholars without getting embroiled in the continuing debate as to what constitutes a medium or a large town, have preferred the traditional census classification, based on population size. There may be some difference of opinion as to where to draw the ceiling: generally the upper limit may extend anywhere from 50,000 to 1,00,000 population. The bottom line in most cases does not pose much of a problem as it is in a number of cases, fixed within the narrow range of 20,000 to 30,000 population. To what extent such a classification is objective when one is looking at the role the medium towns can play in diffusing economic development, needs further probing.

## REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON MEDIUM TOWNS

Before attempting a working definition, suitable for the purpose of this analysis, a look at what others have to say might be relevant to the ensuing discussion. In the selection of small and medium towns as agents for diffusion of development, Jos Hilhorst (1991), while providing an excellent commentary and a critical appraisal of the methods adopted by various researchers, lays particular emphasis on factors which explain differential urban growth; which as pointed out by Rondirelli (1982) reveal differences in the economic structure. Rondirelli, accepting Lubbell's (1979) definition, views small towns as urban places with a population of less than 1,00,000, while the intermediate cities have populations

between 1,00,000 and 2.5 million. Rather than accepting such a large range of population, it may be more pertinent to take a closer look at the towns functions and its nodality in the transport system.

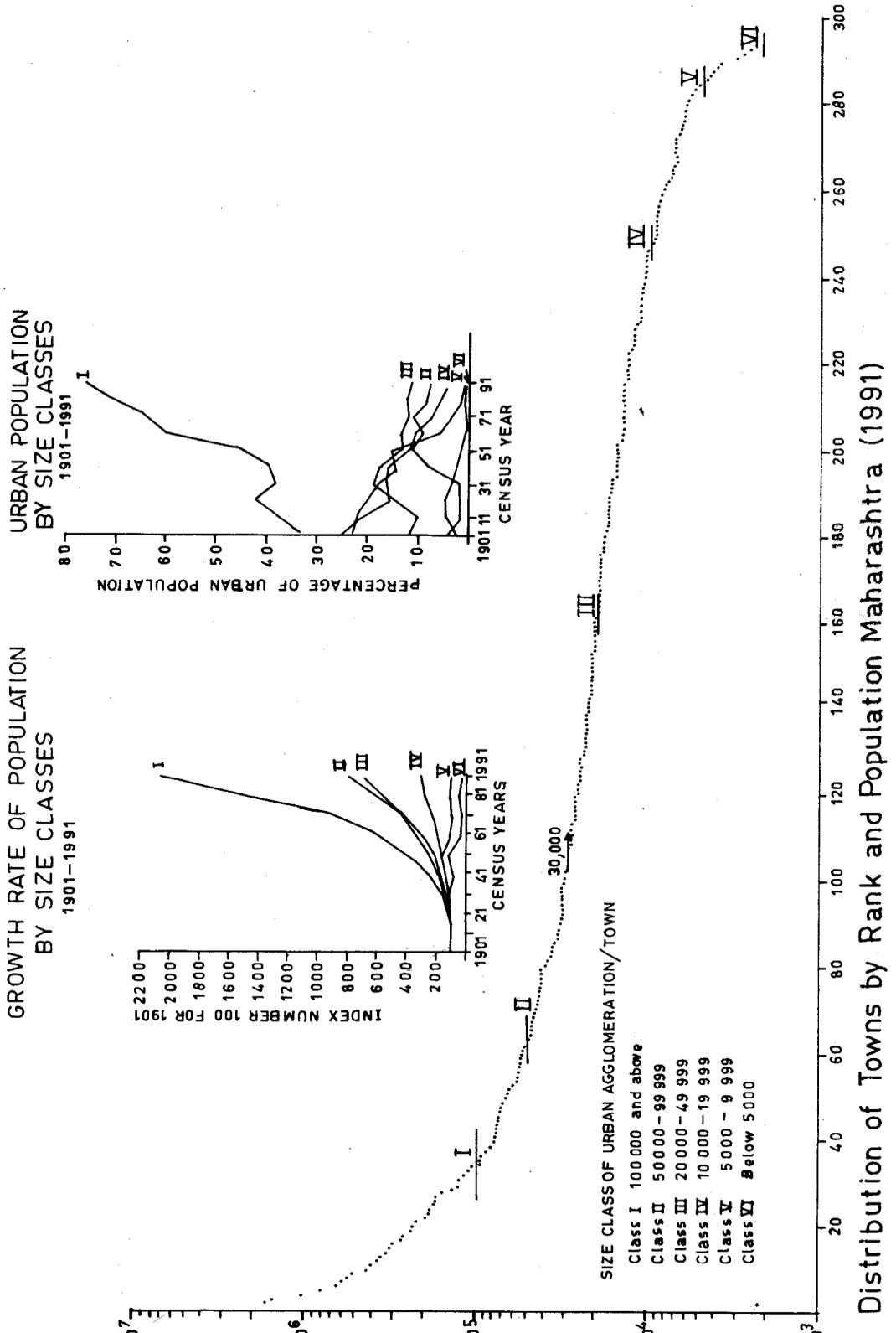
In another study, Hammer and Lyn (1987), while citing the case of the severe constraints that operate in most developing countries, where early industrialisation is characterised by its dependence on urbanisation economies, associated with large cities feels that the Central government's policy invariably tends to favour a few pre-eminent centres like major ports or administrative capitals, since it is committed to achieving rapid urban growth. Such a consideration also operates in India and has cast the die in favour of excessive polarisation which today is the bane of the Indian urban space. According to Hammer and Lynn, (1987), the more severe the nature of constraints, like scarcity of skilled labour, poor interregional and international transport, inadequacy of urban public services and limited industrial experience, the slimmer will be the chances of development and growth of the intermediate cities and small towns, as opportunities for boosting the employment base are either poor or barely existent. Similarly, from the evidence gathered from Columbia, Uribe-Echevarria (1989) further contends that the dynamism of intermediate cities depends on successful diversification in their hinterlands.

Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1986) whose primary concern is also related to what policy relating to the small and intermediate cities have been successful and what policies aiming at their growth have to be strengthened, ascribe a certain set of important characteristics to the town group, supported by population size and administrative rank as additional criteria, to identify the small and intermediate cities. For them, the small towns are those with populations between 5000 - 20,000, hav-

ing minor administrative rank and large proportion of agricultural labour, their important role being provision of goods and services to the population of their hinterland. The intermediate cities with over 20,000 population are generally characterised by a smaller proportion of agricultural labour, a higher administrative rank, and a better location on the regional and national transport communication system. The importance Hardy and Satterthwaite attach to the rank of administrative services provided by an urban centre is well deserved as this factor is not only relevant but of tremendous significance in most developing countries, for the number, level and quality of government services as well as the modes of transport available at a centre, vary widely, thereby reflecting its relative importance. Jos Hilhorst (1991), while commenting on the differences in the dynamics of small towns and intermediate cities in Indonesia, reiterates Hardoy and Satterthwaite's view that 'small towns show greater economic dynamism if agricultural productivity in their hinterland grows fast. Similar observation was made by G. Krishan (1991) for Punjab. Though Krishan does not specify a particular population group for identifying small and medium towns of Punjab, he nonetheless subscribes to the view that the towns between 20,000 to 1,00,000 population need special incentives to stimulate them rather than the class I cities with populations over 1,00,000.

### **METHODOLOGY FOR IDENTIFYING MEDIUM TOWNS :**

As a first step, rank-size distribution pattern of the 300 odd towns in Maharashtra were plotted by rank and size to see if any discernable breaks occur, signifying different orders of the urban hierarchy. While there were four centres at the upper end of the scale, a large tail showed the propence of very many small



towns, with a slight suggestion of a break around 35,000 population between the larger and smaller urban centres. For the moment, this break in the rank size distribution pattern could be the 'medium' the zone separating the small towns from the rest, but where to draw the upper limit was not so readily apparent in the distribution curve (Fig. 1). The growth trends for the six size classes of towns from 1901 to 1991 were plotted (fig. 1) and also the proportionate share of population in each class to see if growth behaviour of towns can provide a clue. Three distinct growth patterns emerge associated with the six size classes. From an initially more even distribution of growth and population share among the various size classes, the great divide in the growth behaviour is clearly discernible in the past three decades. The pattern clearly brings out the dynamism of the class I cities, the stagna-

tion or modest growth of the towns in the class II and class III towns and the demise of the lower three classes, which roughly suggests where to put the line separating the large cities from the medium towns. The growth trends further indicate that the medium towns have an existence in the continuum where a state of equilibrium is reached, a status quo is maintained, a state where external forces which infuse vigour are largely absent. The growth rate here is being regulated by the natural increase rate of population. The differential growth rate within class I cities, further demonstrate that it is mainly the cities beyond half a million population which display more vigorous growth, but the population range in this class is so wide here that it becomes almost meaningless to club them in the same class I group. Citing the example of Maharashtra, how can one consider Bombay of 8 million

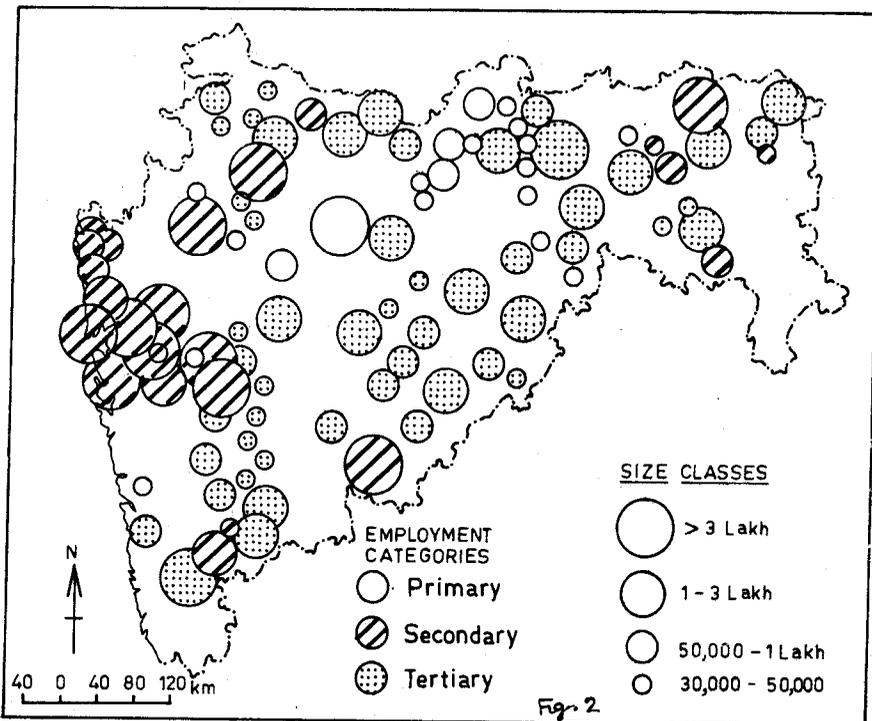


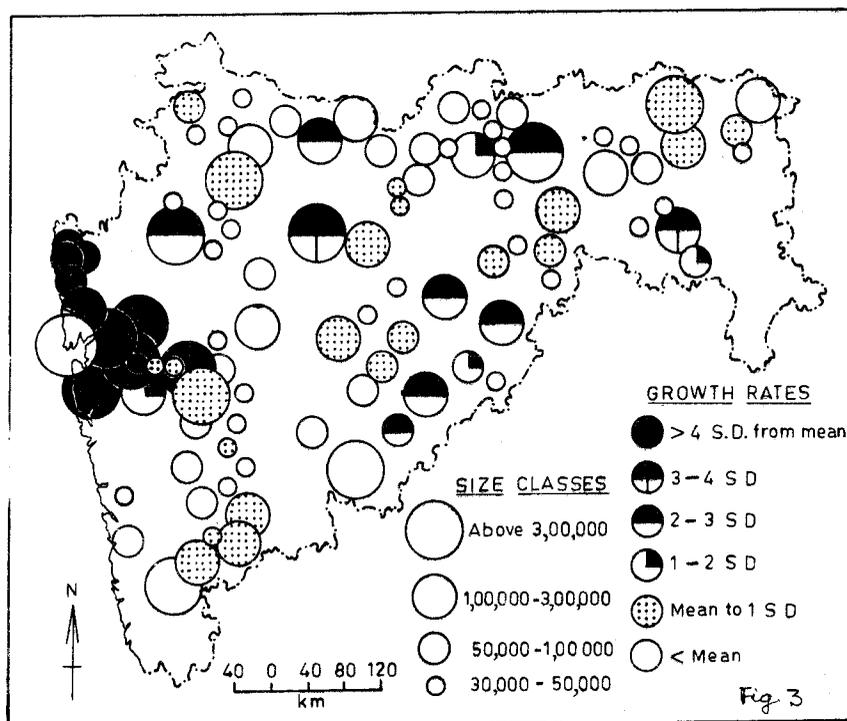
Fig. 2. Distribution of Towns above 30,000 population by employment in primary, secondary and tertiary activities (1991) in Maharashtra

and Pune and Nagpur of 2.5 million each in the same category as Ahmednagar or Sangli with just over 1,00,000 population? It seems more pragmatic to extend the cutoff point of the medium towns to include the smaller cities upto 3,00,000, since they go more with the medium towns as far as their growth behaviour is concerned rather than with the high fliers. The medium towns can theoretically cover a whole spectrum of size ranging from 30,000 at the lower end extending up to 3,00,000 population. How meaningful such a definition based on population size and growth rate is, needs to be further reiterated. The logic of such conceptualisation can perhaps be best judged by viewing the association between size, growth and function. Most studies have rarely taken due cognisance of the functional base while isolating the medium level towns from the wide array of small and large urban centres.

### FUNCTIONAL BASE OF MEDIUM TOWNS

To determine the functional base, the employment structure of towns in Maharashtra was derived by calculating the percentage share of workers in each sector : primary, secondary and tertiary, in the six size classes (Table II). Towns upto 50,000 population had over a third of their workers in the primary (agricultural) sector, revealing an eminently rural economy. The employment in the tertiary sector though it accounted for over 40 percent of the workforce was overwhelmingly low paid, low productivity, petty business, in the unorganised household (manufacturing) activity. In the small and medium towns, employment in the tertiary sector is mainly in the administrative and other public utilities, which is basic in nature. Surprisingly even towns between 50,000 and 1,00,000 population have only a quarter of their total workers in indus-

try, while the tertiary and primary sectors together engage three-fourths of the workers, indicating a less developed economic base. Cities upto five hundred thousand and those above half a million also sometimes have over 50 percent of their population engaged in the tertiary sector. The essential difference being that they have minimal workers (between 2 to 8 percent) in agriculture. Herein perhaps lies the significant difference between the medium and the large town, in the latter case, one finds upto 40 percent of the workers in industry, while in the former, barely 25 percent are in manufacturing. A common tendency apparent in all urban centres, irrespective of size, is excessive tertiarisation, even the large cities for that matter have not escaped this phenomenon, which further proves that despite a large adequate manufacturing base, the less productive (informal) sector providing low grade low wage services, predominates even in most large urban centres. In the case of large cities, the economic base is fairly diversified, with substantial employment in specialised professional and quaternary services, though they still have a fairly large segment in the low paid, low grade, other services. The urban economic base of towns below 1,00,000 is too feeble in the absence of industrial development, which has rendered them unviable as growth centres of their regions. And despite all efforts on the part of the government to stimulate the small and medium towns through development of infrastructural facilities, medium towns have not succeeded in attracting investment, which is so necessary for promotion industrialisation. They still have less than 20 percent of their workers in industry while the oversized tertiary sector engages over 57 percent of the total workers, this perhaps gives a clue that in the absence of a vibrant secondary sector, medium sized towns don't grow and remain so.



Distribution of Growth Rates by size classes of towns above 30,000 population in Maharashtra (1991)

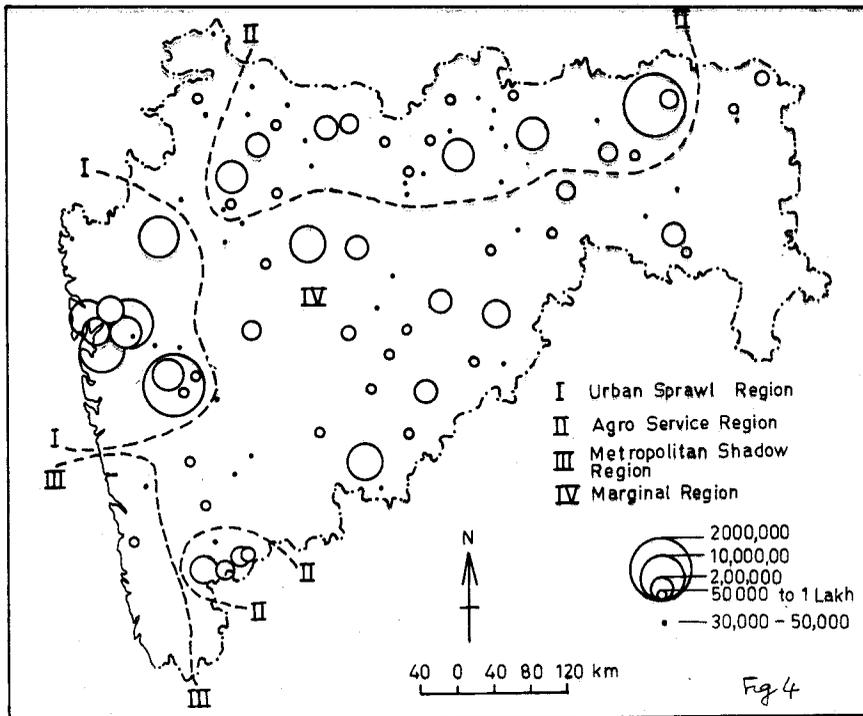
## REGIONALISATION OF URBAN SPACE

Uneven spatial development characterises many developing countries and India is no exception. In India too, like most countries of the Third World one finds this phenomenon linked to the interests of colonial regimes. Because it is not within the scope of this paper to examine the urban regionalisation pattern for the whole of India, a single highly industrialised and urbanised state in the country, Maharashtra, is used to study the dynamics of medium towns and the evolution of distinct urban regions.

In the context of Maharashtra, it is seen that levels of urban economic development vary from one region to another. The divergence in the pattern of urbanisation in different regions within the state is as much a result of the

varying response to different growth impulses in space as to the inherent regional imbalances in the urban economy of the state. The major physiographic regions; namely the western littoral, the lee of the western Ghats, the dry plateau of south central Maharashtra, the cotton tract, and the sugar belt of north and south Maharashtra and the tribal zone in the north-east, bear the distinct impact of the dominant urban economic processes which have shaped the personality of these regions and left an indelible imprint on the state's urban landscape.

A regionalisation scheme of Maharashtra's urban space (fig. 2) shows the presence of five major regions with distinct urban attributes. At the apex of the urban hierarchy lies the metropolitan oriented urban sprawl region, focused on the *urbs prima*—Bombay and continuing in a corridor development towards



Regionalisation scheme according to levels of Economic development and Growth Characteristics of towns

Pune. Over 58 percent of the state's urban population is concentrated here in large urban agglomerations and satellites which coalesce into one another to form a vast urban sprawl. Many a newly emerging urban centre in the vicinity of Bombay gets sucked into it and within a matter of less than a decade is catapulted into the class I category. Many of the emerging medium towns (Vasai, Virar, Nalasopara, Mira-Bhayandar), within the Bombay Standard Urban Area have grown phenomenally by absorbing the 'spill over' from the metropolis, due to efficient links with the city, provided by the fast local trains. The dominant urban processes at work have a tendency to perpetuate growth in the metropolitan-satellite urban region and have succeeded in turning Bombay into a megalopolis. Instead of reducing regional disparity by diffusing economic development they have only

helped to further accentuate them. The mechanism of eating up forces which in a sense eat up small and medium towns regions as well as the rural areas identified by Zhang (1988) seem to be operating here. This also supports Dikshit's (1992) view point that towns develop and are promoted by the resource based activities around them rather than the other way round as many development planners imply in their development strategies.

*The Agro-Oriented Urban Region* which covers the cotton tract of north Maharashtra and the sugar belt of south Maharashtra is an area where rural urban interaction is reflected in the town's economic base and morphology in myriad ways: Regulated Markets for the sale of agricultural produce, workshops for repair of agricultural machinery, dealership for agricultural inputs, educational institutions doctor's clinics and stores for consumables and some

agro-processing industries, combining people with economic interests in the rural-urban continuum.

Agricultural development has promoted a more regularly spaced distribution of medium towns with greater frequency, revealing a symbiotic (reciprocal) relation with their hinterland. This region with 18 percent of Maharashtra's total urban population has ten class I, and seven class II towns, with moderate to low growth rates, because, unlike industry, agriculture does not promote spectacular urban development. Being far away from metropolitan dominance, the urban centres have organically evolved out of the prosperity of their regions as service centres rather than growth centres. In the absence of largescale industry which contributes to generation of wealth and provision of employment, the medium towns here function as service centres for the collection and distribution of goods and services.

*Marginal Region* This is a vast tract covering Marathwada and central Maharashtra an area lying outside the metropolitan influence of the Bombay-Pune region and extending further eastwards to include the agriculturally and industrially backward core of south-central Maharashtra. This region vividly reflects the critical importance of industrialisation as a functional input to achieve dynamic growth which is best exemplified by Aurangabad, a medium size town which after stagnating for decades around 80,000 population, grew rapidly after 1961, with the establishment of a growth pole (electronic industry). The medium towns in the area which have emerged lately as class I centres have been stagnating all along, until they were upgraded to district / tehsil headquarters, after the reorganisation of the state's administrative boundaries. Without the driving force from industry, towns in agriculturally poor regions reach a plateau, around 70,000 to 80,000 population, beyond

which they seldom grow lingering in their present status as service centres of administration. In the absence of rapid rail/road links with the metropolitan Bombay and coupled with a poor resource base, this region has remained in the sidelines, virtually isolated from the mainstream of all developmental activity. With limited agricultural potential, this dry tract will require tremendous effort to revitalise the medium towns, once the initial impetus which was injected due to location of infrastructure and administrative machinery dies out.

### THE WESTERN LITTORAL REGION

Lying in the shadow of Bombay, this region includes the whole of south Konkan which is traditionally an area of out-migration to Bombay. The medium towns here, with very low growth rates and sex ratios have either stagnated or consistently declined all through the last nine decades of the present century. The city of Bombay has played a dual role in the context of the small and medium towns in the north and south Konkan area. North of Bombay the medium towns in the 'umbra' caught up as they are in the vortex of unbridled growth of the metropolis, they have been absorbed as a part of the urban sprawl. In contrast the medium towns of south Konkan in the 'urban penumbra' have been subjected to large scale depletion in their human resource base on account of the penetration of urban exploitation into this region from the Bombay, metropolitan regions.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

Since the primary focus of this paper is to view the suitability of medium towns as secondary development nodes, the evidence gathered from the analysis leads to the following observations:

In the identification of medium towns, growth

dynamics, functional ensemble and institutional support emerged as salient features a trait-complex which reflects the existing (latent) development potential. Further analysis of the overall growth performance of towns in the Indian urban system (spanning nine decades), indicates that rigorous growth as expected was seen in the larger cities, to be followed by a broad band of towns with a consistent (though moderate), upward trend, particularly the towns in the population size ranging from 35,000 to 3,00,000. Towns below this level become conspicuous as losers, as they display a sharp decline in growth rates. Therefore, without adhering to any rigid population size, medium towns in the present context are seen as an omnibus category, encompassing a wide spectrum of urban settlements extending upto 3,00,000. There is a close association between growth behaviour and functional configuration in towns below 1,00,000 population, which by and large have a poorly developed secondary sector (on average less than 20%). This once again brings out the fallacy of putting a ceiling at 1,00,000 as a cut off point below which the domain of the medium towns is supposed to start as indicated by most researchers on small and medium towns.

The occupational structure as expressed in the nine functional categories (for the towns in Maharashtra) can be, at first sight, quite misleading, as it conveys the idea that medium towns possess a fairly diversified economic base, which is hardly the case, because workforce in agriculture and in the other services, both non-basic activities in medium towns are significant components in their functional assets, whereas manufacturing, a productive sector, with a proven growth generating mechanism, and which stimulates the development process was found to be of negligible magnitude. This provides an important

clue as to why the plans relying excessively on provision of infrastructural facilities (e.g. IDSMT scheme) have not brought in the desired results in diffusing economic development. The empirical evidence further supports that in the absence of significant manufacturing base, the artificial economic climate which the development planners strived hard to create has failed miserably in attracting both investment as well as the industry to medium towns, generating employment opportunities for the mass of landless and underemployed workforce, in their hinterlands. The unabated streams of migration to Bombay, from the impoverished countryside totally by passing the small and medium towns and establishing a direct link with metropolitan areas is itself an indicator of the failure of the strategies to reduce polarisation of economic/urban activity in the metros. This makes one question the very basis of the theoretical concept which views medium towns as agents for diffusion of development, because in their present 'avatar', medium towns, dominated as they are by an eminently rural outlook, with a bloated service sector, have little pretensions to grow by themselves, leave alone, diffuse development.

Throughout history, one finds that towns have grown without any planning, (at least before the advent of industrialisation and the growth of mechanised cities), and they have been largely supported by the resource base in their hinterlands. Citing Maharashtra's case, even a large city like Bombay or even Pune for that matter perpetuates on its own growth and in the absence of a strict interventionist policy is least likely to diffuse development in space. Rather, one observes concentration at a point under normal circumstances, which only further reinforces the polarising tendency, thereby confirming that development encourages further development in the same milieu. The 'trickle down' process envisaged in most plan-

ning exercises is evident to some extent, as a 'spill over', leading to the vast urban sprawl, which has only helped to turn Bombay into a megacity, while the Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns scheme languishes with only two out of the twenty two centres selected for special development efforts in Maharashtra reporting some satisfactory results. On probing deeper with the concerned authorities, whether this was due to the impact of the IDSMT scheme or simply a chance occurrence, no conclusive evidence was forthcoming.

Now coming to the end of the major issue in the medium town debate, it is clearly understood, that diverting development to areas where they would have never located them-

selves objectively, needs extraordinary will power on the part of the government. Herculean efforts, even draconian measures may be required, which should not be difficult in the Indian context since the government wields considerable power to take such effective steps. A serious lacunae in most planning efforts which was observed in this study was the lack of perception surveys : how entrepreneurs perceive the advantages of a location, what parameter they consider attractive besides the usual package of incentives provided by the government in an operating environment? These questions have hardly received adequate attention in many studies, though they may help gain clearer insights into why the plans have not succeeded.

**Table I**

**PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN EACH CLASS TO TOTAL URBAN POPULATION (1990-1991)**

Class	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Year						
1901	32.86	4.03	11.45	25.07	23.74	2.85
1911	38.16	1.89	10.03	21.20	22.53	6.19
1921	42.50	1.36	14.96	15.70	20.24	5.24
1931	38.57	1.50	19.77	17.35	19.05	3.76
1941	39.58	7.93	18.04	17.08	15.35	2.02
1951	45.47	11.85	13.03	12.80	15.05	1.80
1961	60.49	9.17	13.00	11.17	5.65	0.52
1971	64.75	11.07	11.71	8.78	3.39	0.30
1981	71.57	7.82	11.90	6.70	1.76	0.25
1991	77.85	6.49	10.39	4.13	1.03	0.11

Source: Census of India, Maharashtra Series, 1981.  
Provisional Population Totals, Paper III - INDIA 1991

The findings from this paper do not claim to have provided definite answers to how to restructure policies, they nevertheless provide conclusive evidence that there is need to review them. Perhaps it may be worthwhile to think of the 'pull up by the bootstraps' strategy in favour of the passive 'trickle down' philosophy, which in any case has not worked! Due recognition has to be accorded to the political as well as behavioural factors as this may lead to an improved plan design (for

reducing disparity) and save many a plan from ending up into a need based rather than resource based exercise, responding largely to political aspirations and material expectations of the concerned areas, than to the fiscal resources available. Examples of such political manoeuvring are too frequent to ignore, where the political leadership has deliberately thwarted the course of development of many a promising town and intervened to favour another through politically induced administrative decision.

**Table II**

**PERCENT - DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS IN VARIOUS CATEGORIES BY POPULATION SIZE GROUPS - 1991**

	5 lakhs & above I	1 to 5 lakhs II	50,000 to 99999 III	20,000 to 49999 IV	> 20,000 V
Main Workers	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
A] Primary	2.14	7.83	17.76	32.42	37.98
(i) Cultivators	0.85	2.39	4.57	9.87	13.06
(ii) Agricultural Labourers	0.64	3.88	10.96	20.40	22.04
(iii) Livestock Rearing	0.65	1.56	2.23	2.13	2.88
B] Secondary	42.76	40.22	25.26	22.07	19.19
(iv) Mine workers	0.21	0.82	0.90	0.40	2.03
(v) Household industry	1.53	1.65	2.18	2.79	3.10
(vi) Non HH Industry	35.23	30.95	16.38	14.38	10.10
(vii) Construction	5.79	6.80	5.80	4.50	3.96
C] Tertiary	55.11	53.84	56.92	46.50	43.29
(viii) Trade	22.50	22.17	21.18	18.20	16.03
(ix) Transport	10.49	9.29	8.27	6.90	5.05
(x) Other	22.12	22.38	27.47	21.40	22.21

Source : 1991 Data for worker employment

In the final analysis, the potential of medium towns in the absence of a significant manufacturing base remains largely suspect, and their role in their present state is limited to being important links in the distribution system, which perhaps is more significant for agricultural development. Thus any model aimed at

transforming medium towns in the growth centres is less likely to succeed unless it includes a blue print for rural industrialisation, without which all planning efforts at decentralisation will come to a nought and remain a pipe dream.

**Table III**

**URBAN REGIONALISATION SCHEME FOR MAHARASHTRA**

Topology of Urban Regions	% proportion of Urban Population	Spatial pattern of Urbanisation	Growth Behaviour	Functional Base	Important characteristics
1. Metropolitan Oriented urban-spawl Region	58.3%	very closely spaced coalescing uninterrupted urban development	Phenomenally high	Important Industrial belt over 60% employment in manufacturing processing sector	Dominated by Bombay 9 class I cities spaced close together. Zone of interregional immigration spilt over of Bombay
2. Agro-Service Region					
a) Cotton belt of North Maharashtra	17.95%	Well distributed at regular intervals	Moderate to low	Transport and service functions	Broad based highly under-developed economic base. Emerging as urban problem region
b) Sugar belt of South Maharashtra	4.23%	Fairly well distributed	Moderate to low	Service and transport functions predominate	No dominating city
3. Metropolitan shadow region	0.66% apart	spaced average growth	below	Administrative function	Zone of out-migration excessively to million cities. Poor linkages.
4. Marginal Region	18.18%	Unevenly spaced	Moderate to low	Administrative and service	Marginal area - backward. Poor in resources and agricultural single industry or single function towns

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