Urban continuum in Jharkhand: Beyond the state formation

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URBAN CONTINUUM IN JHARKHAND: BEYOND THE STATE FORMATION

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ABSTRACT

Urbanization as an important area for development intervention and as a reflection of economic prosperity is established beyond doubt. However in the recent decades a considerable body of research has undermined a large share of urban population outside the ambit of metropolises and global city regions. This paper attempts to unearth the trends and spatial structure as well as potentiality of future urban development in one the most backward regions of India i.e. Jharkhand. The paper outlines the different facets of urbanization process along with the heterogeneity of urbanization process in Jharkhand. The spatial imbalances have been focused in depth in the proceeding sections along with emphasis on the potentiality of future urban growth in the region. The results depict lopsided urbanization with maximum concentration of population in class I cities. At the same time it shows revival of lower order towns.

KEYWORDS: Urbanization, Structural Trends, Spatial Imbalance, Jharkhand, Future Urbanization

INTRODUCTION

Rising levels of urbanization is considered as an optimistic sign of growth and development. Although urbanization has a long history of over 5,000 years, it became a major force in history only during the last 200 years or so when, coupled with industrialization, it began to make rapid strides in society. The modern urbanization started in the U.K after the industrial revolution, which not only affected the urbanization rate but the role of cities also[1] (Davis, 1955; Stobart, 2000). The classical explanation of urbanization, thus, has been heavily affected by what happened in Europe and North America during the nineteenth and twentieth century. But the western experience of urbanization following industrialization i.e. economic growth has not found much evidence in the developing nations. "Perhaps the most important difficulty with this explanation is that in recent decades urbanization has been happening in places where there is little or no economic growth" (Dyson, 2011). Though the classical explanations of urbanization process have been overshadowed by the western experiences, it has failed to generate an overarching framework to provide a generalized theory of the urban process, paving the way for subsequent rise of modified notions of urbanization such as 'subaltern urbanism', 'peri-urban', 'suburbanization', 'exclusionary urbanization', 'rurbanization' and the very recent – 'subaltern urbanization' with possible intersections among these varied concepts.

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[1] "…..rapid coal based industrial growth spawned massive urban development in Britain……..manufacturing industry has remained central to explanations of urbanization. As manufacturing activities became increasingly focused on key resource, skill or transport sites, urban settlements grew rapidly around them. Thus, 18th century industrial development is identified as having a profound and widespread impact on urban growth in a manner not previously seen......" see Stobart (2000) and Davis (1955).

The process of urbanization has been analyzed from three major viewpoints – demographic, economic and social[2]. Urbanization is one of the major forces of contemporary times, changing and restructuring social reality in its own characteristics forms. **"Urbanisation is a process of switch from spread out patterns of human settlements to one of concentration in urban centres. It is a finite process ... a cycle through which nations pass as they evolve from agrarian to industrial society"** (Davis, 1955). It is a product of various kinds of changes taking place in a society, especially in its economic sphere. To some it is essentially a process of population redistribution from the rural to the urban communities and from one region to the other and of continual differentiation of the society, both in its rural and urban components. The underlying explanation for urbanization involves changing employment opportunities as structural change takes place in the economy" (Jones 2003).

Cities have been edging towards the centre of research and policy in India since the mid-1970s when, in the wake of large-scale rural to urban migration, substantial amounts of overseas development aid began to flow into urban poverty alleviation programmes; new urban development authorities were created; and legislation regarding urban land ceiling and regulation was enacted in many state capitals (Rao 1979). This focus on cities indicates that urbanisation is today viewed by both Indian and international policymakers not merely as an important area for developmental intervention, but also as the locus of India's growth strategy (Maringanti, 2011). Unfortunately urban growth in India has varied with regions with some achieving very high levels of urbanization while some failing to link up with the new economic order and is stagnant with extremely low levels of urbanization[3]. And so there has been growing concerns over the affluence of few megacities as 'islands in the ocean of poverty'. The approach paper to the 12th plan too has expressed deep concerns over the need for promoting spatially balanced urbanization.

Corollary, the paper tries to assess the trends and patterns of urbanization in Jharkhand and examine the potentialities for future urban growth of the region. The present discussion confines itself largely to the analytical perspective of structural trends and patterns of urbanization in Jharkhand along with emphasis on the potential for future urbanization.

DATA AND METHODS

The present research work mainly utilizes data from different census surveys mainly 1991, 2001 and 2014. Though Jharkhand was carved as a separate state in the year 2000 from erstwhile Bihar, this paper focuses on urbanization patterns and its nitty-gritty for the state as a region from 1901.

The heterogeneity of the urban areas and the extent of unevenness in the distribution of urban population in the region have been analyzed through the Rank – Size Rule and Herfindahl's index and Lorenz Curve. To examine the potentialities of future urbanization in the region, population Projection has been done based on the exponential growth rates. The spatial extension of urban growth has been captured by the use of Geographic Information Systems.

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[2] The demographic viewpoint is associated with change in the urban rural composition of population while the economic viewpoint of urbanization relates to the transformation of the rural economy to a modern and industrial one. The social viewpoint is related to the change in culture of the people.

[3] See Mukherji, Shekhar (2001)

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Heterogeneity of Urban Growth & Urbanization in Jharkhand

Urban growth and urbanization patterns in Jharkhand do not seem to attract any significant academic attention. The 'newly' born state that came into existence on 15th November 2000 as the 28th state of Indian Union has however remained in turbidity of political economy of growth since its formation. For a long time, Jharkhand remained as a part of Bihar, but after Indian independence, the demand for a separate state of tribals started gaining momentum (Jharkhand Govt.). Not to any surprise, the swaths of scholarship have ventured to analyze the instability of political governance in Jharkhand. Amidst these developments, the urban has turned up as the strategic site both for aggressive reforms and restructuring as well as social movements contesting the reforms agenda.
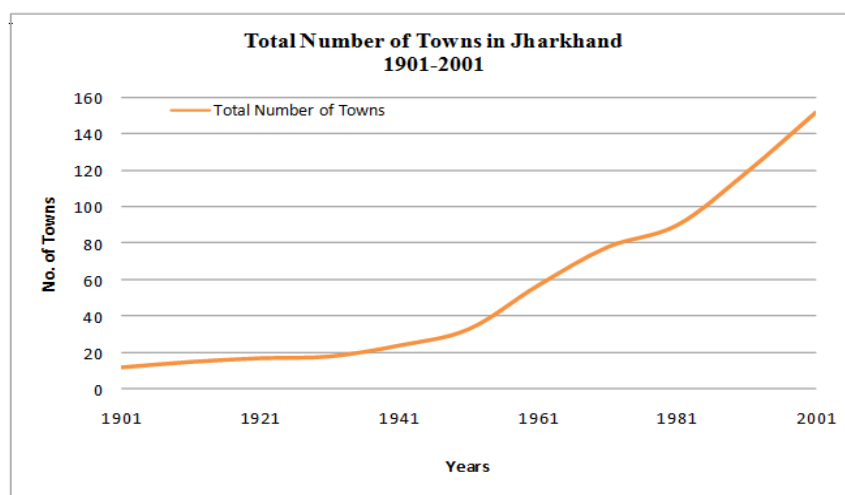

Figure 1: Total Number of Towns in Jharkhand, 1901-2001

The state government however seems to project a bit pessimistic view of the urbanization trends and patterns of the region[4]. The urbanization level in Jharkhand has made a progress of 1.81 percentage points between 2001-11 moving from 22.24% in 2001 to 24.05% in 2011. The total number of towns in 2001 was 119 which rose to 152 in 2011 and even though the urbanization levels in the region falls short below the national average, the state has made a significant progress by adding a net urban population of 1.9 million. The historical growth of urban areas in Jharkhand region clearly shows a marked increase in the total number of towns after 1941. However the real jump in the growth of urban areas was visualized since 1951. Between 1951-61, 24 new towns were added to the list. However this number dropped down to 12 for the period 1971-81 reflected in the form of a slight hitch in the upward rising curve. Beyond 1981 there has been continued rise in the number of new towns with each successive decade, bringing in the total number of towns to 152.

Well the *regional patterns* of urbanization portrays some quite interesting picture with majority of districts with very low level of urbanization while three districts namely Bokaro, Dhanbad and Purbi Singhbhum with more than 40% urbanization levels in 2001.

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[4] Trends of Urbanization – Growth pattern, Annual Urban Development Plan – 2010 and 2011, p.1
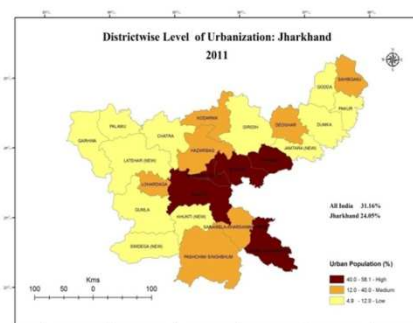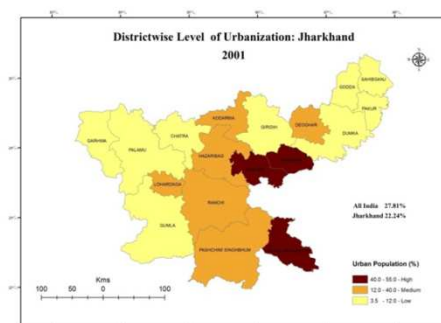
Figure 2: Districtwise Level of Urbanization, 2001   **Figure 3: Districtwise Level of Urbanization, 2011**

The highest level of urbanization was in Purbi Singhbhum district i.e. 55.03% while Godda experienced the lowest urbanization level of 3.53%. In 2011 the number of districts with above 40% urbanization level raised to 5 including Ranchi and the newly formed Ramgarh districts. Talking of the geographical distribution, the most urbanized areas were the east central and south east parts of the state in both the years. Such distribution patterns have developed owing largely to the pattern of industrial developments in the regions. Out of the five most industrialized districts, three are the hub of industrial activities in the state. Ranchi on the other hand accrues its urban growth to both industrial developments as well as to fact of being the administrative centre of the state. The districts in the north-east part of the state i.e. Godda, Pakur, Dumka, Deoghar, Giridih and Sahibganj too depicts urbanization levels well below 12% which is far below the state aggregate of 24.05% in 2011. The central rectangular strip running from north to south of the state including Kodarma, Hazaribag, Sariakela, and Paschim Singhbhum portrays urbanization levels between 12% to 40%.

However the change in urbanization levels is highest in Ranchi district which experienced 8.07 percentage points of increment in the urbanization levels. Following Ranchi were Dhanbad and Palamu with 5.76% and 5.69% change respectively. Deoghar, Sahibganj, Bokaro, Pakur, Kodarma, Giridih, Godda and Garhwa experienced changes in urbanization levels between 1-3 percentage points. Well down below the ladder Lohardaga, Paschim Singhbhum and Hazaribagh have undergone de-urbanization with the highest negative growth of -7.35% in Hazaribagh. Apart from all these, one of the most disturbing aspects sprouting out of the regional patterns of urbanization in Jharkhand has been the continuous low level of urbanization in the entire western region comprising of Chatra, Palamu, Garhwa, Gumla and Simdega which has remained below 12% in both 2001 and 2011 as well. Thus the overall regional pattern of urbanization did not alter very significantly between 2001 and 2011. The central and south-eastern parts maintained their primacy in the urban hierarchy of the region.

Table 1: Change in Level of Urbanization: 2001-2011

Districts	% Change in Level of Urbanization: 2001-2011
Ranchi, Dhanbad, Palamu, Deoghar, Sahibganj	>3
Bokaro, Pakur, Kodarma, Giridih, Godda, Garhwa	1-3
Gumla, Chatra, Purbi Singhbhum, Dumka, Lohardaga, Purbi Singhbhum, Hazaribagh	<1

Source: Census of India, 2001, 2011

Classwise Distribution of Towns & Population

The classwise distribution of towns in Jharkhand depicts some clear cut differences as compared to the India

level. Though the number of class I towns and its population composition has increased since 1981 yet the percentage distribution of lower order towns as well as their population composition has remained significantly higher than the all India level. Whereas class I and class V towns have shown continuous rise in population since 1981 all other classes have experienced a falling trend. Similar to all India trends the class VI towns have almost negligible contribution to the total urban population. The largest decline since 1901 has been in class V towns which accounted for 51.21% in 1901 and 5.62% in 2001 of the total urban population. The annual exponential growth rates for the entire state shows an upward rising trend up to 1961. Beyond this period the growth rates canvasses an overall falling trend and presently remains slightly over the all India growth rates.

The annual exponential growth rates of urban population in various size categories also reflects the characteristic of overall decline, except for class V towns which shows an overall increasing growth rates. Quite distinct from the rest class VI towns shows very uneven trends in the growth rates moving from -15.87% to 13.66% between 1971 and 1991. However the lowest growth rates have been experienced within class II towns whose growth rates dropped from 13.83% in 1971 to 1.88% in 2001 followed by IV towns which begged merely 0.18% of growth rate for the period 1991-2001. Thus even though the overall urbanization in Jharkhand has increased by 1.81% adding 1.9 million to the net urban population, the tempo of urbanization has decreased over the past three decades. Moreover the emergence of new towns has been concentrated in class V and VI categories whose overall contribution to the total urban population is very low.
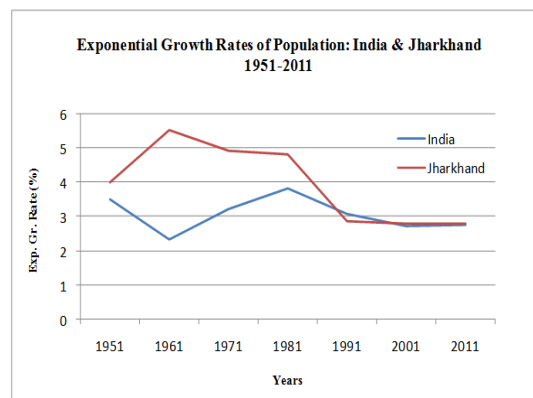

Figure 4: Exponential Growth of Population: India and Jharkhand 1951-2011
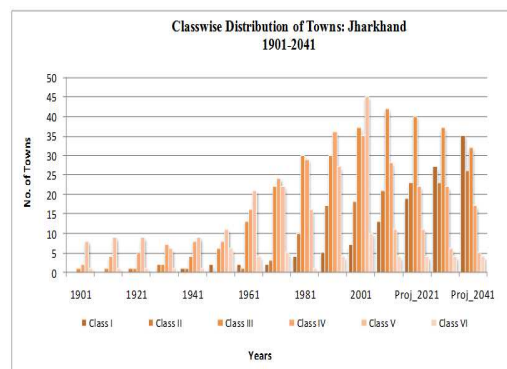

Figure 5: Classwise Distribution of Towns 1951-2041[5]

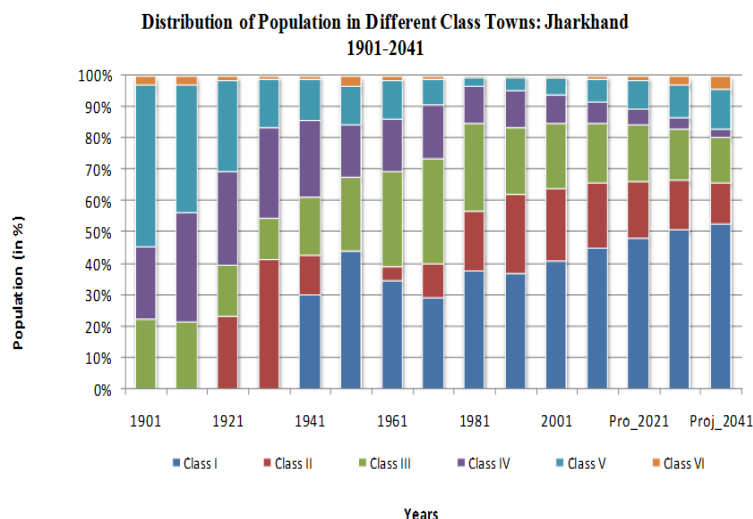[5]Figures beyond 2011 are projected figures.

Figure 6: Distribution of Population in Different Class Towns: Jharkhand 1901-2041[6]

Table 2: Annual Exponential Growth Rates of Urban Population in Various Size Categories: Jharkhand

Classes of U.A or Town & Years	1901-1911	1911-1921	1921-1931	1931-1941	1941-1951	1951-1961	1961-1971	1971-1981	1981-1991	1991-2001
Class I	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	7.82	3.11	3.22	7.46	2.58	3.88
Class II	0.00	0.00	8.50	-7.64	0.00	0.00	13.83	10.22	5.89	1.88
Class III	2.39	1.83	0.60	7.87	6.37	8.06	5.88	3.07	0.08	2.41
Class IV	7.13	2.92	2.48	2.50	0.50	5.53	5.09	0.96	2.92	0.18
Class V	0.66	1.29	-3.57	2.88	2.72	5.82	1.00	-4.08	5.42	5.31
Class VI	1.51	-1.95	0.65	2.38	17.16	-3.87	2.76	-15.87	13.66	7.90

Spatially Unbalanced Urbanization in Jharkhand

Urbanization is directly linked to the economic development of any region which finds its manifestation in the form of cities and towns. This focus on cities indicates that urbanisation is today viewed as an important area for developmental intervention as well as the foci of regional growth strategy which in turn has led to the intensification of inter-urban rivalry, as the competition for development opportunities among cities has become a cut throat competition in the wake of contemporary globalized world. As discussed earlier even the approach paper to the 12th plan has expressed deep concerns over the need for promoting spatially balanced urbanization. Thus spatially balanced urbanization is an indicator of balanced regional development.

Unfortunately urbanization patterns in Jharkhand portray an intense spatially unbalanced urban population concentration which is clearly reflected in the regional pattern of urban development in the region. Off the total urban population in the state in 2011, 64.54% in concentrated only in four districts of Ranchi, Dhanbad, Bokaro, Rangarh and Purbi Singhbhum. Rest 19 districts accounts for the remaining 35.46% urban population. In 2001 the figures for the similar attributes were reported to be 68.89% and 31.11% respectively. Thus the concentration of urban population in these five districts came down by 4.35%. Out of the remaining 19 districts, Garhwa, Pakur, Godda, Chatra and Lohardaga accounted

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[6] Figures beyond 2011 are projected figures.

for merely 4.06% of the total urban population in 2011 showing a marginal increase of only 0.66% over the previous decade.

Table 3: Districtwise Contribution to Urbanization

Districts[7]	Contribution to Total Urban Population_ 2011(%)	Contribution to Total Urban Population_ 2001(%)	Change in Composition
Dhanbad, Bokaro, Purbi Singhbhum, Ranchi	64.54	68.89	- 4.35
Hazaribagh, Paschim Singhbhum, Palamu, Deoghar, Giridih, Dumka, Sahibganj, Giridih, Gumla	31.40	27.71	+ 3.69
Garhwa, Pakur, Godda, Chatra, Lohardaga	4.06	3.40	+ 0.66

The *Herfindahl's index*[8] for the urban population concentration depicted a slight improvement of 0.01 in 2001, resting at 0.13 as compared to 0.12 in 2001. The Rank Size distribution of towns shows that the towns are moving towards their expected population with exceptional widening in the lowest order towns. Most significant change can be noticed in the middle order towns followed by the lower order towns. Similar movement of towns to their expected population is also seen in the top order towns.
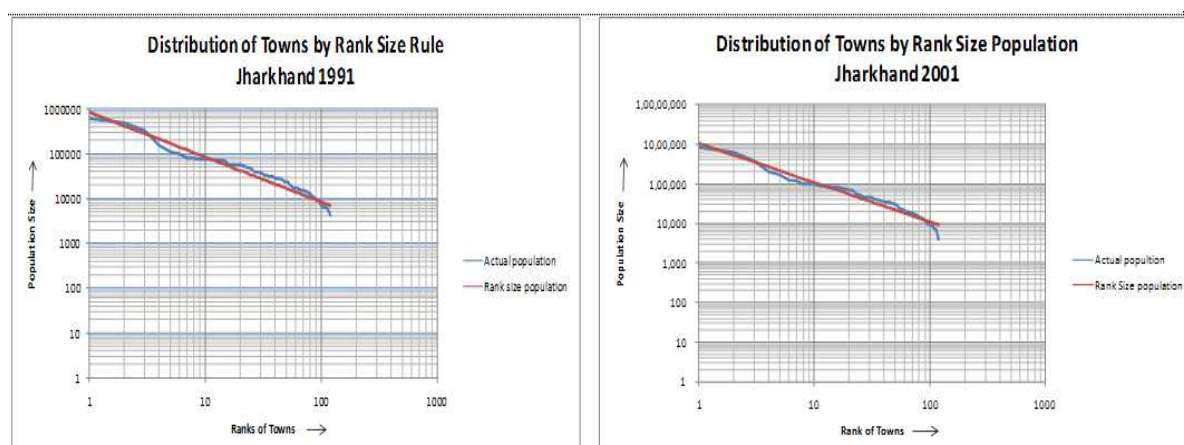

Figure 7: Distribution of Towns by Rank Size Rule: Jharkhand 1991 and 2001

Nevertheless, though the spatial imbalances in population distribution have come down a bit, but yet the distribution is highly unbalanced. The most intense lopsided urbanization patterns are visible in the two industrialized districts of Dhanbad and Bokaro. These two districts have received the major part of the occurrence of new class V and class VI towns. About 33% of the new towns fall within a buffer of 20 km from the two largest towns – Dhanbad and Bokaro while 45% of the new towns lie in Dhanbad district alone. Such lopsided urbanization is also validated by the

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[7] Population of the new five districts reported in 2011 census i.e. Latehar, Jamtara, Khunti, Ramgarh, Simdega, Saraikela-Kharsawan have been merged with older districts for comparison.

[8] Named after Orris C. Herfindahl, the Herfindahl index was basically devised to measure the size of firms in relation to the industry.

Lorenz curve depicting the classwise distribution of population for 1961, 1981 and 2001 which shows the high extent of widening disparities between 1981 and 2001. With the further concentration of population in class I towns, the imbalances in spatial urbanization patterns are bound to intensify.
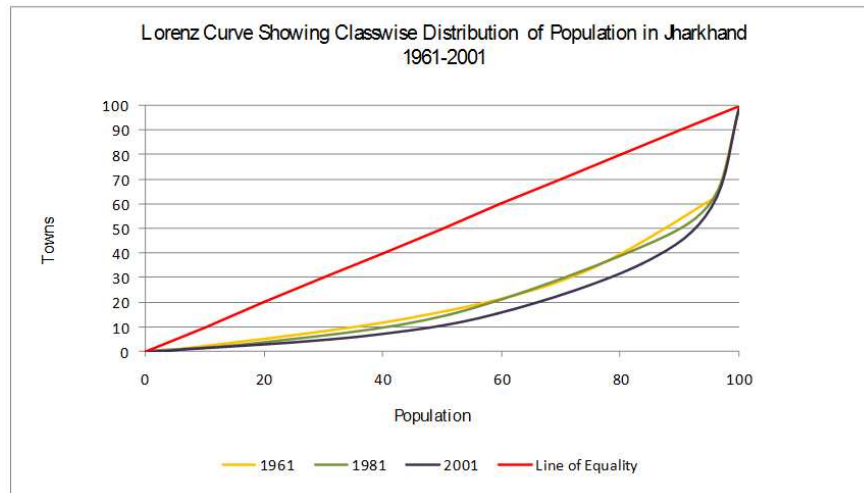

Figure 8: Lorenz Curve Showing Classwise Distribution of Population in Jharkhand 1961-2001
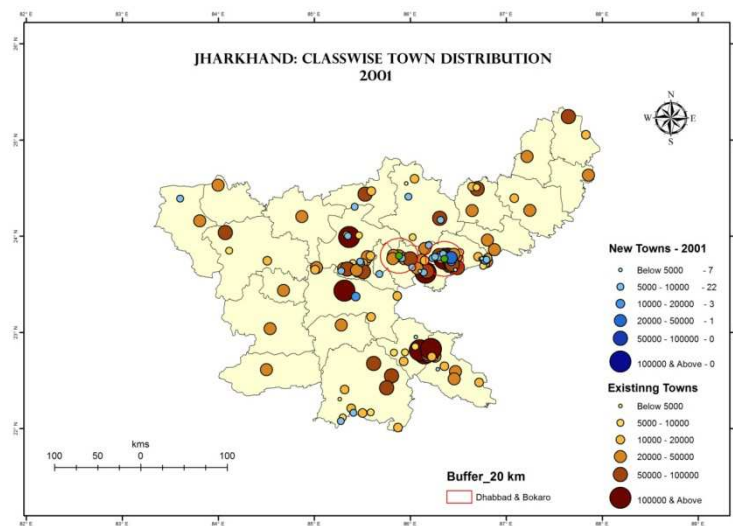

Figure 9: Map Showing Classwise Distribution of Towns 1991 and 2001

Future Urbanization in Jharkhand

It is a very curious and at the same time a very risky exercise to project the future trends of urbanization in Jharkhand given the low levels of urbanization with wide spatial unbalanced urbanization patterns as well as decreasing tempo of urbanization. At the current growth rates the number of class I towns is expected to touch a mark of 35 by 2041. But already a difference between the projected and the actual number of class I towns can be noticed which indicates towards the further decline in the tempo of urbanization in the region.

However the concentration of population in class I cities is expected to rise continuously. Apart from class I towns, class V towns are also expected to experience an increasing concentration of population. On the other side of the ladder class II and III towns are anticipated to show decline in their contribution to the overall urban population. The

highest decline is however expected to come from class IV towns. How will the spatial imbalances react in the future? – is a question that seems to be more dependent upon the future industrialization prospects of the entire region as the current urbanization patterns occur to be highly associated with the industrial developments of the region.
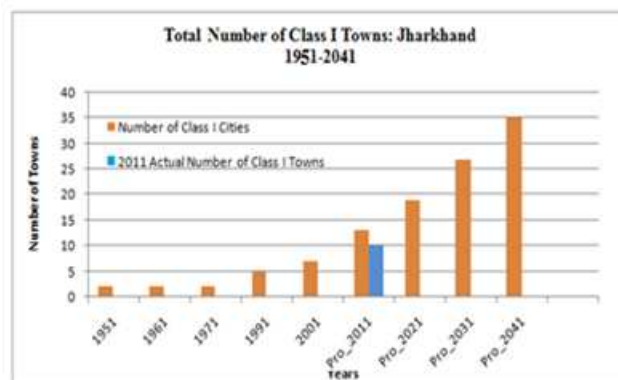

Figure 10: Total Number of Class I Towns in Jharkhand 1951-1941[9]

A close examination of the migration figures for Ranchi and Dhanbad urban agglomerations shows that over the past decade Dhanbad has been loosing out as a 'favoured' destination for employment while Ranchi has been gaining the upper hand since the state formation.

Table 4: Dhanbad UA: Change in Migrant Population, 1991-2001

Migrants (for Employment)	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
All durations of residence	-8.61	-6.88	-34.14
Duration of residence less than 1 year	-42.20	-44.14	-1.25
Duration of residence 1-4 years	-36.79	-36.28	-42.99
Duration of residence 5 and Above	-2.98	-1.23	-30.20

Table 5: Ranchi UA: Change in Migrant Population, 1991-2001

Migrants (for Employment)	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
All durations of residence	15.25	18.75	-16.15
Duration of residence less than 1 year	20.76	24.75	0.00
Duration of residence 1-4 years	-6.96	-4.66	-22.02
Duration of residence 5 and Above	22.64	26.19	-12.72

CONCLUSIONS

An in-depth analysis of urbanization trends and patterns in Jharkhand region clearly puts forth some concrete similarities as well as differences between urbanization trends in Jharkhand and Indian urbanization. The region though depicts lopsided urbanization with maximum concentration of population in class I cities, at the same time it shows revival of lowest order towns. However the momentum of urbanization is declining in Jharkhand with continuously falling exponential growth rates. The growth of newer towns is concentrated in the lower order classes whose contribution to the total urban population is very low. Thus the trends and patterns of urbanization for the region are not very encouraging.

Moreover urbanization in the region is spatially unbalanced to a very high degree. Spatial imbalances in population distribution have come down a bit, but yet the distribution is highly unbalanced. More than 64% of the total

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[9] Figures beyond 2011 are projected figures.

urban population of the state still resides in only five districts. The growth of new towns in largely concentrated around tow industrial centres only. Also the region shows very haphazard levels of urbanization with districts such as Godda with only 3.5% level of urbanization and Dhanbad with 58%. With the progress of time the inequality in the spatial distribution of towns and population with different classes of towns has increased four folds. As an outstanding phenomena urbanization patterns in Jharkhand appears to be extensively associated with the pattern of industrial development in the region, clearly reflected in the overwhelming concentration of more than 48% of the total urban population of the state in just three industrially developed districts namely Bokaro, Purbi Singhbhum and Dhanbad. Thus the future trends in urbanization are anticipated to be characterized by lopsided urbanization with development of industrial patterns dominating the spatial distribution of urbanization in the region.

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