A PERSPECTIVE ON URBANISATION IN THE NORTH-EASTERN REGION OF INDIA, 1961-91

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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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dedicated to
my maternal grant parents

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Certificate

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled **A Perspective on Urbanisation in the North-Eastern Region of India, 1961-91** submitted by **Kumam Rajbala Singh** in partial fulfilment of six credits out of total requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** is a bonafide work to the best of my knowledge and may be placed before the examiner for evaluation.

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K Rajbala Singh

Kumam Rajbala Singh

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INTRODUCTION

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The north-eastern states, known as North-Eastern Region, comprise the present seven sister states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. The region forms a part of the Indian Union and is connected through a very narrow strip of land in West Bengal. This region has been by and large isolated in the past and little attention was paid to it before Independence. After Independence, the Government of India has deliberately been pursuing the cause of socio-economic development of that region.

To begin with, Gopinath Bardoloi, Chairman of the Bardoloi Committee envisaged the necessity to set up autonomous districts for the tribes in Assam because they had distinctive cultures and their own civilization.[1] Later on, the present four states of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland were carved out from old Assam while Manipur and Tripura were princely states. Before 1954, Arunachal was known as North Easter Frontier Tract (NEFT) and later, it was renamed North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) in 1971. NEFA was again renamed as Arunachal Pradesh and in 1972 it became a union territory and then it attained statehood in 1986 as 24th State

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1 Hussain. 1994. *Encyclopedia of India.* Vol.xxiii. Assam, New Delhi: Rama Publishing House, pp.46-47.

of India.[2] Meghalaya was recognized as autonomous state in Assam; later on, a composite state of Meghalaya came up in 1972.[3] Likewise, Mizoram became a U.T. in 1972 and attained its statehood in 1986. Nagaland was the first to be carved out of Assam and it attained statehood in 1962-63. The two princely states of Tripura and Manipur attained statehood in 1971 and 1972 respectively.[4] According to the 1991 census, this region (NER) has got a total population of 31,386,911 persons which is 3.7 percent of India's population on 255,083 sq.km. (7.8 percent of Indian land mass). The level of urbanization in the region has increased from 8 percent in 1961 to 13.9 percent in 1991.[5]

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has noted in its *Human Development Report 1990* that the explosive growth of urban population in the developing countries has been an important phenomenon in the process of development in these countries.[6] The Indian trend bears out this truth.[7]

According to 1991 Census the urban population of India has gone up to 25.7 percent while its decennial growth rate is 36.2 percent.

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2 Nibedon N. 1981. *North-East India*, New Delhi.

3 Ibid.

4 Hussain. n.1., p.47.

5 *Basic statistics of North-East Region*. 1992, Shillong: Published by North Eastern Council Secretariat.

6 United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1990*, p.85.

7 Ganguly J.B. (ed.) 1994. *Urbanization and Development in North-East India: Trends and Policy Implications*. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, p.104.

It may be noted that the developed countries as a group were 73 percent urbanized in 1990. Even among the developing countries as a group, the level of urbanization in 1990 was 34 percent which is higher than that of India.[8] In the prospects of world urbanization worked out by the U.N.O.,it has been projected that by the year 2025, it is likely that 60 percent of the world's population will be living in urban areas and nearly all of this future growth of urban population will be taking place in the cities of developing countries.[9] Going by the rate of urbanization in India, it may be safely presumed that India's urbanization in the coming few decades will accelerate and the total proportion of urban population will also be much higher than now.

The pace of urbanization in the NER exhibits a slow rate though among the states it varies widely. Initially, in most of the union territories in the region, there was not a single district formed but, later on, in late 1960s and early 1970s, a number of districts were created for having efficient administration as well as to look after the law and order situation. With the creation of districts, district headquarters automatically became towns. In addition, a number of towns have also emerged which together with the headquarter towns have led to a fast urban growth in the smaller states.

The necessity of examining the regional situation of urbanization arises from the fact that India has a rather large land area where the distribution of

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8 *World Resources 1990-91.* The World Resources Institution in collaboration with UNEP and UNDP, p.66.

9 Ibid., p.66.

urban centres is far from even. This means that the capacity of the urban centres to transform the countryside and in the process, be transformed by it, is likely to vary between regions.[10] As a matter of fact, the NER presents complex physiographic conditions - such as difficult and inhospitable terrain conditions in the hilly and plateau areas and the dangers of annual flooding in the entire Brahmaputra valley in Assam. Therefore, the scenario of urbanization in the NER must be different from the other regions of the country. Hence, it is thought that an exercise covering the level and pattern of urbanization in the North-Eastern Region would be very revealing and rewarding.

Literature Survey

This provides a background for the present study and demonstrates why it is important and timely to study urbanization pattern in the NER.

The concept of major studies of urbanization mainly originated from the western scholars. Lately, it has become a field of study for every scholar who is concerned in any country's urbanization. India's urbanization was attempted to discuss at an international conference held at Berkeley, California, in

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[10] Nagaraj.K. 1987. Urbanization in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh - A comparative picture for 1961-81. In *Perspectives on Urbanization and Migration in India and USSR*, edited by Manzoor Alam S. and Fatima Ali Khan, New Delhi: Allied Publishers.

1960[11] in a series of seminars which were sponsored by Kingley Davis, Richard L. Park and Catherine Bower. It was observed that Indian urbanization was gaining momentum.

Sovani's[12] concept of over-urbanization came up. Basically his work was on the different characteristics of urban India. He says, with the process of urbanization, it is observed that over-urbanization is an emerging problem which has been created because of the rural migrants. He felt that 'push' and 'pull' factors operated and the rural migrants have been 'pushed' rather than 'pulled' into urban areas as a result of mounting pressure therein.

Kingsley Davis[13] studied urbanization pattern and its causes in his book *The population of India and Pakistan* . A number of factors were identified of which the effect of rural urban migration was regarded as the most important factor contributing to urbanization in India. Ashish Bose[14] presented various aspects of India's urbanization from 1901 to 1971 including a discussion on demographic implications of population and environment for developmental planning. He also provided a large number of useful statistical tables on urban India and rural urban control etc.

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11 *International seminar on urbanization in India*, sponsored by Kingley Davis, Richard L. Park and Catherine Bower Wursler at Berkeley, 1960, California.

12 Sovani, N.V. 1960. *Urbanization and Urban India*. New York: Asia Publishing House.

13 Davis, Kingley. 1951. *The Population of India and Pakistan*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

14 Ashish Bose. 1973. Studies in India's Urbanization 1901-1973, *Studies in Demography*. No.1, Institute of Economic Growth, McGraw Hill Publishing Co. Ltd.

Singh[15] was of the view that administration for urban development has failed to cope with the problems created by rapid pace of urbanization, which has been causing development of slums in big cities. He tried to bring out that positive development could be seen only when basic civil amenities and infrastructure are taken care of first.

Turner[16] has linked urbanization process and development. The urbanization is the 20th century phenomenon and it has become dominant in economic processes of the world. Premi[17] has studied the pattern of out-migration from towns. He says that the problem of having a number of towns experiencing urban out-migration is not peculiar to India.

Prakash Rao[18] studied the spatial dimension of India's towns and cities, taking into consideration social and political aspects. He focussed on the complexities underlying the urbanization process, pattern and correlates the problems associated with the dispersal of urban infrastructure. He also gave emphasis on the importance of urban welfare aspects.

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15 Singh, Kamaldev Narain. 1978. *Urbanized Development in India.* New Delhi: Ahinav Publications.

16 Roy, Turner (ed.). 1962. *India's Urban Future.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

17 Premi, M.K. 1980. *Urban Outmigration, A Study of its Nature, Census and Consequences.* New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

18 Prakash Rao, V.L.S. 1983. *Urbanisation in India, Spatial Dimension.* New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co.

Nayak et al.,[19] in their study on the urbanization pattern in the North-Eastern India at state level from 1961-91 conclude that the level of urbanization is low compared to other states and below the national average except in two states in 1981 and 91. This phenomenon can be attributed to the proliferation of the new towns.

Dey[20] discusses the economic activities of towns of the north east and the trend of urbanization from 1961 to 81. He also provides quite a number of useful demographic tables in his work. In his own words he concludes that the pattern of urbanization in NE Region (in growth rate, quality of life, percentage of urban female population, correlation between other workers and percentage of urban population) is enviable to the urban areas of other parts of the country.

Bhattacharjee[21] in his study on the features of urbanization in North-East India as reflected in migration statistics bring out that the different kinds of migration such as economic migration and its characteristics have an importance influence on the urbanization.

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19 Debendra Kumar Nayak et al. 1995. Pattern of Urbanisation on the North-East, In: *Urbanization and Development in North-East India, Trends and Policy Implications* edited by J.B.Ganguly. New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications.

20 Dey, P.C. 1995. Some Aspects of the Pattern of Urbanization in North-Eastern India. In *Urbanization and Development in North-East India, Trends and Policy Implications*, edited by J.B. Ganguly. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications.

21 Bhattacharjee, P.R. 1995. Features of Urbanization in North-East India as Reflected in Migration Statistics, In *Urbanisation and Development in North-East India, Trends and Policy Implications*, edited by J.B. Ganguly. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications.

Butola[22] observes in his study of urbanization and under-development in the North-Eastern India that urbanization takes place inspite of the low level of economic development in the NE Region. He discusses some of the important issues related to under-development and its relation to urbanization.

John[23] in his study of urbanization in North-East India feels that urbanization in the region has seldom been due to productive economic activities and industrialisation. The urban centres in the region essentially reflect the growth of administrative centres. The problem of urbanization in this region has also been discussed by him.

Bhattacharjee[24] in his study of 'Urbanization Trend in Arunachal Pradesh: A Brief Analysis' observes that the urbanization is taking place quite rapidly in recent years. The observed growth of urban population is attributable to the establishment and expansion of administrative centres. In addition he mentions the strategic importance of Arunachal Pradesh having borders with three countries.

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22 Butola, B.S. 1995. Urbanization and Under-development in the North-Eastern India, In *Urbanization and Development in North-East India, Trends and Policy Implications*, edited by J.B. Ganguly. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications.

23 John, P.H. 1995. Urbanization in North-East India: A Trend, In *Urbanization and Development in North-East India, Trends and Policy Implications*, edited by J.B. Ganguly. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications.

24 Bhattacharjee, R.P. 1995. Urbanization Trend in Arunachal Pradesh: A Brief Analysis, In *Urbanization and Development in North-East India, Trends and Policy Implications*, edited by J.B. Ganguly. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications.

Ganguly[25] in his study of 'Urbanization in the North-Eastern Region: Trends and Policy Implications' discusses the trends and pattern of urbanization with a view to formulating a policy of dealing with the challenges of rapid growth in urbanization from 1951-71. According to him it would be economic and advantageous to encourage people to concentrate in towns and cities to provide them with the social goods such as water and power supply, transport and communication facilities, health and education facilities.

Other works are more or less the same which largely deal either with the nature, processes and stages of urbanization or the structure of urbanization, morphology and functions of urban centres or the problems related to the safety and comforts of urban living.

This study differs from the rest as it discusses the entire north-east region at three levels:

1. North-Eastern Region as a whole (NER)
2. North-Eastern Region Excluding Assam (NEREA), and
3. Assam only

The advantage of adopting this approach was to provide a degree of comparability and to remove the distorting effect of the large and dominant state of Assam on the remaining six states. This helps in giving the study a better insight to the nature of urbanization in the north-eastern region.

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25 Ganguly,J.B. 1995. Urbanization in the North-Eastern Region: Trends and Policy Implications, In *Urbanization and Development in North-East India, Trends and Policy Implications*, edited by J.B. Ganguly. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications,

Objectives of the Study

The central objectives of the present study is to examine the pattern of urbanization in the NER and the significant changes in the functions of urban characteristics between 1961-91 period. Keeping this central concern, the study aims at the following issues:

1) to study the spatial distribution of the level of urbanization at the district level,
2) to study the growth of towns and their role in the process of urbanization,
3) to examine the spatial distribution of newly emerged towns and their role in the process of urbanization, and
4) to understand the nature of functional changes of towns from 1961 to 1991.

The objectives stated above would provide a framework to understand the level and pattern of urbanization in the NER.

Choice of the Study Area and Period of Study

NER presents a unique region in terms of its physiographic complexities and tribal population. It shares a small proportion 2.0 percent - of India's urban population. Further, most of the studies on urbanization in India left out these seven sister states. There is not much of exhaustive literature available

in this field for this region, so it has not attracted much attention of the researchers and scholars. Therefore, it is an opportunity to work in this field on the NER. The study period is confined between 1961-91 because (i) the urban definition from 1961 onward till now is more or less the same and comparable to a certain extent; (ii) before 1961 only two princely states, besides Assam were on the scene. Only after 1961, UTs and states came up which form seven states in the study area.

Data Base

The study is based on secondary information available from the Census of India and information published by the North-Eastern Council, Shillong in the statistics books. The town directory of 1971, 1981 and General Population Tables for different census have been used. The functional classification prepared by M.K.Jain, Census of India 1991, Occasional Paper No.4 (1994), has been used.

Limitations of the Study

One of the major limitationswas that most of census publications such as Town Directory and Migration tables for 1991 have not been published. The second constraint of such studies relate to explanation of data and deduction from the secondary sources. At times, personal and local knowledge supplemented the analysis to bring out issues.

Methodology

Methodology acts like a key which apparently reveals and discloses the complexities and difficulties of any kind of problem and issues. For this purpose, various cartographic techniques have been used. Precisely, it is applied to analyse the quantitative data through maps and diagrams etc. In this connection geographers are better equipped to explain and interpret the data presented in the maps and also adopt other cartographic techniques to translate the tabular form of data into a quantitative graphic form.[26] The study is done on three levels: (i) North-East Region as a whole (NER); (ii) North-East Region Excluding Assam (NEREA); and (iii) Assam only. The unit of analysis is at (a) state level, (b) district level and (c) town level.

Outline of Chapters

It is sanguine and customary to give a broad idea of the chapters before one goes into the detailed study.

Chapter I gives the idea of how and when these small states barring Assam, came into existence and the present situation of urbanization level in the region. It also takes account of the tempo of population growth and its position in near future and a brief survey on the existing work. In conclusion, it mentions the necessity of the study of urbanization of the NE region.

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[26] Young, P.V. 1956. *Scientific Social Survey and Research.* New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., p.205.

Chapter II presents a description of the level of urbanization in the region at the district level and their spatial distribution and growth rates at the district level.

Chapter III contains a discussion on the growth of towns. This chapter tries to bring out the manner in which the number of towns increased over the past 30 years. The distribution of towns by size classes and their share of urbanization is also analysed.

Chapter IV briefly explains the pattern of distribution of new towns as a large number of new towns have emerged in the NER during the past 30 years.

Chapter V is devoted to the functional classification of towns. This chapter is divided into two sections. The purpose of dividing this chapter into two sections is that section I is to make oneself familiar with the work that has been done by others and approaches in the functional classification. Secondly, it draws a distinction between the method and functional classification used in 1961, 1971 and 1991. Changes in the dominant function over the time between 1961 and 1971, and between 1971 and 1991 have been discussed in section II.

Chapter VI gives the summary and conclusion of what is presented in the earlier chapters.

Chapter II

LEVEL OF URBANIZATION

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The level of urbanization or the proportion of population living in settlements defined as urban expresses a certain characteristic of any given geographical area. An attempt has been made in this chapter to understand the differing pattern of the level of urbanization that has taken place over the past 30 years between 1961-1991 in the north-east region.

Besides the level of urbanization of a region, there are other indicators of the pattern and dimensions of urbanization such as (i) the number of people in urban units, (ii) the total number of urban units, the number of people residing in urban units of specified size and (iii) the number of units in a specified size range.[1] A simple and accepted method to measure the level of urbanization in any country is the percentage of urban population to its total population. Raza and Kundu[2] say that the ratio between urban and rural population (U/R) is also another way to study the urbanization process in a region. To measure the level or degree of urbanization, there are normally two indices which are given below:

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1 Gibbs, J.P. 1961. *Urban Research Methods*, Van Nostrand London. p.394.

2 Mooniz Raza and Kundu, A. 1975. *Discordance between Industrialisation and Urbanization in India - some aspect*, Paper presented at the Indo-USSR Joint Seminar, Moscow, pp.6-7.

(1) The proportion of people living in places defined as urban in terms of percentage i.e.

$$\frac{\text{urban population}}{\text{total population of the region}} \times 100$$

(2) The mean city population size which is the average size of the city where the population of that region resides.

The study in this chapter is dependent on the census data. In understanding the level of urbanization at the regional level, this chapter is an attempt to analyse

(1) the spatial temporal distribution of the level of urbanization, and

(2) factors affecting the level of urbanization in the region.

The discussion runs at three broad levels:

(i) North-Eastern Region (NER) as a whole

(ii) North-Eastern Region excluding Assam (NEREA) at the district level and

(iii) Assam only at the district level.

NER AS A WHOLE: A BROAD VIEW

The urban settlements in the NER are widely apart from one another in the midst of rural settlements and these urban centres act as centres for a variety of essential functions for the surrounding area. The congregation of settlements can be seen in the valley basin of Manipur, Assam, Tripura and state capitals where the urban level is also high.

The NER, with 13.9 percent of its population living in urban areas was the least urbanized part of India in 1991, but in 1961 only about 8 percent of its population was urbanized. The peculiar features of the low level of urbanization could be attributed to -

(1) Some social factors peculiar to this region, like the rigidity to mix with different tribes. Tradition based multi-ethnic, multi-social and multi-tribal society, which are not easily open to modernization process, posing a threat to development of the regional economy of the area which ultimately would lead to the stagnation of urban population or slow growth of its population base.

(2) Ruralward migration which is seen in Assam and urbanward migration from the foothills in the other states but, in the latter, small number of people are involved. Therefore, it does not affect much the urbanization level.

(3) Poor inter-regional communcations

(4) Poor sanitation and water management particularly in urban areas and deficient urban infrastructure, less diversified economy of the urban area other than the small market towns and services. Mostly, all these do not attract the ruralites towards the city and towns.

(5) Inadequate water supply and also almost non-existence of big industrial plants etc., which normally encourage people to move from rural to urban areas for job opportunity act as deterrents.

These factors might have been responsible for the slow pace of urbanization. A detailed district level pattern of urbanization in the four census years from 1961-1991 is shown in maps 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4 respectively. Table 2.1 shows the increase in the number of districts in NER which gives the progress in their number of districts. The name of the districts is given in the appendix.

Table 2.1: Increase in the Number of Districts

	1991	1981	1971	1961
NER	60	33	30	20
NEREA	37	33	20	9
Assam	23	-	10	11
Arunachal Pradesh	11	9	5	-
Manipur	8	6	5	1
Meghalaya	5	5	2	2
Mizoram	3	3	0	0
Nagaland	7	7	3	3
Tripura	3	3	3	3

Source: Census of India, 1961, Series 1, India, Part II-A(1), General Population Tables. Census of India Series 1, India, Paper 1 of 1971, Final Population Tables. Census of India 1991, Paper 2 of 1991, Provisional Population Tables; Urban Distribution pp.387-91.

Urbanization at the State Level

Map 2.1 and Table 2.2 indicate that in 1961, Assam followed by Manipur had the higher level of urbanization in the region, each over 7 percent. While Tripura and Nagaland had 6.0 percent and 5.2 percent respectively, though all the four states were much lower than the national average of 17.8 percent. They shared 1.41 percent of India's total urban population in 1961.

Table 2.2 Level and Growth of Urbanization

State/ District	Urban population	Percentage of urban population to total population			Level of urbanisation				Growth Rate		
	1991	81	71	61	1991	81	71	61	1961-71	71-81	81-91
MANIPUR	505848	375460	-		27.69	26.42	13.18	7.69	-	165.36	34.73
1. Senapati	-	9631MN	-	-	-	6.20MN	0	-	-	-	-
2. Tamenglong	-	4281MN	-	-	-	6.87MW	0	-	-	-	-
3. Churachandpur	33657	-	-	-	19.12	18.67	8.87	-	-	188.95	2.78
4. Chandel	9613	-	8706	-	13.59	13.60	-	-	-	-	25.20
5. Thoubal	106176	-	-	-	36.56	-	-	-	-	-	44.41
6. Bishnupur	62840	-	(MC)132786	67717	34.93	-	-	-	-	-	34.03
7. Imphal	293562	-	-	-	41.51	34.60	17.40	7.69	96.08	143.16	44.99
8. Ukhrul	-	-	-	-	-	7.02 ME	0	-	-	-	-
MEGHALAYA	329079	241333	-	-	18.69	18.07	14.55	U.K.J.H.	-	63.98	36.36
1. Jaintia Hills	20713	12923	-	-	9.45	8.26	21.76	23.5	28.63	44.73	60.28
2. East Khasi Hills	230106	180800	13168UK	102368	35.02	35.35	-	-	-	47.29	27.27
3. West Khasi Hills	14378	8880	8888	-	6.61	2.40	-	-	-	-	270.57
4. East Garo Hills	11985	4290	-	8888	6.34	3.14	-	G.H	-	-	179.37
5. West Garo Hills	51897	39440	-	-	10.86	10.66	3.80	2.89	74.27	154.63	31.58
MIZORAM	317040	121814	14257	31740	46.20	24.67	11.36	5.36	-	222.61	160.27
1. Aizal	258849	97591	14257	31740	54.45	28.63	13.85	5.36	-55.08	207.47	165.24
2. Lunglei	44532	17205	ND	ND	40.04	19.89	9.69	-	ND	185.81	158.83
3. Chhimtuipui	13659	7018	ND	ND	13.71	10.57	-	-	ND	-	94.63
NAGALAND	210095	120234	51394	19157	17.28	15.52	9.95	5.19	-	133.95	74.74
1. Kohima	118774	67218	33971	12999	30.13	28.15	26.01	11.93	161.34	97.87	76.70
2. Phek	8432	ND	ND	ND	8.28	-	-	-	ND	-	-
3. Zunheboto	12079	7678	ND	ND	12.33	10.59	-	-	ND	-	57.32
4. Wokha	14066	8180	ND	ND	17.07	14.09	-	-	ND	-	171.96
5. Mokokchung	24636	18060	17423	6158	15.77	17.41	21.03	4.89	182.93	3.66	36.41
6. Trensang	20971	12200	-	-	9.00	8.90	-	-	-	-	71.89
7. Mon	11137	6898	ND	-	7.42	7.33	-	-	-	-	81.45
TRIPURA	418983	225568	162360	102997	15.26	10.99	10.43	6.19	-	38.93	85.75
1. West Tripura	313178	149288	109602	63660	24.29	15.29	14.66	-	72.17	36.21	104.78
2. North Tripura	61004	37432	27460	21815	8.83	7.02	6.71	-	25.88	36.31	62.97
3. South Tripura	44801	38848	25298	17522	5.85	7.15	6.33	-	44.38	52.56	15.31
India					25.27	23.91	20.22	17.4			
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	104806	41428	17288	-	12.12	6.56	3.70	-	-	139.6	152.98
1. West Kameng	5570	3860	ND	-	9.88	9.29	6.31	-	-	21.69	44.30
2. Tawang	-	-	ND	2922	-	-	-	-	8.56	-	-
3. East Kameng	-	-	ND	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Lower Subansiri	39425	14116	ND	-	25.50	23.53	-	-	-	-	179.29
5. Upper Subansiri	-	-	ND	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. West Siang	11098	8074	ND	-	12.36	11.82	8.13	-	78.80	67.58	37.45
6. East Siang	14525	9139	ND	5556	14.53	11.98	10.44	-	-	78.64	38.93

7. Dihang valley	7271	-	-	-	16.94	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Lohit	20567	6239	4182	2800	18.76	8.98	8.78	-	49.36	49.19	229.65
9. Changlang	-	-	ND	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10. Terap	6350	-	-	-	7.95	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASSAM	247088	-	1326981	913028	11.08	-	8.73	8.87	45.34	-	92.66*
1. Dhubri	161641	-	ND	-	12.19	-	-	-	-	-	73.41
2. Kokrajhar	50682	-	ND	-	6.36	-	-	-	-	-	197.08
3. Bongaigaon	73833	-	ND	-	9.16	-	-	-	-	-	84.38
4. Goalpara	48199	-	172294	102143	7.28	-	6.62	7.74	68.67	-	118.74
5. Barpeta	97260	-	ND	-	7.03	-	-	-	-	-	41.51
6. Nalbari	23239	-	ND	-	2.29	-	-	-	-	-	47.16
7. Kampur	648269	-	335155	219499	32.61	-	10.64	11.74	52.69	-	158.65
8. Darrang	63954	-	103743	50294	4.97	-	3.90	5.97	106.27	-	98.80
9. Sonitpur	103570	-	ND	-	7.30	-	-	-	-	-	44.71
10. Lakhimpur	48550	-	252880	151352	6.48	-	9.68	11.91	67.08	-	91.52
11. Dhemaji	8826	-	ND	-	1.87	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. Marigaon	34618	-	ND	-	5.41	-	-	-	-	-	-
13. Nagaon	205594	-	-	81217	10.87	-	6.67	7.09	46.94	-	72.28
14. Gorghat	47919	-	ND	-	5.98	-	-	-	-	-	67.77
15. Jorhat	132525	-	ND	-	15.26	-	-	-	-	-	54.59
16. Sibsagar	64811	-	154724	76705	7.24	-	5.09	8.42	101.71	-	60.29
17. Dibrugarh	181490	-	ND	-	17.48	-	-	-	-	-	58.54
18. Tinsukia	158404	-	ND	-	16.45	-	-	-	-	-	40.12
19. Kabri Anglong	70286	-	ND	-	10.72	-	-	-	-	-	589.08
20. North Cachar Hills	34206	-	5197	-	22.90	-	-	-	-	-	558.19
21. Karimganj	60113	-	ND	-	7.28	-	-	-	-	-	3.69
22. Haikkama	34106	-	ND	-	7.60	-	-	-	-	-	53.77
23. Cachar	118793	-	135692	96813	9.77	-	8.02	7.91	40.16	-	113.90

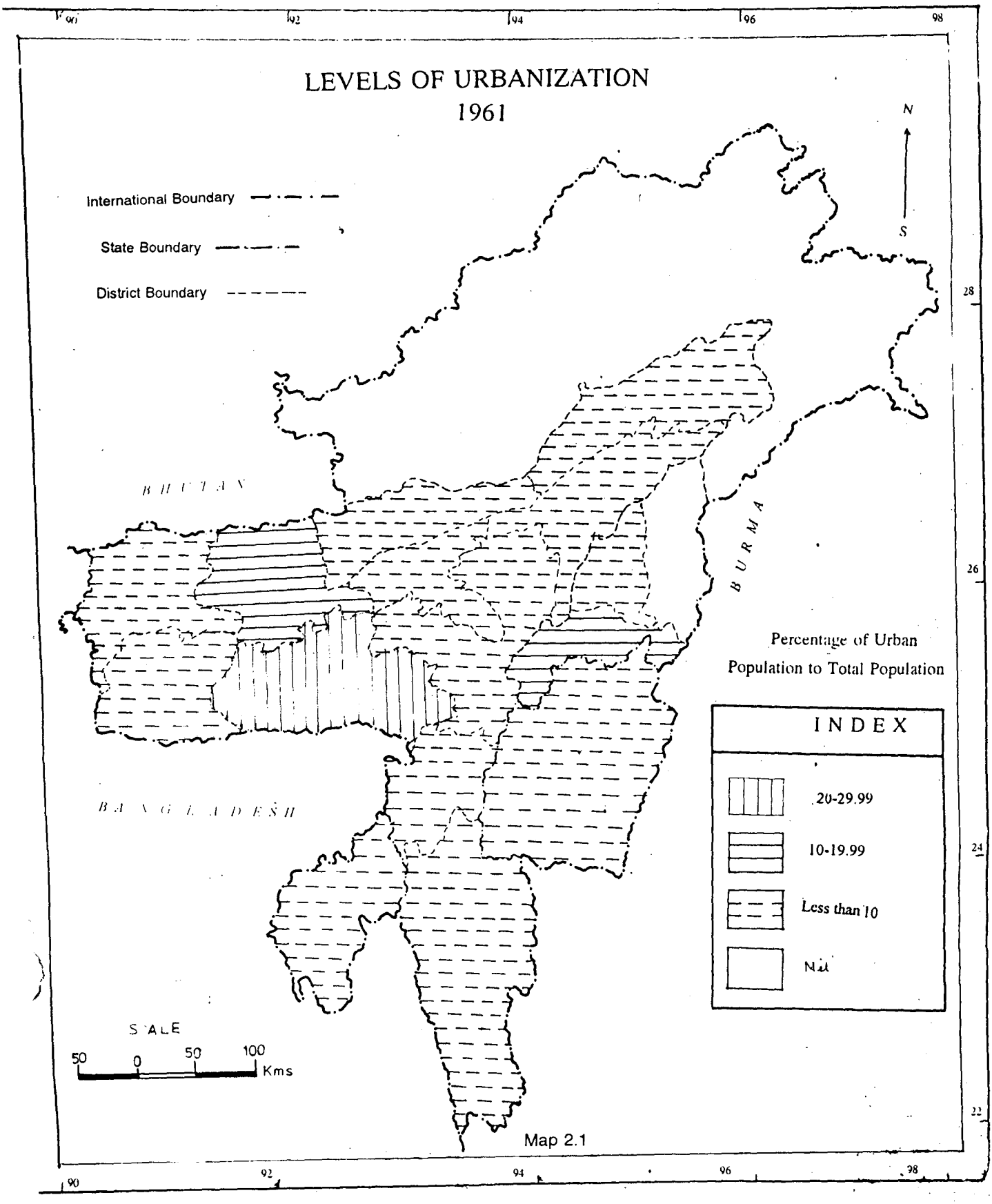
Note:

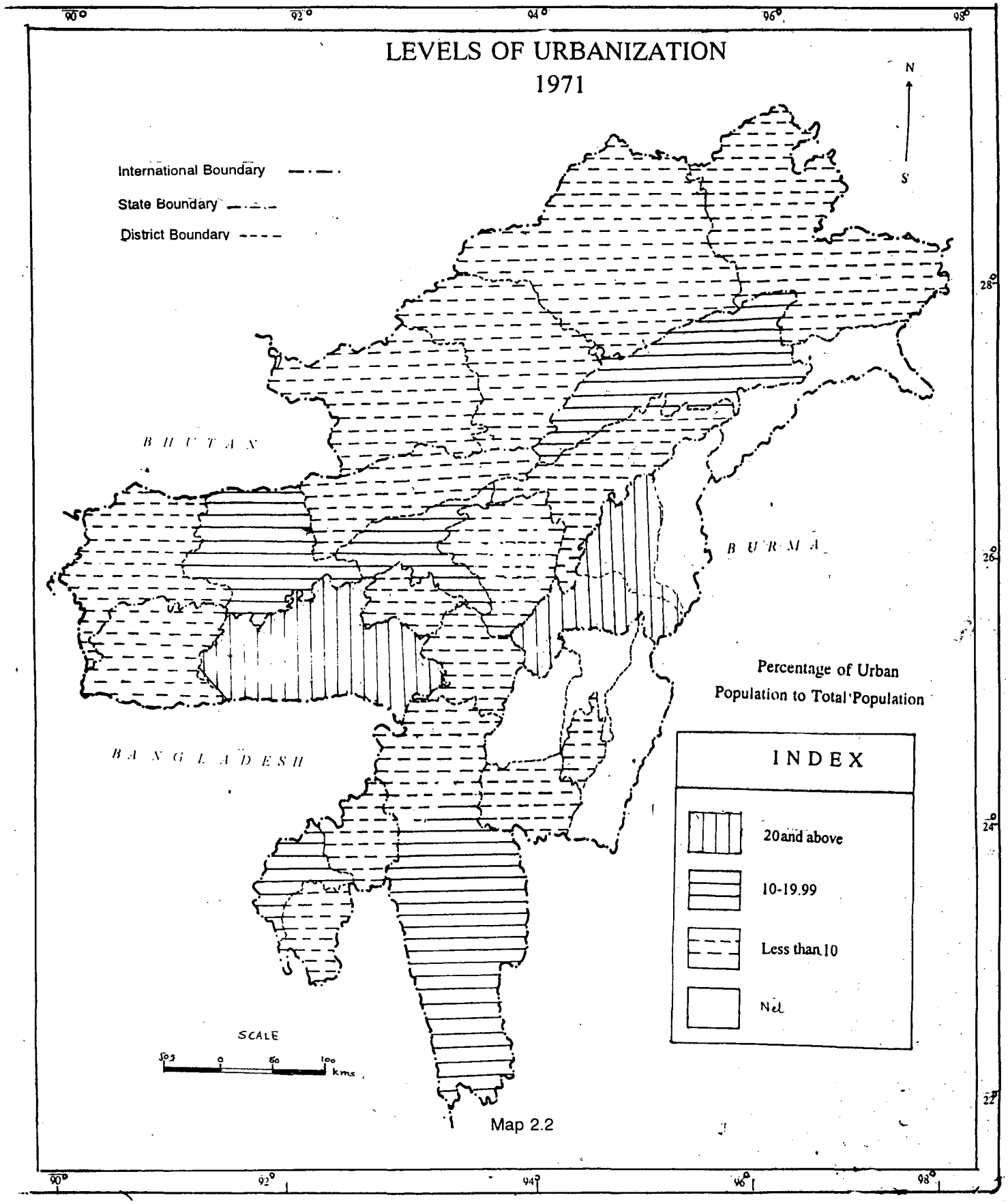
Year 1961		Growth Rate		District Name	
Garo Hills	8888	2.89		Mikir Hills	2.69
U.K.J.H	108595	23.50		North Cachar Hills.	6.83
United Mikir and North Cachar Hills	3265	1.17			
Mizo	14257	5.36			

MC = Manipur Central,
Mn = Manipur North
NW = Manipur West
UKJH = United Khasi and Jaitia Hills
ND = No District

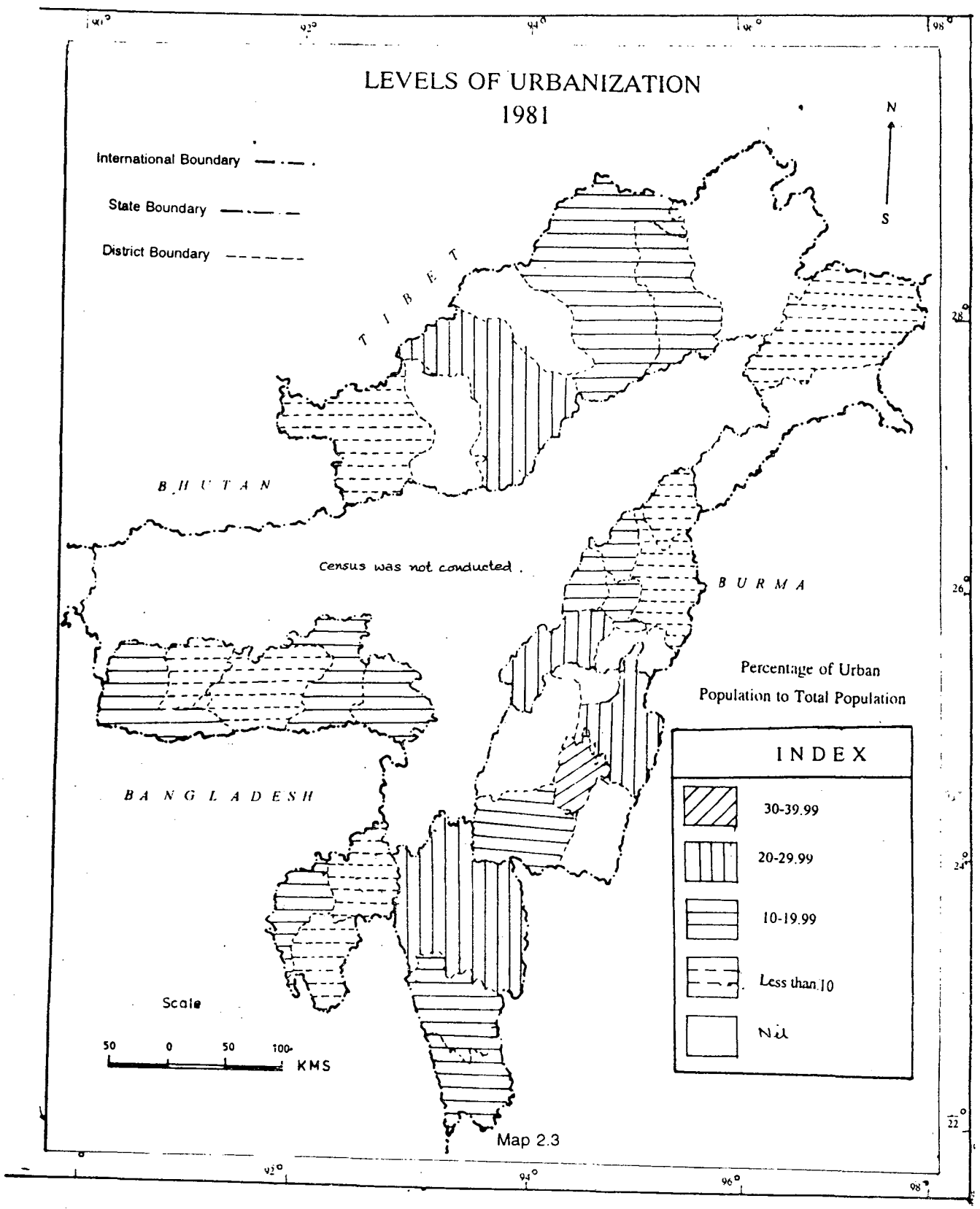
*Growth Rate of Assam is for 1971-91.

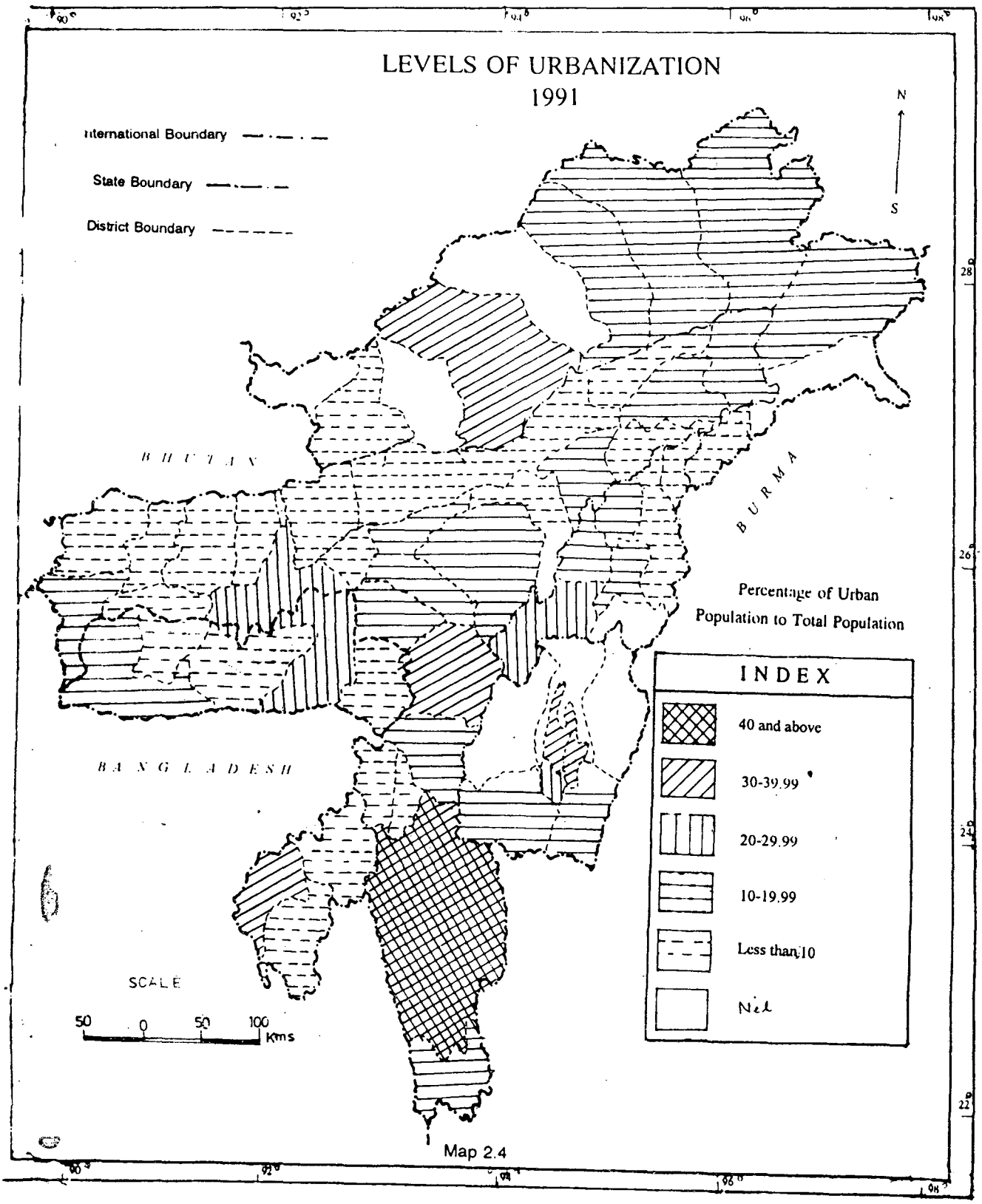
Source: Census of India 1961, Series 1, India, Part II-A(i), General Population Tables.
Census of India Series 1, India, Paper 1 of 1972, Final Population Tables.
Census of India 1991, Paper 2 of 1991, Provisional Population Tables; Urban Distribution pp. 387-91.


LEVELS OF URBANIZATION
1961
N
S
International Boundary
State Boundary
District Boundary
BHUTAN
BANGLADESH
BURMA
Percentage of Urban
Population to Total Population
INDEX
20-29.99
10-19.99
Less than 10
Nil
SCALE
50 0 50 100 Kms
Map 2.1
90
92
94
96
98
28
26
24
22


LEVELS OF URBANIZATION
1971
N
S
International Boundary
State Boundary
District Boundary
BHUTAN
BURMA
BANGLADESH
Percentage of Urban
Population to Total Population
INDEX
20and above
10-19.99
Less than 10
Nil
SCALE
50 0 50 100 kms
90°
92°
94°
96°
98°
28°
26°
24°
22°

Map 2.2


LEVELS OF URBANIZATION
1981
International Boundary
State Boundary
District Boundary
N
S
TIBET
BHUTAN
BURMA
BANGLADESH
Census was not conducted.
Percentage of Urban Population to Total Population
INDEX
30-39.99
20-29.99
10-19.99
Less than 10
Nil
Scale
50 0 50 100
KMS
Map 2.3


LEVELS OF URBANIZATION
1991
International Boundary
State Boundary
District Boundary
N
S
BHUTAN
BURMA
BANGLADESH
Percentage of Urban
Population to Total Population
INDEX
40 and above
30-39.99
20-29.99
10-19.99
Less than 10
Nil
SCALE
50 0 50 100
Kms

Map 2.4

Variation in the urbanization level increased between 1961 and 1971 ranging from 3.7 percent in Arunachal Pradesh to 14 percent in Meghalaya in 1971. The level of urbanization in other states namely Assam, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura was 9 percent, 13.2 percent, 11.4 percent, 10.0 percent and 10.4 percent respectively. The state of Nagaland grew at a higher rate of 91.2 percent from 1961 to 1971 followed by Manipur and Tripura. The share of NER in India's urban population increased to 1.74 percent.

Between the decade of 1971-81, Mizoram grew at the highest rate of 222.6 percent to get 24.7 percent of urbanization level followed by Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Meghalaya and Tripura at the rate of 165.5 percent, 139 percent, 134 percent, 64 percent and 39 percent respectively. Among these seven states Arunachal Pradesh was the least urbanized with 6.6 percent. The states of Manipur and Mizoram were above the national average in 1981.

The 1991 census shows a surprising urbanization level in Mizoram with 40.2 percent, being the top, not only in the NER but also in the country. As compared to the previous decade, the overall increase in the percentage growth has however declined to 160 percent.

Nearly 2 percent of India's urban population recorded in the NER in 1991 with a total urban population of 4.4 million (Table 2.2).

In the NER, Assam was the least urbanized state in 1991 having a total urban population of 2.4 million constituting 11.1 percent of the total population

while Mizoram recorded the nation's highest growth rate of urban population during 1981-91.

Arunachal Pradesh grew at the the rate of 153 percent reaching 12.1 percent. Manipur was placed at 27.7 percent with a slower growth rate of 35 percent. Meghalaya which grew to attain 18.7 percentage urbanization level at a slower rate of 36 percent. Nagaland was 17.3 percent though it grew at a slower rate of 74.7 percent compared to the previous year. Tripura moved its urbanization level from 11.0 percent to 15.3 percent at the rate of 86 percent from 1981-91. The growth of urbanisation slackened in the 1981-91 decade in the region compared to the previous decade except in Arunachal Pradesh.

The following features emerge from the above discussion.

1. The urbanization level widely varies from state to state e.g. Mizoram in 1991 being the highest having 46.2 percent and on the other hand, Assam is the least urbanised state with 11.1 percent of its population in urban settlements.
2. The pace of urbanization in Assam remained slow throughout the past 30 years.
3. Higher level of urbanization in Arunachal Pradesh can probably be explained in terms of regrouping of villages by the administration/government. However, those polarised urban areas in Nagaland, Manipur, Assam and Tripura is because of physiographic

factors where pockets of planned areas occur along the river valley basins.

NER EXCLUDING ASSAM (NEREA)

These 6 states in the North-East Region share a small percentage of the total urban population of India. In the following discussion a detailed study is carried out on each of the composite states of NEREA.

Arunachal Pradesh

For the first time in 1971 in Arunachal Pradesh 4 settlements were declared urban and their population of 17,288 persons constituted 3.7 percent of urban population. It grew to 6.6 percent in 1981 and finally attained its urbanization level at 12.1 percent in 1991 at a high growth rate of 139.6 percent from 1971 to 1981 and 153 percent from 1981 to 1991.

In 1971, East Siang and West Siang had 10.44 percent and 8.16 percent respectively. Lohit district had 8.8 percent of urbanization level while Kameng district was least urbanised at 6.3 percent (Table 2.3).

In 1981, the most urbanised district was Lower Subansiri (23.5 percent), West Siang and East Siang had almost equal level of urbanization while West Kameng and Lohit had 9.3 percent and 9.0 percent respectively.

Manipur

In 1961, Manipur had only one district (Manipur Central) and the level of urbanization attained by the state was 7.7 percent. In 1961-71, the growth rate of urban population in Manipur was 96 percent to reach an urbanization level of 13.2 percent. In 1971 the lowest level was 9 percent in Manipur South and the highest of 17.4 percent was in Manipur Central. The urban centres during 1961-71 were confined in Manipur central district and Manipur South.

In 1981, Manipur was divided into six districts. The level of urbanization grew from 13.2 percent in 1971 to 26.4 percent with an urban growth rate of 165 percent. It was much above the national average. The highest urbanization rate was recorded in central Manipur, 34.64 percent and the lowest was 6.2 in Manipur north district. The newly created district Tengoupal had 13.6 percent of urbanization level.

In 1991, the situation was different because of the division of districts as well as change of its names. Manipur central is now known as Imphal district, Thoubal and Bishnupur that is divided into 3. Manipur south districts became as Churachandpur and so on. The growth rate of urban population slackened to 34.73 percent compared to the previous decade.

Among the districts of the newly given names Imphal (41.5 percent) has been the district of highest urbanization level followed by Thoubal (36.5 percent) while Bishupur had 34.9 percent and other districts Chandel and Charachandpur had 13.5 percent and 19.1 percent respectively.

It shows that all the three districts of Manipur which have been created

out of Manipur Central district have got a higher level of urbanization. Though they occupy merely 1/9th of the land area these three districts have the highest concentration of urban population. This high concentration of population is explained by the geographical nature.

Meghalaya

It is clear from the Table 2.2 on the level of urbanization in Meghalaya that the highest level in 1961 was in United Khasi and Jaintia Hills with 23.50 percent with a wide gap with the other district of Garo Hills which was as low as 2.89 percent. In 1971, the overall level of urbanization in Meghalaya was 14.55 percent but there was a fair degree of inter-district disparity in the levels with West Khasi Hills district having 21.76 percent and West Garo Hills district with merely 3.8 percent. Between 1961-71 United Khasi and Jaintia Hills had a growth rate of 28.63 percent and West Garo Hills was 74.27 percent. In the following decade of 1971-81 the overall level of urbanization of Meghalaya increased at the rate of 63.98 percent to be 18.07 percent with the highest rate continuing to be in the district of East Khasi Hills (35.35 percent) recording a slower rate of increase of 47.29 percent. The lowest level shifted to the new district of West Khasi Hills with 2.4 percent. Also below the 5 percent mark was East Garo Hills (3.14 percent). Jaintia Hills increased at the rate of 44.73 percent to attain a level of 8.26 percent. West Garo Hills on the other hand, increased rapidly at 154.63 percent rate to be a 10.66 percent

level. The overall picture of the level of urbanization in 1991 is almost one of stagnation with the level showing marginal increase to reach 18.69 percent. This more or less stagnant nature was observed in the districts of East Khasi Hills where it declined at the rate of 0.93 percent, reduced down to 35.02 percent. The next highest district of West Garo Hill was 10.86 percent.

Jaintia Hills also increased at the rate of 60.28 percent to 9.45 percent. The two districts where the growth rates were high were West Khasi Hills 270.6 percent and East Garo Hills 179.3 percent to reach the level of 6.61 percent and 6.34 percent respectively. Hence it was those districts with the lowest levels which increased at the fastest rates while the higher levels either declined or increased at a very slow pace in Meghalaya during the 1981-91 period (Table 2.2).

Mizoram

Mizoram which was a part of Assam in 1961 had only one urban district of Aizawl which had the level of 5.36 percent increasing at the rate of 160 percent. In 1971 too, the two districts continued as a part of Assam. While Aizawl attained a 13.85 percent level, Lunglei the new district, had a 9.69 percent level of urbanisation, both together giving Mizoram an overall level of 11.36%. In 1981 this level rose to 24.67 percent increasing at the rate of 222.6 percent. The highest level was attained at Aizawl (28.63) increasing at the rate of 207.5 percent. Lunglei reached a higher level of 19.89 percent increasing at

the rate of 186 percent. Chhimtuipui, the new district had a level of 10.57, the lowest in Mizoram. In 1991 the level of urbanisation in Mizoram saw a meteoric rise to reach the highest level in the entire north-east, that of 46.20 percent, increasing at the rate of 160.27 percent. Within Mizoram the highest of 54.45 percent was in Aizawl increasing at a 165 percent rate (Table 2.2). Lungei (40.04 percent) increased at the fast pace of 159 percent. Chhintuipui's level increased to 13.71 percent at the pace of 94.6 percent.

It is seen from the differing pattern of the level of urbanisation in the state at district level that the rate of growth quickened but at different rates of urbanisation. This phenomenon occurred mainly because of the regrouping of villages and high rate of rural-urban migration to a greater extent.

Nagaland

Table 2.2 shows that in 1961 Nagaland began with an overall level of urbanisation of 5.19percent with a higher level of 11.93 percent in Kohima district and a lower level of 4.89 percent in Mokokchung. In 1971 the level of urbanisation in Nagaland rose to 9.95 percent rising by 134 percent. Kohima's level grew by 97.8 percent to be 26.01 percent while Mokokchung had a higher growth rate of 183 percent to reach the level of 21.03 percent. In the period of 1981 the general level of urbanisation rose to 15.52 percent increasing at a rate of 134 percent but there was considerable regional variation. While Kohima's level increased at the rate of 97.8 percent to be 28.15 percent, there

was Mon at 7.33 percent. Between these two extreme ends lay Mokekchung at 17.41 percent having declined at the rate at 21.12 percent. This was the only district where the level of urbanisation dropped. Wokha was 14.09 percent, Zunhelsoto 10.59 percent, Tuensang 8.90 percent. In the following decade of 1991, the overall level rose to 17.28 percent, increasing at the rate of 74.7 percent. Kohima, having the highest level of 30.13 percent increasing at the rate of 76.7 percent. The lowest level on the other hand, continued to be Mon with 7.42 percent increasing at 81.5 percent, Wokha increased slowly by 172 percent to reach the level of 17.07 percent, Mokokchung with 15.77 percent continued with its declining trend at the rate of 36.4 percent. The other districts are Zunheboto (12.33 percent), increasing at 57.33 percent, Tuengang 9 percent, the level rising at a rate of 71.9 percent and Phek's level was 8.28 percent.

Tripura

In 1961 Tripura had 6.95 percent level of urbanisation which rose to 10.43 percent in 1971. The highest level in 1971 was in West Tripura district with 14.66 percent followed by North and South Tripura district with 6.71 and 6.33 percent respectively. In the year 1981, the level increased marginally to 10.99 percent increasing at the rate of 38.93 percent. West Tripura district reached a slightly higher level of 15.29 percent in 1981, North Tripura district (7.02 percent), and South Tripura district (7.15 percent). Their growth rates

lying between 36 to 53 percent. In the following period of 1981-91 the increase was sharper with the overall level reaching at 15.26 percent for Tripura state which increased at 86 percent. The highest level continued to be in West Tripura district at 24.29 percent which increased at the rate of 104.8 percent. North Tripura district increased at the pace of 63 percent to be 8.83 percent but South Tripura declined at the rate of 15 percent to reach a lower level of 5.85 percent. Over the past 30 years West Tripura district showed a gradual rising trend while South Tripura remained almost constant but it also showed a slight decline in the urbanisation level between 1981-91.

ASSAM (ONLY)

Assam, the major state of the north-east region, is seen to have 8.9 percent of its total population urbanized in 1961 when nearly 90 percent of the north-east region's urban population was in Assam. After the 30 year time period, Assam accounts for more than 56 percent of the NER's urban population, yet its urbanisation level virtually stagnates at 11.08 percent in 1991. It shows that there has been a very slow growth of urban population. The national average is much higher than Assam. Despite undocumented immigration the level of urbanisation remains low.

The factors responsible for the slow rate of urbanisation can be attributed to

a) In Assam the urbanisation process is constrained because of the

recurrent phenomenon of floods which wreak havoc on the settlements and infrastructural facilities.

b) Low mobility among the tribal population.

c) Physiographic constraints and tribal diversity.

d) There is a ruralward migration especially by the land-hungry Bangladeshi and other migrants whose general interest is in cultivation, dairying and work on tea plantations, mining etc., has been dominant. This has led to a consistently fast growth of population in rural areas. The urban population also increased over the years considerably (Table 2.2) but its percentage in the total population would not likely to rise sharply because it was accompanied by a rapid increase in rural population as well.

Most of the population is confined to the Brahmaputra valley. In the state, the urban level also varies very widely among the districts as in 1991, Kamrup district had 32.61 percent while Dhemaji district had only 1.87 percent urbanized population in the district. The interesting thing about the urbanisation level for the districts is that not even a single district surpasses the national average except Kamrup district. The only district of Kamrup in the state has the class I city, Gauhati which accounts for the higher level.

Districts Having a High Level of Urbanisation in the State (20 percent and above)

Table 2.2 shows that in the year 1961 it was noticed that out of total of 11 districts, the district of Khasi and Jaintia Hills (which is now part of Meghalaya) had 23.5 percent level of urbanisation showing the highest urbanisation level in the state. But in 1971, not a single district fell under this category. In 1991 of course, there has been a gap of 20 years time period, and the total number of districts, rose to 23. The level of urbanisation rose to 11.08 percent increasing at the rate of 93 percent from 1971. After a period of 20 years, only two districts recorded a high level of urbanisation that of Kamrup 32.6 percent and North Crehar 22.90 percent. Kamrup district grew at the rate of 157 percent from 1971 to 91.

Medium Level of Urbanisation (10 - 19.99 Percent)

From Table 2.2 it is observed that in 1961, only one district of Kamrup recorded a medium urbanization level of 10.6 percent. But in 1971 Kamrup grew at the rate of 52.7 percent. Another district, Lakhimpur had grown from 6.7 percent to reach 11.91 percent in 1991 while Mizoram district reached a level of 11.35 percent. But in 1991, six districts came up in this categgory. They were Dibrugarh (17.5 percent), Tinsukia (16.5 percent), Jorhat (15.3 percent), Dhubri (12.2 percent) and Nagaon 10.9 percent respectively.

Low Level of Urbanization (5 - 9.99) Percent

From the same Table (2.2), it is found that in this category of the level of urbanization maximum districts were noticed during the 30-year period. In 1961, out of a total 11 districts, 9 districts were under this category except Kamengs, Garo Hills and United Khasi and Jaintia Hills. In 1971 Garo Hills and United Mikir and North Cachar hills formed two new districts. Of these 10 districts, in 6 districts the level of urbanization grew at a pace between 53 - 106 percent between 1961-71. But in the year 1991, the number of districts increased from 10 in 1971 to 23 districts. It is noted that 52 percent of (12 districts) districts in 1991 all fell under this category of low level.

Very Low Level of Urbanization (Less than 5 Percent)

Though Assam has a low level of urbanization as a whole but very few districts lie at the very low mark of below 5 percent. It is observed that in 1961, there were 3 districts out of 11, namely Darrang (3.9 percent), Garo Hills (7 percent), United Mikir and North Cachar Hills (1.2 percent) which had an extremely low level of urbanization. The United Mikir and North Cachar Hills had 1.2 percent of urbanization level in 1961 with a total urban population of 3265. It is noted that those districts which have a small population base especially in the hilly districts where tribal population concentrated, a low level of urbanization was found whereas those districts which had a general populace specially along the Brahmputra valley show a higher level of

urbanization. Surprisingly, in the year 1971 only one district i.e. Mikir Hills had 2.69 percent of its population urban after its separation from the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills. In 1991, there were 3 districts, namely Darrang (5 percent), Nalbari (2.3 percent) and Dhemaji 1.9 percent) in upper Assam which have shown a very low level of urbanization. Among these 3 districts Dhemaji is the smallest district in terms of population base.

The rate of urbanization in Assam from the above details on the level of urbanization in the state over the 30 years time period has illuminated some salient features. They are as below:

1. Four districts namely Darrang, Goalpara, Lakhimpur and Sibsagar failed to improve their urbanization level from 1971 to 91. All of them declined marginally.
2. Kamrup district singly recorded a sharp size percentage of population over the 30 years.
3. Almost 81 percent of the districts in 1961, 70 percent in 1971 and 65 percent in 1991 had below 10 percent urbanization level. Except for Kamrup district, all the districts were much below the national level of urbanisation.
4. Districts which have a large base population show a low level of urbanization as compared to small base districts.

It may be said that the level of urbanization grows at a slow pace in the state and will perhaps be likely to continue in this way for 2/3 decades.

Conclusion

From the above discussion it is clear that there has been a low level of urbanization in the North-East region except Manipur and Mizoram. Arunachal Pradesh till 1981 remained the least urbanized state among the seven sister-states. But in 1991, it went ahead of Assam. Arunachal Pradesh is experiencing high level of urbanization since the 1971. Assam is the least urbanized state among the seven states. In Assam, in spite of its long history of urbanization, the pace of urbanization remained slow because of several reasons, one of which was the ruralward migration, inflating the rural population, resulting in an enlarged population base and thus, a low level of urbanization. Degree of urbanization showed progressive upswing in Manipur. The gain in urbanization in the state took place during 1971-81, after which the pace substantially slowed down. Meghayala, having the largest urban population besides Assam, in this region, occupies much lower in the level of the urbanization and the urban growth which were only marginally grown up in the past three decades. On the other hand, Nagaland is experiencing a high level of urbanization in recent years. Gradually, it has been improving the pace of urbanization. Mizoram shows outstanding progress in urbanization in 1991, it spearheaded ahead of the national average and ranked first in the urbanization level among the Indian states. The level of urbanization remained stagnant in Tripura till 1981, but in 1991 an impressive upgradation in the level of urbanization was noticed. The districts in the plain area or on

the plateau have shown higher level of urbanization. Though, despite large proportion of plain areas in Assam, the level of urbanization in Assam remains incredibly low as well as its growth rate during the past 30 years. It may be true to say that in the next few years, the urbanization in this region may be different from today because of the tendency of tribal clusterings.

Chapter III

GROWTH OF TOWNS

Chapter III

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With Independence achieved, Assam retained its status as a full-fledged state in the Indian Union. However, it was a state full of diversity and heterogeneity in terms of race, language and religion. The different races could not coalesce together to form a cohesive identity and soon, Assam underwent a process of vivisection resulting into its areal shrinkage. Large tracts habitations dominated by different tribes were amputed to form separate political entities.[1] Assam's area shrank from 220308 sq km in 1961 to 78438 in 1991.

In 1961, Manipur, Tripura, NEFA had no districts as such but each of them was treated as a census unit for census purpose only. Later on, in the early 1970s, these UTs became states and then, respective governments decided to increase the number of districts. With the creation of districts, they also thought that districts' headquarters should become towns. Accordingly, new urban centres emerged which were district headquarters although there might not be much changes in the economic activities of these headquarters.

In the process of growth of towns, it is important to note that towns have emerged either because industrialisation has taken place or certain towns have been performing administrative functions as in the case of district

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1 Hussain, Majid. 1994. *Encyclopaedia of India.* Vol.xxiii. Assam. New Delhi: Rima Publishing House, p.47.

headquarters. It is assumed that small towns emerge through the transformation of villages where its base population is considerably large. These towns are not preferred by the new urban immigrants and therefore these towns are not growing fast in number.[2] Migration, of course, plays a very important role in building up the size of urban population. Migrants normally tend to head towards the big urban centres since their motives are to get a job immediately and make a living. Kundu[3] views that in majority of the underdeveloped states, the high urban growth rate has been associated with high growth rate of population in the towns belonging to the fifth and sixth order size categories. It is unlikely that the growth of these towns has been supported by a rapid economic growth or a widespread dispersal of industrial activities. It would also be difficult to substantiate the fact that fast growth in the field of agriculture has lent support to demographic expansion in these settlements.[4]

It may be noted that hilly regions of north-east states do not geographically encourage the emergence of settlements and therefore, mostly the basins and valleys provide scope for more concentration of population and

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2 Chakraborty, Satyesh C. 1987. Urbanisation and its Regional Orientation in India. In *Perspectives on Urbanisation and Migration in India and USSR*, by Alam Manzoor S. and Khan, Fatima Ali; Allied Publishers, New Delhi; 103-43.

3 Kundu, Amitabh. Urbanization and Organization of Space - The Trends in the Indian Economy and their Implications for Planning. In *Perspectives on Urbanisation and Migration in India and USSR*. ed. Alam Manzoor S. and Khan, Fatima Ali, New Delhi: Allied Publishers, pp.103-43.

4 Kundu, Amitabh. n.3.

the basins and valleys provide scope for more concentration of population and settlements which result in the higher growth rate of towns. This topographic influence cannot be ignored e.g. the unevenness of distribution may be appreciated from the fact that 67.5 percent of the total population lives in the central valley of Manipur comprising nearly 10 percent of the total geographical area of the state according to the 1981 census.[5]

This chapter intends to discuss the following issues:

(i) the reasons for growth of urbanisation,

(ii) the distribution of number of towns in the size classes and its distribution of urban population in percentage,

(iii) the class-wise growth rate of towns, and

(iv) the movement of towns from one class to another.

The discussion runs at three levels (i) NER (ii) NER excluding Assam (NEREA) (iii) Assam only.

Factors Responsible for the Growth of Urban Population in the NER

The factors which are responsible for the growth of urban population in the north-east states seem to be different for each of the states though some of them seem to be in common.

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5 Hussain, Majid. 1994. *Encyclopaedia of India.* Vol.XXI. Manipur, New Delhi: Rima Publishing House, p.48.

Arunachal Pradesh: Towns have evolved from the former villages and tribal centres. These villages were servicing the surrounding settlements and in due course of time it has become towns. Later on, the growth rate was mainly because of the administrative expansion.

Assam: The growth rate in Assam, before Independence, was mainly because of an influx of immigrants. Later, immigrants became a determining factor in the elections and, hence their stay or deportation from the state has become a serious problem. The problem continues even now. These migrants can be identified or classified as (i) tea garden labourers, (ii) East Bengal immigrants or Mymensinghis, (iii) Nepali grazers, (iv) East Bengal displaced persons.[6]

Manipur and Nagaland : There has been a tendency for concentration of population in Imphal valley which provides ample opportunities for the development of the state capital and the other urban centres which develop as commercial centres. There has been a significant role of migration on the one hand and emergence of new towns on the other hand which result in a high growth rate of population. A similar situation is found in Nagaland, where the state capital of Kohima and Dimapur town, (a major centre for trade and commerce in the plain region of the state) support the growth of these settlements. Nagaland and Manipur do not suffer from the immigrant problem as much as Tripura and Assam do. It is because of the lesser job opportunities that immigrants would get from these states.

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6 Hussain, Majid. n.1, pp.54-55.

Meghalaya: The towns emerged around the capital of Shillong. At one point of time, Shillong was considered as the capital of Assam. Small village settlements came up around the capital and gradually evolved to become towns.

Mizoram : In the beginning, Mizoram experienced a low growth of population and of towns, but the state had experienced unexpected high growth rate in 1981 census and to a certain extent in 1991. The growth rate fell during 1961-71 due to political disturbance in Mizoram in 1966. During the disturbance many people had to leave Mizoram to seek shelter in other districts of Assam and the neighbouring state of Manipur. During this time many young people joined the underground movement resulting in the low growth rate. When the political crisis was over, people had come back and the regrouping of villages by the authorities took place so that government did not have to spend so much on infrastructure and in other distributional system of basic facilities and amenities. It is true that in the hilly areas, easy accessibility would always be difficult.[7]

Tripura : This state suffered from an acute shortage of labour and skilled persons among the tribals. The rulers had to promote immigration of skilled and educated Bengalis to run the administration and helped in establishing industries and other sectors of the economy. As a result, the decadal growth

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[7] Bareh, H. 1994. *Encyclopaedia of India*, vol.XXXI, Mizoram, New Delhi: Rima Publishing House.

rate of population had to be higher than the all India rate.[8] In the early and late 1950s,due to atrocities and brutalities on the non Muslim people in the erstwhile East Pakistan, a large number of people sneaked into the adjoining Indian bordering states including Tripura. The independent nation of Bangladesh came into being in 1971 and because of the Shimla Agreement, a large number of them went back to their native land. As a result the decadal growth rate which was higher during 1961-71 came down drastically in the next census decade of 1971-81.[9]

NORTH-EASTERN REGION (NER)

A close look at Table 3.1 reveals that there were a total of 64 towns, 101 towns and 68 towns (excluding Assam) and 183 towns in 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991, respectively in the NER.

Class-Wise Distribution of Number of Towns

Class-wise distribution of towns (Table 3.1) indicates that there was only one single class I town in 1961 while 3 towns were in class II. Interestingly, class III,IV and VI categories had almost equal number of towns being 11 each but as many as 28 towns (43 percent) were concentrated only in class V category.

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8 Chib, S.S. 1994. *Encyclopaedia of India*, vol. xx, Tripura, New Delhi: Rima Publishing House, pp.44-45.

9 Chib. n.7.

Table 3.1 Class-Wise Distribution of Number of Towns and Urban Population in Percentage, 1961-1991

State	Class	No. of towns	% of urban popula.	No. of towns	% of urban popula.	No. of towns	% of urban popula.	No. of towns	% of urban popula.
		1961		1971		1981		1991	
Arunachal Pradesh									
	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	IV	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	66.93
	V	-	-	1	36.2	5	90.4	5	33.05
	VI	-	-	3	63.8	1	9.6	-	-
	Total			**4**		**6**		**10**	
Assam									
	I	1	12.92	1	9.93	-	-	4	37.68
	II	1	7.50	4	19.61	-	-	4	11.60
	III	10	35.24	11	26.87	-	-	20	25.66
	IV	10	18.21	26	27.61	-	-	32	18.78
	V	21	20.84	24	13.88	-	-	15	4.52
	VI	11	5.28	8	2.09	-	-	12	1.75
	Total	**54**		**74**		**-**		**87**	
Manipur									
	I	-	-	1	75.4	1	15.62	1	40.11
	II	1	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
	III	-	-	-	-	2	16.68	3	18.02
	IV	-	-	-	-	4	14.80	5	14.85
	V	-	-	4	17.28	9	11.18	17	24.27
	VI	-	-	3	7.32	16	41.71	4	2.75
	Total	**1**		**8**		**32**		**30**	
Meghalaya									
	I	-	-	-	-	1	72.39	1	67.68
	II	1	59.06	1	59.57	-	-	-	-
	III	-	-	-	-	1	14.61	2	20.20
	IV	2	17.48	3	31.16	1	4.94	1	7.98
	V	2	14.20	1	6.06	1	2.52	3	4.04
	VI	1	9.25	1	3.31	3	5.11	-	-
	Total	**6**		**6**		**7**		**7**	

cont....

Mizoram								
	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	48.83
	II	-	-	-	-	1	61.16	-	-
	III	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	17.74
	IV	-	-	-	-	1	14.12	3	12.84
	V	-	-	-	-	4	24.7	5	10.0
	VI	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	10.54
	Total	-	-	-	-	**6**	-	**22**	
Nagaland									
	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	II	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	52.16
	III	-	-	1	41.8	2	55.91	2	22.01
	IV	-	-	2	58.7	2	25.17	3	17.60
	V	3	100	-	-	3	18.93	2	8.24
	VI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	**3**		**3**		**7**		**9**	
Tripura									
	I	-	-	-	-	1	58.60	1	37.31
	II	1	53.28	1	48.98	-	-	-	-
	III	-	-	-	-	1	9.22	4	27.54
	IV	1	12.86	4	43.35	4	23.06	7	25.08
	V	4	33.86	1	7.67	2	6.00	4	7.92
	VI	-	-	-	-	2	3.11	2	2.15
	Total	**6**		**6**		**10**		**18**	

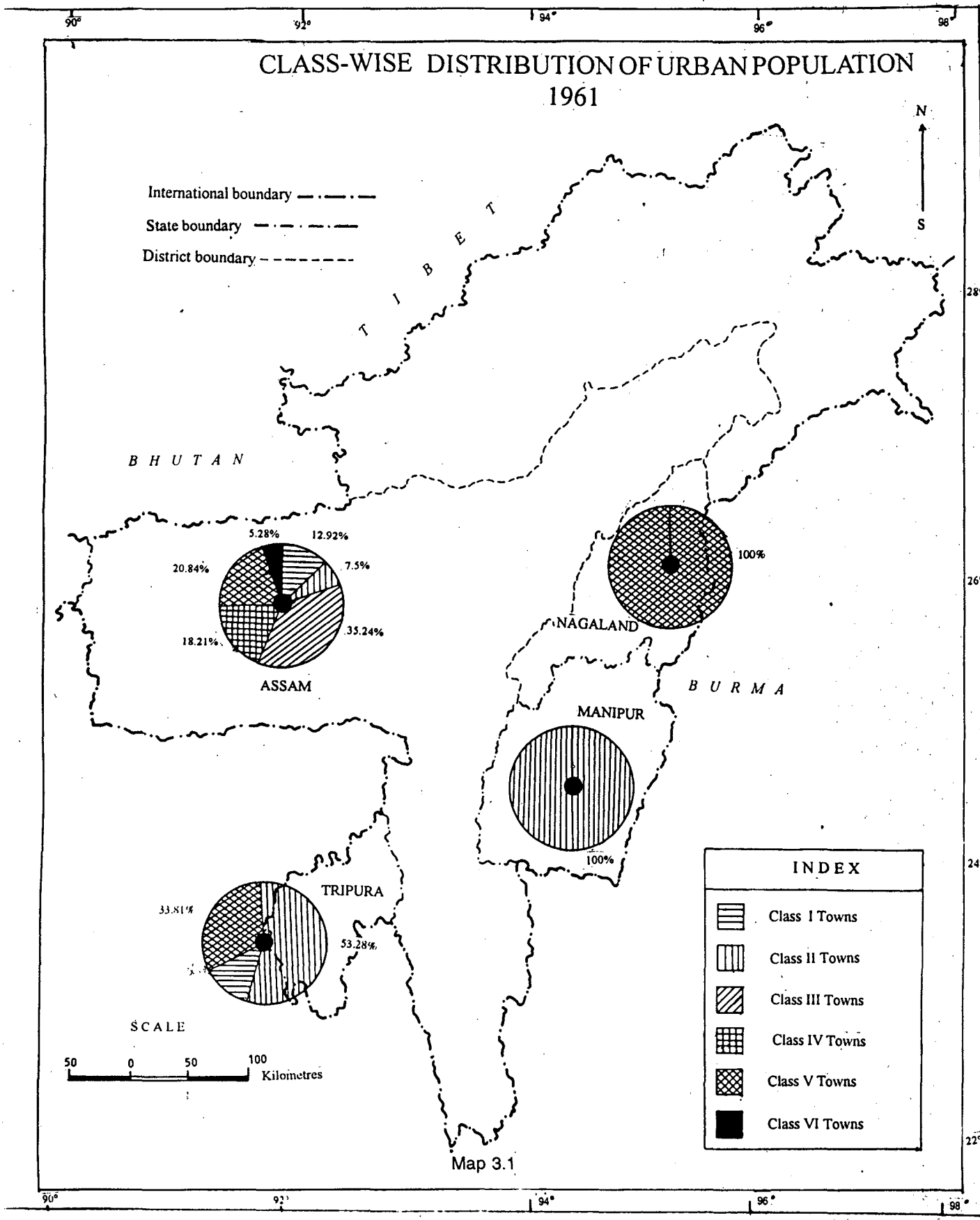
Source: Census of India 1961, Series 1, India, Part II-A(i), General Population Tables.
Census of India Series 1, India, Paper 1 of 1972, Final Population Tables.
Census of India 1991, Paper 2 of 1991, Provisional Population Tables; Urban Distribution pp. 387-91.

In 1971, 2 class I towns were observed while it became 5 class II towns from 3 towns in 1961. The maximum number of towns were in class IV and V category which had 65 percent of the total urban population (TUP). In the remaining class II and IV category, it is noticed that the number increased marginally though the percentage shared by them also marginally declined. The situation in 1981 is explained in the following sub-topic on **'North-East Region excluding Assam (NEREA)'** since Assam did not have census enumeration in 1981.

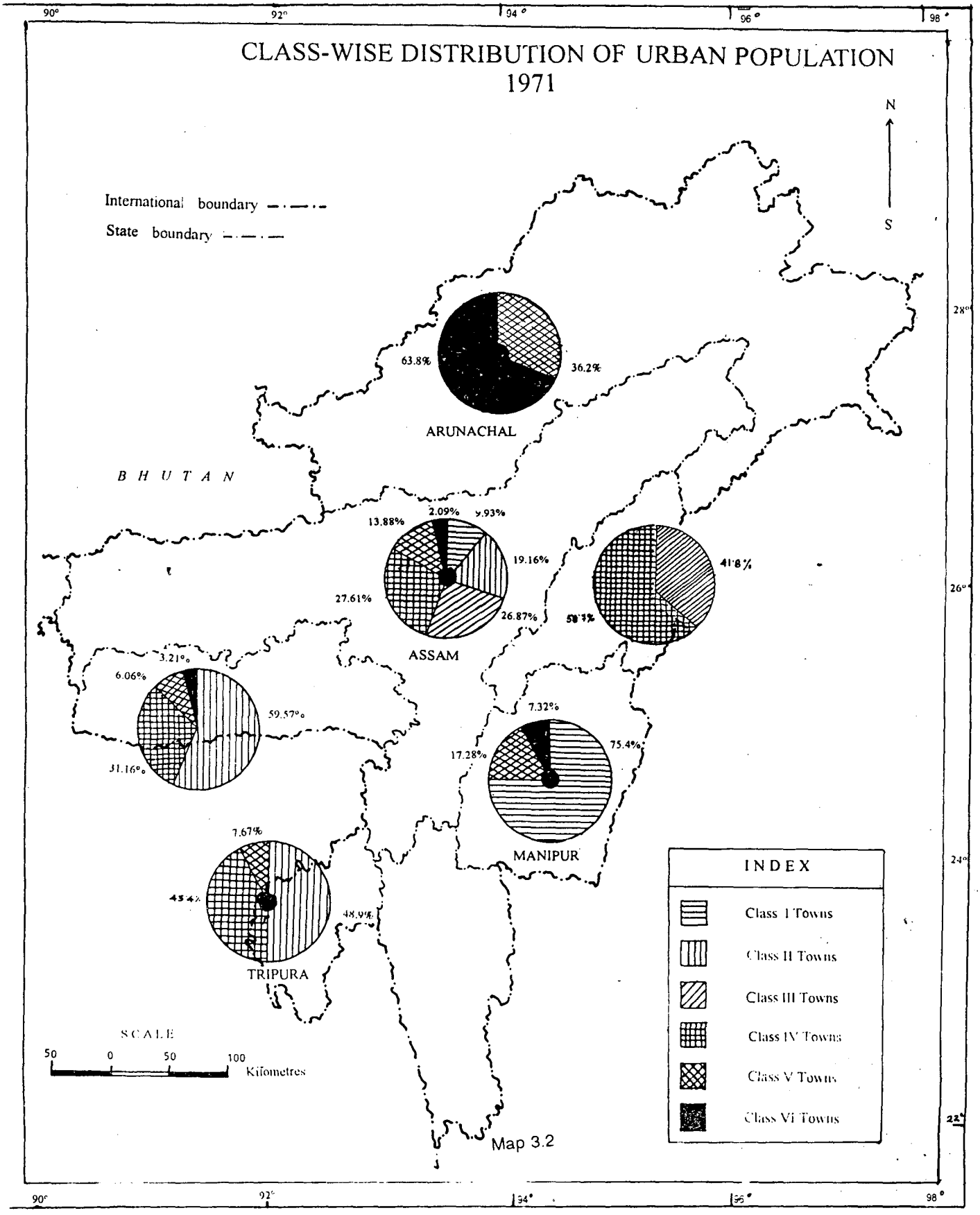
Similarly in 1991, the maximum number of towns were in class IV and V category which comprised 107 towns, which was about 58 percent of TUP in the NE region while class III and IV had 33 towns and 29 towns respectively. The number of class I and II towns also increased from 6 to 8.

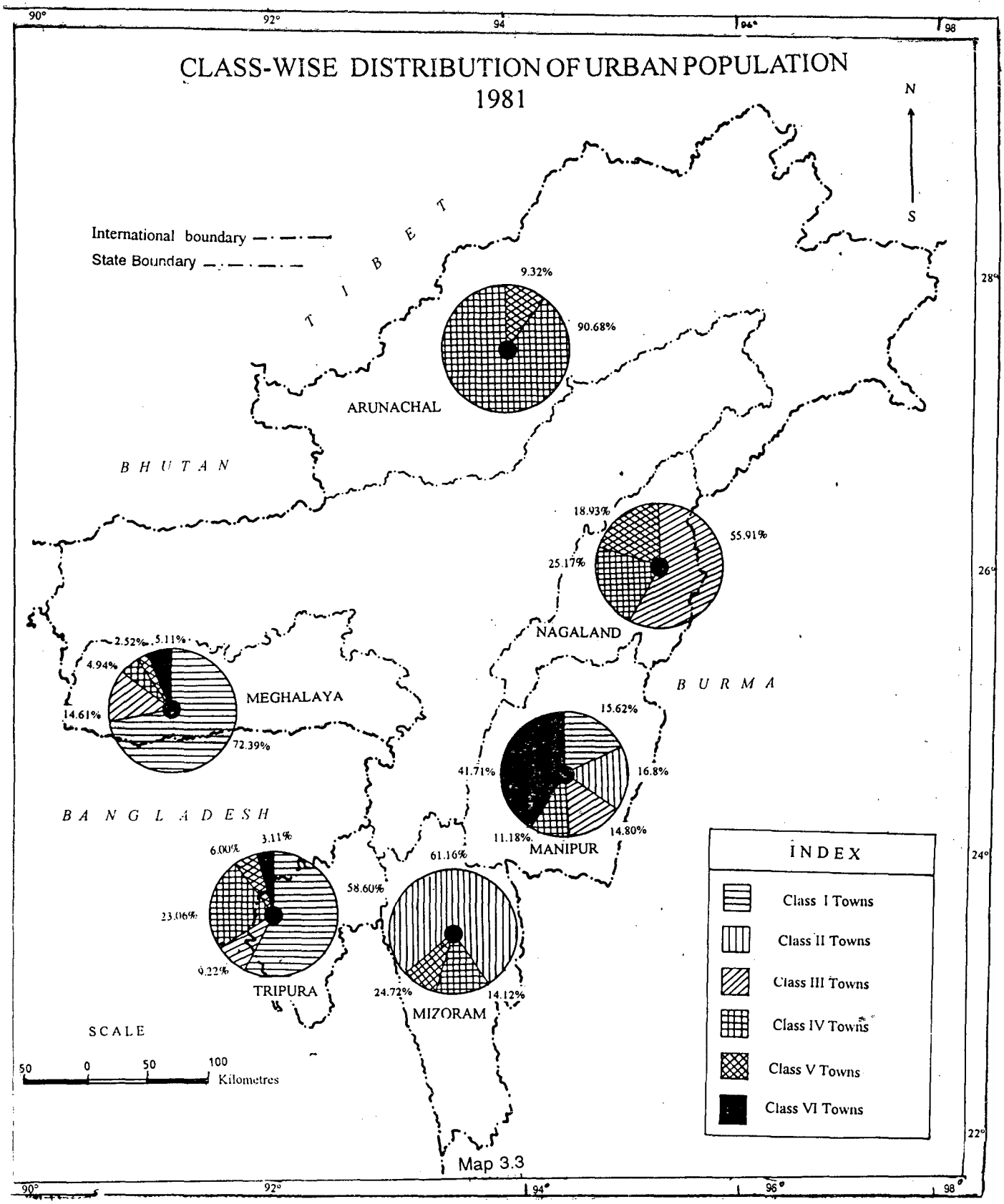
Maps 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 show the percentage distribution of towns in size-class category for each separate state from 1961 to 91. It is observed that in 1961, Nagaland's urban population was 100 percent in class V category while Manipur was in class II category, but in Tripura, the urban population was concentrated on class II towns, followed by class V towns and class I towns. On the other hand in Assam, the urban population was distributed in all the class sizes (map 3.1).

In 1971, Nagaland was having 100 percent urban population in class IV category. Arunachal Pradesh had 82.09 percent of TUP in class II. Assam had 28 percent of its urban population in class IV towns followed by 27 percent in class III towns. In Manipur 75 percent of TUP was in class I category while

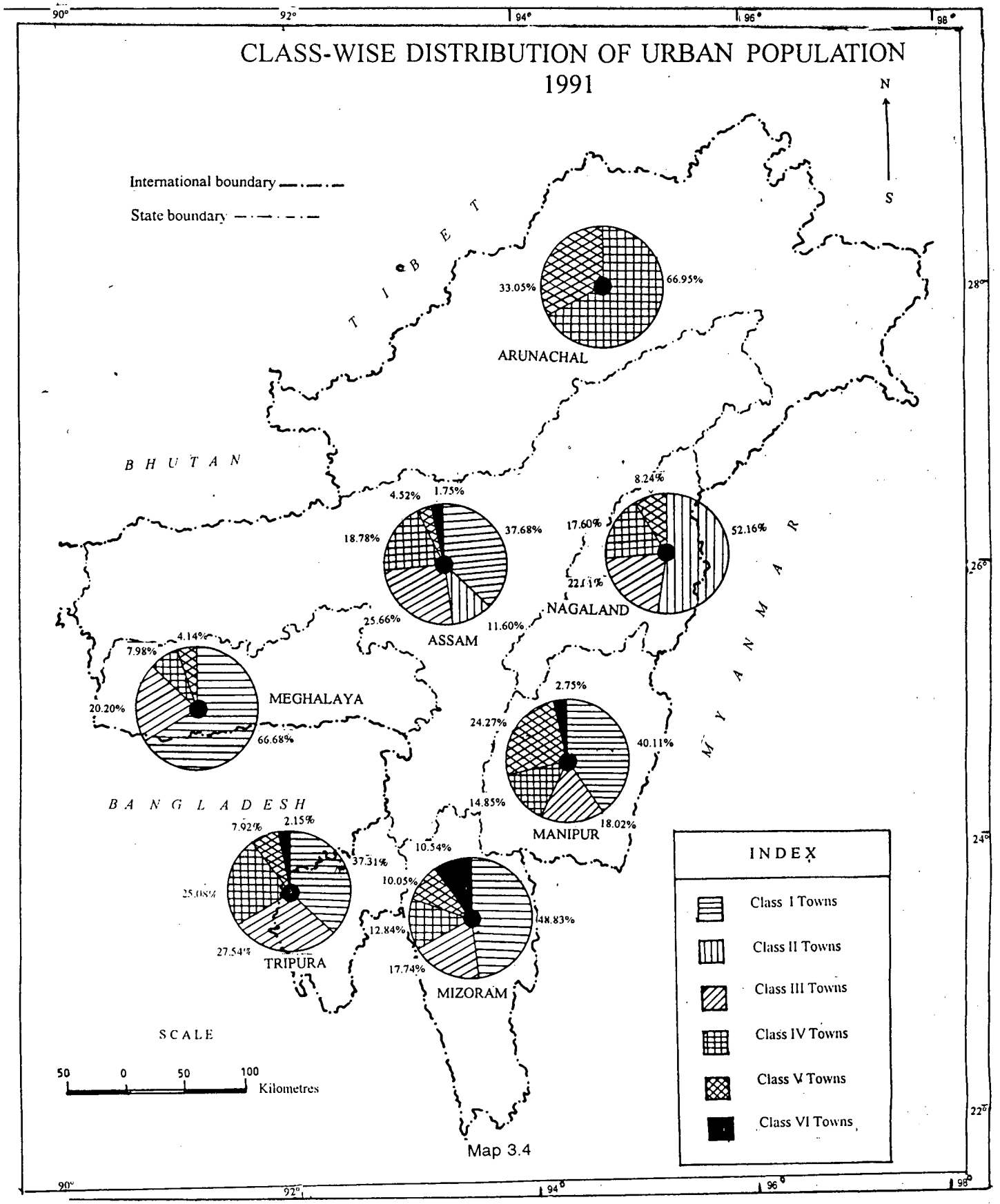

CLASS-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION
1961
International boundary
State boundary
District boundary
N
S
TIBET
BHUTAN
BURMA
5.28%
12.92%
20.84%
7.5%
18.21%
35.24%
ASSAM
100%
NAGALAND
MANIPUR
100%
TRIPURA
33.81%
53.28%
SCALE
50 0 50 100
Kilometres
INDEX
Class I Towns
Class II Towns
Class III Towns
Class IV Towns
Class V Towns
Class VI Towns
90°
92°
94°
96°
98°
28°
26°
24°
22°

Map 3.1


CLASS-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION
1971
N
S
International boundary
State boundary
90°
92°
94°
96°
98°
28°
26°
24°
22°
63.8%
36.2%
ARUNACHAL
B H U T A N
2.09%
9.93%
13.88%
19.16%
27.61%
26.87%
ASSAM
41.8%
3.21%
6.06%
59.57%
31.16%
7.32%
17.28%
75.4%
MANIPUR
7.67%
45.4%
48.9%
TRIPURA
SCALE
50 0 50 100
Kilometres
INDEX
Class I Towns
Class II Towns
Class III Towns
Class IV Towns
Class V Towns
Class VI Towns
Map 3.2


CLASS-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION
1981
N
S
International boundary
State Boundary
T I B E T
B H U T A N
B A N G L A D E S H
B U R M A
ARUNACHAL
9.32%
90.68%
NAGALAND
18.93%
55.91%
25.17%
MEGHALAYA
2.52%
5.11%
4.94%
14.61%
72.39%
MANIPUR
15.62%
41.71%
16.8%
11.18%
14.80%
TRIPURA
3.11%
6.00%
23.06%
9.22%
MIZORAM
61.16%
58.60%
24.72%
14.12%
INDEX
Class I Towns
Class II Towns
Class III Towns
Class IV Towns
Class V Towns
Class VI Towns
SCALE
50 0 50 100
Kilometres
90°
92°
94°
96°
98°
28°
26°
24°
22°

Map 3.3


CLASS-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION
1991
N
S
International boundary
State boundary
TIBET
BHUTAN
BANGLADESH
MYANMAR
ARUNACHAL
33.05%
66.95%
ASSAM
4.52%
1.75%
37.68%
18.78%
25.66%
11.60%
NAGALAND
8.24%
17.60%
52.16%
MEGHALAYA
7.98%
4.14%
20.20%
66.68%
MANIPUR
2.75%
24.27%
40.11%
14.85%
18.02%
TRIPURA
7.92%
2.15%
37.31%
25.08%
27.54%
MIZORAM
10.54%
10.05%
48.83%
12.84%
17.74%
INDEX
Class I Towns
Class II Towns
Class III Towns
Class IV Towns
Class V Towns
Class VI Towns
SCALE
50 0 50 100
Kilometres
90°
92°
94°
96°
98°
28°
26°
24°
22°

Map 3.4

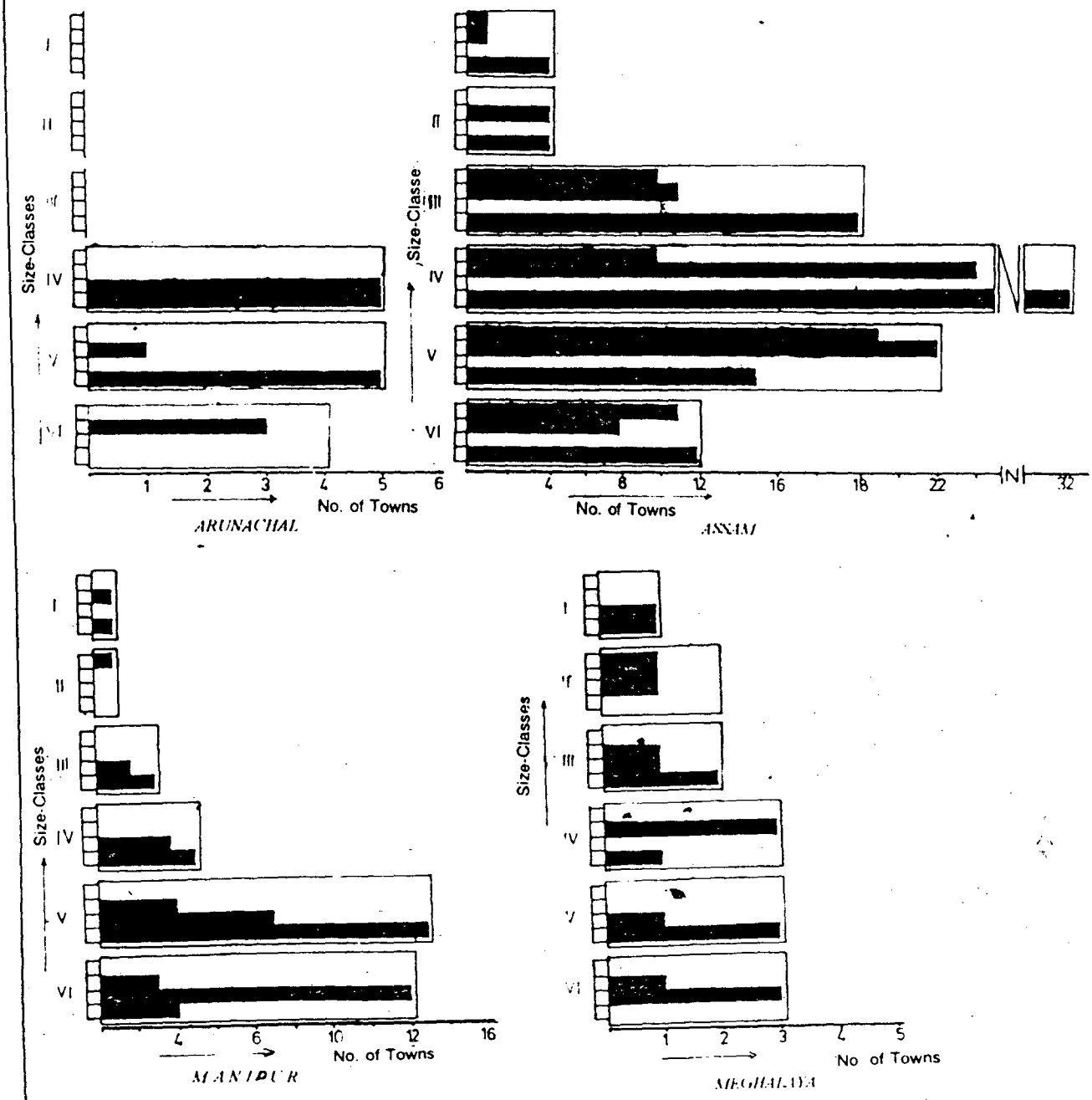
Meghalaya showed 59 percent in class I and 31 percent in class II (map 3.2). In Tripura only in three classes of II, IV and V categories could be observed. In the following decade (1981), each state's urban population was dominated by different class towns. In Arunachal Pradesh, 91 percent were in class IV category, Meghalaya had 72 percent under class I category and Tripura showed the predominance of class I category, Mizoram with class II category, but class VI category had dominated the urban population in Manipur (map 3.3). Finally, it is observed that class VI category gives very low share of urban population, present only in 3 states including Manipur, Meghayala respectively. In 1991 class VI towns were in Assam,Manipur, Mizoram and Tripura. The class I town and its share of urbanization of 40 percent and above was in Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya while Assam was above 38 percent. Arunachal Pradesh's urban population was dominated by its class IV towns whereas in Nagaland it was class II category (map 3.4).

Diagram I is a self-explanatory one which indicates the changing trend between 1961 to 91 in the number of towns in each class, I to VI. This is meticulously indicated for each of the states of the north-eastern region.

Class-Wise Growth Rate of Towns (NER)

The distribution of town growth by size class is shown from 1961-1991 in Map 3.5, 3.6, and 3.7 respectively and where only the common towns between 1961-71, 1971-81 and 1981-91 were considered. Table 3.2 shows class-wise Growth Rate 1961-91.

CLASS-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF TOWNS 1961-91



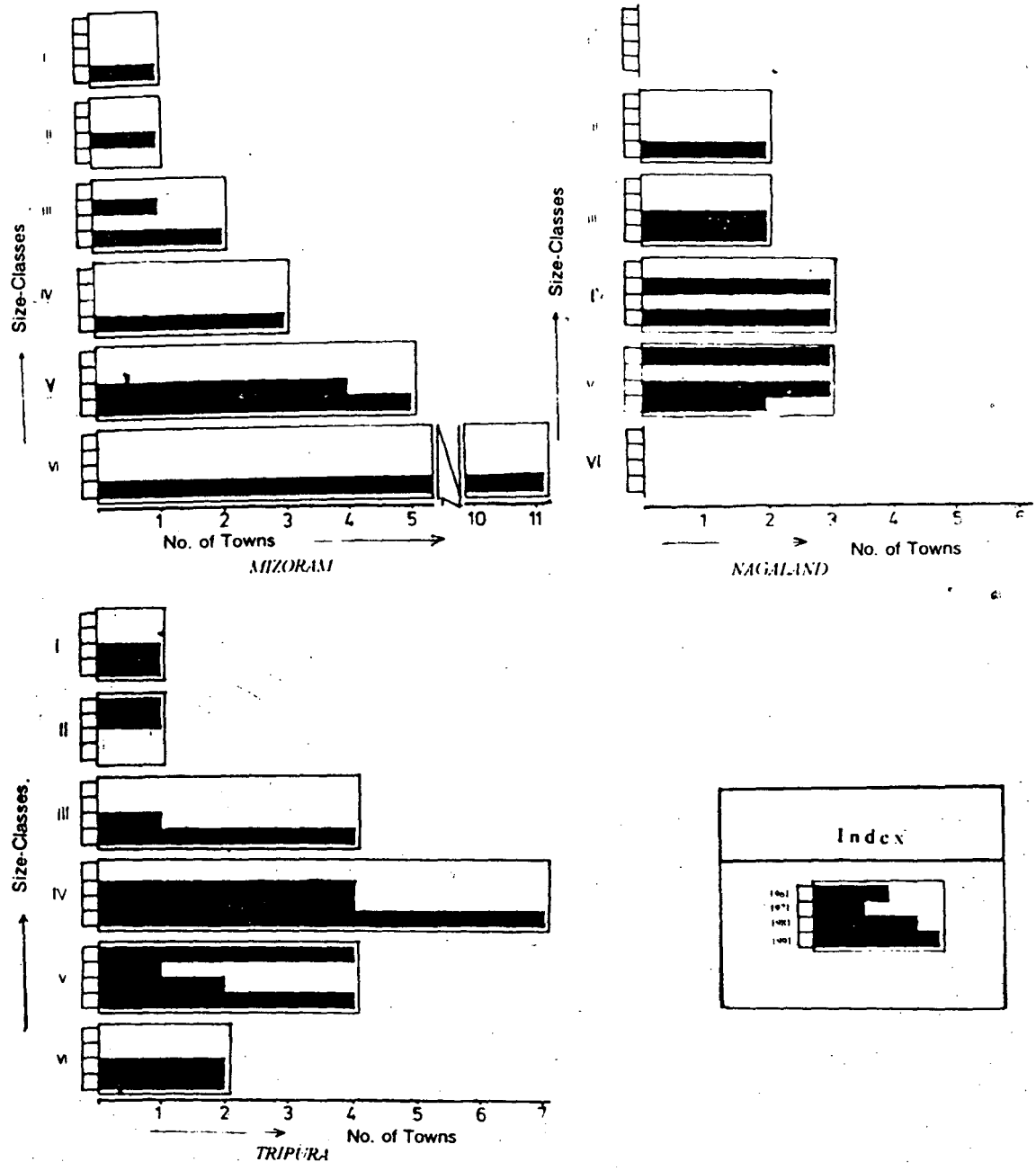

Size-Classes
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
1 2 3 4 5 10 11
No. of Towns
MIZORAM
Size-Classes
1 2 3 4 5
No. of Towns
NAGALAND
Size-Classes
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
No. of Towns
TRIPURA
Index

Diagram I

It is noticed that 84 percent of the towns were common between 1961-71. Assam is discussed later under the sub topic of **'Assam only'**. Manipur had only one town i.e. Imphal in class II category with a growth rate falling between 10 to 49.9 percent while Agartala was in class II but it was in 50-99.9 percentage of growth rate category and other three towns fell in class IV and V category in the low growth rate group (Map 3.5).

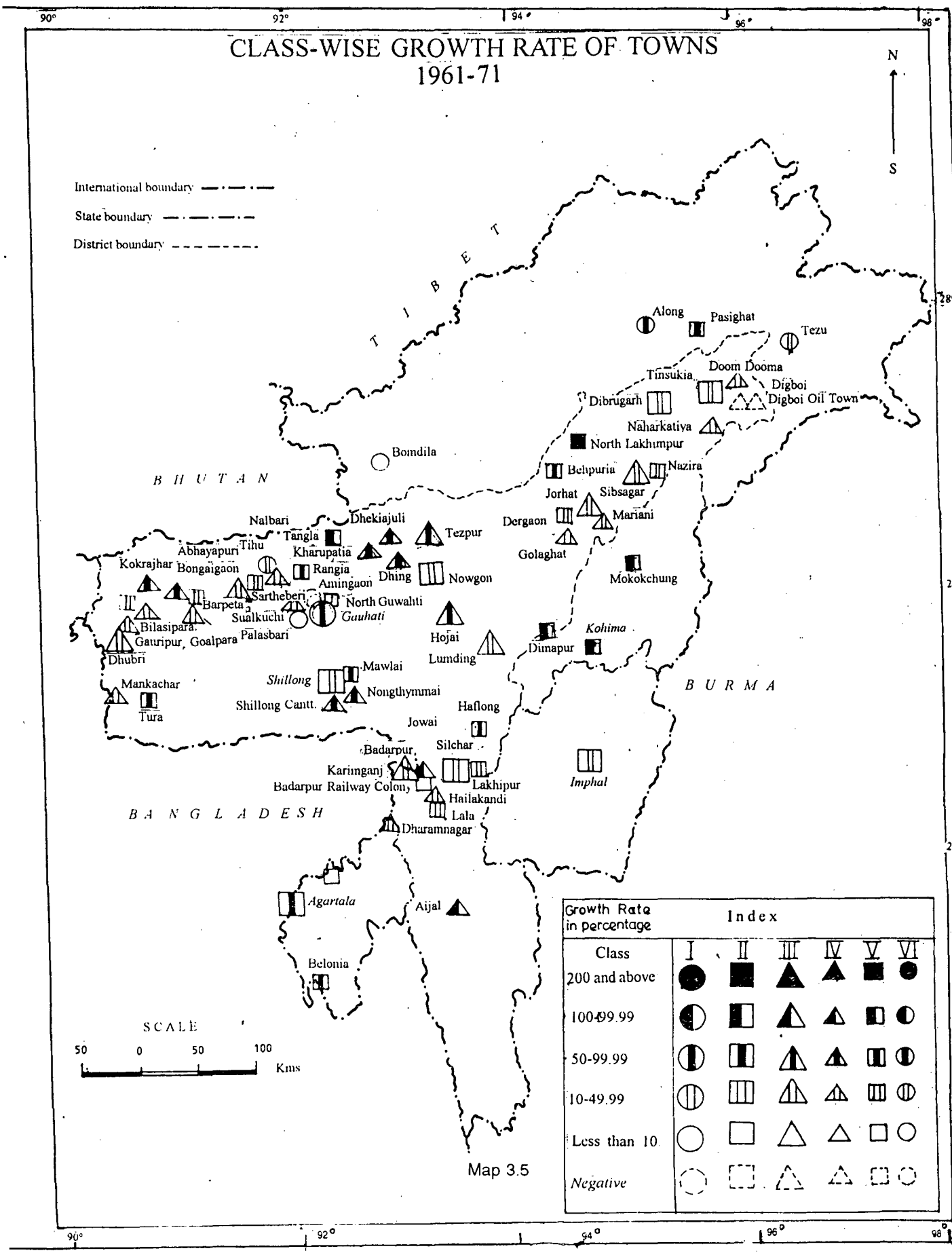
Between 1971-81, towns were seen concentrating around the state capital of Meghalaya i.e. Shillong, and in case of Manipur around Imphal city. Since Census was not held in Assam, growth rate of towns in that state could not be shown on the map. In Manipur mostly class IV category had high growth rate of 50-99.9 percent and 100-199.9 percent respectively. Similar pattern was observed in Arunachal Pradesh. In Tripura and Meghalaya, towns were all between 10-49.9 percent growth except one town (Tura) in Meghalaya. Arunachal had 4 towns of which Along and Pasighat had high growth rate but Tezu and Bomdila of class V and VI had low growth rate (Map 3.6).

Between the decades of 1971-91, most of the towns in Assam had low level of growth rate. It is also seen in all the other states except Mizoram. In Mizoram both class I and II category fell between 100-199.9 percent growth rate (Map 3.7).

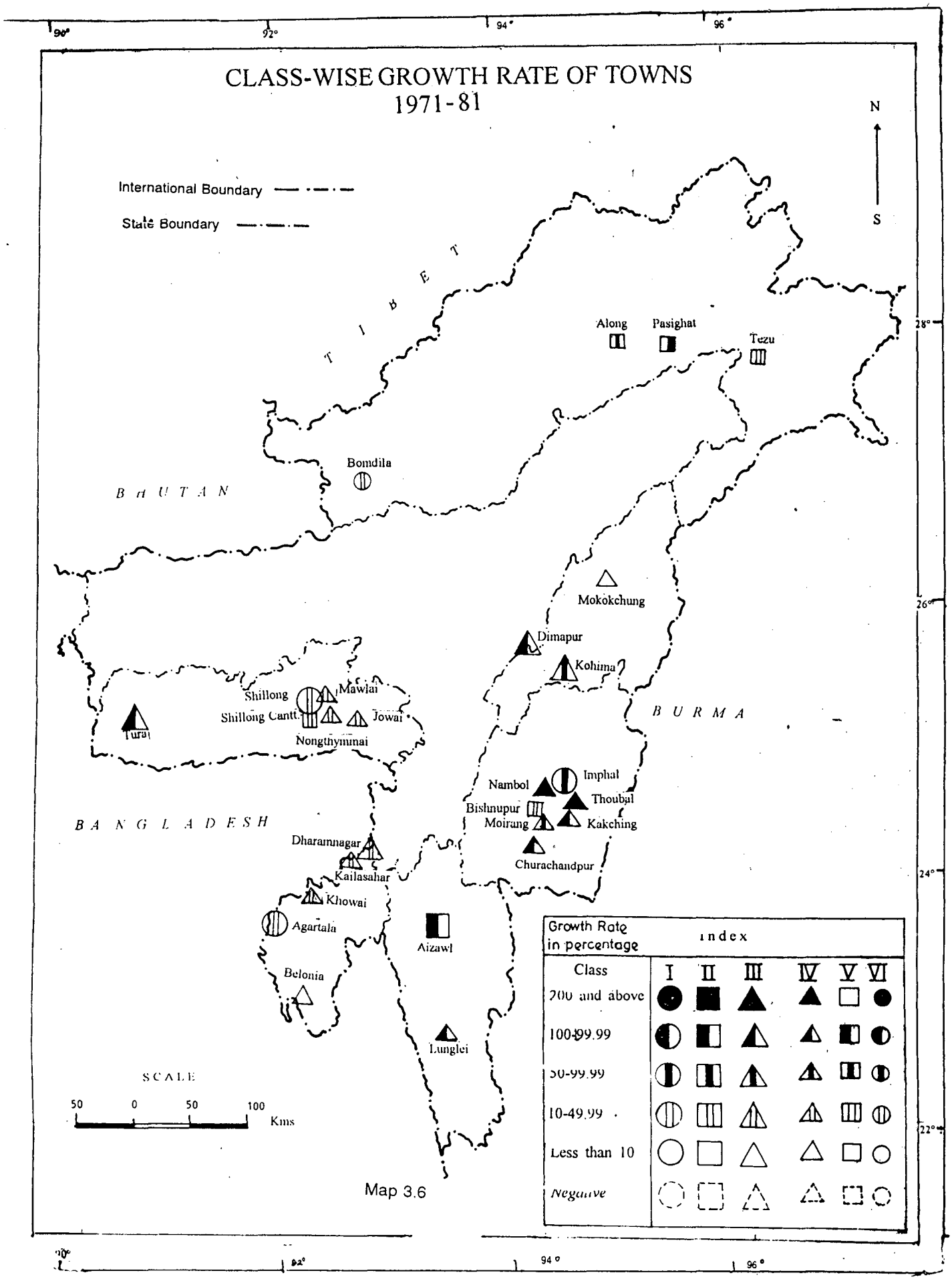
NORTH-EASTERN REGION EXCLUDING ASSAM (NEREA)

The distribution of towns in these 6 states depicts a different picture as

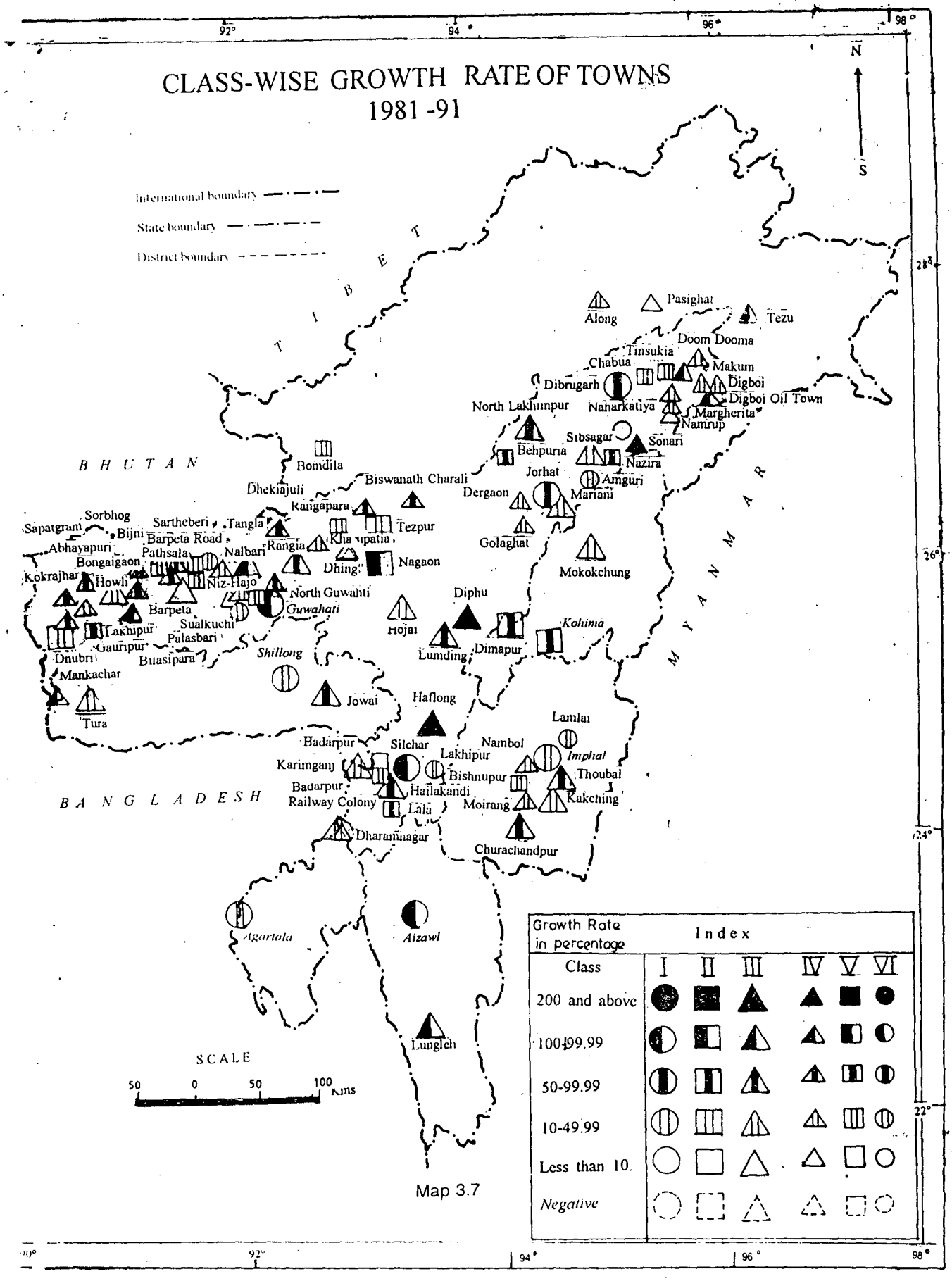
CLASS-WISE GROWTH RATE OF TOWNS 1961-71



Map 3.5


CLASS-WISE GROWTH RATE OF TOWNS
1971-81
N
S
International Boundary
State Boundary
T I B E T
B H U T A N
B A N G L A D E S H
B U R M A
Along
Pasighat
Tezu
Bomdila
Mokokchung
Dimapur
Kohima
Shillong
Shillong Cantt.
Mawlai
Jowai
Nongthymmai
Nambol
Imphal
Thoubal
Bishnupur
Moirang
Kakching
Churachandpur
Dharamnagar
Kailasahar
Khowai
Agartala
Belonia
Aizawl
Lunglei
SCALE
50 0 50 100
Kms
Growth Rate in percentage
Index
Class
I II III IV V VI
700 and above
100-99.99
50-99.99
10-49.99
Less than 10
Negative
90°
92°
94°
96°
28°
26°
24°
22°

Map 3.6


CLASS-WISE GROWTH RATE OF TOWNS
1981 -91
International boundary
State boundary
District boundary
N
S
TIBET
BHUTAN
BANGLADESH
MYANMAR
Along
Pasighat
Tezu
Doom Dooma
Tinsukia
Chabua
Makum
Dibrugarh
Digboi
Digboi Oil Town
North Lakhimpur
Naharkatiya
Margherita
Namrup
Sibsagar
Sonari
Behpuria
Nazira
Jorhat
Amguri
Mariani
Dergaon
Golaghat
Mokokchung
Bomdila
Biswanath Charali
Dhekiajuli
Kangapara
Tezpur
Sapatgram
Sorbhog
Bijni
Sartheberi
Tangla
Barpeta Road
Rangia
Nalbari
Pathsala
Abhayapuri
Bongaigaon
Kokrajhar
Howli
Dhing
Nagaon
Niz-Hajo
North Guwahti
Guwahati
Barpeta
Diphu
Hojai
Kohima
Lumding
Dimapur
Takhipur
Gauripur
Dhubri
Mankachar
Tura
Shillong
Jowai
Haflong
Lamlai
Badarpur
Silchar
Nambol
Imphal
Karimganj
Lakhipur
Bishnupur
Thoubal
Badarpur
Railway Colony
Hailakandi
Lala
Moirang
Kakching
Dharamnagar
Churachandpur
Agartala
Aizawl
Lunglei
SCALE
50 0 50 100 Kms
Growth Rate in percentage
Index
Class
I II III IV V VI
200 and above
100-199.99
50-99.99
10-49.99
Less than 10.
Negative
92°
94°
96°
98°
28°
26°
24°
22°

Map 3.7

compared to NER as a whole. There is not such a wide variation in their number of towns. It is noticed that either settlements are located and polarised in small basin areas or dispersed sparsely over the hilly tracts.

Class-Wise Distribution of Number of Towns

The total number of towns in the six states was hardly 9/10 towns in 1961, 27 towns in 1971, 68 towns in 1981 and 96 towns in 1991 respectively.

Table 3.1 shows that there were two towns in class II category, 7 towns in class V category and one town in class IV category in 1961. But, in 1971 the number of towns in class IV rose to 10 towns, one town each in class I, II and II category while 7 towns each in class V and VI category respectively. In 1981, it increased its number of towns in class IV, V, and VI category where nearly 96 percent of towns were in the above three category of classes. In the class V and VI category almost equal number of towns (20 towns each) could be observed. Lastly, in 1991 the total number of towns rose to 96 which was more than 50 percent of the north-east region. Of these, only 4 class I towns and two class II towns could be observed while the maximum number of towns occurred in class V category followed by classes IV and VI category respectively.

Table 3.1 shows that in Arunachal Pradesh between class I to III, not a single town appeared from 1971 to 91 but in class IV category in the year 1981 and 91 there were 5 towns each while another 5 towns in class V category

in 1991. In Manipur the number of towns increased in all the classes except in class VI and class I category. The class VI towns have shown fluctuation in the number of towns. In Meghalaya one town in class I in 1981 and 91 while in class I one town continued from 1981 to 91. The class III towns seem to remain static between 1961 to 81. Towns increase in all the class sizes except in class IV when 3 towns reduced to 1 in 1991 from 1971. In case of Mizoram it was very peculiar that towns were increasing in class IV, V and VI category. In 1991 there was an increase of 11 towns in class VI category from 1981. In Nagaland there is neither class I town nor class VI towns. Only in class V category in 1991, it reduced its number of towns. Lastly Tripura shows a very fluctuating picture.

Class-Wise Growth Rate (NEREA)

Maps 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 show the distribution of urban population in each size of class. This has been explained in the above discussion in the sub-topic **'NER as a whole'**. Diagram 1 shows the number of towns increase in the same size-class from 1961-91.

Towns Remaining Static or Moving to Higher or Lower Size-Class

In Table 3.3, it is observed that in 1961-71, there were 10 towns, of which, 3 towns remainied immobile in class II,IV and V category respectively. In the next decade of 1971-81 there were 10 towns which were static at their

own position. Most of the towns are in class IV and V category. Interestingly, not a single town appeared in class II and III category. There was one town in class I and 2 in class IV category which remained static.

But, between 1981-91 decade, the situation in the number of towns became different since the number of towns had increased in all the six states. Therefore, there were 27 common towns remaining static.

Towns Moved Upward

In case of towns which moved upward in 1961-71, only 7 towns moved to the higher classes. Of these, one class II town moved to class I while 6 class V towns shifted its position to class IV category. In the period between 1971-81, it is reflecting a somewhat different pattern of movement where 5 class VI towns moved to class IV and V category, i.e. 3 towns to class V and 2 towns to class IV category. There 4 towns each moved to the adjacent class from class IV and V respectively. While 1 class I and 2 class II towns moved to the subsequent higher class, a similar situation emerged between the decade of 1981-91, but only the number increased i.e. 32 towns (Table 3.3).

Table 3.2 Class-Wise Growth Rate, 1961-1991

Class	Arunachal Pradesh			Assam			Manipur			Meghalaya		
	1961-71	71-81	81-91	1961-71	71-81	81-91	1961-71	71-81	81-91	1961-71	71-81	81-91
I	-	-	-	22.91	-	363.18	100.00	56.05	28.09	-	42.32	27.23
II	-	-	-	317.91	-	-8.61	-100.00	-	-	21.01	-	-
III	-	-	-	21.93	-	136.03	-	-	116.47	-	-	88.30
IV	-	-	-	142.46	-	46.31	-	-	40.57	113.94	-16.57	104.00
V	-	634.32	-5.53	6.48	-	-30.39	-	99.65	95.29	-48.79	-31.72	130.49
VI	107.93	-68.29	-	-36.60	-	66.89	-	501.65	-76.25	-58.32	-	-

	Mizoram			Nagaland			Tripura		
	1961-71	71-81	81-91	1961-71	71-81	81-91	1961-71	71-81	81-91
I	-	-	107.19	-	-	-	-	31.84	19.25
II	-	134.7	-	-	-	-	8.65	-	-
III	-	-	-	-	211.99	-32.15	-	-	455.63
IV	-	185.84	137.19	-	1.98	23.21	298.47	-1.40	98.61
V	-	400.35	6.14	-100	-	-24.56	-73.23	44.89	146.61
VI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28.96

Note: This figures of the Growth Rate of classes have been calculated from the following sources

Source: Census of India 1961, Series 1, India, Part II-A(i), General Population Tables.
Census of India Series 1, India, Paper 1 of 1972, Final Population Tables.
Census of India 1991, Paper 2 of 1991, Provisional Population Tables; Urban Distribution pp. 387-91.

Table 3.3 contd...

	Arunachal Pradesh			Assam			Manipur			Meghalaya		
	1961-71	71-81	81-91	1961-71	71-81	81-91	1961-71	71-81	81-91	1961-71	71-81	81-91
Towns remaining as same classes												
I	0	0	0	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1
II	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
III	-	-	-	7	-	6	-	-	2	-	-	1
IV	-	-	-	8	-	13	-	-	3	-	-	-
V	-	1	-	6	-	8	-	-	6	-	-	1
VI	-	1	-	4	-	5	-	1	4	-	-	-
Total	-	**2**	-	**26**	-	**35**	-	**2**	**16**	-	-	**3**
Movement of towns to higher classes												
I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
II	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	1	-
III	-	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
IV	-	-	-	3	-	12	-	-	1	-	1	1
V	-	-	3	14	-	13	-	2	2	-	-	-
VI	1	2	1	7	-	3	-	2	5	-	1	3
Total	**1**	**2**	**4**	**27**	-	**33**	**1**	**4**	**8**	-	**3**	**4**
Movement of towns to lower classes												
I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IV	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
V	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
VI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	-	-	-	**1**	-	**1**	-	**1**	-	-	-	-

	Mizoram			Nagaland			Tripura		
	1961-71	71-81	81-91	1961-71	71-81	81-91	1961-71	71-81	81-91
Towns remaining as same classes									
I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
II	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
IV	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	4
V	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
VI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	-	-	-	-	**1**	-	**3**	**2**	**8**

	Arunachal Pradesh			Assam			Manipur			Meghalaya		
	1961-71	71-81	81-91	1961-71	71-81	81-91	1961-71	71-81	81-91	1961-71	71-81	81-91
Movement of towns to higher classes												
I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
II	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-				
III	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-			
IV	-	-	3	-	2	2	-	-	-			
V	-	1	4	3	-	3	3	3	-			
VI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
Total	-	2	8	3	2	7	3	3	-			
Movement of towns to lower classes												
I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
IV	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
VI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			

Note: This figures have been derived from the following source.

Source:These figures have been derived from the census of India 1961, Series 1, India, Part II-A(i), General Population Tables. Census of India Series 1, India, Paper 1 of 1972, Final Population Tables. Census of India 1991, Paper 2 of 1991, Provisional Population Tables; Urban Distribution pp. 387-91.

Towns Moved Downward

It is observed that in 1961 only one town in class III, 2 towns in class IV and one town in class I moved down to their respective subsequent classes.

ASSAM (ONLY)

Table 3.1 shows the distribution of number of towns and the proportion of urban population in percentage terms into six size-classes for the years 1961, 71, 81 and 91 respectively while Diagram I and Maps 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 show the increase in the number of towns in each size-class category and class-wise distribution of urban population in percentage from 1961-91.

Distribution of Towns and Urban Population by Size-Class

There were 54 (54 + 6 in Meghalaya) towns in Assam with a population of 913,028 persons in 1961, 74 towns (1,326,981 persons) in 1971 and 87 towns (2,070,888 persons) in 1991 respectively.

Table 3.1 shows that in 1961, there were two towns each in class I and II category having 12.9 percent and 7.5 percent of the total urban population while 10 towns each in class III and IV category making 35 percent and 18 percent of urban population. The maximum number of towns (21) were in class V category though its share in the state's urban population was only 20 percent. Finally, 11 towns (24 percent) were in class VI category having 5.31 percent of the total urban population.

It is noticed that in 1971 a somewhat different picture emerged when the maximum number of towns was observed in class IV category. The class IV and V category had shared 50 towns (67.6 percent) whereas it had 41 percent of the total urban population (TUP). It tapers down to 11 towns (26.9 percent of TUP) and 8 towns (2.1 percent of TUP), 4 towns (19.6 percent of TUP), and 1 town (9.9 percent of TUP) in class III, VI, II and I category respectively.

In 1991, the situation is more or less the same as far as the percentage distribution of towns is concerned except a few towns increased in class I, III and VI category. Both the class I and II category had 4 towns each where 37.7 percent and 11.6 percent of TUP. It is noticed that 52 towns were in class III and IV category having 25.7 and 18.8 percent of TUP respectively. Similarly the rest of the towns were in class V and VI which had 4.5 and 1.8 percent of TUP.

Diagram I clearly shows that the number of towns increased in all the classes I to IV category, but in class V and VI, their number fluctuated over time. It is also observed that in class V category there is a marginal increase from 1961 to 71 and in the next decade i.e. 1971-81 it drops down at the rate of 37.5 percent. Similarly there is a decrease in the number of class VI towns from 1961 to 71 but then, there is a net addition of four towns between 1971 to 91.

Growth of Towns by Size-Class (ASSAM only)

Table 3.2 shows classwise growth rates, while Map 3.5, 3.6, 3.7 and 3.8 show the spatial distribution of growth of towns between 1961 to 91 respectively. From the Table, it is observed that in Assam during 1961-71, the highest growth rate of 317.9 percent was recorded for class II category towns followed by 142.5 percent for class IV, 22.9 percent for class I and 21.9 percent for class III respectively. The lowest positive growth rate of 6.5 percent took place in class V towns while there was a negative growth rate of 36.6 percent in class VI category towns. This negative growth rate could be explained by the fact that a number of towns must have moved from class VI category to higher category and a fewer towns joined this category as new towns.

Between 1971-91, a period of 20 years, Assam experienced another urban growth rate of 91.7 percent. The striking feature of this period was that class II and class V category towns experienced a negative growth rate. The highest growth rate of 363 percent was in class I followed by 136 percent and 66 percent in class III and class VI category respectively. The lowest of growth rate of 46 percent was observed in class IV category. It shows that towns did not grow at a fast rate. In this regard it is noteworthy that while there was a net increase in the number of towns in Assam, Mizo District became a separate state.

From Map 3.5, it is observed that in 1961-71 in the upper western part of Assam, nearly 18/19 percent of towns in class IV category experienced a

growth rate of 49.9 percent followed by 8/9 percent of total towns of Assam in this category, but with a growth rate between 50-99.9 percent. In the upper eastern part of Assam, class II towns of Dibrugarh and Tinsukia had a growth rate between 10-49.9 percent. Only one town, North Lakhimpur of class V category with an extremely high growth rate was seen. Three towns had experienced negative growth rate, one in the middle western part of Assam, namely Amingaon in class VI category and the other two towns were in the upper extreme east corner of Assam, viz. Digboi and Digboi oil town. Besides one town in class VI category had a growth rate of less than 10 percent.

Map 3.7 presents a different picture of spatial distribution of the growth of towns during the 1971-91 periods. It may be explained by the fact that there had been an increase in the number of towns. Five towns are observed having less than 10 percent growth. Nearly 44 percent of towns were falling under the medium category of 50-99.9 percent.

In the extreme western tract, adjoining West Bengal, towns are generally showed between 50-99.9 percent growth rate. Towns away from Gauhati city towards the west are mainly in class IV and V category having a low growth rate between 10-49.9 percent. Diphu and Haflong town in class III had more than 200 percent growth rate. Diphu town is close to Dimapur (Nagaland) where commercial activities are fast growing. Class I towns of Gauhati and Silchar, had exhibited a high growth rate between 100-199.9 percent while Silchar and Jorhat had their growth rate between 50-99.9

percent.

From the above discussion, it is observed that

(1) Towns have a low growth rate in class IV, V and VI category, between 10-49.9 percent.

(2) In the central part of Assam towards Nagaland towns are sparsely distributed and their growth rates are also low.

(3) Maximum urban population is confined in class III, IV and V in 1961 and 1971 but in 1991, maximum population is in class I, III and IV respectively.

Towns Remaining Static or Moving to Higher or Lower Size-Classes

Table 3.3 shows that between 1961-71, 26 towns remained stationary whereas 28 towns moved from one class to another. Of these 28 towns in 1961, 27 moved from a lower class to higher class category and one town moved from a higher class to a lower class category.

It is noticed that towns belonging to class V and VI category were much more mobile than the class III and IV category where 21 towns moved to the higher classes as compared to 3 towns each in class III and IV. Between 1971-91 25 towns remained static while 33 towns moved up from lower to higher classes. Similarly one town also moved down from class IV to class V. During this period maximum number of class IV and V category towns moved up. Of these, 12 class IV towns made headway to class III while 13 class V towns

shifted to class IV and III category. In the class VI category only 3 towns changed their position to class V and Class IV respectively. Interestingly, 2 towns in class II category creeped into class I while 3 towns from class III category made a headway towards class II category.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the distributional pattern and towns' growth from 1961-91. A composite picture on the growth of towns in the north-east region as a whole gives a highly skewed and biased distributional pattern and growth of towns because Assam shared more than 90 percent of total number of towns in 1961-71 and around 70 percent in 1971-91 period, therefore Assam was separately discussed. Since 4 states of north-eastern states were carved out of Assam in the early 1960s and 1970s, it was noticed that their growth rates were high during the past 20 to 30 years only in these states.

Different factors operated for high or low growth rates of towns had also been discussed above in this chapter. It is understood that the states in the north-eastern region are economically and socially backward, whereas majority of the population is tribal, having their way of operation according to topographic nature, traditional outlook, multi- ethnic-cultural background which have certainly related to the nature of the growth of urban population. It is also seen that towns have concentrated in and around the states' capital in respective states except Arunachal Pradesh and Tripura where towns are

straggling. The concentration of towns in the plain areas resulted in high growth rates as well as increase in the number of urban places. The variation of urban growth exhibits the relative importance of location of towns (Maps showing distribution of growth of towns). Most of the towns in class IV, V and VI category have shown low growth rate of 10-49.9 percent whereas the class I,II and III towns have shown higher growth rate.

Chapter IV

EMERGENCE OF NEW TOWNS

Chapter IV

EMERGENCE OF NEW TOWNS

This chapter discusses the emergence of new towns in the North-East Region from 1961 to 1991. The emergence of towns and urban centres can be explained in a couple of ways since the factors that operated were different for different regions (States/Union Territories) and in different census years in India. Urban growth can be manipulated temporarily and spatially by several means.[1]

It may be noted here that net addition to urban population between any census in a geographical area (say, a state or a district) can be divided into three components, viz. (1) net increase in (or accretion to) the population of the already existing towns, (2) addition due to urban extension, i.e. addition due to classification as urban areas of settlement hitherto classified as rural areas. This extension can take place in either of two ways: a) extension around a core town in an urban agglomeration i.e., a new town can emerge as part of an urban agglomeration, or b) extension through the emergence of an isolated town, (3) the third component - a negative one due to declassification of urban areas i.e., due to the fact that settlement which were hitherto classified as

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[1] Barter, H.J. 1980. *The Soviet City*, London: Edward Arnold (Publication), p.57.

urban get classified and become rural areas.[2] A high degree of instability in the urban settlement pattern is generally associated with a high rate of emergence of towns or a high rate of declassification (or both) of isolated towns.[3] Since this study is based on census data, the chapter focuses on the pattern of emergence and distribution of new towns over the three decades from 1961-91 fulfilling the first or second or both criteria mentioned above. This exercise covers

i) the definition of new town

ii) the factors/reasons for emergence of new towns and problems

iii) the overall picture of the North-East Region (NER)

iv) North-East Region excluding Assam (NEREA), and

v) Assam only covering the following topics:

- Patterns of new towns
- Distribution of new towns
- Disappearance of certain new towns

Definition of New Town

The town definition had been changed from time to time, laid down by the census though since 1961 the census definition of town has been more or

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2 Nagaraj, K. 1987. Urbanization in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh - A Comparative Picture for 1961-81. In *Perspectives on Urbanization and Migration India and USSR*, ed. Manzoor Alam S. and Fatima Ali Khan, New Delhi: Allied Publishers, pp.303-367.

3 Ibid.

less the same till 1991. Prakash[4] mentions that new towns can be defined according to the following two criteria. They are (a) those places which have been developed as a town or city in a planned way by the government or its concerned agencies. There are three major components of such towns: (i) a conscious decision with regard to location, (ii) an authority, private or public, for preparation of a plan for the area, and (iii) a mechanism either to implement or to exercise a control over the execution of the plan. In India, Chandigarh, Bhubaneshwar and Bhilai are examples of this sort of towns. (b) Any settlement which fulfils the criteria fixed by the census for being regarded as urban and has a definite process of evolution from rural areas to a township.

Reasons for the Emergence of New Towns

The unprecedented increase in the urban centres in 1981 over the year 1961 and 1971 can be explained in terms of definitional factor, since the Notified Area Committees (NACs) were not included in the list of local self bodies that should automatically qualify as census town (as per the Registrar General's Instruction) in 1971.

The NACs identified as towns in 1981 constitute about ninety percent of the total new towns. One must, however, add that many of these settlements

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4 Prakash, Ved. 1969. *New Towns in India*, Detroit: Duke University, p.11.

were not NACs in 1971 and had acquired the status only during the seventies.[5]

The rural-urban migration seems to have a big boost in the seventies (compared to the sixties) as people in the backward regions have moved towards the big cities as well as to the small towns around them. A section of workforce pushed out of the rural economy has sought reabsorption in large-sized villages as well, which is responsible for the emergence of new towns.[6] There are two kinds of problems in the emergence of new towns that must be recognised and analysed empirically: (1) in some regions there are not many settlements large enough to qualify as urban centres, or to perform urban functions, (2) the economic base of the large sized rural settlements being weak and volatile, fail to attract industrial or tertiary activities. It must be mentioned that a number of settlements get declassified and reclassified as urban centres in each census, owing to the change in the non-agricultural employment in their male workforce.

EMERGENCE OF NEW TOWN IN THE NORTH-EASTERN REGION (NER)

It discusses briefly the overall picture of emergence of new towns in

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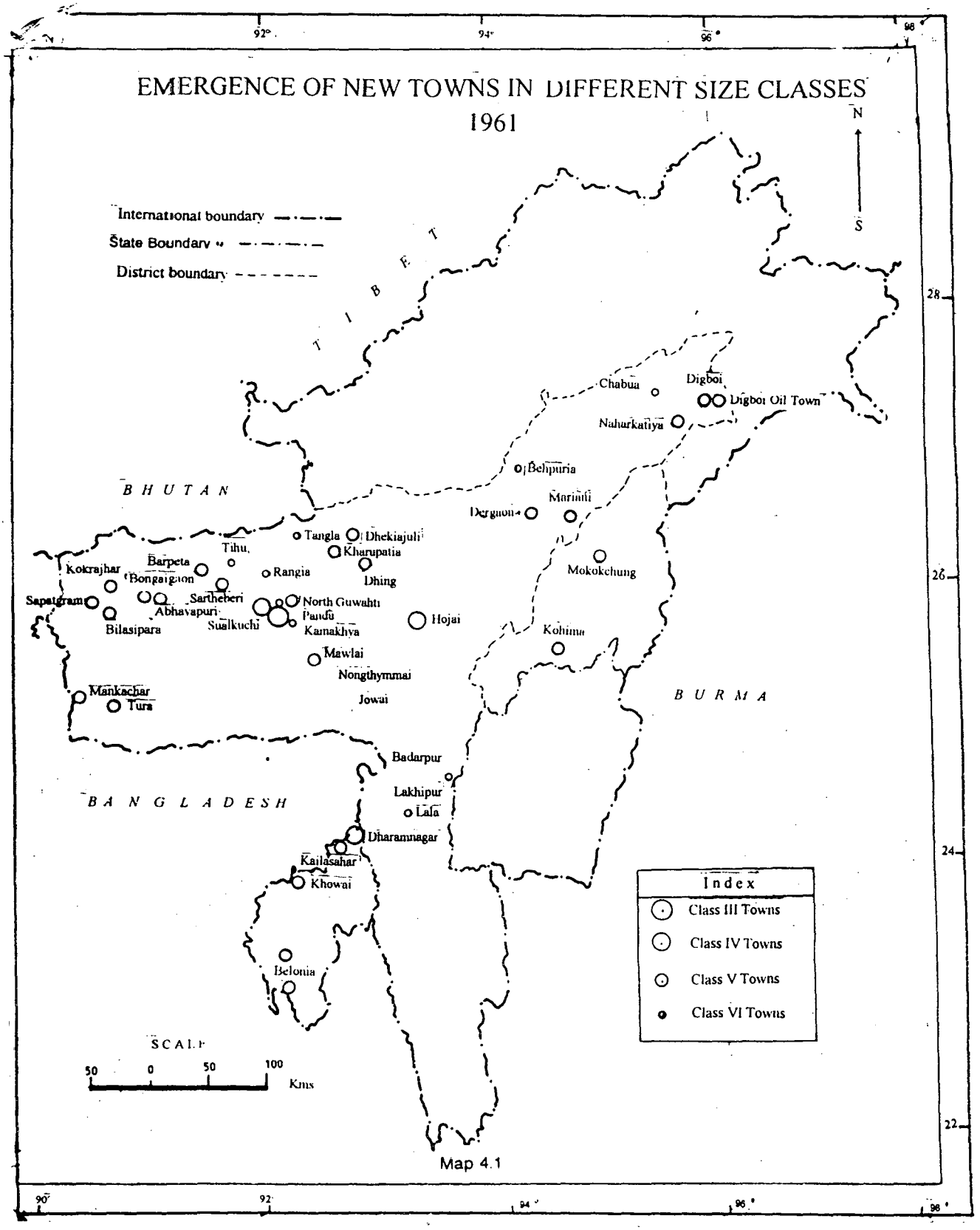
5 Kundu, Amitabh 1987. Urbanization and Organisation of Space: The Trends in the Indian Economy and Their Implications for Planning. In *Perspectives on Urbanization and Migration India and USSR*, ed. Manzoor Alam S. and Fatima Ali Khan, New Delhi: Allied Publishers, p.171.

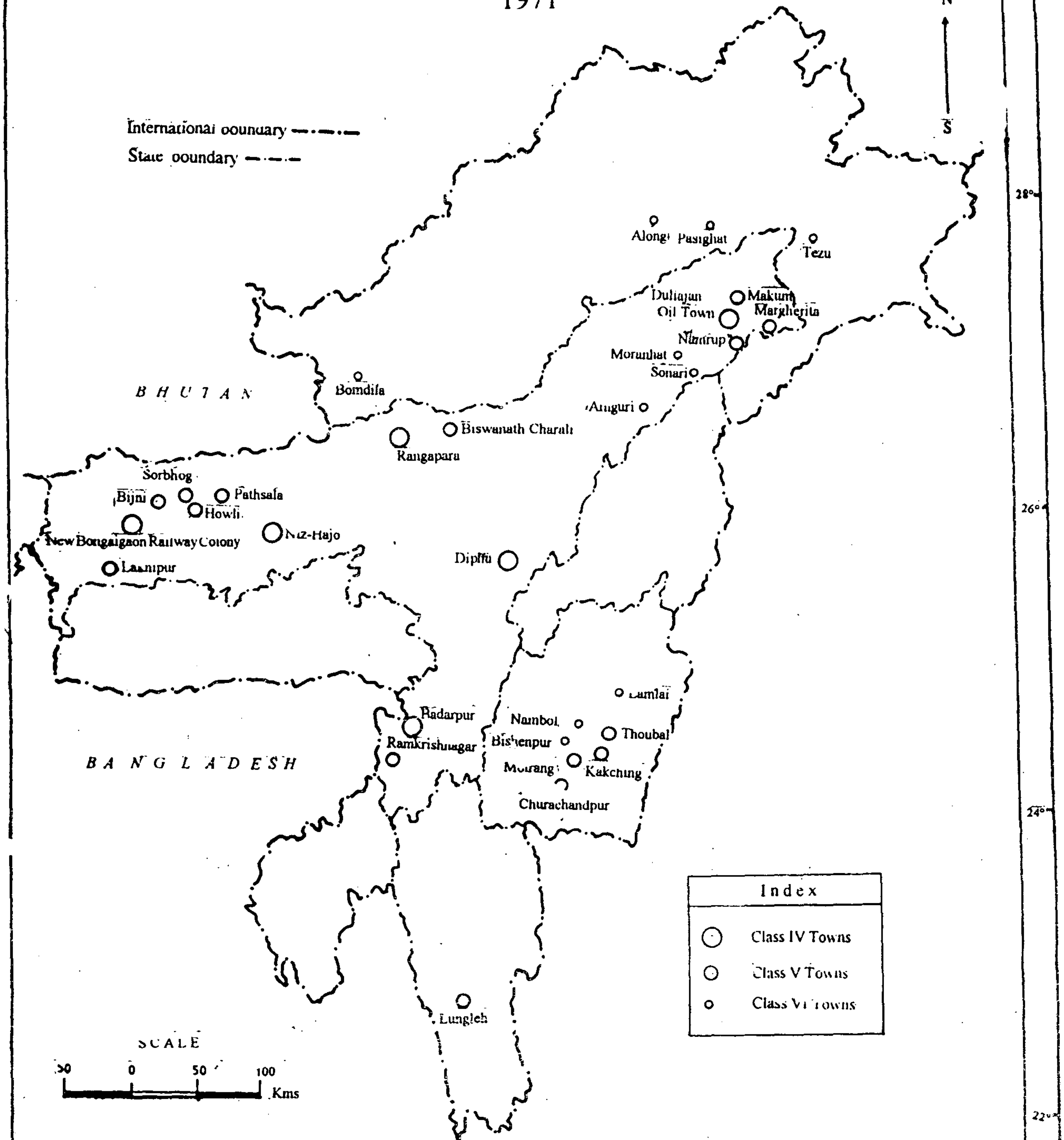
6 Ibid., p.173.

NER as a whole. Table 4.1 and 4.2 indicated the distribution of newly emerged towns and total number of newly emerged towns in the north-east region. A close inspection of the newly emerged towns indicates that 41 new towns emerged in 1961 in three states, namely Assam, Nagaland and Tripura. Of these Assam took its share of 34 new towns, 5 new towns were in Tripura and 2 towns in Nagaland. The total population of newly emerged towns stood at 334,777 persons of which Assam had a population of 274,747 persons, Nagaland 11,911 persons and Tripura 48,119 persons. In 1971, the total number of new towns in the entire region was 31, of which 19 new towns were found in Assam, 7 towns in Manipur, 4 towns in Arunachal Pradesh and one town in Meghalaya respectively. But, the rest 3 states (Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Meghalaya) experienced a sharp rise. The total population of newly emerged towns stood at 206,183, of which Assam had a population of 143,039, Arunachal Pradesh 17,288, Manipur 41,126 and Meghalaya 4,730. The variation among the states in the contribution of new urban centres to total urban growth ranges from zero percent in Nagaland to 100 percent in Arunachal Pradesh. The number of new towns rose to 53 (42 excluding Assam) in 1981 which included 11 towns of Assam, which was reported by Town Planning, Government of Assam. This time, the state of Manipur shared the maximum number of new towns (excluding Assam) and had a population of 113,483 persons which accounted for 30.23 percent of its total urban population. Arunachal Pradesh had a population of 14,116 persons for 2 new

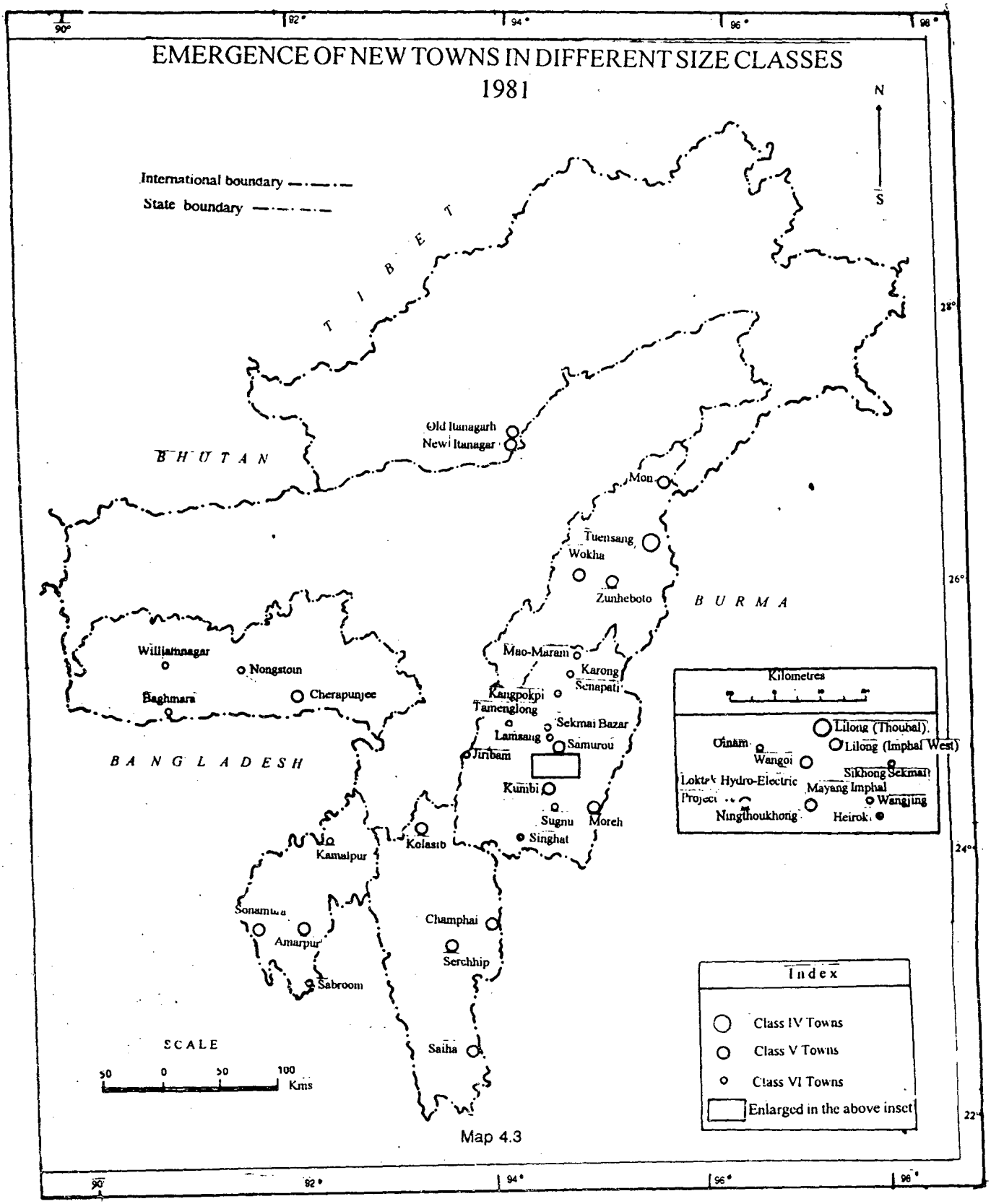

EMERGENCE OF NEW TOWNS IN DIFFERENT SIZE CLASSES
1961
International boundary
State Boundary
District boundary
N
S
TIBET
BHUTAN
BANGLADESH
BURMA
Chabua
Digboi
Digboi Oil Town
Naharkatiya
Belipuria
Marimli
Dergaon
Tangla
Dhekiajuli
Tihu
Kharupatia
Barpeta
Kokrajhar
Rangia
Dhing
Bongaigaon
Sapatgram
Sartheberi
North Guwahti
Abhayapuri
Pandu
Bilasipara
Sualkuchi
Kamakhya
Hojai
Mokokchung
Kohima
Mawlai
Nongthymmai
Jowai
Mankachar
Tura
Badarpur
Lakhipur
Lala
Dharamnagar
Kailasahar
Khowai
Belonia
Index
Class III Towns
Class IV Towns
Class V Towns
Class VI Towns
SCALE
50 0 50 100
Kms
90
92
94
96
98
28
26
24
22

Map 4.1

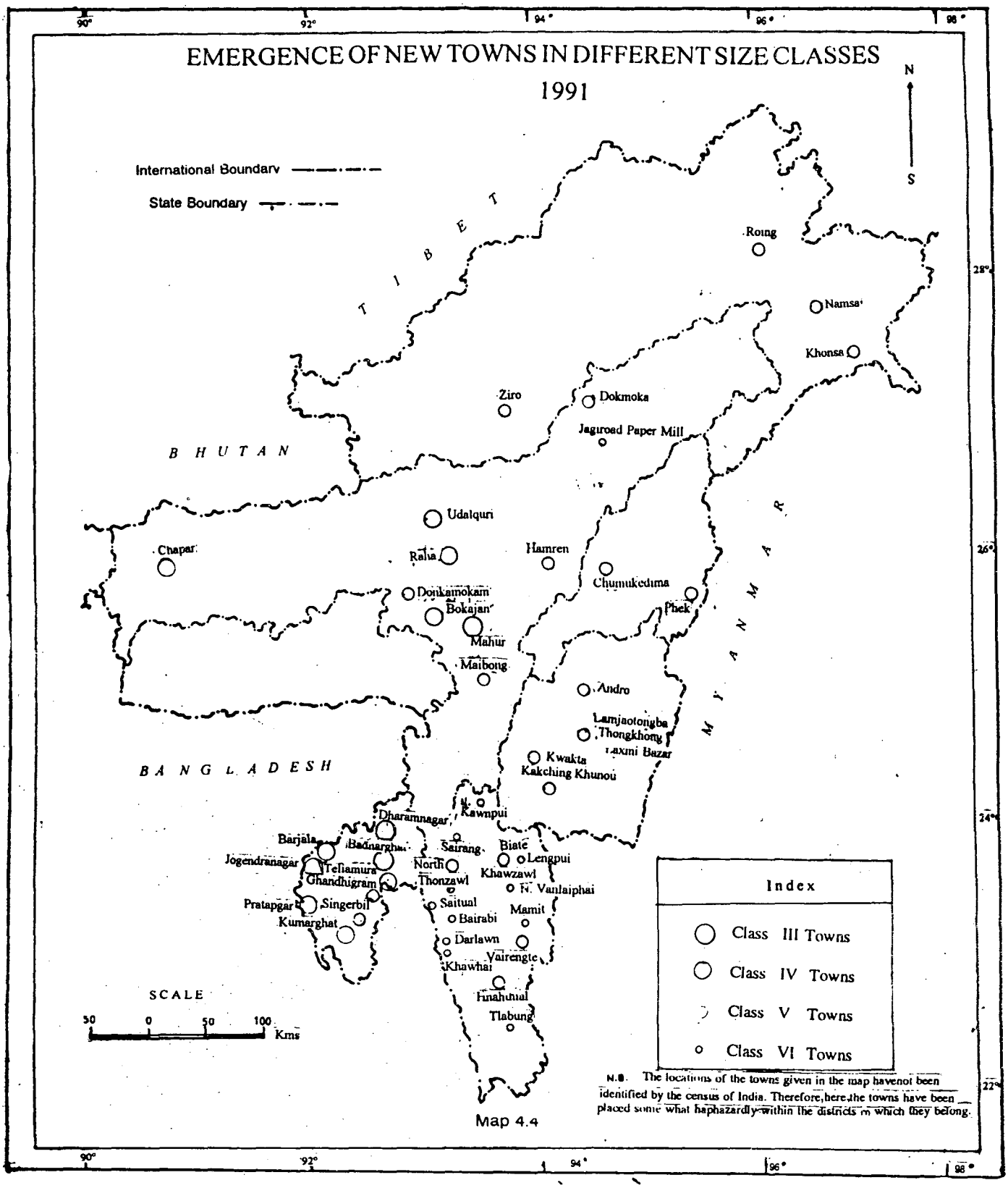
EMERGENCE OF NEW TOWNS IN DIFFERENT SIZE CLASSES 1971



Map 4.2


EMERGENCE OF NEW TOWNS IN DIFFERENT SIZE CLASSES
1981
N
S
International boundary
State boundary
TIBET
BHUTAN
BURMA
BANGLADESH
Old Itanagarh
New Itanagar
Mon
Tuensang
Wokha
Zunheboto
Mao-Maram
Karong
Senapati
Kangpokpi
Tamenglong
Sekmai Bazar
Lamsang
Samurou
Jiribam
Kumbi
Sugnu
Moreh
Singhat
Kolasib
Kamalpur
Williamnagar
Nongstoin
Baghmara
Cherapunjee
Sonamura
Amarpur
Sabroom
Champhai
Serchhip
Saiha
Kilometres
Lilong (Thoubal)
Lilong (Imphal West)
Oinam
Wangoi
Sikhong Sekmai
Loktak Hydro-Electric Project
Mayang Imphal
Wangjing
Ningthoukhong
Heirok
Index
Class IV Towns
Class V Towns
Class VI Towns
Enlarged in the above inset
SCALE
50 0 50 100 Kms
90°
92°
94°
96°
98°
28°
26°
24°
22°

Map 4.3


EMERGENCE OF NEW TOWNS IN DIFFERENT SIZE CLASSES
1991
N
S
International Boundary
State Boundary
T I B E T
B H U T A N
B A N G L A D E S H
M Y A N M A R
Roing
Namsai
Khonsa
Ziro
Dokmoka
Jaguroad Paper Mill
Udalguri
Chapar
Ralia
Hamren
Chumukedima
Diphk
Donkamokam
Bokajan
Mahur
Maibong
Andro
Lamjaotongba
Thongkhong
Laxmi Bazar
Kwakta
Kakching Khunou
Kawnpui
Dharamnagar
Barjala
Badnarghat
Sairang
Biate
Lengpui
Jogendranagar
Teliamura
North Thonzawl
Khawzawl
N. Vanlaiphai
Gharidhigram
Pratapgar
Singerbil
Saitual
Mamit
Kumarghat
Bairabi
Darlawn
Vairengte
Khawhai
Hnahthial
Tlabung
SCALE
50 0 50 100 Kms
Index
Class III Towns
Class IV Towns
Class V Towns
Class VI Towns
N.B. The locations of the towns given in the map have not been identified by the census of India. Therefore, here the towns have been placed some what haphazardly within the districts in which they belong.
90°
92°
94°
96°
98°
28°
26°
24°
22°

Map 4.4

Table 4.1 Progress in Population of New Towns and Urban Population, 1961-1991

States	Population of New Towns				Urban Population			
	1961	1971	1981	1991	1961	1971	1981	1991
NER	334777	206183	248585	392835	955948	1846685	2908213	4356739
NEREA	60030	63144	248585	321826	42920	519704	1125837	1885851
Assam	274747	143039	-	71009	913028	1326981	1782376*	2470888
Arunachal Pradesh	-	17288	14116	29921	-	17288	41428	104806
Manipur	-	41126	113483	37305	10910	141492	375460	505848
Meghalaya	-	4730	35326	-	-	147170	24133	329079
Mizoram	-	-	30116	62042	-	-	121814	317040
Nagaland	11911	-	34956	17166	19157	51394	120234	210095
Tripura	48119	-	20588	175392	12853	162360	225568	418983

Note: *Urban Population for 1981 for Assam has been worked by inter population (Census of India, 1991, Paper 2, p.15).

Source: Census of India 1961, Series 1, India, Part II-A(i), General Population Tables.
Census of India Series 1, India, Paper 1 of 1972, Final Population Tables.
Census of India 1991, Paper 2 of 1991, Provisional Population Tables; Urban Distribution pp. 387-91.

Table 4.2 Progress in the Number of Towns, New Towns, and Growth Rate of Towns Between 1961-91

States	No. of towns				No. of new towns				Percentage of growth of towns		
	1961	1971	1981	1991	1961	1971	1981	1991	1961-71	1971-81	1981-91
Arunachal Pradesh	0	4	6	10	0	4	2	4	400	50	66.67
Assam	54	74	80	87	34	19	11*	10	37.04	14.86	16.25
Manipur	1	8	32	30	0	7	22	5	700	300	-6.25
Meghalaya	6	6	7	7	0	1	6	0	0	16.67	0
Mizoram	-	-	6	22	0	0	4	15	100	200	266.66
Nagaland	3	3	7	9	2	0	4	2	0	133.33	28.57
Tripura	6	6	10	18	5	0	4	9	0	66.67	80
Total no.of towns	70	101	(68+80) 68 excluding Assam 148 including Assam	183	41	31	53 (53-11) 42 excluding Assam	45	45.07	143.7 excluding Assam	23.64 including Assam

Note: The figures of growth rate for new towns have been calculated from the figures of number of new towns.
* Figures for Assam have been reported by the Town Planning Authority of Assam.

Source: Same as given in Table 4.1.

towns, 6 new towns in Meghalaya (35,326 persons). Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura each with 4 new towns shared 24.7, 29.07 and 9.1 percent of the total urban population respectively and respective population of new towns were 30,116, 34,956 and 20,588. Interestingly, in Mizoram all the newly emerged towns were occurred in class V category.

Finally, in 1991 the total number of new towns was 45, of which 15 towns were in Mizoram state alone and had a population of 62,042 accounting for 19.6 percent of the total urban population. In the state, most of the newly emerged towns occurred in class V (5 towns) and in class VI (10 towns) respectively. This was the period, when Mizoram had the largest number of new towns for the first time. Out of the total 45 new towns emerged in the NE region, 4 in Arunachal Pradesh, 10 in Assam, 5 in Manipur, 2 in Nagaland and 9 in Tripura which accounted for 28.6, 2.9, 7.4, 8.2 and 41.7 percent of the total urban population respectively. The state of Meghalaya did not have any new town in 1991.

EMERGENCE OF NEW TOWNS IN THE NORTH-EASTERN REGION EXCLUDING ASSAM (NEREA)

It is important to take a close look at the pattern of emergence of new towns in the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. It gives a different picture in this region from its

counterpart, the state of Assam. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 indicate that in 1961 the towns which emerged in this NE region excluding Assam were 5 towns (71.1 percent) in Tripura, followed by 2 towns (28.9 percent) in Nagaland. In 1961, Mizoram and Meghalaya were part of Assam, either as an administrative unit or as a single district. The base populationa were not much and therefore, they did not have any new town. Similarly, neither Arunachal Pradesh nor Manipur had any new town in 1961. In fact, there was no urban settlement in Arunachal Pradesh upto 1961. In 1971, 12 new towns emerged in this region, of which, 7 towns were in Manipur, 4 were in Arunachal Pradesh, (four new towns emerged for the first time in Arunachal Pradesh) and one in Meghalaya. In the 1981 census, 42 new towns emerged in these six states, of which 22 towns (52.4 percent) were in Manipur alone accounting for 113,483 persons or 30.2 percent of total urban population of the state. Manipur experienced the highest growth of new towns among the six NE states excluding Assam between 1961 and 1991. The second highest number of new towns occurred in Meghalaya (6 new towns) with a population of 35,326 persons. Two new towns were in Arunachal Pradesh and 4 towns each in Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura with a population of 30,116, 34,956 and 20,588 respectively of those states accounting for 24.7, 29.0 and 9.1 percent of total urban population respectively. Lastly, in 1991 census there were 35 new towns. This time the maximum number of new towns (15) appeared in Mizoram.

ASSAM (ONLY)

The emergence of new towns in Assam may be due to

(1) the presence of large base populated villages which waited to acquire urban characteristics. In Assam the rural migration is experienced where generally folks are interested in cultivation, dairying and work on plantation, mining etc., which cause the formation of a large base populated villages.[7]

(2) migration which plays an important role from the neighbouring countries like Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan from where immigrants come in search of jobs and a living,

(3) the definitional changes of town which has also resulted.

Class-Wise Distribution of New Town

Table 4.3 reveals that in 1961, it was observed that among the north-eastern states, Assam was the only state which had 34 new towns (73.2 percent) of the total new towns that emerged in the region. Of these 34 towns, 19 towns were classified under class V, 9 in class VI, 5 in class IV and only one in class III category indicating clearly the largest number of new towns continued in the lower two size classes. Pandu was the only town in class III category which emerged in 1961. In the 1971 census, it was noted that 19 new

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7 Qaiyum. 1994. North-Eastern States: Development Profile - An Article. In *Spatio - Economic Development Record (SDR)*, March-April, vol.1, p.40.

Table 4.3 Number of New Towns by Size-Class, 1961-91

	Size-class	No. of new towns Years 1961	1971	1981	1991
NER as a whole	III	1	-	-	4
	IV	6	5	6	6
	V	25	16	19	20
	VI	9	10	21	15
Total		**41**	**31**	**53**	**45**
NER excluding Assam	III	-	-	-	4
	IV	1	-	6	3
	V	6	5	19	18
	VI	-	7	17	10
Total		**7**	**12**	**42**	**35**
Arunachal Pradesh	V	-	1	2	4
	VI	-	3	-	-
Total		**0**	**4**	**2**	**4**
Assam	III	1	-	-	-
	IV	5	5	-	3
	V	19	11	-	5
	VI	9	3	4	2
Total		**34**	**19**	**11**	**10**
Manipur	IV	-	-	2	-
	V	-	4	6	5
	VI	-	3	14	-
Total		**0**	**7**	**22**	**5**
Meghalaya	IV	-	-	1	-
	V	-	-	2	-
	VI	-	1	3	-
Total		**0**	**1**	**6**	**0**
Mizoram	V	-	-	4	5
	VI	-	-	-	10
Total		**0**	**0**	**4**	**15**
Nagaland	III	-	-	-	-
	IV	-	-	1	-
	V	2	-	3	2
	VI	-	-	-	-
Total		**2**	**0**	**4**	**2**
Tripura	III	-	-	-	4
	IV	1	-	2	3
	V	4	-	2	2
	VI	-	-	-	-
Total		**5**	**0**	**4**	**9**

towns came up having a growth of 37 percent. Of these new towns, once again the largest number was in the class V category (11 towns), followed by 5 towns in class IV, and 3 towns in class VI category.

In the 1981 census, there were 11 new towns identified by Town Planning Authority of Assam. The growth rate during 1971-81 slackened to 14.9 percent with 11 new towns surfacing in Assam. These seemed to be mostly in the lower classes except for 4 towns, the town population figure was not available for the rest of the seven new towns.

In the next decade of 1981-91, the pace of new town growth in Assam rose to 16.2 percent with total population of 71,009 in the 10 new towns. Of these new towns, 5 were in class VI, 2 in class V, and 3 in class IV category. It is also observed that of these 10 new towns, 8 were town committees and 2 were census towns of class VI.

District-Wise Distribution of New Towns

Table 4.4 indicates that in 1961 census, Assam had 11 districts out of which 9 districts had new towns. The United Mikir and North Cachar district and Mizo district did not have any new towns. The maximum number of new towns were in Kamrup district with 9 out of 34 new towns. The second highest goes to Goalpara with 6 new towns, while Lakhimpur district had five new towns, three new towns each in Cachar, Darrang and United and Khasi Jaintia Hills. Another 2 towns each in Nowgaon Sibsagar district were observed.

Table 4.4 Class-Wise Distribution of New Towns at District Level, 1961-1991

State/ District	Year	Size-Class III	IV	V	VI	Total
Arunachal Pradesh						
	1961					
		No New Towns Emerged.				
	1971					
Siang		-	-	1	1	2
Lohit		-	-	-	1	1
Kameng		-	-	-	1	1
G.Total						**4**
	1981					
Lower Subansiri		-	-	1	-	1
Old Itanagar		-	-	1	-	1
G. Total						**2**
	1991					
Lower Subansiri		-	-	1	-	1
Lohit		-	-	1	-	1
Dibang Valley		-	-	1	-	1
Tirap		-	-	1	-	1
G. Total						**4**
Assam						
	1961					
Kamrup		1	1	3	5	10
Goalpara		-	-	6		6
Lakhimpur		-	2	1	2	5
Cachar		-	-	1	2	3
Darrang		-	-	2	1	3
United Khasi &		-	1	1	1	3
Jaintia Hills		-	-	-	-	-
Nowgong		-	1	1	-	2
Sibsagar		-	-	2	-	2
Garo Hills		-	-	1	-	1
G. Total						**34**

State/ District	Year	Size-Class III	IV	V	VI	Total
	1971					
Lakhimpur		-	1	3	-	4
Kamrup		-	1	3	-	4
Goalpara		-	1	2	-	3
Sibsagar		-	1	1	1	3
Darrang		-	1	1	-	2
Cachar		-	-	1	-	1
Mizo		-	-	1	-	1
Mikri Hills		-	1	-	-	1
G. Total						**19**
	1981	No New Towns.				
	1991					
Karbianlong		-	1	1	2	4
North Cachar Hills		-	-	1	1	2
Dhubri		-	1	-	-	1
Marigaon		-	-	-	1	1
Nagaon		-	-	-	1	1
G. Total						**10**
Manipur						
	1961	No New Towns.				
	1971					
Manipur Central		-	-	3	3	6
Manipur South		-	-	1	-	1
G. Total						**7**
	1981					
Manipur Central		-	1	6	8	15
Manipur North		-	-	-	3	3
Manipur South		-	-	-	2	2
Manipur West		-	-	-	1	1
Tengnoupal		-	-	-	1	1
G. Total						**22**

State/ District	Year	Size-Class III	IV	V	VI	Total
	1991					
Imphal		-	-	3	-	3
Thoubal		-	-	1	-	1
Bishnupur		-	-	1	-	1
G. Total						**5**
	1961					
		No New Towns.				
	1971					
Khasi and Jaintia Hills		-	-	-	1	1
G. Total						**1**
	1981					
East Khasi Hills		-	1	2	1	4
West Khasi Hills		-	-	-	2	2
G. Total						**6**
	1991					
		No New Towns.				
Mizoram						
	1961					
		No New Towns.				
	1971					
		No New Towns.				
	1981					
Aizawl		-	-	3	-	3
Chhemtipui		-	-	1	-	1
G. Total						**4**
	1991					
Aizawl		-	-	4	9	13
Lunglei		-	-	1	1	2
G. Total						**15**

State/ District	Year	Size-Class III	IV	V	VI	Total
Nagaland						
	1961					
Mokokchung		-	-	1	-	1
Kohima		-	-	1	-	1
G. Total						**2**
	1971					
		No New Towns.				
	1981					
Tuensang		-	-	1	-	1
Wokha		-	-	-	1	1
Zunheboto		-	-	-	1	1
Mon		-	-	-	1	1
G. Total						**4**
	1991					
Kohima		-	-	1	-	1
Phek		-	-	1	-	1
G. Total						2
Tripura						
	1961					
Tripura		-	1	4	-	5
G. Total						**5**
	1971					
		No New Towns.				
	1981					
South Tripura		-	1	1	-	2
North Tripura		-	-	1	-	1
West Tripura		-	-	1	-	1
G. Total						**4**

State/ District	Year	Size-Class III	IV	V	VI	Total
	1991					
West Tripura		3	2	2	-	7
North Tripura		1	1	-	-	2
G. Total						**9**

Note: 1. G. Total = Grand Total
2. Emergence of new towns did not occur in class I and II category.
3. Only those districts which had had the new towns in the respective states have been shown in this table.

These figures have been worked out from the above source of table 4.1

Source: Same as in Table 4.1.

Garo Hills district had only one town in class V category. In 1971 census, 19 new towns appeared in 8 districts in this state. There were 10 districts of which 8 had new towns. Four towns each in Lakhimpur and Kamrup districts with one each in class IV and 3 each in the class V category. The second highest goes to Goalpara and Sibsagar district with 3 new towns each in class IV, V and VI category, while Darrang district had 2 new towns in class IV and V category. The remaining 3 new towns are in Cachar, Mizo and Mikir Hills districts .

It may be noted here that in 1981, the census was not conducted in Assam though the number of new towns that emerged on the eve of the census was presented in the Town Directory. Since the population of new towns was not available, it is not possible to categorize them into size-classes. But one can examine the districtwise distribution of new towns. Four new towns came up between 1971 and 1981 in Goalpara district, 3 in Nowgon district while one each in Kamrup, Lakhimpur, Sibsagar and Karbi Anglong district respectively.

The number of districts in Assam at the 1991 census rose to 23. New towns, however, emerged only in 4 districts. Among them, Darrang district alone consistently had some new towns from 1961 onwards till 1991. Of the total 10 new towns emerged in 1991, 4 towns each in class IV and V and 2 towns in class VI category were distributed, Karbri Anglong district had the highest new towns. The second highest goes to North Cachar Hills district, one each in class V and VI respectively. One new town each emerged in Dubri and

Darrang district in class IV category and one each in Marigaon and Nowgaon in class VI category respectively.

Disappearance of Some New Towns

It is noted that 34 new towns sprang up in Assam in 1961 and only 30 towns could be seen in the 1971 town list. It does not mean that 4 towns had disappeared. These 4 towns namely, Jowai, Mawlai, Nongthaimai and Tura were transferred to Meghalaya in 1971. In 1971, 19 new towns emerged, of which 16 towns remained in the town list of Assam in 1991. New Bongaigaon which existed as an isolated town merged in Bongaongaon Urban Agglomeration. Lunglei town which was in Assam in 1971 was not found in the town list in 1991 as it was part of Mizoram. Ramkrishnanagar also disappeared from 1991 town list. Altogether three new towns which were in Assam in 1971 disappeared in 1991. Since the census was not conducted in 1981 in Assam, the disappearance of towns could only be studied for 1971-91. Out of 34 new towns that sprang up, only 25 continued in existence but 9 towns disappeared from the 1991 town list This phenomenon involved transfer of four towns to Meghalaya and 2 towns to Mizoram and disappearance of 3 towns from Assam. These three towns are New Bongaigaon (a part of U.A. in 1991), Ramkrishnanagar and Pandu. Pandu was in class III category in 1961. At the appendix, it shows for the other states as well.

Conclusion

Increase in the number of existing urban centres is monitored directly by the emergence of new towns. In 1961, 41 new towns emerged in the north-eastern states, namely, Assam, Nagaland and Tripura. Manipur did not have any new town at all. Of these 41 new towns, 34 towns were in Assam, alone Tripura had 5 towns and the remaining two were in Nagaland. It was noticed that Pandu was the only class III town which appeared in Assam and the rest were in class IV and VI categories. Tripura and four new towns in class V category and one is class IV category while Nagaland had 2 towns in class V category.

In 1971, 31 new towns emerged, of which 19 towns were in Assam, 7 towns in Manipur, 4 towns in Arunachal Pradesh and one in Meghalaya. It was noticed that in 1971, the number of newly emerged towns declined in Assam but in other states there was tremendous upshot of urban centres. Four new towns came up in Arunachal Pradesh for the first time, with a growth rate of 400 percent. Barring Assam, these 6 states experienced a very sharp rise in the urbanization of this region. The total population of newly emerged towns stood at 206,183 persons. The emergence of new towns mainly confined in the last two lower classes of class V and class VI category.

In 1981,the situation of emergence of new towns is different because of Assam state. [Though, a figure of 11 new towns as reportedly the Town Planning Authorities of Assam was available but the class of this towns were

not known]. A total of 42 new towns excluding 11 towns of Assam emerged of these, Manipur shared the maximum number of 22 towns which had a population of 113,483 persons accounting for 30 percent of the total urban population. The second highest number of towns were in Meghalaya which had 6 towns with 85,326 persons followed by 4 towns in Mizoram. The rest of the new towns were in Tripura and Nagaland.

Interestingly, in 1991 45 new towns emerged which was slightly less than that of 1981. In 1991, Assam, the major contributor, had only to new towns while the maximum number of 15 towns emerged in Mizoram. With this chunk of new towns, Mizoram had of total of 22 towns in 1991 where as it was only 2 towns in 1971. The maximum number of towns emerged in and around Aizwal, the capital of Mizoram. Tripura accounted for 9 new towns followed by Manipur with 5 new towns. States of Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh shared 4 towns and 2 towns respectively.

Thus, the maximum number of towns emerged in 1981 and 1991 in 6 states barring Assam associates with a declining trend since 1961. The massive increase in the number of towns in Manipur and Mizoram in 1981 and 1991 shows a significant impact on the urbanization in this region. But these trends may not continues in the coming decades.

Chapter V

FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF TOWNS

Chapter V

FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF TOWNS

This chapter presents a discussion on the dominant functions performed by different towns in the North-Eastern Region (NER) of India and the functional classifications, which have been done by the Census of India for the years 1961, 1971 and 1991. The discussion also covers related issues on functional classification such as methods, approaches and objectives. Jain's functional classification makes possible a study of the distributional pattern of towns on this basis from 1981 to 91. The nature of functional changes from one type of function to another over the 30 year-time period which is also examined in this chapter. Thus the chapter is divided into two sections:

(i) Functional Classification - I

(ii) Functional Classification - II

'Section I' deals with related issues such as methods and objections of the functional classification (past and present) in a brief manner so as to familiarise oneself with this topic. **'Section II'** deals with a difference in the methods of functional classifications used in the 1961 and 1971 censuses and the one developed by Jain for the 1991 classification and the distributional pattern of the number of mono, bi and multi-functional towns having primary activity, industry, trade and commerce, transport and communication and others services as a leading/predominant function for the years 1961, 1971 and 1991 respectively.

Finally, the nature of functional changes in the common towns of 1961 and 1971 on the one hand and those between 1971 and 1991 on the other hand, have also been discussed succinctly. The analysis is done on three levels; (i) NER, (ii) North-east Region excluding Assam (NEREA) and (iii) Assam only. It is noteworthy here that the data on distribution of workers in the nine-fold industrial categories at the town level was not available in the 1981 census, and as those are the basic data for any functional classification, no such classification of towns has been feasible for that particular year.

FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION - I

A good number of attempts have been made in the past to present functional classification of towns and cities in different regions of the world. The descriptions of towns' functions and their classifications into classes or groups were done by virtue of the functions they perform. The towns were simply designated as 'market town' or 'sea port'. It was a form of functional classification.[1] The industrial development in the eighteenth and nineteenth century resulted in increasing diversity of towns' functions. In the year 1840, in Britain the Committee of the Health of Towns proposed to classify towns into five groups, namely the metropolis, manufacturing towns, populous seaport towns, great waterways towns and county and other considerable

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1 Carter, Harold. 1972. *The Study of Urban Geography*. London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., p.47.

island towns, not being the seats of particular manufactures.[2] Since the time of the classifications attempts to suggest groups of towns linked by common functions have become more elaborate and statistically more sophisticated. At the same time, greater efforts have been made to understand the logical bases of classifications and the nature of town function.[3] Harold Carter,[4] in his book 'The Study of Urban Geography' (1972), discusses the different attempts on the functional classification from the simple general statements to the contemporary multivariate analysis. They are briefly discussed below:

Methods of Functional Classification

(i) General description: This method of classification is the earlier stage on the analysis of town function. Classes are established in descriptive terms only.[5] This includes M. Aurousseau's work in his paper 'The distribution of population: a constructive problem',[6] he classified towns into six classes which are also subdivided. The following table demonstrates the functional classification of cities.

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2 (1840); *Report of the Select Committee on the health of towns* (London) iv.

3 Carter, H., p.48.

4 Ibid., p.48.

5 Ibid., p.48.

6 M. Aurousseau. 1921. The distribution of population: a constructive problem. *Geographical Review*, 11, p.563.

Classification after M. Aurousseau (1921):

Class I Administration

Class II Defence

Class III Culture

Class IV Production

Class V Communication

Class VI Recreation

(subdivisions are discussed here).

Aurousseau's scheme, although subject to many criticisms, makes an important stage in the development of functional classificational study. Similarly, other works such as Mckenzie's are worth mentioning under this method of classification.

(ii) Statistical description: This stage in the consideration of town functions introduces objective, statistical material into the problem of classification. The most consistently used data have been occupation or employment ratios.[7] In this classification, studies based on the 'Principal of Statistical Description' can be found in the earliest stage of urban geography as for example in Marinelli's work.[8] But the most widely quoted work is of Chauncy D. Harris (1943) in which a

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7 Carter, H.,p.49.

8 O. Marinelli. 1916. 'Dei tipi economici dei centri abitati a proposito di alcune citta eialiance ed americane'. *Review geogr. ita.* 23, p.413.

functional classification of the cities of the USA was outlined.[9] Eight classes of towns were recognised, namely, manufacturing, retail, wholesale, transport, mining, university, resort and retirement, and diversified. One example would be sufficient to indicate the principle used. Transport centres are defined as towns where transportation and communication contain at least 11 percent of the gainful workers, and workers in transportation and communication equal at least one-third the number in manufacturing and mechanical industries and at least two-thirds the number in trade.[10] This example illustrates the problem of diagnosis, otherwise it has been the most known reference done very systematically.[11]

Asok Mitra[12] attempted a functional classification based on nine industrial categories. He excluded agricultural workers. It was an authentic and pronounced classification done by the Indian scholar. After him, several other scholars have tried to classify Indian towns in a more or less same fashion of his classification. Towns were classified under three headings: (i) Manufacturing towns, (ii) Trade and Transport

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9 Chauncy D. Harris. 1943. A functional classification of cities in the United States. *Geographical Review*, 33, p.86.

10 Ibid., p.50.

11 Carter, H., n.1, p.50.

12 Mitra, Asok. 1973. *A Functional Classification of India's Towns.* (Presented at All India Seminar on Population, 12-14 March 1964, Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi). Printed by the Registrar General, India, May 1973.

towns, and (iii) Services towns. He excluded cultivators and agricultural labourers from the census industrial categories of workers. The triangular coordinates method is an effective and elegant device which was used by him.

It may be mentioned that a majority of other classifications do not present any major methodological or conceptual departure from Harris, nor do they demonstrate a technique, the results of which are at once more neat and elegant or establish clear hierarchies with a pronounced taxonomic approach.[13] Some of these classifications have been done by Anantapadmanaban,[14] Mukherjee,[15] Singh and Dabral[16], Asok Mitra had attempted a functional classification of towns using 9 industrial workers; data. He excluded agricultural data and divided the functions of towns into three major ones viz. manufacturing, trade and transport and services.[17]

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13 Mitra, A., Surendra B.L. Sherry and Brahm Dutt. 1981. *Shifts in the Functions of Cities and Towns of India 1961-71*, p.3.

14 Anantapadmanaban N., Functional classifications of urban centres in Madras, *Bombay Geographical Magazine*, XIIL, 1, Dec. 1965, pp.85-96.

15 Mukherji, Mahamaya. Functional classification of Towns in Bihar, *The Deecan Geographer*, III, 1 & 2, Jan-Dec 1970, pp.56-66.

16 Singh, R.P. and Dabral, U.M.P. A Comparative Analysis of the Towns of Ganga-Yamuna Doab, *The Indian Geographical Journal*, XLV, 1&2, Jan-March, April-June 1970, pp.40-45.

17 Mitra, Asok, Mukherjee, Shekhar, Bose, Rajendranath, Loke Nath Ray. 1981. *Functional Classification of India's Urban Areas by Factor-Cluster Method, 1961-71.*

(iii) Statistical analysis: The next step in functional classification is linked with the attempt to offset criticism directed at Harris's scheme. This means that the classes recognized have to be derived statistically from the raw material.[18]

In Harris's scheme there is an implied and subjective comparison of the particular city with the average city in order to derive a critical figure. This process becomes the basis of many schemes of statistical analysis, where local conditions are compared with national average conditions.[19] A good example of such a procedure is in the calculation of location quotients[20] which measure the local significance of an industry by relating the ratio of its local employment to the national average.[21] L.L.Pownall attempted to use this concept in the study of 'The Functions of New Zealand Towns' in 1953.[22] A more fully developed and more logical scheme is that of H.S. Nelson, who in 1955, set out 'A Service Classification of American cities'.[23] In his classification the diagnostic occupational groups are selected from the

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18 Carter, H. n.1, p.51.

19 Carter, H. n.1, p.52.

20 West Midland Group. 1948. *Conurbation* (London), p.105.

21 Carter, H. n.1, p.52.

22 L.L.Pownall. 1953. The function of New Zealand Towns. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 43, p.332.

23 Harold J. Nelson. 1955. A service classification of American cities, *Economic Geography*, 31, p.189.

census returns. These relate to manufacturing, retail trade, professional service, transportation and communication, personal service, public administration, wholesale trade, finance, insurance and real estate and mining. R.S.Dick working in Queensland, Australia[24] adopted a similar technique but expressed his results more completely by including the percentage employment as well.[25] Under this method of functional classification the problem of diagnostic ratio must be related to the particular circumstances and character of those being investigated. They cannot be put forward as of universal application, international comparability is still far off.[26]

(iv) Urban Economic Base Studies: The earliest suggestion of the concept appears to have come in 1902 when W. Sombart in 'Der moderne Kapitalisms'[27] identified a dual function in towns which he characterised as 'stadegrunder' or basic and 'stadefuller' as complementary or non-basic. These concepts have come into English mainly via the works of planners, particularly in the USA. This concept was developed, and the technology of the economic base was introduced

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24 R.S. Dick. 1961. Variations in the occupational structure of central places of the Darling Downs, Queensland, *University Queensland Paper*, 1, p.2.

25 Carter, H. n.1, p.53.

26 Ibid., p.53.

27 W. Sombart. 1902. *Der moderne Kapitalisms*, vol.2, (Leipzig).

by Homer Hoyt in 1939.[28] A review of the principle of this economic base studies could start with Harris C.D.'s classification. Harris regards 11 percent as the critical value at which transport employment becomes diagnostically significant in terms of the country as a whole. But this is not necessarily a useful measure, for what is required is some estimate of the point at which employment in transport becomes critical in the life of the town, not merely keeping it going but making a distinctive and generative contribution to its economic well being. This is the essence of the concept of the 'economic base' around which an elaborate theory was accumulated.[29] A somewhat different approach was that of G. Alexandersson in a study of the industrial structure of cities in the USA.[30] The problem as he states remains the same - to identify[31] the value above which employment is significant. There is another work by Ullman and Dacey whose work, in principle,[32] parallels that of Alexandersson.

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28 A.M.Weimer and H. Hoyt. 1939. *Principles of real estate*, (New York).

29 Ralph W. Pfouts. 1956. *The techniques of urban economic analysis* (West Trenton, N.J.).

30 G. Alexandersson. 1956. *The industrial structure of American cities*, (Lincoln, Nebraska and Stockholm).

31 Carter, H. n.1, p.57.

32 Edward L. Ullman and Michael F. Dacey. 1962. The minimum requirements approach to the urban economic base, In *Proc. Lund. Symp. Urb. Geogr. 1960*, by K.Norborg, (editor), p.121.

(v) Multivariate Analysis: The advantage of this system over the other systems of classification so far described is that it is possible to examine how towns are related to a series of variables. Perhaps the best example of this is in 'British towns: a statistical study of their social and economic differences' by Moser and Scott.[33] The reasons for and the objectives of this work are succinctly stated. The problem with the other systems of classification is that they rely on one set of data only though the economic base studies includes wages and salaries, value added and production but the sheer difficulty of obtaining and using data has confined schemes based on employment figures alone.[34] Another attempt at investigation into urban character was made by Hadden and Borgatta[35] in relation to American cities. Sixty five variables were used and separate analyses for different city sizes were carried out.[36] Finally, the multivariate analysis is of a different order for it itself is a measure of the degree of difference between towns and not of special functions. However, classes, given descriptive names, have been derived from the known character of the members or 'urban profiles' have been

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33 G.A.Moser and Wolf Scott. 1961. *British towns; a statistical study of their social and economic differences*, (London).

34 Carter, H. n.1, p.59.

35 J.K.Hadden and E.F.Borgatta. 1965. *American cities; their social characteristics*, (Chicago).

36 Ibid., p.62.

constructed.[37]

Objectives of Functional Classification of Towns

Perhaps more important than mere procedure is the question of purpose, specially, if it is agreed that objectives (other than pedagogic) of the classification should be known before it is performed. If the objectives are defined in advance, some relationship between the purpose and the categories of the classification will be ensured.[38] However, the objectives of an overwhelming majority of the functional classifications of towns rarely extend beyond the pedagogy.[39] Classifiers usually are content to simply report their results verbally and almost always cartographically. The maps and statements often are accompanied by general observations on the areal location of different functional groups.[40] The classification procedure that is adopted should produce groups of towns about which the greatest number of most precise, and most important statements can be made for the differentiating and accessory characters.[41] Classification should be justified, on the other hand, on pedagogic grounds, any classification should be relevant to a well-defined

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37 Carter, H. n.1, p.63.

38 Nelson, H.J., pp.95-108.

39 Robert H.T.Smith. 1965. Method and purpose in functional town classification, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 55, p.545.

40 Ibid., p.545.

41 G. Cline. 1949. Basic Principles of Soil Classification, *Soil Science*, vol.67, p.83.

problem or class of problems.[42] Classification of towns by function might lead to the formulation of generalizations about the location pattern of town (one accessory characteristic) and the relationship between towns with particular functions and their hinterlands. Thus, functional classifications of towns becomes relevant to the problems of town distribution and hinterland relationships.[43]

Conclusion

All the classifications discussed above are more or less satisfactory methods of associating things so that understanding becomes easier. So far the methods that have been briefly discussed above fall between either qualitative or quantitative methods. Of the qualitative classification schemes, Aurousseau undoubtedly is the best known.[44] On the other hand studies employing quantitative standards of classification are far more numerous. Under this scheme of classification, for a number of industries, categories often are used as the basic data in establishing groups of towns with similar functional classifications, a good example is Indian Census classification of towns. The problem of functional classification of town on a scale where functions of towns of different countries can be compared is because the statistics for any two

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42 Robert, H.T. Smith. n.39, p.546.

43 Ibid., p.547.

44 Ibid., p.541.

countries may not be comparable because of variations in both the time census are taken and in the definition and number of industry,[45] categories for which data are enumerated. Consequently, it seems ideal to speculate on a rigorous functional classification of the world's towns,[46] although the need and purpose of functional classification of towns and cities is described succinctly. Cities serve manifold functions in the economy and culture of the people. All cities have some functions that are peculiar to their site and situation, to the people whom they serve, and all cities have some functions peculiar to their development and their history; hence cities may be classified more effectively on the basis of their functions as criteria than perhaps according to any other attribute.[47]

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45 Ibid., p.548.

46 Ibid., p.548.

47 Urbanisations, 1945. *Economic Geography*, 2.

FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION - II

After the first census of post-independence era an attempt was made in 1951 in some states to classify towns according to their functions relying on the superintendent himself. At the 1961 census, a composite classification based on the predominant functions of a town was attempted by Asok Mitra, the then Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India.[48] This was based on the industrial classification of towns.[49] But as indicated earlier, due to non-availability of town-level data on industrial classification of workers into nine industrial categories, this exercise could not be taken up by the census at the 1981 census.[50] But in 1991 census, with the restoration of nine fold industrial classification of workers at town level, a functional classification of towns has been undertaken once again by the census authorities with slight modifications in the methodology as well as in the broad functional categories.[51]

The methodology adopted in 1961, 1971 and 1991 are more or less the same. In 1991, however, the dominant function(s) of urban agglomeration as

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48 Asok Mitra. 1964. *A Functional Classification of India's Towns* (presented at All India Seminar on Population, Institute of Economic Growth), New Delhi, March, 12-14.

49 Asok Mitra et al. *Shifts in the Functions of Cities and Towns of India 1961-71*, An ICSSR/JNU study.

50 M.K.Jain. 1994. *Functional Classification of Urban Agglomeration of Towns of India 1991*, Occasional Paper No.3, Census of India, New Delhi.

51 Ibid., p.1.

a unit is a new addition to the classification. Further, a few subcategories of functions have also been identified in the 1991 classification for an insight understanding. The methodology of functional classification adopted in the 1961, 1971 and 1991 census has been discussed in the first subsection.

For making the functional classification of the 1961 towns, Asok Mitra[52] assumed that the cities and towns were engaged in non-primary activities only. He followed the triangular coordinates method which implied that the non-primary activities had to be divided into three functional categories only. Consequently, after excluding cultivators, agricultural labourers and those engaged in plantations, forestry, fishing, logging, hunting and animal husbandry, the remaining workers were classified into the following three categories:

Categories of functional classification	Categories of the ninefold industrial classification
1. Manufacturing	Household industry, manufacturing other than household industry and construction.
2. Trade and transport	Trade and commerce, and transport, communication and storage
3. Services	Other services.

52 Asok Mitra. n.48.

Methods Adopted in the 1961 and 1971 Censuses

For each town the percentage of workers under these five classes of economic activities to the total number of workers is calculated. If the percentage under any of five activities is equal to or exceeds 40, such a town is regarded as 'mono-functional' and that activity is specified. If the percentages are less than 40 in each and if the figures against any two add up to 60 or more, then such a town is regarded as 'bi-functional' and these two predominant activities are indicated in order of their importance. This method of determining the functional category of a town follows the one adopted in Census of India, 1961 volume I, India, Part IX Census Atlas and takes into consideration workers engaged in agricultural sector also. For purposes of determining the functional category, each town has been considered independently, notwithstanding the concept of urban agglomeration of 1971 and of town group of 1961.[53] The following gives the division of sectors by using the 9 industrial categories.

In 1961 Census	In 1971 Census
1. Primary - I,II,III	1. Primary - I,II,III,IV
2. Industries - IV,V,VI	2. Industries - Va,Vb,VI
3. Trade and Commerce - VII	3. Trade & Commerce - VII
4. Transport - VIII	4. Transport - VIII
5. Services - IX	5. Services - IX

53 C.O.I. 1971, Series-1, India, Part VI-A, Town Directory.

The Methodology Adopted in the 1991 Census

The methodology adopted in 1991 is somewhat similar to that in the above classification except the urban agglomeration concept which was taken into consideration in the classification, and 3 main plus another sub classification. The adopted methodology in 1991 is given below which was presented in Jain's functional classification.

The nine industrial categories of workers adopted for the presentation of '92 Primary Census Abstract data were grouped into the following 5 sectors:

Sectors	Industrial category	
Primary	I	(Cultivators)
	II	(Agricultural labourers)
	III	(Livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting, plantations, orchards and allied activities)
	IV	(Mining and quarrying)
Industries	V	(Manufacturing, processing, servicing and repairs)
		(a) Household industry
		(b) Other than household industry
	VI	Construction
Trade	VII	Trade and commerce
Transport	VIII	Transport, storage and communication
Services	IX	Other services

(2) For each UA/town the percentage of total main workers in each of the field sectors was worked out.

(3) The functional category of the UA/town was then determined as follows:

i) If workers in one sector constituted 40% or more, the UA/town was classified in the relevant Mono-functional category.

ii) If the percentage in one sector was less than 40%, two sectors having the largest percentages were combined to see if they together constituted 60% or more; if so, the UA/town was classified in the relevant Bi-functional category.

iii) If no two sectors added upto 60% or more, three sectors having the largest percentage were combined and the UA/town was classified in the relevant Multi-functional category.

(4) In addition to the determination of the functional category of each UA/town, in certain cases, where, at least 1/4th workers were engaged in one of the four activities viz. (a) forestry and/or fishing including livestock, plantation etc., (b) mining and quarring, (c) manufacturing in household industry, and (d) construction, the respective UAs/towns have been classified in the relevant sub-functional category provided such an activity happened to be the first or second leading function of those UAs/towns.[54]

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54 Ibid., p.3.

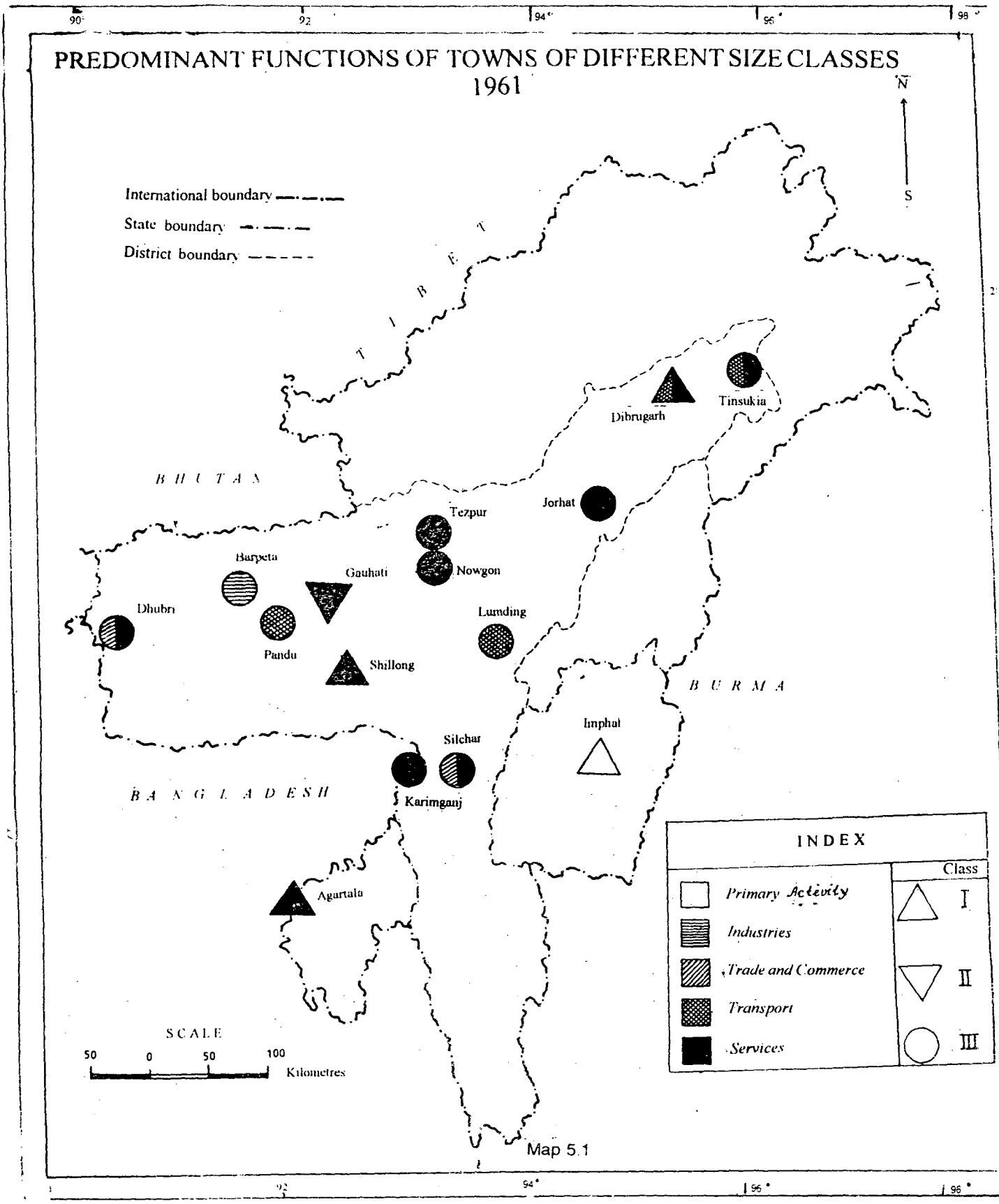
NORTH-EASTERN REGION (NER)

Distribution of Functionally Classified Towns

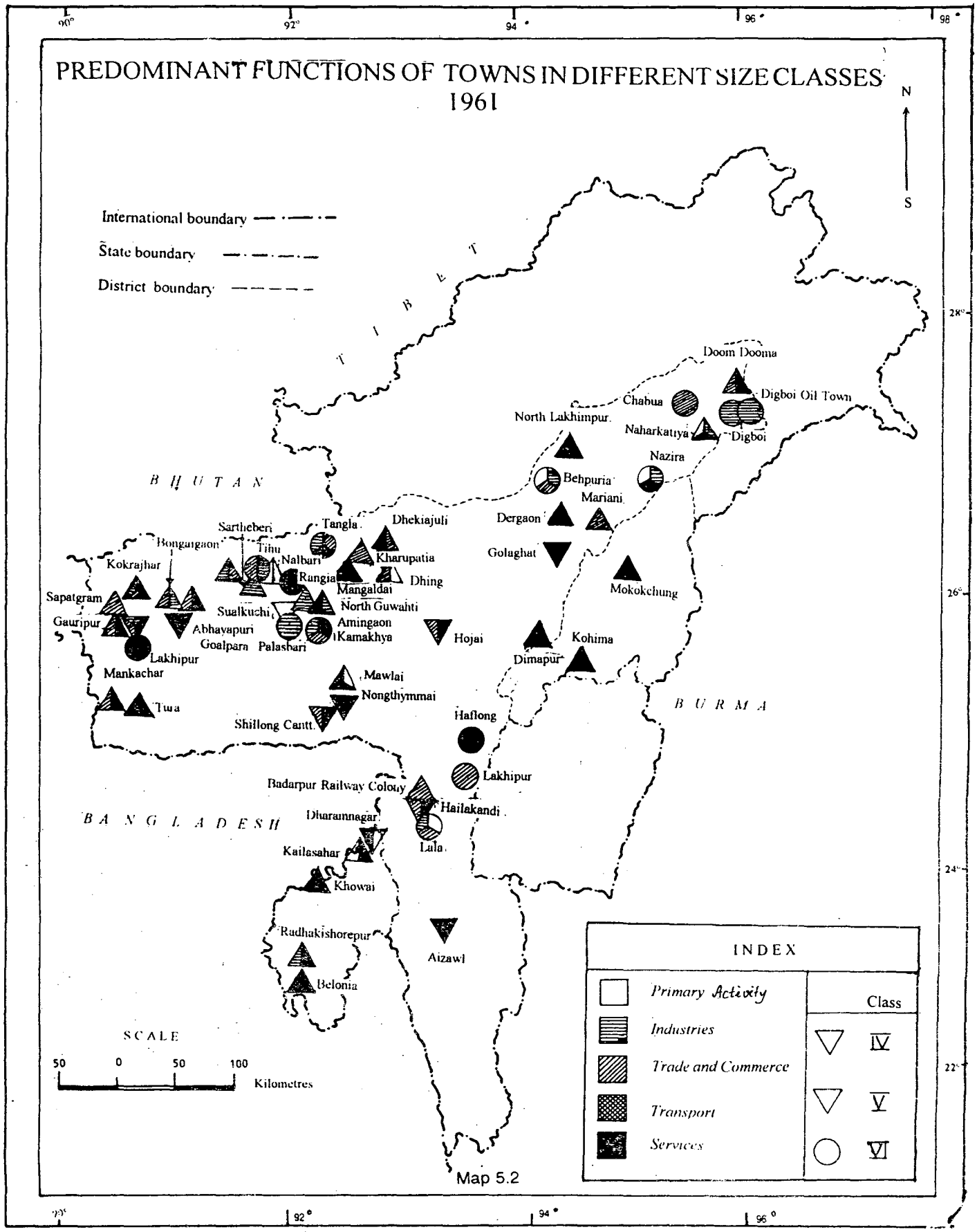
The distribution of towns according to their pre-dominant functions in the seven sister states of North-Eastern Region (NER) illustrates a clear composite distributional pattern of towns, though very highly skewed in nature, because nearly 85 percent of towns are located in Assam, Manipur and Mizoram. It is also true that Assam was a parent state of NER where Arunachal Pradesh, earlier known as North-East Frontier Agency, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland (a part of it) were given birth in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It may be said that still Assam stands either as a mother figure or an eldest sister figure among the other states. Assam alone constituted 77, 72 and 47 percent of towns in the NER, in 1961, 1971 and 1991 respectively.

In this exercise, an attempt has been made to bring out the distributional pattern of the number of mono, bi and multi-functional towns having primary activity, industry, trade and commerce, transport and services as a leading/predominant function in the year 1961, 1971 and 1991 respectively. A detailed distribution of functionally classified towns in size classes is presented in Maps 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6.

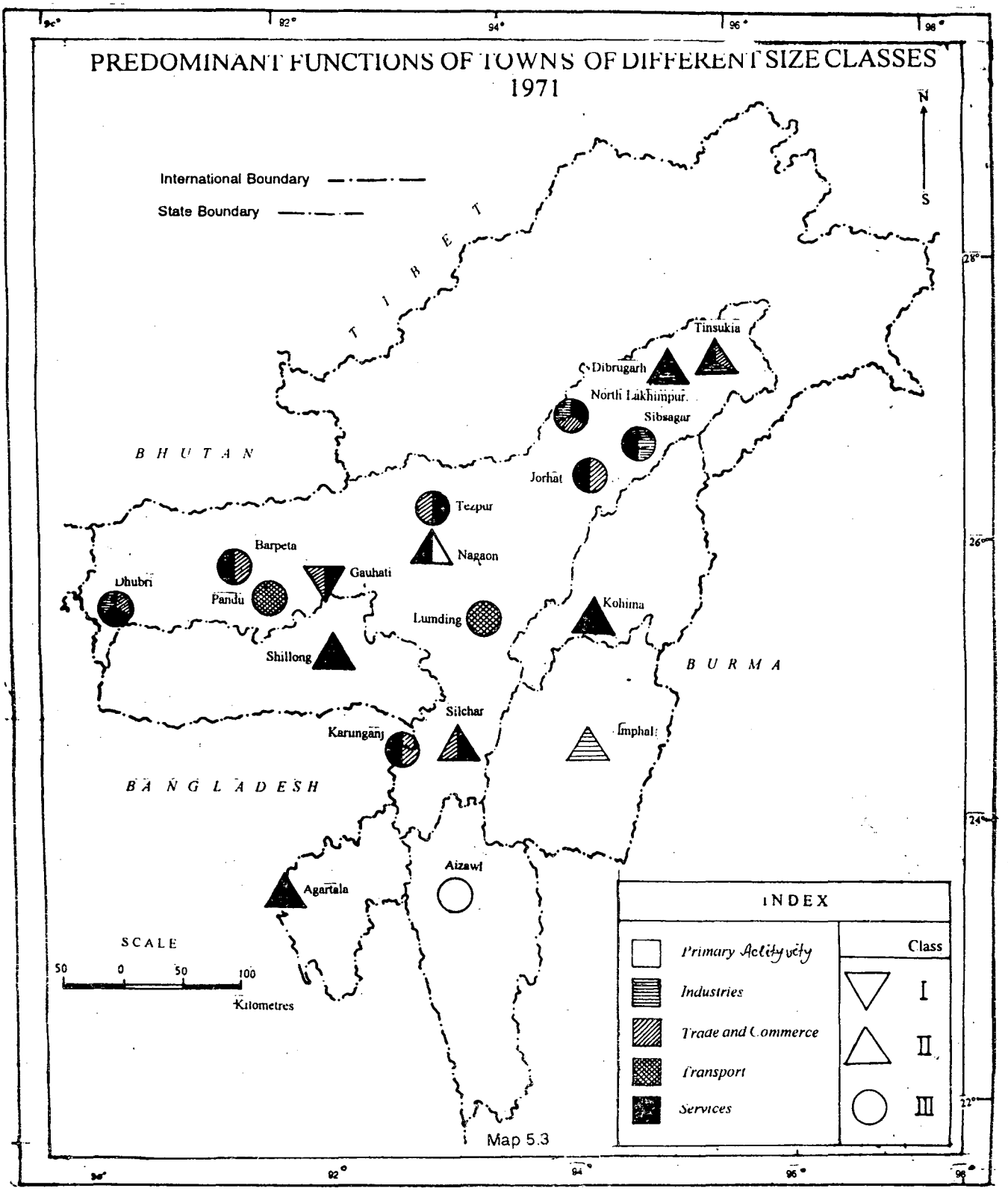
Maps 5.1 and 5.2 indicate the distribution of function of towns in 1961. Except for Imphal in Manipur and Agartala in Tripura, all the Class I, II and III towns were in Assam. The longest number were class III towns which were mono-functional service towns in Assam. Though a few bi-functional towns in


PREDOMINANT FUNCTIONS OF TOWNS OF DIFFERENT SIZE CLASSES
1961
N
S
International boundary
State boundary
District boundary
T I B E T
BHUTAN
BANGLADESH
BURMA
Dibrugarh
Tinsukia
Jorhat
Tezpur
Nowgon
Barpeta
Gauhati
Dhubri
Pandu
Shillong
Lumding
Silchar
Karimganj
Imphal
Agartala
INDEX
Class
Primary Activity
Industries
Trade and Commerce
Transport
Services
I
II
III
SCALE
50 0 50 100
Kilometres

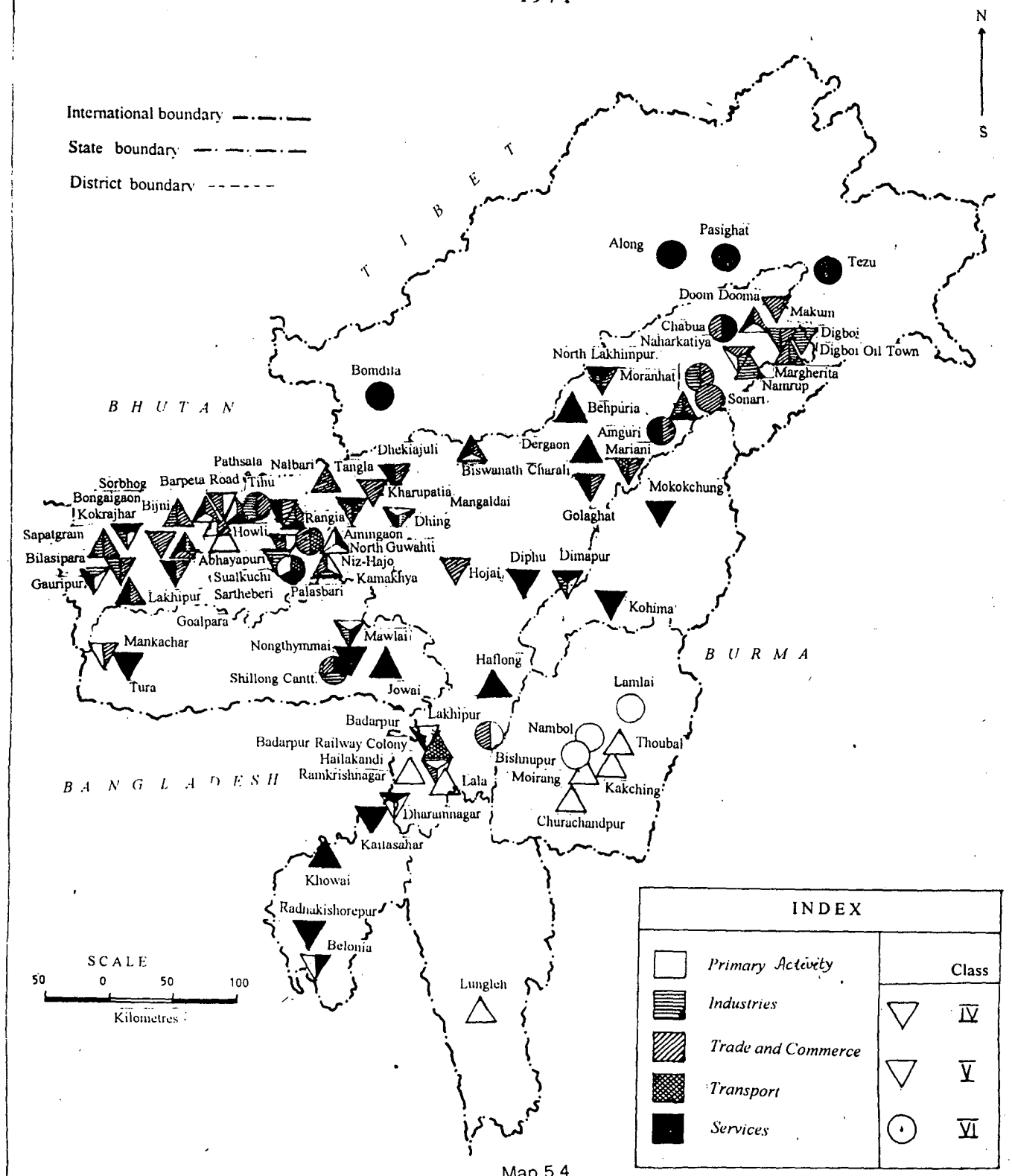
Map 5.1


PREDOMINANT FUNCTIONS OF TOWNS IN DIFFERENT SIZE CLASSES
1961
N
S
International boundary
State boundary
District boundary
TIBET
BHUTAN
BANGLADESH
BURMA
Doom Dooma
Digboi Oil Town
Chabua
North Lakhimpur
Naharkatiya
Digboi
Nazira
Behpuria
Mariani
Dergaon
Golaghat
Mokokchung
Kohima
Dimapur
Hojai
Sartlheberi
Tangla
Dhekiajuli
Bongaigaon
Tihu
Nalbari
Kharupatia
Kokrajhar
Rangia
Dhing
Mangaldai
Sapatgram
North Guwahti
Sualkuchi
Gauripur
Amingaon
Abhayapuri
Kamakhya
Goalpara
Palasbari
Lakhipur
Mankachar
Tura
Mawlai
Nongthymmai
Shillong Cantt.
Haflong
Lakhipur
Badarpur Railway Colony
Hailakandi
Dharamnagar
Lala
Kailasahar
Khowai
Radhakishorepur
Belonia
Aizawl
SCALE
50 0 50 100
Kilometres
INDEX
Primary Activity
Industries
Trade and Commerce
Transport
Services
Class
IV
V
VI
90°
92°
94°
96°
98°
28°
26°
24°
22°

Map 5.2

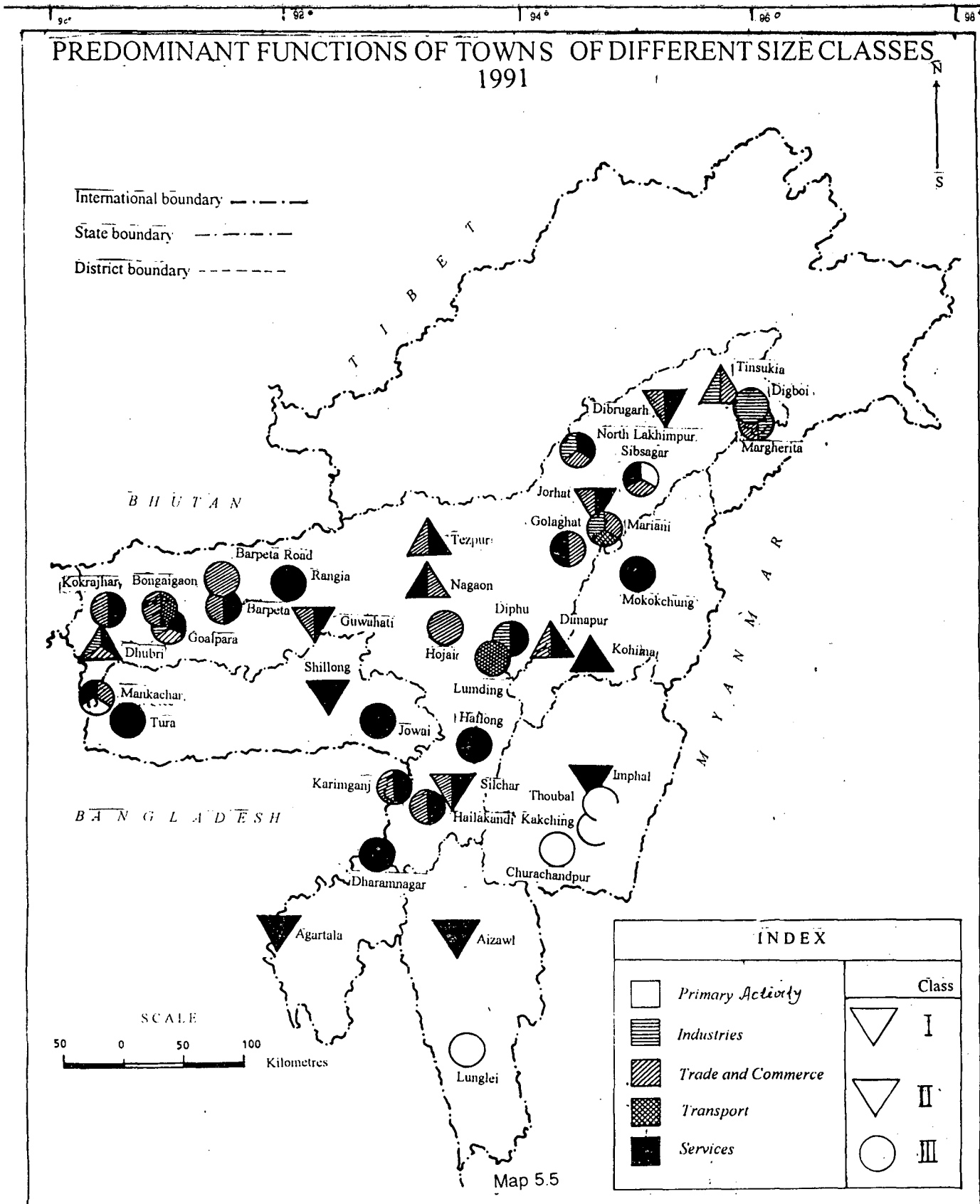

PREDOMINANT FUNCTIONS OF TOWNS OF DIFFERENT SIZE CLASSES
1971
N
S
International Boundary
State Boundary
T I B E T
B H U T A N
B A N G L A D E S H
B U R M A
Tinsukia
Dibrugarh
North Lakhimpur
Sibsagar
Jorhat
Tezpur
Nagaon
Barpeta
Gauhati
Dhubri
Pandu
Lumding
Kohima
Shillong
Silchar
Karunganj
Imphal
Aizawl
Agartala
SCALE
50 0 50 100
Kilometres
INDEX
Primary Activity
Industries
Trade and Commerce
Transport
Services
Class
I
II
III
Map 5.3

PREDOMINANT FUNCTIONS OF TOWNS OF DIFFERENT SIZE CLASSES 1971



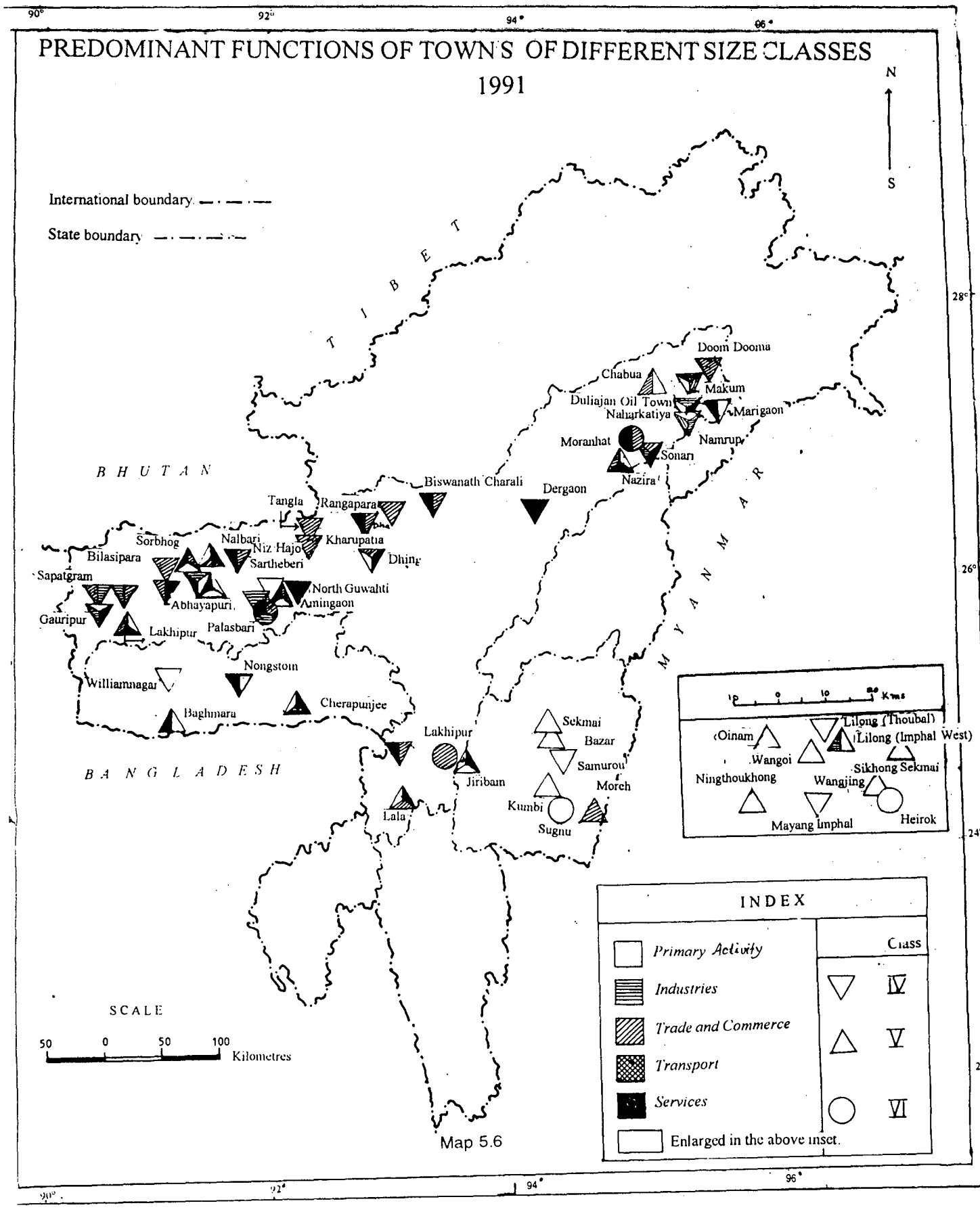
Map 5.4

PREDOMINANT FUNCTIONS OF TOWNS OF DIFFERENT SIZE CLASSES 1991



Map 5.5

PREDOMINANT FUNCTIONS OF TOWN'S OF DIFFERENT SIZE CLASSES
1991



Map 5.6

these classes existed. Along the track bordering Nagaland, Manipur, service, transport and communication and trade and commerce are important functions of the towns.

Map 5.2 represents the functional character and distribution of class IV, V and VI towns in 1961 that the maximum bi- and multi-functional towns were in Assam. NEREA had mostly mono-functional towns. Service town stands out as the most common function in most of the states.

Maps 5.3 and 5.4 show the distribution of functions in the towns in 1971, while the former map represents class I, II and III towns, the latter shows class IV, V and VI towns. The noticeable feature in 1971 was a greater degree of diversification of functions in particularly the class I, II and IV towns and also the smaller towns of Assam. Manipur in 1971 had primary activity as the mono-function in all the towns of different size classes while in Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland they were all service towns (except Dimapur which was multi-functional). In Tripura too service predominated. Maps 5.5 and 5.6 represents the functions of towns in 1991 where 5.5 shows that class IV, V and VI towns. Map 5.5 clearly indicates the fact that in 1991 there were many more class I, II and III towns many of which were functionally diversified in Assam. Arunachal Pradesh lacks any towns in these classes. Manipur, Tripura, Mizoram and Nagaland continue with the trend of having mono-functional towns. In map 5.6 the class IV, V and VI towns of Assam have a similar pattern of being more diversified. However, it is necessary to mention

that some of the towns in this map could not be shown as their correct location is not provided in the census 1991.

I. Mono-Functional Towns Having Primary Activity, Industry, Trade and commerce, Transport and communication and Services as Leading Function

Table 5.1 indicates that in the year 1961 not a single town was classified under primary activity. But in 1971, all of a sudden 12 towns appeared. Of these 12 towns, 5 towns were in Assam and 5 towns were in Manipur. More than 90 percent of towns in Manipur were classified under primary activities. Still the rising trend in absolute figure was noticed in 1991 when 49 towns (43 percent) sprang up. In case of industrial category, there were seven towns in Assam and one in Manipur in 1961 while Tripura did not have a single industrial town. In the next decade, the number of industrial towns declined to five and of these four were in Assam and one in Manipur. By 1991, the industrial town of Manipur did not remain mono-functional, instead it became a bi-functional (diversified its economic activity) town. In contrast, the four industrial towns of Assam remained monofunctional in the same industrial category. No town in the NER was considered as a trade and commerce town or as a transport and communication town except in Assam. As this economic activity is of Assam state only. Therefore, it will be discussed later in the state of Assam. The proportion of towns classified under "services" seemed to decline

Table 5.1 Number of Mono-Functional Towns Having Primary Activities, Industry, Trade and commerce, Transport and communication, and Services as the Leading Function in NER, NEREA and Assam

Region/State	Year	Primary activities	Industries	Trade and commerce	Trans-port	Services	Total
NER	1961	-	7	4	5	24	40
	1971	12	5	7	4	16	44
	1991	49	5	10	1	40	106
NER excluding Assam	1961	-	1	-	-	9	10
	1971	7	1	-	-	13	21
	1991	46	2	-	-	34	82
Arunachal Pradesh	1961	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1971	-	-	-	-	4	4
	1991	-	1	-	-	9	10
Assam	1961	-	6	4	5	14	29
	1971	5	4	7	4	3	23
	1991	3	4	10	1	6	24
Manipur	1961	-	1	-	-	-	1
	1971	7	1	-	-	-	8
	1991	25	-	-	-	1	26
Meghalaya	1961	-	-	-	-	3	3
	1971	-	-	-	-	4	4
	1991	1	-	-	-	3	4
Mizoram	1961	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1971	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1991	20	-	-	-	2	22
Nagaland	1961	-	-	-	-	3	3
	1971	-	-	-	-	2	2
	1991	-	-	-	-	8	8
Tripura	1961	-	-	-	-	3	3
	1971	-	-	-	-	3	3
	1991	-	-	-	-	11	11

Source: Table is derived from Census of India, (1) Town Directory 1971,& (2) Functional Classification of Urban Agglomerations and Towns of India, 1991, An Occassional Paper No.3, 1994.

from 60 percent in 1961 to 36 percent in 1971. There was, however, a slight improvement in the proportion in 1991. A good number of service towns were located in all the states of the North-East, except Manipur and Mizoram, where primary activities were dominant over the 30 year time periods.

II. Bi-Functional Towns (UAs) Having Primary Activity, Industry, Trade and commerce, Transport and communication and Services as Leading Function

It is observed that 30 percent of towns were classified in 1961, and 71 under bifunctional categories whereas 26 percent of towns were classified this way in 1991 (Table 5.1). Of these 21 towns in 1961, one town (5 percent) each in Primary activity and Transport while 3 towns (14 percent) and 12 towns (57 percent) were in Industry and Services, respectively. But 4 towns were in trade and commerce in 1961 whereas its number rose to 19 towns (61 percent) in 1971 at the growth rate of 375 percent while the number of service towns reduced from 12 to 7 (22 percent). In 1971, trade and commerce became a major category among the bifunctional towns in the entire NER. Interestingly, these trade and commerce towns could not remain in the dominant mono-functional towns when service towns shot up from 7 (in 1971) to 20 (42 percent) in 1991.

It is believed that out of 20 possible bi-functional combinations, 16 combinations occurred during the span of 30 years in this region (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Number of Bi-functional Towns Having Primary Activity, Industry, Trade and commerce, Transport and communication, and Services as the Leading Function in NER, NEREA and Assam, 1961-91

	Primary activity+				Industry+				Trade and commerce+				Transport+				Services+				Total n of town
	Id	Tc	Tr	Sr	Pa	Tc	Tr	Sr	Pa	Id	Tr	Sr	Pa	Id	Tc	Sr	Pa	Id	Tc	Tr	
NER																					
1961	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	1	2	2	8	-	21
1971	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	6	1	9	-	-	2	-	-	-	7	-	31
1991	1	1	-	2	1	3	-	1	-	3	1	9	-	3	1	1	5	2	13	-	47
NER excluding Assam																					
1961	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	4
1971	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
1991	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	1	-	9
Assam																					
1961	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	1	7	-	17
1971	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	6	1	9	-	-	2	-	-	-	6	-	30
1991	-	1	-	1	1	3	-	-	-	3	-	9	-	-	1	1	1	1	12	-	34
Manipur																					
1961	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1991	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Meghalaya																					
1961	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
1971	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1991	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Tripura																					
1961	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	3
1971	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
1991	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	4

Note:

Pa = Primary activities
Id = Industry
Tc = Trade and commerce
Tr = Transport
Sr = Services

Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Nagaland did not have a single bi-functional towns. Therefore, these states are not shown in the table.

Source: Table is derived from Census of India, (1) Town Directory 1971,& (2) Functional Classification of Urban Agglomerations and Towns of India, 1991, An Occassional Paper No.3, 1994.

Primary activity-cum-transport and communication, industry-cum-transport, transport-cum-primary activity and services-cum-transport, these four combinations were not found in the NE region.

III. Multi-functional Towns Having Primary Activity, Industry, Trade and commerce, Transport and communication, and Services as Leading Functions

A look at the distribution of multifunctional towns, (Table 5.3) makes it clear that there was not a single town with transport as its main leading function over the past 30 years in this region. Four industrial towns were in this region in 1961, of these, all were in Assam. Subsequently, in the next decade of 1971 both were in Assam while there were 4 towns in 1991, all, once again, were in Assam. There was a sudden increase in case of trade and commercial towns from 1 town in 1961 to 11 (42 percent) towns in 1971 while 13 (35 percent) existed in 1991. In case of primary activity also, the number of towns gradually increased from 2 (1961) to 3 (1971) and to 5 towns in 1991. There were 3 service towns in 1961 in NER of which 2 were in Assam. The number rose to 10 in 1971 of which 7 were in Assam and the remaining ones in Tripura (21) and Meghalaya (1). In 1991 this number rose to 13, 8 of them in Assam and the rest in Tripura (2), Manipur (1) and Meghalaya (1) respectively.

Table 5.3 No. of Multi-Functional Towns Having Primary Activity, Industry, Trade and commerce, Transport and communication, and Services as the Leading Function in NER, NEREA and Assam, 1961-91

Region/ State	Year	123	132	135	152	153	154	231	235	251	253	254	312	315	321	324	325	342	351	352
NER																				
	1961	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	1971	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	2	1	2	1	-	1	3
	1991	-	-	1	-	4	-	2	1	-	-	1	1	3	1	-	4	1	2	1
NER excluding Assam	1961	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1971	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1991	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Assam																				
	1961	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	1971	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	2	1	2	1	-	1	3
	1991	-	-	1	-	3	-	2	1	-	-	1	1	3	1	-	4	1	2	1
Manipur																				
	1961	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1971	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1991	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Meghalaya																				
	1961	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1971	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1991	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tripura																				
	1961	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1971	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1991	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: As given in table 5.1.

Region/ state	Year	512	513	521	523	524	531	532	534	542	Total No.
NER											
	1961	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	10
	1971	-	-	1	2	-	2	3	1	1	26
	1991	1	1	-	3	-	2	5	-	1	34
NER excluding Assam	1961	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
	1971	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	-	5
	1991	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	5
Assam											
	1961	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	8
	1971	-	-	1	1	-	1	2	1	1	21
	1991	-	1	-	1	-	2	4	-	-	29
Manipur											
	1961	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1971	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1991	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Meghalaya											
	1961	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
	1971	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
	1991	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Tripura											
	1961	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1971	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2
	1991	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	3

Note: Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland are not shown because not a single town falls in this functional combination.

Functional type shown against first, second and third places by the numerals
1 to 5: 1 - Primary Activity; 2 - Industry; 3 - Trade and commerce;
4 - Transport and communication; and 5 - Services

Source: As given in table 5.1

NORTH-EASTERN REGION EXCLUDING ASSAM (NEREA):

A portrayal of the functional distribution of towns in NEREA shows that in 1961 all the towns in six sister states were mono-functional.

Mono-functional Towns Having Primary Activity, Industry, Trade and commerce, Transport and communication and Services as Leading Functions

Hardly 10/11 towns existed in 1961, of these only Imphal (capital of Manipur) had industry as the main function. Six towns were in Tripura of which 3 service towns and 3 bi-functional towns were classified respectively. The present states of Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Meghalaya were not on the scene then. Of course, Shillong town was classified as service town in 1961 while Dimapur, Kohima and Mokokchung were classified as service towns (Table 5.1) in 1961. But in 1971, there was little improvement in the situation, when quite a number of new towns sprang up. A total of 21 (20 percent of the entire NER otherwise 80 percent of the NEREA) were service towns while primary activity dominated in seven towns. Again, Imphal was the only town with industry as a predominant function.

A sudden increase in the number of towns in NEREA resulted in increased mono-functionally classified towns. Of the 82 mono-functional towns, 46 towns (56 percent) were in Primary Activity while 34 towns (41 percent) were classified as service towns and only two towns (one in Manipur and the

other in Arunachal Pradesh) emerged as industrial towns in 1991. It is interesting to note that over the past 20 to 30 years, not a single town either in trade and commerce or transport sectors has emerged in NEREA.

Bi-Functional Towns and Multi-functional Towns Having Primary Activity, Industry, Trade and commerce, Transport and communication, and Services as Leading Function

In 1961, only 4 bi-functional towns were located in the entire 6 NE states. The number of such towns declined to one in 1971, but in 1991, 9 towns emerged in this category. Of these 2 were primary and 6 service towns and 1 in industry (Table 5.2). In case of multi-functional towns, one town each was found in primary in 1961, 71 and 91. Industry, trade and commerce and transport towns did not emerge in these 30 years time period. But multi-functional service towns were observed in the NEREA, 2 towns in 1961, 5 towns each in 1971 and 91. It points towards a lack of functional diversification in the NEREA in 1991.

From the above detailed study on the distribution of functionally classified town in NEREA, the following salient features emerge:

(1) Nearly 85 percent of towns are classified as mono-functional towns, which is mostly primary activity and services.

(2) The degree of concentration of a particular mono-functional towns was very high e.g. out of 22 towns which were in Mizoram in 1991, 20 towns

were classified as primary.

(3) Industry, trade and commerce and transport towns did not occur in the 30 year time period.

(4) There is some tendency of switching from one mono- function to another, especially from primary activities to services.

ASSAM

Distribution of Mono-Functional Towns Having Primary Activity, Industry, Trade and commerce, Transport and communication, Services as Leading Predominant Functions, 1961-71 and 1971-91

A probe into the details of distribution of mono-functional towns reveals (Table 5.1) the fact that in Assam there was not a single mono-functional Primary Activity town in 1961. There were 29 mono-functional towns in 1961, of these industry, trade and commerce and transport had an almost equal number of towns, i.e, 6, 4 and 5 towns respectively (Table 5.1). Among these activities, industry shows a very important place. The functional specialisation of towns in an area has generated an almost equal number of towns in three above mentioned names, industries, trade and commerce and transport which shows the importance of these economic activities to cater to the growing urban population not only in Assam state but also for the entire adjoining states.

Fourteen towns (48 percent) were in the service sector in Assam in 1961, indicating the importance of service towns. They provided services for the town

as well as to their hinterland.

Out of the 74 towns in 1971 in Assam, 23 (31 percent) were mono-functional which means a decrease of 6 towns (26 percent) from the previous count of 29 towns. An interesting dimension had emerged in 1971. There were 500 percent increase in Primary Activity and 366 percent decrease in service activity. A substantial increase (from four to seven towns) was observed in trade and commerce category between 1961-71 period. The phenomenon of great decrease in the service towns seemed to be because (1) there was sudden increase in other mono-Primary Activity towns, and (2) more towns from this mono-functional service towns diversified their economic activities to other combinations.

A somewhat different picture emerged in 1991 inspite of the increase in the number of towns in Assam. A total number of 24 towns (28 percent) specialised in mono-functional economic activities. Of these 3 were in Primary Activity, 4 towns in industries, 10 towns in Trade and commerce and 6 towns in Services (Table 5.1). The trade and commerce towns have been gaining momentum in specialising from a more diversified economic functions over the 30 years at the rate of 14 percent in 1961 to 41 percent in 1991. These economic activities are in larger towns of Assam and it becomes the centre to other north-east states as well. But the number of transport towns reduced to only one in 1991.

Bi-Functional Towns Having Primary Activity, Industry, Trade and commerce, Transport and communciation, and Services As the Leading Dominant Function

Table 5.2 indicates that there has been an increase in the number of bi-functional towns from 17 in 1961 to 30 in 1971 at the growth rate of 76 percent and it was 34 towns in 1991.

In 1961, 31 percent of towns were classified as bi-functional, of these 41 percent (7 towns) were service towns as leading function and 5 towns (29 percent) were trade and commerce as leading function and one town each in Primary and transport as leading bi-functional towns.

The 1971 census presented a different picture with a marked increase in trade and commerce bi-functional towns from 5 in 1961 to 19 in 1971. In contrast, towns with service as leading function suffered substantial decline in its percentage share. Thirty towns were classified as bi-functional in 1971, but in 1961, there were 17 (31 percent of the total in Assam) towns.

Although the number of bi-functional towns increased substantially in 1991 over that in 1971, their proportion in the total urban settlement was somewhat lower. The service bi-functional class moved up and down in its number. It is noticed that 14 (41 percent) of bifunctional towns were in service category as a leading function followed by trade and commerce (12 towns or 35 percent).

Multi-function Towns Having Primary Activity, Industry, Trade and commerce, Transport and communication, and Services As a Leading Function

Table 5.3 indicates that in Assam there has not been a single town diversified into transport as a leading function in multi-functional class from 1961 to 1991. In 1961, there were only 8 multi-function towns which rose to 21 towns in the next decade at the growth of 162 percent and further to 29 towns in 1991.

It is interesting to note that there was only one trade and commerce multi-functional town in 1961 but it shot upto 11 in 1971. It shows that the functional diversification towards trade and commerce experienced in Assam in 1971 continued till 1991. As it is, the number of multi-functional towns with services as leading function steadily rose from 2 in 1961 to 6 in 1971 and to 8 in 1991 respectively. Four multi-functional towns with industry as leading function were observed in 1961 whereas 11 (52 percent) towns were in trade and commerce category in 1971 and 13 (45 percent) towns continued in this category in 1991.

The functional distribution of towns in Assam over the 30 years behaves in an uneven and strange pattern. Therefore the following features are drawn from the above discussion:

1. With the spurt in the number of new towns in 1961, more than 50 percent of the total towns were found engaged in mono-functional

activities as leading function. With a further rise in the total number of new towns in 1971, a large proportion of mono-functional towns declined.

2. Faster increase in the number of mono-functional towns than the bi-functional towns in the 30 years time period is observed in the state.
3. Over the thirty-year period not a single town emerged with transport as leading function in the multi-functional category.
4. In all the categories of mono, bi and multi-functions, trade and commerce towns increased in number at a rapid pace over the 30 year period.
5. Out of theoretically possible 20 and 60 combinations for bi-functional towns and for mono-functional towns, 14 and 25 combinations have been observed respectively during the 30 year period (Table 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3).
6. A gradual increase in the number of mono-functional towns over the 3 decades is quite interesting.
7. In Assam, the number of towns with Transport and communication as a leading function was the lowest while that in Trade and commerce was the highest.

THE NATURE OF FUNCTIONAL CHANGES OF TOWNS

This section attempts to analyse the nature of functional changes of towns which was common between 1961-71 as well as 1971-91. The functional

characteristics of the towns in the north-east states seem to have undergone many changes over the past 30 years. In order to analyse these functional changes, each town (common in both 1961-71 as well as in 1971-91 period) is studied and 9 types of changes have been observed. They have been categorised into 3 different modes of functional changes and another category which does not fall under these 9 types of functional changes is also included in this analysis. Analysis is based in the following Table 5.4. These categories are discussed as follows:

The **first category** of changes in the functional characteristics of towns is when it has changed from a simpler function to a more complex one, and it is termed as 'functional diversification', i.e., the changes are from (i) mono to bi function, (ii) mono to multi-function, and (iii) bi to multi-functional towns, e.g. Tezpur in Assam was classified as a service town in 1961 but it became service-cum-trade and commerce in 1971 census, i.e., Tezpur has changed from mono to bi-function.

The **second category** of changes is when towns changed from a more diversified (complex) function to a simpler, less diversified function, and it is termed as 'functional specialisation', i.e., when town function shifts from (iv) multi to bi-function, (v) multi to mono-function and (vi) bi to mono-functional towns, e.g., Digboi town was classified as trade and commerce cum industries town in 1961 but it became an industrial town in 1991.

The **third category** is of those towns which remained within the mono-

functional, bi-functional or multi-functional class, but the specialisation or dominant function changes. Those are termed as 'Inter and Intra Transmutational Function' (IITF), i.e., when towns alter and reorganise from (vii) one mono to another mono, (viii) bi to another bi and (ix) multi to another multi-functional characteristics, e.g., Imphal (Manipur) was classified as an industrial town in 1971 but it got shifted to service in 1991. Another example of intra transmutational function is of Tihu (Assam) which in 1961 was classified as Industry-cum-trade and commerce town but it changed to Trade and commerce cum industry in 1971.

Lastly, in the **fourth category** of analysis are those towns which remained functionally static in the same mono, bi and multi-functional groups, which are on the focus of the discussion. It is termed as 'Towns Functionally Static' or 'Static town', e.g., Kohima (Nagaland) was a service town in 1961 and it continued with the same functional specialisation in 1991 as well.

From the above discussion, it is clearly observed that there are 9 changes along with 3 categories of static functional towns focussed in this analysis in (i) the NER as a whole, (ii) the NER excluding Assam and (iii) Assam only. Greater emphasis is laid on the first and third categories.

NORTH-EASTERN REGION (NER)

By looking at NER as a whole it is clearly observed in Table 5.4 that in 1961-71 four-fifths of the towns (79 percent) have undergone changes in their

Table 5.4 The Nature of Functional Change of Towns, 1961-1971 and 1971-1991

	Diversification			Specialisation			I.I.T.F			Static			Total No.of common towns bet 1961 1971
	Mono to Bi funct	Mono to Multi funct	Bi-to Multi funct	Bi-to Mono funct	Multi to Bi funct	Multi to Mono funct	Mono to another Mono funct	Bi to another Bi-funct	Multi to another Multi-funct.	Mono funct	Bi-funct	Multi funct.	
North East													
1961-71	17	10	7	6	2	3	2	3	4	11	4	1	70
1971-91	5	3	8	7	8	2	2	6	8	27	11	3	90
North East (excluding Assam)													
1961-71	1	2	2	2	0	1	0	0	1	7	0	0	16
1971-91	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	0	1	17	0	0	24
Assam													
1961-71	16	8	5	4	2	2	2	3	3	4	4	1	54
1971-91	5	3	8	6	7	-	-	6	7	10	11	3	66
Arunachal Pradesh													
1961-71	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971-91	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	4
Manipur													
1961-71	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
1971-91	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	7	-	-	8
Meghalaya													
1961-71	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	3	-	-	6
1971-91	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	3
Mizoram													
1961-71	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971-91	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Nagaland													
1961-71	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	3
1971-91	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	3
Tripura													
1961-71	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	6
1971-91	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	5

Note: I.I.T.F. means Inter and Intra Transmutational Function.
Only the common towns have been taken into consideration in this table.

Source: Figures for this table are derived from Census of India, Town Directory 1971 and Functional Classification of Urban Agglomerations/Towns of India, An Occasional Paper No.4, 1994.

functional character while this proportion fell to three-fifths during 1971-91 period. It is noted that NER as a whole had 70 and 90 common towns between 1961-71 and 1971-91 respectively. Interestingly, different dimensions emerged from the 9 detailed analysis.

(i) Functional Diversification

Between 1961-71, 34 towns (48 percent) apparently diversified their functional characteristics (category I). Of these 34 towns, 17 towns underwent changes from mono to bi indicating the high degree of diversified nature in their functional characteristics, another 10 towns headed for a more diversified nature changing from mono to multi functions and 7 towns experienced changes from bi to multi-functions. But, during 1971-91, a different situation surfaced when only 16 towns (18 percent) happened to diversify their functional characteristics. This transmutation of unequal pace in this period of 1961-71 can be explained by two reasons: (a) new additional towns were less in 1971 census (19 new towns) as compared to 1961 (34 new towns), which means that lesser number of towns were there to diversify their functional characteristics from the newly emerged towns and (b) those towns of 1961 which they had already experienced changes in their functional category from mono to multi and bi to multi would not experience change in their functions during 1971-91 period. Therefore, the situation of 1971-91 period is justified to a large extent. Of the 16

(18 percent) towns that underwent a change in 1971-91 period, 5 diversified from mono to bi-function, 3 towns from mono to multi functional and 8 towns from bi to multi-function.

(ii) Functional Specialisation

It is observed that in case of functional specialisation (Category II), towns have narrowed down their functional characteristics from a complex/diversified nature into a more specialised mode. Between 1961 and 1971, eleven towns of the total 70 common towns portrayed this type of change. Among them 6 towns changed their functional characteristics from bi to mono-function, 2 towns transformed from multi to bi-functions and 3 (27 percent) towns transmuted from multi to mono-functional category. This transmutation of functions is heading towards the functional specialisation.

A phenomenal change in this direction is observed in 1971-91 period when 17 towns (19 percent) out of 90 towns (category II) indicated a certain degree of functional specialisation. Of these 17 towns, 41 percent of towns underwent a change from bi to mono-function, another group of towns (47 percent) reshaped their town-functions from multi to bi-function, and 2 towns (12 percent) squeezed their diversified functional characteristics from multi to mono function.

(iii) Inter and Intra Transmutational Function

It is noticed that there were only 2 towns each in the 1961-71 and 1971-91 periods in the mono-functional category. Of these 4 towns in 1961-71 and 1971-91 periods, 2 towns were in Assam in 1961-71 and one each in Mizoram and Manipur in 1971-91 respectively. These small number of towns in their respective category show that shifting from one specialised function to another seldom takes place. A town which specialises its function as Primary Activity in the beginning of its growth, could switch over to services or to any other functions, but in a situation, i.e., services town switching over to primary activity would not happen. It is understood that an industrial town could become a service town or a trade and commerce one could become a transport and communication town and so on. Under this category, a total number of 9 (13 percent) towns in 1961-71 period are observed. Of these 2 towns which changed from one mono to another mono-functional status, all of them are found in the state of Assam. Another 3 towns changed from bi to another bi-functional status in Assam and 2 towns transmutated from multi to another multi-functional class.

In the following period of 1971-91, the number of such towns increased to 16 (18 percent of the total common towns). Among these 16 towns, 6 had changed from one set of bi-function category to another set of bi-functional category with a change in the leading function in 1971-91

period. Similarly, another 8 towns shifted their functional characteristics from multi to another multi-functional set implying that more towns were vulnerable in shifting their leading function. Finally, a similar situation as in 1961-71 emerged when only 2 towns changed their towns' function from one mono to another mono-functional characteristics.

(iv) Functionally Static Towns

In this last category, functionally static towns become a point of reference as to how many towns changed their functional characteristics and how many remained functionally static (Table 5.4). Only 15 towns (21 percent) remained functionally static during 1961-71, their statewise break up being, one each in Manipur and Tripura, 3 in Meghalaya, 2 in Nagaland and 4 in Assam. Of these 15 towns, 11 towns were stagnant, 4 towns continued in the static bi-functional class and 1 town in Assam remained unchanged in multi-functional status.

But, during 1971-91, a completely different picture emerged when 41 towns (45 percent) remained static from the functional specialisation viewpoint. It means towns which have been specialising in their functions continued to do so. It is clearly observed that 27 towns remained functionally static in mono-functional category. The state-wise breakup of these towns in Arunachal Pradesh (21), Manipur (7),

Meghalya (2), Nagaland (2) and Tripura (2) (see Table 5.4 for more details).

Changing of towns' functions could be possible when the workforce of that urban area is less and when towns grow but its work force population does not grow at an equal pace. The other dimension is that labour migration from outside the urban areas or setting up an industry could cause the changing of function in a particular town. The functional changes also reflect the mode of urbanisation in NER as a whole. It is observed that in the period 1961-71, towns were mobile in their functional rearrangement and restructuring because in 1961-71, the other states of this NER excluding Assam were at their initial stage of urbanisation. Therefore, the large number of towns including Assam experienced this phenomenon. It is noted that in the other 6 states 75 percent and above towns remained functionally static except in Tripura and Meghalaya where it was 50 percent and above. This static situation of town function in the North-East's six states occurred only in mono-functional class in both the periods. There was not a single town in the other two sub-category of changes i.e. bi to bi and multi to multi. A somewhat similar picture in the specialisation of function and inter and intra-transmutational function emerged from the above discussion.

The following chart may sum up the above discussion.

Nature of Functional Changes in NER

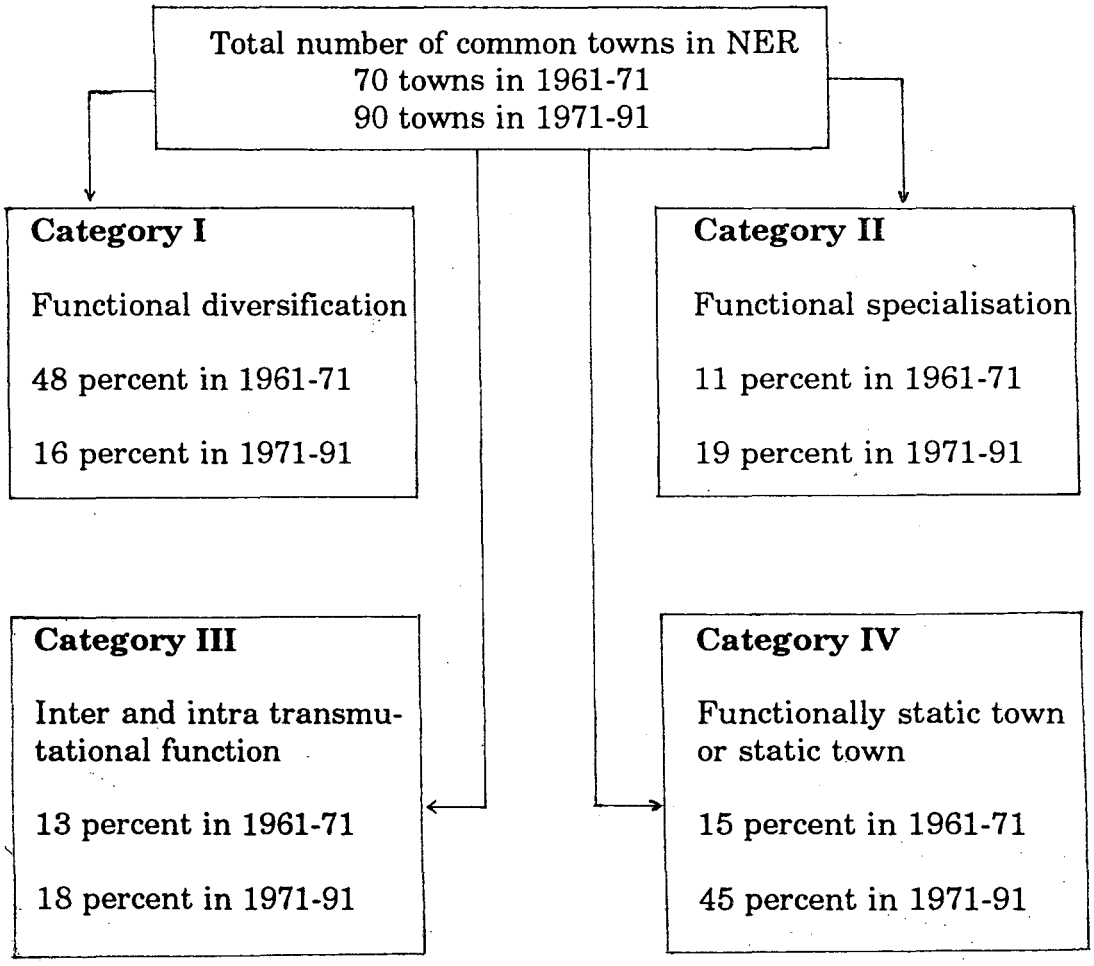


Figure 1

NER EXCLUDING ASSAM (NEREA)

North-Eastern Region excluding Assam comprises 6 states, namely Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura which account for 30 percent and 36 percent of the total towns in Assam for the 1961-71 and 1971-91 periods (more than 3-fold) respectively. NEREA gives a different picture in the NER in these two time periods.

In case of NEREA, it is observed that a large number of towns (57 percent) changed their towns' functional characteristics in 1961-71 period. But in the period 1971-91 a somewhat calm situation surfaced when 71 percent of towns remained functionally static. Table 5.4 gives the distributional pattern of the NEREA for the 1961-71 and 1971-91 periods.

(i) Functional Diversification

It is observed that in the category of functional diversification, only 5 towns (31 percent) of the total number of NEREA transformed their functional characteristics in the decade 1961-71. Of these 5 towns (3 towns in Tripura and 1 each in Meghalaya and Nagaland), 1 town diversified its function from mono to bi-functional status, 2 towns (one each in Nagaland and Tripura) shifted their function from a simpler, specialised function to a more complex diversified function, i.e., from mono to multi-function and 2 towns moved their functions from bi- to multi-functions. It means, in 1961-71, 5 towns altogether shifted their

functions when towns diversified their functions, but the situation is transmogrified when not a single town was prepared to modify its function in the 1971-91 period. This was not the situation (discussed already above) in NER including Assam.

(ii) Functional Specialisation

In the case of functional specialisation, it is observed in two states only, Nagaland and Tripura. Only one town in Nagaland changed from multi to bi-function in 1971-91 and 2 towns in Tripura in 1971-91. Of these, 1 town refashioned its function from bi to mono-function and 1 town reduced its function from multi to mono-function, which means a preparedness to specialise its function to a greater degree.

(iii) Inter and Intra-transmutational Function

Inter and intra-transmutational function of towns occurred in 4 states, namely Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura. In the year 1961-71, only one town in Meghalaya prepared to rearrange its multi function to another (leading) multifunction. But in the year 1971-91, 3 towns were observed to change their functions, i.e., 2 towns, one in Manipur and the other in Mizoram, altered from their mono-functional to another monofunctional status. Meghalaya had one town which restructured its multifunction to another multifunctional combination.

(iv) Functionally Static Towns

It is observed that in the fourth category, i.e., functionally static town, 43 percent of towns (7 out of 16 towns) remained functionally static in their specialized single, mono functional group and it grew by 143 percent to be 17 towns in such static monofunctional towns in 1971-91. Not a single town remained functionally static in other two sub-types, i.e., static bi-function and static multi. Therefore, this phenomenon can be one where very few of bi-functional and multi-functional towns existed in the NEREA. The statewise breakup of this functionally static towns in 1961-71 in Manipur (1), Meghalaya (3), Nagaland (2) and Tripura (1) respectively and in 1971-91, Arunachal Pradesh (4), Manipur (7), Meghalaya (2), Nagaland (2) and Tripura 2 (Table 5.5).

The functional diversification in the NEREA has not all surfaced in the year 1971-91 period. Towns shifting from one function or functional combination to another but remaining within the mono and bi-functional class were none in 1961-71 and bi-functional in 1971-91. Towns functionally static in NEREA were in large numbers but it is confined to mono only.

In the above discussion, Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram (except one town) have not participated in their functional changes because towns of Arunachal Pradesh which were common both in 1961-71 and 1971-91 did not shift their town functions at all.

The above discussion on NEREA can be briefly represented by the chart as below:

Nature of Functional Change in NEREA 1961-91

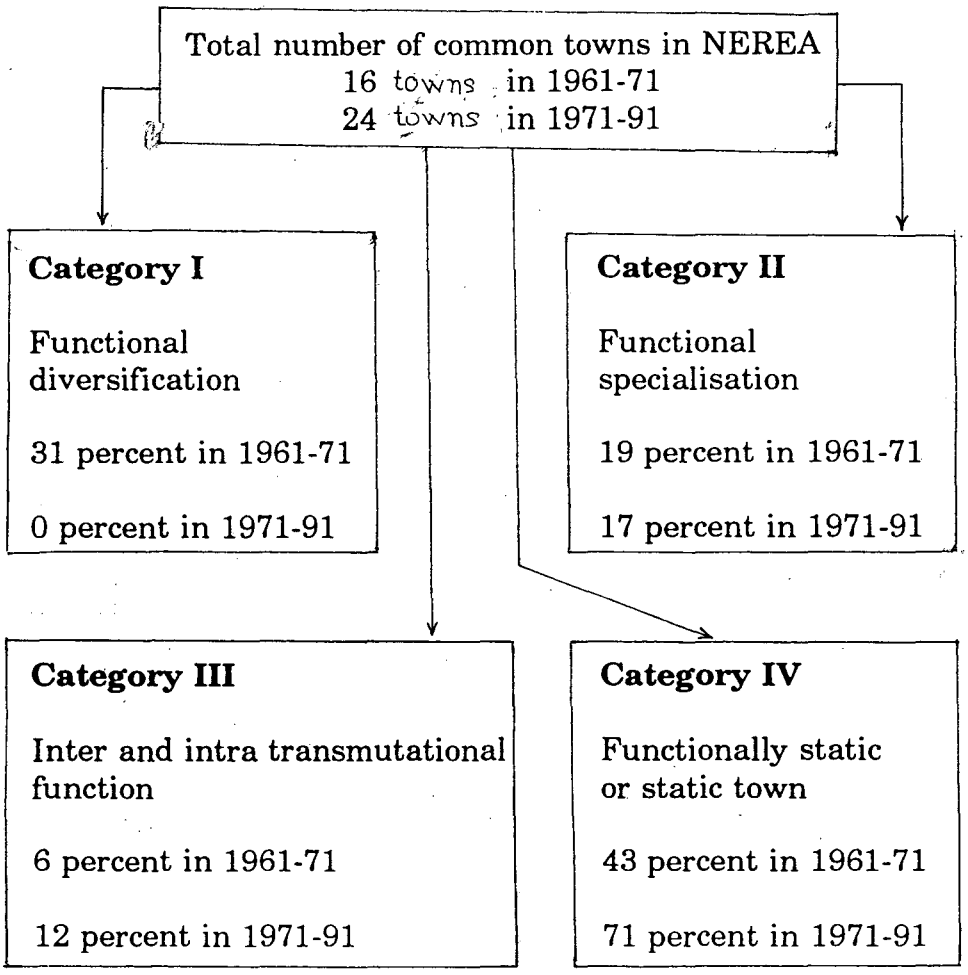


Figure 2

ASSAM (ONLY)

(i) Functional Specialisation

In the north-east region, Assam is the most important state in terms of number of urban centres functionally classified (common towns 54 in 1961-71 and 66 in 1971-91). Hence, it is imperative to conduct a keen study on the nature of change of functional characteristics. A large variety of economic activities are also observed ranging from primary activities to services and their functional combinations with one or more which is not there in other 6 states of NER. Manipur and Mizoram, for example, are states with towns functionally spcialised in primary activities as more than 90 percent of these are towns engaged in this economic activity (1991 census). Economic activities of urban centres are more diversified here compared to other six states because of its long history of urbanization.

(ii) Functional Diversification

In 1961-71 the largest number of towns (nearly 69 percent) had either diversified their functional characteristics or transformed into specialization of function. A total number of 29 towns (54 percent) of a total of 54 towns had diversified their towns' function. Of these 29 towns, 16 and 8 towns had moved from mono to bi and mono to multifunctional status respectively showing a marked economic diversification. Another 5 bi-functional towns became multi-functional

in 1961-71 showing mild diversification of economic activities.

But in the years between 1971-91, a different situation emerged when only 16 towns against 29 towns in 1961-71 had shifted their functions. Of these 16 towns, 5 towns (7.5 percent), 3 towns (4.5 percent) and 8 towns (12 percent) moved from mono to bi, mono to multi and bi to multi-functional status respectively. There has been a decrease of 13 towns from the previous period showing a decline in the trend of functional diversification. This accumulated decline over the 20 years time means gradual decline in diversifying the economic activities in the State. More and more towns would enter either into the last category or second category. It is noted that there had been a gradual increase towards the functional specialisation over the past 20 years. It is evident from the fact that when only 8 towns (15 percent) in 1961-71 tailored to rearrange their functions from mono to multi, bi to multi and bi to multi-functions, 13 (20 percent of the total towns) geared up to squeeze their functions from a mere diversified nature of economic activities to a less diversified one. It shows a dominance of a particular economic activity and its gradual upliftment in terms of worker percentage. It shows a gradual move towards specialisation of function over the years.

(iii) Inter and Intra-transmutational Function

In case of inter and intra transmutational function of towns, a similar situation surfaced (Table 5.4), that means towns' economic activities

over the years kept on fluctuating due to government policies, immigration of a particular working section or out-migration of the same. This trend is likely to continue indicating fluctuation of economic activities.

(iv) Functionally Static Towns

In the year 1961-71, it is noticed that 9 towns (17 percent) entered in the fourth category of functionally static and in the year 1971-91, 24 towns (36 percent) of the total common towns remained functionally static. It shows that towns which diversified their economic activities in 1961-71, most of them stepped up diversifying, specially those towns which moved from mono to multi or bi to multifunctional as well as those towns which specialised their economic activities to a single mono-functional characteristic.

Conclusion

The functionally classified towns and their spatial distribution reveal interesting phenomenon particularly in six states barring Assam. While the north-eastern region as a whole depicts a different picture which is highly skewed in nature. The state of Assam dominated the scene of the distribution of functionally classified towns by its virtue of having a large number of towns. The discussion reveals region that except Assam, most of the towns were functionally dominated either by service or primary activity.

Towns in Manipur and Mizoram were classified under Primary Activity while Nagaland, Meghalaya, Tripura and Arunachal Pradesh were classified under services. This domination of the single function is characterized by the six states from 1961 onwards.

The study on the nature of functional changes of towns in the north-eastern states during 1961-71 and 1971-1991 reveals a very interesting phenomenon. In the former decade, the diversification of functional characteristics dominated the scene by the state Assam. The large number of towns had diversified from mono to bi functional. The role of NEREA in this aspect is insignificant. It is observed that the transformation of towns from mono to bi or to multi functional is much reduced between 1971-91.

The specialization of towns function in both these periods is dominated by Assam followed by Tripura. The states of Meghalaya and Nagaland had one town each which transformed into more specialized function. The NER as a whole had only 11 towns in the period 1961-71 and 12 towns in the period 1971-91, which narrowed down their functions to either mono or bi-functional category. In 1961-71 the maximum number of towns moved from bi to mono while in 1971-91 the maximum towns shifted their functions from multi to bi functional characteristics. The Inter and Intra Transmutation functional changes reveals that there had been an increases in the number of towns from the 1961-71 period to 1971-91 period. The maximum number of towns changed or inter changed their functional combination from multi to another multi

functional combination. This phenomenon is insignificant in NEREA. It is noticed that Assam had 8 towns which underwent these changes during 1961-71 while 13 towns underwent changes during 1971-91 period.

Finally, the number of towns which did not under gone a change during the periods 1961-71 and 1971-91 are quite large. Specially in the NEREA. During 1961-71, 16 towns remained static in NER while 41 towns remained static during 1971-81. The maximum number of towns remained state in mono functional category in both the time periods. Thus towns in Assam are more diversified then the rest of six states.

Chapter VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapter VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The urbanization process in the North-East Region during the past thirty years has resulted in a number of changes in the region. This study has attempted to bring out the changes in the level of urbanization in the different districts of the region, the different growth rates of the urban centres, the emergence of new towns along with the disappearance of some of them and, finally, the impact of urbanization on the functional character of the towns in existence between 1961-71 and 1971-91.

A striking feature observed in the urbanization process that only about 7 percent of the people lived in urban areas in 1961 in the NER where the corresponding level of India's urbanization rate was 17.8 percent. But after 30 years the level of urbanization of NER was 13.9 percent while the corresponding India's figure was 25.7 percent reflecting the wide gap between the two and the possibility of vast improvement in the level of urbanization. The level of urbanization in 1961 in NER was largely an influence of the low level of urbanization of Assam although the state possessed 60 of the total 69 towns of NER. Assam's share in the total number of towns in 1991, however, reduced to a little less than 50 percent. NEREA had an urbanization level of 5.6 percent in 1961 which rose to 20.6 percent in 1991. Among the six states there was high degree

of variation in the level of urbanization. In 1961 there were only 3 U.Ts, viz, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura, of these Manipur was the most urbanized union territory with 7.7 percent urban population while the least urbanized was Nagaland (5.2 percent). NEFA, a separate administrative unit of Assam, did not have urban population, (later NEFA was known as Arunachal Pradesh). In 1971 the most urbanized state was Meghalaya (14.6 percent) and the least was Arunachal Pradesh (3.7 percent). But, in 1981, surprisingly the level of urbanization shot up in most of the NE states, Manipur having 32 towns reached 26 percent urbanization rate which was the highest followed by Mizoram 24.7 percent and Arunachal Pradesh continued to remain the least urbanized state. These two states, Manipur and Mizoram recorded a level which lay ahead of the national average. Interestingly, in 1991, Mizoram became the most urbanized state not only in this region but in the country as a whole with its level of urbanization at 40 percent, and having a galloping growth rate of 160 percent. The least urbanized state was still Arunachal Pradesh with 12 percent urbanization rate. At the district level, the highest level of urbanization in the NER was in Kohima at Nagaland 11.9 percent, followed by Kamrup (Assam) 10.6 percent and least urbanized district was West Garo Hills (again in Assam) 2.9 percent in 1961. The U.Ts of Manipur and Tripura did not have districts at all. But, in 1991 a large number of districts were demarcated, and of these, Aizawl became the

highest urbanized district with 54.5 percent urban population followed by Imphal district (41.5 percent) and the least urbanized district was Dhemaji (Assam) (1.9 percent).

Assam is one of the least urbanized state throughout the 30 years time period. In 1961 its urbanization level was 7.7 percent which rose to 11 percent in 1991. A noteworthy feature of the level of urbanization at the district level is that 4 districts viz Darrang, Goalpara, Lakhimpur and Sibsagar failed to improve the level of urbanization from 1971-91. All of them declined marginally. Almost three-fourths of the districts were below 10 percent level of urbanization except one district which had a large base population and showed a low level of urbanization as compared to those small base population districts.

The emergence of new towns directly increased the number of existing urban centres. In 1961, 41 new towns emerged in the NER. Of these, 34 towns were in Assam alone while Tripura had 5 new towns and the remaining two were in Nagaland. Pandu was the only class III town which appeared and the rest were in class IV and VI category. In 1971, 31 new towns emerged, of which 19 towns were in Assam, 7 were in Manipur, 4 in Arunachal Pradesh and one was in Meghalaya. The rise in urbanization is largely the consequence of the emergence of new towns, particularly in Arunachal Pradesh where the growth rate was 400 percent. These states excluding Assam (NEREA), experienced a very sharp rise.

The total population of newly emerged towns stood at 206,183 persons. In 1981 a total of 42 new towns developed (excluding 11 towns in Assam). Of these, Manipur shared the maximum number of 22 new towns which had a population of 113,483 persons accounting for 30 percent of the total urban population in the state. Meghalaya had 6 new towns with 85,326 persons and 4 towns each in Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura which shared 24.7 percent, 29.07 percent and 9.1 percent of the total urban population respectively. The lowest number of new towns (two) were in Arunachal Pradesh. Interestingly, in 1991, the total number of new towns was 45, of which 15 were in Mizoram with a population of 62,042 persons accounting for 19 percent of total urban population followed by 10 towns in Assam, 9 towns in Tripura, 5 towns in Manipur, 4 towns in Arunachal Pradesh and 2 towns in Nagaland which accounted for 28.6, 41.7, 2.9, 7.4 and 8.2 percent of the total urban population respectively. The state of Meghalaya did not have any newly added town in 1991. In 1991, Mizoram and Tripura were two states where urban population was directly affected by the number of towns and by the newly emerged towns.

Finally, the distribution of functionally classified towns shows the locational importance of towns and their functions. Most of the state capitals were service towns but the exception was Imphal which, in 1961, was classified as industrial, mono-functional town. The towns in Assam located along the bordering states are of importance in their functional

characteristics. From towns of local importance alone, they become regional in character. The most interesting feature of the functions of towns in the NER is that, except Assam, all the towns were dominated either by service or primary activity. In Manipur from 1971 to 1991 more than 90 percent of towns were under primary activity while towns in Mizoram specialised in services. This domination of the single function, is observed in all the six states excluding Assam.

Having analysed the nature of functional change of towns in the NER between 1961-71 and 1971-91, it appears that in the former time period diversification of functional characteristics dominated the scene especially in Assam. The largest number of towns diversified from mono to bi-functional characteristics while a fair number of towns moved from mono to multi-functions as well. The role of the NEREA in this aspect of diversification, is insignificant. The transformation of towns from mono to bi- or to multi-functional nature is much reduced between 1971-91 as compared to earlier decade as well as a fewer number of towns can be categorised under those having undergone diversification. Specialisation of towns' functions was far less important in NER in 1961-71 period to diversification but here too as in the case of diversification, Assam's pattern influenced the NER pattern if one looks at it as a whole though NEREA has a negligible role in influencing overall pattern since there were less number of towns. In 1971-91 phase, specialisation of function had

a far more dominant role to play in the changing nature of towns' functions as many more towns had undergone changed specialisation compared to diversification in six states. Hence, Assam's role is very significant since the number of towns is the largest in the state.

Inter and intra transmutational function plays a minor role in changing the leading functions of towns as compared to above two mentioned. But in this category of changes, multi to another multi-functional characteristics of towns is observed for quite a number of towns specially in Assam. In the other six states these changes are insignificant. Changes in the work participation in the nine industrial category within the three major functional changes of groups result in this phenomenon.

Suggestions Towards the Policy Formulation of Urbanization in the NER of India

In the light of the above discussion in chapter III (Growth of Towns), chapter IV (Emergence of New Towns) and chapter V (Functional Classification), it is useful to give some suggestions for consideration while formulating the urban policy of this region. The NER is evidently a less urbanized but fast growing part of India.

The analysis presented in this study has indicated wide variation in the level of urbanization and in the pace of urban growth. The nature of large proliferation in the number of towns and the nature of functional

changes provide a food for thought in delving into the situation of urbanisation in the north-east region. In this process one arrives at some suiggestions as given below:

1. By virtue of its central location among the seven states, North-eastern sister the bordering towns seem to have high growth rate as compared to the towns in central part of Assam besides the state capital. These towns acquired the regional character. Therefore, the fast growing towns like Silchar, Haflong, Lumding, Diphu, Sonari, Tinsukia, Dibrugarh, North Gauhati etc., should be given more importance for their significance in the urban development programme.
2. Towns bordering Bangladesh and Myanmar have shown high growth rate and the potential of further growth seem to be high and these towns are a point of exit for all kinds of people connected with smuggling, drug trafficking and insurgency. Therefore, these towns have to be taken care of. Though governments may not be interested in having more towns along the border areas, the internal links with these towns should be made strong enough from the view point of army's accessibility and transportation facilities must be improved.
3. The most spectacular changes in the level of urbanization have taken place in Mizoram in 1991 census. This has been a result of a large-scale rearrangement and regrouping of settlements in the

state. It may, however, be considered a healthy sign towards urbanization process. It not only makes it possible in providing the necessary amenities and facilities as well as lesser expenditure on the development of infrastructure in the state, since the cost of such development in the hilly terrain of the north-east region are quite high. Therefore other states of Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland etc., should follow the line of Mizoram. Further, it may be noted that the government should locate few important towns to develop urban centres in this region. Industry is another area where only two towns, one in Manipur and other in Arunachal Pradesh has been identified. It is imperative to develop more industrial towns.

4. The absence of towns in the (tribal) populated east of Tripura may be noted here. This represents an imbalance not only in the distribution of urbanization process but also in the overall development. Therefore, the potential villages to become towns in the near future in this area should be given incentives in order to achieve an overall balanced development as well as urbanisation in the state.

5. The phenomenon of emerging large number of towns in the NEREA may not continue in the next few decades. Therefore, governments have to work out a general framework to develop a few more

important towns at strategic locations in these states to cater to the surrounding villages and to achieve a balanced urbanisation in this region.

6. Urbanisation is currently not a response to the transformation of the economy as it has been observed from the functional analysis in NEREA. In fact, there are sufficient reasons to guess that the reverse may be true, that is, it is urbanisation which has been inducing far-reaching changes in their economy/work force structures. So, it is necessary to encourage urbanisation in this region.

7. Not a single transport and communication town was noticed in the NEREA which shows lack of attention focussed on the provision of these vital infrastructural facilities which are very essential in the development of the region. Lack of this facility impedes the improvement of accessibility of the region which, in turn, hinders the overall regional development. Hence, the government has to make a more determined effort to increase the road and rail density in the North-East Region.

However, a few more questions can be asked such as - 'How is tribal way of urbanization and nontribal way of urbanization can they go together?' 'What will be the impact of polarised urbanization in this region due to the physiographic layout?' 'What will be the impact of urbanization on the

ecology of the region?' etc. The available few findings and patterns from the above study are only indicative and therefore call for further intensive research in the area to get a better insight into these inter-related questions. Therefore, more studies need to be undertaken in future to further knowledge in this field.

APPENDICES

List of New Towns 1961-91

State/ Towns	1961 Size class	1961 District	1961 Population	1971 Name of Town	1971 Size class	1971 District	1971 Population
Arunachal Pradesh							
	No new towns emerged			1. Pasighat	V	Siang	5116
				2. Along	VI	Siang	4818
				3. Tezu	VI	Lohit	4182
				4. Bomdila	VI	Kameng	3172
Assam							
1. Pandu	III	Kamrup	31173	1. Rangapara	IV	Darrang	11974
2. Digboi	IV	Lakhimpur	18235	2. Duliajan Oil Town	IV	Lakhimpur	11492
3. Digboi Oil Town	IV	Lakhimpur	16793	3. New Bongaigaon R.Colony	IV	Goalpara	11043
4. Hojai	IV	Nowgong	12857	4. Niz Hajo	IV	Kamrup	10269
5. Sualkuchi	IV	Kamrup	12087	5. Diphu	IV	Mikir Hills	10200
6. Nongthymmai	IV	United Khasi & Jainita Hills	10084	6. Biswanath Charali	V	Darrang	9301
7. Bilasipara	V	Goalpara	10025	7. Margherita	V	Lakhimpur	9250
8. Barpeta Road	V	Kamrup	9648	8. Bijni	V	Goalpara	7999
9. Kokrajhar	V	Goalpara	9489	9. Namrup	V	Lakhimpur	7972
10. Mankachar	V	Goalpara	9255	10. Howli	V	Kampur	7781
11. Mariani	V	Sibsagar	9235	11. Ramkrishnagar	V	Cachar	6657
12. Tura	V	Garo Hills	4888	12. Lunglei	V	Mizo	6039
13. Naharkatiya	V	Lakhimpur	8877	13. Makum	V	Lakhimpur	5992
14. Bongaigaon	V	Goalpara	8763	14. Sorbhog	V	Kampur	5987
15. Mawlai	V	United Khasi & Jaintia Hills	8628	15. Lakhimpur	V	Goalpara	5332
16. Dergaon	V	Sibsagar	7802	16. Pathsala	V	Kampur	5021
17. Sapatgram	V	Goalpara	7546	17. Moranhat	VI	Sibsagar	2524
18. North Gauhati	V	Kampur	7946	18. Amiguri	VI	Sibsagar	2496
19. Kharupatia	V	Darrang	6900	19. Sonari	VI	Sibsagar	2438
20. Dhing	V	Nowgong	6574			Total =	139747
21. Dhekiajuli	V	Darrang	6363				
22. Jowai	V	United Khasi & Jaintia Hills	4062				
23. Badarpur	V	Cachar	5332				
24. Amingaon	VI	Kampur	5533				
25. Sarthebari	V	Kampur	5462				
26. Abhayapuri	V	Goalpara	5227				
27. Rangia	VI	Kampur	4984				

State/ Towns	1961 Size class	1961 District	1961 Population	1971 Name of Town	1971 Size class	1971 District	1971 Population
28. Lala	VI	Cachar	4487				
29. Kamakhya	VI	Kampur	4359				
30. Tangla	VI	Kampur	4319				
31. Bihpuria-Tinali	VI	Lakhimpur	3198				
32. Tihu	VI	Kampur	2619				
33. Lakhimpur	VI	Cachar	2564				
34. Chabua	VI	Lakhimpur	2533				
		Total =	274747				
Manipur	No new towns emerged.			1. Churachandpur	V	Manipur South	8706
				2. Kakching	V	Manipur Central	8611
				3. Moirang	V	Manipur Central	8376
				4. Thoubal	V	Manipur Central	5682
				5. Bishenpur	VI	Manipur Central	4236
				6. Nambol	VI	Manipur Central	3246
				7. Lamlai	VI	Manipur Central	2219
						Total =	41126
Meghalaya	No new towns emerged.			1. Shillong Cantt	VI	United Khasi & Jaitia Hills	4730
Mizoram	No new towns emerged.			No new towns emerged. Lenglei in the state of Assam.			
Nagaland							
1. Mokokchung	V	Mokchungchung	6158	No new towns emerged.			
2. Dimapur	V	Kohima	5753				
		Total =	11911				
Tripura							
1. Dharmanagar	IV	Tripura	13240	No new towns emerged.			
2. Khowai	V	Tripura	8782				
3. Radhakrishorepur	V	Tripura	8778				
4. Belonia	V	Tripura	8744				
5. Kailashar	V	Tripura	8575				
		Total =	48119				

	1981 Size class	1981 District	1981 Population	1991 Name of Town	1991 Size class	1991 District	1991 Population
Arunachal Pradesh							
1. New Itanagar	V	Lower Subansiri	6406	1. Ziro	V	Lower Subansiri	8419
2. Old Itanagar	V	Old Itanagar	7710	2. Namsai	V	Lohit	7881
		Total =	14116	3. Roing	V	Dibang valley	7271
				4. Khonsa	V	Tirap	6350

State/ Towns	Size class	1961 District	Population	Name of Town	Size class	1971 District	Population
Assam							
1. Basugaon	-	Goalpara	NA	1. Chapar	IV	Dhubri	16,253
2. Golakganj	VI	Goalpara	4468	2. Udalguri	IV	Darrang	12,077
3. Gossaingaon	-	Goalpara	NA	3. Bokajan	IV	KarbiAnglong	11,008
4. Sogighopa	-	Goalpara	NA	4. Donkamokam	V	KarbiAnglong	8,147
5. Bhoari	VI	Kampur	4258	5. Maibong	V	North Cachar Hills	5,802
6. Dhemaji	-	Lakhimpur	NA	6. Dokmoka	VI	KarbiAnglong	4,091
7. Bokakhat	VI	Sibsagar	3830	7. Jagiroad Paper Mill	VI	Marigaon	3,790
8. Jagiroad	VI	Nagaon	4485	8. Raha	VI	Nagaon	3,777
9. Lanka	-	Nagaon	NA	9. Hamren	VI	KabriAnglong	3,771
10. Marigaon	-	Nagaon	NA	10. Mahur	VI	North Cachar Hills	2,213
11. Howraghat	-	Karbi Anglong	NA			Total =	71,009
Manipur							
1. Kangpokpi	VI	Manipur North	2107	1. Thongkhong Laxmi Bazar	V	Imphal	9904
2. Karong Senapati	VI	Manipur North	3731	2. Kakching Khunou	V	Thoubal	8237
3. Mao-Maram	VI	Manipur North	3793	3. Lamjaotongba	V	Imphal	7338
4. Tamenglong	VI	Manipur West	4281	4. Andro	V	Imphal	6796
5. Lokhtak Hydro-Electric project	VI	Manipur South	2117	5. Kwakta	V	Bishnupur	5030
6. Singhat	VI	Manipur South	2278			Total = 37305	
7. Moreh	V	Tengnoupal	7678				
8. Heirok	VI	Manipur Central	1239				
9. Jiribam	VI	Manipur Central	4392				
10. Kumbu	V	Manipur Central	6328				
11. Lamsang	VI	Manipur Central	4567				
12. Lilong (Imphal West)	V	Manipur Central	6633				

		1981			1991
13. Lilong(Thoubal)	IV	Manipur Central	11132		
14. Mayang Imphal	V	Manipur Central	7322		
15. Wingthoukhong	V	Manipur Central	7084		
16. Oinam	VI	Manipur Central	4873		
17. Samurou	V	Manipur Central	8715		
18. Sekmai	VI	Manipur Central	4028		

State/ Towns	Size class	1961 District	Population	Name of Town	Size class	1971 District	Population
19. Shikhong Sekmai	VI	Manipur Central	4758				
20. Sugmu	VI	Manipur Central	4359				
21. Wangjing	IV	Manipur Central	4660				
22. Wangoi	V	Manipur Central	7208				
		Total =	113483				
Meghalaya							
1. Cherrapunji	V	East Khasi Hills	6097	No new towns emerged.			
2. Madanreting	V	East Khasi Hills	6165				
3. Fynthorumkhrah	IV	East Khasi Hills	10711				
4. Nangstoin	VI	West Khasi Hills	3880				
5. Williamnagar	VI	East Khasi Hills	4290				
6. Baghmara	VI	West Khasi Hills	4183				
		Total =	35326				
Mizoram							
1. Champah	V	Aizawl	7487	1. Saitual	V	Aizawl	8402
2. Kolasib	V	Aizawl	8282	2. Khawzawl	V	Aizawl	7099
3. Sarchhip	V	Aizawl	7329	3. Vairengte	V	Aizawl	5627
4. Saiba	V	Chhimtuipui	7018	4. Hnathial	V	Lunglei	5539
		Total =	30116	5. North Kawmpui	V	Aizawl	5299
				6. Thonzawl	VI	Aizawl	4501
				7. Darlawn	VI	Aizawl	3606
				8. Mamit	VI	Aizawl	3545
				9. Sairang	VI	Aizawl	3532
				10. Tlabung	VI	Lunglei	3409
				11. N. Vanlaiphai	VI	Aizawl	2820
				12. Bairabi	VI	Aizawl	2424
				13. Biate	VI	Aizawl	2331
				14. Khawhdi	VI	Aizawl	2100
				15. Lengpui	VI	Aizawl	1808
						Total =	62042
		1981				1991	
Nagaland							
1. Tuensang	IV	Tuesang	12200	1. Chumukedima	V	Kohima	8734
2. Wokha	V	Wokha	8180	2. Phek	V	Phek	8432
3. Zunhetoto	V	Zunhetoto	7678			Total =	17166
4. Mon	V	Mon	6898				
		Total =	34956				

State/ Towns	1961 Size class	1961 District	1961 Population	1971 Name of Town	1971 Size class	1971 District	1971 Population
Tripura							
1. Subroom	IV	South Tripura	3340	1. Babharghat	III	West Tripura	35082
2. Kamalpur	IV	North Tripura	3688	2. Teliamura	III	West Tripura	27663
3. Sonamura	V	West Tripura	6380	3. Jogendranagar	III	West Tripura	26961
4. Amarpur	V	South Tripura	7150	4. Bharmanagar	III	North Tripura	25898
		Total =	20588	5. Kumarghat	IV	do	14640
				6. Barjala	IV	West Tripura	14583
				7. Pratapgarh	IV	do	13881
				8. Singerbil	V	do	9160
				9. Gandhigram	V	do	7524
						Total =	175392

New Towns Continue to Exist from its Inception Between 1961-71, 1971-81 and 1981-91, 1961-91 and 1971-91 in NER

State	New Towns emerged in 1961 which continued till 1971	Size-class in 1961	Size class in 1971	New Towns emerged in 1971 which continued till 1981	Size-class in 1971	Size class in 1981	New Towns emerged in 1981 which continued till 1991	Size-class in 1981	Size class in 1991
Arunachal Pradesh									
	No New Town in 1961			1. Pasighat	V	V	1. New Itanagar (Pasighat)	V	IV
				2. Along	VI	V	2. Old Itanagar (Naharlagun)	V	IV
				3. Tezu	VI	V			
				4. Bomdila	VI	VI			
Assam									
	1. Pandu	III	III						
	2. Digboi	IV	IV						
	3. Digboi Oil Town	IV	IV						
	4. Hojai	IV	III						
	5. Sualkuchi	IV	IV						
	6. Bilasipara	V	IV						
	7. Barpeta Road	V	IV						
	8. Kokrajhar	V	IV						
	9. Mankachar	V	IV						
	10. Mariani	V	IV	No census count was done in the State of Assam in 1981.			No census count was done in the State of Assam in 1981.		
	11. Nahar Katiya	V	IV						
	12. Bongaigaon	V	IV						
	13. Dergaon	V	V						
	14. Sapatgram	V	V						
	15. North Gauhati	V	V						
	16. Kharupatia	V	IV						
	17. Dhina	V	IV						
	18. Dhekiajuli	V	IV						
	19. Badarpur	V	IV						
	20. Abhayapuri	V	V						
	21. Sarathebari	V	V						
	22. Amingaon	VI	VI						
	23. Rangia	VI	V						
	24. Lala	VI	V						
	25. Kamakhya	VI	V						
	26. Tangla	VI	V						
	27. Bihpuria-Tinali	VI	V						
	28. Tihu	VI	VI						
	29. Lakhimpur	VI	VI						
	30. Chabua	VI	VI						

State	New Towns emerged in 1961 which continued till 1991	Size-class in 1961	Size class in 1991	New Towns emerged in 1971 which continued till 1991	Size-class in 1971	Size class in 1991
Arunachal Pradesh						
	No New Town in 1961			1. Pasighat	V	IV
				2. Along	VI	IV
				3. Tezu	VI	IV
				4. Bomdila	VI	V
Assam						
	1. Digboi	IV	III	1. Rangapara	IV	IV
	2. Hojai	IV	III	2. Duliajan Oil Town	IV	IV
	3. Sualkuchi	IV	IV	3. U.A.		
	4. Bilasipara	V	IV	4. Niz Hajao	IV	IV
	5. Barpeta Road	V	III	5. Diphu	IV	III
	6. Kokrajhar	V	III	6. Bishnathcharoli	V	IV
	7. Mankachar	V	III	7. Margherita	V	III
	8. Maniani	V	III	8. Bijne	V	IV
	9. Naharkatiya	V	IV	9. Namrup	V	IV
	10. Bongaigaon	V	III	10. Howli	V	IV
	11. Dergaon	V	IV	11. Makum	V	IV
	12. Sapatgram	V	IV	12. Sorbhog	V	V
	13. North Cachar	V	IV	13. Lakhimpur	V	V
	14. Dhing	V	IV	14. Pathsala	V	V
	15. Dhekiajuli	V	IV	15. Moranhat	VI	VI
	16. Badarpur	V	IV	16. Amguri	VI	VI
	17. Abhayapuri	V	IV	17. Sonari	VI	IV
	18. Sartheberi	V	V			
	19. Amingaon	VI	V			
	20. Rangia	VI	III			
	21. Lala	VI	V			
	22. Tangla	VI	IV			
	23. Tihu	VI	VI			
	24. Lakhimpur	VI	VI			
	25. Chabua	VI	V			
Manipur						
	No New Towns Emerged.			1. Churchandpur	V	III
				2. Kakching	V	III
				3. Moriang	V	IV
				4. Thoubal	V	IV
				5. Bishenpur	VI	V
				6. Nambol	VI	IV

1. Lilong (Thoubal)	IV	IV
2. Moreh	V	V
3. Kumbi	V	V
4. Lilong (Imphal West)/	V	V
5. Mayang Imphal	V	IV
6. Ningthoukhong	V	V

cont....

			7. Lamlai	VI	VI	7. Samurou	V	IV
						8. Wangoi	V	V
						9. Heirok	VI	VI
						10. Siribam	VI	V
						11. Lamsang	VI	V
						12. Oinam	VI	V
						13. Sekmai Bazar	VI	VI
						14. Shikhong Sekmai	VI	V
						15. Sugnu	VI	VI
						16. Wangjing	VI	V
Meghalaya								
No New Towns Emerged.			U.A.			1. Cherrapunji	V	V
						2. Nongstoin	VI	IV
						3. Williamnagar	VI	IV
						4. Baghmara	VI	V
Mizoram								
No New Towns Emerged.			No New Towns Emerged.			1. Champhai	V	III
						2. Kolasib	V	IV
						3. Sarcahhip	V	IV
						4. Saiba	V	IV
Nagaland								
1. Mokokchung	V	IV	No New Towns Emerged.			1. Tuensang	IV	III
2. Dimapur	V	IV				2. Wokha	V	IV
						3. Zunheboto	V	IV
						4. Mon	V	IV
Tripura								
1. Dharamnagar	IV	IV	No New Towns Emerged.			1. Subroom	IV	VI
2. Khowai	V	V				2. Kamlpur	IV	VI
3. Radhakishorepur	V	IV				3. Sonamura	V	V
4. Belonia	V	IV				4. Amarpur	V	V
5. Kailasahar	V	IV						
Manipur								
No New Towns Emerged.			1. Churchandpur	V	III			
			2. Kakching	V	V			
			3. Moirang	V	IV			
			4. Thoubal	V	IV			
			5. Bishenpur	VI	V			
			6. Nambol	VI	IV			
			7. Lamzai	VI	VI			
Meghalaya								
No New Towns Emerged.			No New Towns Emerged.					
Mizoram								
No New Towns Emerged.			No New Towns Emerged.					
Nagaland								
1. Mokokchung	V	III	No New Towns Emerged.					
2. Dimapur	V	II						
Tripura								
1. Dharamnagar	IV	III	No New Towns Emerged.					
2. Khowai	V	IV						
3. Belonia	V	IV						
4. Kailasahar	V	IV						

NAME OF DISTRICTS

Year, 1971

Arunachal Pradesh: Subansiri, Siang, Lohit, Tirap and Kameng

Assam: Goalpara, Kampur, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur, Mikir Hills, North Cachar Hills, Cachar and Mizo

Manipur: Manipur North, M. West, M. South, M. Central, and M. East

Meghalaya: United Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Garo Hills

Nagaland: Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang

Tripura: Tripura West, T. North and T. South

Year, 1981
Arunachal Pradesh: West Kameng, East Kameng, Lower Subansiri, Upper Subansiri, East Siang, West Siang, Dibang Valley, Lohit and Tirap

Assam: Dubri, Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Goalpara, Barpeta, Nalbari, Darrang, Sonitpur, Lakhimpur, Dhenaji, Marigaon, Nagaon, Gorghat, Jorhat, Sibsagar, Dibrugarh, Tinsukia, Kabri Anglong and North Cachar

Manipur: Manipur North, M. West, M. South, M. Central, M. East and Tengnoupal

Meghalaya: Jaintia Hills, East Khasi Hills, West Khasi Hills, East Garo Hills and West Garo Hills

Mizoram: Aizawal, Lunglei and Chhimtuipui

Nagaland: Kohima, Phek, Wokha, Zunbeboto, Mokokchung, Tuensang and Mon

Tripura: Tripura West, T. North and T. South

Year 1991
Arunachal Pradesh: West Kameng, East Kameng, Lower Subansiri, Upper Subansiri, East Siang, West Siang, Dibang Valley, Lohit, Tirap and Changlang Tawang

Assam: Dubri, Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Goalpara, Barpeta, Nalbari, Darrang, Sonitpur, Lakhimpur, Dhenaji, Marigaon, Nagaon, Gorghat, Jorhat, Sibsagar, Dibrugarh, Tinsukia, Kabri Anglong and North Cachar

Manipur: Senapati, Tamenglong, Churachandpur, Chandal, Thoubal, Bishnupur, Imphal and Ukhrul

Meghalaya: Same districts as in 1981.

Mizoram: Same districts as in 1981.

Nagaland Same districts as in 1981.

Tripura: Same districts as in 1981.

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