

Infrastructure-Induced Rural Urbanization & Rural Industrialization: Insights from West Bengal

Subrata Dutta

Several urban problems can be mitigated if the rural issues are properly addressed. Biased policies towards the centers of introverted economic systems that strengthened and promoted some major primate cities are often blamed by scholars for unbalanced, dualistic economic growth. This study focuses on West Bengal state. Due to unemployment and low wages in villages, the migration of rural workers from villages to Kolkata city is a common phenomenon. At the same time, migration of mostly unskilled workers from rural to rural areas is not very uncommon in developing countries. Thus, infrastructure-induced rural urbanization and rural industrialization may be a possible solution to the current problem of unbalanced regional growth.

Subrata Dutta is an Associate Professor at the Sardar Patel Institute of Economic and Social Research, Thaltej Road, Ahmedabad 380 054. E-mail: subratacalcutta@hotmail.com

Introduction

In the process of economic development, labor transfer from the subsistence sector to the capitalist sector has been emphasized by Lewis (1954). The process of industrialization involves the transfer of capital and labor from the primary sector to the non-primary sectors. In a capital-deficient economy or region (e.g., in poor rural regions), capital transfer from other regions (say, urban areas) may be a prerequisite for industrialization. It seems to be a difficult proposition, since mobilizing large capital for investment in rural areas is not an easy provision. Transfer of labor from farm to non-farm sector in developing countries, as Zhu and Song (2007) argue, happens through two processes. They are: rural industrialization and rural urbanization. According to Kant (2013), in rural areas that are dominated by small-scale farming, urbanization is the spatial manifestation of the shift of labor from subsistence

farming to non-farm activities. According to Chapman and Wanmali (1981), there is a close interrelation between the growth of modern economic activities and wide-ranging, inclusive regional urbanization. They noted that, in the initial decades after independence, India has gone through a very slow urbanization process and thus it has been unsuccessful to spread modern commercial activities in traditional agricultural areas. They argued that the number of smaller towns was very limited in India, for which proper linkage mechanisms between the agricultural (rural) and modern (urban) sectors could not properly flourish. Biased policies towards the centers of introverted economic systems that strengthened and promoted some major primate cities are often blamed by scholars for unbalanced, dualistic economic growth. This inhibited the process of overall regional development. In this article, we focus on the regional (rural) growth problems and the need for an alternative approach for the revitalization of regional (rural) growth.

Transformation of Rural Problems into Urban Issues

Several problems in urban areas can be mitigated if the rural problems are properly addressed because certain rural problems often appear to be causal factors of several of the urban problems. According to Schumacher (1973), employment opportunities in villages are so limited that many people find it extremely difficult to get out of poverty. Underemployment or total un-

employment is a common feature of the rural labor market. When some work is available in rural areas, their productivity is found to be too low. Some poor villagers have land but often the piece of land is so small that it does not improve their standard of living. There is a large number of landless laborers who have a remote possibility to ever get any land. There is very little hope for them in villages and hence they migrate to the large urban centers for employment and income (Todaro, 1980). Thus, finally, the unemployment problem shifts from villages to cities.

Unemployment in West Bengal Villages & Issues in Migration

Do workers always migrate from rural to urban areas and/or from poor to rich areas? This question has not been investigated yet. In general, workers migrate from rural to urban locations in order to look for (better) employment. At the same time, workers' migration from rural to rural areas is not very uncommon in developing countries. Unskilled labor may migrate from one rural area to another rural area. However, rural-to-urban migration, as indicated above, is a more prominent phenomenon and much discussed as well.

Workers from villages in West Bengal are out-migrating to other states and cities. The first preference of people of West Bengal is Maharashtra, followed by Delhi, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat and Karnataka, among others (Census of India, 2011).

The biggest number of migrant workers from West Bengal go to Maharashtra. The difference in the number of migrants between Maharashtra (first destination in terms of the number of migrants) and Delhi (second destination in terms of the number of migrants) is huge. While Delhi is found to be accommodating 61,631 migrant workers from West Bengal, Maharashtra is seen to have accommodated 1,37,434 workers, i.e. more than double that of Delhi (Census of India, 2011). This suggests that Maharashtra is strongly preferred by Bengali migrant workers.

Maharashtra is strongly preferred by Bengali migrant workers.

Due to unemployment and low wages in villages, the migration of rural workers from villages to Kolkata city (erstwhile Calcutta) is a recurring phenomenon. Since the time of inde-

pendence, the city of Kolkata had been bearing extra population pressure due to the partition of Bengal; many Hindu refugees had migrated from erstwhile East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) to West Bengal. The flow of such international migration is, albeit slower, still continuing. A section of them started earning a living on the streets of Kolkata. As Roy (2011) reported, a huge number of refugees settled in urban locations (mainly in Kolkata and its suburbs) to engage in petty trade and cottage industry. A sample survey carried out in Kolkata points out that a considerable section (68 percent) of the hawkers in the city happen to be people of erstwhile East Pakistani origins (Biswas, 1999).¹ Besides, the share of organized sector employment has been shrinking over the years (Table 1). However, several additional factors contributed to the increase in the number of hawkers over time in the city of Kolkata. As Shalti Research Group (2008) noted, the other factors include:

Table 1 Organized Sector Employment (Both Private & Public) as a Percentage of Main Workers and Total Workers

	1991			2001			2017-18
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Total
Organized sector employment as a percentage of main workers	10.9	6.3	9.9	10.0	7.1	9.3	8.6
Organized sector employment as a percentage of total workers (main + marginal)	10.8	4.5	9.0	8.8	4.1	7.4	-

Source: Census of India (for population data); Economic Survey 2001-02, Government of India (for employment data), PLFS data (2017-18)

¹ Cited in Bandyopadhyay (2009).

- Migration from the districts of West Bengal and the neighboring states: Hawking is a source of livelihood for the low-skilled migrants seeking employment in the city.
- Closure of factories and shrinking of the organized sector: Around one-fifth of the hawkers were once permanent employees in the large factories. After the factories had closed down, work in the informal sector including street vending has been the only avenue for survival for these people.
- Widespread poverty in urban areas: Although there has been a declining trend in the percentage of slum population in the Kolkata Municipal Corporation area over the decades, still, according to the 2001 Census, 32.55 percent of Kolkata population live in slums, and 30 percent of the city population are found to fall under the below-poverty-line (BPL) category.²

In this context, Bandyopadhyay (2009: 14) argues that the city pavements have been encroached and “privatized by two different groups for two different purposes”. The groups include: (a) the migrants who come from different places (from within and outside the state) and find a living, but stay on the pavements; and (b) the urban poor who commute from the suburban refugee colonies and contribute to the informal market on the pavement. It is a common phenomenon that the hawkers or the street vendors have occupied the pavements at many places of Kolkata city. Such business

² The 2001 Census reports that 32.55% of the total population in Kolkata live in slums.

activities have narrowed down space for pedestrians. The rapid increase of vehicles on roads has also been creating problems. It is not only a problem of traffic congestion, but parking space is also a matter of concern (Shalti Research Group, 2008). The number of registered motor vehicles in West Bengal has increased from 2,366,000 in 2003 to 2,872,000 in 2006. Although the compound annual growth rate of motor vehicle registration (6.67 percent), is much lower than that of all states (10.59 percent), very limited size of road in Kolkata city (only 6 percent of the total area) is found to be a serious concern about the growth of number of vehicles in the state and/or city.³

The establishment of manufacturing industry, particularly jute, in the suburbs of Kolkata in about the middle of the nineteenth century led to rapid population growth in the city and its surrounding areas. The early immigrants from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and other parts of Bengal were mostly landless laborers who came to the city in search of employment (Roy, 2011). As far as migration from rural Bengal to Kolkata is concerned, poor household members were found to migrate to Kolkata permanently, some seasonally. The migrants included the downtrodden people of the district. They were mainly found to work as domestic servants. “The very low wages of these domestic servants have made it possible for even the lower middle-class

³ See http://mospi.nic.in/Mospi_New/upload/Infra_stat_2010/1.ch_road.pdf (a Government of India website) for more relevant data.

families to have at least a part-time help” (Dasgupta, 1988: 145). Their presence was also reflected through some additional slum settlement patterns in some areas of the city of Kolkata. Kundu (2003) also observed that families from other districts of West Bengal and neighboring states migrated to Kolkata city in search of livelihood and then started living in slums.

Rise of Service Sector & the Issue of Rural Employment

As far as contribution to Indian economic growth is concerned, recent data suggests a structural shift towards the service sector. At the national level, share of agriculture in GDP has been consistently declining over the years, whereas the that of service sector has been experiencing an upward trend. Industrial share at the national level has been around 23 percent for a long time. In West Bengal, due to high growth in agriculture in the late 1980s, the share of the primary sector in the state’s total income experienced a rise. But, the share showed falling trends later on. The share of industry has been falling consistently, whereas the share of the service sector has been witnessing a consistent increase in the state. Furthermore, within the service sector, although trade, real estate, banking and insurance, transport, etc. have been contributing significantly, communication services (which include telecommunication and software services) have also been seen to be rapidly occupying an important position from its export perspective. So, on the one hand, the promotion of megacities is often con-

ceived as a relatively easy means to enhance GDP growth through the development of the real estate sector and several other allied activities, while, on the other, growth in software services is understood to have facilitated the growth process of urban income. Growth in software services constitutes nearly 50 percent of India’s exports of services (Banga & Kumar, 2011). Considering the growth-enhancing role of the software industry within the service sector, as Chen et al. (2009) argue, the growing and specialized needs of this sector have been given due importance at the time of developing Rajarhat township in Kolkata. However, this sector not only needs a very remote specialized kind of skilled manpower, but its labor absorption capacity is also very limited. The links between the growth of these industries and the prospects of other economic activities located in lower hierarchies ranging from city peripheries to the areas that have not yet been properly established. Moreover, the prospect of the software industry is largely dependent on foreign markets (although they have some clients in the domestic market). According to Kant (2013), India must build a labor-intensive manufacturing sector in order to promote inclusive growth.

For many policymakers, growth economics is the top priority. It is worth mentioning here that more than 30 percent of India’s population lives in urban areas and Indian cities contribute over 55 percent to the country’s GDP (Government of India, 2009).⁴ So, an increase

⁴ Cited in Chen et al. (2009).

in economic growth seems to be contingent upon promotion of agglomeration or expanded megacities and, thus, city-based service industries. Policy bias towards a specific sector is now clear. Thus, it is imperative to note that megacity-based development policy may often identify the growth process with increasing “inequality” and with disconnection “from their region”, especially the rural region. Decentralized production is the need of the hour, for which decentralized urbanization supported with infrastructure is a current requirement.

Deindustrialization in West Bengal and the Need for New Industrialization

After the 1960s, West Bengal witnessed a long economic deceleration and a downfall in industrial production. The state had produced 23% of India’s industrial output in 1960, which fell to 10% in 1980, and to below 7% at the end of the 1980s (Sengupta & Gazdar, 1996). In the same line, from 1980 to 1997, jobs in the formal private sector fell from 1.1 million to 80,000. The Left Front Government which ruled the state from 1977 to 2011 had invited the TATA Motors company to set up an automobile industry in Singur which did not materialize due to the new political situation in the state. A section of farmers in Singur were unwilling to give up their agricultural land for the industrial plant and political agitation cropped up based on the land acquisition issue, due to which the new industrialization program faced a setback. New industrialization is a new proposition, but large industry alone is not supposed to

solve the unemployment problems. There is a need to be an extensive and labor-intensive rural industrialization program as well.

Urbanization in Recent Times

India is suffering from a low level of urbanization. In 2001, while the level of urbanization in India was 27.78 %, the average level of urbanization in the developing countries was 40% (Bhagat, 2004).⁵ The level of urbanization in India has risen to 31.2% in 2011 (Census of India, 2011). Table 2 provides some important data relating to the evolution of urbanization in India. The level of urbanization in India has grown over the years. Especially, the number of census towns has enormously increased from 1,363 in 2001 to 3,894 in 2011 (nearly three times rise); and the number of statutory towns has increased from 3,799 to 4,041 between 2001 and 2011 (Census of India, 2011;

West Bengal’s urbanization level is significantly higher than several other major states.

⁵ It is difficult to compare the degree of urbanization at the international level due to the reason that definitions of urbanization vary from one country to another. Still, a rough general comparison has been done by Bhagat (2004: 49). Census of India considers those areas as “urban”, which satisfy the following criteria: (1) the places which have a local urban body like municipality, corporation, cantonment board or notified town area committee, (2) other places which have: (i) minimum 5000 inhabitants; (ii) at least 75% of main workers(men) occupied in non-agricultural profession; and (iii) a population density of minimum 400 persons per sq. km. (1000 per sq. mile).

Mitra & Kumar, 2015). Table 3 suggests that West Bengal's urbanization level is significantly higher than several other major states. In addition, West Bengal has recently witnessed remarkable growth in the number of census towns. Fig. 1 shows West Bengal's geographical concentrations/dispersals of census towns. West Bengal state has been selected for this study due to the fact that this state tops the list with an increase by 528 census towns between 2001 and 2011, followed by Kerala (362) and Tamil Nadu (265), respectively. This can be characterized as demography-induced dispersed urbanization. What are the implications of these changes? Various studies have been carried out on these changes (Kundu, 2011; Guin & Das, 2015; Mitra & Kumar, 2015; Chakraborty et al., 2017; among others), but there is hardly any study that has attempted to capture the ongoing rural urbanization pro-

cess in the light of development of rural infrastructure, on the one hand, and rural diversification and occupational changes, on the other. Rural infrastructure is an important issue as far as rural non-farm sector development is concerned. Demography-induced rural urbanization would fail to yield the desired outcome if the current urbanization process is not corroborated with adequate infrastructure. Discussion on this issue is limited in the existing literature.

Rural infrastructure needs new investments which are instrumental for rural development, since such investments facilitate rural-urban (and other) interlinkages, thereby augmenting both farm and non-farm productivity, income and, more importantly, employment (Satish, 2007). Till now, Indian policymakers have not acknowledged the unrealized strength of small towns and

Table 2 Urbanisation & Urban Growth in India

Year	No. of towns and cities	No. of cities /UAs with million+ population	Urban population (million)	Total population	Urbanization level (%)
1901	1916	1	26	238	10.8
1911	1908	2	26	252	10.3
1921	2048	2	28	251	11.2
1931	2220	2	33	279	12.0
1941	2427	2	44	319	13.9
1951	3060	5	62	361	17.3
1961	2700	7	79	439	18.0
1971	3126	9	109	548	19.9
1981	4029	12	159	683	23.3
1991	4689	23	218	846	25.7
2001	5161	35	286	1029	27.8
2011	7935	53	377	1211	31.2

Source: Census of India

Table 3 State-wise Levels of Urbanization in India, 2011

India/State/Union Territory	% Urban
INDIA	31.16
Himachal Pradesh	10.04
Punjab	37.49
Chandigarh	97.25
Uttarakhand	30.55
Haryana	34.79
National Capital Territory of Delhi	97.50
Rajasthan	24.89
Uttar Pradesh	22.28
Bihar	11.30
Sikkim	24.97
Nagaland	28.97
Manipur	30.21
Mizoram	51.51
Tripura	26.18
Meghalaya	20.08
Assam	14.08
West Bengal	31.89
Jharkhand	24.05
Odisha	16.68
Chhattisgarh	23.24
Madhya Pradesh	27.63
Gujarat	42.58
Daman and Diu	75.16
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	46.62
Maharashtra	45.23
Andhra Pradesh	33.49
Karnataka	38.57
Goa	62.17
Lakshadweep	78.08
Kerala	47.72
Tamil Nadu	48.45
Puducherry	68.31
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	35.67

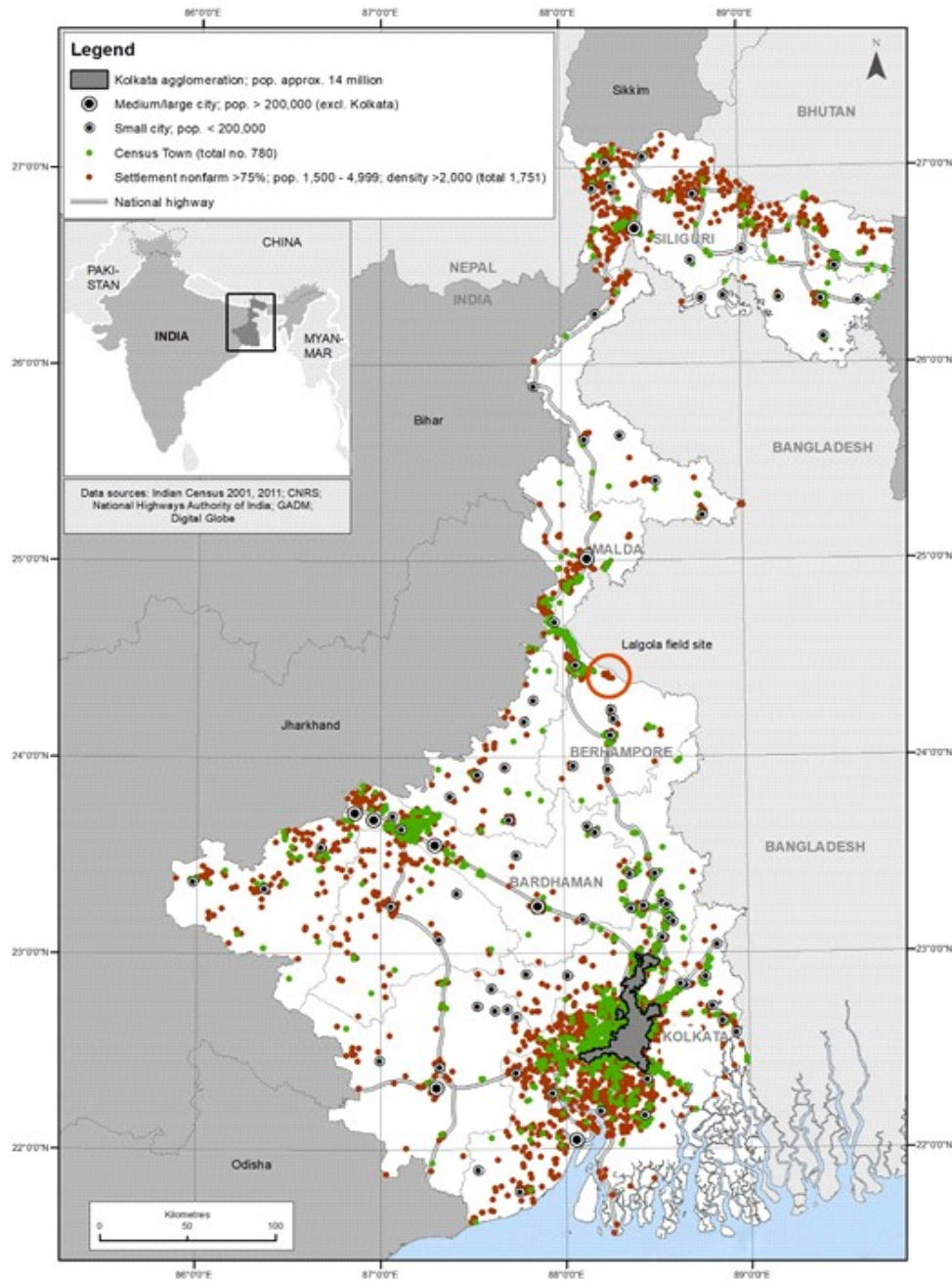
Source: Census of India (2011)

the peri-urban spaces in creating various types of employment opportunities (Dadi et al., 2022; Pingali et al., 2019). Recognizing these newer semi-urban centers within rural locations and providing them and their surrounding areas with urban amenities could be a stimulant for non-farm diversification.

Regional Growth Strategy: The Need for New Approach

After the Second World War, many developing countries adopted certain development strategies that encouraged the growth of large industries and large urban centers, considering that the size of the city was vital for industrialization and

Fig 1 Distribution of Census Towns & Areas of Concentration of Non-farm Employment in West Bengal



Source: Choithani et al. (2021)

economic growth; and thus the intermediary urban development suffered (Hamer, 1985). In India too, this was the main element of the Nehru-Mahalanobis development strategy (Saith, 1992). Rural non-agricultural activities had been ignored as the main thrust was given to modernization with the help of large industries and large cities (Chakravarty, 1987; UNDP et al., 1988). Capital-intensive, big industries have limited capacity to absorb a large number of unskilled labor force that is often found unemployed or underemployed in rural areas. Leidholm et al. (1994) stated that small urban centers in rural areas stimulate the growth of labor-intensive rural industries. Moreover, rural towns appear to be crucial distribution channels of agricultural produce supplied from the surrounding production centers. Hence, different small-scale activities such as crop processing, cleaning and sorting, packing and storing, wholesale business, transport industries, and some other services like maintenance, repair etc. may grow in the town to support the export marketing functions (Bendavid-Val, 1991). Thus, there is a need to adopt a different approach that would tend to achieve decentralized urbanization or dispersed urbanization, or rural urbanization.

For the overall development of a region, rural-urban interaction is crucially important. Rural and urban areas are dependent on each other. Especially, urban centers assume immense importance in the process of growth of rural areas by providing various non-agricultural produce and different kinds of services. But, in this regard, one interesting feature of

urbanization is being observed. Between 1901 and 2001, the number of urban centers per 1 million rural population decreased from 8.6 to 6 (Bhagat, 2004). As indicated earlier, this is a reflection of an introverted economic system; the growth of number of urban centers is not at par with the growth of rural population. The 2011 census has witnessed some change, for example, growth of smaller towns or census towns. It is now imperative to provide them with the necessary infrastructure needed for robust economic diversification.

Conclusions & Future Research Agenda

1. West Bengal has been facing deindustrialization for the last several decades. Due to widespread unemployment and underemployment in rural areas, rural labor has been out-migrating to urban areas. They are out-migrating to the nearest cities and towns within the state and also to other states. Interestingly, rural workers are also seen to be migrating to other rural areas. Usually, as we have seen in the Harris-Todaro model, workers' strategy of migration from rural areas to urban areas is a common feature in developing countries. However, it is not uncommon for people to migrate from one rural area to another when there are very limited employment opportunities in the former as compared to the latter, or due to wage differentials across rural areas. Besides, the problems of poverty and unemployment, coupled with skill deficiency, have often been

found to be responsible for seasonal or permanent rural-to-rural migration, as some rural areas provide unskilled work to unskilled workers who are sometimes unable to find employment in urban centers.

The questions that need to be dealt with in the future studies are: Does employment-induced migration mostly lead people to move to relatively high-income states? Are the destinations mostly urban areas in the cases of both out-migration and in-migration? In search of employment, do people move to rural areas as well? Thus, we are more interested in locational aspects of labor mobility such as migration from low-income place to high-income place, rural to urban, urban to urban, etc. Behind all this, a much broader question follows from Dupont (1992): Can migration be taken as a major factor of urbanization and industrialization where migrants are considered as dynamic agents who influence these processes? If so, then how do we explain the fact when migrants move to non-urbanized and non-industrialized destinations?

2. To mitigate the rural labor's out-migration issue, local employment in rural areas has to be generated. Diversification from farm to non-farm activities is instrumental in the generation of local employment. Small firms in rural areas might play an important role in this regard. However, small firms tend to grow in and around infrastructure-rich cities and towns that indulge them to exploit economies of scale (Oberai, 1993;

Cadène & Holmström, 1998). Urban and semi-urban locations provide businesses with infrastructural amenities, value chains, distribution avenues, and skilled labor, among many other facilities. Interestingly, in order to avail lower cost of doing business and strong presence of social capital, small firms also tend to grow in rural locations as well (Banwo et al., 2017). But many of the rural enterprises find it difficult to grow beyond their sustenance level when the rural towns and the surrounding rural locations are lagging behind in terms of physical infrastructure (including rural markets and the road links with urban markets), social infrastructure (which ensures improved human capital) and access to the rural capital market (banks), among others (Kingham & Newman, 2017). Weak economies of scale with high transportation costs are crucial factors that inhibit the growth of enterprises (Krugman, 1991).

Decentralized production (i.e. growth of firms/clusters in various corners of a region) is often directly linked with decentralization of infrastructure. Urban and semi-urban areas without adequate infrastructure are not so attractive destinations for firms. Newly emerging, small, urban centers (e.g. census towns in India) and their peripheral rural locations may not be able to emerge as vibrant production centers unless they are provided with the required infrastructure. The term rural urbanization or inclusive urbanization does not merely refer to the

transformation of villages into intermediate towns. Rural urbanization rather refers to a condition that would ensure the presence of some vital elements of urbanism or a city – not the whole city, of course – in rural areas (Friedmann, 1973). Development of community infrastructure in rural settings or “agropolis” can give an impetus to this process (Bunce, 1982; Friedmann & Douglass, 1976: 372). Better communication between an urban center and its surrounding rural base would foster the growth of both non-farm and farm activities in rural areas, that may also be termed as balanced growth. Against this backdrop, the infrastructure issue should take center stage. There is a need to examine the link between the rural infrastructure and the development of rural non-farm sector. The research questions that need to be put forward are: What is the present state of district-level (rural) infrastructure in an Indian state? What is the role of rural infrastructure in inducing rural industrialization? Does rural infrastructure help grow prosperous rural enterprises?

There is a need to examine the link between the rural infrastructure and the development of rural non-farm sector.

3. Various states in India have been witnessing new urbanization phenomenon through the growth of census towns (rural small towns), i.e., the transformation of rural areas into new urban areas. Such urbanization is characterized as demography-in-

duced urbanization which not only signifies population growth but also emphasizes occupational diversification from farm-based labor engagement to non-farm engagement. We would like to investigate this transformation in the light of occupational changes based on primary information collected from two census towns. Thus, the research questions that need to be posed are: (1) Are the local people getting engaged in local non-farm activities, or in non-local non-farm activities? (2) If yes, what kinds of non-farm activities are growing in the rural towns and why?

Acknowledgments

This paper is a part of a research project titled “Rural Urbanization, Migration and Rural Industrialization: Studying the Linkages with Reference to West Bengal” (F. No. 3-16/2021/RIC under the Budget Head OH-31, 2021-22) funded by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR).

References

- Bandyopadhyay, R. (2009): “Contentious Politics and Human Rights: Who Benefits?” in Yokota Yozo, (ed), *Human Rights and Creative Leadership*, The Tokyo Foundation, Tokyo.
- Banga, R. & D. Kumar (2011) “India’s Exports of Software Services: Role of External Demand and Productivity”, *Science, Technology and Society*, 16(3): 285-307.
- Banwo, A.O., J. Du & U. Onokala (2017), “The Determinants of location Specific Choice: Small and Medium-sized Enterprises in Developing Countries”, *Journal of Global Entrepreneurship Research*, 7(1): 1-17.

- Bendavid-Val, A. (1991), Rural Area Development Planning: Principles, Approaches and Tools of Economic Analysis, Vol. 1, Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations.
- Bhagat, R.B. (2004), "Dynamics of Urban Population Growth by Size Class of Towns and Cities in India", *Demography India*, 33(1): 47-60.
- Biswas, S. (1999), "Kolkatay Hawker Uchchheder Prasangikata ebang Uchchheder Prabhab" (in Bengali); Translation: Relevance and Impact of Hawker Eviction in Kolkata, unpublished MA Dissertation, Kolkata: University of Calcutta, Department of Political Science.
- Bunce, M. (1982), Rural Settlement in an Urban World, London: Croom Helm.
- Cadène, P.& M. Holmström (eds.) (1998), Decentralized Production in India: Industrial Districts, Flexible Specialization, and Employment, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, Sage Publication; London, and French Institute of Pondicherry.
- Census of India (2011), "Migration Data, Census of India (D-series)", New Delhi: Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.
- Chakraborty, Saurav, Subhanil Chowdhury, Utpal Roy, Kakoli Das (2017), "Declassification of Census Towns in West Bengal Empirical Evidences from Patuli, Bardhaman", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 52 (25 & 26): 25-31.
- Chakravarty, S. (1987), Development Planning: The Indian Experience, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Chapman, G. & S. Wanmali (1981): "Urban-Rural Relationships in India: A Macro-Scale Approach Using Population Potentials", *Geoforum*, 12(1): 19-43.
- Chen, Xiangming, Lan Wang, & Ratoola Kundu (2009), "Localizing the Production of Global Cities: A Comparison of New Town Developments around Shanghai and Kolkata"; *City 7 Community*, 8: 433-63.
- Choithani, C., R.J. van Duijne & J. Nijman (2021), "Changing Livelihoods at India's Rural-Urban Transition", *World Development*, 146: 105617.
- Dadi, M., M., Mulegeta & N. Simie (2022), "Urbanization and Its Effects on Income Diversification of Farming Households in Adama District, Ethiopia", *Cogent Economics & Finance*, 10(1): 2149447.
- Dasgupta, Biplab (1988): "Migration and Urbanization: Issues Relating to West Bengal" in Biplab Dasgupta (ed.), Urbanization, Migration and Rural Change: A Study of West Bengal, Kolkata: A. Mukherjee & Co. Pvt. Ltd.
- Dupont, V. (1992), "Impact of In-Migration on Industrial Development: Case Study of Jetpur in Gujarat", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 27(45): 2423-36.
- Friedmann, J. (1973), Urbanization, Planning, and National Development, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Friedmann, J. & M. Douglass (1976), "Agropolitan Development: Towards a New Strategy for Regional Planning in Asia". Fu-chen Lo & Kamal Salih (eds.), Growth Pole Strategy and Regional Development Planning in Asia & United Nations Centre for Regional Development (UNCRD).
- Government of India (2009), India Urban Poverty Report; New Delhi: Government of India (Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation) and Oxford University Press.
- Guin, D. & D.N. Das (2015), "New Census Towns in West Bengal: 'Census Activism' or Sectoral Diversification?", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 50(14): 68-72.
- Hamer, A.M. (1985), Decentralised Urban Development and Industrial Location Behavior

- ior in São Paulo, Brazil: A Synthesis of Research Issues and Conclusions, World Bank Staff Working Papers Number 732, Washington: The World Bank.
- Kant, A. (2013), "For a Manufacturing Revolution", *The Times of India*, 11 July.
- Kingham, C., & C. Newman (2017), "The Rural Non-farm Economy". in Finn Tarp (ed.), Growth, Structural Transformation, and Rural Change in Viet Nam: A Rising Dragon on the Move, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Krugman, P. (1991), "Increasing Returns and Economic Geography", *Journal of Political Economy*, 9(3): 483-99.
- Kundu, A. (2011), "Method in Madness: Urban Data from 2011 Census," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46 (40): 13-16.
- Kundu, N. (2003): "The Case of Kolkata". Published as a chapter in a report titled "Understanding Slums: Case Studies for the Global Report on Human Settlements". Development Planning Unit (DPU), University College London (UCL), London.
- Leidholm, C., M. McPherson & E. Chuta (1994), "Small Enterprise Employment Growth in Rural Africa", *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 76 (5): 1177-82.
- Lewis, W.A. (1954), "Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labor", *The Manchester School*, 22(2): 139-91.
- Mitra, Arup & Rajnish Kumar (2015), "New Patterns in Indian Urbanization: Emergence of Census Towns", *Environment and Urbanization ASIA*, 6 (1): 18-27.
- Oberai, A.S. (1993), Population Growth, Employment and Poverty in Third-World Megacities: Analytical and Policy Issues, Geneva: International Labor Organization.
- Pingali, P., A. Aiyar, M. Abraham & A. Rahman (2019), Transforming Food Systems for a Rising India, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Roy, A. (2011), "Re-Forming the Megacity: Calcutta and the Rural-Urban Interface" in A. Sorensen and J. Okata (eds.), Megacities: Urban Form, Governance, and Sustainability, Springer.
- Saith, A. (1992), The Rural Non-Farm Economy: Processes and Policies, Geneva: International Labor Office.
- Satish, P. (2007), "Rural Infrastructure and Growth: An Overview", *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 62(1): 32-51.
- Schumacher, E.F. (1973), Small is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Mattered. London, Blond & Briggs Ltd.
- Sengupta, S. & H. Gazdar (1996), "Agrarian Politics and Rural Development in West Bengal" in J. Dréze and A. Sen (eds.), Indian Development: Selected Regional Perspectives, 129-204. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Shalti Research Group (2008), Big Capital in Organised Retail: A Study on Its Impact in West Bengal, Kolkata: Seribaan.
- Todaro, M.P. (1980), "Internal Migration in Developing Countries: A Survey", in R.A. Easterlin (ed.), Population and Economic Change in Developing Countries, London: University of Chicago Press.
- UNDP (1988), Development of Rural Small Industrial Enterprise: Lessons from Experience, Vienna: UNIDO (A joint study with the government of the Netherlands, ILO and UNDO).