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Significance of National Spatial Planning for Economic **Development of Secondary Cities in India: Critical Analysis of JNNURM Programme**

Saima Kalwar¹, Irfan Ahmed Memon¹, Sabeen Qureshi¹

Abstract:

Secondary cities are the vital economic link along with megacities in the system of cities of a nation. Whereas spatial planning and local economic development are the major factors in fostering regional and national economic development. If the national spatial planning strategies failed to improve economic functions and linkages in the system of cities at a secondary cities level, the disparities among the regions will increase. This can result in a lagging regional economy. Therefore, the national government should develop innovative approaches to stimulate and manage the development of secondary cities. The main purpose of the paper was to critically review the spatial planning strategies carried out at the national level in the developing world. The selection of India as a case study country is based on population density and the presence of a vast network of secondary cities. The paper had critically reviewed the spatial planning strategies carried out in JNNURM National Programme to strengthen the local economic development of secondary cities during 1995-2015. The secondary data collection resources like research papers, reports, and books were used to gather the required data. The results revealed that the JNNURM had focused only on the development of cluster secondary cities around megacities in order to reduce congestion and accommodate the rural immigrants. Unfortunately, the JNNURM neglected the sub-national (regional headquarter) secondary cities, which are vital players for regional economic development. Therefore, it was suggested that the Indian government should also initiate spatial planning strategies and programs for the local economic development of sub-national secondary cities to achieve dual benefits: balanced regional and national economic development and a balanced system of cities.

Keywords: Secondary cities; spatial planning; economic development, JNNURM; India.

1. Introduction

Cities are the major driving mechanism to enrich local economic development and boost trade and investment [1,2,3]. Cities help in shaping a regional, national, and global economy and culture. Similarly, they got affected if there is growth or decline in regional, national, and global economies [4].

"A city's or a town's prospects depend critically on its place within the urban system, national and international" [5].

However, megacity-uncontrolled nations have lower regional inequalities in growth, better production at the national level, and per capita income. This has created a significant impact on the functioning and status of cities.

¹Mehran University of Engineering and Technology, Jamshoro, Sindh, Pakistan Corresponding Author: irfanahmed04crp26@gmail.com

As a result, a new hierarchy of cities has emerged.

The secondary city is a term frequently used to define the second-tier level of a hierarchical system of cities based on population verge. In the past, secondary cities caught little attention from researchers, planners, and policymakers in comparison to the megacities. Rondinelli was one of the pioneers in introducing and popularizing the term secondary cities in the 1970s [1,2,3 6]. But because of widening gap arising between the development of megacities and secondary cities, the governments and international agencies has been showing renewed interest in the development of secondary cities in recent years most notably by Cities Alliance [6,7, 8, 9].

These cities, on one hand, boost local production by industry agglomeration, create diversified economic and employment base for the city and regional inhabitants and offer localized supply chain and transportation services throughout a country. On the other hand, helps in reducing the flow of rural migrants to mega-cities in search of jobs by offering those opportunities at local level. Hence, many poor cities and rural areas might double or even triple their GDP with a successful system of secondary cities and reduce congestion from megacities [6]. "Secondary Cities are asset rich and cash poor", how to better use these assets is a key for development" [1]. Means efficient secondary cities leads towards a balanced system of cities which offer great provincial and national economic growth ability. The United States and South Africa are the two good examples.

Although the secondary cities share 40% allocation of global GDP, but they are the facilitators of the resources needed to mega cities such as it exists in Bangkok. However, due to negligence from local, central and international organizations, many secondary cities are facing development challenges like the revitalization of their economies, with a thirst for the investment needed for supportive

economic infrastructure and the creation of attractive employment opportunities. This failure leads towards creating disparities and distortions in the regional economic development and poverty in many countries [6, 10].

The secondary cities of southeast Asia have risen their importance over the last two decades as manufacturing hubs, regional development centers for agricultural goods urban facilities. Consequently. administrative bases for district or sub-district governments, as well as destinations for migration from rural areas, smaller towns and neighboring countries increased in southeast Asian cities. As a large population, information, institutions and economic development concentration, secondary cities play an important role in the urban and economic structure of their own regions and in the South-East Asian zone [9].

India has well-established a democratically elected government and a wide network of secondary and lower-order towns [11]. In India, there are over 200 cities with populations of more than 200,000. There are two great cities, Mumbai and Delhi, and even more than 30 cities with more than 10% of the nation's largest city populations that can be identified as secondary cities [1]. These secondary cities serve as gateways and exchanges to facilitate business processes, supply chain networks, multimodal transit hubs and as focal points for the administration of sub-national / regional government and economic growth. In national and global growth, they are also major centres for innovation, research, community and business creation [1, 4]. However, due to weak governance system, these secondary cities are coping with the problems of urbanization and insufficient infrastructure & services, necessary to boost their economic development [12]. All that can be prohibited by developing and implementing the spatial planning strategies considering the local economic sectors of secondary cities. Giridharidas in 2007 quoted Ahluwalia, India's chief economic planner, that "One hundred million people will be moving to cities from rural areas in the next 10 years. It is important that these 100 million migrants should be absorbed in the second tier cities (secondary cities) instead of showing up in Delhi or Mumbai" [12]. Therefore, the national and provincial governments should give priority to the planning, governance and development of secondary cities. This will help in building a balanced national system of cities and sustainable local and regional development.

Especially the central government has an important role to play in local economic development phenomenon of secondary cities. National governments may stimulate collaboration between cities and help them boost the quality of their governance and the prosperity of industry. In comparison, decentralization also helps these cities to become more competitive, diverse, and self-sufficient cities [1, 10].

Therefore, the paper seeks to examine the spatial planning strategies carried out at the national level in India to strengthen the local economic development of secondary cities. The purpose of selecting is that India has a developed structure of local government and a wide network of secondary and lower-order towns in comparison to other South Asian countries. The research had critically reviewed the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) initiates carried out in 2005 to boost the local economic development in secondary cities of India.

Before moving into the discussion and key issues addressed in the paper, it is useful to describe the system of secondary cities set by Cities Alliance and urbanization background of India.

2. System of Secondary Cities

A universally declared definition for secondary cities does not exist [9]. Most of the countries denote as part of a hierarchical grouping of cities, secondary cities resolute by population size, function, and economic

status. Consequently, there is a significant variation in the definition among countries. Generally, a secondary city can likely have a population ranging between 10-50% percent of the nation's prime city [6,13]. "A secondary city as an urban area generally having a population of between 100,000 and 500,000". The size of these cities can be from a few hundred thousand to millions. Most of the other authors suggest that secondary cities should be defined in accordance with their performance in their national and regional integrated functional system, not by their hierarchy or population [9, 14, 15].

2.1. Typology of Secondary Cities

The Cities Alliance has divided secondary cities into three wide typologies or groups:

- (i) Sub-national cities being centers of local government, agriculture, tourism, industry and mining.
- (ii) Cluster cities in the form of satellite and emerging development cities that overlap major metropolitan areas, and
- (iii) Economic trading corridors designed or built by urban development centres or positions along major transport corridors.

The sub-national secondary cities are the oldest form of secondary cities, mostly developed as regional administrative centres. In other cases, they were developed as industrial or logistic centres due to their unique location for competitive advantage. Others were developed due to historical or cultural advantage like Kumasi in Ghana, Varanasi, India and Mecca in Saudi Arabia.

Historically, most of the sub-national secondary cities were founded as regional administration hubs in the sense of a centrally devolved government structure. Some cities also became major industrial, resource and logistic centres, because of competitive and unique locational advantage. The remaining cities were developed because of cultural and historical advantages. The examples are Kumasi in Ghana, Varanasi, India and Mecca in Saudi Arabia [1, 10].

With the development of countries, their small regional settlements and towns also expand into secondary cities and megacities. Though mega cities lead in trade and investment, but secondary cities play a vital role in a sub-national regional development by providing knowledge, industries, market, logistics, transport and cultural hubs, which create attractive employment opportunities and enhance the consumption, trade, import and export services [2,3,4]. However, very limited work has been done at national level to develop sub-national secondary cities and achieve regional economic development in South Asia context [1, 9].

2.2.1 Population Based Classification of Secondary Cities

From the population point of view world cities are classified into six categories: supra, mega, metro, meso, micro and mini types [1]. Table 1 describes the population range for primary, secondary and tertiary cities which comes under this classification of cities presented by Cities Alliance. cities along with the types of functions they perform. The primary cities can fall in the supra, mega to even mini category of cities. Whereas, the size of secondary cities varies from 150,000 to 5 million population and has a wide variety of roles in international and domestic urban systems. Therefore, the secondary cities fall in the meso, micro and mini categories (see table 1).

TABLE I. Spatial Scale and Functional Framework for Defining System of Secondary Cities [1]

Order of Functional and Market Supra Mega Metro Meso Micro Mini

Order of	Functional and Market	Supra	Mega	Metro	Meso	Micro	Mini
City	Orientation	50 m+	10 m+	5-10m	1-5 m	0.2-1m	>0.2
Global	Wide, numerous high-value						
	resources and development						
	clusters engaged in						
	international trade			Duimon	v. Cition		
Sub-	Service and industrial			Primar	y Cities		
Global	clusters are primarily						
	interested in international						
	commerce.						
National	National government,				Seco	ndary	
	transportation, utilities and				Ci	ties	
	development centers						
Sub-	Provincial sub-national						
national	administration,						
	transportation, utilities and						
	industrial centers				_(Tertiary	
District	Business, utilities and					Cities	
	production at district level						
Sub-	Service sector centres						
district	focused on rural capital						

According to United Nation (2012) [17], in 2010 53% of the world population was living in urban areas. It is expected that 70 percent of the world 's population will live in urban areas by 2025. It is also estimated that in 2025 out of that 70%, 40% will be living in secondary cities. Globally, more than 2,400 cities around the world with populations ranging from

150,000 to 5 million may be classified as secondary cities. In Africa and Asia, about two-thirds of them are [1]. These cities are projected to rise to 460 million people, compared to 270 million between 2010 and 2025 for large cities worldwide [1, 6]. It is clear from the figure 1 that the urban growth in Asia is highest in comparison to other

continents. The highest urban growth is occurring in 500,000 population ranges. Whereas the growth is second highest in 1-5

million ranges and both types fall in the secondary city's population range.

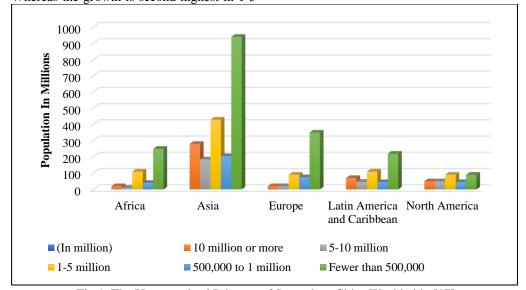


Fig 1. The Unrecognized Primacy of Secondary Cities Worldwide [17]

2.2. Economic Functional Based Classification of Secondary Cities

The secondary city is more determined by its location and its place in the urban network and the global financial system [9, 18]. Geographically, secondary cities facilitate growth at the state level, which increases the distribution of income and resources, prevents migration to primary cities, and thus relieves urban pollution and infrastructure constraints creating alternative sites for economic, manufacturing and other productive activities. Promoting regional economic growth the agglomeration and nurture of small and medium-scale enterprises serving markets [9]. The table 2 presents the functional typology of secondary cities [9, 18].

3. Demographic Trends in India

India is a country, comprise of 29 states and 7 Union Territories. There are 640 total numbers of districts (counties) in India. The country had a population of 1.21 billion (census 2011) with a share of 17.5% of the world's population. India 's average rate of urban population growth is 3.35 per cent [19]. The percentage of urban dwellers rose from 17.35% in 1951 towards 31.2% in 2011. Fast population growth rates, decreasing rural prospects, and the change from a static and low-paying farm sector to higher compensated urban occupations lead to urban growth in major part. It is important to keep in mind that presently 1 in 3 people live in urban areas and it is estimated that as many as 50 per cent of India's population will remain in cities in the next 10 years [19, 20]. It is interesting to note that from 1901 to 2011, India remains a rural population dominating country (see table 3).

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	TABLE II. Typology	of Urban Functions of Secondary Cities [1, 9, 18]		
1. Regional market The city is a major driver for commodities de				
		and trade services at the level of the provincial and		
		simultaneous central economy.		
2.	Service center	The city provides both the local society and the local		
		populace with a variety of public health facilities,		
		secondary and tertiary education institutions, as well as		
		private sector, industries, recreation, and knowledge		
		centers.		
3.	Regional capital	The city hosts separate regional and national legislative		
		and administrative structures.		
4.	Economic location	As a large-scale production and trading area, the city		
		establishes a cohesive national and international policy, by		
		making the requisite improvements in infrastructure and by		
		promoting the actions of economic actors.		
5.	Tourist centre	To encourage activities directly linked to national and		
		foreign tourism, the city uses its competitive advantages		
		of location, natural wealth, historical heritage, history,		
		etc.		
6.	Communication hub	The city serves as a forum for the trade of people, goods		
		and knowledge due to its strategic position and the		
7	3.6 . 11.	growth of the related infrastructure.		
7.	Metropolitan	The growth and prosperity of the region is highly based		
	periphery	on its incorporation into the metropolitan region, with		
8.	National/	national and international complexities underlying it.		
8.	International	The geographical position of the city (border region,		
	mternational	coast, city-state) and its growth interface policy (duty- free zone, "maquiladoras", foreign tourism) give it a role		
		influenced primarily by growing international trade		
		networks.		
9.	Cities in a conurban	The growth of the city depends on the incorporation of		
2.	area	many major municipalities into an agglomeration		
	arca	connected together at different levels of the metropolitan		
		system, with each municipal maintaining its own		
		identification.		
10.	Association of a	In a largely rural area, many small towns form a		
10.	group	community and cities affect each other.		
11.	Urban region	Settled regions within scattered metropolitan areas		
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Although after independence, Absolute population growth is more common in urban areas than in rural areas. The overall growth of 181.4 million inhabitants over the last decade, i.e. from 2001 to 2011, 90.4 million are in rural areas, while 91.0 million are in urban areas. In addition, the urban areas had shown

a significant increase and their number of settlements increased from 5,161 to 7,935 during 2001-2011 census period.

However, 68.8% population of the country is still residing in rural areas [19,20]. It is clear from these available census statistics of India

that the rural areas are still settling major part of country's population. Therefore, the national urban spatial planning strategies of the country should be favourable and supportive for rural

areas too, as they are directly or indirectly dependent on urban service centres.

TABLE III. Demographic Trends in India, 1901-2011 [19, 20]

Year	No of Urban Areas	Population in Millions			% of Total population		
		Total	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	
1901	1827	232.9	212.5	25.8	89.0	11.0	
1911	1825	252.0	226.1	25.9	89.6	10.4	
1921	1949	251.3	223.2	28.1	88.7	11.3	
1931	2072	278.9	245.5	33.4	87.8	12.2	
1941	2250	318.6	274.5	44.2	85.9	14.1	
1951	2843	361.1	298.7	62.4	82.7	17.3	
1961	2363	439.2	360.3	78.9	82.0	18.0	
1971	2590	598.2	489.1	109.1	80.1	19.9	
1981	3378	685.2	525.7	159.5	76.7	23.3	
1991	3768	844.3	627.1	217.2	74.3	25.7	
2001	5161	1027.0	741.6	285.1	72.2	27.8	
2011	7935	1210.1	833.0	377.1	68.8	31.8	

4. Methods for Data Collection

It is the duty of planners to collect and review accessible data and to correctly present the potential impacts of the multiple intervention plans to all stakeholders [21]. Considering these points, the study had adopted the Cities Alliance classification of cities. The required data were collected from research papers, books, and reports through online resources available in MUET. That had helped a lot in the study to establish a link between spatial planning strategies and local economic development in secondary cities. The gathered data was analysed by using population projection models and graphs were produced in MS Excel.

5. Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM)

In 2005, one of the most ambitious projects to enhance urban infrastructure and promote local economic growth in secondary cities was launched by the Indian government [11, 22]. The National Urban Regeneration Task of

Jawaharlal Nehru targeted 63 urban agglomerations in India to strengthen basic infrastructure facilities and urban revitalization programmes [22]. Those 63 urban agglomerations were divided into three categories on the basis of the 2001 population census:

- 1. Cities with 4 million plus population:
 Delhi, Greater Mumbai, Ahmedabad,
 Bangalore, Chennai, Kolkata, Hyderabad.
- 2. Cities with 1 million plus population: Patna, Faridabad, Bhopal, Ludhiana, Jaipur, Lucknow, Madurai, Nashik, Pune, Cochin, Varanasi, Agra, Amritsar, Vishakhapatnam, Vadodara, Surat, Kanpur, Nagpur, Coimbatore, Meerut, Jabalpur, Jamshedpur, Asansol, Allahabad, Vijayawada, Rajkot, Dhanbad, Indor.
- 3. Cities with less than 1 million population: Guwahati, Itanagar, Jammu, Raipur, Panaji, Shimla, Ranchi, Thiruvananthapuram, Imphal, Shillong, Aizawl, Kohima, Bhubaneshwar, Gangtok, Agartala, Dehradun, Bodhgaya,

Ujjain, Puri, Ajmer-Pushkar, Nainital, Mysore, Pondicherry, Chandigarh, Srinagar, Mathura, Haridwar, Nanded.

The concerned authorities were given the responsibility to prepare the city development plans [11]. Larger cities such as Mumbai, Delhi and Chennai have drawn up proposals to establish secondary cities on the outskirts of these areas. Many of those cities were expanded towns, developed to reduce overcrowding and congestion from large urban agglomerations. The concerned development authorities, as a part of a master plan had brought sizeable areas of land and developed them into new towns. For instance, Gurgaon in South-East Delhi is one of India 's fastest growing and most lucrative business investment and growth location. In 2006, Indian secondary cities, urban revitalization programmes have been used to rejuvenate and promote restructuring and investment in infrastructure and real estate programmes in secondary cities. Plans were also planned by

the local planning authorities for the creation of public utilities, highways, industrial developments, and community amenities.

6. Results and Discussion

6.1 Urbanization Trends of India

South Asia shares 30% urban population of Asia continent. India is the second densely populated country in Asia after China and top populated country of Southern Asia. India shares around 20% and more than 67% urban population of Asia and South Asia respectively. Table 4 presents the urban population trends in Asia, South Asia, and India in the five population-based categories of cities set by Cities Alliance from 1995 to 2015. Considering these categories, the study has analysed India's urban settlements growth trends during 1995-2015. The data was taken from Indian census reports (on-line sources) and Un-habitat reports.

TABLE IV. Urban Population of Asia, South Asia and India by Size, Proportion and Growth, 1995-2015 [17]

Region/	Class of Urban	Urban Population			
Country	Settlement	1995	2005	2015	
Asia	10 million or more	104,168	163,806	251,463	
	5-10 million	81,154	155,697	221,879	
	1-5 million	234,984	307,177	424,740	
	500,000-1 million	95,690	148,723	228,219	
	< 500,000	695,264	846,440	986,836	
	Total	1,211,260	1,621,843	2,113,137	
South Asia	10 million or more	38,465	84,070	108,026	
	5-10 million	29,307	50,249	49,330	
	1-5 million	60,812	90,244	108,651	
	500,000-1 million	31,138	42,294	54,325	
	< 500,000	206,613	282,487	304,098	
	Total	366,335	483,648	624,430	
India	10 million or more	26,703	51,009	72,649	
	5-10 million	20,345	23,132	33,175	
	1-5 million	42,216	50,416	73,069	
	500,000-1 million	21,617	25,735	36,535	
	< 500,000	143,433	179,224	204,510	
	Total	254,314	329,516	419,938	

If one observes the urbanization trends in India in 1995, the 10 million plus and 5-10 million categories had a combined share of 18 percent. Whereas, the 500,000-1 and 1-5 million categories had a combined share of 26 percent. The remaining 56% of urban areas were living in the small cities and towns. The 10 million and more cities category had shown an increase of 6% during 10 years (2005) and only 1% during 2005-2015. The reason is the rapid expansion of Kolkata, Chennai and Hyderabad cities as they are still in their development phase and have room for expansion, in comparison with Mumbai and Delhi cities

The second category of 5-10 million population, remained in a static form of a share of 6-8% during the years 1995 to 2015. Together these two categories share 25% of the urban population in 2015. The third category, 1-5 million populated cities had a share of 17% in 1995, 15% in 2005, and 17% in 2015. The fourth category, 500,000-1 million population of cities was sharing 9% urban population in 1995, 8% in 2005 and 9% in 2015.

The last category of cities is of less than 500,000 population. This category had a share of 56% in 1995%, which have gradually reduced to 54% in 2005 and 49% in 2015.

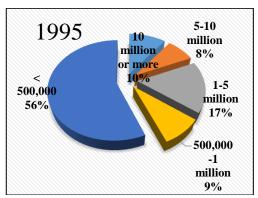


Fig.2. Population Share of Urban Settlements of India in 1995

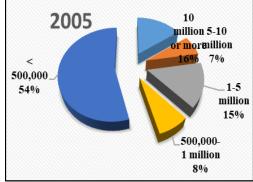


Fig. 3. Population Share of Urban Settlements of India in 2005

It is clear from the above statistics that the 1-5 million and 500,000-1 million categories of cities are unable to compete in the race of urbanization. Their combined share remained static between 23-26% during 20 years (1995-2015). The reason might be the migration of rural population to megacities. The figures 2, 3 and 4 present the population share in all five population-based categories of cities in 1995, 2005 and 2015 years respectively. secondary cities of India fall in the categories of 500,000-1 million and 1-5 million population [12]. That means, these secondary cities are struggling for their sustenance. They are unable to cater the economic needs of their local and surrounding rural areas. Therefore, the inhabitants migrate to metropolitan cities for better employment opportunities.

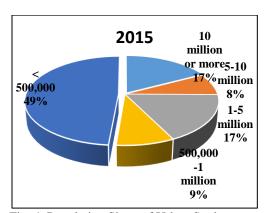


Fig. 4. Population Share of Urban Settlements of India in 2015

Although, the country has a 31.2% share of urban population, but 68.8% population of the country is still living in rural areas [19]. Below 500,000 and 500,000-1 million cities, which comprise more than 50% urban population of India, also include the regional headquarter cities of these districts. These regional headquarter cities are also the secondary cities. These cities serve as regional market and service centres to cater the goods exchange, health, education, leisure and activities of local and surrounding communities and for the strengthening of a local and regional economy. "The cities, ranging in size from between 150,000 and five million, represent one of the biggest opportunities for urbanizing economies globally" [1,6].

6.2 Rural Urban Migration in India

India has a population of 419,938 million people (2015 estimates). About 29% of the country's total population live in urban areas [19]. The country is comprised of 7935 cities, out of which 3 cities with 10 million plus population, 4 city with 5-10 million population, 43 cities with 1-5 million population, 49 cities with 500,000-1 million population and remaining cities have less than 500,000 population [1]. The Mumbai, Delhi and Kolkata are the three cities of India with 10 million plus population. Chennai, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Ahmedabad and Pune cities have a population between 5-10 million. The Ahmadabad, Chennai, Hyderabad and Kolkata are cities 1-5 million population [19].

India's urbanisation rate is greater (1.1%) than the global average (0.9%) [23]. This shows that, like other countries in Asia, India is highly urbanized. The urban population of India had grown from 329 million in 2005 to 419 million in 2015 with 31% of total population living in urban areas. However, 69% of Indian population was still living in rural areas in 2015. That means India is a country having largest rural population of 936

million by 2015 [24]. The rural population migrates to 10 million plus cities and 5-10 million cities in search of jobs. Out of total population of Mumbai and Delhi, about 45% of the population are comprised of migrants who migrated there to seek employment [24]. This rural-urban displacement has placed the urban structures under tremendous pressure. This has created significant challenges in spatial planning, administration development in these cities. Therefore, out of 419 million inhabitants of urban India, 48.57% (203.5 million) are living in slums people living in Indian cities [24].

7. Conclusion:

Based on the above research findings, it is concluded that although JNNURM was strong example of secondary urban revitalization programme that have effectively promoted the growth of local economies and created new job opportunities. However, the limitation of the programme was that the 0.05 million population category of cities, which comprised of 54% urban population of India in 2005 (see figure 3), remained unattended.

The other drawback was that JNNURM was more focused to develop cluster secondary cities on the periphery of selected urban agglomerations. That was ultimately a remedy to solve the problems of megacities instead of strengthening the local economic development of secondary cities.

It is, however, a good attempt to accommodate the rural migrants and urban poor in those cluster secondary cities. But this trend of absorbing the excessive urban population in those cluster cities is not a feasible spatial planning strategy. In contrast, these types of national programmes can motivate the rural-urban migration. As a resultant, the overcrowding can become an unending issue in megacities. Ultimately, the national, state and local governments are bound to invest the major part of their budget on the provision of housing and infrastructure services, instead of focusing on the economic development of cities.

Some 75 per cent of the world's population lives in urban settlements of fewer than 500,000 people. "A balanced system of cities with strong secondary cities offers tremendous potential for regional and national economic development. Many poor cities and rural regions could double or even triple their GDP," [1].

Secondary cities are a vital link in the chain of system of cities, which is becoming more global and efficient. There is a need to improve the functions and linkages in the system of cities at the secondary level that must became a focus for national governments [1,2,3].

The spatial planning strategies have a key role to play in raising both national and regional prosperity and reducing prosperity gaps between cities within regions [4,7,10]

Therefore, if India want secondary cities to became more efficient like metropolitan cities, it is essential that its national government along with regional and local government should focus on spatial planning policies and programmes to support a balanced development of their system of cities.

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