



A STUDY OF STATUTORY TOWNS OF HARYANA THAT UNDERWENT TERRITORIAL CHANGE BY POPULATION SIZE CATEGORIES :1961-2011

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Abstract

Consistent with a rise in the number of municipal towns from 58 in 1961 to 79 in 2011, along with a territorial redefinition of three-fourths of them during 1961-2011, the area under statutory towns in Haryana increased from 319.39 km² to 1499.84 km². If the area under census towns is also taken into consideration, then the total urban area of the state increased from 355.65 km² in 1961 to 2034.54 km² in 2011. This represented an urban conversion of no less than 1678.89 km² of rural land. Out of this large increase in urban area, the share of statutory towns was 1180.45 km². This increase in urban area contributed by statutory towns found its explanation in territorial extension of municipal limits of as many as 59 towns, many of them undergoing revision in municipal limits more than once. While the number of municipal towns increased from 58 to 79, the urban area under them increased from 319.39 km² to 1499.84 km² during 1961-2011. The present paper is an attempt to meaningfully analyse the multiple factors contributing to the areal extension of statutory towns of Haryana based on population size categories. The study is based on census data from 1961-2011.

Key Words: *urban area, statutory towns, territorial extension, urban conversion, population size categories*

Introduction

In India, all those settlements which are towns by virtue of a statutory notification are known as municipal/statutory towns. They are governed by the municipal acts of respective state governments. It is the statutory towns that have fuelled the fast pace of urbanization in Haryana not only through the increase in their numerical strength from 58 in 1961 to 79 in 2011 but by also registering a significant increase in their territorial limits from 319.39 sq.km in 1961 to 1499.84 sq.km in 2011. The focus of the present paper is, therefore, on the growth of municipal towns in Haryana and the factors contributing to their growth.



Objectives

The objective of the present paper is to meaningfully analyse the multiple factors contributing to the territorial expansion of statutory towns of Haryana based on population size categories for the period 1961-2011.

Data Base and Methodology

The data on the change in jurisdictional limits of statutory towns and their distribution by population size categories have been drawn mainly from secondary sources like census publications and papers published by Directorate of Census Operations, Haryana, Chandigarh and Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, New Delhi. The paper covers a period of 50 years (1961-2011). As per Census of India, the urban centres have been divided into six groups- *cities* (the urban centres with population of one lakh and more) comprising Class I towns; *large towns* (the urban centres with population of 50,000 to 99,999) comprising Class II towns; *medium towns* (the urban centres with population of 20,000 to 49,999) comprising Class III towns; and *small towns* (the urban centres with population of < 5,000 to 19,999) comprising Class IV (10,000 to 19,999), Class V (5,000-9,999) and Class VI (<5000) towns. This categorisation has been done to provide a meaningful analysis of change in size-class composition of statutory towns experiencing territorial expansion.

Territorial Change: 1961-1971

There were 65 towns in Haryana in 1971, registering an addition of 4 new towns during 1961-71. In this way, 61 towns were common both in 1961 and 1971 decades. Out of these 61 towns in 1961, 58 towns were municipal towns having an area of 319.39 km². The number of municipal towns rose to 61 in 1971 having an area of 391.25 km². This increase in area of 71.86 km² was, however, not contributed by each and every town. Rather, there were only 22 towns that registered increase in their territorial limits. Another 28 towns did not register any change in their boundaries and as many as 10 towns recorded decline in their territorial limits (Table 1).

In fact, there was an increase of 101.83 km², contributed by 22 towns. In contrast, 10 towns registered a decline in their territorial limits, amounting to 46.8 km². Thus, on balance



areal increase in land under urban centres was of only 55.03 km². If area under 3 new towns (Ganaur, Tosham and Naraingarh) was also included in this, it comes to 71.86 km². The distribution of increase in area of 22 towns by population size categories reveals that *Large Towns* and *Medium Towns* (Class II and Class III towns) grew faster than the *Small Towns* (Class IV, V and VI towns). Class III towns registered maximum increase in territorial limits (36.5 per cent) followed by Class II and Class IV towns which registered an increase of 34.76 per cent and 19.08 per cent respectively. On the other hand, the share of towns with population less than 10,000 amounted to only 9.66 per cent.

Table- 1

HARYANA: Distribution of Municipal Towns that underwent Territorial Change by Population Size Categories, 1961-1971.

Size Category	Number of Towns	Increase in Area(in Km ²)	Number of Towns	Decline in Area (in Km ²)
II	3	35.40(34.76)	1	-3.88(8.29)
III	5	37.17(36.5)	1	-5.43(11.60)
IV	8	19.43(19.08)	2	-23.34(49.87)
V	4	6.84(6.72)	4	-11.82(25.25)
VI	2	2.99(2.94)	2	-2.33(4.97)
Total	22	101.83(100.00)	11	-46.8 (100.00)

Source: Computed from Census of India, 1991, Haryana General Population Tables, Series-8, Part II A.

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentage of area increase/decrease of towns in different population size categories.



a) Increase in area of towns = $101.83 - 46.8 = 55.03 \text{ Km}^2$.

b) Area of 3 new towns (Ganaur, Naraingarh and Tosham) = 16.83 km^2

c) Aggregate Increase = $55.03 + 16.83 = 71.86 \text{ Km}^2$

d) Total Area of Towns in 1971 = $319.39 \text{ (Area in 1961)} + 71.86 = 391.25 \text{ Km}^2$

The distribution of 10 towns by different size categories that underwent decline in area revealed that maximum decline in territorial limits was registered by *Small Towns* (Class IV towns) which was 49.87 per cent followed by *Small Towns* (Class V towns) which registered a decline in area by 25.25 per cent.

The distribution of 22 towns that registered an increase in area under municipal jurisdiction by population size categories reveals that *Large* and *Medium Size Towns* grew faster than the *Small Towns*. Class III towns registered maximum increase in territorial limits (37.17 km^2) followed by Class II and Class IV towns which registered an increase of 35.40 km^2 and 19.43 km^2 respectively. On the other hand, the contribution of towns with population less than 10,000 was a mere 9.83 km^2 .

The reason for decline in territorial limits of 10 towns most of which were located in central Haryana could not be ascertained due to the lack of availability of data.

Territorial Change: 1971-81

Out of a total of 81 towns in 1981, 74 were statutory towns. 19 new towns were added during the 1971-1981 decade out of which 14 were municipal towns. One town Tosham, a Class V town (District Bhiwani) was declassified as rural while Faridabad Township and Ballabgarh both independent towns in 1971 lost their identity on their amalgamation with Faridabad Complex Administration in 1981. Thus, the net addition was of 13 towns during 1971-81. The total area under 61 municipal towns in 1971 was 391.25 km^2 which increased to 691.05 km^2 under 74 municipal towns in 1981. The aggregate increase in urban area under statutory towns of 292.8 km^2 during 1971-81 was contributed partly by the addition of 14 new towns and creation of Faridabad Complex Administration and partly due to the territorial expansion of 25 towns amounting to 266.37 km^2 . Out of this 178.24 km^2 was contributed by



Faridabad Complex. At the same time, 4 towns recorded a decline of 12.24 km² in their territorial limits (Table 2).

There were 25 towns that recorded an increase of 266.37 km² in area under municipal jurisdiction. 4 towns registered a decline of 12.24 km² in their municipal area. The area of declassified town, Tosham was 2.59 km². Thus, on balance areal increase in land under municipal towns was of only 299.8 km².

The distribution of 25 towns by population size categories that registered increase in area reveals that *Large* and *Medium Sizes Towns* grew faster than the smaller ones. They contributed as much as 92.9 per cent to the total area increase while small-sized towns contributed only 7.1 per cent.

Table -2

HARYANA: Distribution of Municipal Towns that underwent Territorial Change by Population Size Categories, 1971-1981.

Size Category	Number of Towns	Increase in Area (in Km ²)	Number of Towns	Decline in Area (in Km ²)
I	2	167.01(62.7)	-	-
II	4	46.02(17.3)	1	-2.7(22.06)
III	6	34.6(12.9)	-	-
IV	8	11.00(4.13)	1	-0.34(2.78)
V	3	6.2(2.33)	1	-3.83(31.29)
VI	2	1.54(0.58)	1	-5.37(43.87)
Total	25	266.37(100.00)	4	-12.24 (100.00)

Source: Computed from Census of India, 1991, Haryana General Population Tables, Series-8, Part II A.



Note: Figures in parentheses are percentage of area increase/decrease of towns in different population size categories.

a) Increase in area of towns = $266.37 - 12.24 = 254.13 \text{ Km}^2$.

b) Area of 14 new municipal towns = 48.26 km^2

c) Area of declassified town, Tosham = 2.59 km^2

c) Aggregate Increase = $(254.13 + 48.26) - 2.59 = 299.8 \text{ Km}^2$

d) Total Area of Towns in 1981 = $391.25(\text{Area in 1971}) + 299.8 = 691.05 \text{ Km}^2$

Population size category wise investigation revealed that Class I cities registered maximum increase in urban area under municipal limits (62.7 per cent) followed by Class II towns (17.3 per cent) and Class III towns (12.9 per cent). In contrast, Class IV towns recorded a miniscule change in municipal limits (4.13 per cent) followed by Class V towns (2.33 per cent) and Class VI towns (0.58 per cent) respectively.

Thus, the large and medium sized towns contributed significantly to the total area increase under municipal jurisdiction in comparison to towns having population less than 20,000. However, the decline in area of 4 towns excluding Karnal could not be ascertained.

The 4 towns that experienced decline in municipal limits were Karnal, Hodal, Naraingarh and Nuh. Karnal registered a decline in its municipal limits due to the exclusion of two villages. The *gram panchayats* of Khambopura and Madanpur got a stay from the High Court against the merger of their villages within the municipal limits of Karnal M.C. In order to avoid further legal battle, Karnal municipality on approval from the government excluded these villages. As a result, area of Karnal M.C. declined from 24.8 km^2 to 22.10 km^2 . The decline in the area of Hodal, Naraingarh and Nuh, however, could not be ascertained.

Territorial Change: 1981-91

There were 94 towns in Haryana in 1991, registering an addition of 13 new towns during 1981-91. In this way, 81 towns were common both in 1981 and 1991 decades. The geographical area under these 94 towns was 966.73 km^2 , an increase of 202.96 km^2 from area



under 81 towns that amounted to 763.77 km². Out of these 94 towns in 1991, 82 towns were municipal towns having an area of 849.88 km². The addition of 8 new municipal towns during the decade of 1981-91 took the total number of towns from 74 in 1981 to 82 in 1991. Rania, a Class IV town in 1981 census was declassified as rural in 1991. The total area under 74 municipal towns in 1981 was 691.05 km² which increased to 849.88 km² under 82 municipal towns in 1991. The aggregate increase of 158.83 km² in urban area during 1981-91 was mainly due to the territorial expansion of towns amounting to 132.8 km² and emergence of 8 new statutory towns adding 28.96 km² to the total area increase under municipal towns. The declassification of one town, Rania resulted in the loss of 2.93 km² under urban area (Table-3).

The increase in urban area under municipal jurisdiction was not contributed by each and every town. Only 16 towns registered increase in their territorial limits. Two towns of Kalka and Maham registered decline in their territorial limits. The 16 towns recorded an increase of 133.75 km² in area under municipal jurisdiction. The 2 towns registered a decline of 0.95 km² in their municipal area. Thus, on balance areal increase in land under municipal towns was 132.8 km². The distribution of 16 towns by population size categories that registered increase in area reveals that *Small Towns* grew faster than the *Large* and *Medium Sizes Towns*. Class V towns registered a phenomenal increase of 46.78 km² in urban area comprising 34.97 per cent of the total increase in urban area. This was in contrast to the earlier trend during the preceding decades when the contribution of the *Small Towns* was minimal as compared to *Large* and *Medium Towns*. Class I cities registered an increase of just 17.08 km² or 12.77 per cent to the total increase in urban area during 1981-91.

**Table -3****HARYANA: Distribution of Municipal Towns that underwent Territorial Change by Population Size Categories, 1981-1991.**

Size Category	Number of Towns	Increase in Area(in Km ²)	Number of Towns	Decline in Area (in Km ²)
I	3	17.08(12.77)	-	-
II	2	15.28(11.42)	-	-
III	3	36.84(27.54)	1	-0.81
IV	3	17.77(13.28)	1	-0.14
V	5	46.78(34.97)	-	-
Total	16	133.75(100.00)	2	-0.95

Source: Computed from Census of India, 1991, Haryana General Population Tables, Series-8, Part II A.

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentage of area increase/decrease of towns in different population size categories.

a) Increase in area of towns = $133.75 - 0.95 = 132.8 \text{ Km}^2$.

b) Area of 8 new municipal towns = 28.96 km^2

c) Area of declassified town, Rania = 2.93 km^2

c) Aggregate Increase = $(132.8 + 28.96) - 2.93 = 158.83 \text{ Km}^2$

d) Total Area of Towns in 1991 = $691.05 \text{ (Area in 1981)} + 158.83 = 849.88 \text{ Km}^2$

Similarly Class II towns (11.42 per cent) and Class IV towns (13.28 per cent) too contributed a little towards the total increase in urban area under municipal jurisdiction. The contribution of Class III towns (27.54 per cent) was, on the other hand, significantly higher, just next to Class V towns.

3 towns of Shahbad, Thanesar and Jagadhri out of 17 Class III municipal towns located in north-eastern part of the state continued to record territorial expansion due to the expansion of their industrial and commercial activities. 8 *Small Towns* (Class IV and V size category towns) unlike previous decades recorded considerable expansion in their municipal limits. Out of 5 Class V towns, Kalanwali and Taoru registered maximum increase in area that resulted in largest contribution of Class V category towns in the overall urban area increase



due to revision of municipal limits. Taoru emerged as an important service centre to its hinterland experiencing high growth rate which explained its territorial expansion. Kalanwali located in the north-western part of the state underwent a phenomenal increase of 37.63 km² in its municipal limits due to the merger of two large revenue estates to develop Mandi Township. Emergence of other small-sized towns like Naraingarh, Ferozepur Jhirka and Farrukhnagar as important service centres to their hinterland resulted in moderate to fast growth of these towns during the decade of 1981-91. To channelize the urban growth around these towns, the municipal limits of these towns were extended.

Territorial Change: 1991-2001

There were 83 municipal towns as per the census of 2001. Only one town of Pinjore was added to the list of statutory towns. HMT Pinjore no longer existed as an independent town but was merged in Pinjore Urban Agglomeration in 2001. Rania which was declassified as rural in 1991 was again reclassified as urban in 2001. Besides Pinjore and Rania, no new towns emerged during this period and none of the existing statutory towns were declassified. Out of 83 municipal towns, 25 towns experienced increase in municipal limits and only one town, Rewari experienced a decline in administrative limits (Table -4).

Table -4

HARYANA: Distribution of Municipal Towns that underwent Territorial Change by Population Size Categories, 1991-2001.

Size Category	Number of Towns	Increase in Area (in Km ²)	Number of Towns	Decline in Area (in Km ²)
I	7	51.74(25.5)	-	-
II	5	53.53(26.4)	1	-6.65
III	6	63.41(31.23)	-	-
IV	5	24.36(11.99)	-	-
V	2	10.00(4.92)	-	-
Total	25	203.04(100.00)	1	-6.65

Source: Computed from Census of India, 2001, General Population Tables, Haryana, Series-7, Tables - A4, Directorate of Census Operations, Haryana.

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentage of area increase/decrease of towns in different population size categories.



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- a) Increase in area of towns = $203.04 - 6.65 = 196.39 \text{ km}^2$.
 - b) Area of 1 new municipal town, Pinjore = 7.09 km^2
 - c) Area of reclassified town, Rania = 10.63 km^2
 - d) Area of town HMT Pinjore declassified in 2001 = 3.44 km^2
 - e) Aggregate Increase = $(196.39 + 7.09 + 10.63) - 3.44 = 210.67 \text{ km}^2$
 - f) Total Area of Towns in 2001 = 849.88 (Area in 1991) + $210.67 = 1060.55 \text{ km}^2$

There were 25 towns that recorded an increase of 203.04 km^2 in area under municipal jurisdiction. One town registered a decline of 6.65 km^2 in its municipal area. Thus, on balance areal increase in land under municipal towns was of only 196.39 km^2 . The aggregate increase in urban area under municipal jurisdiction was 210.67 km^2 considering the area of new town and reclassified town minus the area of a town merged into an urban agglomeration. Thus, the net addition of 210.67 km^2 to the total urban area contributed by territorial expansion of 25 statutory towns increased the urban area which stood at 849.88 km^2 in 1991 to 1060.55 km^2 in 2001.

The distribution of increase in area of 25 towns by population size categories reveals that *Large Towns* and *Medium Towns* (Class II and Class III towns) together contributed 57.63 per cent of the total increase in area of municipal towns. Class III towns registered maximum increase in territorial limits (31.23 per cent) followed by Class II and Class I towns which registered an increase of 26.4 per cent and 11.99 per cent respectively. On the other hand, the share of *Small Towns* (Class IV and Class V towns) with population less than 20,000 amounted to only 16.91 per cent. The proliferating functions of large sized towns led to their territorial expansion while majority of small sized towns suffered from the urban shadow effect of bigger towns.



Territorial Change: 2001-2011

The census year of 2011 was an anomaly in the sense that unlike the previous decades that registered a continuous rise in the number of municipal towns, there was a decline in the number of statutory towns. The total number of statutory towns stood at 79 in comparison to 83 statutory towns in 2001. This was due to the merger of M.C. Kalka and Pinjore in Panchkula Corporation; M.C. Ambala Sadar in Ambala Corporation and M.C. Jagadhri in Yamunanagar Corporation. Though the number of municipal towns declined but the area under municipal jurisdiction increased from 1060.55 km² to 1499.84 km² (a net increase of 439.29 km²). This increase in area of 439.29 km² was, however, not contributed by each and every town. Rather, there were only 26 towns that registered increase in their territorial limits. 49 towns did not register any change in their boundaries and 4 towns recorded decline in their territorial limits (Table-5).

Table- 5

HARYANA: Distribution of Municipal Towns that underwent Territorial Change by Population Size Categories, 2001-2011.

Size Category	Number of Towns	Increase in Area(in Km ²)	Number of Towns	Decline in Area (in Km ²)
I	9	348.76(78.09)	2	-2.35
II	2	3.45(0.77)	1	-9.63
III	7	58.78(13.16)	1	-31.72
IV	7	33.52(7.5)	-	-
V	1	2.07(0.5)	-	-
Total	26	446.58(100.00)	4	-43.7

Source: Computed from unpublished tables of Census of India, 2011, Haryana, Directorate of Census Operations, Haryana.



Note: Figures in parentheses are percentage of area increase/decrease of towns in different population size categories

a) Increase in area of towns = $446.58 - 43.7 = 402.88 \text{ km}^2$.

b) Area of 4 new municipal towns = 66.42 km^2

c) Area of 7 declassified towns = 30.01 km^2

d) Aggregate Increase = $(402.88 + 66.42) - 30.01 = 439.29 \text{ km}^2$

e) Total Area of Towns in 2011 = $1060.55 \text{ (Area in 2001)} + 439.29 = 1499.84 \text{ km}^2$

In fact, there was an increase of 446.58 km^2 , contributed by 26 towns. In contrast, 4 towns registered a decline in their territorial limits, amounting to 43.7 km^2 . Thus, on balance areal increase in land under urban centres was 402.88 km^2 . If area under 4 new towns (Panchkula, Nissing, Dharuhera and Sampla) is also included in this, it comes to 469.3 km^2 . The area of 7 towns (Sadhaura, Radaur, Buria, Chhachharauli, Jakhalmadi, Uklanamandi and Tosham) that were no longer municipal towns and were declassified was 30.01 km^2 . Thus, the aggregate increase in urban area came to be 439.29 km^2 .

The distribution of increase in area of 26 towns by population size categories reveals that *Cities* and *Medium Towns* (Class I and Class III towns) grew faster than the *Small Towns* (Class IV and V towns). Class I towns registered maximum increase in territorial limits (78.09 per cent) followed by Class III and Class IV towns which registered an increase of 13.16 per cent and 7.50 per cent respectively. On the other hand, the share of towns with population less than 10,000 amounted to only 0.5 per cent.

The distribution of 26 towns that registered an increase in area under municipal jurisdiction by population size categories reveals that out of 20 Class I cities, as many as 9 cities registered increase in territorial limits (348.76 km^2) followed by 7 Class III and 7 Class IV towns each which registered an increase of 58.78 km^2 and 33.52 km^2 respectively. On the other hand, only 2 Class II towns recorded an increase of 3.45 km^2 and just 1 Class V town registered an increase of 2.07 km^2 in area under municipal limits.

Among the Class III towns, Jhajjar that enjoys proximity and good connectivity to National Capital experienced the maximum revision of municipal limits by as much as 30 km^2 due to the merger of Jhajjar rural and 2 villages in municipal limits. Pinjore,



an industrial town situated close to the state capital of Chandigarh too registered a substantial increase in municipal limits by as much as 8.91 km². Similarly other medium towns like Gohana, Hodal, Barwala and Ratia too experienced revision in jurisdictional limits due to the merger of surrounding revenue estates. In case of Ladwa, the area during 2001 was wrong as stated by municipal authority. During 2001 the actual area was 5 km² and another 1.59 km² was added during 2001-2011 due to the addition of 6 villages. The expansion of territorial limits of 7 Class IV towns was due to the merger of surrounding rural areas but the exact reasons could not be ascertained due to the lack of data.

There were 4 towns that experienced a reduction in their municipal limits. The tussle between the municipal bodies and the adjoining villages over common property resources and unwillingness of the village folk to lose their independent political identity were the major reasons that led to the revision and hence decline in the territorial limits of 4 towns of Sirsa, Thanesar, Mandi Dabwali and Kalanwali. Except for Thanesar these urban centres were located in the western part of Haryana. Kalanwali, a Class III town experienced the maximum reduction in its administrative limits. The area under Municipal control was reduced from 40.22 km² in 2001 to 8.50 km² in 2011 due to the exclusion of Chukerian village. Mandi Dabwali, a Class II town located in Sirsa district too lost 9.63 km² of area from under its municipal jurisdiction due to the exclusion of Shergarh village which was earlier merged in 1987. Thus, as per 2011 census, the area of Mandi Dabwali comes to 12.70 km². Similarly, Sirsa city also underwent revision in municipal limits. Village Ramnagar was excluded and the area under the municipal limits was revised to 24.43 km², a loss of 2km². Thanesar city located in the northern part of the state on the Grand trunk road too lost out 0.35 km² of area due to the exclusion of village Pipli. The municipal council of Thanesar has faced lot of resistance and litigation from the adjoining villages to their merger within the municipal limits. Village Pipli was merged in 1984 but the villagers upset with the merger got political reprieve after a lot of struggle and were finally able to assert themselves and get their *gram panchayat* restored.



Conclusion:

Consistent with a rise in the number of municipal towns from 58 in 1961 to 79 in 2011, along with a territorial redefinition of three-fourths of them during 1961-2011, the area under statutory towns in Haryana increased from 319.39 km² to 1499.84 km². If the area under census towns is also taken into consideration, then the total urban area of the state increased from 355.65 km² in 1961 to 2034.54 km² in 2011. This represented an urban conversion of no less than 1678.89 km² of rural land. Out of this large increase in urban area, the share of statutory towns was 1180.45 km². This increase in urban area contributed by statutory towns found its explanation in territorial extension of municipal limits of as many as 59 towns, many of them undergoing revision in municipal limits more than once . While the number of municipal towns increased from 58 to 79, the urban area under them increased from 319.39 km² to 1499.84 km² during 1961-2011 (Table-6).

Table-6

Haryana: Number and Percentage of Municipal Towns that underwent Territorial Change by Population Size Categories, 1961-2011

Size Class of Towns/Cities	Total Number of Towns	Towns that have undergone change in municipal limits	Percentage of Towns that have undergone change in M.C. limits
I	20	18	90.00
II	09	08	88.8
III	33	25	75.75
IV	16	07	43.75
*V	1	1	-
TOTAL	79	59	

Source: Census of India, Computed by Researcher.

* Note that there is only one class V town Ateli that has registered an increase of 0.35 km² in its jurisdictional limits since 1961.



Table-6 reveals that the percentage of Class I and Class II towns undergoing change in jurisdictional limits is much higher than in the case of Class III and Class IV towns. Among Class I towns only Panchkula and Ambala Sadar did not undergo any change in municipal limits. Panchkula which was till now under the jurisdiction of the Estate Office was declared a Corporation only in 2011 and M.C. Ambala Sadar has been merged in Ambala Corporation. Fatehabad is the only Class II town not to experience any revision in municipal limits since 1961. Less than half of the *Small Towns* experienced boundary change. The rapid growth and expansion of *Cities and Large Towns* was related to their capacity to generate employment on a larger scale. As centres of industry, administration, trade, transport and education they offered employment to migrants in addition to their own population. The stagnation of *Small Towns* related to the lack of employment opportunities even for their own population because of the predominance of primary activities. Primary activities, barring mining, provided a little scope for expansion of employment opportunities in *Small Towns* (Bala, 1980). *Small Towns* which did experience territorial expansion were either market towns or where industrial estates had been developed by the state government. Towns that enjoyed higher administrative status such as district headquarters experienced rapid territorial expansion than those placed lower in the hierarchy because of accumulation of functions.

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