

Urban Growth, Spatial Dynamics and Social Segregation in India: A Study of Growth of Alwar City of Rajasthan in National Capital Region

*Dr. Saheed

Department of Sociology, Maulana Azad National Urdu University, Hyderabad, India
Corresponding Author: Dr. Saheed

Abstract: This paper seeks to critically analyse the growth of Alwar, a small sized city of the state of Rajasthan, located in National Capital Region in India. It examines the ways in which physical and social landscape of the city has been shaped by the socio-economic and political forces. Amidst current debates of India's attempt to develop smart cities¹, it is pertinent to examine state's approach and the role of non-state actors in urban growth in India. Present study observed that both the state and the private sector seem to be playing critical role, though with different motives, in the development of Alwar city. It is however found that the private sector rather have major stake in the shaping up of the landscape of the city. Eventually, this appears to adversely impact the realisation of state's urban policy goals. The growth of Alwar city is witnessing various exclusionary or unruly practices. Consequently, people belonging to certain social groups are segregated into areas labelled or seen as ghettoised, illegal and unwanted. Such areas do lack basic amenities to live a dignified life. The city however also has got developed posh areas catching upon the needs of mobile and aspiring middle classes. This uneven and contrasting urban growth raised questions on state's vision to make city dynamic, democratic and inclusive space.

Keywords: Urban growth, city space, middle class, social segregation and exclusion

I. INTRODUCTION

Urban growth is one of the most contentious issues in contemporary India. According to Gautam Bhan (2016) most Indian cities are auto-constructed which make these cities domes of social exclusion. It is a known fact that a significant chunk of urban population resides in unrecognised, unplanned and/or so called illegal urban settlements. Such habitations remain at margins. People in such places found themselves unable to exercise their entitlements and right as respectable citizens to participate in the city life. Nevertheless, illegality, unplanned constructions and poorly resourced settlements become part of city and its life. It may be noted that multiple stakeholders such as people themselves, the market interest, governmental policies and profit seeking non-governmental actors play critical role in shaping up the cities' landscape. In the words of Park and Burgess (1984), 'personal tastes and convenience, both vocational and economic interests shape the landscape of the city' (p. 5). The government power (state), economic value of the land or the taxation system or the market influences the physical design, structure and shape of the city. Lefebvre (1991) rather sees city as a space that has been, 'commodified by capitalism'. The private stakeholder keeping their market or profit making interest at forefront influences spatial growth and infrastructural development of the city. The class interest too works discreetly. Consequently, the city gets contrasting spatial growth and space becomes a contesting site. For instance, the middle classes, having distinct standards of life, live in exclusive residential areas with better amenities as they can pay more and almost every city too has its lower-class slum and tenement areas (Robinson and Preston, 1960:244) devoid of basic amenities to live a dignified life. In fact, 'placism, as Fielding (2013) notes, just like sexism, racism and ageism, critically triggers exclusionary practices. It is thus critical to explore that the shapes, layouts, architectural features and distribution of urban amenities, etc. do express conflicts and unequal dispositions between various groups and the peoples in the city.

The city landscape thus contains a complex and contesting social-economic systems (Robinson and Preston 1970) and locales in which many milieu interact (Jayaram 2010). There are multiple sides of the city landscape complex, 'on the one side, urban poor struggling to earn their livelihood and living with the inadequate infrastructure', and on the other side, the middle class aspirational lifestyles with tremendous potential for economic prosperity (Saxena and Vijayakumar 2014). The modern city thus contains diversity and differences too which make it a site of contestations and multiple claims by aspirational migrants or anxious

middle class and socially and economically disadvantaged groups as well located in various parts of the city. In Indian context, this shape is structured around not only class, but caste and religion which led to social segregation into ghettoisation of certain groups within the city making such areas labelled as disadvantaged, unwanted, and illegal.

II. RESEARCH METHODS AND DATA COLLECTION

The objective of this paper is to examine the growth of Alwar, a small city in National Capital Region of Delhi (NCR) in India. It also explores how do the efforts of state and private stakeholders shape up the physical and social landscape of the city. The paper specifically addresses the questions such as how did the city start growing? What has been at the centre of the development process of Alwar? How has the new residential areas grown? In what ways, the demographic expansion, industrial growth and spatial developments has shaped the overall landscape of the city. Finally, the papers explored that how the city has treated its inhabitants with regard to their rights, aspirations and social life?

The study has used both secondary and primary data. Data from Urban Improvement Trust (UIT) Alwar, GoR, NCR and Census of India 2011 was collected and analysed to understand the pattern of growth of Alwar city. The study also presents primary data collected through in-depth interviews. The stakeholders involved in and witnessed the growth of the city such as contractors, builders, shopkeepers, residents and community members in old colonies (for example Divakiri, Moti Dungri, Ajit Nagar and Malviya Nagar, etc.) and especially those living in the city for more than five decades were interviewed elaborately. Most interviews were conducted in Hindi. Numerous informal interviews were also conducted with various stakeholders, as mentioned above, with an aim to elicit as much as possible in-depth information (from their personal experiences) on the ways in which the Alwar as a city has been evolved and get shaped in the past.

III. STATE'S EFFORTS AND GROWTH OF ALWAR CITY

Alwar², a medium sized city (Lall 2001), is one of the fastest growing urban areas in NCR of Delhi. Currently, the Alwar city has a total population of 3.8 lakhs (Census of India 2011). As per the Census 2001, It is classified as class I city³ in Rajasthan based on its population. The Urban Development and Housing (UDH) has anticipated that the population of the city may further increase to seven lakh by 2031 (Times of India, August 23, 2012). Given the crucial location of Alwar city in NCR, the city was chosen one of the centres of counter-urbanisation for the mega city of Delhi. Master Plans for Delhi developed in 1985, 1995, and a recently developed in 2001 have referred to Alwar frequently. These plans outline strategies to deflect population and industrial burdens to nearby towns selected as 'priority towns' (Nath, 1995). The target has been to reduce burden on Delhi in terms of population and environment due to congested industries and migrant workforce. Alwar (Matsya Industrial Area) along with Bhiwadi, as part of Rajasthan Sub-Region, was selected as 'priority town complex' (Nath 1995). Rajasthan sub-region comprises of Alwar district constituting about 24.5 % (8,380 sq. km) of the NCR. Alwar thus being part of NCR expected to grow as an economic base which can help absorbing the economic development impulse of Delhi (Regional Plan- 2021 for NCR). As per the Plan formulated in 1985 for NCR, Alwar and Bhiwadi were identified as regional centres and were to be developed for setting up of industries and other economic activities on priority basis (GoR 2011). With such planned efforts, the Alwar gradually started emerging as one of the important trading centres and satellite towns for the NCR and it is thus shaped as a product as well as a process by the procedures of the state and the manoeuvres of the market (Srivastava, 2009). These strategies seem to have created ripple in the region as many industries and information technology infrastructure diverted to this region. The city in fact has been proposed to be linked to various metro and industrial cities such as Kanpur, Kolkata, Mumbai, Ahmadabad, Bhopal, Chennai and Bangalore through railway line which likely to benefit the city immensely in future. Consequently, Alwar was given a push to develop as a major industrial hub, not only of the NCR, but of the country (Times of India 23 august, 2012).

Given its strategic location, Alwar not only got a special mention in the Master Plan of NCR Delhi (Lall 2001) as mentioned earlier, the GoR itself also came up with its own Master Plans in 2001 to streamline the growth of infrastructure, transport, industry, etc. in the city. The plan aimed the year 2031 to achieve the set targets. The plan attempts to recreate a totally new generation of spaces in the future and produce (Guha 2009) what it calls 'slum free' and knowledge city. It foresees Alwar in terms of availability of a large market for the reason that it is located in close proximity to National Capital Territory (NCT) Delhi and as part of NCR and the International Airport of Delhi which is major entry point to India. The approval of Regional Rapid Transit System (RRTS) connecting Alwar with Delhi aimed to provide much needed connectivity. The prime concerns of the Master Plan 2031 of Alwar are economic growth, social equity, inclusive development and environmental sustainability. The Plan aims to make Alwar a Knowledge City (with the boom of information technology and educational infrastructure), Medi City (by crystallising health sector economic activities in the city) with the prospects of medical tourism to grow in future. Alwar was proposed by GoR under Rajiv Awas Yojna (RAY)⁴

for making the city a Slum Free City by focusing on urban poverty and housing for the urban poor. To this effect, as per the UIT records (2014), the government under Affordable Housing Policy 2009 has provided 531 houses till 2011-12. Looking at the long term impact, the government aimed to use most modern technologies such as green technology in the construction of buildings and using non-conventional energy to support power and energy needs of the city. In a nutshell, procuring all modern technologies and best facilities as per the Master Plan 2031, the GoR envisions to develop Alwar City as a Mass Transport based city, a neighbourhood/work place city and a high density and high rise city in the future (GoR 2014). The objective here was to facilitate the spread and coordination of planning and professional expertise, creating a shared policy environment that is a beginning to bring a holistic development and give Alwar a modern shape to make it part of larger national and global competitive economy.

IV. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE AND CHANGING ECONOMY OF THE CITY

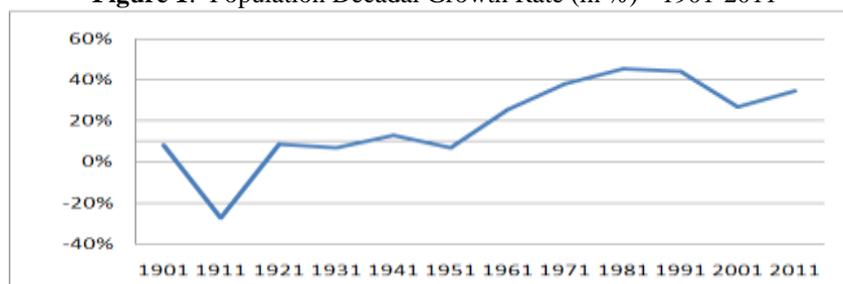
In Alwar city, a majority of local population is employed in modern economic activities such as industry (22%), business and commercial domains (22%), services (39%) and transport and communication sectors (9%) (Census of India 2011). That means a significant working population of the city engaged in modern economic and occupational activities which are primarily non-agrarian. The city has been witnessing a boom in its service sector with an increase from 32 % in 1981 to 39 % in 2011 (Census of India 2011). Alwar city has two industrial areas developed by the state government in an effort to make Alwar an industrial hub. First, the Old Industrial Area which covers 88 hectares and houses 42 units, mostly small scale industries such as stone polishing because of the ready availability of decorative stone from quarries in the surrounding hills; second the Matsya Industrial Area (MIA) established more recently by the Rajasthan Industrial Infrastructure Corporation (RIICO) which covers over 1,000 hectare in the western edge of the city. Currently, as per the GoR records (2011), there are 213 operating industries in MIA, mostly mineral (88 units) and chemical (61) based industries. Of these, 28 operations are of large or medium scale and the remainder are small-scale establishments. The GoR (2002) informs that, though by the end of the 1960s a major portion of the city had been developed, but the entry of Rajasthan Industrial Development and Investment Corporation (RIICO) in the early 1970s said to be a critical starting point in reshaping the local policy responses to economic restructuring of the city. The occupational characteristics of workforce had also improved in the 1970s with the government initiated industrial boom in the city (GoR 2014).

However it may be noted that this industrial boom in the city was short-lived. Though MIA driven industries provided a new developmental paradigm to the city, the route of NH 8 from Delhi to Alwar, which was earlier passing from Alwar, got shifted in 1970s and its route was developed via Kotputli, Shahjapur and Dharuheda. Resultantly, towns such as Bhiwadi, Dharuheda, Shahjapur, Babal, Nimrana, Behrod, etc. located on this newly developed National Highway (NH 8) got special attention for development which consequently altered and in fact lowered down the pace of industrial growth of Alwar city. However, over time Alwar has regained its pace as health services, industries got crystallized and a number of technical institutions also established⁵. The educational institutions provided skilled workforce to the city thereby a conducive atmosphere gradually developed for the growth of industrial and business activities in the city. It may be noted that in the ten-year period of 1981-91, Alwar district recorded a rate of 47% of increase in the main workers which made it second best after Banswara (51%) in the state of Rajasthan (Rajasthan Human Development Report 2002).

V. DEMOGRAPHIC EXPANSION AND THE CITY SPACE

The population growth of the Alwar city was not much significant in early decades of 20th century (Fig. 1). It actually came down in 1911 as the city said to have faced epidemic, famine and starvation in this period (UIT 2013). However, in the decade of 1940 population growth increased about 13 per cent. This was mainly due to the migration of Sikh population from West Pakistan due to partition of India in 1947 (Lall 2001). Subsequently, the city witnessed growth in its population due to various efforts of the government such as growth of industry and growing of employment opportunities in the city. The city attracted migrants from nearby rural areas (UIT 2014). Resultantly, the pressure of population increased from 38.10 per cent to 45.30 per cent in 1981, 44.10 per cent in 1991 and but subsequently lowered a bit to 26.68 per cent and 28.24 per cent in 2001 and 2011 respectively. Finally, it is with the inclusion of four villages in 'Alwar Metropolitan Area' the absolute growth rate of Alwar city in 2011 reaches to 34.60 % (UIT 2014).

Figure 1: Population Decadal Growth Rate (in %) - 1901-2011



Source: Census of India 2011

As the data suggests the 1940s seems to be a watershed in the growth and development of the Alwar city (Census of India 2011). Before 1940s, as Mishra (2012) mentioned, ‘the city population increased very slowly due to frequent occurrences of famines, epidemics and wars, lack of medical facilities, poor rural-urban migration and its fortified nature’ (p. 25). It is said that, ‘the city was protected by four ramparts and moats till early 1940s when a few development schemes outside the walled area were conceived under Alwar Town Development Scheme and these ramparts were levelled’ (Lall 2001:6). With this levelling of hilly areas, the city took its first leap towards attracting migrants from the nearby rural areas and even districts or small towns.

It was actually after 1960s that the city attracted migrants from the near-by areas with the hope that Alwar as a city will fulfil their expectations of better employment and educational opportunities. Subsequently, the population of Alwar City consistently grew⁶. It is said that the high population growth during 1971-91 was fuelled by migration to the extent of 45.30 per cent (Fig. 1). The city grew from population of 100,800 in 1971 to 3, 81,400 in 2011(Census of India 2011)⁷.

Table 1: Physical and demographic expansion of the city (2001-2011)

Year	Area (Sq km)*	Total population of the city	Population density per Sq km
2001	50	2,66,203	481
2011	66	3,81,400	483

Sources: Census of India 2011, *UIT, Alwar 2014

As the Table 1 suggests, over the last one decade, both the area and the population of Alwar city have grown visibly. However, the density of the city in the decade of 2001-2011 has not changed significantly. Perhaps, it is due to the government’s recent efforts for geographical expansion of the city. For instance, During the Census 2011, four villages located at the periphery/fringes of the Alwar city such as Mannaka, Divakiri, Belaka and Bighor were also added and counted as part of Alwar city population. The city with annexing the area of four villages forms Alwar Metropolitan Area (AMA). As the UIT policy documents, the government further planned to annex few more villages namely Desula, Liwari, Gundpur, Ghigoli, Goleta, Raisis, Bhakeda, Burza, Kishpur, Palka, Naharpur, Dholidhoop to be made part of AMA to expand its area in the future (UIT 2014). These newly annexed areas are largely characterised by rural life styles, unplanned settlement and agriculture as dominant occupation giving as distinct shape to the landscape of the city.

Historically speaking, the area of Alwar city was initially limited to ‘Percote⁸’ said to be oldest residential area is in the centre of the city (Lall 2001, Mishra 2001, UIT 2014). In 1939-40s, the uneven land near ‘Percote’ was made plain and constructions were started on it. During this period Manu Marg in South and Vikas Path in north were developed. Both of these schemes (time bound programme) were implemented to the north and south of Hope Circus⁹ to develop residential colonies and small townships. However, After Independence, GoR started many schemes for residential and industrial growth in the city. Among these, Friends Colony, Arya Nagar, Lajpat Nagar and Tej Mandi colonies were a few ones developed initially by the GoR. The existing railway line, established in 1874 by the British government at that time, has also factored into the shaping of the landscape of the city. The eastern part across the railway line developed as an industrial area as it was a plain area. Western part could not be developed because of the hill on that side. Hence, most developmental activities in the city took place only in the eastern and north-eastern parts (UIT 2014).

Over the period of time, the GoR took various steps to streamline its urbanisation process in Alwar city. GoR established UIT in 1960s to design and monitor the urbanisation of the Alwar city. In the early 1960s itself UIT acquired about 1,600 acres of land near the Palace¹⁰ for developing it into a ‘New Industrial Area’. This led to a large scale conversion of agricultural land for urban activities¹¹ and that led to the haphazard growth of the city and hence the conceptualisation of Master Plan of Alwar (Lall, 2001) felt a necessity by the then GoR. Alwar subsequently picked up developmental momentum after 1980s both in terms of its growth of

demographic composition, markets, urban spaces and infrastructure with regard to development of its various localities and peripheral settlements grew intermittently. Currently, the city's urban area covers 49 Sq Km of which industrial (26%) and residential (46%) areas cover 72 % of the total land (UIT 2014).

Private sector, witnessing the faster growth of Alwar city as an industrial hub, started to invest in and eventually emerged as an important stakeholder in the developmental process of the city. Furthermore, the improved infrastructure and connectivity (developed by the state) has led to the growth of real estate development in Alwar city. Different hotspots (spaces) especially around highways are now actually emerging as new attractive hotspots and are becoming points of attraction to the migrating ambitious and anxious middle class population. To earn profits from such urban developments in Alwar, private builders such as Ansals, Mangalam, Trehan and many other small investors have invested significantly in developing new townships around highways to meet the demands of growing middle and lower class families especially focussing the families engaged in government jobs and businesses. Alwar consistently started to grow as a hub of economic activities, businesses and various other services, thereby witnesses pressure on both 'spaces of production and spaces of reproduction' (Smith 1984) leading concentration residential and commercial activities in specific areas of the city not evenly as expected. The development trajectory witnessed over decades in Alwar is thus uneven and unexpected too.

VI. SPATIAL GROWTH AND SOCIAL SEGREGATION: CASTE, CLASS AND RELIGIOUS DYNAMICS

As the forgoing discussion suggest, Alwar city experienced various ups and downs in the past. It actually developed in different phases. It essentially, over a period of time, added varied colours in terms of socially segregated areas such as slums, middle class colonies, posh areas and industrial areas to its composition in different phases of its growth and development. Looking at the socio-economic data of Alwar city, one can notice the relative affluence of the population, emerging middle classes, caste and religious based segregations, occupational changes, poverty and myriad of other factors define the constituents of everyday life in Alwar city. As mentioned earlier, Alwar is witnessing widening of its urban sprawl towards its periphery in all directions. With many industries coming up in 1970s such as with the efforts of RICO as mentioned earlier, the city started experiencing an influx of migrants which led to growth of many unauthorised colonies and illegal slums. However, to deal with this scattered growth, the Rajasthan Housing Board constructed housing complexes but these proved to be insufficient for rapidly adding population in the city's demographic composition (Times of India 2012, 23 August). It is observed that, in India, 'only 22.2 % of urbanisation is because of immigration but a third of it is because of reclassification of villages as cities' (Saxena and Kumar, 2014: 18). Going by the same process, Alwar has also grown over a period of time with migrants coming from different directions in search of employment, education and to avail modern amenities.

According to Lall (2001) Alwar city is divided into two types of areas to understand its social composition; firstly, there are wards and well established colonies predominantly inhabited by well to do and middle class populations. The residential areas like Malviya Nagar, Bank Colony, Surya Nagar and Hasan Khan Mewati Nagar are those where middle class resides. These colonies actually carved out and developed by UIT in 1990s. Secondly, the residential areas such as Divakiri, Mannaka, Lal Kuan, Delhi Darwaja, Belaka, etc have lower social classes. Furthermore, the slum areas such as Lalkhan, Akhipura, Dhobigatta, Fateh Singh Ki Gumbad, etc are predominantly inhabited by the poorer sections of urban population. On the other side, various Areas like Divakiri, Belaka, Akhipura, Budh Vihar, Delhi Darwaja and Mannaka which were old habitations with rural features were gradually encroached upon by the city's outreach towards its periphery. As a result, many such inhabitations got urbanised and added to shape the city landscape. In fact, as some scholars see, this is one of the way by which cities grew in modern times. For instance, Burgess and Bogue (1964) argue, "we are witnessing a new zonal phenomenon, as urban renewal begins at the core and gradually encroaches on slums as they develop in an ever encroaching arc" (p.11).

In fact, 'the differentiation of geographical space, as Smith (1984) notes, "emanates from the more general societal division of labour' (p. 143). Landscape of Alwar city thus shows the social division of labour as cosmos of the larger social system quite candidly. Slums in the city are largely spaces where lower caste and disadvantaged social groups such as Scheduled castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward castes including Muslim minorities reside. Further, about half of the population (46%) are casual labourers in slums of the Alwar city (Lall 2001). The residential areas such as Divakiri, Belaka and slums like Lalkhan, Akhipura, Dhobigatta are developed on agriculture land. The slums or the non-planned settlements may be understood to be the manifestations of caste as well as of class inequality (Alonso 1963). These areas have a degraded urban life, as unauthorised colonies are devoid of basic infrastructure and amenities like drinking water, sewerage, roads, electricity and cleanliness.

VII. CITY SPACE, SEGREGATION AND PEOPLE'S EXPERIENCES

Caste and religious identities have critically significant role in urban India both in terms of pattern of urban growth and dynamics of everyday life in the city. During the field work for this study, respondents shared their experiences and numerous interesting stories of exclusion and discrimination they faced in their day to life. Respondents also elaborately shared how discrimination and exclusionary practices are critically embedded in sell and purchase of plots of lands in the city. For instance, Deepak Sharma, shopkeeper and a resident of the city, while imagining the initial growth of the city, put his views as: 'plots for residential purposes are developed and sold out by private builders or owners of the land with their own choices and preferences. The castes and religious identities are often seen as important markers in identifying the buyers. However, discrimination based on these primordial identities was predominantly rampant in before 1970s especially when individual landowners were selling their lands. Later on private builders and the UIT had a slightly different approach but discrimination on such markers often exercised though indirectly and discreetly.

As per the government policy, UIT took over to develop new colonies which attempted to develop city landscape as mandated by the government. Different colonies and residential areas are developed as migrants came and settled in such areas and shaped landscape of the city. UIT however could never become the sole stakeholder in the development of the city. Private stakeholders such as builders or individual owners of land discreetly worked and develop colonies as per own rules and convenience. In the words of Deepak Kumar, a resident of the city, while explaining how caste, religion and class factors shaped up the landscape of the city, stated that; "Owners of the land in the city have sold residential plots with a preference to their caste people. Ajit Nagar developed in this way only. Ajit, on whose name the colony is identified and named, was an upper caste Brahmin. He preferred to sell plots to the people of his own caste. That is why Ajit Nagar colony today is predominantly inhabited by the upper caste people only". Some respondents also pointed out certain unfair practices in sale and purchase of flats in posh townships too. Private builders or property dealers found to use unfair practices as they also uses caste and religion factors while selling plots or residential flats. According to Umesh Sharma, belonging to a middle class family residing in a township-developed by Trehan Developers, shares his experience: 'Non-vegetarianism is often made an issue by the owner of the land. People who take vegetarian food are given preference'. Consequently, people belonging to Muslims communities, OBCs, and SCs, as they take non-vegetarian food, are not considered for the residence in these certain areas". According to Umesh Sharma, this phenomenon is most prominent in newly developed colonies. One respondent, Sanjay a middle class resident in the city, while elaborating this aspect shared his experience, stated; 'One of my close friends could not buy the plot of land in a colony. He first made his friend who belongs to upper castes buy the land and later shifted the ownership on his name'.

Various old and new colonies¹² which came up at the periphery of the city exhibit clear cut caste and religion based segregation. Mostly lower castes or disadvantages groups such as SCs, STs, OBCs or Muslim minorities resides in such colonies. Most of these colonies are unauthorised, have congested housing, unplanned and small roads. These lack basic amenities and infrastructure such as sewage, water and electricity. Hence, a careful scrutiny of new urban growth process shows that the non-metropolitan cities are growing with an uneven and unexpected zones/areas or colonies which, 'being segregated as class-specific localities of residence and consumption help in reproducing class differences and hierarchies' (Gieryn 2000:474). There are many who suggest otherwise. Few respondents, however, informed that caste based segregation were most predominant in the old settlement in the city. New colonies that are coming up, especially on the government approved land, have mixed populations because in most of these cases the land is first bought either by the UIT or the private builder. They then sell the land to clients irrespective of their caste affiliations. However, cost of land in these colonies is such that only people belonging to certain sections or caste groups can afford to buy plots there. It may be noted that, in Indian context, lower caste is the lower class so the issues of affordability as a major factor contributes to segregation and ghettoisation in certain areas of the city.

The mobile middle class, often termed as seekers and anxious, do play critical role in the formation of city and its landscape. For instance, as the study found, in Alwar city the private builders such as Jindals, Singhals, Omway India, Ansal API, Parsvanath, Omaxe and Ashiana who are engaged building residential townships specifically targets middle class populace. Davidson and Lees (2013) rightly observed that the developers, architects, and marketing agents creates a newly built landscape of gentrification, new town houses, and condominiums, one that is demonstrating processes of capital reinvestment, social upgrading, and middle-class colonisation'(Davidson and Lees, 2013: 96). Since the urban land market is flushed with money (Chakravorty 2013), private builders in Alwar city chooses select locations, construct flats and sell plots of land especially to middle class to make profit. The settlement pattern and social composition localities such as Surya Nagar, Divakiri, Mannaka, Ajit Nagar, Belaka, Lalkuan, etc. in Alwar city clearly depict such 'created' distinctions based on caste, class and religion. Urban environment thus represents spatial manifestations of divides and existing social hierarchies in the society. Castells (1977) is right in arguing that the city space is socially and politically created. Urban space grows in congruence with the structure of society, interest of state

and the market. Urban space thus does favours and disfavours too. Park (1952) views city as a great sorting mechanism which infallibly selects out population as a particular milieu' (P. 79). Choices of residences, a product of market, within the city thus clearly explains why places like Divakiri, Lal Kuan, Belaka and Mannaka in Alwar city are inhabited by people of backward social groups or lower classes, and why these are turned into ghettoised and disadvantaged urban locales.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The study has critically analysed the two parallel trajectories of growth of the Alwar city. Firstly, developmental processes initiated by the state, and the secondly, the processes triggered and undertaken by the private stakeholders to catch upon the aspirations of the middle class migrants to the city. The GoR, and NCR Delhi, both have also come with their Master Plans to shape and transform the city as an industrial hub (and/or as a satellite city) in the NCR and also a place of opportunities to aspiring migrants. The city in fact planned to be developed as a counter magnet for potential migrants to Delhi. Besides efforts of Delhi government, the GoR took it as a special challenge to transform Alwar city into a dynamic urban growth centre. However, not standing with governments' aim of developing Alwar into an inclusive and dynamic urban growth centre, the current trends of growth of Alwar city are not in line with the targets of the state. Over the period of time, the UIT, a designated body to direct and design the growth of the city, seems to have gone reluctant especially related to developing residential areas. The private builders, appears to take upon the opportunities and invested money into the development of city especially the housing sector which seems to go un-regulated and unplanned too. The study observed that apart from the posh areas and colonies developed for middle classes by big business houses/developers like Anshal or jindals, a parallel growth of its landscape by the petty/small builders creating colonies/residential areas on unrecognised agriculture areas. These colonies/residential settlements, lacking basic amenities and infrastructures, are predominantly inhabited by disadvantaged groups such as SCs, STs, OBCs and Muslim minorities. This dual process of development of landscape of the city seems to go against the government's goal to grow city as an inclusive so as to ensure quality and dignified life to all its inhabitants. The study found that private sectors, having a significant share in the growth of city, is actually treading on two different lines; one (big private builders or real state houses such Anshal and Jindals) in developing posh areas aiming middle class migrants, and other ones (small/petty private builders or individual owners of land around the city) are engaged in developing congested residential areas, ghettos and slums shaping the city space distinctly. The urban life thus becomes a contesting and contrasting space which becomes both a process and product of exclusion and social discrimination. In nutshell, the city space, as it is growing, is marked by exclusion and disadvantage to certain groups due to their locale, class and social identities. This raises the pertinent questions on the growth of city as just and democratic space. The forces such as market, policies and power of the state acting parallel to each other shaping the landscape of the city are defying the larger policy goals of the state to make the Alwar city as an inclusive, dynamic and modern urban growth centre.

Notes

1 The Government of India started 'smart city' mission in the year 2015 as flagship programme to make a select number of cities qualitatively upgraded so as to ensure 'a decent quality life to its citizens'. The focus is to ensure sustainable and inclusive development. The government has planned to make 100 cities as smart cities by 2020 (<http://smartcities.gov.in/> data accessed on 10.05.2016).

2 The Alwar city was founded two centuries ago when it was selected as the capital of a princely state (Lall 2001). Before the independence of India, Alwar served as administrative seat of princely state of Alwar. After 1949, control of city administration transferred from princely rule to the state government (Mishra 2012). Alwar, traditionally a services and administrative city as discussed, experienced little industrial development. However, as Delhi has grown, Alwar has eventually benefitted from its trade, infrastructure and prosperity, and has thus subsequently experienced rapid economic growth over the past 20 years (Government of Rajasthan 2001).

3 Census of India 2001 classifies cities in classes: class I: 100,000 and above; Class II: 50,000 to 99,999; Class III: 20,000 to 49,999; Class IV: 10,000 to 19,999; Class V: 5,000 to 9,999 and class VI: less than 5,000 persons (Census of India 2001).

4 The scheme, launched in 2009, is implemented in a mission mode. It envisages a 'Slum Free India' with inclusive and equitable cities in which every citizen has access to basic civic infrastructure, social amenities and decent shelter. Under the scheme, the central government provides financial support to States/UTs/ULBs /Central Government Agencies. The Government has also approved the scheme of Affordable Housing in Partnership (AHP) as part of RAY in 2013 to increase affordable housing stock (http://mhupa.gov.in/User_Panel/UserView.aspx?TypeID=1282, data retrieved on 06.08.2016).

5 As per the UIT data, the Alwar city has 10 colleges, 7 engineering and technology institutes, 12 B.Ed. colleges, 22 ITI/polytechnic institutes, 19 nursing and medical colleges, 3 management institutes and 2 teacher training institutes (UIT 2014). Schools such as Delhi Public School (DPS), Aravali Public School (APS), Lords International Public School and various other well known Schools plus Coaching centres such as Career Point, Bansal Classes, Career Maker, Kota Classes, Guru Kripa, etc. have recently opened their branches in Alwar city. In all, Alwar city has a total of 365 schools. Private unaided schools constitute 75 % of the total schools in Alwar city and attract large chunk of children (DISE 2014).

6 It may be noted that the population growth rate of Alwar city in the year 2001 seems to be slowed down. This said to be primarily because of the growing towns such as Bhiwadi, Dharuheda, Shahjahapur, Babal, Nimrana, Behrod, etc which are located on newly developed highway (NH 8) get special attention. These towns attracted industrial developments. Due to this, the pace of the growth of Alwar city impacted.

7 This includes population of four villages added to 'Alwar Metropolitan Area' by the Government of Rajasthan.

8 'Percote' is the name of old area of the city. The city initially inhabits this area only.

9 'Hope Circus' is the name of areas, situated in centre of the city. This area is one of the oldest area and has historical significance it is one of earliest inhabited areas of the city as the major market and important administrative offices of the city located around this only. Hope Circus has been an old and still a prominent (main) business centre in the city. A road which connects both the schemes added the richness to the growth of Hope Circus.

10 A historical residential building in the city was used by the rulers of this region before independence of Indian in 1947.

11 GoR issued a notification to add 80 villages into the Alwar city (Times of India 2012).

12 These colonies are developed on agriculture lands by the private small property dealers.

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