

**SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE PATTERN OF  
GROWTH OF HYDERABAD CITY**

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of  
**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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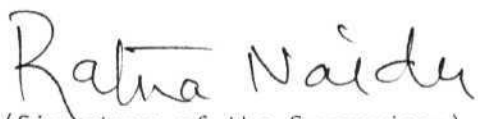
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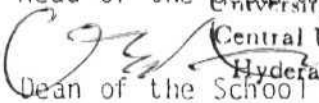
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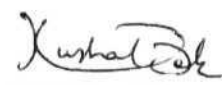
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## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

In this thesis an attempt is made to understand the interplay of the determining socio-economic, political, historical, cultural and environmental factors which are shaping the growth of Hyderabad. The attempt is to understand and explain the process of growth of this metropolis in the context and framework of Third World Urbanization. This would of course necessarily involve a statement of the lacunae in the classical theoretical paradigms on city growth.

The process of growth of cities in underdeveloped countries is different from the classical pattern of city growth. The industrial revolution and the capitalist mode of production had a definitive impact in structuring cities in the West. Moreover, technological innovation in every decade has propelled the shape, services, culture - in short what. Lynch would call the image of the city in the West.<sup>1</sup> The foundation of most of the major cities in underdeveloped countries on the other hand is based on their role as Colonial port town and administrative centres or because of their status as the political and administrative capital of feudal rulers. Most of these countries have a low level of economic development and technological base and a large population. Also, the rate of urbanization of these countries, with the exception of India which has a very low and stable rate of urbanization, is much faster than that experienced historically by the developed countries. Even today, the cities of the underdeveloped countries are growing at

a faster rate than the cities in developed countries. A World Bank Study<sup>2</sup> shows that in 1975, Mexico City, Sao Paulo, Lagos, Karachi and Bombay were growing at the annual growth rate of 4.4%, 5.9%, 6.2%, 6.4% and 4.2% respectively. Whereas London, Paris, New York and Tokyo were growing at the rate of 0.7%, 1.2%, 1.3% and 2% respectively. This high rate of growth of the few metropolitan cities of the underdeveloped countries leads to over urbanization and overload on the already stretched urban infrastructure of these cities. For example, in Brazil, the State of Sao Paulo with 23 million population has 21% of Brazil's population, contributes 55% of industrial output, 35% of services, 18% of agriculture and 38% of all Brazil's exports.<sup>3</sup>

The resultant over urbanization of such metropolitan cities of the underdeveloped or developing countries gives rise to various urban problem like spiralling land value, congestion, slums, blight, pollution, inadequate infrastructural facilities in the fringe area etc. The State is then forced to intervene in order to alleviate urban crisis. "In practically all developing countries, the role of the State is dominant, so that a laissezfaire, do nothing approach to the location of population and economic activities similar to that of most advanced economies at comparable levels of urbanization, is in fact impossible."<sup>4</sup> This intervention on the part of the State through planning and developmental agencies and also

through policy formulations regarding industrial location, welfare weighted- housing programmes, urban land ceiling, play a very crucial role in shaping urban growth in underdeveloped countries. Although the State usually acts taking into account the pulls and pressure of vote banks and its own political calculations, sometimes even national economic policies like industrial policy, import substitution policy, transport policies have an unintended impact on the process of urbanization. Therefore, city growth in underdeveloped countries is structured to a large extent by State intervention, a fact which is not taken into account by the prevalent theoretical explanations on growth of cities. Consequently one of the aims of this thesis is to highlight some of the factors which are peculiar to cities in the underdeveloped countries.

In India, too the State plays a major role in shaping the growth of cities although the urbanization pattern is different from other underdeveloped countries. As stated earlier, India has a unique type of urbanization, where a very low and stable level of urbanization over long periods is combined with a numerically large urban sector.<sup>5</sup> In 30 years its level of urbanization has increased from about 17% in 1951 to only about 23.7% in 1981. Consistent with its low per capita income India's level of urbanization is about 90th in rank in the world, there being only 30 countries below it in terms of urbanization.<sup>6</sup> Table 1 shows the relatively stable pattern of urbanization



Table 1

## Growth of urban population in India (1901-1981)

Census, year	No. of towns	Total urban population (in millions)	Population in towns above 20,000 (in millions)	Level of urbanisation	Annual growth rate of total urban population (% per year)	Annual growth rate of population in towns above 20,000 (% per year)
1901	1834	25.6	13.5	11.0	--	--
1911	1776	25.6	13.8	10.4	0.0	0.22
1921	1920	27.7	15.5	11.3	0.79	1.16
1931	2049	33.0	19.6	12.2	1.77	2.37
1941	2210	43.6	28.7	14.1	2.82	3.90
1951	2044	61.6	43.2	17.6	3.32	4.17
1961	2330	77.6	61.4	18.3	2.34	3.58
1971	2531	107.0	89.6	20.2	3.26	3.85
1981	3245	156.0	134.9	23.7	3.86	4.18

Source: Census of India 1981 - Provisional Population Total Service-I, paper 2 of 1981.

- Notes:
1. Excluding Assam and Jammu & Kashmir.
  2. Constituent towns of Urban agglomeration are not counted as separate units.
  3. Proportion is urban to total population.

in India. Between 1901 to 1981, the number of settlements increased by only 80%. Thus most of the growth was more due to the growth of existing towns at every level than to the addition of new towns. The majority of the settlements now classified as towns have exhibited urban characteristics for a very long time. There were for example, 3200 towns and 120 cities in India as early as 1586<sup>7</sup> which is quite similar to the number now. However there are no grounds for complacency as between 1901 and 1981, the total urban population increased six fold and the last decade's growth of about 50 million people is itself larger than the total urban population in all countries except China, the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Japan and Brazil.

There are some controversies regarding the growth of cities with Ashish Bose<sup>8</sup> and others stating that the big cities of India are growing at a faster rate than the smaller cities which are declining (according to Table 2) - a statement which is refuted by Rakesh Mohan,<sup>9</sup> M.K. Jain<sup>10</sup> and others, who point out the flaws implicit in the classification of cities undertaken (Table 3).

According to Rakesh Mohan the belief about the faster growth of larger cities persists because tabulations are usually based not on individual cities but on size classes, which does not take into account inter-censal movement of towns from one

Table 2

**Distribution and growth of urban population by sizeclasses in India<sup>1</sup>**  
(1961-1981)

Town classification	Percent population in size class <sup>2</sup>	Percent population in size class <sup>3</sup>	Percent population in size class <sup>4</sup>	Growth rate 1961-71 per cent per year	1971-81 per cent per year
Class-I (1 lakh + )	50.8 (102)	56.2 (145)	60.4 (216)	4.32	4.60
Class-II {50,000 to 1,00,000)	11.0 (129)	11.2 (178)	11.6 (270)	3.49	4.22
Class-III {20,000 to 50,000)	17.4 (449)	10.3 (570)	14.4 (739)	2.60	2.53
Class-IV {10,000 to 20,000)	13.0 (732)	11.2 (847)	9.5 (1048)	1.74	2.10
Class-V {5,000 to 10,000)	7.0 (739)	4.6 (641)	3.6 (742)	-1.09	1.45
Class-VI (less than 5,000)	0.8 (179)	0.5 (150)	0.5 (230)	-2.18	4.86
Total	100.0 (2330)	100.0 (2531)	100.0 (3245)	3.27	3.86
Total urban population (millions)	77.6	107.0	156.2		

Source: Census of India 1981.

Notes: 1. Excluding Assam and Jammu & Kashmir.

2. Constituent towns of urban agglomeration are not counted as separate units.

3. Figures in brackets are the number of towns in each size of class.

Table 3

Annual growth rate of urban population by size of town  
(1971-1981)

Size of class	No. of towns 1971	Total population 1971 (in thousands)	Total population 1981 (in thousands)	Growth rate	
				% per year	% over decades
Class-I (1 lakh & above)	145	60,122	85,801	3.62	42.7
Class-II (50,000 to 1,00,000)	178	12,030	16,874	3.44	40.3
Class-III (20,000 to 50,000)	560	17,170	23,712	3.28	38.1
Class-IV (10,000 to 20,000)	818	11,656	16,107	3.29	38.2
Class-V (5,000 to 10,000)	596	4,300	6,264	3.83	45.6
Total	2297	1,05,278	1,48,758	3.52	41.3

Source : Census of India 1981

class range to another. Table 3 shows that while class-I cities have grown somewhat faster than small towns, the difference is not as large as Table 2 would have us believe. Table 4 shows that even among class-I cities, there is no striking differential pattern of growth according to disaggregated class sizes. It cannot be said that the metropolitan cities (million plus cities) are growing much faster than smaller cities or vice versa. In summary one can say that the Indian cities have been growing at a stable rate and the large cities are growing through immigration and the incorporation of existing towns or rural settlements at their periphery.

When one looks for the reasons for the urbanization pattern in Indian cities, one finds that the rural-urban migration pattern is quite low (about 16.6%) when compared to rural to rural migration (65.16%) (see Table 5).

However one can state that although the role of rural-urban migration in India's urbanization has been comparatively less, the absolute volume of the shift of population from rural areas to urban areas has been very substantial. According to Census, rural born migrants in Urban India were about 14.6 million, 16.8 million and 22.8 million in 1961, 1971 and 1981 respectively. The total percentage of immigrating population (including urban to urban) was 38% for 1961, 36% for 1971 and 35.5% for 1981.<sup>11</sup> A majority of these migrants according to NSS data<sup>12</sup> go to

Table 4

Pattern of growth of class-I cities  
(1961-81)

Category	1961-71				1971-81			
	No.of towns 1961	Popula- tion 1961 (000)	1971	Annual rate of growth	No.of towns	Popula- tion 1971 (000)	1981	Annual rate of growth
4 Million +	2	9,887	13,001	2.82	<b>2</b>	13,001	17392	2.95
1-4 Million	5	7,983	12,006	4.14	7	12,006	21318	3.99
<sup>1</sup> /2-1 Million	5	3,616	4,787	2.82	10	4,787	8919	2.93
250,000- 500,000	21	7,378	10,256	3.35	33	10,256	17858	4.04
[00,000- 250,000	<b>71</b>	10,772	15,490	3.71	93	15,496	20314	3.79
Total	104	39,636	55,540	3.43	145	60,122	85801	3.62

Source : Census of India 1981

Table 5

**Rural-Urban migration of internal migrants 1981**

Migration stream	Migration by place of birth	Migration by place of last residence
Rural to Rural	65.65	65.16
Rural to Urban	17.40	16.60
Urban to Urban	11.14	11.89
Urban to Rural	5.97	6.08

Source: Computed from Statement 34 & 35 in the Census of India,  
1981 Series-I, India Part-II.

the big cities with the proportion falling from 53.6% in the big cities to 35% in the towns with population less than 3 lakhs. This fact is corroborated by another study conducted by Gosal and Krishnan.<sup>13</sup>

From the above given facts one can state that urbanization is taking place in India at a low and steady rate due to migration, natural growth and extension of physical boundaries. Although the urbanization rate is small in terms of percentage, the actual volume of growth especially the growth of 50 million in the last decade creates<sup>an</sup> enormous burden on the existing infrastructure in cities necessitating the State to intervene and alleviate the urban crisis.

From Table 6 and 7 one can gauge the enormous volume of housing shortage in the metropolitan cities and also the percentage of the population living in slums.<sup>14</sup>

The Indian Government has been cognisant of the enormous problem in urban India and has taken various steps in its Five Year Plans especially from the Third plan onwards to ameliorate the emerging spatial inequalities. Some of its schemes like backward area development programme, slum improvement programme, low income housing schemes, policies on dispersal of industries have had a definitive impact on the growth of urban regions in India.



Table 6

Total number and shortage of houses in major cities

Name of city	Housing	
	Total No. of houses	Shortage
Calcutta	12,69,360	1,39,233
Bombay	12,03,126	1,05,719
Delhi	3,99,358	1,29,567
Madras	4,46,610	1,34,219
Hyderabad	3,63,000	79,000
Ahmedabad	3,20,369	3,172
Bangalore	2,62,926	55,931
Kanpur	2,44,701	25,203
Pune	1,60,190	61,123
V.K.Bawa , See reference 14 .		

Table 7

**Persons living in slums in major cities**

Name of city	Total population (in lakhs)	Persons living in slums (in lakhs)
Calcutta	70.3	20.4
Bombay	59.7	28.43
Delhi	36.4	----
Madras	31.7	7.38
Hyderabad	17.96	4.20
Ahmedabad	17.41	4.15
Bangalore	16.53	1.32
Kanpur	12.75	----
Pune	11.35	----

V.K. Bawa , See reference 14 .

A brief glance into the various schemes undertaken by the Indian Government in its Five Year Plans <sup>15</sup> shows that during the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) a Central scheme was initiated to provide financial assistance to State Governments and local bodies to clear some of the worst slums in big cities. By the end of the plan, 208 projects in various towns and cities were initiated costing Rs.190 million and resulting in relocation of about 58,200 families.

As an urban planning objective, the Third Five Year Plan (1961-66) stressed balanced development among large, medium and small industries and between rural and urban areas. Along with the emphasis on balanced regional development, it also stressed on the development of metropolitan cities, control of urban land values through public acquisition of land, provision of urban infrastructure, etc. It also provided assistance to cities to prepare comprehensive development plans (Master Plans). Further, an outlay of Rs.290 million was made for slum clearance schemes.

The Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-1974) reiterated the need for a balanced spatial distribution of economic activities and emphasised the need to prevent unrestricted growth of metropolitan cities. It recognised the need to restructure and reorga-

nise the local administration in order to deal with urban crisis and also undertook slum improvement programmes for twenty major cities in the country which was to benefit about three million slum dwellers.

During the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-1979) a pilot research was undertaken at twenty different centres to evolve a methodology for the development of emerging as well as potential growth centres by providing the necessary physical and social infrastructure. It continued to emphasise on the development of metropolitan centres and State capitals and for the first time recognised the need for an urban land policy for promoting the optimal use of land, reducing the concentration of land ownership and also to control spiralling land prices. It was during this period that the Urban Land Ceiling Act, 1976 was enacted and the 44th amendment to the Constitution undertaken to facilitate the minimisation of social inequalities. Slum improvement programmes to benefit 6 million slum dwellers were undertaken.

The Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) introduced a new centrally sponsored scheme of Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns with a population of less than one lakh.

The Plan outlay during the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90) on urban development is almost twice as large as the Sixth

Plan outlay on urban development. It recognizes the close connection between physical and investment planning and the need to view them from the spatial angle. The Plan notes the need for Industrial Location Policy to subserve the regional and urban planning objectives and the need to channelise private and industrial investment to small and medium towns. It also proposed the need to establish a National Urban Infrastructure Development Finance Corporation and a new ministry of Urban Development has been formed.

Some of the other schemes with a spatial dimension are the schemes for rural development and promotion of small scale industries, the backward area development, the hill development, the drought prone area development programmes. Schemes for the development of the capital region (New Delhi region) and the Calcutta metropolitan region are also to be undertaken under the Seventh Plan.

As a consequence of the Central Government directive to form urban development authorities for metropolitan cities and also to avail themselves of the financial help flowing from the Centre under the Integrated Urban Development Scheme (IUDP), most of the State Governments have formed urban development authorities for their major cities, drawn out master plans for the rational development of the cities and have undertaken various projects for the weaker sections of the society.

This intervention on the part of the State through policy formulations and through planning and developmental agencies structures to a large extent the growth of cities in developing countries. This crucial role played in the development by the State is not taken into account by the prevalent theoretical explanations on city growth. Consequently in this thesis the description of the growth of Hyderabad City has been given precedence over the chapter dealing with the prevalent theoretical perspectives. It was felt that an assessment of the theories on urban growth can be undertaken only after the presentation of a statement on the growth of Hyderabad with the help of empirical data.

The second chapter of the thesis traces the history of the city since its inception 400 years ago. The shift of the focal point of growth from Golconda to the walled city and finally across to the north of the river early in this century are traced. Historical data has been collected from archival sources and Urdu manuscripts. One of the main endeavours in this chapter has been to show the reflection of the changes in the social structure, from feudal to incipient commercial capitalism to industrial capitalism, on the land use pattern in Hyderabad city. Historical periods in the growth of the city were classified as follows:

- (1) The Qutub Shahi Stage (2) The Asaf Jahi stage (3) The

British Cantonment Settlement (4) The introduction of Railways (5) The emergence of a modern city (6) and the period of take-off to metropolitan status after 1951.

The next chapter traces the growth of the city from 1951 to 1981 mainly on the basis of census data. Analysis of data was done at three levels so as to bring out the pattern of growth of the city over time. First, the growth rates of the core area, which is defined by the limit of the municipality, were calculated on a ward-wise basis and detailed analyses of changes in ward-wise densities over the last four decades were presented. Similarly, growth rates and densities have been analysed for the urban agglomeration (outgrowth from the municipality) and for the metropolitan region of Hyderabad (excluding the municipality) as demarcated by the Hyderabad Urban Development Authority (HUDA).

In the fourth chapter the role of the State in determining city growth is discussed. A detailed analysis has been undertaken of the various Plan and developmental programmes of the different planning and urban developmental organisations of the State. The major organisations in Hyderabad are HUDA, the Qulib Qutub Shah Development Authority (QQSDA), the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad, the Andhra Pradesh Housing Board and the Andhra Pradesh Infrastructure Development Corporation. An attempt has been made to show how these planning and developmental

bodies influence and guide the growth of the city. An important conclusion which emerges is that political considerations often overrule plan or policy decisions and force these organisations to work at cross purposes to one another and to bring about changes in already formulated plans. In turn, these changes have an impact on the pattern of growth of the city.

In the fifth chapter, the various theoretical perspectives on city growth have been extensively discussed. The major theoretical paradigms which have been taken up for discussion are the Human Ecological approach, the Marxian approach and the Weberian approach.

There are obvious lacunae in the explanatory potential of all the above-mentioned theoretical perspectives. These theories are based on the experience of Western Countries where technology has been the fulcrum of change which transforms the structure and social organisation of city places. In under-developed countries however, the fulcrum of change lies in political pulls and pressures.

The chapter therefore presents the unique features of Third World urbanization, analyses the reasons for arbitrariness in State policies and finally assesses the three theoretical paradigms in the light of the above description.

In the concluding chapter a summary of the main arguments of this thesis is presented.



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## CHAPTER II

### HISTORY OF THE GROWTH OF HYDERABAD CITY

In the introductory chapter we have stated that the foundation of most of the major cities of Third World countries is their status as the political and administrative capital of feudal rulers or because of the crucial role they played in the colonial period. In this chapter we will present a historical account of the growth of Hyderabad city, analysing how the different phases of its evolution were shaped first by the decisions of the feudal rulers, second by British Imperialist policies and finally by the post-Independence policies of both the Indian and State Governments (see map on the historical growth of Hyderabad).

The historical periods in the growth of Hyderabad city can be classified as follows:

- 1) The Qutub Shahi stage or the Early Twin City stage of Golconda and walled city (1591 to 1687).
- 2) The Early Asaf Jahi Stage (1687 to 1799).
- 3) The Impact of British Cantonment Settlement or the Second Twin City Stage of Hyderabad and Secunderabad (1799 to 1874).
- 4) The Introduction of the Railways (1874 to 1908).
- 5) The Emergence of the Modern City or the later Asaf Jahi Period (1908 to 1948).

Before going into the description of the Early-Twin

City stage, it would be worthwhile to sketch out briefly the origin of the fortress town of Golconda. This would facilitate understanding of the Early-Twin city stage of Golconda and the walled city.

King Ganapati Deva (1199-1262) the Kakatiya king was first to establish a mud fort on a rocky area now known as Golconda. It was then called Mankal according to Mathire Alamgiri.<sup>1</sup> Later in the reign of Mahmood Shah III (1463) the thirteenth king of the Bahmani dynasty, trouble arose in Telangana, and a Baharulu Turk of Hemadan, Sultan Quli was appointed to govern the area. Under Mahmood Shah IV (1482) Sultan Quli became an amir of the Behmani empire and was given the title of Quthbul Mulk and the Jagir of Golconda. In 1512, he broke away from the feeble Bahmani kingdom and declared his independence and made Golconda his capital changing its name as Moharnmadnagar.

Sultan Quli had already replaced the old Kakatiya mud fort with a fortress built of stone. This fort underwent substantial additions and changes at the hands of his descendents and successors. Prominent among them was Ibrahim Qutub Shah (1550-1581) the fourth Qutub Shahi king. He improved the fortification of the city by building strong ramparts and palaces, caravan serias and mosques came up within the walls and in the suburbs. Trade flourished because of its strategic location on the trade route from the port of Masulipatnam and hundreds

of merchants from all over the world thronged the fortress. By 1576, the fortress town became very congested and there was no scope for further expansion within its walls. Nobles and higher officials started constructing their palaces on the banks of the river Musi. Sultan Ibrahim Qutub Shah anticipating the future growth of the city eastwards i.e., south of River Musi had a bridge constructed over the river in 1573. He even started the erection of a fort called 'Kila Kohna' which was later abandoned because of some superstitious reasons.

Sultan Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah (1581-1611) succeeded him and under him started the next phase of growth of Hyderabad city called the Qutub Shahi stage.

### **1. The Qutub Shahi Stage (1591-1687):**

The foundation for the city of Hyderabad was laid by Mohammed Quli in the year 1591 A.D. on an extensive area south of the river Musi. The area at that time consisted of seven villages, the most well known was Chichlam. This area lay along the main commercial route of the kingdom leading to the port town of Masulipatnam. There are various theories regarding the selection of the site for construction of the city ranging from the romantic episode of Mohd. Quli's love for a hindu girl Bhagmati residing in the village of Chichiam (hence the name of the city was Bhagyanagar) to the unsuitability of Golconda

fort for habitation because of congestion and unsanitary conditions prevalent there.

As is well known, the city of Hyderabad was planned on a grid iron pattern with two main intersecting roads, 60 ft. wide running east-west and north-south and having at their inter-section the Charminar. The foundation of Charminar was laid in 999 A.H. (1590 A.D) and was completed in 1,000 A.H. (1591 A.D). At the crossing of the road to Masulipatnam and at about 250 ft. north of Charminar, the charkaman or the four arches were erected in 1592 A.D., each arch being 60 ft. high and 36 ft. wide and facing the four cardinal points. At the centre of these arches a large octagonal cistern called the char-suk-ka-hauz (the four cornered reservoir) or Gulzar Hauz was constructed. These four arches served as a gate way to the Jilau Khana (ante-chamber) of the royal palaces. The city was divided into four quarters by its intersecting main highway. The north-western quarter was reserved for the royal palaces and the north eastern for the Peshwa and the nobility.

At this point it may be useful to present a brief description of the typical medieval city. It may be recalled that cities during medieval times were based on a feudal economy and hence only the king and his retainers, his nobles, soldiers, businessmen and tradesman could live in a feudal city i.e. only those not directly dependent on land. The very structure

of a medieval city was dependent on the whims and fancies of the ruler. The focal point of activity was usually the ruler's palaces and depending upon its location, his nobles built their mansions, each one trying to be as close as possible to the royal palace, their choice again being limited to their relative status in the court. The minor officials and the retainers of the king and his nobles usually herded in settlements round these palaces sometimes getting a place inside these mansions. The bazaars and the trade centres were usually located at the intersection of the main roads and on trade routes or could be found located outside the city walls, near the gates if the concerned city happened to be a walled city as was Hyderabad during the Asaf Jahi period. Caravan serais and guest houses were built by the ruler for the travellers and tradesmen who visited the city and the city would also be studded with religious places and institutions depending on the religious affiliation of the ruler. For example, the old city of Hyderabad still has a few hundred mosques, dargahs, ashurkhanas and temples built by the ruler and his nobles. Another feature which was usually a part of a medieval city landscape was the sprawling gardens with fountains and cisterns owned by the ruler and his nobles all over the city and gave it a panoramic view. The built-up area of medieval cities generally clustered together and did not sprawl like modern cities. This is because technologically the means of transportation were not much developed and common people usually walked to their destination, while



the nobles travelled on elephants, camels, horses, bullock-carts and palanquins. As a result medieval cities tend to become congested with time and the narrow lanes and cul-de-sacs which served to maintain the privacy of residents and suited movement from mohalla to mohalla becomes a hindrance for modern means of transportation. Finally it should also be remembered that the growth of a medieval city usually took place in times of peace and prosperity, that is, when there was stability in the kingdom and trade flourished. Otherwise the money accumulated as revenue and from trade got spent in waging wars.

Keeping the above features of a medieval city based on a feudal economy in mind, let us resume the description of the city of Hyderabad during Qutub Shahi times. It is stated that there were four markets in the city and the four main highways were lined with 14,000 shops selling goods of diverse varieties.<sup>3</sup> Besides these, there were public baths, monastries, Schools, mosques, free kitchens, guest houses and caravan serais (rest houses for merchants) the number of such buildings appearing to have been more than 12,000. Such a large number of buildings and shops validates the fact that the city of Hyderabad had a large built up area since its inception and was a well developed medieval city. But the city was essentially built for the nobles and the royal family and this is vindicated by the statement of Tavernier, who visited Hyderabad in 1652, who states that

"Bhagyanagar" was nearly the size of Orleans, well built and opened out.... inhabited only by persons of quality, the officers of the king's house, the ministers of justice, and military men. From 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning till 4 or 5 in the evening, the merchants and brokers come into the town to trade with foreign merchants after which they return home to sleep."<sup>4</sup>

For, the house of the common people twelve zones were allocated outside the city walls and were spread over an area of ten square miles, in each zone there being provision for the construction of one thousand houses. On all these precincts (mohallas) there were schools, hospitals, mosques, inns and gardens, so that each locality could be self-sufficient and on the peripheries of these mohallas were stationed vegetable and fruit markets. Till the down fall of the Qutub Shahi dynasty, three thickly populated areas or mohallas had appeared within the Walled City of Hyderabad and these were the mohallas of Hussaini Alam, Darushifa and Sultan Shahi. On the outskirts of the city there was the thickly populated suburb of Karwan Sahu near Puranapul. Three other suburbs were emerging namely Khairatabad, Naubat Pahad (the black rocks) and the Lingampally gardens.

During Qutub Shahi period the chief source of drinking water was the Mir Jumla tank and the Jalpalli reservoir near Golconda from where water was supplied to the city through pipes.

The growing splendour and prosperity of the city of Hyderabad was brought to a grinding halt by the Moghul invasion in 1683. The Moghul army plundered the city of Hyderabad and razed most of its palaces to the ground. The Sultan and his nobles were forced to take shelter in Golconda and the Qutub Shahi dynasty came to an end in the year 1687 A.D.

## **2. The Early Asaf Jahi Stage (1687 to 1799):**

The initial phase of this period from 1687 to 1725 A.D. has been termed by Manzoor Alam as the transitional phase because it was marked by political instability and there was no developmental activity within the city of Hyderabad except for the building of parts of the city wall from Chaderghat to Dabirpura gate, the wall in later years demarcating the boundaries of the city of Hyderabad. Testifying to this lack of development Dr. Zore states that after the downfall of the Qutub Shahi dynasty, most of the palaces constructed during this period were single storeyed. This is because most of them were subedars and their palaces were called 'havelis' (mansions) and not 'mahals' (palaces).

In 1724 A.D. Nizam-ul-Mulk defeated Mubariz Khan the last subedar and established his own kingdom. This started the rule of the Asaf Jahi dynasty which lasted till the Police Action of 1948. The early phase of Asaf Jahi rule from

1725-1799 has been divided by Manzoor Alam into two distinctive phases, one of inhibition from 1725-1763, and the other of acceleration 1763-1799.

The period of 'inhibition' <sup>was</sup> so labelled because it was one of great economic stress and strain for Hyderabad due to the retention of Aurangabad as capital city by Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I. This forced many wealthy feudal landholders to migrate there. Other factors which later had effect on this period of 'inhibition' was the death of Asaf Jah I in 1748 which started a family feud for power and this along with the Anglo-French struggle for supremacy over the Deccan (1750-1760) renewed political uncertainty which adversely affected Hyderabad's growth. , • Alam states that even the construction of the ruler's palace and of his ministers' mansions in the south west quarter of the city could not check the stagnation caused by other factors. The city was only partially inhabited and only that part of the city which during the Qutub Shahi period contained royal palaces was over crowded with dwellings. There was no suburban expansion and mansions of the nobles were largely deserted and in ruins. Hyderabad's many bazaars and the grand bazaar of chowk which was the principal retail centre, were half empty. Hence all the symptoms of decadence were evident. The above description of the inhibitory stage of Hyderabad's urban growth shows that urban growth in a feudal economy depends completely on fortuitous factors such as the activities of

the ruler and his feudal lords. In a capitalist economy the institution of commodity production and its relations propel urban growth. Urbanization in the capitalist economy is autonomous, self generated and independent of individual and fortuitous factors. In a feudal, economy, the surplus extracted from the peasants by the ruler and the nobles is used for constructions, state expenditures, payment of officials, and other developmental activities and the entire growth process depends on this method of extraction of surplus. Even commerce which can generate surplus depends completely on the presence of the nobility and the ruler on that territory. Therefore, in medieval cities, whenever there is a period of political instability, the wealth accumulated by feudal lords gets expanded in wars and ancillary expenditures and there is no developmental activity and certainly not those which accrue to the urban process.

Coming back to historical description of the growth of the city, it is said that Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I did construct a few palaces in Hyderabad even though he ruled from Aurangabad. While his palaces, known as Haveli Nizam-ul-Mulk and later called Daulat-Khane-Bande Jane-Ali and Khilwat Mubarak were being built in the south western quadrant of the city, he constructed a temporary residence in the village of Asafnagar outside the city. He looked after the administration of Hyderabad from there and soon a settlement grew up there. The location

of Daulat Khane Ali and Khilwat palace was chosen on the Mothigalli lane which is a bylane on the Puranapool-Charminar road just before the Chowk. During Qutub Shahi times Mothigalli was the centre for the sale of pearls.

Another important task undertaken by Nizam-ul-Mulk was the completion of the city wall. This wall gave the city a definite boundary and gave its citizens a sense of protection. The circumference of the wall was 6 miles and it enclosed an area of about 2.5 square miles. On the bastions of the wall were kept guns and the population which had fled from Hyderabad slowly returned back into the protection offered inside the walls. The localities inside the wall constituted the city Anderoon (interior) and those outside were the city Bahroon (exterior). The walled city had twelve gates called darwazas and twelve posterns called khidkis.

After Nizam-ul-Mulk came Nasir Jung and Salabat Jung, but their tenures were short and marked by political instability and hence they did not take much interest in the construction of palaces. Nor did commerce flourish in the state of Hyderabad as it did during earlier times. The succession of Nizam Ali Khan as the ruler of the Deccan in 1763 started the period of 'accelerated' growth for the city of Hyderabad. He shifted his headquarters from Aurangabad to Hyderabad and it again re-emerged as the chief city of Deccan after a lapse of about

seventy six years. The Nizam probably realised that he had more political claims at stake in the south than in the north for which purpose Hyderabad was more centrally located.

As a result of this decision the nobles of the court and their retainers also returned to Hyderabad from Aurangabad. The increasing commerce and flow of land revenue into the city greatly stimulated urban growth in the city. Within the city walls a phase of urban renewal commenced and old dilapidated buildings were razed to the ground and replaced by palatial ones. Settlements expanded rapidly beyond the walls mainly to the south. This extra mural extension in the south consisted mainly of nobles' mansions and houses of their retainers and spread to about a mile round the city walls.<sup>6</sup>

The mansions, palaces that were constructed during this period were Kotla Ali Jah, Jahan Dar palace, Kotla Akbar Jah, Suleman Jah Chawdi and bazaar Kewan Jah. The buildings which were constructed or renovated during this period in the western part of Charminar were Roshen Bangla, Roshan Mahal, Gulshan Mahal, Shadi Khana, Khilwat Mubarak. To the east of Karwan developed the extensive business locality of Begum Bazaar, named after Qudia Begum, mother of Nizam Ali Khan. The revenue from this market was given to the chief begum of Nizam I, who had given this vast land on lease to build houses and shops. The vast square of Jilu Khana, or the guard's square during

the Qutub Shahi period, now known as Charkaman area, became the Sarrafa or Taksal area in November 1770 A.D. The site between Dad Mahal and Charmahal was chosen for the residential quarters of the bankers. Noted sahokars or businessmen like Anandiram, Manji Nayak and Harlal Kanji also built their houses there.<sup>7</sup>

Till 1761, the city had only four bazaars and one grand bazaar called the Chowk, but by 1798 there were twelve bazaars, three grand bazaars and a large wholesale business centre of Begum Bazaar. Thus from 1770-99, the city of Hyderabad regained its past glory and political stature. Its economic and commercial importance also considerably increased.

Although the city's major axis of growth still ran in the east-west direction, yet significantly, the main road north of Charminar the present Afzalgunj road, emerged towards the end of this period as an important business thoroughfare. New settlements also came up in the mohallas like Darushifa, Moghalpura, Hussaini Alam, Shaalibanda, etc., and small villages and hamlets appeared around Yakutpura, Uppugooda, Jahanuma, Mallepalli, Bahadurpura and Asafnag.



### **3. The Impact of British Cantonment Settlement of the Second Twin City Stage (1799-1874):**

This is the most important phase in the history of the city's growth because it completely altered the course of the city's development pattern and ushered the development of the city towards the northern direction, towards the northern half of the city. This northern half alongwith the passage of time has presently developed into a dynamic throbbing metropolis, while the southern half of the city consisting of the walled city of Hyderabad has lapsed into decadence and under-development.

It is difficult to guess what shape the city's growth pattern would have taken if the British had not arrived. But the signing of the subsidiary alliance with the East India Company in 1798 and the construction of the British Residency on the northern banks of the river Musi in 1806 had two major effects on the growth of the city. First, it created Secunderabad and secondly it ushered in the second phase of twin city growth of residential areas on the northern bank of the river Musi and hence changed the axis of growth towards the northern direction.

The Subsidiary Alliance Treaty of 1798 stipulated the permanent residence of the British India Company's forces within the Nizam's state and granted them certain economic concessions. Soon after the treaty was signed, 5,000 British troops arrived

near Hyderabad and camped on a low flat ridge immediately to the north of Hussain Sagar and near the village of Hussain Shahpura. Thus was established a new twin settlement replacing the old Golconda-Hyderabad development. It is said that the growth of the cantonment area was quite rapid. Initially it started on the area of four square miles and a population composed of 5,000 troops and several thousand civilian natives. In sixty years time its area expanded to seventeen square miles and the population including the military forces was over 50,000. The cantonment was named Secunderabad in 1806 after the then Nizam, Secunder Jah. Because of its military functions and business opportunities, Secunderabad drew large number of people from the surrounding areas, leading to a compact settlement called the General Bazaar.

The General Bazaar where the native population including bankers and merchant lived expanded its commerce, taking advantage of the economic concession contained in the Article 4 of the Subsidiary Alliance. The native merchants imported commodities duty free, and supplied goods not only to the cantonment area but also catered to the capital's large number of wealthy noble clientele, who had a fancy for imported goods. This extended sphere of Secunderabad's business further stimulated its commerce and led to a further rise in population and expansion of native settlement area more towards the south, in the direction of Hyderabad.

As Manzoor Alam has pointed out Secunderabad being a British Cantonment developed a cultural pattern quite distinct from that of the capital. St.John's Church and St.Mary's Cathedral dominated its urban profile and not. Charminar or Mecca Masjid. The centre of native settlement was the Hindu Mahakali temple, and not a mosque. English and not Persian was the official language and "telugu not Urdu, was the language of the natives. Missionary schools teaching through the medium of English governed its educational system and not Madarsas and Maktobs (oriental types of schools) as in Hyderabad. Commerce formed the core of Secunderabad's economy while in Hyderabad the feudal system prevailed.

But it must be said that the city of Hyderabad did not remain unaffected from the different cultural and social impulses of its twin town, specially after the Residency was set up near Chadarghat. The British imperialist policies demanded that they take an active role in the affairs of the Hyderabad State. The British administration interfered in the selection of the Prime Ministers of the Nizam State seeing to it that their own man was always selected. The British showered honours on them like the KCIE (Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire) and they usually remained obliged to the British Resident for their position. But this contact had a modernizing impact on the administration of the Nizam State, especially under Salar Jung I who introduced the Zilla Bandi system of

administration whereby Hyderabad State was divided into five divisions and seventeen districts. This later gave place to the revenue administration pattern which in a modified shape is now in vogue in Andhra Pradesh. Salar Jung I also started the Madarsa-e-Aliya which later became Nizam College and recruited scholars and able administrators from the north to run the administration here. This created . . . bad blood within the nobility which later evolved into the Mulki - non-Mulki issue.

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The growth of residential settlement on the northern half of the city was initiated with the completion of the British Residency in Chaderghat . . . in the year 1806. According to

Alam, following the construction of the Residency there came into existence around it a cluster of shops and dwelling

over which the Nizam's government accorded to the Resident unreserved power and jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters. This settlement being effeciently administered enjoyed peace and security. In contrast the civil administration in Hyderabad was chaotic,. . . especially in its suburbs where free-booters harassed the merchants and bankers who therefore migrated from Karwan to the Residency. Not only bankers, but the native civil servants of the Nizam's government also moved to Chaderghat preferring the sanitary and police arrangements there. Besides this native infiltration, a strong foreign element was also introduced, mainly European and Eurasians, who held important positions in the service of the Nizam and his nobles, but pre-

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ferred to stay near the Residency. Alam states that this European-Eurasian colony adjacent to the Walled city was a valuable addition to Hyderabad's cultural development. Houses of European styles, Christian churches and Missionary schools dominated Chaderghat. The first native Christian colony was established by the French around a gunfoundry located here and this served as nucleus for the growth of Christian settlements. The influx of bankers and civil servants into the Residency area stimulated its banking and commercial activities. Though the area was not large, it was covered with populous bazaars, some of whose merchants possessed great wealth and had transactions all over India. As early as 1810 a British tanking firm, Falmers & Company opened a banking business in Hyderabad and there was already the Bank of Bengal established before 1894. The development of banking business may be directly linked to the feudal system prevalent in the State. Right from the Nizam to his petty Jagirdars, they were all in need of ready cash to transact their business, and since the revenue collection machinery was never very efficient they could never get all the amount that they required from their estates. In these circumstances the bankers played a crucial role. They advanced the amounts charging exorbitant interest and then secured full powers to collect the money advanced from the estates of the Jagirdars with the assistance of their own men. In this way the bankers exploited the poor peasants and enriched their coffers. All these unscrupulous methods of the bankers were

exposed when the Nizam himself was in trouble and had to take help of the then resident Charles Metcalfe.<sup>8</sup>

As in the Chaderghat and the Residency Bazaars, settlement also rapidly extended in the city's northern and southern suburbs. The emergence of the British India Company as the paramount power in the Deccan lent political stability to the State and encouraged commerce and immigration. The built-up area within the walled city increased immensely and created problems like scarcity of water, unhygienic conditions, etc. To ease the water problem, Mir Alam who was then Prime Minister to Sikander Jah constructed the Mir Alam tank at the cost of 8 lakh rupees. This was planned by a French engineer and the distribution of piped water supply to walled city began from this project. But the water was not clean and people fell sick. In 1888 a filter bed was established near Chandulal's Baradari to supply filtered water to the city. To meet the increasing demands of the population Mir Alam also opened a big vegetable market and this is located near Pathergatti behind Mokramdowla Deodi.

Till 1839, the only connection between the southern and the northern half of the city was the Puranapool bridge. With the setting up of the Residency, the northern and the southern banks of river Musi become thickly populated and there was increasing need for a bridge to be built across Musi to






unite the two halves since crossing the Puranapul bridge meant taking a long detour along the banks. On the eastern part of the city suburbs like Malakpet, Dabirpura and Yakutpura were getting thickly settled and the consequent pressure of the traffic forced the authorities to build a bridge across the river near Chaderghat. This bridge was built in 1839 during Nasirud Dowlah's reign under the supervision of the famous engineer Oliphant; and this came to be known as the Chaderghat bridge or the Oliphant bridge.

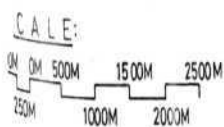
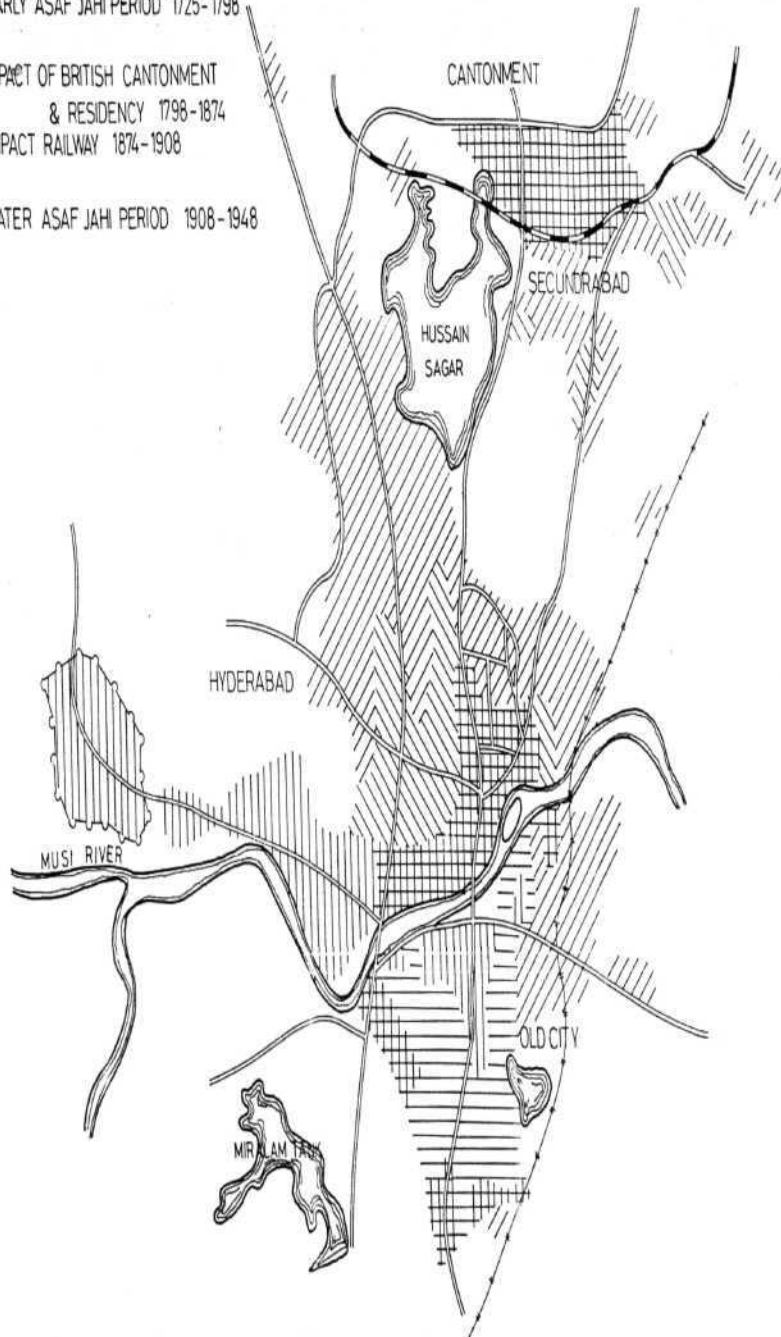
But this did not solve the problem of increasing pressure of traffic across the river. On the other side of Musi, near the north-western part of the walled city the newly developed locality of Begum Bazaar was sufficiently extended and new thickly populated localities of Totagodum and Afzalgunj had come up. Hence the pressure of traffic was keenly felt and the river was again bridged at a third point in 1857 at the place where the road from Charminar meets the Musi and this bridge was called the Afzalgunj bridge after the ruler Afzal-ud-Dowla Asaf Jahi V. This bridge was built under the supervision of Sir Salarjung I. Between the period 1857-69 A.D. the built up area within the walled city had increased so much that most of the grain merchants coming from the adjoining rural areas faced difficulty in finding a proper place for their business transactions. Hence according to Bustane Asafia, a group of grain merchants requested the ruler to construct a market on



# HISTORICAL GROWTH OF HYDERABAD [1512-1948]

## LEGEND:

-  QUTUB SHAHI ERA 1512-1687
-  EARLY ASAF JAH I PERIOD 1725-1798
-  IMPACT OF BRITISH CANTONMENT & RESIDENCY 1798-1874
-  IMPACT RAILWAY 1874-1908
-  LATER ASAF JAH I PERIOD 1908-1948



1:50,000

ADAPTED FROM S. MANZOOR ALAM, 1965  
by: KUSHAL DEB

the north of the river and the market which was consequently constructed is known as Afzal gunj. However till 1869 with the exception of Begum bazaar and Afzalgunj and their principal streets, there was scarcely a building between these places and Nampally and the area was full of paddy fields. The introduction of railway in 1874 led to the increase in the built up area with settlements extending towards Nampally.

The increasing built up area within the walled city of Hyderabad and the urban sprawl in the northern half of the city because of the Residency and the Secunderabad cantonment forced the ruler to think in terms of a planning body for the city. For the first time in the history of the city and under the guidance of Sir Salar Jung, a department of 'Municipal and Road Maintenance' was created in the miscellaneous Ministry of the Government. The area of the Hyderabad Municipality was demarcated as about 22 sq. miles and a Municipal Commissioner appointed to look after the maintenance of the city. Previously this job was undertaken by the City Police Commissioner or the Kotwal.

Before concluding the discussion on this phase of the city's growth i.e., the second twin city stage (1687-1874) it would be worthwhile to have an analytical image of the growth during this period. Before this period started, that is, before the British came to the Hyderabad State, the city had been

confined mostly to the area within the walled city, except for a few suburbs on the outskirts. The growth also had been based purely on feudal economic relations, Hyderabad being the political and administrative capital where the king and his nobles lived with their paraphernalia. Commerce was present but its role was negligible for city's growth. But the coming of the British ushered in a new phase of growth in the northern half of the city. The change in the axis of growth towards the northern direction was possible only because of the establishment of the British Cantonment in Secunderabad. This can be called a major intervention on the part of the British Imperialist State undertaken to keep a check on the Nizam Government, which not only changed the direction of growth but also ushered in a new process of growth based on commercial capitalism. The economic concessions granted to the British attracted merchants and bankers here, and the type of economy which developed here was based mainly on commerce. This can be seen from the settlements which spread near the Residency bazaars, the General bazaar of the Secunderabad Cantonment and the later settlements around Begum Bazaar and Afzulgunj. This growth of commercial capitalism in the northern half of the city received a big boost with the coming of the Railways in Hyderabad which expanded its commercial network with other cities. But the railway stage also marked the genesis of industries in Hyderabad, which with the passage of time would usher in another mode of urban growth in Hyderabad, that of industrial capitalism.

#### 4. The Introduction of the Railways (1874-1904):

The phase in the growth process of the city from the coining of the Railways in 1874 till the catastrophic floods in the river Musi in 1908 has been termed as the Railway stage (1874-1908) by . Manzoor Alam. The coming of the railway made a big difference in the growth pattern of the city because it cemented still further the rapidly uniting cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad and halted the growth of the city south of the river. The axis of growth was in the northern direction.

The imperialist policies of the British demanded that the sea-port of Masulipatnam be connected to the metropolitan cities of Bombay and Madras. Hence the railway line spanning Hyderabad and Secunderabad (constructed in 1874) was extended to Madras via Warangal in 1898. In 1900 the twin cities were connected with the rich cotton tracts of Hyderabad State, situated in the northwest. Regionally, the railways made a tremendous difference by transferring the trade of Hyderabad from Musulipatnam to Bombay and Madras. Locally their effect was no less powerful because they accelerated the northward expansion of Hyderabad, assisted the industrial development of the two cities, and reinforced the commercial and compact development of Secunderabad.<sup>9</sup>

There were no modern industries in either city before

1874. But with the coming of the railways, a mechanical workshop for the Public Works Department was started, followed by two railway repair workshops (loco and signal) in Secunderabad. The mint, a cotton ginning, spinning and weaving factory and a tile factory was also established in Hyderabad. These industrial units can be called the harbingers of the future industrial growth that took place in the northern half of the city and in Secunderabad.

It was from this period that incipient stagnation in urban growth started in the walled city of Hyderabad, which at that time represented the core of the built up area. This is because the process of industrial growth has inherent logic and dynamics of its own and this lead to a process of urban growth which has its own momentum. Such a process was missing in the walled city of Hyderabad.

With the advent of railways, the urban growth was oriented to the railway stations, goods yards, associated warehouse areas and industrial regions. Rapid extension of settlement north of the river occurred around Begum Bazaar, Chaderghat and the Residency bazaar.

The built-up area from Begum Bazaar extended towards the Nampally railway station and in course of time densely populated localities of Nampally and Bazarghat came into existence,

The location of another railway station at Kachiguda led to the establishment of localities of Kachiguda, Nimbolika Adda, Barkatpura and Chappal Bazaar. Then new colonies came up at Amberpet, Adigmet and Malakpet. Hence it can be said that internally the walled city was getting compactly built up and externally it was developing residential suburbs. It is because of this growth of built up area around Begum Bazaar and Afzal gun j and the increasing flow of goods and people between the settlements on the northern banks and the walled city that the river was bridged at a fourth point in 1897. This was built by Nawab Chalib-ul-Mulk Muslam Jung from his own expenses and hence this bridge was called Muslam Jung bridge.

Beyond the walled city in the south western direction new settlements appeared around the palaces of Jahanuma and Falaknuma, the latter being built during his period by Sir Vicar-ul-Umra in 1889. Another factor which caused the built-up area to expand on the south western side, the construction of the Falaknuma Railway station in 1901. Hence areas like Jangammet which was once a small hamlet and Maikal Kanda near Aliabad Darwaza got included in the city limits.

But the area which was most affected by the introduction of Railways was the city of Secunderabad. This was because its wholesale and retail business expanded considerably during this period. Being located on the junction of broad guage and

meter gauge railway systems which connected it to big cities like Madras and Bombay and to the port town of Masulipatnam, it had the supply of goods which helped it to have wholesale business transactions with other towns in the State. Locally, its retail trade, especially in luxury goods was stimulated by the further overcrowding of Europeans and Eurasians, most of them, employees of the Nizam. The settlement of the civilian population especially of the natives, extended towards the south along the two principal roads to Hyderabad and this would soon lead to the fusion of the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad into a metropolitan twin city.

The expanding urban growth also forced the ruler to take a number of steps. A department of Municipal and Road maintenance had already been formed in 1869 with a Municipal Commissioner as its head. In the year 1896, the Chaderghat Municipality was separately constituted because of its large built up area and the city assumed two distinct entitles of 'Andrun' and Bairun, that is, inside and outside the city wall. Before that the first official census was taken of the walled city of Hyderabad in the year 1881 and the city was divided into four Municipal divisions or wards. These wards were known by the names of the major localities like Mir Chowk, Sultan Shahi, Aliabad Androon and Hussaini Alam with the city wall as their outer limits.

From the 1891 census reports one can have an idea about the growth in population which took place within the walled city, Chaderghat and in Secunderabad respectively. The figures are as follows:

Mir Chowk	29,916	
Sultan Shahi	31,418	Inside walled city
Aliabad (inside)	28,905	population 1,24,057
Hussaini Alam	33,818	
Yakutpura	31,287	Behroon (outside
Aliabad (out)	25,613	walled city) 56,900
Total city Municipality	<u>1,80,957</u>	
Afzal Gunj	61,653	
Begum Bazaar	31,348	
Karwan	33,623	
Total Chaderghat Municipality	<u>1,26,624</u>	
Residency bazaars	14,709	
Secunderabad	80,626	
Bolaram	12,123	
Total Residency	<u>1,07,458</u>	

The above figures bring to light the fact that urban growth had spread considerably from the times it was limited to the walled city. Now the Residency area and the Chaderghat areas had a population which was comparable to the one within the walled city.



In order to meet the demands for such a large population, in 1888 a city water works' scheme for filtered water from Mir Alam tank was prepared. In the year 1889 a Hyderabad Water Works Department was also formed.

Such was the state of affairs in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad when in 1908, a disastrous flood in the river Musi swept the city of Hyderabad, severely affected the parts of the city near the river banks. The flood made the ruler realize the pitfalls of unplanned growth and a planning body was constituted. Then the ruler shifted his residence after the floods and this hastened the stagnation of the walled city.

##### **5. The Emergence of the Modern City of The later Asaf Jahi Rule (1908-1948):**

There is a general belief among scholars that the catastrophic floods of 1908 had changed the fate of the city, because after this event, the ruler changed his residence and along with him the nobles moved out of the walled city. It looks as if the hands of fate had changed the course of development of the city. But this does not seem true. The floods of 1908 only hastened the process which was inevitable. The unplanned growth within the walled city with its densely packed settlements, narrow crooked lanes, insanitary conditions and growth in terms of accretion around palaces of nobles, had resulted in a land

use pattern which was unsuitable for modern industrial development.

On the other hand, the vast sprawling vacant lands north of the river, the economic system based on commerce set up by the British, the presence of railway offered scope for industries to develop. The modernization trend had shifted the axis of growth in the northern direction and stagnation had already crept up in southern part of the city.

The devastations caused by the floods made the ruler realise the pitfalls of unplanned growth. A planning body called the City Improvement Board was set up in 1912 to look after the problem of city development. This planning body worked under the able guidance of Sir M. Vishveshwaraya the eminent engineer from Mysore. The City Improvement Board took up schemes like improvement of the embankments of the river, damming of the river upstream to prevent floods from reoccurring, opening up of congested areas by undertaking slum clearance schemes, acquiring open lands, building houses for the poor, road widening programmes, laying of sewerage and storm water drainage lines, etc.

The first such project taken up was the improvement of the area lying on both sides of the river. The wall on the southern side from Puranapool to Chaderghat bridge was raised to a height of 30 ft. and a road was constructed along it. The residential areas along the banks were converted into parks

and play grounds. Prominent public buildings like the High Court, the City College were built on the backgrounds of these gardens on the southern side. The Osmania Hospital, the State Library were built along the northern banks. A set of building bye-laws were also enforced. The Board controlled the grant of building permits on main roads and in areas where improvement schemes were to be undertaken. As a post-flood measure, rebuilding was prohibited within a certain distance of the river. This project achieved the twin purpose of not only beautifying the river front but also removing chances of such a disaster from occurring ever again.

The river was also dammed twice upstreams to tame the river, once in 1917, and then in 1927. This led to the formation of the Osmansagar and Humayatsagar lakes respectively. These lakes have helped not only in taming the river but were the sole source for supply of drinking water to the twin cities till recent times till the Manjira scheme started. The reservoirs have also been largely responsible for encouraging development in Hyderabad.

The other important developmental activities carried out by the City Improvement Board on a piece-meal basis, and stretching over a period of thirty years are <sup>10</sup>:

- 1) Dismantling of the city walls along with its gates over

a period of time. This became necessary because of the increasing congestion and need for roads for the free flow of traffic.

2) Widening of the Pathergatti road and construction of shops on both sides to relieve the traffic congestion caused by the heavy traffic flow between the two halves of the city.

3) Laying of underground sewerage and drainage lines in both halves of the city.

4) Slum clearance schemes to open out congested areas. Such schemes were implemented within the walled city in areas like Darushifa, Noorulomra Bazaar, Sultan Shahi, Moghalpura, river front areas, etc., and outside the walled city in areas like Begum Bazaar, Nampally, Gunfoundry, Babha-Shafa, Chappal Bazaar, Lingampally, Aghapura, Khairatabad, Pathanwadi, etc. Such schemes removed unhealthy dwelling and narrow lanes and constructed broad roads and 'C' and 'D' type housing quarters. Such quarters can be still seen in these areas.

5) Roads connecting important places and localities within the city were laid or broadened along with the provision of street lights and traffic signals.

6) Construction of the Mojamjahi market on the road leading from Nampally to Begum Bazaar.

7) Acquiring of new areas like Azampura, Amberpet, Erammagutta, Mallepalli and Aghapura and construction of housing colonies there.

Other than the above mentioned developmental activities, Sir M. Vishveswarayya submitted a report in 1930 on the City Improvement Scheme required for Hyderabad city. The report emphasised the need for a comprehensive city plan and recommended schemes like a civic centre, inner circular road, radial and trunk roads, roads along river banks, roads round Hussainsagar and the need for circular railway. He also called for an overhauling of the existing municipal structure and suggested changes that were to be made to improve the working of the City Improvement Board,

It was also in this period that the ruler Osman Ali Khan shifted his residence from the Chow Mahalla palaces of the walled city to another palace called the King Kothi located in the Chaderghat area. This shift symbolised the shift in the state's capital from the southern half of the city to the northern half and marked the growing importance of the northern half. However offices of the municipalities, the Police Commissioner's and the Civil and Criminal Courts remained within the walled city, it still being the core around which the population was organised, and the civic area delimited.

The nobility wanting to be near the ruler also moved out from the walled city (though retaining their mansions there) and settled around the areas of Himayatsagar, Hyderguda, and Banjara Hills. These areas thus became high income group residential areas.

This phase of the city's growth has been termed by Alam as the phase of internal reorganisation of the city. This is because, the planning interventions and the shift of the ruler's residence had important consequences in terms of land use in growth of the city. This is apparent from the above given description.

One might suggest that Osman Ali Khan Asaf Jah VII's change of residence to the Chaderghat area was no whimsical decision but a shrewdly calculated move to counter the growing British influence on the dynamic urban growth taking place in the northern half of the city.

The next phase in the growth of Hyderabad-Secunderabad during the late Asaf Jahi period has been termed by Alam as the phase of development of rail and road transport system especially the introduction of the suburban services. This phase expedited the metropolitan growth of Hyderabad by making it feasible to develop industrial, educational, military, recreational, market and residential centres away from the heart of the city.

The introduction of suburban train services in 1928 and of the suburban bus services in 1932 helped to unite the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad into one great conurbation and also saved the southern half of the city from disintegration and depopulation because people commuted from here to their place of work. But it should be kept in mind that although the intra city bus and train services saved the southern half from depopulation it did not result in any industrial growth or any economic function being centered there. Nor was it enveloped in the growth of the twin cities into a metropolis. It remained essentially a residential area for all classes of people.

Later some important political events took place, which strongly influenced the growth of the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. In this study we shall consider two such events, namely the Rendition Acts of 1936 and 1945 and the Police Action of 1948. The Rendition Act of 1936 released the area of the Residency Bazaars from the administrative control of the Resident. This became a necessity because after the shift of the rulers residence to the Chaderghat area, the presence of a British controlled area in the neighbourhood was a source of embarrassment for the Nizam. Then to facilitate urban planning, there was immediate need to bring the entire city of Hyderabad under the single administrative jurisdiction of the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad.

The second Act of Rendition in 1945 released the civil area of Secunderabad from the jurisdiction of the cantonment and brought it under Nizam's rule. This freedom helped it to share the fortunes of the capital city and soon its boundaries expanded to cover an area of eight square miles from its initial 3.6 sq. miles area.

But the most important political event that had a tremendous effect on the growth of the city, especially the southern half of the city was the Police Action. This was launched by the Government of India in September, 1949, to liberate the state of Hyderabad from the Nizam's control and integrate it with the Indian Union. This event was preceded by other related events which played a role in the instability and economic depression which marked this period. The partition of 1947 and the communal riots in northern India saw the mass exodus of Muslim population into Hyderabad State, specially its capital. Special refugee camps were set up to give shelter to these people. Then the Telangana portion of the Hyderabad state had always been the stronghold of communities who taking advantage of the unstable conditions resorted to terrorist activities against the local Zamindars who then fled to the city and settled down there. These landlords came with a lot of wealth and this gave a partial boost to the sagging economy of the state because they invested in buildings, commerce and industry. Vidyanagar and Dilsukhnagar in Hyderabad and Jeera and New Bhoiguda in Secunderabad owe their development to the influx of these landlords.



But the Polio Action of 1948, removed at one stroke the feudal reign of the Nizams and led to the abolition of the Jagirdari system. This had a number of results. First, large numbers of the ruling elite either migrated to Pakistan or fled to other countries. This resulted in a certain amount of economic dislocation in the city. Secondly the abolition of the Jagirdari system resulted in the sudden disappearance of the feudal economic base, which was the main prop and source of sustenance for the inhabitants of the walled city. The growth of the city of Hyderabad had been such that the southern half of the city had always depended on the feudal economy for its growth, it being the administrative capital of a feudal ruler. The growth of industries and an economy based on commerce had taken place in the northern half, first under the British, and later under the state government and also the self propelling mechanism of commodity production. The southern half was denied such a growth process. Further more, the abolition of the Jagirdari system, the fleeing of the Muslim elite and the influx into the city of low income group migrants resulted in a situation in which the southern part was left with no inherent inner dynamics to sustain itself and lapsed into decadence. The intra-urban transportation system saved it from depopulation but did not generate any economic growth. The role of the southern half of the city, especially the walled city has been reduced to a residential area of the low and middle income groups.

## **6. The Period of takeoff to Metropolitan Status after 1956:**

The take-off to Metropolitan status after the formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh in 1956 and the massive role played by state intervention in the form of establishment of large public sector industries, formation of urban development authorities, master plan for city development, housing schemes especially for the lower and middle classes, constructing commercial complexes, provision of infrastructural facilities like roads, electricity, transport, water, drainage and sewerage, etc., has been discussed extensively in the following chapters. Here, we will just give an outline of the reasons for the growth of the northern half of Hyderabad along with Secunderabad into a metropolitan city while the southern half specially the old city areas have lapsed into decadence.

In the previous section, we have already discussed the consequences of the Police Action of 1948. This sudden removal of the feudal economic base threw the entire state into a deep economic crises and the entire administrative system went through a period of confusion. The city of Hyderabad also went through a state of economic depression during this period. The industrial growth which was occurring in the northern half of the city was at a low ebb because of the sudden fall in demand after the end of the second world war. Further the dismissal of the Nizam's government and the integration of the

State of Hyderabad into the Indian Union forced the local industries to compete with national ones. Hence many units including the Allwyn Metal Works and Praga Tools unable to face the competition closed down and there was a mass retrenchment of workers. This crisis was further compounded, first by the mass exodus of Muslim elites to Pakistan and other countries and second by the large influx of the low and middle class Muslims from the districts into the city, especially the walled city of Hyderabad.

This sagging economy of the city of Hyderabad was revived when the State of Andhra Pradesh was carved out on a linguistic basis in 1956 and Hyderabad was made its capital. This event coincided with the start of the Second Five Year Plan which emphasised on the country's industrial development for long term productive needs. The Planning Commission had appointed many agencies to finance large, medium or small industries and the Government of Andhra Pradesh utilised these provisions to develop its industrial sector.

The industrial estate of Sanathnagar which had come up in 1940 but was almost deserted by 1955 ' was rejuvenated and together with Mushirabad, became one of the two main industrial nuclei of large and medium industries of the twin cities. This industrial sector has grown enormously and at present there are four distinct clusters of large and medium scale industrial units in Hyderabad. They are (1) The Azamabad Industrial

Area which is the oldest in the city (2) The Balanagar-Sanathnagar-Kukatpally industrial cluster which has a variety of industrial and consumer units like refrigerators, pharmaceutical products, machine tools, air craft components, soft drinks, etc., the important ones being Allwyn, H.M.T., I.D.P.L., H.A.L. and others (3) The Moula-Ali-Nacharam-Uppal industrial area which has important industrial units like the E.C.I.L., Warner Hindustan Limited, N.F.C. and others (4) The Ramachandrapuram, Patancheru Industrial cluster with has B.H.E.L. (which is one of the biggest public sector units), I.C.R.I.S.A.T. and others. But this industrial development has taken place only in the northern half of the city and in Secunderabad and the southern half of the city especially the walled city, lacks such an industrial growth. The Chandulal Baradari industrial estate did come up in 1963 in the southern half outside Fateh Darwaza. But this industrial estate consisted mostly of small scale industries and had only a few medium scale industries manufacturing steel and metal sheets, chemicals and pigments, utility articles, etc., and can only employ a few hundred people.

This lack of industrial growth explains why the old city of Hyderabad (of which the walled city is the core) is in a state of stagnation and urban decay while the other parts of the city are rapidly growing into a throbbing metropolis.

The logic of the capitalist mode of production is such that in order for the manufacturing units to thrive, it becomes

an imperative on the part of the state to provide infrastructural facilities like good roads, efficient transportation system, electricity, housing, etc. The state provides these facilities through Urban Planning agencies, the ones in Hyderabad being the Hyderabad Urban Development Authority (HUDA), Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad (MCH), the Housing Board and others. This laying down of infrastructural facilities attracts further settlements which in turn need further planning intervention. It can be said that this very process is being enacted in the northern half of the city resulting in its growth along with Secunderabad into a large metropolis. The southern half specially the walled city part lacking any industrial growth is being denied of such an urban growth process. Another factor which may have caused the neglect of the southern half was the reorganisation of the state on a linguistic basis which led to the inclusion of the rich coastal belt of Andhra into the state of Andhra Pradesh. The enterprising Andhra immigrants settled down in the northern half and in Secunderabad but not in the southern half of the city (here the southern half denotes the old city parts and not the suburbs in the south, which did attract immigrant groups, for example, Dilsukhnagar, Saroornagar, Hayatnagar situated along the Vijayawada highway are growing residential colonies). Thus business and commerce flourished in these northern areas and new housing colonies appeared in Ameerpet, Panjagutta, Chikkadpally, Domalguda and Amberpet areas of Hyderabad and in Maredpally, Begumpet, Seetaphalmandi areas of Secunderabad.

Similarly the political elite who came to power in the state of Andhra Pradesh after the end of Nizam's rule were mostly from the capitalist class of these Andhra regions and they had no emotional or cultural links with the walled city region, most of which was populated by members of one particular community, namely the Muslims. This lack of political will on the part of the State's political elite to look into the problems of under development of the old city, has led to its further deterioration. Consequently there had emerged a class of communal leaders from within the old city, who take up the problems of neglect and under-development of the old city but give it a communal connotation using it for their political success.

At present the twin cities together cover 194.25 sq.kms. (within MCH limits), Hyderabad alone having an area of 173.53 sq.kms. Most of the recent growth of Hyderabad is on the northern side. Suburbs which were once important as residential, religious, industrial, educational and military centres have all been sucked into the growing metropolis. As will be seen in the next chapter, the trend of growth of Hyderabad city is in three directions (1) the north-west i.e., from the Sanathnagar-Balanagar-Kukatpally area towards Ramachandrapuram-Patancheru industrial nucleus (2) the north-east i.e., from Moula Ali towards Macha Bolaram and (3) the south-east i.e., from Dilsukhnagar to Hayatnagar along the Vijayawada highway.

Before concluding if one reviews the history of the growth of Hyderabad city, one finds that the State has played an important role in every stage of the growth of the city. The shift of the capital from Golconda to the walled city area by Mohammed Quli led to the decadence of Golconda and the growth of the city south of river Musi. The formation of the Secunderabad cantonment by the British shifted the axis of growth towards the northern direction and this process got accentuated when railway was introduced by the British to facilitate imperialist trade. The process of stagnation of the walled city area which started when the Nizam shifted his palace to the northern half was complete after the Police Action which abolished the feudal rule of the Nizam. On the other hand, the northern half of the city has grown along with Secunderabad into a metropolis mainly because of its status as the political and administrative capital of the State of Andhra Pradesh and because of the large public sector industries which have come up in the industrial estates in northern Hyderabad and Secunderabad.

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## CHAPTER III

### TRENDS IN THE GROWTH OF THE CITY

In the previous chapter we presented an account of the historical growth of Hyderabad city. In this chapter we will analyse the present trends in the growth of the city. There are three facets to the growth of any city. They are growth in terms of 1) increasing population and housing; 2) complexity of specialized services and 3) the spatial spread of the city. In this chapter, more emphasis will be placed on factors like increasing population density, population growth rate and the spatial spread while the growth of the city is being discussed.

As has been previously stated, in most Third World countries, the primacy of the metropolitan cities is more pronounced as compared to the cities in the West. This happens because the growth of the cities occur not due to advance in technology and infrastructural development but rather due to the relative underdevelopment of the surrounding areas which force people to migrate to the cities for a living. If one looks at the population composition of the Hyderabad Urban Agglomeration, one finds that 20% of the population are migrants. Most of the immigration has taken place recently as 55% of the migrants have moved into the city within the last ten years. Of the total immigrants, about 25% have migrated to seek employment. 34% have moved in with their families (see Table 8). Among the male migrants, the percentage of those who have migrated for employment is the highest, about 44%. Most of the migrants are from the surrounding underdeveloped hinterland as figures show that 65% of the migrants are from the surrounding districts,

TABLE - 8

MIGRANTS BY SEX, PLACE OF RESIDENCE, DURATION OF RESIDENCE AND REASONS FOR MIGRATION -  
URBAN AREA OF HYDERABAD URBAN AGGLOMERATION (1981)

Last Residence	Rural or urban status of last residence	Total Migrants	Reasons for Migration								66		
			Employment		Education		Family moved		Marriage			Others	
			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		M	F
TOTAL		2,59,851	2,47,411	1,13,437	13,013	17,113	9,058	65,125	1,04,290	2,110	77,506	62,066	43,545
A. LAST RESIDENCE IN INDIA													
T		2,57,841	2,45,745	1,12,952	12,909	16,648	8,753	64,640	1,03,678	2,110	77,223	61,489	43,181
R		1,32,548	1,24,775	59,382	6,556	8,856	3,966	30,180	47,627	1,166	44,748	32,964	21,829
U		1,24,806	1,20,517	53,377	6,304	7,782	4,776	34,280	55,751	944	32,393	28,424	21,292
I. Within State of Enumeration													
T		1,82,589	1,83,296	81,839	9,304	13,401	6,422	45,756	74,072	1,534	60,438	45,060	33,060
R		1,11,460	1,07,709	49,802	5,279	8,165	3,521	25,171	40,583	992	39,372	27,330	18,955
U		75,990	75,437	31,992	4,025	5,236	2,900	20,553	33,410	541	21,045	17,671	14,055
1. Elsewhere in District of enumeration													
T		17,225	24,991	4,861	569	344	223	5,612	6,993	184	11,624	6,204	5,582
R		11,330	17,623	3,331	370	277	140	3,359	3,754	157	9,318	4,257	4,040
U		5,902	7,368	1,519	199	117	83	2,292	3,239	27	2,305	1,947	1,542
2. In other districts of State													
T		1,70,335	1,58,305	76,978	8,735	13,058	6,199	40,094	67,079	1,349	48,814	38,856	27,478
R		1,00,129	90,087	46,471	4,909	7,938	3,381	21,812	36,828	835	30,053	23,073	14,915
U		70,091	68,069	30,473	3,826	5,120	2,817	18,260	30,171	514	18,740	15,724	12,513
II. State in India beyond state of enumeration													
T		70,252	62,449	31,114	3,605	3,247	2,331	18,884	29,606	577	16,785	16,430	10,121
R		21,088	17,066	9,580	1,277	691	445	4,009	7,094	174	5,376	5,635	2,874
U		48,814	42,080	21,385	2,279	2,546	1,876	13,727	22,341	403	11,347	10,753	7,257
B. COUNTRIES BEYOND INDIA IN OTHER COUNTRIES													
T		2,006	1,666	484	104	465	305	485	613	--	282	577	363
R		1,598	1,332	394	62	439	290	347	456	--	235	418	290
U		412	334	90	42	26	15	138	157	--	47	159	73
Less than 1 year		13,019	11,699	5,536	1,084	747	516	2,822	4,996	76	1,559	3,838	3,544
1 - 4 years		68,612	60,303	31,831	4,144	6,444	3,908	17,750	29,346	405	15,769	12,187	7,641
4 - 9 years		46,483	46,520	21,295	2,448	2,982	1,533	12,898	21,877	384	14,973	8,925	5,689
10 yrs. and above		1,10,474	1,07,414	52,434	4,787	5,940	2,851	28,712	44,187	1,168	44,080	22,225	11,509

Source : Part V A &amp; B, Census of India 1981

the percentage of rural migrants being higher (58%) than those who have migrated from urban areas. This high rate of immigration into Hyderabad city takes place because, first, it is the political and administrative capital of Andhra Pradesh; second a large number of industries are located around the city and third, it has a rapidly developing tertiary sector which provides tremendous employment opportunities. The primacy of Hyderabad city can be gauged from the fact that out of the twenty class I cities (population over 1 lakh) in Andhra Pradesh, it is the only city with more than 10 lakh population (the present population is around 32 lakhs) and according to the 1981 census figures, it is 4.2 times larger than the second largest city (see Table 9).

Before embarking on an analysis of the growth of Hyderabad city, one should carefully delimit one's area of study because it has a huge area of influence and is rapidly sucking up a lot of surrounding rural areas into its vortex of growth. The present analysis will be therefore done at three levels. The first is at the level of the core area which can be defined by the limits of the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad. This area is densely populated and has the necessary infrastructural facilities like sewerage, water, electricity and transport. Analysis at this level brings out the changing population densities and the resulting congestion or de-congestion of areas. It also show, the ongoing changes in landuse like invasion of commercial activities into residential areas or change in the class structure of residential areas.

TABLE - 9

Class I (Above one lakh population) cities and towns in Andhra Pradesh

City/Town	Population		Percentage growth 71-81
	71	81	
1. Hyderabad Urban Agglomeration	17,96,339	25,45,836	41.72%
2. Visakhapatnam Urban Agglomeration	3,63,467	6,03,630	66.07%
3. Vijayawada Urban Agglomeration	3,44,607	5,43,008	57.57%
4. Guntur	2,69,991	3,67,699	36.18%
5. Warangal	2,07,520	3,35,150	61.50%
6. Rajamundry Urban Agglomeration	1,88,805	2,68,370	42.14%
7. Nellore	1,33,590	2,37,065	77.45%
8. Kakinada	1,64,200	2,26,409	37.88%
9. Nizamabad	1,15,640	1,83,061	58.30%
10. Eluru	1,27,023	1,68,154	32.38%
11. Machilipatnam	1,12,612	1,38,530	23.01%
12. Anantapur	80,069	1,19,531	49.28%
13. Tenali	1,02,937	1,19,257	15.85%
14. Chittoor	65,843	1,15,292	75.10%
15. Vizianagaram	86,608	1,14,808	32.56%
16. Kurnool	85,311	1,08,938	27.69%
17. Poddatur	70,822	1,07,070	51.18%
18. Cuddapah	66,195	1,03,125	55.78%
19. Bheemavaram	63,762	1,01,894	59.80%

Source : Part II A, Series - 2, Andhra Pradesh, Census of India, 1981.

The second level at which the data has been analysed is of the growth in the Hyderabad Urban Agglomeration area (excluding the MCH area, which is analysed at the first level). These areas are essentially outgrowths from the main city. Analysis of growth of these residential and industrial suburbs is important because their growth rates are pointers to the direction in which the city is growing and the spatial pattern this growth will take.

The third level of analysis is of the Metropolitan region of Hyderabad (excluding the MCH area) as has been delimited by the Hyderabad Urban Development Authority (henceforth HUDA). This is the urban shadow area, being under the direct influence of the city. Analysis of growth in these areas is important because some of these areas have shown a tremendous spurt in both industrial and population growth. Secondly, many of these outlying areas have been demarcated by HUDA for setting up satellite townships and the future growth of the city will occur in these places.

#### Growth within the area under Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad:

The total area consists of twentythree towards in Hyderabad city and twelve wards in Secunderabad city. These have been constituted into eleven planning divisions by HUDA. Small parts of this area fall outside the boundaries of Hyderabad district and are part of the newly formed Ranga Reddy district.

When one looks at the ward-wise data of the area under Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (see Table 10) one finds that for all the wards where the population densities are very high, the annual growth rates are very low excepting for those wards which have a large area. Similarly wards which have low population densities show quite high annual growth rates. This may be because intensification of landuse through vertical growth is still not a major trend in most parts of the city and is also controlled by the HUDA through regulations like low floor space index (the maximum permissible floor space index is 2.0 for residential and 2.5 for mixed and other uses) and building bye-laws preventing construction of apartments over four storeys. Therefore compact and densely built up areas thwart further horizontal expansion.

Analysis of the growth rate of the different parts of the city shows that there are certain common features in the growth process and also in the stagnation of certain areas.

Growth occurs in areas which have one or a combination of the following features. There are:

- a) Areas which are industrial suburbs.
- b) Areas with large public institutions like universities, military cantonments, office complexes, etc.
- c) Areas with institutional housing facilities like Railway, Police, HUDA or Housing Board colonies.

TABLE - 10

## POPULATION DENSITY AND GROWTH RATE IN THE HYDERABAD MUNICIPAL AREA

Ward No.	Area (in acres)	Population		Population Density (per acre)		Growth rate (in percentage)			
		61	71	81	61	71	81		
HYDERABAD DIVISION									
1	2046.72	80651	131219	177299	39.41	64.1	86.6	4.99	3.06
2	1684.64	32770	62004	87677	19.5	36.8	52.0	6.58	3.52
3	688.53	64269	81918	89203	93.3	119.0	129.6	2.46	0.86
4	424.35	37938	40526	41991	89.4	95.5	99.0	0.66	0.35
5	793.28	61427	67633	73781	77.4	85.3	93.0	0.97	0.87
6	2676.30	31984	49920	69806	11.9	18.7	26.1	4.55	3.41
7	1055.77	6870	32283	52905	6.5	30.6	50.1	16.74	5.06
8	7479.91	15544	35037	82784	2.1	4.7	11.1	8.45	8.98
9	2830.70	16784	35895	54850	5.9	12.7	19.4	7.90	4.33
10	745.85	27352	46649	63646	36.7	62.5	85.3	5.48	3.16
11	572.28	43525	51075	57490	76.1	89.2	100.5	1.61	1.20
12	745.00	17177	31227	57492	23.1	41.9	77.2	6.16	6.30
13	1749.84	45642	72228	110897	26.1	41.3	63.4	4.70	4.39
14	371.02	55229	64977	69848	148.9	175.1	188.3	1.64	0.73
15	218.68	39951	39574	38258	182.7	181.0	175.0	-0.09	-0.33
16	1935.30	63866	99055	134644	33.0	51.1	69.6	4.49	3.11
17	1670.20	55942	88442	128962	33.5	53.0	77.2	4.69	3.84
18	2844.71	50573	76476	110002	30.3	45.8	65.9	4.22	3.70
19	2489.86	20534	37714	64338	7.2	15.1	25.9	6.27	5.49
20	384.93	43679	63823	75793	113.5	165.8	197.0	3.87	1.73

71

contd.



Table 10 contd.

Ward No.	Area (in acres)	Population		Population Density (per acre)		Growth rate (in percentage)	
		61	71	61	71	61-71	71-81
21	244.95	40042	45939	163.8	187.5	1.38	0.71
22	382.04	38539	49918	100.9	130.7	2.62	1.72
23	340.20	40794	53228	120.0	156.4	2.70	1.97
<u>SECUNDERABAD DIVISION</u>							
1	1707.20	20278	27486	11.9	22.3	3.08	3.31
2	79.00	10224	11611	129.4	147.0	1.28	-0.13
3	42.11	7389	7994	175.5	190.0	0.79	-0.39
4	31.00	8461	8776	273.0	283.1	0.36	-1.04
5	248.45	9849	9368	40.0	38.0	-0.50	2.28
6	527.00	24963	35658	47.4	68.0	3.63	2.33
7	79.52	15978	15775	201.0	198.4	-0.12	0.16
8	55.38	10120	11473	183.0	207.2	1.26	0.11
9	188.13	11669	13475	62.0	72.0	1.45	0.32
10	828.01	20692	28892	25.0	35.0	3.39	2.37
11	316.01	16129	23619	51.03	75.0	3.89	6.61
12	1084.98	31719	56509	29.2	52.1	5.94	4.82
-----							
	39561.85	1118553	1607397	28.27	40.63	3.69	2.95

Source : Part XIII - A &amp; B, Series-2, Hyderabad District Handbook, Census of India, 1981

- d) Areas which receive the spill over of population from the adjacent congested areas.
- e) Areas where high and upper-middle class housing has come up, these areas having easy access to the city centre but away from the congestion.
- f) Areas where intensification of lower or middle class housing has occurred either because of cooperative housing societies or because the lands were cheaply available.

Contributing to all the above factors is of course the growth of slums (about 660 have been officially identified) which are not concentrated in one particular area but are scattered all over the city at places where the competition for land is relatively low.

Similarly stagnation or de-congestion has occurred in certain areas like:

- a) Areas in and around the CBD, due to the invasion of commercial activities and exorbitant land values.
- b) Highly congested areas of the old city which are unsuitable for further growth.
- c) Whole sale market areas which are not congenial for habitation.

#### **Growth in the Hyderabad Municipal Division:**

In the Hyderabad division of the Municipal area, the Ward-wise data shows that high growth rates are found in the following wards:

1) Ward eight, which has an area of about 7480 acres and is the largest ward in the twin cities. This ward shows a very low population density of 5 persons and 11 persons per acre for 1971 and 1981 respectively, but comparatively shows the highest annual growth rate of about 9% for both the decades. The density figures are low because a large part of this ward consists of rocky terrain and this makes both accessibility and inhabitation difficult. The growth rate is because of several reasons. They are:

- a) Erragadda and Yusufguda are fast growing residential suburbs catering to the housing needs of the industrial areas of Sanathnagar and Fatehnagar.
- b) Banjara hills and parts of Jubilee hills have become the residential areas for upper class people.
- e) Tolichowki and Shaikpet areas have seen a spurt in middle class residential colonies because of availability of cheap land at the periphery of the city.

2) Ward 12 consisting of the areas of Asafnagar, Mehdipatnam and Old Mallepally shows an average density of 41 and 72 persons for 1971 and 1981 respectively and also shows a high annual growth of 6% for both the decades. Population growth has taken place due to two reasons. One, Mehdipatnam area has a lot of vacant land around its periphery and with the inner-ring road passing around it has become a growing middle class residential area. Secondly, both Asafnagar and Mallepally have large population of lower-middle class muslim households, whose number has grown due to the migration of people from the old city areas because of frequent communal tensions and congestion.

3) Ward 19 comprising the Chandrayangutta, Barkas, Jahanuma, Falaknuma and Bhadurpura area shows a low density of 15 and 26 persons per acre for 1971 and 1981 respectively but a high growth rate of about 6% for both the decades. These wards have a low density because of inaccessible terrain but show a high growth rate because of two reasons. One, the Chandrayangutta area has a huge CRPF cantonment around which a settlement area has grown. Secondly, Jahanuma, Falaknuma and Bhadurpura attract the spill-over of population from the highly congested walled city areas.

4) Ward 7 comprising of Ameerpet, Sanjeev Reddy Nagar, Vengal Rao Nagar, shows an increasing density of 50 persons per acre in 1981 from 31 persons in 1971 and 7 persons in 1961. It also showed a very high annual growth rate of about 17% for 1971 and a moderately high rate of 5% for 1981. This may be explained by the fact that Sanathnagar and Sanjeev Reddy Nagar have become major residential settlements for the work forces of the Kukatpally, Balanagar and Sanathnagar industrial area and Ameerpet is a growing commercial area. The Housing Board has also undertaken huge projects in these areas. The 17% annual growth rate during 1961 to 1971 (increase in population from 6,870 in 1961 to 32,283 in 1971) probably occurred because thirteen large and medium scale industries came up during the decade 1961-71 (see Table 11).

TABLE - 11

Location of Large and Medium Scale Industries and their Year of Establishment.

Location	Type of Industry	Year of Establishment					
		Before 1941	1941-1950	1951-1960	1961-1970	1971-1980	After 1980
Moula Ali Uppal, Nacharam, Ghatkesar, Cherlapalli	Food and Agro processing industry		2		4	4	1
	Drugs & Pharmaceuticals				1	2	
	Engineering Industries				7	9	3
	Textile Industries				1		
	Chemical & Allied Industries			1		8	
	Electrical Industries				4	3	
	Total	-	2	1	17	26	4
Balanagar, Sanathnagar, Kukatpally, Fatehnagar, Qutubullapur, Jeedimetla.	Food and Agro Industries				1		
	Drugs & Pharmaceuticals			1	3		1
	Textile Industries					1	
	Engineering Industries			1			
	Chemical and Allied Industries				3	4	1
	Electrical Industries				2		
	Mineral Industries, Paper and Pulp Industries.		1				1
	Total	-	1	2	13	7	10

Contd.

Table 11 contd.

Location	Type of Industry	Year of Establishment				
		Before 1941	1941- 1950	1951- 1960	1961- 1970	1971- 1980
Ramachandra- puram, Patancheruvu, Muthangi, Isnapur, Bollarum (Narsapoor), Chilkul village, Kothur.	Food & Agro Indus.					1
	Leather Indus.					1
	Chemical & Allied Indus.					6
	Paper Pulp Indus.					1
	Electrical & Electronic Indus.				1	4
	Drugs & Pharma- ceuticals					2
	Cement Industries					1
	Engineering Indus.					9
	Textile Indus.					1
	Total				1	26
Gachibowli, Lingampalli, (Old Bombay Road)	Drugs & Pharma- ceuticals					1
	Leather Indus.					1
	Engineering Indus.				1	1
	Electrical Indus.					1
	Total				1	3
Shamshabad	Food Processing Industries					2
Kanchanbagh	Engineering Indus.					2
Gandhipet	Engineering Indus.					1
Hayatnagar	Textile Indus.					1
Azamabad	Food & Agro Indus.	1			2	
	Drugs & Pharma- ceuticals			1	1	
Towli Chowki	Chemical Indus.				1	

The wards which show average growth in population are (1) ward 9 which comprises of Lungerhouse, Shaikpet and Golconda Fort areas and showed an annual growth of about 8% in 1971 and 4% in 1981. The population growth in this area occurred mainly because of the huge military cantonments established here. (2) Ward 13 consisting of Seetarambagh, Mangalhat, Carvan areas. This ward showed growth rates of about 5% for both decades, a rise mainly because of further intensification of lower class housing activity. (3) Ward 2 comprising of Nallakunta, Vidyanagar and Amberpet areas. This ward showed annual growth of 7% in 1971 and 4% in 1981. These areas have high growth potential, having vacant lands around and being situated near Osmania University. This ward is also in the close proximity of the developed regions of Musheerabad, Barkatpura and Narayanguda areas and hence attracts residential settlements. (4) Ward 16 is a large ward comprising of both old and new residential area. While old Malakpet, Azampura, Osmanpura, outside Dabirpura and Kattalguda constitute the old residential areas; Saidabad colony, Chanchalguda, Dilsukhnagar, Andhra Bank colony, LIC colony, New Malakpet and Gaddi Annaram are the newly formed residential colonies which have attracted a large number of Andhra migrants to settle down near the Vijayawada highway.

5) Ward 18 carved out of Chatrinaka, outside Gowlipura and Aliabad areas. This ward had a population density of 46 persons per acre in 1971 and 66 persons in 1981. It had a growth rate

of about 4% for both the decades. Population growth has taken place in these areas because of spill over of population from the congested walled city areas and also because of the illegal squatter settlements which have come up in the Mirjumla Tank area.

6) Ward 10 in which the main settlement areas are Masab Tank, Humayunnagar, Vijayanagar colony and Shantinagar. These areas have a population density of 85 persons per acre for 1981 and showed a growth rate of 6% for 1971 and 3% for 1981. The settlement came up mainly because of the massive housing project undertaken by Andhra Pradesh Housing Board in the late 60's there being one of its initial projects.

The wards which show stagnation in population growth or even negative growth rates and outmigration can also be classified into several categories:

a) Stagnation around the Central Business District:

Wards 4 and 5 which contain the Central Business District areas of Kothi, Bank Street, Abids, Mozamjahi Market, Gowliguda, Basheerbagh and Nampally show very low annual growth rates of 0.85% and 0.35% respectively. This brings out clearly that with increasing intensification of commercial and service sector activities in the C.B.D. housing and residential activities are getting a lower priority. This is the general trend in



any growing metropolis. Similarly ward 3 which has growing commercial centres around Kachiguda, Nimboliadda, Himayatnagar and Narayanguda shows poor growth rate of 2.4% for 1971 and 0.85% for 1981.

b) Outmigration from the wholesale market areas;

The negative growth trends of 0.09% in 1971 and 0.34% in 1981 for ward 15 which consists of the wholesale market area of Osmangunj, Begum Bazaar, Afzalgunj and Feelkhana is because these areas are not congenial for residential purposes. Frequent traffic jams, pollution, congestion and accumulation of filth have become health hazards for the residents.

c) Poor growth rates in the highly congested old city areas:

The walled city areas of wards 20, 21, 22 and 23 and consisting of Puranapul, Kabuther Khana, Hussaini Alam, Changi Bazaar, Moghalpura, Yakutpura, Sultan Shahi, Noorkhan Bazaar, and other old city areas like ward 14 comprising of Dhoolpet and Kamatipura show very high population densities ranging from 170 persons to about 200 persons per acre but show very poor annual growth rates ranging from 0.7% to about 2%. This happens because these areas have narrow lanes and densely packed houses built during a certain era and at a certain level of development of technology. These areas are already highly congested and cannot accommodate further residential development.

**Growth in the Secunderabad Municipal Division:**

The growth trends which we found in Hyderabad continues in the Secunderabad Municipal division too. Here most of the wards have a small area and are very compactly built with a dense commercial core. Therefore growth rates are negligible excepting for those wards which lie on the periphery and have larger areas or Railway colonies. Our point gets substantiated when we have a look at the data.

There are four wards (2,3,7 and 8) which lie on either sides of the commercial core or the C.B.D. in Secunderabad. This commercial core is a very important wholesale and retail centre and supplements some of the functions of the C.B.D. of Hyderabad. This business area of Secunderabad is concentrated around the streets of General Bazaar, Market Street, Tobacco Bazaar, Rashtrapathi Road, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Sarojini Devi Road and Sardar Patel Road. Each of these streets has certain specialised commodities to offer.

In the very narrow streets of General Bazaar are shops dealing with marchandize like textiles, leather goods, brass, copper and stainless steel utensils, gold and silver jewellery, vegetables and groceries, hardware, electrical goods, stationery, etc.

On Subash Road are found the wholesale cum retail dealers in bicycles as well as bangle shops. Sandwiched between them is the Tobacco Bazaar which is the largest wholesale textile market in Andhra Pradesh. Market street towards Secunderabad railway station has the wholesale and retail market for vegetables and other agricultural commodities.

On Mahatma Gandhi Road, Rashtrapathi Road, Sardar Patel Road are found the show rooms and regional offices of several local, state, national and international manufacturing industries and distributors of major motion pictures, automobiles, heavy and light engineering goods.<sup>1</sup>

This intensification of commercial activities in these four wards (2,3,7 and 8) has caused outmigration because these wards have very high population densities (ward 4 has the highest density within the twin cities of 255 persons per acre) and the invasion of commercial establishments has put a heavy overload on the already fragile infrastructural facilities like water, electricity, sewerage, etc. Secondly, land values have shot up and led to increasing rents. This has forced tenants to move out from these areas.

A detailed breakdown of each of these four wards has been given below.

Ward 2 has an area of only 79 acres and density of 145 persons per acre for 1981. It showed an annual growth rate of 1.28% for 1971 and -0.13% for 1981. This ward consists of Mahatma Gandhi Road, General Bazaar, Tobacco Bazaar, Pan Bazaar, Ramgopalpet area. Ward 3 has an area of 42 acres, density of 183 persons for 1981 and growth rates of 0.79% for 1971 and -0.39% for 1981. It comprises of Sarojinidevi Road, Rangrej Bazaar, General Bazaar, Tobacco Bazaar, Gunj Bazaar, Imambowli. Ward 4 has an area of 31 acres, a density of 255 persons per acre for 1981 and growth rates of -0.36% for 1971 and -1.04% for 1981 and comprises of Old Bhoiguda, Rashtrapathi Road, Ganj Bazaar. Similarly ward 7 has an density of 201 persons per acre and a growth rate of -0.12% for 71 and 0.16% for 1981 and ward 8 has a density of 210 persons and a growth rate of 0.11% for 1981. These two wards enclose Upper guda, Station Road, Chetri Bazaar, Ghasmandi, Imambowli, Kandaswami Street and Second Bazaar.

Wards which have a relatively higher growth rate are ward 1,6,10,11 and 12.

Ward 1 which has the largest area of 1707 acres within the Secunderabad Municipal division consists of Sardar Patel Road, Park Lane, Begumpet, Prakashnagar, etc. This ward has an annual growth rate of about 3% mainly because Begumpet is one of the main residential areas for both upper class and the middle class families and the A.P. Housing Board has under-

taken a few housing colonies there. Prakash Nagar is also a growing middle class housing area. Ward 6 had an annual growth rate of 4% for 1971 and 2.3% for 1981. This ward comprises Padmarao Nagar, New Bhoiguda, Zamistanpur, Bansilalpet, these being growing middle class areas.

Ward 10 has a moderately high growth rate because Mareddipally is one of the major residential areas in Secunderabad for both the upper and middle class. Then the Railway colony established in this ward has more than a few thousand households. Similarly wards 11 and 12 have a high growth rate of about 7% and 5% respectively because Chilakalguda, Lalapet, Lalaguda village, Mettuguda, Seethaphaimandi have a large number of middle and lower class settlers and a huge Railway colony has also come up here.

This analysis of census data can be corroborated by analysing the population growth in the Municipal area at the level of planning divisions. The thirty five wards in the Hyderabad Municipal area (23 wards of Hyderabad division and 12 wards of Secunderabad) have been constituted into eleven planning divisions by the HUDA. The method used here has been taken from a HUDA project which analysed data till 1971.<sup>2</sup> The data for 1981 used here was made available by the HUDA.

In order to study the growth, stability and decaying pattern of the planning divisions, the project worked out the

TABLE - 10 A

## Population Distribution and Growth in Planning Divisions

Planning Division (Important area)	POPULATION		Decadal growth rate (in percentage) 1961-71	Decadal growth rate (in percentage) 1971-81	Contri- bution (in percentage)
	1961	1971	1981		
I Secunderabad area	1,25,588 (11.29)	1,53,099 (9.52)	2,38,149 (11.0)	21.91	55.55
II Osmania University area	34,027 (3.06)	60,624 (3.77)	86,181 (4.00)	78.16	42.16
III Musheerabad and Himayatnagar area	1,51,791 (13.65)	2,44,849 (15.23)	3,43,524 (15.97)	61.31	40.30
IV Sanathnagar area	36,754 (3.30)	90,550 (5.63)	1,62,010 (7.53)	146.37	78.92
V Banjara Hills area	10,647 (0.95)	19,168 (1.19)	41,810 (1.94)	80.03	118.12
VI Golconda and Karwan area	1,77,256 (15.94)	2,73,329 (17.00)	3,63,462 (16.90)	54.20	32.98
VII Abids, Kothi and Nampally area	2,21,947 (19.95)	2,51,243 (15.63)	2,65,972 (12.37)	13.20	5.86

Table 10 A contd.

Planning Division (Important area)	POPULATION		Decadal growth rate (in percentage) 1961-71	Decadal growth rate (in percentage) 1971-81	Contribution (in percentage)
	1961	1971			
VIII Saroornagar	11,034 (0.99)	14,943 (0.92)	17,659 (0.82)	35.43	18.18
IX Malakpet and Saidabad	75,983 (6.83)	1,26,929 (7.89)	2,00,146 (9.30)	67.05	57.68
X Walled city area	2,65,195 (23.84)	3,69,992 (23.01)	4,22,410 (19.64)	39.52	14.17
XI Falaknuma Chandrayangutta	1,757 (0.15)	2,670 (0.16)	8,735 (0.40)	51.96	227.15
Total	11,11,981 (100)	16,07,396 (100)	21,50,058 (100)	44.55	33.76
					100.00

Notes: 1. Figures in parenthesis under 'Population' column represent percentage shares.

2. Contribution: Ratio of the variation in the size of the population of the planning division during 1971-81 to that of the total city.

Source: HUDA

percentage contribution of each division to the total growth in population during the decade 1961-71 and then compared this percentage contribution to its percentage share in the total population. Under the assumption of homogeneous birth and death rates of natural increment, the division which exhibits higher contribution than its share may be identified as 'pull' area, while the divisions which show the reverse phenomenon may be accordingly be called as 'push' divisions. The remaining type of divisions may be called as 'stable' or 'semistable'. Using this method the eleven planning divisions of the city were classified into three categories as follows:

<b>PUSH</b>	<b>VII, X</b>
<b>PULL</b>	<b>I, IV, V, IX</b>
<b>STABLE OR SEMI-STABLE</b>	<b>II, III, XI, VI, VIII</b>

The above classification shows that Abids, Kothi and the walled city areas seem to inhibit further population growth. On the other hand Sanathnagar, Secunderabad, Banjara Hills, Malakpet and Saidabad are strong growth centres attracting human settlements. The rest of the divisions show stable patterns. This data further strengthens the ward-wise analysis which we had done previously.



### **Growth in Urban Agglomeration Areas:**

The second level at which we have analysed the data for this thesis involves analysing the growth pattern in the Urban Agglomeration area (excluding the MCH area). These areas are mostly outgrowths from the main city and their growth rates are pointers to the directions in which the city is growing and the spatial pattern this growth will take. Most of the recent industrial developments have taken place in these agglomeration units making them appear as 'industrial suburbs'. One difficulty in identifying the built up areas of each unit separately lies in them being contiguous developments, rather than separate units.

Some of the features of these areas are:<sup>3</sup>

1. They have very low density of population as compared to the density in the city areas.
2. Their physical growth is continuous with the city and there is no gap in the form of vacant land or green strip in between the city limit and the agglomeration units.
3. They have complete dependence on the city for social and physical infrastructure like high schools, hospitals, colleges, etc.
4. Indiscriminate location of industrial units in these agglomeration areas have to a large extent rendered valuable land unusable for both human habitation or agricultural use by polluting the air and water.

5. Another notable feature of these agglomeration units, is the 'ribbon development along the highway. This type of development' leaves a lot of land slightly away from these arteries undeveloped. This kind of partial and rigid development also gives rise to considerable problem when attempts to reorganise them are made, specially because these units are spread outside the MCH limit in a scattered manner.

The urban agglomeration units can be divided into four groups taking into consideration their location and function. The four groups are:

- 1) Group A Kukatpally, Balanagar, Fatehnagar, Qutubullapur, Moosapet.
- 2) Group B Malkajgiri, Alwal, Lalaguda, Macha Bolaram, Yaprall, Kapra, Secunderabad Cantonment.
- 3) Group C Osmania University, Uppal Khalsa O.G. Ramanthapur Khalsa, O.G.
- 4) Group D Saroonagar O.G.

~~Group A:~~

This group of urban agglomeration units is situated at the north-western side of the city and is a continuation of the Sanathnagar industrial area which lies within the MCH Limits. This group has a number of important and sophisticated industrial units like IDPL, HMT, IDL, located here. A number of residential townships have also come up but are scattered around. This sort of mixed development leaves large tracks of potentially developable land underdeveloped.

All the agglomeration units in this group are industrial suburbs. The growth of heavy and medium scale industrial units in this group is as follows: Before 1960 there were no large or medium scale industrial units, between 1961-70 about 7 industries came up, between 1971-80 about 5 and after 1981, 3 more industries have come up. Among these agglomeration units, Qutubulapur shows the highest population growth rate of 34% for the decade 1971-81 compared to only 2% growth it had shown in the previous decade. This growth has occurred because of the drug and machinery producing factories which came up here and has led to the phenomenal increase of population from 1,271 in 1971 to 24,002 in 1981. All the other agglomeration units, except for Fatehnagar have also shown a steady rate in the growth of population. Fatehnagar showed a decline in population in 1971 resulting in a negative growth rate of -4.2%. But again there has been an increase in population as shown by the 1981 census figures and a growth rate of 10.7%. A plausible explanation for the decrease in population in the decade 1961-71 is that the inhabitants had outmigrated to the other agglomeration units, there being no industries around here during that period. The population again increased from 1971 onwards after a few industries were set up here, but mainly because of the massive housing scheme undertaken by the Andhra Pradesh Housing Board.

One can safely predict that this group of agglomeration units lying on national highway No.7, the Bombay route and

having a broad gauge railway tract passing through it will continue to grow in the north-western direction till it engulfs the Ramachandrapuram - Pattancheruvu industrial area. Already one can find ribbon development between Kukatpally and Ramachandrapuram all along the national highway. This type of ribbon development proves to be a great hindrance to any integrated development plan because although these areas have a high employment base, they lack commensurate social and physical infrastructure like housing, educational and health facilities and have to depend completely on the main city for such facilities.

#### Group B

This group consists of Malkajgiri, Alwal, Lalaguda, Macha Bolaram, Yaprul, Kapra, Secunderabad Cantonment and Bowenpalle.

The Secunderabad Cantonment is sprawled over a large area of about 9,926 acres and being an area earmarked for defence personnel and their barracks has a low growth of 3.7%. Alwal, Bolaram and Bowenpalle are residential areas which are appendages to the Secunderabad Cantonment area. Many of the inhabitants of this area are workers in the nearby industrial units. The growth of heavy and medium scale industries in this area is as follows: between 1941-50 there was one industry, 1951-61 one more was established, between 1961-70 eleven were established; between 1971-80 twenty more came up and from 1981 onwards about eight new heavy and medium industries have been established.

The important industrial units in this area are ECL, NFC, Hindustan Cables, etc. These are concentrated around Malkajgiri, Nacharam, Moula Ali and Kapra areas. Kapra has been notified as a town in 1981 and shows a very high growth rate of 12.4% for the decade 1971-81.

Yapral is a residential suburb with large tracts of agricultural land which had been declassified from being a town in 1961 because of migration of population from here to other areas but has been declared a town in 1981 census because of a 12.2% annual growth in its population caused probably because of its proximity to the Kapra industrial area. Lalaguda has a lot of Railway workshops being the locomotive repair centre right from the time of the British. It had shown a high growth rate of 11% in 1971 probably because of the setting of railway colonies and presently has an average growth of about 4%. Malkajgiri had a growth rate of 6.3% in 1971 and had 2.6% growth rate for 1981. The high growth rates in these urban agglomeration units shows that the city is growing in the north-eastern direction. But this direction of growth may turn towards the northern direction i.e., towards Medchal along the National Highway No.9 going towards Nagpur and may even turn eastwards towards Ghatkeswar along the state highway going towards Ghatkeswar. The Kapra Urban Agglomeration unit is quite close to Ghatkeswar and in future if any major road is built connecting these two places, the growth of the city will spread

towards this direction because both the state highway (having the highest density of traffic among all the major highways) and the broad gauge railway line going Kazipet travel parallel to each other through the Ghatkeswar area.

The Group B urban agglomeration units also have the additional advantage of the meter gauge railway line passing through this area. This suburban railway line connects this industrial area to all the residential areas lying on the eastern side specially the highly populated southern half of the city. Thus transportation of the work force need not be an additional problem.

#### Group C:

This group of urban agglomeration units consist of Osmania University, Ramanthapur Khala O.G. and Uppal Khal O.G. These units though contiguous to the Group B units are grouped separately because this area consists of educational and research institutes and their growth is also towards the eastern direction. The Osmania University area showed a low growth rate of 0.7% for 1971 but shows a high growth rate of 8% for 1981. This is probably because of research institutes like Regional Research Laboratories, National Institute of Nutrition, Survey of India and also because of development of commercial and residential areas around Tarnaka.

The Ramachandrapuram Khalsa O.G. showed an annual growth rate of 6.4% for 1971 and 24% for 1981, while the Uppal Khalsa O.G. showed a growth rate of 4% for 1971 and 5.3% for 1981. These areas which fall under the jurisdiction of the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad have been recently made part of the Hyderabad Urban Agglomeration in the 1981 census. These areas show high growth rates because of the establishment of educational institutes here like Ramanthapur Public School, Little Flower Junior College, Central Schools and the Survey of India Schools. Another reason is the setting up of factories along the Uppal road which is the state highway leading to Warangal. Several oil mills, cigarette factory like Navabharat tobacco, biscuit factory like Ampro, textile mills, chemical factories like Sankyo Co., have come up on this road leading towards Ghatkeswar. Several housing cooperative societies have already come up on this road and in future a ribbon development may connect this group to Ghatkeswar.

#### Group D

There is only one urban agglomeration unit in this group and it is the Saroornagar out growth to Hyderabad city. This area shows an annual growth rate of 4% for the decade 1961-71 and a very high growth rate of 10% for the decade 1971-81. This area has tremendous growth potential being located on the National Highway No.9 leading towards Vijayawada. The unique

feature of this growth in the south-eastern direction is that unlike in other areas where the impulse for growth comes from the setting up of industrial units, the growth is entirely due to the residential colonies built by HUDA, Banks, Government offices and private cooperative agencies. An Autonagar has already been set up near Hayatnagar and a wholesale fruit market has come up recently in Kothapet Gaddi Annaram which has been made a part of the urban component of Hyderabad district in 1981 having a population of 9,693. By the next census, Kothapet with a population of 5,827 may be made a urban agglomeration unit of the Hyderabad city.

At the second level of analysis i.e., at the level of the urban agglomeration, we find that the city seems to growing strongly in three directions, i.e., at the north-west direction, north-east direction and the south-east direction and chances of this growth turning towards north, i.e., towards Medchal and towards east i.e., Ghatkeswar is also quite strong is adequate infrastructure is possible. This growth has been in the form of urban appendage to the main city, most of them being industrial suburbs, except for Saroornagar and Ramanthapur outgrowths, which are residential in character. Manzoor Alam in an earlier study of the Metropolitan region of Hyderabad states that the total built up area has increased by 194%. But this development has been erratic, varying from 48% in Mirjumla direction to a 678% increase in built up area towards Sanathnagar,

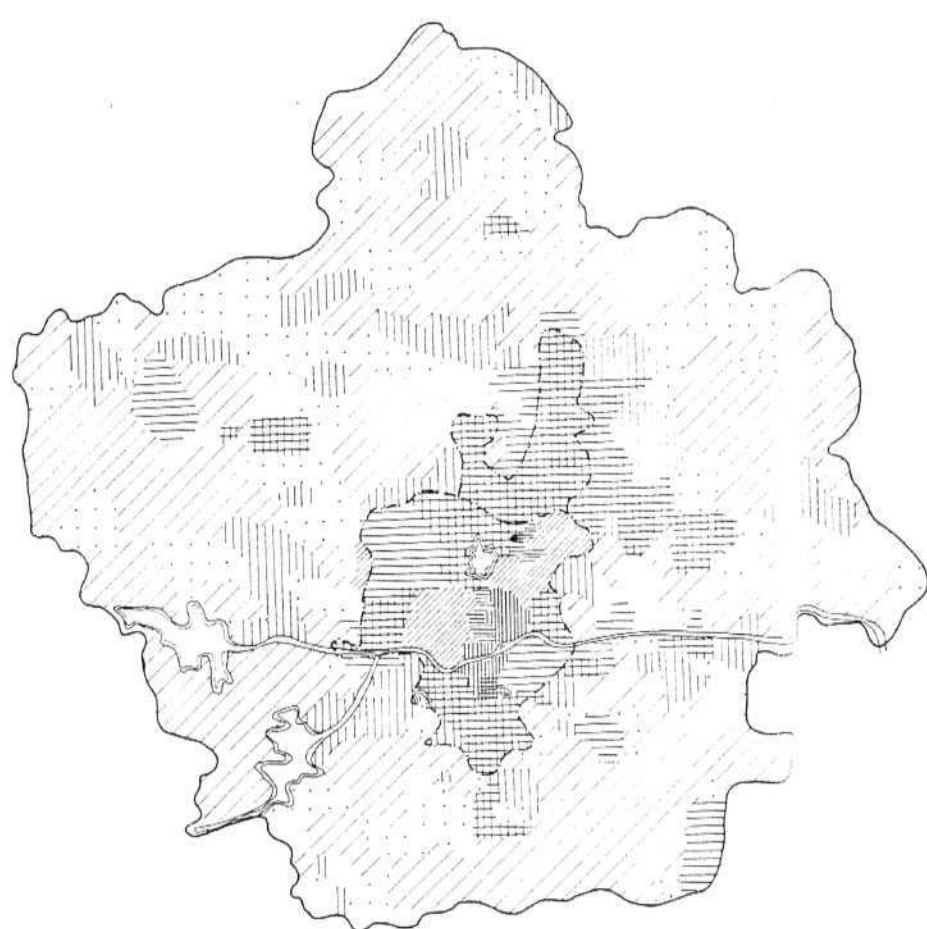


Kukatpally direction between 1936 to 1964.<sup>4</sup> The percentage built up area was not pronounced in the north-west and north-east direction and negligible in the periphery of the historic core.

Alam also made an inter sectoral study of the increase in built up area by dividing the city into eight sectors: Sanathnagar, Secunderabad Cantonment, Moula Ali, Malakpet, Mirjumla, Falaknuma, Mirjumla and Golconda, these representing eight different directions. He found that inter sectorally the expansion of built up area along north-east, east and north western sectors most prominent extending up to 6 to 8 miles from the city centre, whereas in sectors south of city centre, the built up area excepting south western has not gone beyond 4 miles. He said that the eastern sectors though conspicuous for the absence beyond 4 miles is rapidly expanding. He felt that such axial growth was an unhealthy trend.

A matter of concern is the ribbon form of development which is taking place along the national highway. This form of tentacular growth leaves large tracts of land behind them underdeveloped and makes integrated land use planning difficult. Secondly these urban agglomeration units though having a potentially good base for further employment generation, lack the basic social infrastructural facilities and have to depend completely on the main city for them. This places further strain on the already over burdened resources of the city.



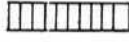

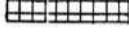
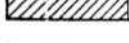

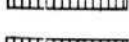


# METROPOLITAN REGION OF HYDERABAD, DENSITY, 1961.



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 SCALE:-1:2,00,000

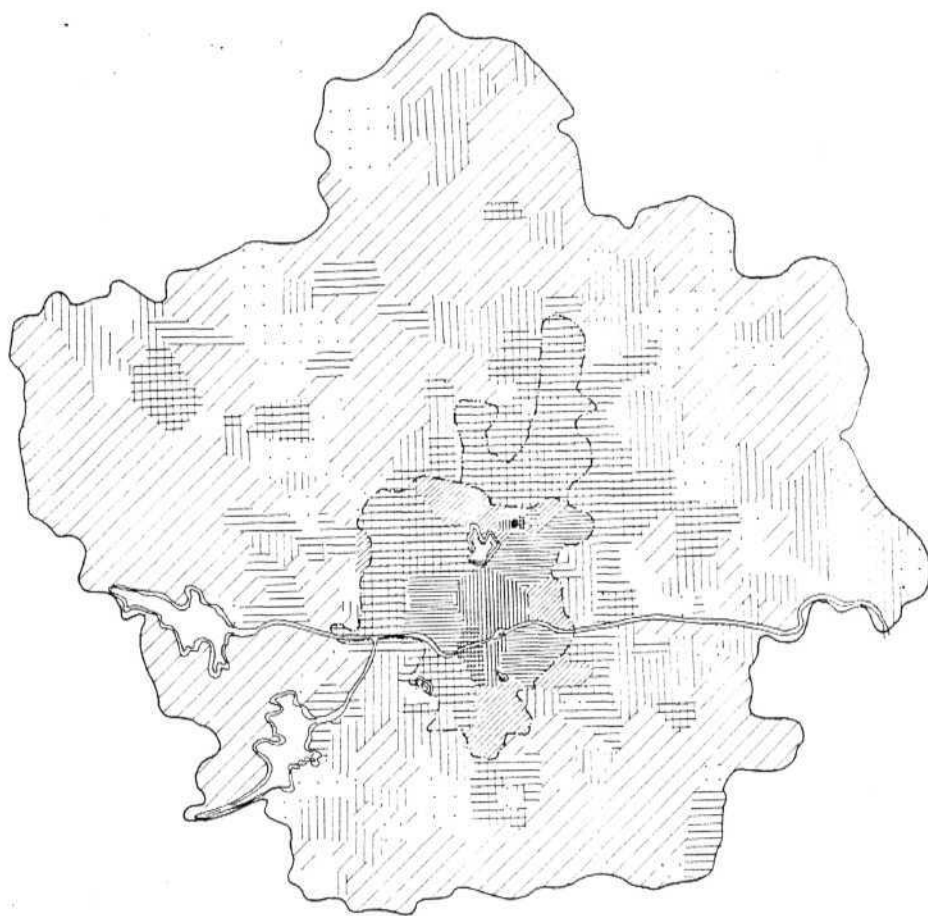
## LEGEND:

PERSONS PER SQ.KM. CENSUS

	0-100
	100-250
	250-500
	500-1000
	1000-5000
	5000-10,000
	10,000-20,000
	20,000-40,000
	40,000-60,000
	60,000 & Above

GUIDED by : KUSHAL DEB

# METROPOLITAN REGION OF HYDERABAD, DENSITY, 1971.



SCALE:— 1:2,00,000

## LEGEND :

PERSONS PER SQ.KM. CENSUS

	0 - 100
	100 - 250
	250 - 500
	500 - 1,000
	1,000 - 5,000
	5,000 - 10,000
	10,000 - 20,000
	20,000 - 40,000
	40,000 - 60,000
	60,000 & Above

GUIDED by : KUSHAL DEB

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# METROPOLITAN REGION OF HYDERABAD, DENSITY, 1981.



SCALE:- 1: 2,00,000

1971

1981

1961

## LEGEND

PERSONS PER SQ. KM CENSUS

	0-100
	100-250
	250-500
	500-1000
	1000-5000
	5000-10000
	10000-20000
	20000-40000
	40000-60000
	60000 & Above

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### **The Metropolitan Region of Hyderabad:**

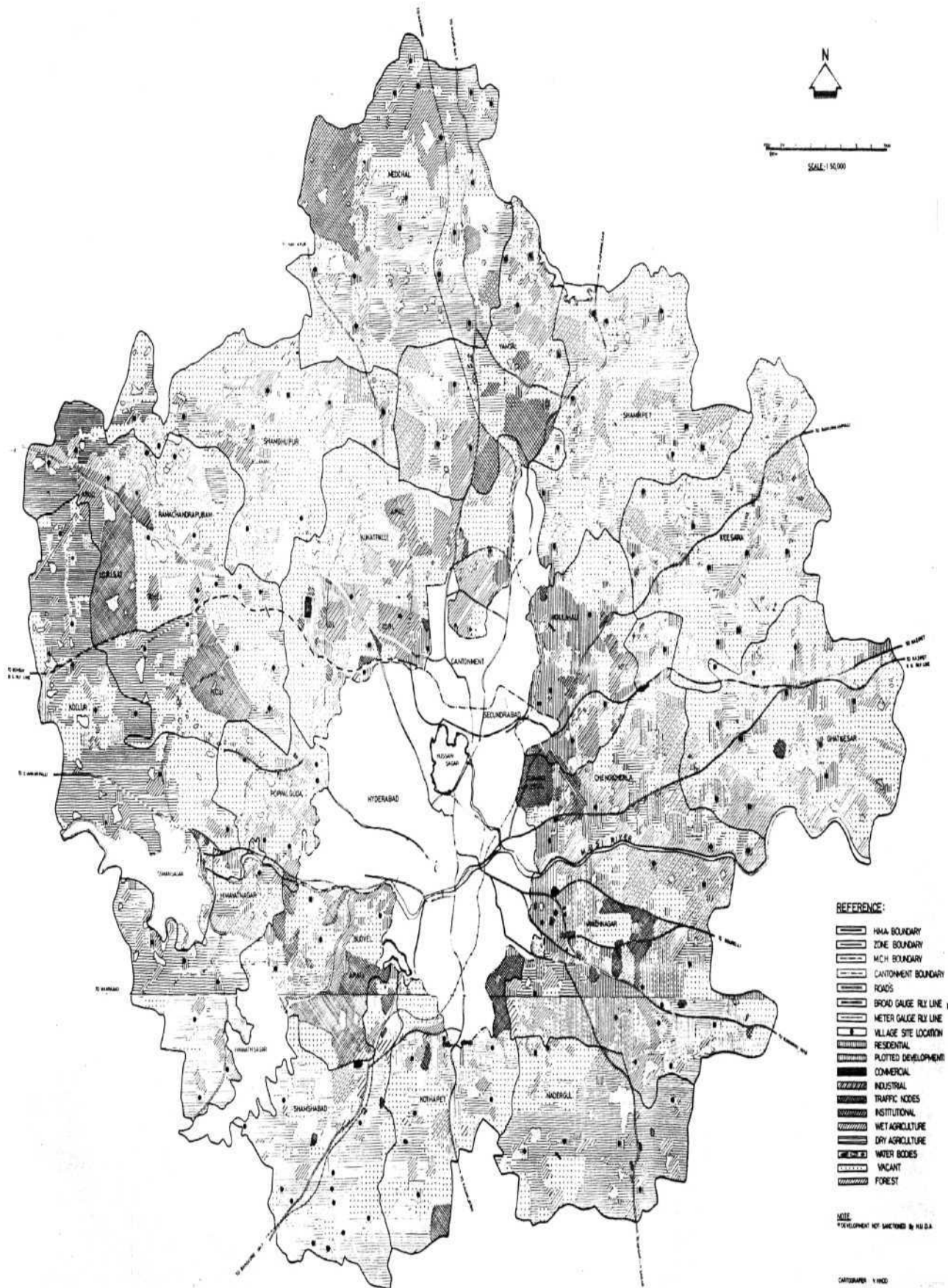
The third level at which the data has been analysed is at the level of the metropolitan region of Hyderabad i.e., the region that is directly dependent on the Hyderabad city for many of its needs and is also called the urban shadow area of the city. Analysis of the growth centres in this region becomes important because these will be nuclei for further growth when the city core gets congested and highly populated. Secondly analysis of the agglomeration units gave us an idea on the directions in which appendages or outgrowths from the city have come up and analysis of the metropolitan region may further strengthen some of the conclusions already reached and may add further dimensions.

The Hyderabad Urban Development Authorities have divided the Metropolitan region (excluding the MCH area) into eighteen planning zones each of which can be identified with a particular growth centre there.

Table IV shows that five zones, Kukatpally (4), Moula Ali (7), Hayatnagar (10), Kothapet (12) and Himayatnagar have experienced very high growth rates which Yamzal (2) Keesra (6), Shamshabad (13), Budvel (14), and Ramachandrapuram (18) have exhibited moderately high growth rates. On the other hand Medchal (1), Shamshapur (3), Changicherla (8), Nadergul (11) and Kollur (17) show low growth rates.

# HYDERABAD METROPOLITAN AREA

LAND USE  
1985



By looking at the contribution column, the planning zones have been divided into four categories as had been done with the MCH planning division data.

PULL	Kukatpally (4), Moula Ali (7), Hayatnagar (10).
SEMI-STABLE (upwards)	Himayatnagar (15), Ramachandrapuram (18).
SEMI-STABLE (downwards)	Kothapet (12), Shamshabad (13), Budvel (14).
PUSH	Medchal (1), Yamzal (2), Shambhupur (3), Shamirpet (5), Keesra (6), Changicherla (8), Ghatkesar (9), Nadergul (11), Popalguda (16), Kollur (17).

For further details, let us look at the land use pattern in these planning zones and also at the economic activity of the working population. Here 1976 data from the optimal Metropolitan Project is used as 1981 land use data for the planning zones have not been computed.<sup>5</sup>

The overall land use pattern of the Metropolitan Region shows that only 1.62% of the land is under residential use, 2.17% under agriculture, 4.2% under public and semi-public, 42% under agriculture and 42% of the land is vacant. Rest of the categories are negligible.

The zone-wise residential land use shows that zones containing the Urban Agglomeration units have a higher percentage

of the land under residential use compared to the other zones. Chengicherla, Hayatnagar, Kukatpally and Medchal have 7.52%, 3.25%, 2.30% and 2.06% respectively under residential use.

Planning zones having high percentage of land under agricultural use and consequently less of industrialization are Ghatkesar - 57.7%, Nadergul - 65.5%, Shamshabad 68%, Himayatnagar - 63.8% and Kolluru 62.2%.

About 3820 hectares of land has been classified as industrial in the metropolitan region of Hyderabad, of which 2143 hectares falls in the Ramachandrapuram, Pattancheruvu area. This means that more than 56% of the industrial area is concentrated in this zone, while another 27% in the Kukatpally zone and Moula Ali and Chengicherla have 7% each. Rest of the zones hardly have any industrial units except for Ghatkesar which has the Brooke Bond factory and hence about 1.9% under industrial use.

Industrialization is the lever to urbanization and other connected economic development and hence analysis of the economic activities of the working population will also give an estimate of the growth of different zones.

The optimal Metropolitan Project report states that there is a lopsided pattern in the distribution of economic activity. Only five planning zones (Kukatpally, Moula Ali,



**Chengicherla**, Hayatnagar and Ramachandrapuram) account for as much as 48% of the total working population. Little more than three fourth of manufacturing activity is concentrated in five planning zones - Kukatpally, Ramachandrapuram, Moula Ali, Chengicherla and Ghatkesar. Apart from three zones, Budvel (with a complex of educational and research institutions in Rajendra Nagar like A.P. Agricultural University) and Hayatnagar show a substantial concentration of service sector employment.

From all the analysis done so far one finds that there are five growth points in five different directions of the city. These urban zones are Medchal, Ghatkesar, Ramachandrapuram, Shamshabad and Hayatnagar, with the rest of the planning zones being agglomerated around these zones. The five groups<sup>6</sup> are:

Group 1 Medchal (1), Yamzal (2), Shambhupur (3) and Shamirpet (5).

Group 2 Ghatkesar (9), Moula Ali (7), Keesara (6) and Chengicherla (8).

Group 3 Hayatnagar (10), Nadergul (11) and Kothapet (12).

Group 4 Shamshabad (13), Budvel (14) and Himayatnagar (15).

Group 5 Ramachandrapuram (18), Kukatpally (4), Popalguda (16) and Kollur (17).

While discussing the directions of growth of the city at the level of urban agglomeration, we have already stated the trend in the north-west direction (Ramachandrapuram), north or north eastern direction (Medchal), eastern direction (Ghatkesar) and south eastern direction (Hayatnagar).

TABLE - 10 B

## Planning Zone-wise Population Distribution and Growth

Planning Zone (Important Settlement)	Population		Growth (in %)	Contri- bution (in %)
	1971	1981		
1. Medchal	22,989	30,457	32.48	2.60
2. Yamzal	12,162	19,098	57.03	2.42
3. Shambhupur	11,174	12,995	16.30	0.63
4. Kukatpally	64,520	1,32,837	105.88	23.81
5. Shamirpet	17,239	23,594	36.86	2.21
6. Keesra	11,900	17,759	49.23	2.04
7. Moula Ali	41,146	1,03,600	151.79	21.76
8. Chengicherla	23,703	30,578	29.0	2.39
9. Ghatkeswar	21,337	29,739	39.37	2.93
10. Hayatnagar	28,030	62,593	123.30	12.04
11. Nadergul	11,393	15,482	35.83	1.42
12. Kothapet	13,777	25,335	83.89	4.03
13. Shamsabad	16,040	27,683	72.59	4.06
14. Budvel	17,717	29,835	68.40	4.22
15. Himayatnagar	11,402	25,001	119.27	4.74
16. Popalguda	11,182	15,245	36.34	1.41
17. Kollur	14,685	18,644	26.96	1.38
18. Ramachandrapuram	38,101	54,326	42.58	5.65
	3,88,411	6,75,361		

Source : HU DA

Only the growth in the south western direction (Shamshabad) had not been mentioned. This was because there were no urban agglomeration units in this direction.

Shamshabad is located on the Hyderabad-Bangalore meter gauge line and the National Highway No.7 towards Bangalore also touches it. It is an important marketing centre for the agricultural produce of the peripheral regions.

The development of the Agricultural University at Rajendra Nagar will soon make Budvel a unit of the Hyderabad Agglomeration use. Budvel which has been notified as a town in the 1981 census has a population of 8,038 while Shamshabad has a population of 11,172.

Now within the growth in five directions, one finds that although considerable growth has taken place in the north eastern direction i.e., towards Medchal and also in the eastern direction i.e., towards Ghatkesar, both Medchal and Ghatkesar lack the necessary physical and social infrastructure needed for a growth centre. Neither of them have the secondary nor the tertiary sector economic base necessary for city growth. Added to that is the non-availability of piped water supply.

On the other hand the Ramachandrapuram-Pattancheruvu urban node has none of these problems. Being situated on the National Highway going to Bombay and also having the broad gauge railway line passing through it, it has attracted a large

number of industries and research industries. Before 1970 there was only one heavy industry located here i.e., BHEL set up in 1966. During 1971-80 about 26 new industries came up and after 1981 till now about 48 new heavy of medium scale industries have come up. The BHEL has a capital investment of 4506 lakhs and employees about 8678 people. ICRISAT and the Central University are situated nearby. Some of the industrial units have their own townships. Water supply is also not a problem as the main pipeline from Manjeera water works passes through it.

But what seems discomfoting is the fact that the industrial growth seems to have the best potential in the north-western direction, while the residential colonies and suburbs are coming up along the Vijayawada Highway in the south-eastern direction. Thus it looks as if these two growth processes will be pulling the city virtually in two antagonistic directions.

Another point which needs to be mentioned before concluding this chapter is the fact that the growth of the city in five different directions has been caused by major state intervention in these areas. The growth towards Moula Ali (north-east) and Ramachandrapuram (north-west) is because of the establishment of large public sector industries like ECIL, NFC and BHEL respectively. The high suburban growth of residential housing towards Hayatnagar (south-east) was initiated by HUDA's satellite townships of Vanasthalipuram while growth towards

Shamshabad (south-west) and Medchal (north) are mainly because of the establishment of an Agricultural University of Rajendra Nagar and Air Force base at Dundigal respectively. Therefore the analysis of trends in the growth of Hyderabad city brings out the fact which is being stressed in this thesis, that State intervention plays a major role in city growth in developing third world countries.

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2. Optimal Metropolitan Development of Hyderabad, a report financed by HUDA, 1979 and undertaken by the Indian Institute of Economics, Hyderabad.
3. Ibid, p.342-43.
4. S. Manzoor Alam and Waheeduddin Khan, Metropolitan Hyderabad and its Region, a strategy for development, Asia Publishing House, 1972, p.150.
5. Optimal Metropolitan Project, op.cit, pp.35-38.

## CHAPTER IV

### PUBLIC AUTHORITY AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

In the previous chapter we saw the rapid pace at which Hyderabad city expanded and engulfed the surrounding hinterland. While analysing the growth we found that the location of industries, availability of housing, infrastructural facilities like transport, electricity and water were the factors determining the emergence of human settlements. The availability of these facilities depends to a considerable extent on decisions taken by the Government.

Secondly we also found that the directions in which the city is growing is influenced to an extent by major State interventions like setting up massive public sector industries, establishing satellite townships, granting land for universities and defence establishments, etc.

This happens in most of the cities of the Third World countries where the State and its planning and development agencies control and influence urban growth through industrial location policy, welfare-weighted housing programmes, urban land ceiling act, land use plans and various other decisions.

This chapter looks into state intervention in the metropolitan city of Hyderabad and the role played by the various agencies. A broad inventory of the functions of various government departments and other organisations are given in Table 12. Of these agencies the role of Hyderabad Urban Development Authority



TABLE : 12

A Broad inventory of the functions of various Government departments and organisations and their jurisdiction in the Metropolitan Region of Hyderabad,

<u>FUNCTION</u>	<u>DEPARTMENT/ORGANISATION</u>	<u>JURISDICTION</u>
1. City Planning	1. HUDA	Metropolitan region of Hyderabad (MCH)
	2. MCH	MCH area
	3. QQSUDA	Old City area
	4. Director of Town Planning (cease to be after the Urban act at Hyderabad.)	State Wide
2. Urban Land Development and Disposal	1. HUDA	Metropolitan region of Hyderabad (MRH)
	2. A.P. Housing Board	State wide
	3. QQSUDA	Old City
	4. Pvt. Housing agencies	Local
3. Rural Land Conversion	1. District Revenue Administration	Revenue District.
4. Building Regulations, Zoning & Bye Laws	1. HUDA	MRH
	2. MCH	MCH area
	3. Indian Standard Institute (provides standard regulations and bye laws)	
5. Industries	1. Director of Industries	State wise
	2. A.P. Industrial Infrastructure Corpn •	State wide
	3. A.P. Small Scale Scale industries Dev. Corpn.	,,
	4. Industries Dev. Corporation	,,
	5. A.P.S. Financial Corpn.	,,

Source : HUDA

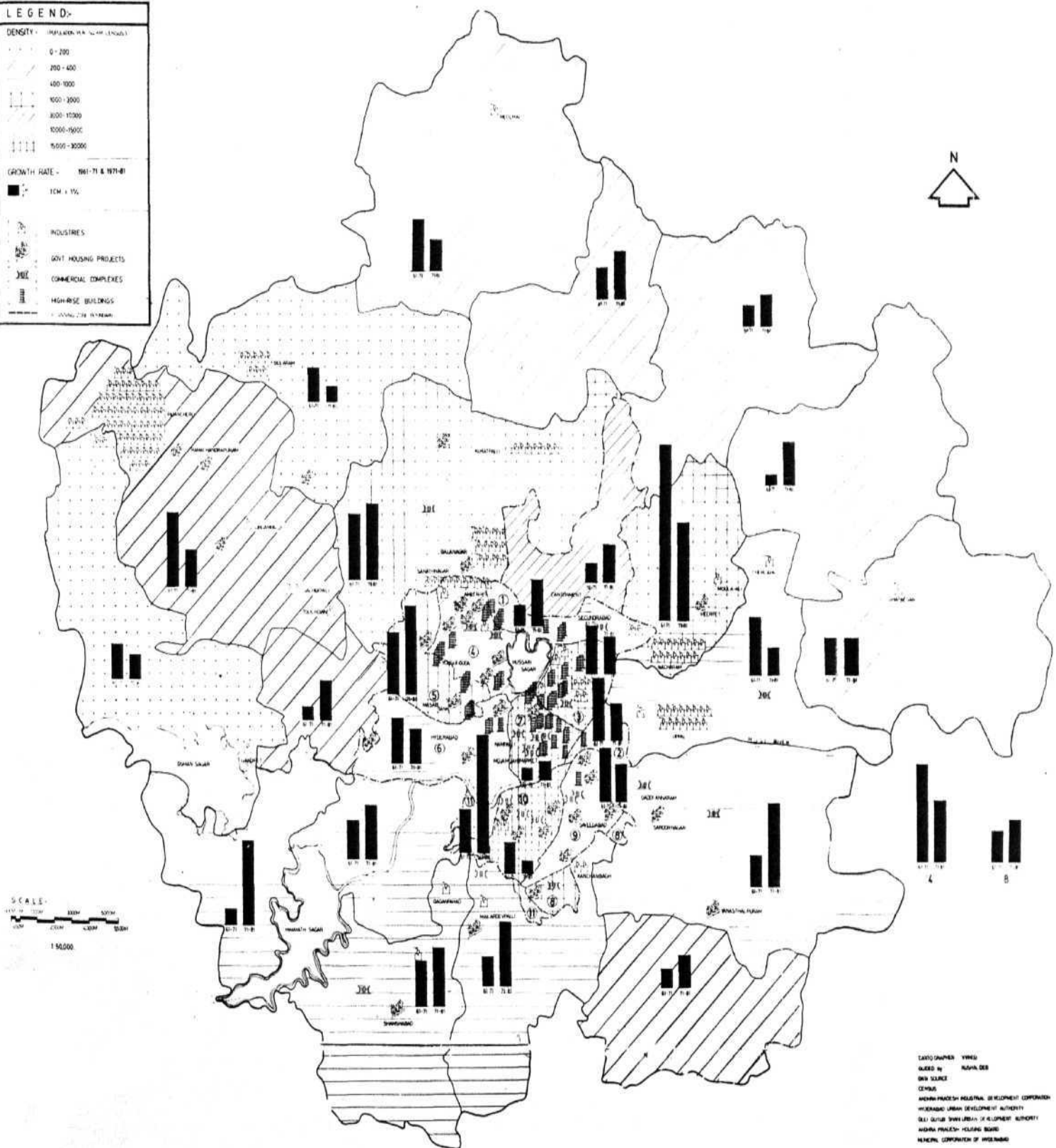
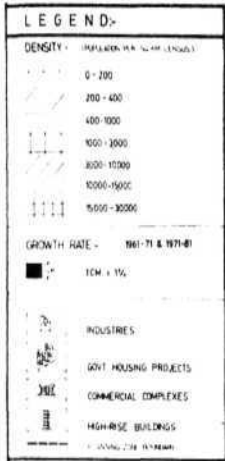
6.	Roads i) National & State Highways ii) Internal Roads	1. Roads & Building Department 1. MCH	State wide Municipal Area
7.	Slums (Improvement and Development)	1. MCH 2. HUDA 3. QQSUDA 4. A.P. Housing Board 5. Private Organisations (Lions Club, Rotary Club)	MCH area MRH Old city area Site wide Local
8.	Sewerage & Drainage sanitation	1. MCH 1. Hyd. Metro water works department	MCH area Metropolitan religion.
9.	Water Supply	2. State Public Health & Engg. Dept. 1. A.P. Housing Board	State wide State wide
10.	Housing	2. HUDA 3. QQSUDA 4. MCH 5. LIC 6. P.W.D. (R&B) 7. Voluntary Agencies	MRH Old city MCH area State wide Twin city area
11.	Education	1. Education Dept.	State wide
12.	Street lighting	1. A.P. S.Elec. Board 2. MCH	State wide MCH area
13.	Recreation Parks (Play ground)	1. MCH	MCH area
14.	Transport	1. A.P.S.R.T.C. 2. Railwas 3. Institutional Vehicles (BHEL, ECIL ETC.)	State side National Local

## :: 3 ::

15. Health, Maternity & Child Welfare	1. Director of Medical Health Service	State wide
	2. MCH	MCH area
16. Traffic Regulations	1. State Police Dept.	State wide
17. Zoological Garden Parks	1. A.P. State Forest Dept.	State wide
	2. Urban Forestry Dept.	MRH
	3. Horticulture Dept. (MCH)	MCH

# HYDERABAD METROPOLITAN AREA

**DENSITY, GROWTH RATE, INDUSTRIES, GOVERNMENT HOUSING PROJECTS AND COMMERCIAL COMPLEXES, HIGH-RISE BUILDINGS**



CREDIT GRANTED: YES  
 ORDER BY: RAJPA, DEB  
 DATA SOURCE:  
 CENSUS  
 ANDHRA PRADESH INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION  
 HYDERABAD URBAN DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY  
 GULI OUTLET SHOP URBAN DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY  
 ANDHRA PRADESH HOUSING BOARD  
 NATIONAL CORPORATION OF HYDROELECTRIC

(HUDA), Quli Qutub Shah Urban Development Authority (QQSUDA), Andhra Pradesh Housing Board (APHB) and Andhra Pradesh Industrial Infrastructure Corporation (APIIC) will be discussed in this chapter. These organisations are directly involved in development work in the metropolitan region and play an important role in shaping the growth of the city.

Before taking up the role of each of these agencies in the development of Hyderabad and assessing their performance in the control of the disorderly growth of the city, a clarification may be made about our conception of the State. We can analytically differentiate two components of the State operating in the urban sphere. One is the political component represented by the ruling political elite who have been democratically elected and the other in the bureaucratic component represented by the various bureaucratic planning and developmental agencies operating in the metropolis. The differentiation is important because the state does not intervene into the urban process as a single monolith. The ruling political elite are elected representatives of the people and in fact create the bureaucratic, planning and development agencies in order to control the chaotic development of the metropolis. These bureaucratic agencies are headed by professionals and technical experts who chalk out long term perspective plans for the development of the city and plan the provision of infrastructural facilities in a neutral and rational manner. There is a difference in the

very nature of these two components of State. While the political component intervenes in the urban sphere with an eye on its vote banks, often taking decisions reacting to pressures from various groups, the bureaucratic component especially the planning body takes decisions which are based on established principles of planning. Consequently, there is often a clash of ideas and interests between these two components of the State and also between the various bureaucratic agencies themselves, because each organisation is created by the political elite for a certain purpose. For example, while the Hyderabad Urban Development Authority had been formed in 1975 as a Planning agency which was to coordinate the developmental activities of all the organisations within the Metropolitan region of Hyderabad, the ruling political elite constituted another development agency called the Quli Qutub Shah Urban Development Authority in 1981 specially for the old city. This was done as a political move in order to placate the residents of the old city which was stricken with communal violence and was in the process of urban decay. Similarly while HUDA needs to have control over government land which comes within the metropolitan region, a proposal which has been accepted in principle by the ruling political elite, till today such land still remains under the control of the State Revenue Department. Evidently, the political elite is hesitant to hand over control over such a vital resource as urban land for this can be used to shower political largesse among various interest groups. Such a differentiation between

the two components of the State intervening in the urban sphere can be made at the national, state and local government level, although in this chapter we will concentrate on the role played by the State and local government.

With this differentiation in mind let us proceed with our description of the main planning and developmental agencies operating within the metropolitan region. This differentiation of the two components of the State would help to understand why planning has not been able to play a major role in controlling the growth of the city inspite of its best efforts.

## **I. The Hyderabad Urban Development Authority:**

### **1. Historical Beginning**

The Hyderabad Urban Development Authority (henceforth to be referred to as HUDA) was constituted by the Government of Andhra Pradesh on 2nd October, 1975 under the provision of the A.P. Urban Areas (Development) Act, 1975 and charged with the responsibility of planning, regulating and controlling the development within the metropolitan area and coordinating the activities of the various agencies responsible for development. The jurisdiction of the HUDA extends over an area of 600 sq.miles including 66 sq.miles of the city's Municipal limits.

Although HUDA was essentially formed to plan the growth

of Hyderabad city, there were other factors like the prevailing political situation in the State, directives from the Central Government under the Fifth Plan strategy which played a role in its formation.<sup>1</sup>

The State of Andhra Pradesh had been rocked by the Telangana movement in 1968 and later by the Andhra Separatist movement in 1972. The restoration of normal condition in the State followed a settlement between the Andhra and Telangana leaders, a settlement which was more or less imposed by the Government of India. A six point formula was worked out which provided for a number of measures which aimed to assuage the fears of the Andhra people, who felt like aliens in the capital city because of the protections given to Telangana employees and students here. Under the six point formula, a Central University of Hyderabad was established which was open to all sections and an Administrative Tribunal was formed to look into the grievances of the government employees. More important was the decision to set up a metropolitan development agency for the capital city which would plan the provision of various facilities for the people of both the regions. The Central Government decided to provide as much as 10 crores to facilitate the formation of the metropolitan development authority. We thus find that even the formation of a bureaucratic planning agency was expedited because of certain political consideration of the ruling political elite. The other reason which hastened the formation of HUDA was the



emphasis given in the Fifth Plan of the Central Government for the development of metropolitan cities and State capitals. The Integrated Urban Development Scheme (IUDP) undertaken by the Central Government aimed to cover the metropolitan cities of Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and other cities of one million and above. The Government of India in November 1975 informed the A.P. Government that specific financial help for metropolitan cities like Hyderabad would be available subject to the following conditions:<sup>2</sup>

1. The State Government should have an integrated plan for development of cities based on a long term master plan and should have specific projects which could be taken up for financing under this scheme. Financial assistance may include assistance in the form of seed capital for the purpose of land acquisition, development and disposal, for urban renewal and redevelopment projects and for provision of civic service-central area.
2. The State Government should plan comprehensive town and country planning acts providing for preparation and statutory approval of master plan, land use control and setting up of planning and development authorities.
3. The planning and development authorities should have adequate powers and statutory base for planning, coordinating, implementing, funding and supervising projects.

4. The State Government should adopt a rational urban land and housing policy which provided for optimum utilisation of land for various needs of the community and should particularly take into account the requirements of weaker sections of society. Such a policy should be integrated with the policy of a large scale housing programme to be undertaken by the Authority itself or by another agency created for this purpose.
5. The state government, particularly among those seeking assistance for metropolitan development should accept and adopt a policy of dispersal of industries and other economic activities from metropolitan areas to smaller growth centres and this policy should be given effect while preparing the development plan of cities, so that large industries are prevented from coming up in metropolitan centres while adequate incentives are offered to them in other satellite and smaller town.
6. The representatives of the Government of India should be effectively associated with the working of the Development Authorities. The projects have to be processed by the Ministry of Works and Housing in consultation with the Ministry of Finance and Planning Commission. They are to be financed primarily by the internal resources of the implementing authorities and funds provided by the state government,

but the Centre would supplement these to the extent of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent for cities of one million and above, and 50 per cent for smaller cities.

Attached to the above conditions were a set of instructions on "Recommended Urban Land and Housing Policy." This provided for large scale acquisition of urbanisable land, disposal of land on leasehold basis, pricing of land by adding up all the costs (including possible higher rates payable due to court appearances against land acquisition, physical and social infrastructure, etc.) to the purchaser, putting strict limits on the disposal of land to higher income groups, and a cross subsidy whereby the richer residents would subsidise the costs of the poorer ones who could not pay high prices. The size of the plots was to be restricted<sup>at</sup> 50 sq.meters for Economical Weaker Sections (ESW), 150 sq.meters for Lower Income Group (LIG), 250 sq.meters for Middle Income Group (MIG) and 400 sq.meters for Higher Income Group (HIG).

Reacting to the pressure from the Central Government which made the constitution of Development Authority for cities mandatory in order to get funds for development, the A.P. Urban Planning and Development Authority Bill 1972 was introduced in the A.P. Legislators Assembly in January 1974. The legislation was proposed to facilitate the setting of Urban Planning and Development Authorities in the State and in September 1975, the Hyderabad Urban Development Authority was formed.

Before looking at the master plan drawn up by HUDA for development of the metropolitan region of Hyderabad, let us have a brief look at the various plans which had been drawn for Hyderabad city and which get reflected in the HUDA master plan. The first serious attempt at delineating the metropolitan region of Hyderabad was made by the Hyderabad Metropolitan Research Project (HMRD) which was set up in the mid sixties at the joint initiation of the Institute of Asian Studies and Osmania University. Some of the specific recommendations made by the project were: 1) regulation of land use and land value, and development of vacant lands giving priority to lands possessing water supply and sewerage and having accessibility (2) rationalisation of functional locations by reducing the multi-functional character of the walled city (3) development of the historic core through location of some city forming functions (4) integrated rural-urban development in the metropolitan district.

A similar line of thinking could be seen in the report prepared by the Directorate of Town Planning in 1973 titled 'Hyderabad City: Its Problems and Prospects' which in addition to the above mentioned proposals wanted the urban area to be divided into planning divisions which would be self-contained functional units in terms of employment, residential place, recreation, retail shopping, etc. The plan also visualised the development of four satellite towns on the outer fringes

of Hyderabad with Medchal to the north, Ghatkesar to the East, Shamshabad to the south and Ramachandrapuram-Patancheru to the west.

## 2. HUDA's Policies:

These plans became the basis for the master plan for the Municipal area of 65 sq.miles which after gathering dust for a few years was finally notified and enforced by a Government Order on 27th September 1975 (Development plan for the area comprising the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad, GOMS No.414, Municipal Administration, A.P. Government, 27th September, 1975). The various proposals of the master plan for the Hyderabad Municipal area were (i) Redevelopment of the walled city - The walled city of Hyderabad south was to be revived as a major centre of urban activity and places of architectural and historical value conserved by diverting traffic and pedestrianising certain areas. The handicraft industry was to be developed for tourists and Central and State Government offices shifted to the old city. The redevelopment was to be facilitated by large scale shifting of truck terminals, whole sale vegetable and fruit market to Mr Jumla tank area. (2) Improvement of Circulation pattern - The Circulation pattern for the old city was to be provided with a 100 ft wide loop road which would release the Charminar area from major thorough traffic connecting the North inner road of 150 ft. width around the municipal area with

arterial roads connecting the two roads. (3) Heirarchy of city centres. In addition to the two CBDs, one extending from Charminar to Basheerbagh and the second from Rashtrapathi Road to M.G. Road in Secunderabad, it was proposed to build seven district commercial centres (DCC) each serving a population of 3 lakhs at (1) Tarnaka (2) Mahboob Mansion (3) Near Darga Brahne Shah (4) Chandrayanagutta (5) Karvan near Toli Mosque (6) Jubilee Hills colony and (7) Lakdikapul. The next level of heirarchy was to be the local commercial centres each serving a population of ten thousand. Therefore there were to be about 30 local commercial centres for each DCC. (4) Zoning of land uses: The main instrument for the achievement of these objectives was to be the zoning regulation which classified the land area into residential, commercial, industrial, public and semi-public, recreational and agriculture. The residential area was further divided into low density (30 persons per acre) medium density (40 to 50 persons per acre), high density (60 to 70 persons per acre) and intensive density (100 to 150 persons per acre; the commercial area was divided into general, central and local and the industrial area into light and service industry, heavy industry and special industry. 5. Ring Towns; It was proposed to set up ring town around the city located at a distance of 15 to 25 kilometers from the city centres (i.e. Nampally Station). These were to be of two type, expanding town and new town. "Expanding towns" were to be built around existing human settlements consisting of one or more villages. In this category

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fall (1) Ramachandrapuram-Patancheru (2) Shamshabad (3) Medchal and (4) Ghatkesar. In the category of 'New town' would be included the proposed new town (1) between Medchal and Ghatkesar (2) between Ghatkesar and Shamshabad on the Vijayawda road (3) between Shamshabad and Ramachandrapuram and Medchal on Narsapur road.

The new towns were proposed to be planned as self-contained units which would provide residents with all the necessary amenities for day to day life.

In addition to specifying (1) uses permitted subject to overall conformity with the plan (2) uses permissible on appeal to competent authority and (3) uses prohibited, the plan provided for special regulations in regard to plot area, number of floors, floors coverage, floor space index, setback line and parking of motor vehicles.

As most of the plans were according to the guidelines of the Ministry of Works and Housing of the Government of India HUDA prepared an Integrated City Development Programme (ICDP) under eight major sectors for a period of five years and estimated to cost Rs.194.69 crores. The break up are are given in Table 13.<sup>3</sup>

For executing a programme of such massive magnitude it was decided that the projects would be implemented by various agencies such as Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad, A.P. Housing



DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES OF HUDA FOR 1976-81

<u>DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME</u>	<u>ESTIMATED COST</u> (Rs. in lakhs)
1. Water Supply	6,239.88
2. Sewerage	651.00
3. Drainage and Garbage Disposal	300.00
4. Transport and Communication:	
a) Major Roads:	
i) Inner Ring Road	250.00
ii) Loop Road	100.00
iii) Other Roads	100.00
iv) Road Transport	500.00
v) Truck Terminals	225.00
b) Railways:	
i) Bye-pass line connecting Sanathnagar and Moula Ali	460.00
ii) Electrification of Metre gauge section from Medchal to Umanagar	N.A.
iii) Doubling of track between Hussainsagar-Hyderabad and Hussainsagar-Lingampally	490.00
iv) Arterial siding (Moula Ali, Cherlapalli. Sanathnagar)	735.00
5. Housing, Urban Renewal and Slum Clearance:	
a) Housing	3,794.00
b) Urban Renewal and Slum Clearance	300.00

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Source : Y.K.Bawa , See reference - 3 .

6.	Industrial Development	3,100.00
7.	Electric Power	1,054.00
8.	Miscellaneous:	
a)	Modern Slaughter House	196.00
b)	Municipal Market	143.00
c)	Vegetable, Grain and Fruit Market	140.00
d)	Electric Crematoria and Graveyard	17.00
e)	Health and Medical Facilities (including referred hospitals)	169.30
f)	Educational facilities (JNT University)	500.00
TOTAL:		<u>19,469.18</u>

Board, A.P. Industrial Infrastructure Corporation, Indian Railways, APSRTC, Public Health Department, Roads and Building Department, A.P. State Electricity Board and others.

In undertaking this massive project it was decided that HUDA would adopt a middle course between direct development and overall coordination and supervision. The idea was to take up development only in areas where other agencies were unable or unwilling to enter.

During the first two years of HUDA's existence the Govt. of India and the State Government approved projects for a 20 acre residential non-commercial complex at Saroornagar (Rs.16.25 lakhs), a 100 acre land development project for Rs.264 lakhs at a new township Vanasthalipuram (both on the Vijayawada highway), a District Commercial Centre at Tarnaka on a 7 acre of land purchased from Osmania University (Rs.215 lakhs for first phase). They also approved two complexes to the western side of the city, called the Mushk Mahal and Jhansingh Residential complex, a second district commercial centre at Ammerpet and a ring town at Ramachandrapuram.

Apart from these projects funded under the Integrated Urban Development programme, HUDA gave high priority to the overall planning of the metropolitan region and a master plan for the balance of the area outside the Municipal limit covering

534 sq.meters was drawn up on 23-6-1980. The Master Plan proposals were further elaborated into detailed Zonal Development Plan (ZDP) for which the whole 'Development Area' has been divided into 29 zones. The zonal development plans for Ramachandrapuram, Moula Ali and Kukatpally zones have already been cleared by the Government and zonal plan for Himayatnagar zone has been submitted to the State Government for clearance. Keeping in view the tremendous amount of growth that has taken place in Hyderabad since the zoning regulations were passed for the Municipal limits in September 1975, the HUDA has passed a new set of zoning regulations for the Hyderabad Development area vide G.O.Ms. No.916 dt.11-8-1981, which propose a new set of building bye laws, setback, etc., restricting the floor area ratio (FAR) to a maximum of 2.0 for residential areas and a maximum permissible ground coverage of 50 percent; a maximum of 2.5 (FAR) for business in the central business district area and office area with ground coverage of 60%. HUDA has also passed a multi-storied building regulation Act on 11-8-81 prohibiting the construction of multistoreyed buildings in certain restricted areas and defining special regulations which are to be followed while constructing in other areas. Multi-storeyed have been defined as all buildings having more than four floors (including the ground floor) or whose height is fifteen metres or more. The rules prohibit the multistoreyed building in certain areas because (1) the area is already over congested (2) it has historic buildings and (3) on purely aesthetic grounds, to preserve the skyline. The restricted areas are given in Table 14.

**Table - 14****Zones in which multistoreyed buildings are prohibited:**

1. Central area, covering parts of planning zone Nos.6 and 7.
  - a) MCH Wards Nos.4,5,11,14 and 15 (complete).
  - b) MCH Ward No.1, blocks 1, 7 and 8.
  - c) MCH Ward No.3, Blocks 2, 3 and 4.
2. a) Areas around Charminar (part of Planning Zone 10)
 

MCH Ward Nos. 20, 21, 22 and 23 (complete).

  - b) Falaknuma Area
 

MCH Ward No.19 (part, Block No.4 (complete).
3. a) Karwan and Jiaguda area:
 

MCH Ward No.13 (part), Block Nos. 1,2,3,4, and 5 (complete).
4. Secunderabad area
 

MCH Ward No.1 (part), II, III and IV (complete), Block Nos, 1,2,3,4,5,6 and 7 (complete).
5. Asmangad area:
 

MCH Ward No.16 (part), Block No.2 (complete).
6. Air Funnel Area.

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**Source •. HUDA**

A list of the projects taken up by HUDA is given in Table 15 and the cost of some of its programmes is given in Table 16. Another ambitious project which the HUDA aims to take up is a massive integrated multi-functional projects around the Hussain Sagar lake named the Buddha Poornima Project. The project cost is estimated to be around Rs.110 crores on a total area of 94 acres which has been divided into 7 sectors each

Table - 15

List of some of the projects being undertaken by H U DA

<u>Residential projects</u>	<u>Commercial &amp; Public, Semi-public</u>
1. Vanasthalipuram residential complex (completed)	1. Gaddiannaram fruit market (completed)
2. Ramachandrapuram residential complex	2. Shifting of cattleshed (Medpally)
3. Madhuban residential complex (completed)	3. Nehru Palace (Begumpet)
4. Shamshabad residential complex	4. District Commercial Complex (Tarnaka)
5. Yousufguda residential complex	5. District Commercial Complex (A meerpet)
6. Saroornagar residential complex (completed)	6. Shamshabad Truck Complex
7. Saroornagar Apartment	7. Moosapet parking lot.
8. Mushk Mahal residential complex	8. Mansoorabad parking lot.
9. Miapur sites and services	9. Bumrukhadowla parking lot.
10. Nalagondla residential complex	
11. Pokalwada sites and services	

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Source •. HUDA

catering to a separate demand like commercial places, 5-star hotels, cinema theatres, high class residential housing, parks, water sports, etc. The aim of this project is not only to save Hussain Sagar from encroachment but also to provide recreational and other public and semi-public utilities so that this area can be designed into another CBD.

Recently, in February 1988 HUDA declared that it planned to establish 13 satellite towns around the capital city, apart from completing the development of Hayathnagar, Ramachandrapuram and Shamshabad townships by May. The townships would come up at Medchal, Yamjal, Shameerpet, Moula Ali, Keesara, Ghatkesar, Changicherla, Nadargul, Budvel, Palonchery, Kollur, Shambhupur and Kukatpally. These are planning zones outside the municipal limits. These satellite towns would be self-sufficient units accommodating the entire working population of the specific area and provide all urban amenities. It also proposed to construct a Rs.90 lakhs commercial complex in the Banjara Hills near Prasad Colour Labs, providing four floors of office accommodation. HUDA has also launched a green belt project around the twin city, especially along the inner ring road. The green belt would help reduce air and noise pollution, arrest soil erosion by wind and water, prevent encroachments and improve landscape.

Table - 16

## Estimates of cost of some H U DA Schemes

A. Housing

<u>Scheme</u>	<u>Cost of scheme Cost of scheme (Rs. in lakhs)</u>	<u>No.of houses No.of houses taken up</u>
Vanasthalipuram	848	3929
Yousufguda	257	1407
Chandanagar (Ramachandrapuram)	286	1024
Madhuban	190	822
H U DA employees colony at:		
Mehdipatnam	14	50
Saroornagar	24	78
Shamshabad, Phase-I	46	400
Mushk Mahal	60	124
	-----	-----
	Total: 1723	7839

B. Sites and Services:

	<u>Cost in lakhs</u>	<u>Sites to be taken up as per programme</u>
Vanasthalipuram	64	949
Mushk Mahal	65	590
Ramachandrapuram	68	621
Saroornagar	19	239
	-----	-----
	216	2399



Table 16 contd.C. Environmental Improvement Schemes:

(Slum Development Works)	<u>No.of houses</u>	<u>No.of houses taken up</u>
Seventeen slum areas	3677	1664
<u>Future Housing Schemes</u>	<u>Cost of Scheme</u>	<u>No. of houses</u>
Shamshabad Phase II & III	136 lakhs	640
O.U. Employees Housing, Shaikpet	287 lakhs	697

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Source • H U D A

### 3. HUDA's Constraints:

After having delineated the various plans and projects of the HUDA let us try to analyse the reasons for its failure to control the growth of the city according to the master plan that had been drawn out. One of the reasons is the time lag between the actual framing of the master plan and its implementation. The master plan for the municipal limits had evolved out of proposals of the Hyderabad Metropolitan Research Project conducted in the mid-sixties, a project which made use of the 1960 census data while the master plan was given a statutory basis in 1975. An enormous amount of change had occurred on the landscape of Hyderabad in this interim period. Hence the master plan had become outdated even before it could be put forward for implementation.

However, the most important reason for the HUDA's failure is the contradiction that lies between the two components of the State that intervene in the urban sphere. As has been explicated in the beginning of this chapter, there are often clash of ideas and interests between the ruling political elite and the bureaucratic planning and development agencies. With regard to HUDA, this contradiction manifests itself in three ways. One, in the clash of interests between HUDA and the ruling political elite; second in the contradictory or overlapping developmental activities undertaken by HUDA and the other agencies

involved in the urban sphere and third in the actual authority structure of HUDA itself.

**(i) Relation of HUDA with the Government:**

a) Government's Industrial Location Policy;

Although the list of conditions laid down by the Central Government for releasing funds for metropolitan cities clearly stipulates that State Governments should adopt the policy of dispersal of industries and other economic activities from metropolitan areas to smaller growth centres, the State Government has been actively wooing public sector industries since the mid-sixties by giving away large tracks of land near the urban fringe, often in excess of their needs at throw away price and providing the necessary infrastructural facilities. The setting up of such massive public sector industries like BHEL, NFC, IDPL, HAL and others who have a huge investment cost and employ hundreds of workers has been one of the main reasons for the spread of the city in an uncontrolled fashion along the highways. This growth along highways has led to the fusion with the main city of areas, demarcated in the plans for the development of satellite townships. Therefore areas like Ramachandrapuram, Hayathnagar, Moula-Ali, Kukatpally which were to become self-sufficient satellite townships are at present indistinguishable from the main city.

This lack of coordination between physical planning undertaken by the urban planners and investment planning of the ruling political elite resulted in the failure of the master plan. For the ruling party, the money flowing into the capital city and the employment generated by these industries far outweighs planning considerations for the future urban spread, which would not necessarily be faced by the present government.

b) The Medak Factor:

Another instance where political consideration outweighed planning consideration was when Mrs. Indira Gandhi decided to contest from Medak, a district adjoining Hyderabad because of the massive support Congress-I enjoyed in this southern state. Being the parliamentary constituency of the Prime Minister of the country, this district was declared a backward area and industries were encouraged to be set up by offering various subsidies and incentives. As a result there are at present about seventy two large and medium scale industries and over one thousand small scale industries in this district.

c) Pressure from Industrial Entrepreneurs to be close to the city:

Industrial entrepreneurs like to set up their factories near the city because of easy access to the political machinery

which controls industrial licensing, provision of infrastructure, prices of goods, taxes, etc. This entrepreneurial class constitutes a powerful interest group and sponsors the election campaign of politicians. Therefore because of intense pressure from the industrialists, the Government tries to circumvent the policy of discouraging further industries in metropolitan cities by allowing industries to come up in Medak District and Ranga Reddy District (which was carved out of Hyderabad District in 1978) even though they are within 10 to 20 kms from the city centre and form part of the Hyderabad Metropolitan region. For example, from 1971 to 1980 24 large and medium scale industries and 289 small scale industries came up in Medak District while from 1981 onwards about 48 large and medium scale industries and 718 small scale industries have come up. Similarly, in Ranga Reddy District about 39 large and medium scale industries and 644 small scale industries were established during 1971 to 1980 and about 15 large and medium scale and 1501 small scale industries from 1981 onwards.

d) Conflict with the State Government on control over peripheral region:

Another area of conflict between HUDA and the State Government is on control over land falling within the Metropolitan region. Although the State Cabinet, when it approved the setting up of the HUDA had taken a decision to transfer government

land to HUDA for safe keeping and development purpose, the decision was not implemented for obvious reasons. Control over government land in the capital city is an important source of power and the Revenue Ministry could not afford to lose control over it by handing it over to a body which was autonomous at least in principle. Not only did the State Government not hand over government land but in July 1976 issued an order that till such time as the HUDA makes adequate progress with the preparation of the master plan and the zonal development plans the power of the HUDA under Section 13 and 14 of the A.P. Urban Areas (Development) Act, 1975 shall be notified as exercisable by the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad and the Panchayat bodies in their respective areas by delegation under section 56 of the said Act.<sup>4</sup> This delegation of development control powers is exercised by these bodies even today. As the Panchayats are poorly staffed and have meagre resources, they find it extremely difficult to provide services to its people. The public sector and private sector industries are too powerful for the Panchayats to exercise control over them and nor do the Panchayats have the resources, legal, technical or organisational to prevent haphazard growth which is taking place in complete defiance of all norms of land use control.<sup>5</sup> HUDA's metropolitan strategy became meaningless, as the green belt which was supposed to separate the ring town from the city is being rapidly swallowed up by housing societies and institutions. Hardly any possibility remains of developing agriculture

in the form of market gardening as has been originally envisaged in the plan.<sup>6</sup>

e) Impact of the Urban Land Ceiling Act:

Similarly when the Government of India passed the Urban land Ceiling Act (ULCA) in Parliament in June 1975, with the radical aim of taking over surplus land in major cities which had been captured by land speculators and to make this available for public purpose and low cost housing for poor, restricting even the maximum size of the plots, it was hoped that this piece of legislation will make available land to HUDA to plan various urban social infrastructure like parks, schools, hospitals, etc. But the ruling political elite did no such thing and excess land acquired under ULCA was allotted to an officer under the Board of Revenue. Consequently the State Government gave liberal exemption to people to retain land in excess of the ceiling. Further there was a mushrooming of housing cooperative societies all over the city which cornered large chunks of land ostensibly for housing urban poor but infact catering to the demands of high and middle income group families who bought several plots of land aiming to profit from land speculations. . . Bawa points out that even 'sale of land for multistoreyed building complex under the guise of providing housing for urban poor' took place. Another effect of ULCA of 1975 was that it put<sup>a</sup> break to the implementation of some important projects of HUDA which had

been approved by both the Centre and the State under the Integrated Urban Development Programme. This was because the government was under the impression that large tracts of land will be available under ULCA and there was no point in the HUDA purchasing land in the open market for the implementation of its programme. Due to various litigations and loopholes in the above mentioned law, such land was never made available and only those projects could be undertaken where the state made available government land like in Vanasthalipurani, Saroornagar and Yousufguda or where land was purchased as in the Vigyan Chowk Commercial complex where land was brought from Osmania University.

Lastly, when HUDA passed the Zoning Regulation Act and the Multi-storeyed Buildings Regulation Act on 5th September 1981 it was hoped that these rules will be strictly implemented as they had been framed in consultation with the government and the MCH. But unfortunately there is considerable lax in the implementation of the regulation and the government has made use of its right to relax the building bye-laws, the zoning regulations and the multi-storeyed building rules by giving illegal permission to builders, allowing changes in land use, all at the cost of the health of the city.



(ii) **Relation of HUDA with other Urban Development Agencies:**

a) Failure of HUDA as the Co-ordinating Body;

The Hyderabad Urban Development Authority is the overall incharge of Planning and Development within the metropolitan region of Hyderabad. Section 13 of the A.P. Urban Areas (Development) Act, 1975 clearly provides that 'no development of land within the development area shall be undertaken or carried out by any person or body, including any department of the government, unless permission for such development has been obtained in writing from the Authority in accordance with the provision of this Act.' Section 13(9) clarifies that "the expression 'department of the government' means any department, organisation or public undertaking of the State Government or of the Central Government." Such rules make clear HUDA's position as the apex body for coordinating development in the metropolitan region. But unfortunately this is not so. The Government accords HUDA equal status with other organisations such as MCH, Housing Board, APUC and others who also provide service to the metropolitan area. The other urban agencies had been established well before HUDA and have been exercising authority in their respective spheres for many years. HUDA being a new comer to this network of agencies has to compete and lobby in order to exert its authority especially when political support is not forthcoming. With the Government indulging in a balancing act between the various organisations and the well established multi-functional agencies not shedding their concerns it was

natural for each organisation and Ministry to act as though

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it had its own clients. Consequently the Housing Board constructed shopping complexes wherever it suited them and the MCH took up new markets, office blocks and shopping complexes sometimes in places contrary to the development plan and the Police Housing Corporation continued to construct only police housing. Meanwhile HUDA had its own development programme which coincided with those of the other agencies. Such lack of coordination created problems for other agencies also. For example in Bharatnagar Housing Board Colony near Fatehnagar, having about two thousand houses, the residents have to suffer from acute water shortage because permission for a water tank was not being given by HUDA, it being the Air Funnel area, in the path of the landing zone at Begumpet air port.

b) Relation with A.P. Industrial Infrastructure Corporation:

The A.P. Industrial Infrastructure Corporation acquires government land ((including forest land) in different parts of the city, particularly around the urban fringe and near the highways and develops industrial estates. There are at least twenty such industrial estates all around the city. The development of these industrial estates and the consequent mushrooming of small and medium scale industries is against the very tenets of urban planning in metropolitan cities. Instead of controlling the growth of the city, such policies

encourage ribbon development and the concept of self-sufficient satellite towns around the metropolis becomes meaningless. This divergence of thinking between the APIIC and the State Industries Department on one hand and the metropolitan planners on the other, is overlooked by the State Government who in fact encourage the mushrooming of industries because of the inflow of capital and generation of employment. For example in September 1974 APIIC asked HUDA to provide a sum of Rs.32.5 lakhs from funds allotted for Hyderabad Urban Development Scheme to enable APUC to develop 650 acres of land in Jeedimetla, Kukatpalli, Cherlapalli and Katedan which would attract 100 large, medium and small industries and whose investment could be of the order of Rs.12 crores and contribute to the solution of the unemployment problem. Another problem with development is that the large public sector industries with high initial investment are being provided cheap land (often in excess of requirement) infrastructural facilities and subsidies by the government at a considerable loss to the state exchequer. In fact these industries do not contribute anything for the development of the surrounding area but use its capital for the luxury of its workers, often finds neatly laid out company towns with all facilities in the midst of urban chaos. This is in fact what happened in the Ramachandrapuram area where the government granted 6,446 acres of prime land to the BHEL to set up its industry and township. (They later surrendered 3,780 acres for the establishment of ICRISAT which itself has now about

6,000 acres of land). When HUDA wanted to set up a ring town in Ramachandrapuram in accordance with its Master Plan, it needed about 150 acres of BHEL land to locate the centre of the town where a district commercial centre could be built. Although the BHEL Board at Delhi had agreed to transfer 50 acres, this has not been done till now because the concept of company town still dominates in their mind.

c) Relation with QQSDA:

Another problem of HUDA was the formation of the Quli Qutub Shah Development Authority in 1981 for the planning and development of the old city of Hyderabad. This was a political move undertaken by the State Government to placate the residents of the riot-torn and decadent part of the city. Its establishment created confusion because the jurisdiction of HUDA became unclear and it was renamed Bhagyanagar Development Authority. Although QQSDA was shelved in 1983 it was revived again in 1985 and converted into a registered society with the power of allocating funds for the improvement of the old city and undertaking development work through other agencies like MCH, Housing Board, etc. Much of its development work like the planned widening of the Lad Bazaar road, construction of commercial complexes within the walled area is . much against the zonal development plan (Zone X) of the HUDA to which it is . supposed to confirm. Such blatant violation considerably weakens the position of HUDA as the overall coordinator of development of the metropolitan region.

**(iii) Authority Structure of the HUDA:**

HUDA can play the role of the coordinator of developmental activities in the metropolitan region only if its status at the top of the hierarchy of organizations operating in the metropolitan area is recognised by the Government. One way is to make the Chief Minister the Chairman of HUDA instead of a State Minister. This would rule out the possibility of decision taken by HUDA being countermanded by any other authority in the State.<sup>11</sup>

Another problem within the organisation of HUDA is its authority structure. Other than the Chairman who is the overall incharge of the affairs of the authority and the Vice-Chairman who is the wholetime chief executive officer of the authority the other members are, (1) three MLA's representing the metropolitan region in the State Legislature (2) two Councillors of the MCH (3) one officer representing the MCH (4) one officer of the State Finance Department (5) one representative of the Town Planning Department (6) five other members nominated by the Government. The staff of the Authority include a Secretary, Chief Accounts Officer, Town Planner and Engineer.

The State Government invariably nominates to the Authority members of other organization like Housing Board, APHC, MCH or legislators representing the city. Hence often there are

conflicts while taking decisions, either between the political representatives and the bureaucratic members or between the bureaucratic members themselves because each organisation aims to stake its own claims and interests. Often there are also conflicts between the short term interests of the politicians including the Chairman and the long time interests of the urban planners.

## CONCLUSION

Due to the reasons stated above, the HUDA is no longer able to fulfill its function as the coordinator of development within the metropolis and has become another developmental agency. It is increasingly taking to developmental programmes like residential sites and services, residential townships, commercial complexes, truck terminal and other such schemes. It only hopes that its various projects would serve as models for other organisations to follow. But unfortunately, its own ambitious Budha Poornima project goes against the master plan proposals. In order to beautify Hussain Sagar, commercial complexes, five-star hotels, cinema houses, restaurants, residential flats are proposed to be built in the heart of the city. But such development would negate the whole concept of having district commercial centres at various places and dispersing activities from the core of city. One can confidently say that even its recently announced plan to set up 8 satellite towns

around the city is a political gimmick of the ruling political elite. They aimed to woo the urban voters who are unhappy over the acute water scarcity and electricity cuts. Secondly it would replenish their dwindling finance through the sale of residential plots in those centres.<sup>12</sup>

## **II. The Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (with emphasis on the Urban Community Development Programme):**

While discussing the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad we will not discuss in detail its various functions because it is essentially an implementing agency and not a development authority. In this chapter we are concerned with urban agencies whose development work stimulates urban growth, such as the housing colonies being built by Housing Board on the outskirts of the city, or the industrial estates developed by APIIC. Such projects tend to attract human settlement towards them and lead to the physical growth of the city. The Municipal Corporation plays a very important role in such development by providing civic amenities like roads, water, electricity, drainage, etc. These activities are undertaken only at the request of the other developmental agencies or in places where a settlement has already come up.

The urban community development programme of the MCH will be discussed in detail because it is not a routine slum rehabilitation or renewal programme but an effort towards the

all round development of the slum community where housing, sanitation, employment, education, recreation and other facets of community life are given importance. Such a massive effort towards the uplift; . of the urban poor undertaken with the help of international funding agencies is unique and a pioneering effort on the part of the Municipal Corporation.

#### **History of Municipal Administration in Hyderabad City:**

The history of city government in Hyderabad dates back to 1687 when the Kotwal was appointed under the Mughal regime and he performed the functions of both the police and municipal commissioner.<sup>13</sup> In 1869, the city was placed under a managing committee consisting of the President, Municipal Superintendent and six other members and supervised by the municipality and road maintenance branch of the miscellaneous ministry. In 1881, two separate municipalities were created for Hyderabad Municipality in 1902. In 1932 the Municipality was granted the status of a Corporation and elections were held on a limited franchise basis. However in 1943 the Corporation was dissolved due to financial bankruptcy resulting from accumulation of tax arrears and also because of the non-cooperation of the elected members with the executive authority. The Corporation was placed under a Board which was dissolved in 1946.



The merger of Hyderabad State with the Indian Government in 1948 unleashed demand for the restoration of the Municipal Bodies and the HMC Act of 1950 created two Corporations of Hyderabad and Secunderabad and elections were held on adult franchise. The twin corporations were merged in 1960 to form the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad and civic elections were held in 1964. After the expiry of the four year term, the Council was superseded in August 1970 by an Ordinance of the State Government and the Corporation was placed under the charge of a Special Officer. This supercession was undertaken partly because of the constant conflict between the Municipal Councillors and the administrative wing and also as an off shoot of the Telangana agitation in which there was a conflict between the State Government and the local Government in the city. The Municipal Corporation remained suspended for fifteen years till the end of 1985, when the High Court ordered on a writ petition that the election to the Council should be held within six months. Consequently elections were held in mid-February and the majority Majlis party's Mayor was elected with the help of Congress-I support.

#### **Organisational Structure of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad:**

The organisational structure of the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad envisaged under the HMC Act of 1955 is based on the principle of separation of political and executive powers.

a) Political Structure: The political structure of the Corporation comprises of the following Bodies:

- i) Corporation (General Body)
- ii) Standing Committee
- iii) Special/Adhoc Committees

The Corporation consists of Municipal Councillors elected from various Municipal Wards of the city. The Councillors are supposed to represent the civic needs of the residents of their respective wards. Although the Corporation is the custodian of city government, it is ill equipped to undertake detailed examination of municipal affairs because of its large size and heterogeneous composition. It can broadly direct the municipal planning process and exercise its general power of ratification and review.

The responsibility for decision making thus shifts to the standing committee. Its size, composition, statutory powers and functions brings the local political process closer to civic administration. It has important say in the financial, material and human resource management of the Corporation and has potentialities to emerge as the most important organ of Municipal Government if functioning properly.

The special and adhoc committees are formed out of the members of the corporation. They are formed for specific purposes like review of decisions of the corporation, financial review, licenses for shops, education, vigilance, octroi and others.

b) Administrative structure: The administrative structure of the Corporation also consists of three tiers:

- i) Municipal Commissioner drawn from the senior rank of the I.A.S.
- ii) Supervisory officers drawn from the cadres of State Government including the local government.
- iii) Staff borne on the municipal services of the Corporation.

The HMC Act of 1955 vests municipal authority in (i) Corporation (ii) Standing Committee and (iii) Municipal Commissioner.

The Act also confers on the State Government several powers of appointment, transfer, audit and inspection, etc. The State Government is therefore too a part of the decision making apparatus of the Corporation.

The decision making structure of the MCH will be as follows:

Decision-making level	Political decision making	Administrative decision making
i) Policy making	Municipal Corporation	Municipal Commissioner
ii) Interpretative	Standing Committee decision making	Municipal officers
iii) Implementation	Special/Adhoc Committee	Municipal service personnel

#### **Constraints on the functioning of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad:**

In actual practice one finds that the splintering of administrative authority among several statutory authorities is not conducive to efficient decision making. The Corporation which is an amalgam of various political parties and interest groups is frequently locked in squabbles over petty issues unrelated to the civic problems of the city and proceedings are usually marked by over crowded agenda, undisposed items and adjourned meetings. The Standing Committee reflects a medley of interest groups within the majority party and civic decisions get vitiated by partisan interests. The administrative officers complain of frequent interference in their work from the Municipal Councillors who on the other hand, condemn the high handed behaviour of the officials towards the people's representatives. For example, recently the Municipal Commissioner issued a circular stating that Councillors should not disturb the officials in their offices but come to him directly with their grievances and this created a furore in the Municipal Council meeting. Then many of the Municipal service personnel working in the lower ranks owe their appointment to the

political wing and reconciliation of their political loyalty to their administrative loyalty becomes difficult.

While there are conflicts between the political representatives and the administrative officials at the local government level, one finds that there are often clash of interests between the State Government and the local government if they happen to be constituted by different parties. The Municipal Corporation is, in constitutional terms a creature of the State Government, and much of its finance and executive activity is controlled by the State Government. In Hyderabad the conflicting political parties at Municipal level (Majlis) and the state level (Telugu Desam) is having an enormously debilitating impact on the performance of the city government. The State Government has tried to curb the power of the local government by siphoning off important sources of revenue like professional tax and octroi.<sup>14</sup>

As a result many of the road widening schemes remain uncompleted, the project for the overhauling of the city sewerage system has been stalled and no longterm perspective plans are being undertaken to solve the growing civic problems of the metropolis. In fact the Mayor of Hyderabad was forced to go on an indefinite hunger strike to extract funds from the State Government.

#### **List of functions of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad:**

As we are not dealing in detail with the various functions of the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad, let us list out the various functions of the Corporation.<sup>15</sup> They are:

- 1) Housekeeping functions such as numbering of premises, naming of streets and public places and defining city limits.
- 2) Levy and collection of municipal taxes, rates and **fee**.
- 3) Provision and maintenance of drainage, sewerage and water supply distribution and disposal system.
- 4) Construction and maintenance of municipal roads and buildings, parks, playgrounds, libraries, markets, slaughter houses, burning ghats, etc.
- 5) Environmental sanitation such as watering, scavenging and cleansing of public streets, removal of rubbish and offensive matters.
- 6) Preventive health measures such as vaccination and inoculation, analysis of adulterated food stuffs, destruction of stray dogs, disinfection of contaminated places, regulation of dangerous and offensive wards.
- 7) Social welfare measures such as slum clearance, maternal and child welfare programmes, family planning and urban community development programme.

#### **The Urban Community Development Programme of the MCH:**

The urban community development programme, a slum improvement project of the Municipal Corporation is being discussed here in detail because of the following reasons. First, it is not an usual urban renewal or redevelopment programme but a project which aims at all round development of community

life in the slums. Second, it can be labelled as a massive intervention undertaken by the State with the help of international funding in order to alleviate the conditions of the urban poor. The UCD aims to take up the development of most of the slums in the metropolitan region in a phased manner. Third, such a massive intervention has important implications on growth of the city because of increase in the housing stock available to the urban poor.

The Urban Community Development Project (henceforth <sup>was</sup> to be referred to as UCD) started in the year 1967 in one Ward (Ward 22) of the MCH as a centrally sponsored pilot scheme in which the expenditure was shared between the centre, State Government and the Municipal Corporation in the ratio 2:1:1. The scheme was transferred to the State sector in 1969 the expenditure being shared by the State and the MCH. It was also in 1969 that UNICEF began to take interest and at the beginning assisted by way of studies and surveys of the programmes. In the seventies the UNICEF began to share in the cost of the UCD project with the State Government on a matching basis. Initially the cost per annum on the project was about 30 lakhs, of which the State Government grant was Rs.7 lakhs, UNICEF grant was Rs.7.8 lakhs and the balance was met by the MCH. By 1983 the number of projects increased to 12 and the UNICEF assistance of Rs.7.8 lakhs cash grant and Rs.3 lakhs equipment grant became too inadequate to meet the corresponding enhanced

project costs. Hence the Corporations adopted policy of systematic improvement of slums in a phased manner suffered and out of the 228 slums taken up under the Phase-I Slum Improvement Programme, only 156 slums were provided with amenities and that too on an adhoc basis. The Phase-II of the slum improvement programme was to cover 210 slums at the total cost of Rs.887.06 lakhs over a period of four years from 1983-84 to 1986-87. The Overseas Development Administration of the Government of United Kingdom (henceforth to be referred to as ODA) allocated financial assistance of around £ 5.06 million for the project. The programme has spilled over to 1988 and was expected to be completed by March 88. The project cost also increased to Rs.1557 lakh and the ODA has agreed to provide additional assistance of £ 3 million (Rs.621 lakhs). The Phase-III of the slum Improvement Project is to be undertaken for four years from 1988-89 to 1991-92. It has been designed to <sup>cover</sup> 300 slums (207 old and 93 new) with 76,000 families at a cost of Rs.35.34 crores. The ODA has agreed to finance even this phase of the project.

The key concepts involved in community development are 'self help' and 'felt needs'. This means that the members of the community must attempt to solve their felt needs through their own collective efforts. It is only when they fail to solve their problems through their own resources that they seek additional help from government and other agencies.



### Programmes and activities of UCD:<sup>16</sup>

The various programmes and activities of the UCD have gradually evolved out of the felt needs, hopes and aspirations of the slum dwellers. Their main programmes are:

1. Water and Environment: Along with the provision of drinking water, this programme includes roads, drains (sewer and storm water), community lavatories, public water supply, street lights, parks and playgrounds, washing platforms, pavements, etc. Under the Phase-III programme, it is proposed to lay 71055 (Rmt) sewer lines, 11 septic tanks, 20699 (Rmt) storm water drain, 241 new public toilets and 559 old ones to be upgraded, 2170 new street light post and 1125 old ones to be repaired, 8386 private water pipe connection and 527 public water stand posts to be installed.

2. Economic support programme: Under this programme, the Lead Bank activity and S.C., S.T. Finance Corporation of the Hyderabad District Collectorate are linked with UCD activities. In order to make this programme more effective, links have been developed with District Coordination Committee of which the Collector is the Chairman. Thus the entire Government Economic Support programme for the weaker sections has been channelised through the UCD with the cooperation of the Collector.

Apart from these, the UCD arranges loans for poor women trained in its centres for purchasing sewing machines, arranges loans from HUDCO for housing, loans for buying cycle rickshwas, autos, etc.

3. Shelter: Self-help housing was introduced by the UCD for the slum dwellers. Under this programme the individual families as well as the whole slum is fully involved and learn the various processes like banking, building material procurement procedures, market trends, economising through proper selecting, etc.

While undertaking these housing schemes, there is close coordination between HUDCO, the UCD, the HUDA and the voluntary organisations.

Prior to 1981, 2973 houses were constructed on self-help basis in 31 slums under the bank loan assistance. During the period from 1981 to March 1987 a total of 7871 EWS houses were taken up in 74 slums with HUDCO assistance of which 4744 units have been completed till March 87 and others are in various stages of completion. The programme for the current year 1987-88 is 5000 houses.

4. Health and Nutrition: The programme includes immunisation (0-6 years age group), vitamin 'A', iron and folic acid supplements, mass-deworming, growth monitoring, health education,

treatment of minor ailments, family planning, etc.

During 1982-83 about 42,000 children and pregnant and lactating mothers were covered under this programme. The UCD is running 212 centres for providing special nutrition to about 40,000 children.

5. Educational Programmes: This programme is intended to mould the child at the pre-school age. The Balwadis and Anganwadis schemes cover children of the age group of 3 to 6 years while the Creches are for children below 3 years.

Other activities like Adult Literacy centres, self-help reading rooms, libraries and community T.V. set supplied in the slums have been found useful in bringing the local community particularly the youth together.

6. Improvement of Economic Status: Training in various skills and crafts is undertaken under this programme, some of them being sewing machine repairs, fabric painting, food processing and preservation, making electronic components with the help of ECIL, TV and Radio repairs, typewriting and shorthand, auto-rickshaw driving, computer punching, photography training, etc.

During 1981-82, 1044 women were trained in about 32 training courses 82 youths were trained to drive auto-rickshaws and 213 boys and girls learnt typing.

7. Recreation: Music and dance institutions are formed in slums, cultural programmes and sports are undertaken as a means of achieving community cohesion and for the development of cultural talents.

Such of the programmes which are being arranged are exhibitions, film shows, bhajans, dance and drama, community dinners, puppet show, etc.

8. Community organisations: Formation of community organisations for slums is a popular activity of the UCD as a means of support and leadership training. By 1983 there were about 233 Basti Development Committees, 135 youth organisations, 99 Mahila Mandals involving 8,944 members actively working with the UCD, these organisations being the backbone of the UCD programme.

From the above programmes one can infer that the urban community development project of the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad aims at development of total community life in the slums. This kind of positive approach towards the urban poor is highly appreciable because without social and economic uplift of the slum dwellers and inculcation of an awareness

towards environmental cleanliness and sanitation, nothing substantial is achieved through slum renewal or housing programmes.

Also the massive intervention on the part of the State to alleviate the conditions of the urban poor brings out clearly the major role played by the State in Third World countries.

### **III. Andhra Pradesh Industrial Infrastructure Corporation:**

While discussing the HUDA we have already mentioned the role played by the Andhra Pradesh Industrial Infrastructure Corporation (APIIC) in attracting industries to the metropolitan region of Hyderabad.

The industrial growth around the metropolitian region of Hyderabad started in the mid 1960's when the State Government gave away large tracts of land to public sector industries in order to lure them to set up industries here. The policy worked and today Hyderabad houses one of the biggest concentration of large public sector industries, the important ones being Bharat Heavy Electrical Ltd. (BHEL) which has a work force of over 10,000; the Electronic Corporation of India Ltd. (ECIL) the Indian Drug and Pharmaceutical Ltd. (IDPL), Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd. (HAL), Hindustan Machine Tools (HMT), Praga Tools and Republic Forge.

The concentration of large scale public sector industries set in motion the industrial boom which occurred due to the mushrooming of ancilliary industries around the large industries. Hyderabad has therefore become one of the largest centres for the manufacture of bulk drugs and formulations, perhaps next to Bombay, thanks to the concentration of drugs and pharmaceutical units around IDPL. Similarly the Kusaiguda industrial complex of the PHC has massive concentration of ancilliary electronic industries due to the presence of ECIL there.

It is here that the role of APIIC becomes evident. They stepped into provide the industrial estates which were essential for the growth of ancilliary industries. Today there are about 20 industrial estates within a radius of 60 km. from the city centre housing about 3,500 units, about 90% of which are from the small-scale sector.<sup>17</sup>

The APIIC was set up on 26th September 1973 by the Government of Andhra Pradesh to provide industrial infrastructure and thereby help in the development of smaller, medium and large industries. The Corporation has an authorised capital of Rs.10 crores and a paid up capital of Rs.5.80 crores. Its overall achievement throughout Andhra Pradesh is as follows:

- 1) Land acquired or alienated - 15,650 acres.
- 2) Number of Industrial Estates (IES) and Industrial Development Areas (IDAs) under its control - 121.

- 3) Number of factory sheds constructed in the IES and IDAs 2,296.
- 4) Number of plots developed in Industrial Estates and Industrial Development Area - 9,962.
- 5) Number of houses constructed with the assistance of HUDCO - 3,999.

The main objectives of APIIC are: (1) To identify potential growth centres in the state (2) To acquire land for IDAs and IEs. (3) To establish IEs and IDAs equipped with roads, water, power supply and also to build worksheds and develop plots. (4) To arrange voluntary loan contributions to Andhra Pradesh State Electricity Board on behalf of entrepreneurs. (5) To provide social infrastructure like industrial housing near work spots.

In the IDAs and IEs, the APIIC develops the land and provides facilities like water, power, roads, street lights and sheds. All that an entrepreneur needs to do is to make his own internal arrangements and obtain power connections according to the requirement of his unit. The APIIC also establishes ancillary industrial estates (AIE) for large scale industries like BHEL so that both the parent and the ancillary units can benefit from one another. It also establishes autonagars for the transport industry. These autonagars are set up in the outskirts of the city so that trucks, buses and other vehicles do not have to travel to the city centre for repairs and servicing.

This helps in reducing traffic congestion and at the same time offers a single umbrella, multifacility kernel to transport operators, tradesmen and technicians. Recently APIIC has entered the field of commercial complexes and industrial housing. The commercial complexes are set up near IEs and IDA s to help small traders, businessmen banks and other institutions with accommodation for their operations. In large industrial areas, APIIC develops housing complexes in order to provide residential accommodation near work spots. These houses are constructed for economically weaker sections, lower income groups and middle income groups with assistance from HUDCO, New Delhi.

A profile of the activities of the APIIC around the metropolitan region of Hyderabad is given in Table 17.

Among the recently established industrial estates of APIIC, the Jeedimetla Estate when its five phases are completed will be the largest in the State, second in India only to the Vashi Industrial Estate of Bombay. Then there is the Kushaiguda industrial estate situated around ECIL which has been specially earmarked for electronics industry and the Patancheru industrial estate where large and medium scale industries like Sri Ambaya Chemicals, Standard Organics Jon Exchange and Premier Tubes are located. Some of the industrial estates are yet to take off like the Autonagar developed near Hayathnagar on the Vijayawada highway. About 1259 plots have been developed here while



TABLE - 17

**INDUSTRIAL ESTATES AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AREAS**  
**AROUND THE METROPOLITAN REGION OF HYDERABAD**

<b>Sl. No.</b>	<b>Name of the Estate</b>	<b>Extend of land acquire (in acres)</b>	<b>Plots Develop</b>	<b>Sheds Construction</b>
<b><u>MEDAK DISTRICT:</u></b>				
1.	i) IE Patancheru	56.26	67	<b>34</b>
	ii) IDA Patancheru	1091.32	275	<b>45</b>
2.	i) IDA Pashamylaram Ph-I	170.00	101	24
	ii) IDA Pashamylaram Ph-II	1129.00	(Yet to be developed)	
3.	IDA Yelumal	308.26	(Yet to be developed)	
4.	AIE Ramachandrapuram	25.17	13	<b>35</b>
5.	RIE Zaheerabad	24.13	34	12
6.	IDA Zaheerabad	140.00	16	(under development)
<b><u>RANGAREDDY DISTRICT:</u></b>				
7.	IDA Kukatpally	108.00	76	30
8.	IE Vikarabad	31.62	20	25
9.	IE Chevella	32.15	44	(under development)
10.	IDA Jeedimetla	921.86	401	<b>387</b>
11.	IE Medchal	126.58	131	24
12.	SEIE Kattedan	250.00	201	<b>454</b>
13.	AN Hyderabad	202.00	1259	6

			<b>163</b>
14. IE Moula Ali	51.60	63	13
15. IDA Nacharam	700.00	288	19
16. IDA Uppal	456.00	104	14
17. i) IDA Cherlapalli Ph-I	94.00	80	37
ii) IDA Cherlapalli Ph-II	472.00	259	25
18. i) EC, Kushaiguda	681.68	76	82
ii) EC, Kushaiguda (Expan)	10.17	46	--
19. IDA Mallapur	187.05	189	40
20. IE Kukatpalli	16.00	94	14
21. IDA Balanagar	49.94	55	--
22. i) APIE Balanagar	55.05	81	--
ii) SIE Balanagar	6.00	8	14

HYDERABAD DISTRICT:

23. IE Sanathnagar	91.00	32	100
24. IE Chandulal Baradari	25.82	29	28

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Source • APIIC

only 6 sheds have been built so far. This area earmarked for transport industry will take off only when the inner ring road and the Hayath Nagar parking lot get completed.

Other than the Andhra Pradesh Industrial Infrastructure Corporation a new Industrial Corporation has come up which caters exclusively to the demands of Non-Resident Indian entrepreneurs. This organisation called the Andhra Pradesh Non-Resident Indians Industrial Corporation (ANRICH) set up in 1981 has already helped to promote 64 units with a total investment of 209 crores of which the NRI shares about 55 crores.<sup>10</sup> This ranks Andhra Pradesh third behind Maharashtra and Gujarat. About 85% of the total NRI investment is around the city of Hyderabad. It has acquired a 167 acre area in Bollaram where work is on for development of an NRI industrial estate and another one is coming upon the Bombay highway near HUDA's Miyapur housing complex.

Although this kind of an industrial boom helps the inflow of capital into the State and provides enormous employment opportunities, it is harmful in terms of the long term interest of the metropolis. The resultant urban sprawl, pollution, lack of adequate infrastructure, creates tremendous strain on the already busting civic amenities of the metropolis. A lot of the future development of industries around the city depends on the report of the three man sub-committee appointed by the

State Development Board and headed by N. Bhanu Prasad, Chairman of the State's Industrial Development Corporation. The Committee has suggested a Rs.160 crore industrial master plan for the state and identified 12 centres for industrial growth, 29 other centres for location of industrial estates and 12 for multi-purpose industrial estates. But the indications point towards the decentralisation of industrial growth and discouragement of future growth around the metropolis. This would be welcomed by Urban Planners who have been crying hoarse for a long time on the need for dispersal of industries to the under-developed regions of the State.

#### **IV. The Andhra Pradesh Housing Board:**

The Andhra Pradesh Housing Board constituted under a State Act, is the major house building agency endeavouring to provide a roof for every family in the State. Its primary objective is to construct dwelling units for the economically weaker sections and the low income groups.

The activities of the Andhra Pradesh Housing Board were confined to the twin cities of Hyderabad-Secunderabad from 1960 to 1970. From 1971 onwards the Housing Board diversified its activities to the other parts of the State. Table 18 gives a list of the different types of houses constructed by the Board from 1960 to 1985. The table shows that building activity

**TABLE : 18.****166**

Year - Wise Break Up of the Various Categories  
of Housing Undertaken by The Andhra Pradesh  
Housing Board in Andhra Pradesh.

Year	Type of Housing							Total
	MIG	LIG	EWS	OTHERS	SIHS	RHS	SCS	
1960-61	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1961-62	110	323	15	60	148	92	38	433
1962-63	116	195	-	14	-	92	162	664
1963-64	266	198	192	2	12	-	-	732
1964-65	117	421	-	-	-	-	-	944
1965-66	31	85	263	-	-	-	-	116
1966-67	19	27	222	-	-	-	-	309
1967-68	61	307	184	-	-	-	-	590
1968-69	103	240	-	-	-	-	-	527
1969-70	93	1188	-	25	-	-	-	1306
•1970-71	-	246	-	30	-	-	-	276
1971-72	10	122	-	-	-	-	-	132
1972-73	72	110	-	2	-	-	-	184
1973-74	86	325	-	45	-	-	-	456
1974-75	74	53	-	1	-	-	-	128
1975-76	241	566	910	55	-	-	-	1772
1976-77	42	782	247	15	-	-	-	1086
1977-78	64	629	4	13	-	-	-	710
1978-79	18	624	4	140	-	-	-	836
1979-80	51	1391	327	-	-	-	-	1775
1980-81	16	347	967	8	-	-	-	1946
1981-82	96	788	1118	613	203	-	-	2818
1982-83	88	538	500	521	85	-	-	1732
1983-84	144	677	473	804	-	-	-	2098
1984-85	-	1094	1515	1320	-	-	-	3929

• - Till 1971, APHB Projects were within Hyderabad City MIG-Middle Income Group Housing, SIHS - Slum Improvement Housing in the Twin Cities of Hyderabad LIG-Lower, Income group housing, RHS - Rented housing Scheme.

**Source : APHB**

has more than doubled in the 1980's but. it is still woefully inadequate considering the housing requirement of about 1.29 lakh housing units in 1981 and the need for another 1.83 lakh units by 1991.<sup>20</sup> But the Housing Board cannot be blamed for not being able to meet even a small percentage of need because it is impossible for any public sector agency to meet the housing demands of an exploding metropolis given the constraints of resources and the enormous capital involved.

The Andhra Pradesh Housing Board diversified in activities from 1979 onwards and the Board was re-organised in order to carry out this function. The construction activity is now being carried out by 7 Regional offices, each headed by an Executive Engineer, three in twin cities and four in the districts with head quarters at Vizag, Vijayawada, Kurnool and Warangal.

The three city divisions are the Central division, the Southern division and the Western division. These divisions are not areawise demarcations nor are the activities evenly distributed. The Central division seems to be concerned only with activities like flooring, electricity connection and painting of the unfinished houses and has very few projects like Indian Airlines housing colony and a 14 storeyed office building. The Western division on the other hand has the Bagh Lingampally housing project under its jurisdiction and recently taken up the Laxmiguda independent housing project of nearly 700 houses

near the zoo. The Southern division is the biggest division in the city and most of the previously undertaken housing projects, right from the days of the City Improvement Board are under its control. Presently it has embarked on an ambitious housing project in Kukatpally which when completed would comprise about 10,000 houses and would be according to Housing Board estimates, the largest township in South East Asia.

While undertaking these housing projects, the Housing Board follows the directive of the Ministry of Works and Housing which stipulates a cross subsidy system whereby the richer residents subsidize the costs of the poorer ones who cannot afford to pay the high price of land and housing. Therefore most of the middle income and high income group housing are undertaken under the Self-financing Scheme (SFS) while housing for the economically weaker section and lower income groups, are undertaken with loans from HUDCO and LIC. Under the self-financi scheme, the allottee first pays for 10% of the total cost and then pays the remaining amount in three instalments of 30% each. Presently the Housing Board is going in for independent housing project rather than multistoreyed flats specially in the outlying areas of the city because its experience shows that people prefer independent houses which they can remodel according to their needs along with growing prosperity. Multi-storeyed flats are preferred only in projects located in the city centre like the Bagh Lingampally project because of easy access to all urban amenities.

Although the Housing Board has not been able to keep pace with the increasing demand for housing in the city, its housing projects have served as catalysts or growth points around which other settlements have come up. One of its earliest projects, the Vijayanagar Housing Colony comprising few small projects like P.S. Nagar, Mallepally, Mosempura and M.P. Lines has become the nucleus for the large settlement. This has come up around Masab Tank, Picture House and Mallepally. . Similarly its housing projects at Sanjeev Reddy Nagar, Vengal Rao Nagar and Fathenagar area not only cater to the need of the industrial workers but has also pulled the growth of the city towards the north-western direction.

When the Kukatpally housing scheme gets completed it will provide housing for more than 10,000 families and if all the urban infrastructural facilities like schools, colleges, cinema houses, hospitals are provided here, this township can take the burden of the future housing need of the city. This project can also become a satellite township provided the area between Kukatpally and Bharatnagar colony does not fuse into a single agglomeration. This can be prevented by having a green belt in between though such a possibility seems remote because of the numerous housing colonies that have sprung up. In fact a road along the Bombay highway from Bharatnagar housing colony (near Sanathnagar Industrial area) to Ramachandrapuram shows that although most of the land is vacant (except for the Kukatpally housing complex), both sides of the road are dotted with



signboard of housing cooperative societies, some of them being the IDPL employees colony, HMT employees colony, Dharma Reddy colony, CID colony, Matrusri Housing Cooperative, ICRISAT phase IV, etc. Therefore one can safely predict that in future the growth in these areas will destroy whatever possibility there was of developing Ramachandrapuram as a satellite township.

The Andhra Pradesh Housing Board has also built a number of commercial complexes, most of them being on the Mukramjahi Road near Nampally, except for the one built on the Sarojini Devi Road in Secunderabad. Most of these multi-storeyed complexes are the offices of central and state government agencies like the Geological Survey of India, Pay & Accounts, Andhra Pradesh Public Service Commission, State Tourist Department, headquarters of Andhra Pradesh Housing Board and others (see Table 19). A list of the various housing schemes undertaken by A.P. Housing Board within the Hyderabad metropolitan region since its inception in 1960 is also presented (Table 20). Although the table shows that most of the housing undertaken by APHB was for lower income group and economically weaker sections, the actual beneficiaries were the middle class employees because the cost of even the subsidised LIG and EWS housing scheme is well beyond the means of the urban poor.

**TABLE-19****COMMERCIAL COMPLEXES BUILT BY APHB IN TWIN CITIES**

Sl. No.	Name	No. of Floors	Cost in Lakhs	Year
1.	Gruhakalpa	7	17.10	1967
2.	Manoranjana	7	11.63	1969
3.	Pay & Accounts Office, I,II Blocks	4 4	11.00	1972
4.	Record Building	4	7.35	1975
5.	A.P.P.S.C.	4	7.35	1975
6.	M.J. Road (Shops)	3	100	1975
	(Total shops 252)			
7.	Extension of Manoranjana	4	41.00	1975
8.	Extension of Gruhakalpa	4	3.00	1979
9.	Cafeteria	2	1.16	----
10.	Office Building (behind Gruhakalpa)	3	3.37	1978
11.	Guest House	2	1.00	1972
12.	Baghlingampally C.C.	8	--	----
13.	Commercial Complex at S.D.Road, Secunderabad	3	5	1974
14.	Gagan Vihar	14	--	----

**Source : APHB**

**TABLE - 20**

**LIST OF VARIOUS HOUSING PROJECTS UNDERTAKEN BY**  
**ANDHRA PRADESH HOUSING BOARD IN HYDERABAD METROPOLITAN REGION**

Sl. No.	Name	Hig	Mig	Lig	Ews	Exp.H	Total	Remarks
1.	Bagh Lingampally	—	184	424	—	—	608	Financed by HUDCO, 1982.
	Phase-I	96	240	—	—	—	336	Self Financing Scheme (SFS) 1983-84
	Phase-II	60	40	—	—	—	100	SFS(House built over garages) 84-85
		160	368	—	—	—	528	1984-85
	Phase-III	LA 04	—	—	—	—	64	SFS, 86-87
	Phase-IV	—	—	—	—	—	32	(Under Construction) 1987-88
2.	Fatehnagar Bharatnagar	— 95	188	616	792	200	1996 95	SFS 1979-83 (HIG Duplex Flats Purposal)
3.	Vengal Rao Nagar	—	90	326	198	9	623	1972-75
4.	Sanjeev Reddy Nagar	—	570	695	590	—	1855	
5.	Prakasham Nagar	—	20	33	107	—	160	
6.	B.K. Guda	—	31	210	60	—	301	
7.	Mehidipatnam	—	88	—	—	—	88	
8.	Saifabad	—	69	—	—	—	69	
9.	Ameerpet & Panjagutta	—	—	—	—	—	91	
10.	Bansilal Bagh	—	42 14	29	20	—	14	
11.	Banjara Hills	—	—	—	—	—	14	
			14	—	—	—		

12. Vijayanagar Colony:	---					173
i) P.S. Nagar	---	218	56	16	---	290
ii) Mallapally	---	16	818	108	---	942
iii) Mosempura	---	---	---	290	---	290
iv) M.P.Lines	---	---	---	120	---	120
13. Khairtabad	---	38	---	---	---	38
14. Santosh Nagar (Defence Labs)	---	180	287	328	---	795 (1969-70)
15. Malakpet (Race Course)	---	---	113	84	---	197
16. Madannapet (Musheerabad Jail)	---	10	56	---	---	66
17. Saidabad	---	47	254	---	---	301
18. Bahadurpura	---	25	41	---	---	66
19. Baragalli	---	---	5	28	---	33
20. Chandulal Baradari	---	33	164	---	---	197
21. Yakutpura	---	---	37	242	---	279
22. Moula Ali	---	182	780	---	---	962
23. Vigyanpuri (Osmania University)	---	48	48	---	---	96
24. Mahboob Mansion	---	221	243	---	---	464
25. Kukatpally:						
Phase-I	---	452	528	660	---	1640 (1979-82)
Phase-II	---	452	528	660	---	1640
Phase-III	---	552	1896	---	---	2448 1981-86
Phase-IV	---	192	2556	---	---	2748
Phase-V	---	912	1856	---	---	2768
Phase-VI	---	144	64	---	---	208 (Under SFC)
	---	470	---	---	---	470
Phase-VII	---	1422	480	---	---	1902
Phase-VIII	---	2079	3512	---	---	5382
26. Indian Airlines Employees (Begumpet)	---	159	---	---	---	159 (86-87)

## V. The Quli Qutub Shah Urban Development Authority:

### 1. Historical Beginning:

As has been previously stated, the Quli Qutub Shah Urban Development Authority (henceforth to be known as QQSDA) was created by the ruling political elite in 1981 in order to placate the residents of the riot prone old city area which was in a process of urban decay. Initially it had no legal basis and had been created by the State Government through an executive order. The Chief Minister was the Chairman right from its inception and the power of this high office gave the plan and the activities of the QQSUDA the desired legitimacy and authority. Grandiose plans which were in accordance to the zonal development plans of the HUDA were drawn. But most of the projects were never taken up because of lack of adequate funds, political squabbles between the non-official members of the authority and the lack of will on the part of the Government.

This authority was shelved by the newly elected government of the Telugu Desam in 1983. They wanted to revamp all existing urban agencies in the State in order to wipeout the remaining traces of the Congress-I hold in the bureaucracy and consolidate its own position. But reacting to the pressures of the urban voters from the old city, QQSUDA was resurrected in 1985 and registered as a society under the Andhra Pradesh (Telangana area) Public Societies Registration Act to give it the required

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legal basis. An ambitious five year perspective plan for the development of the old city (comprising the wards 9 and 13 to 23) was drawn out for 1985-90 with an estimated budget of Rs.120.55 crores (see table 21). As QQSUDA was a new born creature in the field of Urban Planning and Development and lacked the required staff and infrastructure for such a massive redevelopment and renewal project, it was decided that the QQSUDA would eventually remain a funding agency acting through already established Central and State Government agencies like Andhra Pradesh State Electricity Board, Metropolitan Water Works, MCH, Indian Railway and others for the implementation of its programmes. Although seven years have passed since its inception, not much head way has been made in its redevelopment programmes. This is evident from its inability to spend the yearly grants of the government. Except for sporadic provision of civic amenities like public waters taps, street lights, drainage and sewer lines, none of the major projects have taken up. Since the commissioner of MCH is also the administrator of the QQSUDA, the necessary technical skill and manpower is also under its disposal. Hence the malaise for its inactivity seems to be somewhere else, may be in the impracticability of many of its projects given the socio-economic and political atmosphere in the old city. This problem will be discussed in greater detail after we have delineated the master plan drawn up by QQSUDA for the development of the old city.

TABLE - 21

**FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE SCHEMES TO BE IMPLEMENTED**  
**BY QQSDA DURING THE PLAN PERIOD 1985-90**

	<u>Estimate cost</u> <u>(in crores)</u>
1. Widening and formation of roads and construction of bridges	26.76
2. Construction of parking, car, auto, taxi parking & Bus stand	1.31
3. Traffic Improvement System	1.00
4. Providing of Street lights	8.03
5. Water supply (replacement of old mains, provision of sewerage pipes and extension of water mains to new areas)	7.50
6. Re-structuring and augmentation of sewerage system.	25.38
7. Educational Facilities (Improvement of existing schools and construction of new schools and polytechnics)	3.63
8. Health facilities	0.54
9. Stadium and swimming pools	1.57
10. Parks and play grounds	1.99
11. Environmental Improvement programme (Provision of pour flush water closets)	1.43
12. Housing and plotted development	11.05
13. Construction of commercial and office cum residential complexes and district commercial centres	29.36
14. Establishment & Contingencies	1.00
TOTAL:	<u>120.55</u>

Source : QQSDA

## 2. QQSDA's Policies:

The various proposals of the masterplan drawn up by QQSDA are:

1. Road Development Programme: As the old city of Hyderabad had been planned for a different era with different means of communication, most of the roads are narrow winding and unsuitable for modern means of transport and communication. The QQSDA plans to undertake a massive road widening programme along with the construction of 'missing links' between major arterial roads. About 52 stretches of roads are planned to be either widened or constructed at an estimated cost of Rs.17.76 crores. The important ones are (a) Charminar to Falaknuma which is proposed to be widened from 50 ft to 100 ft at the cost of Rs.1.25 crores. (b) Chandrayanagutta to Santoshnagar (inner ring road) to be widened from 39 ft to 200 ft at a cost of Rs.3.1 crores. (c) Dabeerpura road and fly over at the cost of Rs.2.7 crores. (d) Laad Bazaar road which is to be widened from 35 ft to 80 ft at the cost of Rs.22 lakhs. (e) ring road around Charminar at the cost of Rs.60 lakhs. (f) Langarhouse to Golconda Fort Darwaza at the cost of Rs.15 lakhs.

Although the road widening programme is necessary, some of the schemes especially the ones passing through the walled city area (Wards 20 to 23) involves pulling down of palaces, mosques, gates of architectural and historical value and may



also disturb the very social fabric of the walled city. Then, few of these plans of QQSUDA are also in variance to the zonal development plans drawn by HUDA. The road widening programmes get a preferential treatment from the Government because of the visual impact such road widening programme have on the citizen, being easily perceptible compared to sanitation and sewerage works which remain underground.

2. Street lights: Under this scheme QQSUDA plans the provision of modern street lights on important roads, conversion of low tension wires to high tension wires, realignment of existing HTCLT lines along roads, etc. at the total cost of Rs.802 lakhs.

3. Construction of parking lots, Auto and Taxi stand and Bus stand: This scheme is to be undertaken to control the traffic congestion on the Charminar-Faluknuma road by constructing parking lots, auto stands and shifting the bus stand from Charminar area, all at the cost of Rs.131.51 lakhs.

4. Water supply: Proposals under this scheme include replacement of old and wornout water supply pipes at the cost of Rs.2 crores, provision of sleeve pipes at places where water pipes cross drainage pipes in order to avoid water pollution at cost of Rs.50 lakhs and extension of water supply to new areas like parts of Langer House, Jiaguda, Riyasat Nagar, Kondal Reddy Nagar, etc. at the cost of Rs.5 crores. The total scheme is to cost about Rs.7.5 crores.

5. Sewerage: Restructuring of the existing sewerage system is to be undertaken by (a) laying duplicate sewers parallel to the existing ones to relieve the overloaded sewers (b) laying new mains to extend sewerage facilities to unserved areas (c) remodelling the branch lines and lateral lines by increasing their size in order to cope with existing and projected load. The total costs of the proposal would be about Rs. 5.38 crores.

6. Education facilities: The scheme was drawn according to the HUDA zonal development plan and in consultation with the Director, School Education. The proposal includes renovation and addition of new buildings to the existing schools and starting of new school. About 16 schools are to be renovated and buildings added at the cost of Rs.45 lakhs. In addition 7 high schools and 83 primary schools have been proposed in the zonal development plan for Charminar area at the cost of Rs.240 lakhs. In addition a polytechnic has been proposed at the cost of Rs.78 lakhs. The total funds required would be Rs.363 lakhs.

7. Health facilities: In accordance with the zonal development plan drawn by HUDA two general hospitals in zone No.10, two health centres and one primary health centre are proposed in zone No.11 and 8A respectively. In addition 7 child welfare centres and 3 dispensaries are to be upgraded at the cost of Rs.453.55 lakhs.

8. Stadium and Swimming Pools: As there are no stadiums and swimming pools in the old city it is proposed to construct a stadium in Mir Jumla area and another mini stadium at City College ground at the cost of Rs.153 lakhs. Two swimming pools are also proposed at Khilwat (behind Baggi Khandi) and Bahadurpura near (Auqdir gulshan) at the cost of Rs.4 lakhs. The total expenditure would be around Rs.157 lakhs.

9. Parks and playgrounds: The Imliban park is proposed to be constructed along with an auditorium at the cost of Rs.110 lakhs. In addition 3? small parks are to be developed at sites proposed by MCH at the cost of Rs.64 lakhs. The development of Charminar square park is Lo cost Rs.25 lakhs. The total cost of the scheme would be Rs.199 lakhs.

10. Environmental Improvement Programme: As the MCH has already undertaken this programme with the help of Over Seas Development Agency of England funding, the QQSUDA with share with MCH schemes like conversion of dry latrines into pour flush type at the cost of Rs.142.50 lakhs.

11. Housing and Plotted Development:The QQSUDA has already notified for land acquisition for housing schemes in localities of Misrigunj, Quila Mohd. Nagar, Rein Bazar, Phool Bagh and Falaknuma. In addition Government land at four localities has been alienated for housing the plotted development. They are

Nandi Muslaiguda, Anjudud Dowla Sayeedabad village and Eqndalguda. About 11,020 plots are proposed for development of EWS, LIG, MIG and HIG houses. The total cost of the project will be about Rs.11.05 crores.

Recently as a part of 10 years perspective plan to decongest the old city, the QQSUDA has drawn a proposal to develop a satellite township near Kattedan about 15 kms from Charminar on a 5000 acre site in order to accommodate 60,000 families.

## 12. Construction of Commercial and Office cum Residential Complexes and District Commercial Centres:

In accordance to the zonal development plan, the QQSUDA proposes to undertake the following schemes:

	<u>Cost in lakhs</u>
1) Construction of commercial office cum residential complex at Manjili Begam Haveli	13333.28
2) Construction of commercial cum office complex at the slum adjacent to Mecca Masjid.	64.31
3) Shopline along Charminar - Shah Ali Banda Road	287.03
4) Commercial cum office complex at Purani Haveli	406.63
5) Construction of District Commercial Centre at Chandrayangutta	339.00
6) Construction of District Commercial Centre at Mirjumla	506.00
Total:	<u>2936.25</u>

### 3. QQSUDA's Constraints:

If one were to analyze the reasons for the non implementation of most of the schemes planned by QQSUDA one would find that other than the problem of land acquisition which is an extremely arduous and capital intensive task specially in a highly congested area like the old city, the other major reason is the organisational structure of QQSUDA itself.

The QQSUDA has been formed as a political solution to the problems of the old city by the ruling political elite through an executive order. Therefore right from the beginning it is a creature in the hands of the ruling political elite specially with the Chief Minister being its Chairman. Though such an authority structure has certain advantages particularly in the allocation of funds (QQSUDA gets more than 40 percent of the total funds allotted to the five urban development autho-

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rities in the State) it can also be used as a propaganda mechanism by the ruling political elite in order to woo old city voters. One thus finds frequent announcement of grand plans for the revitalization of the old city by the Chief Minister though on the ground reality remains static.

The membership structure of QQSUDA is fraught with political implications given the explosive communal situation in the old city. Initially when the policy making body of the QQSUDA

was large and unweildy with non-official political nomination outnumbering the official members, the very few times this body met (twice in 1981, once in 1982 and once in 1984) "there were unseemly wrangles and division of the members on a community basis".<sup>23</sup> Even a question of raising of the FSI in the old city proposed by the Majlis members and opposed by the official members because of restrictions imposed by zoning laws (in view of architectural landscape and over burdened infrastructure) became a political wrangle with the BJP members furiously opposing the Majlis proposal. The meeting was 'laced' more by political passions rather than rational considerations. In another instance when the Majlis members wanted QQSUDA to have a statutory base like HUDA, the BJP opposed this move, although such opposition has no rationality behind it.<sup>24</sup>

After 1985, when QQSDA was registered as a society, the policy making body had two tiers consisting of (1) the society with a large membership which meets only occasionally to formulate general policies on the problems of the old city and (2) the Managing Committee which is the Executive authority of QQSDA. The Managing Committee takes most of the policy decision and in the absence of the Chief Minister who is the Chairman, the administrator carries out his job. The Official experts out number politicians in this body. The Municipal Commissioner has been functioning simultaneously as the administrator of QQSUDA since 1985. Although such an arrangement has got various

of tremendous urbanisation, the State plays a very major role. It initiates growth by setting up industrial estates, constructing commercial complexes, satellite townships, housing for poor and by giving away large tracts of land to public sector industries, universities, defence establishments and research organisations. It attempts to control urban growth by forming urban planning agencies, formulating land use plans, passing legislation like Urban Land Ceiling Act, zoning laws, etc. But often, there are clashes of interests between the political component who control the State and the bureaucratic component represented by the planning agencies. Often the long term rational planning undertaken by town planners clash with the interests of the political elite who have an eye on their electorate. The growth of the city is therefore shaped to a considerable extent by the pulls and pressures of this contradictory relation.

Thus one often finds that instead of controlling and guiding urban growth, the State becomes the creator of urban crises.

advantages specially for the speedy implementation of QQSDA project given the enormous manpower and technical expertise available in MCH, the situation has turned piquant after the Municipal Corporation was captured by the Majlis.

The QQSDA being headed by the Chief Minister is an organ in the hands of the ruling Telugu Desam party. This has become difficult to digest for a party like Majlis which claims to be the protector of the rights of the minority community concentrated mostly in the old city areas. This is because the Telugu Desam and Majlis are bitter rivals in the Municipal Council. Any development plan announced by QQSDA through a statement issued by the Chief Minister is looked at by the Majlis as a move to weaken its power base in the old city.

In such a situation the Municipal Commissioner is pulled in antagonistic directions by political masters belong to opposing parties. Given his loyalties to the State Government and the antagonism which usually develops between the Municipal administration headed by the Commissioner and the Municipal Councillors, he tends to throw in his lot with the State Government. This forces the QQSDA to work in a vitiated atmosphere which is not conducive for any development programme specially in a problem laden area like the old city.

We can summarise by stating that in Third World countries, where a few metropolitan cities are reeling under the impact



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## CHAPTER V

### A QUEST FOR AN APPROPRIATE THEORY ON GROWTH OF THIRD WORLD CITIES

Before embarking on a search for an appropriate theoretical explanation of the growth of Third World cities, it would be worthwhile to first summarise the major proposition of the three macro-level paradigms prevalent in the field of urban sociology which claim to have an explanation for the growth of present day cities. These three major theoretical perspectives are the Human Ecological, the Marxian and the Weberian approaches. After summarizing these theories, an outline of the peculiar features of Third World urbanization and city growth would be presented and the relevance and explanatory potential of the above mentioned theories in understanding the process of growth of Third World cities would be tested against it. During this endeavour the attempt will be to point out the lacunae in the explanatory potential of these theories and to provide, if possible, an alternate explanation for growth of Third World cities.

#### **The Human Ecology:<sup>1</sup>      The Traditional Approach:**

From its very inception, there were certain ambiguities regarding the scope of applicability of human ecological school and part of it stems from its shifting objectives and the diverse methodological techniques accompanying them. On the one hand, human ecology claimed to present a theory of the city offering an explanation of the pattern of city growth and urban culture, on the other hand it claimed to be a science dealing specifically

with the theoretical problem of how human populations adopted to their environment. This constant shift of focus between a concrete physical reality and a theoretical abstraction<sup>was</sup> exacerbated by ambiguity inherent in Park's - concept of 'community' - the term being employed to both the physical community and to the ecological process.<sup>3</sup> Park's approach was based on the Darwinian concept of struggle for existence and this led him to conclude "that order emerged in the human community through the operation of 'natural' (unplanned) process such as competition, dominance, succession and segregation".<sup>4</sup> (These processes were later termed the 'ecological processes').

For Park, there are two aspects to any human society. While one aspect deals with the utilitarian character of human relations where competition for survival is the basic motive force (a view Park finds in the work of Herbert Spencer), the other deals with the subordination of individual will to the 'collective mind' of society and is manifested in consensus and common purpose (a view he traces to the Comtian notion of moral order). The first level, Park terms 'community' and the second, 'society'. He therefore distinguishes between community as the biotic level of social life and society as its cultural level. The biotic level was earmarked by him as the study area of human ecologists. This biotic level was based on competition and division of labour and was derived from Darwin's concept of 'the web of life'. Competition between

individuals, he argued, gave rise to relations of competitive cooperation through differentiation of functions (division of labour) and the orderly distribution of these functions into areas where they were best suited. This functional (or economic) and spatial differentiation of activities was caused by the 'dominance' certain functions had in human community. The dominance of industrial and commercial activities helped them to out manoeuvre other activities from the city center. The pressure for space at the city centre forced up land values there and this in turn determined the pattern of land values in every other area of the city. Differences in land values are thus the mechanism by which different functional groups are distributed in an orderly efficient but unplanned manner in space. Mckenzie<sup>5</sup> one of Park's colleagues at the University of Chicago has explicated in detail the modus operandi of the ecological processes of invasion, succession and domination and the resultant formation of natural areas, while Burgess<sup>6</sup> has presented a model of the spatial manifestation of these ecological processes. He suggested that the city could be conceptualized ideally as consisting of five zones arranged in a pattern of concentric circles. The expansion of the city occurred as a result of the invasion by each zone of the next outer zone.

The operation of the ecological processes described so far resulted from the natural and spontaneous reaction of

the human community to changes in their environment. However, human population which differed from the plant community because it had the characteristics of mobility and purpose, was also organised at the cultural level through communication and consensus.

According to human ecologists, the cultural aspects of human society which they dubbed as 'society' as opposed to community appeared only when the biotic struggle for existence had reached a natural equilibrium. To quote Park "In short, society, from the ecological point of view, and in so far as it is a territorial unit, is just the area within which biotic competition has declined and the struggle for existence has assumed higher and more sublimated form."<sup>7</sup> However, this does not mean that there is no competition at the societal level, for it becomes conscious and collectively organised as it is shaped by cultural norms.

Park is not methodologically clear about the definition of the terms community and society. On some occasion he refers to them as empirical categories which have a definite territory and are visible objects. On other occasions he treats them as analytical constructs. According to this definition, community is not a thing but a unorganized and unconscious process whereby human population adjust to their environment through unrestricted competition. Park also attempts to reconstruct the complexity of social reality by taking into account the additional factors

of human technology and cultural values. He states that the four elements of the 'social complex'<sup>1</sup> i.e. population, artifacts, customs and natural resources help to maintain the biotic balance.<sup>8</sup> He takes the analysis further and suggests that it is possible to conceptualize of a hierarchy of constraints on the individual in terms of operation of the ecological, economic, political and moral orders, each being progressively restricting on the individual. "The individual is more free upon the economic level than upon the political, more free on political than the moral."<sup>9</sup>

Lastly the concept of 'natural area' is very important for human ecologists because it helps to overcome the problem of the conceptual division between the biotic and the cultural level by presenting visible objects like the ghetto, red light area, suburb, etc. where the two levels fuse. A natural area is not characterised merely by division of labour and competitive cooperation, as a moral area it is also characterised by consensus and communication.<sup>10</sup>

The traditional Human ecological school has been criticized on four counts. First, accepting the basic assumption of the ecological school regarding the role played by competition. Davie<sup>11</sup> and others have criticised Burgess's concentric zone theory pointing out that there is no uniform pattern of residential location and the pattern of industrial location determines



the shape, the city growth will take. Secondly Robinson<sup>13</sup> has observed that the human ecological school does not draw a distinction between ecological correlations and individual correlations. Ecological correlations between illiteracy rates and the proportion of blacks in a given population unit says Robinson, does not necessarily justify the deduction that blacks are illiterates.

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Thirdly, Alihan and others have criticised the ecological school for not maintaining the biotic-cultural dichotomy in their studies and often fusing the two levels in their descriptions. Saunders<sup>14</sup> defends the ecologists against this charge, stating that it was the very intention of Park to differentiate the two levels analytically, and to fuse them in empirical discussions and the concept of natural area was used exactly for this purpose.

Finally Firey<sup>15</sup> was very critical of human ecology for overemphasizing the role played by economic maximisation in locational decisions and neglecting the equally crucial role of sentiments and values.

One can defend ecological school by pointing out that Park never denied the significance of cultural factors and had included both technology and non-material culture as two of the four elements of the 'social complex' discussed above.

### **Human Ecology: Contemporary Structural Functional Approach:**

The central problem of contemporary ecological inquiry is to understand how a population adapts to a constantly changing yet restricting environment. This adaptation is considered to be a collectively organised phenomenon.

Hawley's<sup>16</sup> analysis of the process of adaptation can be understood with the help of the four ecological principles of interdependence, key function, differentiation and dominance.<sup>17</sup> Unlike the traditional ecological approach which emphasised upon competition, contemporary ecological enquiry is primarily concerned with interdependence. In any human population group, the process of adaptation to the environment involves the development of interdependence among its members. Interdependence may take the "form of either symbiotic relations (i.e., complementary relation between functionality dissimilar groups) or commensulistic relations (i.e., aggregation of functionally similar groups). While the symbiotic union enhances the creative power of the group (for it enables specialisation), the commensulistic union enhances their defensive powers (for it increases numerical strength)."<sup>18</sup> The symbiotic unions which are therefore 'productive' have been labelled by Hawley as 'corporate groups' while the commensulistic unions which are 'protective' are labelled as 'categoric groups'. The main corporate groups in modern society are familar, associational and territorial while

the main categoric groups are based on common occupation (for eg, the trade unions). These two axes of interdependence are not mutually exclusive and corporate groups may sometimes function as categoric groups, (for example when faced by an external threat), while categoric groups may develop corporate characteristics (when for example a specialised leadership stratum is developed).

The next important ecological principle is the concept of 'key function' developed by Hawley. By 'key function' Hawley means that certain units within the system play a very crucial role in the adaptation process than others, these units being specially concerned with adaptation to the external environment. Although Hawley does not elaborate on the exact nature of these key functions. Peter Saunders states that one can infer from his arguments that in a capitalistic society the key functions are performed by the private enterprise firms which mediate both between the population and the natural environment (through material production) and between the population and the social environment (through trade).<sup>20</sup>

The role played by the other two ecological principles, differentiation and dominance depends on the performance of the key function. When the productivity of the key function is low as in hunting and pastoral societies, there is very little of differentiation and functional specialisation, whereas in modern industrial societies the scope for functional differentiation is infinite.

The last ecological principle, dominance also depends on the key function, for the dominant positions are occupied by those units which contribute most to the key function of adapting to the external environment. According to Hawley, dominance is attained by the unit that controls the flow of sustenance into the community.<sup>21</sup> Therefore the dominant units are economic rather than political. To quote Hawley:

It is commonly assumed that government assumes the dominant position... Yet its dominance is not without qualification... government especially in the United States, plays a passive part in the sustenance flow to the community.<sup>22</sup>

The functional dominance which business exerts within the ecological system is expressed politically through the influence it has over community decision making process. Hawley himself did a study of the power which business exerts in relation to urban renewal programmes.<sup>23</sup>

This functional dominance is expressed not only politically but also spatially and temporally. The functional dominance gets manifested spatially by the occupation of central sites by those units performing the key functions and the spatial distribution of the other units depending on the relative importance of their roles when compared to the key function. The functional hierarchy is therefore expressed in the form of a spatial gradient and Hawley in fact confirms Burgess's concen-

tric zone theory. But he stresses on functional dominance rather than on dominance per se. Thus when business performs the key function, it will occupy a spatially dominant site while in a pre-industrial society, the central locations will be occupied by household units performing crucial tasks.

The temporal dimension of dominance is expressed in the way the rhythm of the activity of the key function structures other community activities, an example being the 'rush hour' in modern industrial society.<sup>24</sup>

The four ecological principles: interdependence, key function, differentiation and dominance as described above explain how the human population adapts itself to the environment, with a tendency to move towards an equilibrium position.

This equilibrium is accomplished: (1) functionally, when the various functions are complementary to one another and collectively provide for the integration of the system (2) demographically, when the number of units engaged in each function is sufficient to maintain the function and (3) distributively, when the units are arranged in space and time in such a way that accessibility between them is in direct relation to the frequency of exchanges.<sup>25</sup>

But equilibrium is an analytical construct and can be possible in only a closed system. Theoretically equilibrium

remains only a tendency, first because of imminent changes occurring in the environment and secondly due to the cumulative changes occurring in the system due to the growing productivity of the key function. System change is therefore an evolutionary process involving expansion and readjustment of the ecological system.

This emphasis on evolutionary change can be found in the work of Ottis Dudley Duncan,<sup>28</sup> one of the leading exponents of Hawley's framework. Duncan conceptualizes the ecological system as a functionally interdependent 'ecological complex' consisting of population, environment, human technology and human organization. He explained system is growth with the help of the formula: technological accumulation at an accelerated rate; intensified exploitation of environment, demographic transition or population explosion and organizational revolution.

The contemporary human ecological school has been criticised on the following counts.

First, the neglect of the cultural level by the ecological school and its stress on the biotic level as an area of study has been criticised by Firey and others who represent the socio-

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cultural school. This is because values, sentiments and motivations play an important role in determining land use changes. Secondly, Michelson<sup>29</sup> and others have criticised ecological theory for the incomplete conceptualization of the environment

where the physical environment takes a secondary role and space is used as a medium over which different natural areas are formed rather than a variable with potential effects of its own.<sup>30</sup> Thirdly, the ecological complex (population, organization, environment and technology) has been criticised by Sidney Willhelm<sup>31</sup> for being used tautologically i.e., not only to furnish the data but also to analyze it. The fourth point relates to the deterministic nature of the ecological theories and the problem of 'teleology' i.e., interpretation in terms of purpose. Ecological theories are criticised by Willhelm, Robson<sup>32</sup> and others for not taking <sup>into</sup> account the subjective values and purposes of individual actors within a social system. Finally, ecological theories have been criticised for being ideological, i.e., reflecting the economic value orientation of the capitalist society. Castells,<sup>33</sup> the marxist urbanologist is very critical of the ecological school and states that the apparently 'natural forces' identified by Park must be explained as forces specific to the capitalist mode of production. Saunders says that the concerns of the ecological school are the concerns of the dominant groups in society for 'it talks of maximising efficiency but has nothing to say about optimizing social justice, it talks of maintaining equilibrium through gradual change and readjustment and rules out even the possibility of fundamental restricting... At best it is mildly reformist, at worst it is crushingly reactionary.'<sup>34</sup>

### The Marxist Perspective on City Growth:

The 'city' has become an object for study for Marxist scholars because of the vital role it plays in the accumulation of capital. Many Marxist scholars now stress on the need for a spatial interpretation of the growth of the capitalist economy because space is not only the medium on which capitalism engraves its pattern but is also the object of conflict between different classes. Enzo Mingione<sup>35</sup> states that the main focus of study in Urban Sociology is the relationship between territory (or space) and the dominant productive and class system. To study this relationship one has to look at the three aspects of territory. These are:

a) Territory is a map of social relations of production which are usually exploitative in character. For example, the contradiction between city and country in the stage of primitive accumulation, between centre and periphery during capitalist accumulation and between development and underdevelopment during imperialist accumulation.

b) Territory is itself a means of production directly in agriculture and indirectly in towns for building whose ownership and control determines class relationships. Therefore land speculation and land use planning exerts monopolistic control over housing market and agricultural produce.



c) Territory is a consumer good in short supply and its unequal distribution among various social classes leads to stratification of the population, high housing costs and neglect of certain areas.

The city therefore becomes the arena where the activities of production, reproduction, consumption and the social and political activity organised around them takes place.

In the advanced capitalist countries, cities emerged as a consequence of industrial capitalism and its institution of commodity production. This institution may be characterised as a general social process in which capitalist firms take material and equipment, combine these with live labour and sell the resulting output at prices which fetch them a profit. This incessant profit maximising drive of commodity producers leads to a spatial concentration of industrial firms because proximity cuts down transportation costs.<sup>50</sup>

The city grows under the propulsion of industrial development. The existing industries attract other industries leading to additional economic development in the secondary and tertiary sector, infrastructural development like roads, ports, warehouses, railway yards, banks and a concentration of labour force migrating from the countryside. For example, in the West, the industrial city had as its core, the inner city where industries were concentrated along with working class housing. The upper

classes moved away from these congested areas as the transport web developed outwards creating residential segregation and hierarchy.<sup>37</sup>

A capitalist city growing under the propulsions of commodity production was shaped to a considerable extent by the need to streamline and strengthen the productive process (access to labour, raw material and finances) and to permit a quick turnover of capital by reducing the indirect costs of production and circulation of capital.<sup>38</sup>

According to Marx, value is created in the process of production and not in that of circulation. The production process can be controlled, the time span shortened with the help of technology and labour management techniques but the period of circulation of capital is not technically reducible as it is contingent upon purchase, transport, storage, market and financial support.<sup>39</sup>

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Lamarche states that in order to reduce these circulation costs, there emerges a specialized form in the circulation sphere called 'property capital'. Property capitalists select certain advantageous sites for development and equip these with buildings **which** are then let out to different commercial, financial and administrative institutions. The builders are able to charge high rents from the tenants because of two advan-

tages they provide. First, these buildings offer situational advantages because they are located in already developed areas and second, these buildings are let out to tenants who are engaged in mutually benefitting activities like commerce, finance and administration. The result is that high rise buildings for administrative, commercial and financial activities are encouraged because of the profitability involved and residential housing specially for middle and low income groups suffers.

Harvey<sup>41</sup> states that cities also grow because of over accumulation of capital in the primary circuit (i.e. production process) which leads to investment in the secondary circuit (comprising the built environment for production like factories, warehouses, etc., and built environment for consumption like houses, hotels, etc.) and the tertiary circuit (comprising of investment in science and technology and social investments for reproduction of labour power).

The city cannot however spontaneously serve the need of capital as the contradiction in the system of commodity production also manifests itself in the urban sphere. The urban land use is primarily structured by rent maximising land market and the geographical pattern that develops is of a dense commercial core, a tendency for ever widening peripheral scattering of industries and the appearance of socially segregated residential neighbourhoods. This complex pattern can be explained in terms of a juxtaposition of interdependent

production space (in which accumulation of capital takes place) and reproduction space (in which regeneration of labour is achieved), mediated by a third subjacent space devoted to circulation needs.<sup>42</sup>

Breakdown or crises occurs in the urban sphere in two significant areas, the first is in the sphere of collective consumption and second is in the complex interdependent system of land use explained above.

According to Lojkine,<sup>43</sup> collective consumption goods have the following characteristics: (a) They produce services like shelter, healthcare, etc. (b) They are inseparable from their means of production, (c) They are consumed collectively and (d) They are not destroyed in the act of consumption. These goods according to him are the material supports of the activities devoted to the extended reproduction of labour power.

In the sphere of collective consumption one finds that many of the outputs like streets, subways, bridges are both capital intensive and highly indivisible and frustrate the profit motives of capitalists because of the long amortization time involved. Further, as Harvey points out, they are immobile in space and value incorporated in them cannot be moved without being destroyed. The state is therefore forced to intervene through urban planning and produce the items of collective

consumption, financing them through direct and indirect taxes. Secondly, some of the items of collective consumption like cheap housing, cultural and recreational facilities, garbage collection can be privately produced but not being viable for large scale production, they are not taken up by private investors and require subsidy or direct investment from the State.

In the second instance, since the urban land use exists, in the form of integrated system of inter-dependent production and reproduction space, any breakdown has deleterious impact. The incursion of commercial activities into residential neighbourhoods disturbs the reproduction pattern and the intensification of business land use in the central city leads to congestion, parking problem, pollution, etc., and hence distortion in production space pattern. Secondly property relations restrict access to land. High rents and land speculations lead to artificial scarcities resulting in spatial distortion like unproductive wastage of land in some areas and shortage of land, which leads to congestion in another. These problems are further complicated by what Harvey sees as the contradictory dynamics of accumulation (provoking urban growth and change) versus the inertia and slow convertability of the built environment (resisting urban growth and change).

The emergence of planning as an institution therefore becomes important. But because planning makes its appearance

from the very womb of capitalist structure, its actions are essentially palliative in nature and cannot transgress the very social relationships from which it has emerged. It acquires and changes its specific goal, emphasis and contingent ideology (planning theory, planning education, professional codes) in response to specific development in urban civil society. As problems arise, urban planning tries to deal with them with measures like urban renewal, infrastructural development, massive public housing scheme, zoning, etc. But each specific intervention leads to further escalation of the crises. Urban renewal means resettlement of displaced population at another place, infrastructural development leads to spread of built up areas at the expense of others and the institutionalization of the planning practice within a complex bureaucracy leads to re-politicalization of urban planning which in the first place was a political intervention. The capitalist state is thus caught up in a constantly escalating spiral of urban interventions where the more it acts, the more it gets caught in the mesh of urban crises.

As the working class is made to pay the cost of accumulation - insufficient social facilities, higher commuting costs, squalid and ecologically dangerous housing, rising land rents, environmental decay and overcrowding, it becomes restive and tends to challenge the system.<sup>44</sup> Capital accumulation, Mingione, points out "creates and reproduces a territorial social order

which is contradictory in itself and incompatible with the interests of a large majority of the population." Urban life as a result becomes progressively invaded by political controversies and dilemmas which manifest themselves in the form of urban social movements.

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~~Trends in the re-structuring of capitalist cities:~~

The capitalist system has tried to overcome this crises in the urban sphere in two ways: (a) by resorting to high technology in the production process, introducing automation, standardising product so as to cheapen constant capital input and enable product innovation and diversification; (b) by relocating industries in low wage, non-unionised areas like rural areas within their countries or setting up industries in Third World countries.

This 'geographical disarticulation' of production has been made possible because of (1) concentration and centralisation of capital in giant multi-dimensional firms and concentration of finance in major banks and (2) the technological revolution that is occurring in western countries which has led to a shift from a mechanical to programmable electronic technology.

This technological revolution and the accompanying revolution in communication is making superfluous the need for concen-

tration of production, labour, transportation facilities, and other related activities for industrial growth. The circuit of capital has been made independent of space specificity and surplus value is extracted by combining constant and variable capital from various advantageous positions. It also permits greater leverage in bargaining with labour for the labour process has been broken up and spatially dispersed. The base of the contemporary city is the service economy and the urban landscape is dominated by office towers, high rise luxury apartments, shopping arcades, office, parks and recreational facilities. Large investments are made in Research and Development which has become the core of capitalist reconstruction.

The geographical disaggregation of industries has been achieved at higher human and social costs. The communities which had grown up around these industries face the crises of disintegration. The traditional blue collar workers who had won concession in the sphere of housing, health, wage, sanitation face the threat of displacement in the workplace and residence and this is creating considerable resentment. Manuel Castells's book 'City at the Grass Roots'<sup>47</sup> provides insight into these struggles at the community and household level which are taking on the character of multi-class coalition arranged around urban issues like collective consumption goods and control over urban space.



### The Third World City;

Although a geneology of Third World cities is complex, a common feature of all these cities is that they developed out of the interaction of indigeneous social relations with its colonial counterpart. This resulted in the integration of the colonies through these cities into the global division of labour. The foundation of Third World cities was therefore based on their role as centres of administrative and political control or as port cities, unlike in the West where the base was industrial capitalism.

In the post-colonial period, most of the governments of Third World countries welcomed multi-national investments in collaboration with domestic capital. These cities then developed pockets of affluence which were surrounded by sprawling squatter settlements of the urban poor. These urban poor live in environmentally degraded conditions and work in the informal sector, most often excluded from the ambit of 'collective consumption' goods which the state is obliged to provide for the organised labour force. They play a vital role in helping the multi-national companies which extract surplus value from their Third World projects who indulge in sub-contracting, casual labour and piece work in order to evade social security obligations and high wages and at the same time extract surplus value from their Third World projects.

These contradictions get reflected in the spatial profile of Third World cities which are marked on one hand by the physical expansion of the capacity to accumulate - flyovers, office spaces, good roads, private transport, five-star hotels, upper class housing, etc., and on the other hand by dilapidated buildings, blight, congestion and slums on every available space. The poor bear the brunt of the escalating costs involved in providing services to the capitalist sector in the form of fewer or no services, cut back in cheap transportation and environmental degradation.<sup>48</sup>

The situation is further worsened as the upper classes invest their surplus in land rather than in the productive sector being unable to compete with the multi-nationals.<sup>49</sup> The speculation on land inflates the prices on land and housing, further worsening the conditions of the urban poor.

Such deteriorating conditions have forced the urban poor in Third World countries to become volatile and assert themselves through protests like squatting on prime land, tapping water and electricity, demanding paved roads, sewerage and regularisation of their squatter settlements. A more direct and volatile assertion has been in the form of food riots (also called IMF riots) which have become common in some of the Latin American, African and Asian countries caused by the stringent austerity measures of the governments fighting a losing battle against the burden of IMF debts.<sup>50</sup>

When faced with these ever burgeoning problems, trans-national capital which had come to Third World countries because of problem in their own countries, are now relocating their industries in their own advanced capitalist world trying to solve their problem through technological innovations. Flight of these multi-nationals leave the economies of the Third World in disarray. Therefore the contradictions of the capitalist economy can be found in their most intense form in cities of the Third World.

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#### ~~The Weberian Perspective:~~

The foundation for the Weberian approach to the analysis of the city was laid by Rex and Moore<sup>52</sup> in their analysis of the housing and race relations in an inner-city area of Birmingham called Spark Brook, published in their book Race, Community and Conflict (London, Oxford University Press, 1967). Later Pahl<sup>53</sup> refined the analytical thrust of their argument and presented a conceptual framework for the study of the urban system which had remained implicit in their work.

Rex and Moore were influenced by Burgess's<sup>54</sup> work on the spatial segregation of different communities into various zones also known as natural areas and the successive migration of different migratory groups from the zone of transition.

Central to Rex and Moore's theory is their assertion that the move to the suburbs is an aspiration that is common among all groups of residents. However although suburban housing is widely desired it is not widely available. It is a scarce resource which is unequally distributed among the population. Therefore first, an analysis of the criteria used for allocation of housing to different sections of the community becomes necessary in order to understand the distribution of life chances in the city. They studied how both the bureaucratic (state) and market (private) mode of allocation of housing affected the access to housing of different population groups. Second because suburban housing is unequally distributed, it becomes the source for potential conflict and struggle over housing could be analysed as class struggle over distribution of life chances in the city.

The significance of Rex and Moore's study is two fold. First, by emphasising housing as an important, and analytically distinct, area in which individual life chances are affected, they located the theoretical concern of urban sociology firmly within the ambit of the traditional concern of mainstream sociology with sources of inequality and class conflict.<sup>55</sup> Second they brought out the relation between the spatial structure of the city and the social structure through their analysis of the system of housing allocation.

According to Pahl, "the urban is to be conceptualized as a socio-spatial system which generates patterns of inequality in the distribution of life chances over and above the inequalities generated in the sphere of production."

There are three main implications of his treatment of the urban as a socio-spatial system. First, there are fundamental spatial constraints on access to scarce urban resources and facilities. This happens because space is inherently unequal since no two people can occupy the same location in relation to the provision of any facility. Spatial constraints on life chances will therefore always operate to some extent independently of the mode of economic and political organisation. Such constraints are expressed in time/cost distance. Second, there are fundamental social constraints on access to scarce urban facilities. These reflect the distribution of power in society and are illustrated by bureaucratic rules and procedures and power of other social gate keepers who help to distribute and control urban resources. The task of urban sociology is therefore to study the goals and values of various social gatekeepers in order to explain the resulting pattern of distribution of urban resources.

The third implication of Pahl's approach is that conflict is inevitable over the distribution of urban resources because such resources are crucial in the determination of individual's

life chances and yet they are inevitably scarce and unequally distributed.<sup>57</sup>

In this initial formulation as has been delineated above Pahl had defined the urban managers as the independent variable and the population groups dependent on the allocation system as the dependent variable. But empirical research carried out, guided by his formulations encountered two problems. The first concerned the identification of urban managers i.e., whether the public sector gatekeepers were more important or the private sector agencies. The second problem concerned the autonomy of the urban managers selected for study.

These two problems of identification and autonomy led Pahl to introduce two important changes in his later work on urban managerialism. First, he distinguished between managers in the public sector and those in the private sector and stressed on the role played by former. Second, he recognized that local bureaucrats are constrained in their operation by their relation with the private sector and the central government. He now conceptualized the urban managers as 'intervening variables mediating, on the one hand, the contradictory pressures of private sector profitability and social needs, and on the other the demands of central government and the local population.'<sup>58</sup>

The urban managers are therefore no longer the independent variable and in order to identify the persons or groups acting

as the independent variable, one has to look at the changing role of the state in an advanced capitalist country like Britain. According to Pahl, in Britain at least (for he denies the possibility of developing a single explanatory framework for all capitalist countries given the wide variation between them) there is a qualitative change in the relation between the state and private capital leading to the development of what he calls the corporatist state.

"In general it could certainly be argued until fairly recently that the state was subordinating its intervention to the interests of private capital. However there comes a point when the continuing and expanding role of the state reaches a level where its power to control investment, knowledge and the allocation of services and facilities gives it an autonomy which enables it to pass beyond its previous subservient and facilitative role. The state manages every day life less for the support of private capital and more for the independent purposes of the state... Basically the argument is that Britain can be best understood as a corporatist society."<sup>59</sup>

One can explain the emergence of the corporatist state in terms of causes for its emergence, its functions and its mode of operation.<sup>60</sup>

There are four factors which explain the reasons for the emergence of corporatist state they are:

a) The growing concentration of capital in the hands of a few large oligopolies which forces the state to intervene in order to ensure an adequate return for investments and to regulate the profit, so that it does not become a license to plunder.

b) The falling rate of profit in the economy which forces private companies to seek state financial aid and in turn helps the state to exert its influence over the pattern of investment in the private sector.

c) The tremendous spurt in technological development and the escalating costs of research and development has forced even large companies to seek state aid, while the social implications of new technology in terms of pollution, public safety, levels of employment has led to more state involvement.

d) Finally, the growing intensity of international competition has led private firms to seek the support and protection of the state.

These four factors have led to a qualitative shift in the relation between private capital and the state.

According to Winkler<sup>61</sup> a proponent of Pahl's thesis, while capitalism entails the private control of private property, and socialism entails state control of collective property, 'corporatism is an economic system of private ownership and state control.'<sup>62</sup>

This change in the role played by the state vis-a-vis private capital entails a new set of state functions. "Corporatism replaces the anarchy of the free market system with the order of rational plan, it substitutes predictability for profit



maximisation; and it undermines traditional elements of capitalist property rights by dictating uses (such as investment) and restricting benefits."<sup>63</sup>

The mode of operation of the corporatist state is through a system of hierarchical control but essentially non-bureaucratic in the sense that emphasis is placed upon flexibility of administration. The State dictates policy but tries to find others to carry it out on a voluntary basis. For example, agreements are reached with trade union leaders over wages and it is then left on the union bureaucracy to convince its rank and file.

The corporatist state is therefore centralized, hierarchical and cooptive.

It is within this context that the role of the urban managers - i.e., local state officials is to be conceptualized. On the one hand they are agents of a centralized corporatist state, while on the other hand they enjoy a certain degree of discretion in determining how the policies are to be carried out. It therefore follows, that while they are not the independent variable in any analysis of the mode of distribution of urban resources, they certainly are important intervening variables. Urban problems cannot be therefore studied separately from the political economy of the society as a whole and the role of the urban managers in the distribution of urban resources should be studied keeping in mind the governmental, economic

and ecological constraints under which it operates. This is because they are constrained in their sections by the power of the centralized interventionist state, the decisions taken by private sector firms and the inevitability of territorial inequalities.

The urban managerial thesis has been criticised by Lamber et.al.<sup>64</sup> who compare Pahl's concept of corporatist state to the democratic pluralist theories and question the so called neutrality of the state. But such criticisms are generally unfounded as Pahl's definition of the state is based on Weber's work and Weber had never talked of value neutrality in the role played by the state.

Pahl's concept of the corporatist state has also been criticized by Marxist scholars.<sup>65</sup> They point out that what is important is not the extent of state involvement but the basic processes of capitalist accumulation and class relations and these have remained unaltered even under a corporatist state. Hence what is state corporatism is state capitalism according to them.

Finally, Saunders points out the methodological problems involved in Pahl's theoretical formulations. First concerns the degree of autonomy enjoyed by urban managers and the lack of precise definition which makes empirical research difficult.

Second, concerns the receding locus of power in Pahl's work. For example the actions of urban managers can be understood only in the context of the national state policy which in turn can be understood in terms of operation of the mixed economy and this turn can be understood in the context of crises of the capitalist world and so on. So a researcher analysing housing inequalities in an area may, for instance, end up analysing the international balance of trade.<sup>66</sup>

### UNIQUE FEATURES OF THIRD WORLD URBANISATION

After having summarized the major theoretical formulations of the three macro-level paradigms on city growth, it would be appropriate to sketch out the peculiar features of Third World urbanisation and growth of cities. Later an assessment of the paradigms will be undertaken in the light of the above description.

The urbanisation process in Third World countries is marked by migration of greater volume of people and at a rapid pace, when compared to the migration process in the West. As part of the quadrupling of the world's urban population during the last fifty years, the developed regions increased their urban population by about 2.75 times (i.e. from 198 to 546 million), while the Third World countries increased their urban population by about 6.75 times (i.e., from 69 to 464 million). The big city population of the Third World increased even faster by about 9 times during the period 1920 to 1960 as compared to 0.6 times for Europe and 2.4 times in other developed regions during the same period.<sup>67</sup>

This rapid urbanisation is taking place in countries with low level of economic development, low technological development, the low energy production and consumption and the lowest level of education. Secondly, most of the urbanization is taking

place in the few major cities or primate cities of these under-developed countries. The foundation of most of these major cities are based on their role as colonial port towns and administrative centres or because of their status as the political and administrative capital of feudal rulers. Urban primacy and the emergence of major cities was consequent to export expansion and the channeling of trade of colonial powers through these ports. Therefore it is no coincidence that so many primate cities are major ports.

Even after independence most of these major cities in the Third World countries are undergoing incessant growth and the primacy has <sup>^</sup> further accentuated. This is happening because many of these countries trying to shrug off the colonial legacy have gone in for export oriented and import-substituted economic growth.

Although such export policies have met with limited success, a distinct result has been the further depredation of the rural economy of these countries and growing prosperity of the primate cities. Specialized export production has generated little in the way of multiplier effects since the harvest was shipped directly to the ports and the profits flowed to national urban centres. Secondly, expansion of the export sector has weakened the political autonomy and economy of provincial regions and thereby undermined the growth of major provincial centres.<sup>68</sup>

The policy of import substitution led to economic development but the majority of the population failed to participate in the benefits of that growth. Throughout the Third World industrial growth occurred most rapidly in the largest cities and encouraged the accentuation of metropolitan and primate city development. In Mexico it led to the increase in the share of the national capital of Mexico city of manufacturing employment from 35% in 1950 to 47% in 1975, while in Brazil the State of Sao Paulo increased its employment from 39% in 1950 to 49% in 1970.<sup>69</sup>

In fact, all industrial companies, irrespective of the source of their capital seek access to the national government bureaucracy located in the metropolitan centres. In Third World countries, the state controls the exchange rates, industrial prices, import licences, wages, provision of infrastructure, etc., and consequently access to government machinery is an often quoted rationale for industrial location in Third World countries.<sup>70</sup>

In many Third World countries it is the location of government along with the paraphernalia of modernization which dictates the growth of cities, rather than industrialization per se. In many African and Caribbean countries, the well paid government bureaucrats constitute an important market for imported manufactured products, for the shops which sell these goods, for the construction industry and for the domestic services.<sup>71</sup>

This concentration of development in a few major cities has led to problems like rising land prices, traffic congestion, heavier urban taxes, pollution and this has led both new and existing companies to move away from the central city areas. But most of them have moved no more than a few kilometers away from the metropolitan centre. Infact these industries reduce the costs arising from urban diseconomies while retaining the advantages of being near metropolitan centres. This kind of deconcentration has further strengthened industrial growth

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around metropolitan centres For example, in the case of Hyderabad city, most of the industrial growth is taking place in the Medak and Rangareddy districts, in areas beyond the area demarcated as the Hyderabad Metropolitan region but within a few kilometers from its boundaries.

Although accelerated industrialisation is taking place around the primate cities, the rate of immigration is much higher and the rapidly increasing labour force of the cities is not being absorbed into full and productive employment. With urban growth rates being frequently in excess of 5% per annum (see table 22) but with industrial employment increasing at 4.4% per annum, the bulk of the new manpower is absorbed by the large informal sector consisting of small-scale enterprises, personal services and open unemployment.<sup>73</sup> Moreover spurts in urban investment tend to attract further migrants to the city. The resulting over urbanisation creates acute shortage

TABLE - 22

Urban population growth and development indicators for selected Third World Nations.

Country <sup>a</sup>	Urban Population as percent of total population 1980	Urban Population as percent of total population 1960	Annual rate of <sup>b</sup> Urban growth 1970-80	Per capita <sup>c</sup> income (US dollars)	Annual growth in per capita income	Total population (millions)
<u>Sub-Saharan Africa</u>	23	14	5.9	375	1.3	319.6
Mozambique	9	4	6.8	140	6.4	5.6
Kenya	14	7	6.8	330	2.2	14.7
Nigeria	20	13	4.9	560	3.6	80.6
Ghana	36	23	5.2	390	-0.5	11.0
South Africa	50	47	3.1	1,480	2.5	7.7
<u>Low income Asia</u>	30	19	4.2	459	3.0	2,194.7
Bangladesh	11	5	6.6	90	-0.4	84.7
Thailand	14	12	3.5	490	4.6	44.5
India	22	18	3.3	180	1.4	643.9
China People's Republic	25	19	3.1	230	3.7	952.2
Korea Republic	55	28	4.8	1,160	6.9	36.6
China Republic	77	36	4.1	1,400	6.6	17.1

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contd.



Table 22 contd.

Country <sup>a</sup>	Urban Population as percent of total population		Annual rate of Urban growth <sup>b</sup>		Per capita <sup>c</sup> income (US dollars)	Annual growth in per capita income	Total population (millions)
	1980	1960	1970-80	1960-70			
<u>Middle East and North Africa</u>	50	31	5.1	5.3	1,763	4.7	195.4
Morocco	41	27	4.5	4.3	670	2.5	18.9
Egypt	45	38	3.0	3.4	390	3.3	39.9
Iran	50	34	4.9	4.7	2,160	7.9	35.8
Saudi Arabia	67	30	6.5	7.5	7,690	9.7	9.2
Iraq	72	43	5.4	6.2	1,860	4.1	12.2
<u>Latin America</u>	62	48	3.8	4.2	1,225	2.5	312.9
Brazil	65	46	4.3	4.8	1,570	4.9	119.5
Cuba	65	55	2.4	2.9	810	-1.2	9.7
Mexico	67	51	4.5	4.8	1,290	2.7	65.4
Argentina	82	74	1.8	2.0	1,910	2.6	26.4
Venezuela	83	67	4.2	4.7	2,910	2.7	14.0

a: Countries with more than 5 million are included; b: World Bank (1980: 748-9);

c: World Bank (1980: 110-11).

Source: Adapted from 'Cities, Poverty and Development', Allan Gilbert &amp; Josef Gugler, New York, Oxford University Press, 1982.

of housing and the bulk of the migrants find marginal employment in the informal sector and live in unauthorised peripheral or spontaneous settlements. For example in India, about 23% of the urban population live in slums, the figure being much higher for industrial cities, <sup>Such as</sup> Calcutta-29%, Bombay-48%, Madras-23% and Hyderabad-30% (see Introduction)-

This process of overurbanisation occurring in the cities of Third World countries is much different from the urbanisation that had taken place in the west. In the developed countries urbanisation had involved a gradual process of innovation and interdependent economic and social change occurring over a period spanning more than a century. The thrust for the concentration of population in cities was provided by technological innovation and the strong economic drive towards capitalist accumulation. This was accompanied by increased division of labour and increased specialization of occupations. New institutions were created and the functions of the oldest institutions radically altered or specialized. In the economic sphere, the appearance of capital intensive industries led to a "related shift downward in relative importance from own account to employee status, from small unincorporated units to large impersonal corporations, from self-employed or family employed to employee or worker status." <sup>74</sup>

In contrast the urbanisation process in the underdeveloped nations has been rapid with massive influx of low-skilled migrants

from the poverty stricken rural hinter land. As industrialization has not been able to keep pace with the urbanization process, one finds what is often called a dual kind of economy in the major cities of these countries, with the co-existence of both the formal and the informal sectors. Many of the rural institutions, values and behaviour patterns have persisted or have been adapted to the specific requirement of the urban setting. Social organization and mutual aid networks continue to function and flourish in the urban scene, apparant especially in the informal sector.

T.G. McGee<sup>75</sup> states that the urban economy of underdeveloped countries can be divided into three sectors:

- a) Individual Enterprise Sector Comprises of the unemployed workers of the 'street economy' of the city. Street hawkers, casual construction workers, prostitutes, professional beggars, etc. It accounts for between 25% to 40% of the urban labour force. Few of them earn more than the subsistence minimum.
- b) Family Enterprise Sector or the traditional bazaar type economic sector. They comprise a major chunk of the informal sector and account for 35% to 45% of the labour force engaged in small trade and service establishments like hotels and in industrial workshops. By and large, traditional commodities are produced for the low-income mass market and activities are labour intensive.

c) Corporate Sector is made of the capital-intensive business, the government and the professions. Depending on the kind of city and country, this sector provides between 15% to 50% of the urban employment. The economic units in this sector are large, people work regular hours, capital-investment is large and levels of technology and productivity are high. Education is required for entry into this sector and employment automatically conveys middle class status as a minimum and produces the professional-managerial urban elite at its upper echelons.

The informal sector contrary to the general belief plays a very important role in the urban economy of the Third World countries. The small artisan and manufacturing firms require less capital, are housed mostly in homes or small sheds, use home made or second hand tools, are geographically dispersed and require little public investment. While productivity per worker may be low when compared to the larger firms, the direct and indirect costs of each unit of output is also low.

Similarly, while in the industrialised nations, the small grocery store at corners are fast disappearing under the tide of 'suburbanisation, automobiles, supermarkets; the family run retail stores in the cities of the Third World countries still have a big clientele, which must buy frequently and in small quantities, simply because it lacks money, refrigerators and other storage facilities and must carry home purchases on foot or by bus.

Even domestic service has a strong rationale in Third World countries. In many of these nations, the expanding upper middle class housing has very few built in conveniences and equipment of advanced societies. Therefore the labour involved in cleaning, cooking, laundry and marketing is many times greater than in advanced countries and domestic servants become a necessity.

One can extend a similar line of argument for the role played by peripheral or spontaneous settlements in providing housing for the urban poor who are otherwise left out of the urban housing market due to their inability to pay the minimum rent or construct authorised housing structures. These peripheral settlements also absorb the fresh waves of migrants who flock to the city and act as the launching pad for the more dynamic segment of the migrants. According to F.C. Turner<sup>77</sup> all families living in cities have three basic needs of security, identity and opportunity. In the context of housing, the poor value proximity to unskilled jobs (opportunity) much more highly than either ownership (security) or good quality standard houses (identity). He differentiates three different segments in the economic conditions of spontaneous settlements consisting of (1) the low income bridge heads, comprising recent arrivals with few marketable skills and the need to obtain work for survival. Modern standards have low priority and access is important, (2) the low income consolidators who have achieved

a degree of permanency in income. Access is no longer important though standard housing is still out of their reach. Many such settlements are organised and undertake efforts to upgrade their environment and living conditions, (3) the middle income status seekers who have a steady income and are seeking social status. Upgrading of housing has a high priority along with education and improved services.

In the underdeveloped countries of the Third World, the problems of over urbanisation and low level of economic and technological development gets manifested in unemployment, a large informal sector, squatter settlements, chaotic land use pattern, congestion, blight, lack of social and physical infrastructure. This forces the state to play a much larger role in underdeveloped countries than in the West.

In the developed countries of the West, the thrust towards urban growth was provided by technological innovation and the desire for accumulation of capital under laissez-faire conditions. The state had a very minimal role to play like maintaining law and order, legitimizing the various social, economic and political institutions which appeared because of increasing division of labour and specialization of occupation and in providing certain basic infrastructural facilities like electricity, transport, water, etc. This stress on privatism in economic development and minimum interference from the state still remains

the policy in most developed countries. This becomes apparent from the speech of former U.S.A. President Nixon who while presenting the Domestic Council Report on National Growth in 1972 stated that the:

"Patterns of growth are influenced by countless decisions made by individuals, families and business -- aimed at achieving the personal goals of those who make them -- (such decisions cannot be dictated -- In many nations, the Central Government has undertaken forceful, comprehensive policies to control the process of growth. Similar policies have not been adopted in the United States to several reasons. Among the most important is the distinctive form of government which we value so highly -- it is not feasible for the highest level of government to design policies for development that can operate in all parts of the nation."<sup>78</sup>

In contrast the government in the Third World countries have a very important role to play in the modernization of their economies and the consequent growth of cities. This happens mainly due to two reasons. First, most of the Third World countries are ex-colonies and have inherited an intentionally centralized administration in which the government plays a major role in all policy matters. Secondly most of these countries after independence are trying to catch up with their developed counterparts and have gone in for the capitalist system of economic development of the First World but undertake massive welfare measures having adopted the socialist ideology of the second World.<sup>79</sup> The government is therefore forced to play a major role because of the dual necessity of setting up highly capital

intensive basic industries for economic growth to take off and to provide welfare measures like housing and land for the poor, job opportunities for economically and socially backward classes and various other protective measures.

Then unlike in the West where the state steps in to alleviate urban crises arising due to the unbridled competition of the capitalist growth process, the state in Third World countries is itself the initiator of urban growth. This happens because many of its policy decisions like the industrial location policy, policy on slums and housing, declaration of certain areas as backward have spatial implications. In addition, the State has control over large tracts of urban land which it gives away liberally to public sector industries, to research institutes and universities and to government developmental agencies for projects like satellite townships, commercial complexes, office complexes, residential apartments, industrial estates, etc. Each of these projects become the nucleus around which further urban growth occurs. Although one cannot deny the private developers in the growth of a city, one finds that they undertake projects in already well developed areas or take up sites where the basic infrastructure like roads, transport, water, electricity has already been provided by the government. For example, rows of old houses in and around the CBD are often pulled down and multi-storeyed residential flats and commercial complexes are being constructed by private developers who want to reap benefit from the acute shortage



of housing and the accessibility provided by the city centre.

However the State is unable to undertake long term rational plans for the development of the city and for controlling the urban chaos because of lack of adequate resources and due to the general contradiction that exists between rational planning and interest group politics.

Any major development plan for the city is highly capital intensive and cannot be properly implemented by the state because of inadequate financial resources. The State therefore resorts to adhoc measures and major schemes are undertaken only when international funding is readily available. For example, the drainage and sewerage system of Hyderabad city is very old and was initially laid to cater to a population of 3 to 4 lakhs. No attempts were made to upgrade the system till recently though the present population of the city stands around 30 lakhs. Only new plans are being drawn to improve the drainage system because of the availability of World Bank loan of about Rs.223 crores of which Rs.140 crores is to be spent to augment the drinking water supply and the remaining Rs.83 crores will be spent in improving the sewerage system. Similarly slum improvement programmes are being undertaken in Hyderabad city because of availability of about Rs.50 crores from the Overseas Development Corporation of the British government to improve the environmental condition of the 660 slums of the city.

Then there are inherent contradiction between rational goal oriented planning and interest group policies of the political elite. Rational long term plans demand that clear cut goals and action schemes are drawn out and strictly adhered to and there is coordination, consensus and communication between the different spheres engaged in the implementation of the plans. On the other hand interest group politics demands that the interest of the various pressure groups be taken in account by the political elite in order to remain in power. Ad-hoc measures and dispensing of patronages resorted to by the ruling political elite are in clear contradiction to goal oriented planning. Due to this inability to implement rules and legislations, governments in Third World countries are often labelled as 'Soft States'. This has been discussed in detail in the concluding chapter.

If one summarises the peculiar features of Third World Urbanisation, the following features stand out. First, rapid urbanisation is taking place in these countries which have a low level of economic and technological development and low educational level. Second, the urbanisation is taking place in the few major or primate cities of these countries, resulting in problems like congestion, blight, unemployment, squatter settlements, inadequate resources, etc. Third, the government plays a very important role in the growth of Third World cities being both an initiator of the growth process and also the one who provides relief and succour. Finally, this role of the government is often arbitrary and particularistic leading to it being labelled as a 'soft state'<sup>1</sup>.

## Assessment of the Theories

### The Human Ecological School:

Within the human ecological school, the traditional approach of Park and the present structural functional approach of Hawley can be taken up separately while assessing their potential in explaining the growth of Third World cities.

In the traditional Human ecological approach, the concept of dominance shows how the overall land use pattern in the city is structured by land values. This concept can explain to a certain extent the land use pattern in Third World countries. The dominance exerted by commercial activities outmanouvers other activities from the city centre and push up land values. This in turn pushes up land values in other areas because of the pressure for space and activities tend to get distributed on space depending on their ability to cope with the rising land values.

However, although to some extent land values structure landuse the "free flow of the ecological process of competition, invasion and succession, which sifts and sorts people and activities into natural areas in the West"<sup>80</sup> does not occur in most Third World countries. This is because implicit in such conceptualization is the view that technological innovation and strong economic forces are the determining factors and the State plays

the. role of a regulating body. Urban growth takes place under laissez-faire conditions (similar to Darwin's Web of life). In the Third World countries one finds that the twin factors of underdevelopment and socialist ideology makes the State a very powerful organ. A complex network of relations develops between those political elite who are either in control of the State or want to capture power and the various interest groups who have either economic resources or the numerical strength important in democratic elections. The urban landscape is therefore shaped to a considerable extent by the decisions taken by the State which are shaped in turn by interest group politics.

Similarly it can be argued that the neo-ecological school's proposition that adaptation to the environment is a collective phenomenon and the concept of ecological complex used by them to explain urban growth are derived from the Western experience and influenced by capitalist ideology. The State is given a negligible role as is clear from Hawley's statement:

It is commonly assumed that government assumes the dominant position... Yet its dominance is not without qualification... Government, especially in the United States plays a passive part in the sustenance flow to the community. In effect, government shares and is in competition for the dominant position with associational units whose functions enable them to exert a decisive influence on the community's sustenance supply.<sup>81</sup>

One can therefore state that the proposition of the Human ecological school based essentially on the Western experience where technological innovation and drive towards profit maximization structure urban landscape, lack the conceptual tools necessary for explaining urban growth in Third World Countries.

#### The Marxian Perspective;

The Marxist paradigm, when compared to other theories, explains to a large extent the growth and predicaments of cities in the Third World countries.

Marxist theories explain the underdevelopment of Third World countries by tracing out historically the evolution of cities in Third World countries through their interaction with their colonial counterparts and the resultant integration of these countries into the global division of labour. (For reference see Paul Baran<sup>92</sup> and Andre Gunder Frank's<sup>93</sup> theories on underdevelopment of Third World countries.) More importantly, these theories have an explanation for the increasing primacy of Third World cities, the depredation of the rural economy due to the advent of capitalist agricultural farming and the resultant exodus of large volume of rural migrants to the cities.

Marxist urbanologists like Lamarche can also explain

the intensive land use around the CBD, where the landscape is dominated by office towers, highrise luxury apartments, shopping arcades, etc. and the general neglect of housing for the urban poor. Finally, these theories also explain the predicaments faced by urban planners and their inability to solve the ever escalating urban problems.

The problem with Marxian framework appears regarding the explanation of the role played by the State in the urban sphere. According to Marxist theories, the State appears because of certain contradictions in the capitalist economy and essentially its role is to alleviate urban crises and help accumulation of capital. Every action of the State is interpreted in terms of this role it plays in the capitalist system. The political sphere is not differentiated from the economic system and it is asserted that those in control of the economic resources have control over even the instruments of power.

Although there often are empirical examples of this kind of a linkage, one feels that a differentiation of these two spheres, as has been done by Weber, is necessary in order to explain the role played by the State in Third World countries. According to Weber these two spheres of domination are analytically distinct. While economic power is achieved through control of commodity or labour markets, political power is achieved through the control of the State.<sup>84</sup> Political domination is

therefore achieved by individuals through access to the instruments of State power.

This analytical distinction is necessary because one finds that in the Third World countries the relation between the State and the various interest groups is much more complex, and to interpret the decisions of the State in terms of interests of the capitalist class would be rather simplistic. Those who have access to the instruments of power develop their own interests (as can be seen from the discussion which follows in the concluding chapter on the State and interest group politics in Third World countries) and their decisions are shaped by their political interests and by the pulls and pressures of interest group politics.

Recent Marxist writings like those of Poulantzas<sup>85</sup> and Miliband<sup>86</sup> have tried to overcome this problem with the concept of "the relative autonomy of the State". Put simplistically this concept says that the State in its commitment to ensuring capitalist accumulation may indulge in policies which are in support of non-capitalist interests. Such policies help the capitalist system 'in the long run' by ensuring stability and smothering potential conflicting situations. Such theories seem to explain any contradiction in its explanatory potential in terms of the long term interests of the capitalist class. Consequently they are not theoretically falsifiable. But one can question the veracity of such theories.

Unlike in the West, where the State intervenes to alleviate urban crises, in the Third World countries, the State is often itself the initiator of urban growth and urban crises. Its industrial location policy, policies on housing and slums, its control over large tracts of government land gives it enough leverage to control and guide urban growth. However more often the control of these enormous resources make the State authorities vulnerable to pressures of political processes. Thus instead of controlling and guiding urban growth, the State becomes the creator of urban crises which are germane in ad hoc policies under pressure. One can then conclude by stating that although Marxist theories do explain to a large extent the growth of cities in Third World countries, the inadequacies in its definition and role of the State leads to lacunae in its explanatory potential.

#### The Weberian Perspective:

While assessing the Weberian approach one finds that the main assumption of Rex and Moore, -- that the move to the suburbs is an aspiration common to all groups of residents, -- is a Western concept. In most Third World countries, the level of technology is low, the transportation network is poor and the highways are few. Therefore people prefer staying near the centre of the city because of proximity to urban resources.



Secondly, Rex and Moore state that one's life chances depends on housing and it is important to study the criteria adopted by both private and public sector in the allocation of housing. In Third World countries, one finds that although the cost of housing and the criteria adopted by private and public sector organisations filters out a large section of the population who are generally poor, the number of housing projects undertaken are far too few when compared to the large urban population. A large chunk of urban housing stock comprises of spontaneous settlements and therefore the role played by public and private sectors agencies in determining one's life chances (in the sphere of housing) is negligible.

Pahl provides a more complete conceptualisation for the study of the urban system. He points out that there are spatial constraints on access to urban resources, constraints which are independent of the mode of production. This is specially so in Third World countries, where the technology is low and the transportation system poor.

Secondly, he brings out the predicament of the urban managers who are caught between the pressures of private sector profitability, Central Government decisions and the needs of the general population. This problem is common in Third World countries and the pressure on the urban planners is all the more intense because of the piquent situation arising out of

underdevelopment, limited resources and rising demands and expectations.

Third, and most important of all is the stress he lays on the increased role played by the State in the urban economy. Pahl points out that the State no longer plays a role subservient to capitalist class interest and its policies are dictated by its own independent purposes. Therefore in order to understand the criteria used for allocation of urban resources one must study the goals, and values of those individuals who are in control of the State. This is analytically very important in order to understand the major role played by the State in Third World countries.

However the type of State which Pahl analyses is different from the one found in most Third World countries. 'State Corporatism' as defined by him appears because of concentration of capital in the hands of oligopolies, falling rate of profits, problems of new technological development and international competition in the economic sphere. These are problems of a highly industrialised capitalist city. In contrast, the State plays a major role in Third World countries because first, historically they have inherited a centralised administration from their colonial rulers and secondly, they need a strong state in order to meet the twin demands of rapid economic development and social justice and equity.

Finally, Patil does not analyse the values and interests of those individuals who are in control of the State (as **should** have been done according to his thesis). He focuses, instead, on the role played by urban managers prompted probably by Weber's proposition that the growing rationalisation and complexity of modern capitalist or socialist societies must increasingly be reflected in the rationalization of State administration. Besides, the power of expertise must generally prevail over the powers of ideals. In Third World countries one finds **that** the interests of those in control of the State determines policies and bureaucracy is often used to rationalise such ad-hoc measures.

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## C O N C L U S I O N

In this concluding chapter, an attempt will be made to summarise and relate the generalisations which have emerged from the study of the growth of Hyderabad city and from the foregoing discussion on Third World Urbanisation.

In Third World countries, large sections of the population live below the poverty line, the level of economic and technological development is still low and there is an acute scarcity of resources. Given the dual necessity of capital intensive industrialisation for speedy economic take off and wide welfare measures, the State in Third World countries is compelled to play a vital role in shaping the future. The prime cities of Third World countries become a major focus point of these activities of the State, being the seat of administration, Centres of industrialisation and the other related dimensions of the modernisation process.

Therefore, in the major cities of Third World countries the state becomes the initiator of urban growth. Policies on industrial location and housing and control over large tracts of government land gives the state the power to control and guide urban growth. However, more often this access to enormous resources makes the state authority vulnerable to pressures of the political processes. In a democratically elected parlia-

mentary form of government the state apparatus is controlled by the ruling political elite who in Third World countries are deeply influenced by the pulls and pressures of interest group politics.

The mutual dependence between the political elite and the interest groups creates a system characterised by particularistic norms and patron-client relationships. This influences the decision making process of the state as a whole and gives rise more often to ad hoc measures and policies than to rationally planned proposals. The following newspaper report gives a vivid account of the predicament faced by governments in implementing rational plans of action.<sup>1</sup> It also bring out clearly how urban problems in under developed countries are often intractable because of the complexity of the underlying factors.

In order to overcome the problem of mosquito menace in the twin cities of Hyderabad-Secunderabad, the State government had passed a law in June 1986 banning wet cultivation within the limits of the municipal area. The law stated that wet cultivation of paddy or fodder grass or any other crop for which application of water is necessary and which may lead to breeding of mosquitoes was totally banned within the municipal limits. However, even after two years no action was taken inspite of repeated assurances from the Chief Minister because of the following reasons:

1) According to the municipal officials, the main impediment in the implementation of the rules are the city legislators who are indirectly

extending support to the cultivators and have a share in the sale proceeds. Thus, many of the legislators who had expressed concern at the continuation of wet cultivation had subsequently maintained a low profile and had offered no solutions: clear indication of political interests thwarting rational planning.

2) Banning of wet cultivation would mean depriving the cultivators of their only means of livelihood and therefore the government hesitated to take drastic action.

3) The authorities were afraid to enforce a ban because once wet cultivation was stopped, the land might be invaded by squatter settlements whose eviction would become extremely difficult. This had happened when wet cultivation on the river Musi bed near the Fever Hospital was banned.

4) Much of the wet cultivation is guinea grass which is used as fodder for cattle. The government is planning to evict all cattle sheds and private dairy farms from the city and establish them on the outskirts and stopping wet cultivation would have definitely helped the process. But the dairy farm owners constitute a powerful interest group because of their political muscle and such a step cannot be undertaken.

5) Finally, banning of wet cultivation would entail providing compensation to those who had been cultivating for more than five years. The amount of money to be paid as compensation worked out to be around 4 crores, a sum the Municipal Corporation which was in a poor financial position could ill afford.

It is this kind of progressive compromise on legislation and planning principle that Gunnar Myrdal has explained by the concept of 'soft state' and others have termed as 'particularistic state'.

The term 'soft state' is understood to comprise all the various types of social indiscipline which manifest themselves by deficiencies in legislation and in particular low observance and enforcement, a widespread disobedience by public officials on various levels to rules and directives handed down to them, and often their collusion with powerful persons and groups of persons whose conduct they should regulate. Within the concept of the soft state belong also corruption. These several patterns of behaviour are interrelated in the sense they permit or even provoke each other in circular causation having cumulative effect.<sup>14</sup>

The theoretical discussion in the earlier chapter brought out certain lacunae in the existing explanations for Third World Urbanisation. As was shown, what was neglected in several theories was the vital and unique role played by the state which led to the distinguishing features of the typical Third World City that we see today. What essentially shapes this unique role played by the state is the primacy of interest group considerations and a legitimisation of a patron-client system in government. A corollary to this is the single party domination of the political system, a phenomenon often viewed as the 'rise of party charisma'<sup>15</sup> in the context of the Third World countries. These two factors are elucidated below to bring out the consequences of such a kind of state functioning, particularly on the Third World City.

#### Interest group politics and urban political machine:

With enormous powers and resources vested with the government, the political elite enters into a system of patronage which operates at two levels. At one level are the quid-pro-quo connections between

the politicians and the business elite and at the other are the patron-client relations between the politicians and the voters, especially the poor.

The control the government has over production, access to foreign exchanges, industrial licensing, assortment of taxes and access to institutional financing gives the government enough leverage to manipulate the business and the industrial class. This relation has been "systematically exploited by individual politicians, by parties at the state level and by the central high command to extract funds. A whole new class of intermediaries emerged to carry out the liaison between the money givers and the money takers, of whom the agent who arranged the kickbacks on foreign contracts were the last addition."<sup>6</sup> These particularistic ties between the politician and the businessmen are mutually beneficial. The businessmen fund the election campaigns of the politician and they in turn flout rules and regulations to make concessions and grant contracts to the business elite. A recent legislation of the government of Andhra Pradesh which brings to light this nexus is its decision to increase the floor space index (FSI) of buildings in cities from the existing 1:1.5 to 1:2.5 ostensibly to ease the pressure on housing in cities. This decision was taken much against the advice of town planners who could foresee the problems of further congestion and overload on the already stretched infrastructural facilities like water, electricity and sewerage. On the other hand, the raise in F.S.I. was welcomed by the building industry. The South Indian builders forum hailed the decision as historic as it would revive construction activity in the State.

Opposition party leaders vehemently criticised the government and even submitted a memorandum to the President of India asking him to intervene as the increase in F.S.I. they alleged would help vested interests and regularise unauthorised constructions by the Chief Minister's family members and coterie.<sup>7</sup> Aside from the kind of pressure groups described above, vote banks have also emerged from the influx of poor migrants from the rural areas into the cities. These urban poor are vertically mobilised either through patron-client network or through political machines.

Vertical mobilization occurs when the mobilized are induced to act in ways which influence the actions of the government, but are uninterested in, and sometimes unaware of the impact of their actions on the government. They are acting as instructed motivated largely by loyalty, affection or fear of a leader, or by a desire for benefits that the leader may make available to them if they act according to his directions. On the other hand, the mobilizer is consciously seeking to influence the government.<sup>8</sup>

Vertical mobilisation may take the form of a patron-client relationships or the more organised form of urban political machine. In a patron-client relationship, the patron provides political protection and economic assistance, while his client offers loyalty, labour and political support. A politician who acts as an urban patron usually offers effective brokerage with higher authorities to his potential clients. But because resources are usually limited, and they are eager

to have an ever widening circle of clients, politicians focus on benefits that flow to groups rather than individuals, benefits like sewerage water connection, electricity, housing sites, etc.<sup>9</sup>

In urban political machines, the patron-client relationships are organised into a centralised system with a well defined leadership and a disciplined hierarchy of workers. Where resources are lacking or personal factionalism runs deep one finds the 'personal machines' of powerful political leaders.

The patron-client relationships and urban political machines flourish in Third World cities because most of the migrants are poor, unemployed, uneducated and have limited skills, set up illegal squatter settlements and therefore need patrons to safeguard themselves. Although it is often suggested that the migrants bring with them residues of rural attitudes of dependence and paternalism, it may be stated that the tendency to seek patrons is a rational reaction to their existential insecurity and the absence of institutionalised protection.

The political patrons utilize the urban poor not only as vote banks but also during rallies, processions and public meetings. On the other hand the primary needs of the poor are mainly housing and employment and they need the support of the powerful political patrons for employment and to prevent eviction from their illegal squatter settlements. For example, according to official figures, there were 199 vacant spaces with an area of 19,48,561 sq.yards in the city

of Hyderabad of which 2,40,540 sq.yards was under encroachment, the actual figures being much higher. The political parties in fact compete with each other in order to expand their network of clientele with the ruling party usually having the upper hand. Infact, those in power have a wide array of resources available to attract the poor. They allocate low cost housing and sites and services plots, control the regularisation of squatter settlement granting them land titles, provide infrastructural facilities and undertake urban renewal projects.

The opposition parties on the other hand have no such resources under their control and can only hope to sponsor illegal squatting on unused lands and thereby undermine the government's authority. This often leads to skirmishes between political parties. For example, in Hyderabad city, a clash occurred on November 3, 1988 between the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) workers and the Congress-I, Telugu Desam workers following a tie up over a piece of land in Qutubullapur town, a fast growing residential suburb. According to the police, there were about 500 to 600 unauthorised hutments protected by BJP on this piece of land and the TDP and Cong.I workers tried to establish their control over these hutments.<sup>10</sup>

The government as has been stated above uses its official power to regularise such settlements and off-set the power base of the opposition, parties. Recently the Chief Minister declared on the traditional New Year Day of Andhra Pradesh that the government had decided to regularise all illegal occupation of government lands



by the houseless poor in all municipal areas (112 municipalities and 3 municipal corporations) in the State and develop them into 'habitable residential colonies' with all the amenities. This, according to him, was being done to ease the hardships of the urban poor who were being exploited by brokers and influential people with money and muscle power.<sup>11</sup> But within a few months he was lashing out at the illegal squatter settlements opposite Raj Bhavan called 'Makhta' area in local parlance by labelling them as "Bhoo Bakasuras" (land-hungry devils). These slum dwellers have to bear the Chief Minister's wrath mainly because these areas were under the complete domination of a powerful Cong.I leader.<sup>12</sup>

The urban political machines are also intensely interested in generating a flow of welfare projects that will provide opportunities for patronage on which the machine depends and here the ruling party has an added advantage. To give an example, in the city of Hyderabad bad blood has been created between the Majlis Party which controls the local government and the Telugu Desam the ruling party in the state, over handing over control of the drainage system from the Municipal Corporation to a specially constituted Hyderabad Metro Water Works and Sewerage Board which is under State Government control. The root cause of the problem is the recently sanctioned 233 crores World Bank funded scheme under which 83 crores are to be spent to upgrade the sewerage system of the city. Both the political parties were vying for this scheme because this massive project could be exploited to dispense patronages and woo the urban voters. Similarly

the British Overseas Development Administration funded slum improvement scheme under which about 660 slums of Hyderabad-Secunderabad are to be upgraded at the cost of 50 crores is riddled with political controversies. Each political party wants slums which are under its patronage to be taken up under this scheme and often areas which are not slums get identified as slum areas because of political pressures, some recent examples being Laxminagar and Bodabanda areas in the outskirts of the city. Then, the party in power and in control of the release of funds is often accused of being partial towards its own vote bank areas. In Hyderabad, the opposition party members of the city civic body often accuse the Majlis party of utilising more than 70% of the ODA funds for development of old city slums, which are their stronghold and neglecting other areas of the city.

This kind of particularistic ties of patron-client relations or political machines are found in most underdeveloped countries and can be attributed to the twin factors of migration into the cities of the poor and unskilled in search of jobs and protection and modern democratic elections which has made these migrants politically significant.

It may be added that such political machines were very prominent in the United States in the early stages of the urbanisation process and disappeared only in the late 1920s after much of the urban population had climbed out of object poverty and institutional help and social welfare programmes were available as well as administrative reforms

which had greatly reduced free access to public funds.<sup>13</sup>

#### Rise of "Party Charisma"

Another factor which has contributed to the lack of Universalism in the State apparatus of Third World countries, is the rise of 'Party Charisma' in the political process.

Most of the Third World countries were once under colonial rule and have had charismatic leaders leading the struggle for independence. These charismatic leaders were seen as the embodiment of the aspirations and sentiments of the people. They symbolised the people's thirst for freedom from colonial rule. After independence, the onus of channelizing the rising aspirations of the people, their quest for socio-economic prosperity fell on those leaders. But at the same time the people themselves wanted to participate in the post-independence political apparatus, spurred by the socialist rhetoric of the leaders. Therefore the party which was democratically elected into power was inevitably of these charismatic leaders who came to represent the national aspirations. It is this emergence of a charismatic political elite which is termed as the rise of Party Charisma."

However as was experienced by several Third World nations charismatic authority also slows down the development process. The charismatic leader of the party may promote an 'ego-focussed' conception of progress which may hamper economic development by resorting

to short term measures which are politically advantageous but are not viable for the economy in the long run.

The 'ego-focussed' conception of development of the charismatic leader often leads to misplaced or wasteful expenditures like monuments, creation of plazas, commemorating events like the 'historic revolution' rather than the utilization of the scarce resources for economic development of the country. To give an example from the Hyderabad context, the regional party Telugu Desam led by its charismatic leader NTR coasted to victory in the Assembly election of the State of Andhra Pradesh defeating the national party Congress-I by playing on the regional and linguistic sentiments of the people of the State who according to him were being neglected by the rulers at the centre (symbolised by Congress-I). But contrary to his pledge to regenerate the economy, he often indulged in wasteful expenditure. Recently the Hyderabad Urban Development Authority's plan for widening of the Tank Bund road (which connects the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad) to lessen the traffic bottleneck was suddenly changed. Instead more than thirty statues of men who had shaped the 'destiny of the state' were installed on the widened portion of the road at the cost of more than six crores. For charismatic Chief Minister, such cultural symbols were of more importance than the need to solve the more basic economic problems.

Similarly, nearly rupees ten crores are being spent on the sculpture and installation of a monolithic Buddha statue (purported

to be the biggest in the world) in the middle of the Hussain Sagar lake because it would set the tone for the Budha Poornima project which is being undertaken by H U DA with the aim of developing a commercial, recreational and residential centre there. Whether such commercialisation of the area around the lake would directly benefit the local community is a moot question.

Therefore, it is clear how such capricious decisions of charismatic leaders lead to unplanned and ad hoc state expenditure at the expense of more demanding economic programmes.

Thus, we have considered the free flow of pulls and pressures of interest group politics in government and the ego-focussed conception of development of the charismatic leadership as the two important factors which impinge upon and change the structure of the city.

As has been strongly held by the soft state theorists, Third World countries continue to exhibit the feudal and particularistic values of historic times, which are largely responsible for the distortions in policies for urban management.

Further, Third World countries have not evolved the institutional checks and balances which temper biases in decision making. Sadly, their cities are also lacking in robust people's organisations which could constantly play the role of watch dog over the arbitrary motions of government.

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