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Invited Paper

Torn In Two: The Tale of Two Bangalores Competing Discourses of Globalization and Localization in India's Informational City

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1. Introduction

In the 1980s, the city of Bangalore was shaken from a slumberous existence into a startled realization of its new-found destiny as a metropolis and the 'city of the future'. In the five decades since Independence, this small and unremarkable town metamorphosed into an internationally known boom town, overtook Mysore as the *urbs prima* of the Karnataka region, and outdistanced its neighbours in Chennai and Hyderabad. No other contemporary Indian city allows us to track the passage from small town to metropolitan status within a few decades as well as does Bangalore (Nair J., 2005).

The physical growth alone was striking. Between 1941 and 2001, the population of the urban agglomeration of Bangalore grew from 410, 967 persons to 5,686,844; the city itself expanding far beyond the 66 sq.km. to become an urban agglomeration of 531 sq.km. The increase of the built-up area of the city between 1945 and 1973 was three times that of the previous 33 years (1912-45), doubling in the seven years between 1973 and 1980 (Nair J., 2005).

Largely unprepared as it was for this hurtling destiny, Bangalore's response was characteristically dichotomous. On the one hand, there was a throwback to a nostalgic past, the expression of a longing for the good old days of a 'garden city' and 'pensioner's paradise'. A mythicized past, placid and restrained, offers an ideological refuge from the bewildering and dismaying onslaught of modernity. Juxtaposed with this is the more recent futuristic vision of the city as conforming to international standards, for which Singapore was the single most important model (Nair J., 2005).

Whether it be an escape to a romanticized past or a neoteric future, both reflect Bangalore's ambivalent response to a baffling present that it only reluctantly acknowledges. They equally mark the fear and dismay with which it greets its phenomenal growth. Both are essentially middleclass imaginings, a reaction not just to the developmental imperative but to the emergence of a plebian democratic polity that accompanies its wake. The new economics contends not only with fragments of the traditions and formative cultures of the past, but with new definitions and styles of democracy from below that do not comprise a 'consensus' on the image of the city (Nair, 2005).

There is reason for this. Between the longing for a Bangalore of a bygone era and the futuristic visions of the Singapore-in- the making lies a complex history of a city that has been marked by national, regional and global forces in its passage to metropolitan status. The transformation of Bangalore has thus been crowded into a short span that affords none of the advantages of gradual growth, as in presidency cities such as Bombay, Madras or Calcutta. Its meteoric rise to a globally integrated location of software development and modern service industries produced, and masked, profound changes in the

metropolitan social map, creating aggravating disparities and a highly fragmented and polarised urban society. Bangalore is becoming a multiply divided city where both social and geographical barriers are reinforced. While a relatively tiny stratum of affluent urban elite takes benefit from the city's transformations, the urban poor are further marginalised. The trend for IT expansion in Bangalore began with specialised IT parks that are self-contained to act as "islands" or "pockets" of first world amenities. However, beyond these pockets of world class facilities, the digital divide is ever increasing between those that are benefiting from the IT boom and those that are hardly touched by the IT phenomenon. This raises the question whether developing the city as an IT hub is the only dream that is to be pursued or should a balanced development plan, benefiting a wider constituency be followed (Ghosh, February 25, 2006) (Nair J., 2005) (Yahya, 1-21) (Dittrich, 2007, p. 46).

2. Significance of Paper

No single metaphor adequately describes the new metropolitan experience, therefore this paper draws upon three different streams of urban literature. The first relates to specific studies on the city of Bangalore. Nilekeni (2008) laments that the city never captured the Indian imagination in the way the village did, and Bangalore too has suffered from the general neglect of urban studies. However, certain studies of significance emerged over the years. Gist made an early attempt at defining the ecological zones of the city, an approach that received fuller treatment in Venkatrayappa's study. The first rigorous attempt at tracing the city's geographic and economic, systems was R.L.Singh's monograph on Bangalore; more ambitiously Prakasa Rao & Tewari used the sample survey method to study Bangalore's social and economic structure and relate this to spatial characteristics (Nair J., 2005).

These studies converge into more recent literature in Bangalore's rise to the status of a metropolis. Its internationally acknowledged status as the premier centre of information technology, IT enabled service industries, and biotechnology industries, attracted the attention of a range of scholars interested in the logic of such growth and its future potential (HEITZMAN, 2006) (Harikrishnan & Mahendra, 2008) (Heitzman, 1999) (Nair J., 2005) (Sastry, 2008) (Nilekani, 2008) (Yahya, 1-21). In this corpus of work, the case of Bangalore becomes instructive of the fate of many Indian metropolises. Many of the features of Bangalore's contemporary history are recognizably true of other Indian metros. Its extraordinary demographic growth, its difficulties with implementing planning law, and its engagement with ideologies of language or caste, are the post-colonial experiences of many cities in the Indian subcontinent. However, the city has equally developed distinct modes of civic engagement and spatial practices, thus striking a metropolitan path that is remarkably different from that of older Indian cities such as Calcutta or Bombay. In this sense, it may indeed be the city of the future (Nair J., 2005).

A third group of literature places Bangalore in the context of global changes and their impact on the urban firmament. Many metropolitan cities in India are undergoing change; much of the change is driven by the needs of the internal economy. However, increasingly since the late 1990s, change has also been the result of a response to global markets. This latter kind of change has been more uneven and selective in its presence (Shaw & Satish, 2007, p. 149). Hence the case of Bangalore could have wider applicability to other developing cities in emergent economies. Urban theorists (Brenner, 1999), (Gibson-Graham, 2002), (Herod, 2003) question the universalizing discourse of world city theories to point out significant differences in the 'local' experiences of globalization and the limitations of seeing scale as binary opposites. The confrontation and occasional conflict between the neo-liberal globalizing ethic and the counter-discourse of the local has been described in vocabulary that highlights the novelty of this phenomenon in urban literature, such as 'reterritorialization '(Brenner), 'glocalization' Swyngedouw's (1997). In this sense, Bangalore becomes a contested terrain, where different social and political groups jostle each other for state resources and state legitimacy. New institutional mechanisms are being forged in a period of globalization and its consequences for notions of citizenship and democracy. From this perspective, this paper has a larger significance; Bangalore becomes an exemplar to draw lessons as to how globalization impacts individuals, institutions and governance processes in ways hitherto unknown and

unanticipated (Nair, 2005) (Shaw & Satish, 2007, p. 149) (Benjamin, 2000) (Dittrich, 2007) (Ghosh, February 25, 2006) (Kamath, 2006) (Menon, 2005).

These three groups of literature coalesce to inform this paper and provide it with a nesting place. In order to augment this optimistic perspective with a more sceptical point of view, this paper focuses on the risks and negative effects of globalisation on the metropolitan social map. The central objective is to analyse the interrelations between globalisation, metropolitan restructuring and the capabilities of the most vulnerable urban dwellers to secure their livelihoods in a sustainable manner.

3. The City that Beckons…

Bangalore is the fifth largest metropolis in India and forty-third in the world with a population of sixty lakhs spread across five hundred and ninety-five square kilometres. It is at once the political capital of Karnataka State; a leading science centre with educational and research institutes; a hub for India's space research and aviation technology; the home of large scale public sector industries; and more recently private electronic, infotech and garment industries. As one of the fastest growing cites of the world, with a population growth of 3.25 percent annually, it is poised to become a mega city with population 10 million by 2021 and an area of 1,000 square kilometres by 2015. The area of metropolitan Bangalore is less than 0.5 percent of Karnataka; yet it supports thirty per cent of the state's urban population. Bangalore earned the sobriquet of 'Silicon Valley of India' with a booming IT industry of over 125 multi-national companies, 1150 software export companies and 1,20,000 IT professionals. The software exports from the city were estimated around US $2.5 billion in 2003. From 1981 to 2004 its population doubled to about six million. It is also an internationally recognized gateway to styles of globalized consumption (Heitzman, 1999) (Nair J., 2005) (NARAYANA, 2008) (Smitha & Sangita, 2008) (Harikrishnan & Mahendra, 2008).

In its journey from a non-descript small town to a premier metropolis, Bangalore passed through several stages in its industrial and economic history. Heitzman (1999) distinguishes four phases in the history of the city since independence, while Nair (2005) delves into its pre-independence past to identify three.

Founded in 1537, the city had a long history as a centre of textile and silk production, first through a variety of non-mechanised and decentralised 'putting out' arrangements, then through the introduction of large mills; the old city today remains the oldest manufacturing zone of the city. The early twentieth century saw three large textile mills, followed by Maharaja of Mysore Mills (1887), and Minerva Mills (1920). The inter-war period led to the mushrooming of a number of woolen, cotton, and silk textile units, clustered on the eastern edge of the city. With encouragement of the government of Mysore, other industries began to grow on the western side and brick and tile factories nestled amidst textile mills and government-run porcelain and electrical factories. Mill workers were scattered among a diverse population of the laboring poor, including head load workers and jutka-wallahs in older city areas such as Akkipet, Ranasingpet, Kurubarpet, Arlepet , Pit Colony, Anjanappa Gardens, and Srirampuram (Nair J., 2005).

In the inter-war period and post-independence, a policy of state-led industrialization transformed the rather sluggish profile of the city. At the time of independence, Bangalore's industrial base was dominated by textiles and small scale industries (Karnataka State Gazetteer, 1989). India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru sought to turn Bangalore into India's intellectual capital, a 'City of the Future'. In the 1940s to 1960s, the Union government established public sector research and production facilities in Bangalore; institutions that still have a major impact on the city in terms of production and employment. The city gained an image as a public sector city with the establishment of Hindustan Aircraft Factory (later Hindustan Machine Tools), Indian Telephone Industries, Bharat Electronics Limited, Bharat Earth Movers Limited, New Government Electric Factory, HMT Watch Factory and Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited. Industrial growth received a fillip from newly established technical and academic institutions; knowledge-based production facilities like Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, National Aerospace Laboratories, Defence Research and Development Organization, Electronic Research and Development Establishment, Indian Space Research Organization and Central Power Research Institute clustered around the public sector giants, staking a strong claim to Bangalore being a Science City. The

industrial base of Bangalore thus rested, on the two limbs of textiles and public sector enterprises, which remain even today the most important parts of the formal economy in Bangalore. The five largest public sector companies in 1991 officially employed over 81,000 people in their Bangalore plants. Their direct impact, including management of their own townships, housing schemes, and transport systems, was supplemented by the numerous subcontracting opportunities they provided for small and medium enterprises (Heitzman, 1999) (Nair J., 2005).

The next phase, beginning in the late 1960s and running through the 1970s, witnessed the rapid growth of state government bureaucracy, employment and state-run businesses, helping to fuel the second largest spurt in the city's population growth. By the 1980s, Bangalore began to experience the effects of preliminary liberalisation and private enterprises, especially electronics based companies, became engines of growth. (Heitzman, 1999) (Sastry, 2008).

The final phase, beginning in the late 1980s, brought profound shifts in the ground rules of competition under the impact of the new economy, increasing and more varied relationships with multinational corporations, the booming of private sector activities and associated job creation in the software sector. The concept of Bangalore as the IT hub of Asia took off under the impact of Rajiv Gandhi's policy of economic liberalisation. The first and most influential multinational corporation that invested in Bangalore was Texas Instruments; a choice motivated the availability of English-educated technical personnel to absorb training, a potential labour pool emerging from the Indian Institute of Science and other educational institutions, the already installed base of electronics industries and subcontractors, the attractive climate, and relatively cheap real estate.

The next milestone came with the announcement in 1985 of a Software Technology Park scheme, with special rules and concessions for hundred percent export-oriented units. The Bangalore ITPL, a joint venture between the Karnataka state government, Tata Corporation and a consortium of Singapore companies, was built to international standards as a self contained facility with its own captive power supply and satellite links. Initiated in 1997, the first stage of ITPL was completed in 1999 at a cost of US $ 480 million and officially launched in 2000. It supports high-tech industries such as software development, electronics, communications, research and development and financial services. The ITPL remains the benchmark for IT parks in India with its world class infrastructure and it has the highest number of occupants among Indian IT parks. The Electronic City developed as an enclave provided space for IT multinational and domestic companies such as Texas Instruments, Hewlett Packard, IBM, Infosys and Wipro. At the beginning of the new millennium, the demand for associated services swelled the sphere of the IT and ITES industry to include nearly 3000 firms, including medical transcription, back office operations, and call centers. Emerging as a hot new tech city, a preferred location for high-technology industries and a globally integrated centre of high-technology research and production Bangalore grew to absorb about five billion US$ in foreign direct investments and the highest per capita income of any Indian city. Bangalore's software and service industries still grow at rates that are amazing compared to world standards - around 30% annually. Out of the total software and services exports, almost two thirds were to the Americas (USA, Canada and Latin America), 24% to Europe, and 9% to the Asia-Pacific market. The USA continues to be Bangalore's largest export destination (Nasscom 2004). For supporters of a deregulated and liberalised global economy, the city represents a positive showcase of the new opportunities for newly industrialising countries to benefit from recent trends in economic globalisation (Fromhold-Eisebith 2001) (Dittrich 2003) (Heitzman 2004) (Shaw & Satish, 2007, p. 153) (Harikrishnan & Mahendra, 2008) (Yahya, 1-21) (Sastry, 1988). (Sastry, 2008, p. 13) (Heitzman, 1999).

The meteoric rise of Bangalore to a globally integrated 'e-region' was not a mere coincidence but resulted from a combination of favourable enabling conditions: the city's reputation as one of Asia's leading locations of education and research; the large number of large-scale and knowledge-based public sector industries and the numerous small-scale workshops which service them; the availability of a labour pool of highly skilled English-speaking and relatively inexpensive young urban professionals; investor-friendly government policies; a

more stable and liberal socio-political environment with lower real estate prices and cost of living than in Mumbai and Delhi; and the salubrious climate of the so-called Garden City.

Each of these phases has left its imprint on the spatial, economic and industrial landscape of the city. Each also corresponds to changes in the significance of the state as the prime mobilizer and distributor of resources, as the increasing command of the market eclipsed the developmentalist state and its apparatus. Until the 1980s, private investment in the city did nothing to dim the presence of the state as the prime mover of industrial production within the city. Even as late as 1991, only 2,619 of over 3, 80,000 workers in the city were employed in the hardware and software. This was to change drastically in the very next decade as IT & ITES accounted for close to 60,000 jobs distributed over 1,400 firms by the late 1990s. Currently, more than 1,300 electronics and ICT companies along with numerous services and supplier firms are going about their business there, employing 170,000 people, about 30% of them women. Thus the phenomenal growth of the city was spurred by the governmental agencies and public sector industries to begin with and later on it was led by the booming IT sector.

Though business opportunities will remain in all these areas for the foreseeable future, it is doubtful that they will generate growth, employment or subcontracting arrangements that will keep up with the rate of population increase in the Bangalore metropolitan region. The public sector heavy industries in particular are subject to profound reorganisation processes that have already resulted in substantial staff cuts. Besides that, the central, state and municipal government institutions and many parastatal agencies are still providing employment to tens of thousands of people. However, the downsizing programme recently implemented by the state government has already cut hundreds of office jobs. The ICT-sector is by far the most dynamic part of the city's economy. The growth of the economy will depend on the dynamism of private sector enterprises with high-value outputs, minimal environmental impact, and the ability to generate direct employment as well as indirect growth of services. The most likely candidates are microelectronics-based companies in hardware and software production fields with a variety of connections with foreign firms (Nair J., 2005) (Dittrich, 2007, pp. 46-9).

The size and visibility of the public sector has been overshadowed by the private sector, beginning with the proliferation of the garment units in every part of the city-employing nearly 70,000 workers by the late 1990s-and including several units producing electronic consumer goods. The large public sector industries and the private textile and garment production units still have an important impact on the city's economy. Together with all their subcontracting units these two pillars of the formal economy are employing approximately 250,000 people.

The formal sector with the largest impact on employment is still textiles; followed by the public sector giants and the institutions of central and state governments. Bangalore is now competing with other Indian cities like Hyderabad and Chennai as well as Asian cities like Manila and Kuala Lumpur to attract and generate domestic and international activities and investments and to make the city more competitive, it has to ensure a high level of urban efficiency (Harikrishnan & Mahendra, 2008) (Shaw & Satish, 2007, p. 160).

4. The 'other' Bangalore: whose growth is it anyway?

Bangalore is the showpiece of the success of the new economy, defining the city as 'the site of a new and confident definition of urban space by capitalism' (Nair J. , 2005). Yet the shining city masks an unhealthy process of unplanned growth and development, and associated infrastructure and service deficiencies contributing to its inefficient management. The transition of the city from small town to metropolis is fitfully managed; the reforms undertaken since the 1990s, though resulting in a high economic growth, have also given rise to a number of the social and environmental concerns. These include its impact on employment and distribution of income, the emergence of new forms of vulnerabilities, weakening state regulation, deteriorating governance patterns, paradoxical poverty statistics, imbalanced demographics and intra-city disparities. That the growth has brought with it a divide cannot be gainsaid. Given the unevenness of this economic and political transition,

Heitzman challenges Bangalore's claim to the status of an 'information society'. (Nair, 2005) (Sood, 2007).

The integration of Bangalore into the globalising network of trade and the highly competitive framework of inter-city linkages has induced unsettling changes in the habitation patterns, social relationships and political processes of the urban social setting. Issues of poverty remain submerged by the euphoria over the expansion of the information technology industry and Bangalore is, in many senses, a "divided" city. The glass walled computer-ready office complexes, exclusive shopping malls and entertainment facilities that rival the best in the country contrast with the dense squatter settlements and their very poor services in central areas of the city. Bangalore's urban periphery has also been transformed; an estimated 20 percent of Bangalore's population resides in slums, close to 70 percent of its employment is in the unorganized sector, and 60 percent of its population is ill served by a public transport network challenges any proud claim that Bangalore is well on the way to becoming a network society. (Benjamin, 2000, p.38).

Public infrastructure is the first to feel the strain. Its improvement could not keep pace with the tremendous population growth and the requirements of the new and globalising economic players. The consequences are frequent power cuts and a looming water shortage with water only available every other day. Moreover, the public tap water is highly contaminated, despite its chlorination. Due to the water shortage the better off neighbourhoods and service industries draw their water from private borewells, resulting in a dramatic lowering of the water table. During the monsoon, the city's insufficient and poorly maintained drainage system is overburdened. Excess surface water and sewage frequently overflow onto the roads and flood low-lying residential areas. Additionally, the disposal of solid waste and sewage remains a largely unsolved problem. Bangalore generates about 3000 tonnes of solid waste per day, of which only about 1100 tonnes are collected and sent to composting units. The remaining solid waste collected by the municipality is dumped in open spaces or on roadsides outside the city. The unplanned nature of growth in the city resulted in massive traffic gridlocks. Bangalore's vehicular traffic has increased manifold, with 1.6 million registered vehicles in the city, the second highest number after Delhi. The tremendous increase in vehicular traffic by approximately 10% a year has led to a situation where Bangaloreans, formerly envied for their pleasant climate and fresh air, endure the highest level of air pollution in the country. The gross deficiencies in civic infrastructure and the patent lack of coordination between six core agencies responsible for urban development have created a sense of disappointment among the modern service industries. (Jafri 2006) (Dittrich, 2007, p.50).

Substandard roads and traffic congestion, issues that the corporate sector makes 'such a hue and cry about, represents only one part of the infrastructure crisis facing the city. In 2005, unexpectedly heavy rains exposed just how poorly serviced large parts of Bangalore are in respect of basic infrastructure such as drainage and sewage disposal. Newly constructed apartment blocks and housing colonies in several areas were flooded. Slum residents bore the worst impact of the rains. Bangalore has a garment sector that employs 300000 workers, a number far greater than the IT/ITES sectors; most of these workers live in the 700 odd slums, grossly under-serviced settlements that have developed in the interstices of the big city. Much of the earnings of such workers goes toward medical and hospital bills consequent to the unsanitary living conditions, lack of toilets and drainage (Menon, The two Bangalores, 2005).

A study conducted by Solomon Benjamin reveals a startling picture of lopsided infrastructural development. Infrastructural investment in poor, working class slims in central, west and south Bangalore differs by a factor of 1: 40 when compared to Whitefield, an area with a concentration of software companies and large-residential layouts. With off-sire investments such as dedicated expressways, the ratio becomes 1: 60. Benjamin says: "A key problem we witness today in globally connected cities such as Bangalore is that of unequal access to public investments for infrastructure and services. The vast majority of small firms and trades, despite providing almost 80 percent of the jobs, remain in 'shadow areas where residential and work environments lack even basic infrastructure and services. In contrast, the hi-tech areas have access to publicly provided and subsidized high-grade infrastructure, services and land.

As important, such publicly serviced land shore up land values (Menon, 2005).

Unfortunately, poverty issues are seen as separate from the city by the elite. Most documents relating to the poor centre on the number of 'slums' and estimates of their population. These estimates range from the official 401 slums (housing 1.35 million people or 25 per cent of the population) about a year ago, to 770 according to recent health and education surveys. Some activist groups working in slums and other low income areas suggest that there are between 800 and 1,000 of them. They also estimate that, if the non-slum poor were included, more than 40 per cent of the city's population would be defined as poor. Data on the nature of the disparities between rich and poor are less easily available and the subject is rarely discussed in public fora, although income data from the 1991 census give some idea of its magnitude. At the lower level, 24 per cent of households shared 8 per cent of total income, at the higher level, 4 per cent of the households shared 19 per cent. Half the city's households shared less than one-quarter of total income. A sharper picture of inequality emerges from the data on access to services. Access to water is a useful indicator. While the data is uneven and dated, average figures for per capita consumption is low and poor groups have to make do with very limited supplies. Most slums are concentrated in the middle and peripheral zones of the city – areas experiencing very high growth rates. At present, almost one-third of the population has only partial or no access to piped water. If current growth trends continue, up to half of the population could end up with partial or no access to piped water. Poor groups in the central part of Bangalore, who are usually missed out in slum surveys, face particularly serious problems. One recent study estimated that more than half of Bangalore's population depends upon public fountains, many of which supply contaminated water because of poor maintenance and broken pipes. This is exacerbated by serious land conflicts that make the extension of infrastructure very difficult. The very limited data available on slums suggest particularly serious problems. A 1996 study of five slums showed that two had no water supply, one had a well supplied via bore wells, and two had to depend on public fountains. One to two bore wells and one tap served a population of between 800-900. Slum residents had to walk between 20-1,000 metres to fetch water – and women and children were particularly affected by the poor environmental conditions. Access to other services such as toilets is just as bad if not worse. An official report for 1994 stated there were some 113,000 houses without any latrines, while 17,500 had dry latrines. In a study of 22 slums nine (with a total population of some 35,400) had no latrine facilities at all. In another ten, there were 19 public latrines for 16,850 households or 102,000 inhabitants. The fee charged for the use of public latrines was a serious constraint on the poor families, and a further serious problem in some of the public latrines was poor maintenance. Women would have preferred to save the fee money and build a private toilet but the lack of sewer connections made this difficult. Most women were forced to use open fields to defecate – but this often led to harassment. In 12 slums, women reported facing harassment, particularly from drunken men. In nine slums, women felt that it took too long for them to reach an open space. Not surprisingly, most of the diseases faced by the women and children related to contaminated water or inadequate supplies for personal hygiene – scabies, diarrhoea, cholera, typhoid and eye infections. Women, who do not have access to toilets, often suffered from intrauterine diseases and many were anaemic. Life expectancy for men and women ranged between 55 and 60. Children suffered heavily from diarrhoea and worm infestations, a high proportion were malnourished and infant mortality rates in the slums were much higher than the state average. The above manifestations of Bangalore's poverty highlight the perverse focus of public policy on the hi-tech growth sector (Benjamin, 2000, pp. 38-41).

5. Segmented history ; the divided legacy of Bangalore

The asymmetrical development begs the question whether Bangalore might have inherited the development process from its past experiences of development. In this context, it is worth reviewing the process and pattern of historical development of the city of Bangalore. (Nair, 2005) (Sastry, 2008, p. 2).

The history of Bangalore is a tale of two cities, a western part or pete that dates back to atleast five centuries; and the eastern part or 'Cantonment' that is no more

than two centuries old. In 1949, the twin municipalities of Bangalore City and Cantonment were brought together in the Bangalore City Corporation. Bangalore was wrenched out of its existence as a divided town to become a big city in the 1970s. Yet the integration of these two distinct linguistic, political and economic cultures and their spatial identities remains an unfulfilled task; in many ways Bangalore remains a divided city (Nair J., 2005, p. 26).

The differences began with layout and urban form. The old city epitomized the very worst in city planning, and nourished disease and death. 'Owing to the rapid growth of the town, and the various hands through which it has passed, the streets in the old part are often narrow and mostly irregular in appearance'(Lewis Rice) ; ' the houses of the natives are mean and poor, even those in larger towns such as Bangalore' (Mark Wilks) ; 'it will be an uphill task for any municipality to push back the projecting facades, straighten the roads which have been wriggling for ages, and clear away choking vermin-breeding buildings' (R.K.Narayan) (quotes from (Nair J. , 2005). There was no water borne conservancy in the old town; water was sold by the barrel or supplied from Charmamabudi tank through troughs and basins called Karanjis, in contrast to the Cantonment which had secure supplies of water.

The Cantonment brought a new phase in city development, where the street became a vital artery for wheeled vehicles, soldiers on parade, polo playing officers, the ritual of walking the promenade, or cycling around Ulsoor Lake, not just of a crooked line left over after houses were set up. In striking contrast to the old city area were the broad, straight tree-lined avenues, avenues intended for parades of wheeled vehicles or spectacles of military power. The disparity persisted in several crucial areas of city life: per capita expenditures on public health were significantly higher in the Cantonment compared with the City, as were expenditures on parks and playgrounds. Between 1930-9 and 1947-8, expenditures on construction and maintenance of roads expanded by 300 percent in the station in contrast to a 50 percent decline in the City. Furthermore, the Cantonment was much better served by metalled roads than the city, where 33 percent of the roads were unmetalled. Overall, the influx of people into Bangalore in the war years strained municipal resources to the limits as the less well defined City area absorbed the intensified migration from the neighbouring Madras Presidency. (Nair J., 2005)

There were well-spaced areas for European bungalows in Richmond and Langford towns, though they existed in uneasy proximity to the 'native quarters' or lines, which provided vital supplies of domestic and other labour. Those areas which were designated as 'native quarters' included Blackpally (later Shivajinagar), Ulsoor, Shoolay. They remained in sharp contrast to the spacious and well laid-out compounds and gardens of the Cantonment area. These homes were sometimes build on sites as large as two or three acres, the gap signifying the social distance between ruler and the ruled, and a sense of space largely unhindered by any concern for the economies of land-use. The planning authorities also paid scrupulous attention to the social hierarchies within the city. Physical distance between homes thus considerably diminished the possibility of undesirable social contact, allowing for a new type of privacy. The Cantonment, and its all too evident provision of facilities for the European resident, was always cited in nationalist speeches as clear proof of what the independent nation state could achieve for its citizens; tree-lined streets, large compounds, faces that reflected prosperity, and a heightened respect for privacy.(Nair J., 2005).

Cubbon Park was also a swathe of parkland that separated city from cantonment, keeping the two areas and their respective cultures apart well into the twentieth century. The location of the Queen Victoria statue at the southern edge of Cubbon Park in 1906 was a symbolic proclamation of the station's gratitude to the colonial regime. The public life of the city was thus divided, not only in a spatial sense, between east and west.

Indeed, the cantonment was peopled by those for whom British rule had spelt not just political certainty but unbridled economic opportunity. By the early twentieth century the two cities had developed as independent entities, with their own central markets, railways stations, hospitals, and wholesale and retail areas. If the city was determined in form and function as a commercial and industrial space, the expansive cantonment was structured around the presence of the military. Beyond

this was an expanding edge of industries to the north and west, nurtured and protected by the state. The two distinct nodes of City and Cantonment station were separated by a trough of sparsely populated parkland. Yet traffic between the two areas was regulated as strictly as ideas between them.

On the eve of Independence, then, the city of Bangalore retained its divided character, with the two halves only weakly joined in the social, political or economic spheres. Consternation on the part of the Cantonment's residents about the prospect of unity gave way to a resigned pragmatism. In the immediate post-Independence a years, the task of strengthening these bonds was left more of less entirely to administrative compulsions, with significant consequences for the contemporary design and social life of the city.However, as the city gradually developed, a fine-tuning of inter-mix of two cultures has been evident in the form of location of these people in both the areas. For the said historical reasons, Bangalore was developed with dual characteristics since its foundation. As a result, the city has been attracting various categories of people from different regions because of the patronage they could get more interestingly; this tradition has been maintained even to this day, but with its changed importance (Sastry, 2008, pp. 2-3).

6. A contested terrain: the battleground of Bangalore

Bangalore's divide is not just a function of history; it is part of a larger urban phenomenon. Understanding change in modern metropolitan cities requires an understanding of how these cities exist as arenas of complicated and conflicting politico-economic processes that are both local and global. Planning and governance are shaped by the congruence of interest groups with conflicting interests which compete over limited resources. These resources are not just physical; they encompass intangibles such as state power and legitimacy (Nair J. , 2005).

In its latest, metropolitan phase, therefore, Bangalore typifies a ground on which broadly two contending forces stake their claim: on the one hand are the newly renovated citizens, who are amply aided by a technocratic vision of change offered by the leaders of the new economy; on the other are those of who democracy has come to have a different meaning in the urban setting. Not all changes occurring in Bangalore can be attributed to global forces/ agency. There are significant local forces/agency which have responded to global opportunities and through this changed the city.

The current socio-economic fabric of the city has the following four categories-high income, middle income, low income, and slum households; each with its specific requirements in terms of residential, transport, education, health, water and sanitation, commercial, leisure-time and recreation activities. It is a challenge, at the best of times, to service these differing, at times conflicting requirements. But in Bangalore this is compounded by the fact that such initiatives come at a time when the formal aspects of citizenship are called into question with increased vigour by certain other categories of urban residents: slum dwellers, unemployed young men, women's groups (Sastry, 2008, pp. 9-10).

The city stands re-territorialized today; a more assertive voice of the region is heard, not through a return to the name of an older settlement that was displaced as the city grew but through the production of a new linguistic and political cosmos. The period of growth that Bangalore witnessed has been characterized not only by the increasing preponderance of the market, but equally has seen the rise of social movements which imagine democracy quite differently. For such groups, the struggle over entitlements to space in the city, whether material or symbolic, is a way of redefining rights as claims, rather than possessions held against the world. If there once were areas of the city where Kannada was rarely heard, such as Fraser Town, today Kannada nameplates grace the most modern of malls. Such claims are increasingly being made in languages that are violent; they reterritorialize city space and redefine public life in ways that are a source of mounting anxiety to the middle class, dismayed by modes of plebeian democracy.

7. Conclusion

The characteristics of the economic settings are a key issue and, related to this, so too are institutional processes and structures; specifically the form and mechanisms of governance. Poor groups evolve complex alliances, including some with richer groups in relation to local economies, forming "proactive" processes to

shape the nature of institutions. The economic setting has to be considered: poor groups operate in an arena where richer groups also attempt to shape economic settings to benefit themselves, as do institutions. Thus, governance and poverty relate closely to these conflicts; conflicting interests attempt to shape the mechanisms of governance. (Benjamin, 2000, pp. 38-9). They establish that multiple and more local solutions are required if the urban poor have to be reached and the "one size fits all" approach. The urban poor have been excluded from various infrastructure and services in the cities of developing India. The enquiry for further research on "inclusive cities" should be on analyzing the politics and processes of inclusion and exclusion and what role the local and national state should play in giving some policy directions.

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