Chapter 1: Bangalore from a “bean to boom” city: transitions of green spaces and associated cultures of a growing metropolitan in India

Introduction

Urbanization is a dominant geographic trend and an important component of global land transformation (Tarraga and Miguel 2006) that has affected cities, especially those that have green spaces as part of their traditional culture. This dramatic transformation over the recent years has strongly influenced the human social and cultural attributes (Grimm et al. 2000; Pickett et al. 2001; Elmqvist et al. 2004). Development is fast changing the identities of cities, however our knowledge and understanding of their effects on urbanscapes and ecology, and its consequences on human well-being is far from complete. Green spaces are being lost to various developments, resulting in poor environmental conditions and a growing disconnect between human and nature. The link between human and nature is vital for enhancing individual and community resilience in any socio-ecological system (Tidball 2010).

Bangalore, now a metropolitan city in South India, has gained its “Garden city” image since the time it was a princely state under Tippu Sultan in 1782. Tippu established a vast expanse of garden which today stands decimated due to development (Iyer et al. 2012). The city has now fast-tracked to the image of “IT city of India” with a disproportionate economic growth rate due to the advent of Information Technology (henceforth IT) companies. It now faces a dilemma between conserving its green spaces and expanding infrastructure to meet this growth. The “IT city” has brought in mixed cultures and changing lifestyles, which has affected the city’s culture and practices, especially those associated with green spaces such as the traditional kitchen garden in individual homes.

We examine the contours of development and its impact on green spaces, which have challenged the city’s historical identity and associated culture and highlight the need for reconciling development with their conservation. The study also tracks the trajectory of
the transitions of green spaces as commons in the city from the days of aralikattes (a small patch of banyan trees; Ravindran 2007) to the present day-created neighbourhood parks (henceforth NPs-Plate 1) to more privatized green spaces within gated communities. We examine a few recent events that have resulted in sporadic upsurge of stewardship around large heritage green spaces of the city and the prevalence of general apathy towards the newly created smaller NPs. We review the dichotomy of stewardship and try to understand the lack of momentum in participation and local stewardship with respect to NPs. Finally, we speculate on the existing management and how it can be improved to enhance the services that the NPs provision. Also, we evaluate the benefits and costs of growing gated communities, which are engulfing the peri-urban green spaces.

Methods

Information on the historical changes of Bangalore was gathered from various books such as Kamat’s (1989; 1990) Karnataka Gazetteer; Issar’s (1998) The city beautiful; Jayapal’s (1997) Bangalore: The story of a city; Hasan’s (1970) Bangalore through the centuries and Nair’s (2005) The promise of the metropolis: Bangalore’s twentieth century. This was further supplemented by interviews with a few experts who were part of the greening efforts in the city. These interviews helped synthesize information on green spaces, the cultural values and uses of open spaces, and the economic growth in the city.

Information on NPs, which are the most recently developed urban commons, was collected from Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike (henceforth BBMP). Bangalore has 47 administrative units (Bangalore Master Plan 2005–2015) and the residents in each of these units reflect variations in their lifestyle, which in turn can have a bearing on the community’s usage of green spaces. In order to capture these variations, NPs chosen for this study were scattered across the city. NPs were identified using the Eicher Map 2002, Guide of Bangalore and the Bangalore Master Plan 2005–2015 (Bangalore Development Authority 2007). Social attributes were collected via a questionnaire survey method, which comprised open- and close-ended questions. The survey targeted NP users who
benefitted from the ecosystem services that the NPs provided. The survey was carried out in 37 NPs to assess: the relationship that people share with NPs and heritage parks (henceforth HPs-Plate 1) and the value they attach to these green spaces; their stewardship levels towards the two types of green spaces, and the presence/absence of residents’ (beneficiaries) involvement in management bodies that exist around the NPs was explored. Also, communities living within gated enclaves were surveyed in order to capture their value, usage and management of the green space provided within. These surveys were conducted in upcoming areas such as Whitefield and Bannerghatta, which either lack or have very few NPs and are dominated by gated communities.

Qualitative interviewing was carried out using a questionnaire and prompting conversation in order to gain information and understanding people’s attachment to green spaces within the city (Walliman 2006; Annexure 1). The questionnaire had the following categories: views on the changing image of the city; the relationship that people share with NPs and HPs; appreciation of ecosystem services; people’s stewardship levels towards NPs and HPs. A mix of open- and closed-ended questions facilitated respondents to share their experiences with the greenery in the city and their reactions towards the change of image from “Garden city” to an “IT city”. Answers obtained from open-ended questions, were treated as narratives and were classified under various themes, which broadly helped in understanding people’s linkages with historic green Bangalore through traditional practices, environmental consciousness, lifestyles, nature and biodiversity knowledge across age groups (Table 1). Surveys were conducted in the mornings and evenings when NPs were open to the residents and other users. Also, the survey with park users captured the age spectrum utilizing the park. About four to five interviews in individual NPs were carried out. A survey with a total of 148 park users was conducted. Also, 93 interviews were conducted within five gated communities using a similar questionnaire as mentioned above with more emphasis on green spaces within the gated community.
Results and Discussion

Natural to Gardenscape

Bangalore in the early 17th century largely comprised natural thorn forests (Kamath 1990). The presence of these forests is mentioned in the famous folklore, which is said to have secured the city its name “Benda-kaalu-ooru” (“town of boiled beans”), which gradually became anglicized as “Bangalore”. The bean (referred to as avarekalu, still popular among Bangaloreans) is typically raised in arid zones during cool winters by clearing thorny vegetation (Karanth 1995). However, historical evidence shows that the word “Bengaluru” seemed to have first appeared in an inscription of 890 AD, found in Begur, a town 10 miles south of the city, which is said to be the authentic reason for the city’s name (Hasan 1970). Certain patches of the natural vegetation with human intervention, was transformed into a wooded landscape with trees called “Devarakadus” (sacred groves) and “Gundutopus” (village wood lots) that were created along the periphery of the present city limits (Thiruvady, unpublished). Aralikattes were created by planting banyan trees and building platforms around them, which served as meeting points for villagers (Ravindran 2007). While the rural community continued greening along the periphery, greenery within the city was initiated by Hyder Ali, a ruler of Mysore, a city which lies 130 km south of Bangalore. He developed Lalbagh as his private garden, which is now a public HP. Bangalore city obtained its “garden city” image after the development of Lalbagh in the mid-18th century, a park that covered an expanse of 240 acres. Subsequent to this, in 1831, the British who by then were established in the region played a pivotal role in further greening the city with the creation of another HP, the Cubbon Park, and with the concept of “serial blooming” by planting diverse flowering trees that bloomed at different times of the year, all along the avenues of the city (Issar 1998, Iyer et al. 2012).

During the early 20th century, Bangalore saw the establishment of numerous research and educational institutions, which did not hamper the city’s green image. As they were established in sprawling campuses, they only further enhanced the gardenscapes in the city. For example, the Indian Institute of Science (IISc), a centre for excellence, is known
for its large overwhelming green campus and in the later part of the 1990s, several other institutions such as University of Agricultural Science (UAS), United Theological College (UTC) and many others were also established, which saw a steady incremental growth of gardenscapes of the city. The defence establishment and public sectors units such as Hindustan Machine Tools (HMT), who planted jaali trees (*Acacia nilotica*) all along the avenues of an area Jalahalli, north of the city, continue to maintain the greenery with discipline and pride over several years (Where patches of green thrive\(^1\)).

In the early 1980s, greening along roads further boosted the green image of the city under the political leadership of Ramakrishna Hegde, Head of Karnataka state. He initiated planting of avenue trees and developing new NPs across the city through the municipality (personal communication, Dr. Ravindran, Forest officer).

**Emergence of parkscapes**

It was during the British tenure that several green spaces in the form of NPs were developed which served as their popular cultural spaces. They introduced a park culture, which was a new perspective to the use of social spaces. Earlier gardens, which were established by royalties, had restricted access. These green spaces were mainly established around the cantonment area (a civil and military base in 1809 – Tracing the architect of the cantonment\(^2\)), which was also referred to as the “colonial city”. During the same time, a twin “Indian city” or “pete” also began to develop at the periphery (Figure 1a; Vagale 2006). The two cities were structurally very contrasting. In the “Indian city”, the houses were small and cluttered, whereas the “colonial city” comprised bungalows which were large and spacious with vast home gardens (Vagale 2006). The Indian culture considered market places, temples and *aralikattes* as social spaces, whereas the British gathered in parks and other open spaces (Ravindran 2007). The only common link between the two cities was Cubbon Park, the HP of the city, which was popular and used both by Indian and colonial settlers (Vagale 2006).

\(^1\) Where patches of green thrive (2012)

\(^2\) Tracing the architect of the cantonment (2012)
Figure 1.1a: Overview of Bangalore city in the year 1924, depicting the location and boundary of the following i) Colonial City and ii) Indian City; two oldest areas: Malleshwaram and Basavangudi; Heritage green spaces: Lalbagh and Cubbon Park and the boundary of the civil and military areas

Figure 1.1b: Map of Malleshwaram (2012) showing the two major roads: Sampige and Margosa roads and a few neighbourhood parks (NP 1 to 4)

The park culture of the British slowly got integrated among Indians through the elite and educated. This transition can be clearly seen in one of the oldest areas in the city, Malleswaram, which readily adopted the park culture and also retained traditional Indian practices. Availability of land properties measuring 2–3 acres facilitated the elite to build spacious bungalows embedded in large home gardens that mimicked the residences of the British in the “colonial city”. This population largely belonged to the orthodox Hindu culture of pure vegetarians who effortlessly grew vegetables and fruits in their home gardens and hence these communities were self-sufficient (Vagale 2006). These home gardens and the large avenue trees along the wide roads in this area further enhanced the green image of the city. Some streets even derived their names from the trees that were grown along their entire stretch: “Sampige” (*Michelia champaka*) and “Margosa”
(Azadirachta indica) roads (Figure 1b, personal communication with former forest officer S. G. Neginhal). Gradually, the two cities coalesced and merged into one big cultural hub (Vagale 2006).

**Costs of fast tracking to “Silicon Valley of India”**

It is from 1965 onwards that the city began to evolve into a city of small-scale industries. By 1998, it became known as an IT hub. The “electronic city” emerged with a cluster of IT companies, following which the city acquired the image of “Silicon Valley of India” (Heitzman 2001; Is the next silicon valley taking root in Bangalore?

Karnataka's then state leader, S.M. Krishna spearheaded this transition prioritizing development to meet IT and business process outsourcing (BPO) needs, with a vision to improve the infrastructure, transport system and other amenities to put Bangalore on par with Asia’s popular city, Singapore (CM takes on critics of ‘Singapore drive’

Bangalore followed its own unique trajectory of joining the conglomerate of megacities of the world. After 1965, there has been a larger focus on development, which also led to population rise (Figure 1.1). Although a few large green spaces such as Freedom Park, which was an innovative conversion of old prison premises are new additions (Figure 1.1), portions of the existing heritage parks Lalbagh, Cubbon Park and UAS campus, have been lost (Battle continues over tree felling). From mid-1990, the city began to witness changes even at the neighbourhood scale. With the entry of IT industry, the “Garden city” became a hotspot of capital investments. Bangalore's large plots and colonial bungalows with home gardens gave way to multi-storeyed apartment blocks with just small patches of lawn. These blocks became financial investments for several employees of multinational companies. This resulted in a booming real estate market, spurring builders to invest on more concrete structures with very little or no green space. Changes in building norms for open spaces within residential compounds along with (Chitra Vishwanathan personal communication) increase in land prices led to wall-to-wall utilization of floor space and the eventual disappearance of traditional kitchen

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4* CM takes on critics of ‘Singapore drive’ (2010)
5* Battle continues over tree felling (2009)
gardens. The wooded premises of abandoned mills (Raja Mills and Mysore Lamps), which are located in prime localities are slowly being converted to developmental projects (Raja Mills to Mantri Mall, while Mysore Lamps may be converted soon to a bus stand) (The Mantri ‘shopping experience’6*; Sick Mysore Lamps7*; Mysore lamps land to house government office8*). Although these spaces provide immense services to the neighbourhood, there is a general apathy among the communities’ and an unwillingness to conserve them.

With an average growing economy of 9% (State’s economic growth9*; Economic growth past two years10*), Bangalore became a preferred location for many software companies which provided lucrative job opportunities leading to an increase in migrants even from across the world which accounted for 45% of the total population (JNNURM 2006). The employees could afford better lifestyles due to incremental growth in income levels of Indian software industries (Heeks 1996; NASSCOM 1996), which allowed them to adopt the western culture of shopping in malls, abandoning street shopping, investing in cars and real estate, and so on. These lifestyle changes caused a cascading effect on the greenery of the city, one of them being a tremendous increase in the number of car ownerships (BMLTA Indicators 2010-11) leading to vehicular clogging and high levels of pollution (Green turning grey11*). Today, to ease the traffic congestion in the city, portions of heritage green parks and roads with avenue trees are being sacrificed (BMRC12*). Although avenue trees reduce pollution, lower temperatures and act as conduits for birds and other mobile urban taxa to move between patches, their services are neglected and forfeited (Nagendra et al. 2010). The polluted environment within the city has lately caused city dwellers to also invest on homes in peri-urban areas, where the air is cleaner and fresh, have large green spaces and houses well-spaced from each other. This second home culture has led to a real estate demand in the outskirts of the city as well, resulting in the decrease in peri-urban green spaces. This demand has led to

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6* The Mantri ‘shopping experience’ (2012)  
7* Sick Mysore Lamps (2011)  
8* Mysore lamps land to house government office (2011)  
9* State’s economic growth (2011)  
10* Economic growth past two years (2011)  
11* Green turning grey (2011)  
12* BMRC (2011)
spontaneous actions from entrepreneurs who have spawned a new product “privately
governed urban neighbourhoods” popularly called gated communities akin to cities in
USA, Brazil and China (Renaud and Webster 2006).

In the last few years, developing countries have been attracting people from all over the
world, resulting in exchange of cultures, attitudes and perception of people, and changes
in lifestyle. This has also, to a large extent, affected our urban green spaces. The
traditional wooded green spaces are being replaced by trendy looking parks with
manicured lawns and turfs, which mimic the natural vegetation of temperate countries.
This is being practised at all scales, replacing traditional home gardens, office spaces, and
institutional campuses that earlier had a wooded appearance. These green spaces require
high inputs in terms of fertilizers and pesticides, which leave them devoid of any fauna,
which a planned green space could otherwise support. In contrast, there are scattered
efforts by corporates who have made appropriate linkages, to restore biodiversity into
campuses (Gardens delight13*; Krishna 2011). Reversing the trend now to complete
wooded parks or wilderness will be a conflict with the socially constructed images of
today’s urban parks in the minds of people, comprising manicured lawns, walking tracks,
etc. Also, it has been increasingly realized that the way a community uses a park is
typically reflected in the opportunities the park provides to them (Cranz 1982). Hence,
future urban parks should find equilibrium between requirements of users with
biodiversity components that provision optimal ecosystem services through innovative
partnerships, collaboration and stewardship.

Size matters

While large green spaces within and around the city began to decrease, the BBMP
horticulture department began attempting to restore the lost green image with the creation
of NPs within the inner city. NPs being secure spaces with recreational facilities attract
the neighbourhood community to utilize them. Besides recreational services, the NP
provides other ecosystem services, which enhance the environmental conditions in the
neighbourhood (Chapter 2). In spite of the benefits that NPs provision; they constantly

13* Gardens delight (2012)
face a threat of being replaced by buildings, which house civic amenities or other developmental projects. Although large green spaces such as HPs face a similar threat, high stewardship that exists around them and active stakeholder participation help deter encroachment in these spaces and denotification to alternative use is not secured easily (Denotification Cubbon Park\textsuperscript{14*}).

Peoples’ attitudes and experiences are known to influence their actions towards conservation of green spaces (Tidball and Krasny 2007; James \textit{et al.} 2009; Balram and Dragicevic 2005; Kaiser \textit{et al.} 1999; Figure 1.2). Cities comprise mixed community and their stewardship towards conservation of green spaces can be variable. Several reports along with findings from this study shows that citizenry participation largely seems to be biased towards protection of large green spaces, hence further increasing the dichotomy between large and small green spaces (Swamy and Devy 2010). For example, the interview with a senior citizen elucidates his ecological links with large green spaces in the city. According to a 76-year old respondent:

“\textit{Large parks such as Lalbagh and Cubbon Park are the major lung spaces in the city. If not for these parks, Bangalore would not have had such a salubrious weather throughout the year. These parks act as relaxing places, are aesthetically beautiful, support birds and butterflies, absorb pollution and several more}”.

\textbf{Figure 1.2:} People’s involvement in protecting green spaces in Bangalore city

\textsuperscript{14*} Denotification Cubbon Park (2010)
A well-known ornithologist of the city, M. B. Krishna, was interviewed to understand why the dichotomy between the large and small green space exists both in terms of appreciation and patronage. He attributes it primarily to the scale of the park that attracts attention of multiple stakeholders. Also, people perceive large parks to offer more ecosystem services and hence deserve to be better conserved. He mentions that large parks gain prominence among naturalists, as they are biodiversity-rich areas. Although NPs might act as stepping-stones to large green spaces within the city especially for the mobile taxa, they remain undervalued and neglected. Our results show that clusters of NPs can actually support 50% of the bird diversity observed in some of the iconic green spaces of the city (Chapter 3).

**Can the existing stewardship help reduce decay of green spaces?**

From the period 2008 to 2010, there has been a rise in the number of environmental groups in the city (Figure 1.3; Devy et al. 2009). Along with citizenry and nature organizations, these groups actively participated in protests related to various environmental issues. One such protest was against road widening projects, which has led to cutting old trees that were characteristic of many streets in Bangalore (Protest against Sankey road widening\(^\text{15}\)*; Sankey road widening from tomorrow\(^\text{16}\)*; Don’t widen Sankey road\(^\text{17}\)*). Similar public uproars occur whenever new projects are being planned within HPs, botanical gardens and campuses. This demonstrates the citizenry stewardship towards large green spaces. The city comprises several environmental organizations, of which Hasiru Usiru and Save Bangalore Committee are involved in protecting heritage green spaces such as avenue trees, Cubbon Park and Lalbagh through protests. Other groups such as the Environmental Support Group focus on protecting public spaces through a public litigation approach. In the recent years, environmental groups have risen to resist felling of avenue trees by the urban governing body as a measure to tackle the larger problem of mobility within Bangalore. Hasiru Usiru and Janaravedike even strived to set up green governance through electing members with green inclination, by launching a campaign and also helping to develop a mobility manifesto – a proposal that

\(^{15}\)Protest against Sankey road widening (2011)
\(^{16}\)Sankey road widening from tomorrow (2011)
\(^{17}\)Don’t widen Sankey road (2011)
addressed mobility issues in the city with minimal costs to trees (Hasiru Usirus take on manifestoes\(^{18}\)). These efforts were not completely successful because of lack of funds and/or citizens’ apathy for these movements unless individually affected (Hasiru Usiru member, *personal communication*). Hence, such initiatives often lack sufficient momentum and fail. As a result, despite citizen and environment group outcry, there is still a top-down approach and illegal constructions continue to take place in the city (ESG PIL\(^{19}\)). The governing bodies still seem insensitive to the increasing stewardship and the moods around the green spaces. A feedback mechanism of involving the community and civil societies in the governance is yet to emerge. Tidball and Krasny (2011), cite that the community involvement can be an opening for engaged scholarship to demonstrate the multiple values of green spaces to policy makers, so that they will initiate protection and investment.

Interestingly, a survey of the existing managements around NPs showed that area-specific local stewardship groups in collaboration with BBMP horticulture department managed NPs in some localities. These groups participate on a voluntary basis in making their NPs friendly and useful for all age groups (Residential Welfare Association President, R T Nagar, north-west Bangalore, *personal communication*). Similarly, a survey conducted within a gated community regarding people’s appreciation of their enclosed green space and their participation levels in maintaining it showed that, 86% of the residents appreciated the privatized green space and utilized it leisurely, unlike NPs which have strict usage timings. Also, the gated communities displayed active involvement in maintaining the green space as these gardens were their own backyard. Although citizenry participation exists across different managerial systems for green spaces, lack of funds and ecological knowledge, hinders them from up-scaling them. Involving research institutions and ecologists to provide inputs could help enhance both NPs and privatized green spaces in order to provision better ecosystem services.

\(^{18}\) Hasiru Usirus take on manifestoes (2011)  
\(^{19}\) ESG PIL (2011)
Conclusion

Earlier in Bangalore, the “green commons” were in the form of *Aralikattes*, *Gundutopus* and *Devarakadus*, which were important social and cultural spaces. The traditional use of green commons has slowly faded away as a result of urbanization, replacing them with other new and trendy urban commons such as NPs. Today, Lalbagh and Cubbon Park, which are a result of conversion of thorn vegetation to gardenscapes, stand as symbols of different time periods. Both have survived the onslaught of development mainly due to citizenry stewardship, although portions have been lost incrementally. The city has 1079 small NPs that provide various ecosystem services (Shortage of gardeners hits BBMP parks20*), yet the community by large seems to be indifferent to these smaller green spaces, either by the fact that NPs are relatively a new concept of urban green commons in India or they lack facilities that the neighbourhood community requires, therefore deficient of stewardship among the citizenry (Swamy and Devy 2010). There exist few models within the city where the community has forged partnership with the municipality, which has led to better management of these small green spaces. These efforts only fulfill some social concerns of the neighbourhood society. However, the potential of NPs as multi-functional systems has not been demonstrated so far, as only the aesthetic service is perceived and valued. Also, there is general apathy by conservationists and ecologists, who are driven by size and heritage status of larger green spaces.

The growing gated communities are engulfing green spaces in peri-urban regions of Bangalore. Although most of these boast a good proportion of green space as per the byelaws set by the urban governance body; in effect, the open access is reduced to a more privatized use. Controlling access may be viewed as means of improving the quality of residential quality of life and reducing the burden of the urban governing authority, but comes with the cost of serving only a small sector (Dear and Flusty 1998). In contrast, NPs remain as a public good which are accessible not only to the neighbourhood dwellers but also to the larger community except that there is an occasional uproar when couples not belonging to the neighbourhood seek privacy. The use of NPs by the underprivileged

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20* Shortage of gardeners hits BBMP parks (2011)
(manuscript under preparation) intimidates the community due to occasional theft and inappropriate behaviour (Crime notes\(^21^*\)).

Involving ecological institutions, as part of the park management systems, be it HPs or NPs, will augment an additional layer of biodiversity support service to the existing bundle of services that they currently provision to the community. Bangalore has many ecological research institutions and an ecologically conscious citizenry. Therefore, informational and educational campaigns that demonstrate multi-functionality of urban green spaces should target citizens and elected officials so as to help them manage these areas in a more erudite fashion. This would help in better stewardship towards green spaces and many more productive associations can be forged by linking various stakeholders (Devy et al. 2009).

Figure 1.3: A schematic diagram showing the transition of Bangalore’s image from “garden city” to “silicon city”, due to major developments along with the establishment of large and small green spaces.

\(^{21^*}\) Crime notes (2012)
Table 1.1: Sample of narratives of a few respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group (years)</th>
<th>Total no. of interviews</th>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Narratives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80–87</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Traditional practices</td>
<td><em>We had a huge terrace where I used to dry red chillies, ragi, dhania and many other things. These were then ground in the mill for fresh powder. Now-a-days everything is readymade in the market, no one makes fresh powder. It is sad that now nobody follows those traditional practices, everyone buys the readymade powders.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>Environmental consciousness</td>
<td><em>I used to wake up early in the morning take my cloth bag and get milk from the milk booth. I used to enjoy the walk, so many trees, could hear the bird chirps and so peaceful. Now everyone wants a plastic carry bag from the store, make a phone call and milk and other provisions are delivered home. All the good things we used to do are all gone.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60–70</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nature and biodiversity</td>
<td><em>All avenues were lush green with trees that provided a lot of shade for passers-by. The trees along the roads were planned and planted so well that, throughout the year the avenues would change colours from red to yellow to purple. We haven’t seen sparrows for ages. They have completely disappeared. They were seen in every house nesting on the roof tops.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50–60</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Lifestyle</td>
<td><em>Lifestyle those days was simple when compared to what it is now. Though the literacy rate is much higher now, the level of environmental consciousness is extremely low. Respect for nature and environment as a whole is completely ignored and absent. The highlight of roads then was trees, but now it’s only cars and jammed streets.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
20–30 13 Lack socio-ecological memory My grandparents and my parents tell me so much about the greenery in the city, but I sadly haven’t experienced it. I have also read books and seen photographs of old Bangalore city. It is a pity that my generation is losing out on this.

References


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3. CM takes on critics of ‘Singapore drive’ (2010):


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11. Hasiru Usiru’s take on manifesto (2011):


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