Chapter-6

Conclusion

By the way of concluding, what could one think of the object of this thesis? It all began with a thought of an exploration into land development and urban planning in the context of the expanding city. In a way the study has attempted to investigate the spatial aspects in the city growth and development. The proliferation of urban areas across the world during the 20th century has been remarkable. Instead of viewing the growth of urban areas as local, regional, national, and global one can see the imbrications of social, economic and political processes of various scales in different urban regions and the formation of urban areas are part of their historical processes too. Moreover, the thrust of the arguments has been to highlight the global connections of urban phenomenon viz., global cities as sites possessing the command and control over certain kinds of production of products and services and dispersal of various industrial and financial activities across the world, as postulated by Saskia Sassen, or internationalization of urban policies, rescaling of statehood in the context of destabilized and decentered national scale of political-economic regulation with the emergence of new scalar hierarchies of state institutional organization and state regulatory activity in the major urban regions to boost local economic growth capacities, etc., as postulated by Neil Brenner, etc. Though the global political-economic processes seem to have a major influence over the urban regions across the world, it is not clear as to demonstrate the scale of changes this kind of globalization would bring about across the world and how they rearticulate the local or regional or national political economic processes in the developing countries. There has been challenge to the policies at all levels within the national territories, in terms of implementation of programmes, lack of legitimacy, lack of participation, the unbalanced development pattern between territories even under the former regime of welfare state. Most of the regions remained out of the purview of the welfare programmes and lack of redistribution of investments and enterprises between regions, etc. Urban regions across developing countries are situated within the (many a time situated within the vast swathes of impoverished and dry and rain dependent) agrarian regions. Apart from that Governments in the developing countries still have to focus mainly on the development of agriculture, land redistribution and land reforms, etc. Given these conditions, one is reminded of Desai's argument that urbanization in India is characterized by the movement of rural people to urban areas due to the oppressive social, political and cultural conditions. He terms this kind of migration as "distress migration" which leads to the growth of the poor settlements and informal sector in the cities.[1] Apart from that urbanization is characterized by development of industries,

educational and financial institutions, trade, information technology industry, planned residential settlements, etc.

Similarly, the cities of developing India are situated among the vast rural regions. Most of the states in India have a big capital city or a metropolis which is incomparable to any other urban area in any given state, with very few exceptions like Maharastra having more that on metropolis- Bombay, Pune and Nagpur, Tamil Nadu having Chennai, Madurai and Coimbatore, etc. Metropolitization is one of major developments with the growth and expansion of state capital urban regions. Clearly primacy of one city in each state is still viability or a norm. Cities are in transition. Cities of the present times in India give a fragmented picture socio-spatial picture.

Urban Space: Competing Marxian Paradigms of Space

Apart from causes for the emergence of city or a metropolitan region, the urban studies teach us that the configuration of space is fundamental and needs a theoretical articulation of space.

(a) Castells' articulation of space mainly focuses on the formation of the metropolitan regions and its configuration in terms of capitalist organization. For Castells the spatial aspect finds its meaning only in relation to of social structure. In that sense, space and social structure are indivisible. Then the specific 'urban' character of social structure is determined ideologically, by politico-juridical instance and by economic instance. The contemporary urban units are divided, determined and characterized by units of economic system. Castells views organization of various means of production and labour power belong to various realms but are interrelated. Within the classification of space the activities of production, consumption, exchange and management, are seen as elements in a given social system. Organization of means of production for Castells, is a regional question which is embedded in the historical process and is the result of contradictions within the social formation, whereas the labour power and its reproduction characterizes the urban spatiality.

(b) In contrast to Castells' articulation Lefebvre discovers autonomy of space. For Lefebvre, spatial design should be accounted as one of the significant elements among productive forces of society which include also technology, human knowledge, labour power, etc., which add to the "productive potential".[2] All properties of space accounted so far, are termed as 'first nature of the role of space in production'. Beyond that, inherent to space is its 'second nature'. That is the 'dialectical properties of spatial relations articulate with the externalized properties of the mode of production at a number of levels' which signifies that the quest for the control over spatial relations and design holds equally revolutionary potential as the control over other means of production.[3] Its material form determined by exchange value is a commodity but unlike any other commodity produced viz., sugar, cloth, etc. Unlike other commodities, places or locations cannot be put together or heaped together. Lefebvre views that Engel's

formulation, apart from reflecting the industrial production, also demonstrated that the economy had two sectors- the primary and secondary circuits of capital. Primary circuit of capital included manufacturing, commercial banking, retailing, etc., and the secondary circuit of capital included real estate industry- its banks and other financial conduits, real estate agents, owners of property and its markets, which were mainly instrumental in bringing about changes in the metropolitan environments. The logic of secondary circuit of capital is relatively autonomous from the logic of primary production. The flows of capital in and out of secondary circuit compounded and complicated the crisis cycles in the primary circuit.[4]

The fundamental difference between Castells' and Lefebvres' articulation of space is that the former argues that space is only part of the capitalist production process and finds its expression in the organization and reproduction of labour power in urban space, whereas the latter argues that space is not only part of the capitalist production process, but also autonomous which in turn generates the second circuit of capital viz., real estate industry.

Planning and Space

For Castells the management of urban system is central in ensuring the extended reproduction of the system in regulating the non-antagonistic relations and in repressing the antagonistic contradictions, and assuring the interests of the dominant social class and the structural reproduction of the dominant mode of production.[5] Management of urban system happens through state intervention in terms of urban planning. The process of planning involves the intervention of the political in the different instances of a social formation (including the political) and/or in their relations.

Urban planning is designed to address the crisis in the provision for 'Collective Consumption'. The idea is that individuals or individual entrepreneur do not volunteer to invest in the production of goods and services that are consumed collectively. Capitalists are disinterested to produce/invest in such projects since margin is negligible. Goods and services consumed collectively, draws state's investment due to the inevitable nature of consumption daily viz., roads, electricity, water, hospital, housing, etc., without which modern human life, in the city, would come to an end. Collective consumption attends to the needs of 'reproduction of labour power' and 'reproduction of means of production' which otherwise is at stake since they are essential elements in the production process. Thus to maintain the capitalist production process, state invests in production of collectively consumed goods. Therefore the 'Urban Question' is about the organization of means of collective consumption.

For Lefebvre, the state intervenes through planning which he characterizes as a class strategy. Cities are viewed as beautiful oeuvres with their traditional centres and culture which are representational of use values. With capitalist industrialization and

advent of planning, the city is de-centered by the way of suburbanization, speculation in land, etc., and the use value is lost and the exchange value dominates. The oeuvre is representational of social space with its community sentiment converted to the fragmentation and expansion of city which is representational of 'abstract space' which generates exchange values. The opposite of social space is the 'abstract space' which is 'two-dimensional, instrumental space of planning, state intervention, and capitalist exploitation.' 'It is when space, together with the daily life it represents, becomes an abstraction and an object of manipulation that it takes on its alienating form. Abstract space is the structural correlate of instrumental human action. It can be exploited through state intervention, as well as by capital.'[6] The consequences of States' domination generates violence, social entropy (social energies are put to disuse or unused generating disorder or chaos), use value is lost to exchange value, etc.

David Harvey too is concerned with the intervention of the state in urban affairs due to 'Overaccumulation' crisis of capital in the primary circuit for various reasons. Harvey deals with intervention of State at two levels: a. at the level of creating channels of money supply and credit system, and; b. at the level of planning. The intervention of state aids switch of overaccumulated capital only through money supply and the credit system that creates "fictional capital". Though the financial and state institutions are autonomous, in times of crisis of overaccumulation, they play a coordinating and mediating role for smooth switch over from primary to secondary circuit. The idle capital is siphoned off via financial and state institutions and further into the generation of fictional capital in the credit system, which finds deployed in the built environment. State also invests in the tertiary circuits i.e., in science and technology and in social expenditures for the reproduction of labour power. Apart from that state aids in creation of planning mechanism to manage the creation in roads, housing, health care, education, police forces, military and so on. The channelization of investments in different circuits contributes to the profitability of investments in various sectors of the economy, but this is not to be so. That is because the overinvestment and overproduction in the secondary and tertiary sectors leads to further crisis, which leads to devaluation of built environment. This results in the crisis within the financial and State structure itself.

Roweiss and Scott deal with 'contradictory nature of the value of urban land' which is a contingent, non-functional process of uneven development which is the result of contradictions inherent in capitalist production process which generates asymmetrical urban landscape. Under the conditions of capitalist competition in the land development, the initial phases of city growth, is 'unplanned and socially undecidable', and the state intervenes to control the quality of land development process. But this rationalization of land development leads to expropriation of use values by private expropriation. Urbanization processes and urban land problems are not merely about 'competitive bidding for land', but also about 'deep structure of urban property relations'. For them value of land depends on its relative location that

determines its exchange price in terms of high or low. This is reflected in the rent differentials based on the locational advantages.

Gottdiener finds the limitations of various perspectives in dealing with urban land. Marxists view urban planning and built environment as a corollary of economic contradictions which are internal to the process of capital accumulation. The rent and economic analysis of the land without taking into account the struggle over social space are not sufficient explanations for urban land development. In advanced capitalist countries landownership is widespread throughout the social order which provides scope for acquiring wealth in addition to the 'institutionalized returns to capital and labour'. Real estate is a commodity within its own market. The value of real estate is determined by sociospatial matrix of locations and activities associated with the production of wealth are attributed with use value function socially. The returns of monopolistic market of real estate is contingent on the nature and capability of capitalists groups to coordinate real estate activities in alignment with state to pool resources and plan development in particular directions spatially. Land development process has been uncoordinated and chaotic within a loose framework of business and institutional arrangements and in the context of rapidly expanding fringe of metropolitan regions. Beyond these economic considerations, social space is made and remade by culture and politics, sociospatial conflicts, sociospatial cleavages viz., class fractions, racial divisions, gender issues, ethnic conflicts, etc. Struggles over 'quality of life' cuts across class lines and are community based viz., the struggle between pro-growth and no-growth advocates, struggles over environmental quality, issues of pollution, crime, etc.

Theories of space are intertwined with capitalism and the State. The perspectives of Castells and Lefebvre differ in the following manner:

One, for Castells space is defined by and is part of the social structure whereas for Lefebvre space is relatively autonomous to the social structure i.e., space and society act on each other.

Two, for Castells space is an element of means of production and consumption in the whole of the capitalist order of space is a passive means and an end in use. For Lefebvre space generates a different circuit and relatively autonomous capitalism that generates wealth apart from the wealth generated in the primary circuit viz., industry.

And three, for Castells State is only an intervening agent during times of crisis which is the result of contradictions within the capitalist society. State plays a role to offset the crisis by intervening by investing in the provisions for the production of products and services of collective consumption which are unprofitable but nonetheless essential for the uses of the capitalists and the labour. Whereas for Lefebvre State is not merely intervening agent to offset the crisis in the capitalist production of goods and services for the market, but also an omnipresent agent in the production of space to galvanize capitalist production on the one hand and market of space itself on the other.

More than Castells, Lefebvre seems to have had a great influence on the generation of scholars. Notable are Harvey and Gottdiener. Harvey's perspective on 'urban built environment' though is similar to Castells, articulation of crisis in the capitalist production and its relation, it takes note of overaccumulation crisis and the intervening-investing State to offset the crisis. Significantly like Lefebvre he takes note of the secondary circuit (built environment for both consumption and production) and tertiary circuit to create channels for over switch of overaccumulated capital into the latter circuits, and he demonstrates the crisis of overinvestment and overproduction within the latter circuits. Like Lefebvre, Gottdiener shows the relatively autonomous circuit of spatial economy on the one hand and the socio-spatial praxis on the other. Harvey demonstrates, the unprofitability and overinvestment and overproduction in the secondary circuit, whereas Gottdiener shows the profitability and wealth generation capacity of the second circuit. This is because Harvey views all circuits of capital as connected and capital moves linearly and second circuit is unprofitable and has no market, whereas for Gottdiener second circuit is relatively autonomous and generates profit in its own market.

Given the perspectives of space and urban planning, the focus of understanding of the field of urban planning has been straddling between three areas of its concerns – theory, method and practice – given its quasi-academic or quasi-practical existence, and many kinds of actors involved in the field- academicians, businesspersons, planners working for the government, etc .[7] Urban planning means "planning with a spatial or geographical component" with an objective for the creation of a spatial structure for the activities which are 'better' than the existing ones. It is basically physical-spatial planning. Land use and development still play a major role in urban planning. Over a period of time, perspectives have developed over the methods of planning. There are broadly three methods- a. Master planning i.e., Survey-Analysis-Plan; b. Systems planning i.e., Planning is visualized as a continuous process which seeks information of the functional aspects of the control system through the observation to ascertain the effectiveness of the control system or else to bring subsequent modifications to create a more effective control system; c. Participative-conflict planning or no planning i.e., about including all the actors who have stakes in the planning process and its outcome, and post-modernists insist on no-planning because planning is monolithic in nature and does not give space for differences in thought or practices.

The designs/models and advocacies of planning have emphasized not only the physical shape of the city but also the purpose of such designs. Social City/Garden City design emphasized decentralization of industry from the city centres and community managed industrial townships in the countryside with natural green space advantages, management of real estate, etc. Garden City was conceived as a self-sufficient community. Similar models were proposed across Europe and United States (Broadacre City by Frank Lloyd Wright) with some variations. Patrick Geddes work underlined the symbiotic and delicate relationships that were present between human habitation and the land. Industrial enterprises in the regions had generated suburban

growth and emergence of giant urban agglomerations or *conurbations*. So he proposed town and country planning on regional scale.   Another notable among the urban designers was Le Corbusier who proposed a view that to relieve the congestion in the city centres, it was necessary to increase the density by building massive form of tall structures win large open spaces. He also proposed equal densities across the city to minimize pressure on the central business district or anywhere in the city. Most of the urban designers were proposing decentralising of the city centre to reduce congestion, but Corbusier was arguing for high densities by promoting vertical growth of the city. All these planners were concerned about the 'natural' and healthy living conditions. Most of these plans were visualized with a view that innovations and expansions of transport networks would allow such designs to function efficiently.   Most of the planning visions, except Howard's and Geddes', were mainly visualizing the erasure of existing settlements to be replaced by new ones. The questions of democratic practices were not part of their designs and most of the planners were physical planners who offered narrow solutions to the problems of the city/region.

Latter half of the 20th century witnessed different critical advocacies of planning.   The advocacies of planning grew by attacking the scientific claims the planning had made. Systems planning came under attack by some planners, who nullified the scientific claims[8] which the systems planning claimed. The planning which was conceived as scientific was non-participatory and apolitical in nature. The emphasis on the involvement of citizenry in the planning exercise struck at the roots of the role of a planner being a 'scientific expert[9]. *Advocacy planning* formulated by Davidoff emphasized inclusion of non-physical aspects to physical planning considering aspects of inclusion, participation, plurality of actions, and relation between the planners and the aims of the social actors, the ideals of equality in planning, the social-legal meaning of the planning as reflected in the physical environment, public interest and the sociality involved in the whole planning exercise itself. *Non-Euclidian Mode of Planning* formulated by Friedman underlined the need to redefine planning in terms of non-physical terms to connect different kinds of knowledge with forms of actions in the public domain. Friedman emphasized that planning should be sensitive to the local and regional differences and involve civil society in the decision-making process. Planning should be local and regional to make it participatory and democratic. *Communicative Planning Theory* put forward by Healy underscored the urban environmental problems and ways of solving them. Communicative planning prescribes "public argumentation and communicative policy" in the context of interests, values, reasoning, etc., of different conflict groups. *Just City* perspective according to Susan Fainstein underlines the need to face the problem of formulating goals and identifying agents within the structure of social domination. The forces globalization, sectarianism and the repressive state apparatus have rendered people defenseless and the people offer resistance whereas the state would work towards maintaining the stasis. Just City theory accepts the conflictual views in the society and seeks 'progressive social change' through the exercise of power by participating groups which were hitherto excluded from the governance and planning, and its equitable outcomes. It is equally concerned

with evaluation of outcomes with regard to groups defined by gender, race and secular orientation. It emphasizes the role of an entrepreneurial state which not only provides welfare but also generates wealth.

The planning perspectives in general have moved away from the 'objective' understanding or Euclidean/physical-geometrical way of perceiving and configuring the city. Mere physical configuring of the city by not taking into account the non-physical aspects of city formation has come into question across the perspectives. The idea and modes of democratic planning, issues of participation, negotiation, norms and ethics, justice, laws, communicative-argumentation, etc., have figured across the perspectives each emphasizing different issues in their its manner given their its social theoretical predilections.

Urbanization, Planning, and Land Development in the Developing Countries

The second half of the 20th century experienced the growth and expansion of urban areas in the developing countries. Incorporation of huge expanding areas within metropolises has been the major concern rather than niceties of redevelopment, aesthetic considerations and environmental reclamation. There has been an increasing demand for more utilities, housing, commercial and industrial sites. In response to these needs the Governmental planning process focuses on the preparation of master plans, zoning regulations, subdivision regulations, building codes, etc., to give shape to urban development. The aims of regulated planning is to conserve urban and natural environment, increase investments in urban development, and maintain and enhance property values, provide access of land to the poor, control land speculation, and land inflation. But there is a crisis within planning at the level of logistics of planning and the state and its plan operationalizing institutions.

Comprehensive or master plans have been critiqued for their being technocratic, time-consuming, rigid in terms of its proceduring, ignoring costs or financing, and ignoring the real economic potential of city. The plan implementing parastatal institutions which are involved in the land development are supposed to produce space for the needs of the low and moderate income households, control speculation, and work on risky projects. Though goals per se are good their success rate is minimal. That is because elite-planners design cities for other elites into which the rest of society must fit as best as it can. Land development process and distribution of the urban land lacks legitimation rsulting in civil disobedience in the form of land invasions, squatting and illegal land developments.

The Present Study

A survey of studies on Bangalore reveals its history in terms of its political developments modes of industrial development (including information technology), structural configuration of the socio-economic geography, ecological divisions, different social and cultural contests for various kinds of political space, politics of aesthetics, planning and economic development, governance, etc., (Venkatrayappa 1957; Prakasa Rao & Tewari 1979; Benjamin 2001; Heitzman 2004; Janaki Nair 2005). To put succinctly, the studies have mapped the modernizing city in their own ways with different kinds of focus. The recent works dealing with micro-level processes have mainly concentrated on the macro picture of various themes and issues of the city. The present study has attempted to present a meso-level articulation of the urbanization, urban planning, legal disputes and the nature of land development which is the result of all these processes. At the same time, the study has captured the micro-level dynamics of city development and expansion as inscribed in the local areas vis-à-vis macro-level dynamics.

From the Expanding City to the Metropolis

The present day Bangalore city has evolved through various phases. Broadly one can classify these phases as follows: pre-industrial fort town; modern/colonial town; Industrial city; and the expanding metropolis. In each of these phases certain characteristics were markedly different from other phases, which had consequences for the development and urbanization of Bangalore city.

The first two phases belong to the pre-independence period. Bangalore was a fort town primarily established for commerce and services. During this phase it also developed into a military town in the Princely Mysore. During the British rule it became a bi-nuclear town with establishment and growth of Civil and Military Station. In the process of establishing a new town for British's Civil and Military Station, the old town area was totally reconfigured, and the built environment of fort was broken down and the city boundaries were opened. With the new action of contingencies viz., plague and modern city as an administrative military and industrial centre its population grew over time. Apart from that, with the development of modern town new civic-administrative institutions evolved. New technical-educational institutions were established. The city developed into a heterogeneous space with density of population by the mid-20th century. The emergence of middle class areas-extensions, slums, industrial areas, etc., characterized the period.

Urbanization of Bangalore in the post-independence period has been phenomenal in the context of two spurts of massive increase in the population in the 1940s and 1970s, steady accretion of industries, institutions, etc. Post-independence period phase of industrial developments could be divided into three- i. public sector phase of industrialization; ii. transition phase to the private sector with the existence of

public sector; and iii. dominance of private sector. Apart from that growth of informal sector became pronounced from the 1970s onwards. Over a period of time, there has been development of different kinds of industrialization and expansion of other services in the city. Industrialization and urbanization were creating certain kinds asymmetries within the concentrations of different kinds of populations and growth of different kinds of social spaces. Increase in the population and the spatial expansion was taking place on the edges of the city by acquiring or occupying the agricultural land and village pockets. At another level, the city gained primacy within the region and within the state itself. At the end of the millennium, as Heitzman puts it- "Bangalore had become a big place located in an unexceptional Indian state [Karnataka]."[10]

The second phase of industrialization was marked by the growth of private industries in addition to the existing public sector industries. By the end of 1970s, urbanization of Bangalore had taken a new turn, with greater outward growing urbanizing areas. There was an increase in the number of industries, the expanding informal sector and the population. Parallel to that was increasing number of informal sector population and its settlements. Again, the migration to the city remained consistent, which brought different kinds of population to the city- both the skilled classes of workers, professionals, and the unskilled workers. The increases due to migration and natural increase of population in the city, has resulted in the competition for the acquisition of residential land and also by the small scale enterprises for industrial land, in the context of shrinking production of urban land by the government. Last two decades also saw the increase in the land rates of both serviced and non-serviced urban and urbanizable land. People employed in the formal sector too were seeking residential spaces in the informally produced spaces viz., unauthorized private layouts and also in quasi-formal authorized private layouts. The last two decades are also marked by the growth of IT industry and electronics, automotive and transport, electricals, engineering and manufacturing, textiles, etc. Given all that the growth of population in the city has been high leading to the uncontrolled expansion and growth of the city. The City by the end of the century had more of intermeshed growth of the mixed land uses on the one hand and the old public sector enclaves, planned layouts for both industry and for residence, new IT enclaves, slums, etc on the other.

Within the conditions of industrial development, the question of Bangalore city's environs has been one of the major discourses in defining its urbanism and modernity. This has been a point around which aesthetics of Bangalore city has been developing. It has been one of the characteristics of Bangalore's urbanization. The 'park' and the use of park was a royal aesthetic idea during colonial times[11], whereas 'gardens' directly had greater exchange and use value for the community in terms of occupation and livelihood. Apart from that it also was greatly contributing to the changes, latently giving a form to the town, to its surroundings, and its hinterlands. Bangalore has been a garden city for two reasons- firstly, there is a traditional caste group which had been involved in gardening. The city has been a garden city. The town was configured within the environs of gardens. With new developments and demand

for space for different purposes, garden lands disappeared within the cityscape. Now these gardeners, gardens and gardening are confined to peripheries of Bangalore city and its rural district. Secondly, parks became a permanent feature of the landscape which replaced gardens, gardening and gardeners. Gardens became a major part of the ambience of the expanding town itself in the 19th century and well into the 20th century until industrialization and major expansion of Bangalore was initiated. During the post-independence period the same imagination was organizing the Bangalore city. Aesthetics of Garden City was the dominant organizing principle in the formation of layouts and industrial townships. The vision found its place in the administrative district, layouts and industrial townships. In the later phase of urbanization, new IT industrial and residential enclaves which emerged and spread across in a corridor, and privately developed luxury housing estates became part of the city. With the growth of informal sector, 'slums', 'unauthorized layouts', 'private layouts', 'revenue layouts', etc., have been increasing. Even the middle class and lower middle class have made their residential spaces and opened small industrial and business establishments in such settlements.

Planning and Expandability

Various factors have contributed to the urbanization of Bangalore city and its resultant expansion. More than that, urban planning has not been merely a response to urbanization process. Planning over time has been envisioned to produce a city in a particular way. Though there has been a kind of a 'negative' response against the higher scales of concentration of activities, and people in the city, planning has also been selective in expanding certain kinds of activities, built environment, and people in the city. In a way planning has a vision to expand the city spatially in a particular manner, and at the same time planning wants to restrict the city growth and spatial expansion which is 'undesirable' for the planners. In the process of expanding the city in a particular manner, the planning has spawned different kinds of land developments.

Bangalore Development Committee has classified Greater Bangalore's boundary into two administrative divisions- "The area of the Bangalore City Corporation would be approximately 40 sq. miles and that of the Trust Board (i.e., Greater Bangalore) about 150 sq. miles."[12] This plan subsumed all the areas produced during the previous regimes. The city was visualized as an emerging industrial city with its greener parts to be kept intact. Bangalore Development Committee (BDC) 1954 thought:

> Agricultural lands, though not open to public use, form a valuable open space asset of the City. They form a substantial proportion of the available *lung space*. They are the principal source of supply of the *essential requirements* of the City population such as, fruit, fresh vegetables, milk and cattle fodder. Interspersed as they are between the various extensions and residential areas, *these stretches of green vegetation help to break the monotony of continuous building and to give certain portions of Bangalore the appearance of a Garden City*. The future use of agricultural lands in and near the City should be determined with due regard to the healthy, economic and aesthetic considerations involved and not solely with reference to their suitability for housing or industrial purpose.[13] (emphasis added)

The Outline Development Plan for the Bangalore Metropolitan Region (1963) had projected 19 lakhs population by 1976 and had fixed the boundary of the metropolitan region at 193 square miles. The approved Outline Development Plan (1972) by the Government increased and fixed the "compact area" of the city from 79 sq. miles [14] to 102 sq. miles.[15] Metropolitan Region was extended up to 193 square miles. It added 43 square miles to the previous 150 miles boundary drawn for Greater Bangalore.

Planning as a modern exercise began by outlining and surveying the immediate needs of the city in the immediate post-independence period. Then the city had experienced the massive population concentration and simultaneous industrialization. Thus the immediate concern was to make space for more housing and industrial needs. It was recognized the need to involve the private individuals, associations and the capital to invest to expand the housing stock. That was because government was not in a comfortable fiscal position to finance housing. Planning in an elementary form was visualizing an industrial city with low density population in the context of 'haphazard' development of the city. There were increasing number of unauthorized layouts during those decades. The plan visualized a rational design for the city with modern civic amenities and housing. The idea of a master plan and the need for legal support for planning was recommended. The expanding city started acquiring metropolitan dimensions by occupying the rural periphery. One can observe three phases of planning. In the first phase, the concern was to take stock of the town which had become chaotic due to the spurt in decade long developments during 1940s owing to the Second World War production and the drastic increase of population in Bangalore city. Apart from that planning had conceived city as an industrial labour community. For that spatialization of law was a precondition to formulate a master plan. One could characterize the urban planning for Bangalore till the end of the ODPs' term as preparatory or formative planning period. Both the plans of – Bangalore Development Corporation (BDC) 1954 and Outline Development Plan (ODP) 1963(approved by the government in 1972), were grappling with the problems engendered by industrialization, urbanization and the fast expanding city. It was also a period when the authority structure, legislations, other logistics viz., delimiting the boundaries of city growth, finances, etc., were to be systematized. The plan and its policy was, in a very ideal sense, attempting to offset the speculation and profiteering to counter the exchange value itself in the free market play. It was also expected and advocated that the private and quasi-private associations, builders, individuals, etc., should concentrate on creation of housing in the sense of its use values.

Unplanned developments viz., private layouts, revenue layouts, slums, etc., were increasing. With that the increasing concentration of population in the city was a major source of concern for the planners. Thus the major concern was to restrict the growth and expansion of the city. Mainly the strategy was to deflect the industrial developments and their accompanying population to other regions. It was also thought that the development of smaller townships within the Bangalore region could ease the

pressure on the city. Planners were involved in mapping the possibilities to plan Bangalore city for a long term comprehensive development. Regularization was a new instrument or a process; government had resorted to such a process of making legal provisions to convert illegal/unauthorized constructions by paying fines and development charges.

With that the ideas of local planning area, conurbation, zoning, etc., and Karnataka Town and Country Planning Act were introduced to rationalize the new growths. Outline Development Plan was conceived with more technical rational solutions and new administrative structures for stricter land uses again in the context of the growth of unauthorized spatial growths. During this period regularization became a measure to plan the unauthorized/unplanned areas. Thus this phase of planning was aiming at short term solutions to contain the city growth in a haphazard fashion. These initial planning exercises were to lead up to a much broader and significant plan- the Comprehensive Development Plan. Within the new legal-rational framework, planners concentrated on mapping the city through surveys and based on that information plan was to be formulated. With the local planning area demarcated, regulation of various land uses with the application of zoning, de-emphasis on industrialization, land allocation for various uses, planning divisions termed as planning districts, controls over the indiscriminate expansion of the city by marking the green belt, etc., became part of the part of the planning exercise.

CDP was to "create conditions favourable for planning and providing full civic and social amenities, to stop uncontrolled development, to ensure desirable standards of environmental health and hygiene, to create facilities for the orderly growth and development and to promote general standards of living in the State".[16] The planners were gripped by the expanding city which was becoming unpredictable and unimaginably disproportionate. Planners were confronting a city which was running away from the grips of the urban planning. In the 1970s with another spurt in population increase in the city and the spatial expansion, planning had to reconceptualize, reconsider, and expand its scope into the newly grown peripheries to rationalize its existence. The Comprehensive Development Plan of 1985 expanded its scope by reducing the greener parts of its planning districts and increasing demand for residential spaces. Mixed land uses, slums, and unauthorized settlements were on the increase. As part of governmental policy measures quasi-planned residential layouts and housing with planned developments were allowed/permitted. With such rationalization process, city had gained relatively elastic and perfectly expandable propensity. The classification of the planning districts and their reclassification with the changes explicate such a process. By the end of 1980s the city had become uncontrollable. Another slew of measures of regularization as a part of rationalization measures were again introduced. More classifications and demarcations of different administrative boundaries for the city at various levels were initiated.

The Bangalore Metropolitan Region measured 500 square kilometres[17] (193 sq. miles) in 1985, due to "rapid increase" in population of the city[18] and the *shifting*

boundaries of the city.[19] Land use surveys had to be reworked on the expanded scale due to the *unexpected* rise in the population of the City. 1279 square kilometres were surveyed to fix the different spatial practices zoned by the Comprehensive Development Plan (Report, 1985).   The Bangalore Metropolitan Area was re-notified.   The conurbation area was stretched from 321.4 square kilometres (124 sq. miles) to 449 square kilometres (173.0 sq. miles); an addition of 127.6 square kilometres was added to the previous total area. Green Belt was fixed at 830 square kilometres. Finally the revised metropolitan area stood at 1279 square kilometres (494. 0 sq. miles).[20]

Given this trend in urbanization, the plan had contemplated the "future policy of development of Bangalore". According to the new recommendations it was to "seriously curb the growth of Bangalore metropolitan area and encourage the other urban centres in the State as well as small and medium towns in the State."[21] City planning was taking restrictive form to contain the trend of urbanization. In those existing conditions, given the already uncontrolled developments in the built environment, population, space, etc., the strategy of planning was to liberalize the production of space especially in the residential sector. In the residential sector, parallel to the governmental production of space, the quasi-governmental production of space was promoted by the government. Given the 'heavy demand' for the developed residential sites in Bangalore Metropolitan Area, and the inability of the governmental agencies to maintain the supplies, private housing societies were allowed to operate in the field of housing. What does that signify? The population which has the purchasing power and the propensity to buy and consume the civic/municipal- spatial products viz., sites produced by BDA or by HBCS, underground drainage system, etc., and services viz., garbage removal, municipal plumbing, maintenance of parks, etc., of modern urban plannings' creation and production.

Planning was attempting to create a kind of associational residential layouts for different kinds of groups- Cultural Associations, Teachers' Associations, Peer Group Associations, Religious Associations, Labour Associations, Educational Institutions, Employees of Government Institutions, Charitable Associations, Area level associations, etc. Underlying this approach was the law – The Karnataka Co-operative Societies Act, 1959[22] – for the private initiatives through cooperative and associational mode of production of social spaces for different occupational groups and other groups belonging to middle classes. The city of Bangalore by the 1980s had seen higher growth rates in HBCS activities in residential land development. There were widespread allegations with regard to the nature of land development activities by HBCS. These activities were seriously questioned in the public sphere and the government commissioned an enquiry.[23] The inquiry broadly summarized the allegations into four aspects-

1) Bogus agreements with the land lords and Estate Agents.
2) Bogus membership and irregularities in registration of members.
3) Irregularities in distribution of sites.
4) Collection of exorbitant site advances from the members.[24]

Further, the inquiry summarized the nature of irregularities in the activities of HBCS which were against the laws and principles which constituted the HBCS. The violations were summarized as-

1. Procedural irregularities in admission of members.
2. Admission of ineligible persons as members.
3. Admission of Associate members without necessary provisions in the Byelaws.
4. To acquire the lands outside their jurisdiction.
5. To collect site deposits from Associate members though the objective of the Society is to form layout and distribute sites only to the members.
6. Entering into agreements with land lords and agents indiscriminately and in some cases unwarranted agreements.
7. Payment of exorbitant advances to the agents without proper securities; and
8. Collection of site deposits from the members without reference to the payments to be made to various agencies.[25]

From the legal and planning point of view, condition of uncontrollability was also engendering unauthorized layouts/revenue layouts. Thus unauthorized expansions or unplanned growth of spaces was to be disciplined by padding planning with a different set of policy measures of regularization or clearance. Regularization was a not a new instrument or a process. The government had resorted to such a process on previous occasions too, but the scale varied and this time the new rules/laws were being introduced.

The planning and policies were perhaps able to control the large scale industrialization, but could not control the residentialization of the city- in the context of governmental production of space which could not keep pace with the changing needs; liberalized quasi-governmental production of space which was striving to become a real estate business serving totally the private interests; and totally beyond the purview of any planned or legal means were the growing totally private production of space. Industrialization of Bangalore had taken a new form of development of medium and small scale enterprises. In the changing circumstances, the plan had chosen to orient itself by adopting quasi-pragmatic approaches.[26]

The preamble of the CDP (Revised) 1995 clearly sounded realistic[27] in its approach towards urban planning for the expanding city of Bangalore. The plan announced: "Bangalore is one of the fastest growing cities in the country…While urbanisation is *inevitable and cannot be stopped*[28]; our endeavour should be to ensure that it takes place on an orderly and systematic basis."[29] In the similar vein further it added that the goal of the plan was "to regulate the growth of the metropolitan area in an orderly manner."[30] Plan had shifted its focus from *restricting urbanization to regulating it*. Planning was viewed as a continuous process calling planner to be attentive to the rapidly changing context. Planning was recasting itself to address the emerging contingencies and uncertainties within the given plan period. With regard to regulations, it displayed certain amount of flexibility. Thus plan had clearly become pragmatic.

The Comprehensive Development Plan (Report (Revised) 1995) changed the terms of its understanding of city expansion. This change in perception happened in the context of the fall in rate of population increase between 1981 and 1991. The report said, "The size of Bangalore city has extended during the period 1901-1991 from 74.72 sq. kms, to 200 sq. kms. In the same period its population increased from 0.16 million to 4.08 million. This unabated spectacular sprawl of the city is due to the **lack of natural barriers** as well as **low density with single storey residential development**."[31] It further said: "The concept of wedge and corridor development which was adopted in the approved CDP has been given a go by with a view to avoid unauthorised developments in the wedge area as far as possible. Due to this an additional area of 148 sq. kms had been included in the conurbation of the revised CDP."[32] Thus the city expanded upto 1427 sq. kms.

Land development was directly linked to the economic development and the functions of the expanding city were characterized in terms of- administrative role for the whole state of Karnataka and the region; centre of trade and commerce connected to both metropolitan region and the region; industrial centre; centre for science and technology, research and higher learning; centre of economic and financial services; centre of social services- health, education, etc., and; a place which produced various kinds of services termed as tertiary sector which included also the 'informal sector'.[33] Measures were suggested to control land prices, 'efficient and economic utilisation of land', and increase the supply of developed land. For the purpose apart from Governmental efforts were emphasized to take active part in the management and increased supply of developed by the means of Large scale land acquisition, distribution of land by public authorities, abrogation of Urban Land Ceiling Act, and restrictions on land use; and Government was to promote quasi-land development viz., Group Housing Schemes and promote private land development.

Again, new survey in the early 1990s revealed that the whole of the local planning area was under the use and the new survey of 2003 clearly confirmed the completion of the expansion process. The vision delineated in the Outline Development Plan had become a reality of three phases of development of the city. Plannings were to comprise of- one, to delimit the boundaries of various civic and administrative bodies or parastatal institutions of the state which produced and maintained the city space; two, preparation of the Comprehensive Development Plan which were to include the earlier preliminary surveys and the 'detailed investigations' of the 'long-term needs and potentialities' of given areas so that they would "serve as a standing blue print of the land uses to be permitted, and the developments and improvements to be made in the entire planning area over a fairly long period" (ODP 1963: iii). The third stage was to comprise of "preparation of town improvement schemes for the purpose of implementing the proposals contained in the Comprehensive Development Plan" (ibid: iii). Given the nature of expandability of the city, the approach of revised Comprehensive Development Plan was clearly shifting its emphasis

from survey-analyze-plan-implement to the continuous process which implied the application of systems planning. Planning has remained throughout, by and large, paternalistic. Of late, there has been advocacy by planner-administrators to make it participatory in its approach. One can see from the preceding analysis of various plans, that the issues of social justice are marginal to the concerns of the city planners.

What kind of a city did the planning achieve? What was the socio-spatial character of the city? What was nature of land developments? The answer to the first question lies in the pronouncements of the new plan[34]. The new plan declares:

> Bangalore has substantially affected by globalization and rapid urbanization over the last decade. The demand on services and the quality of life in the city is not confined to the central core or the erstwhile Bangalore Mahanagar Palike jurisdiction but spreads beyond into the peri-urban areas, the Metropolitan Area and outwards, into the Bangalore Metropolitan Region. With the emergence of the Bangalore-Mysore Infrastructure Corridor, the Bangalore International Airport and the planned ring roads, urbanization is no longer confined to the Bangalore Metropolitan Area and has now spread into the Bangalore Metropolitan Region (BMR).[35]

The revised plan of 1995 was realistic in predicting the course or the path urbanization would take. It had reconciled with the reality of inevitable urbanization and expansion of the city. The new plan says:
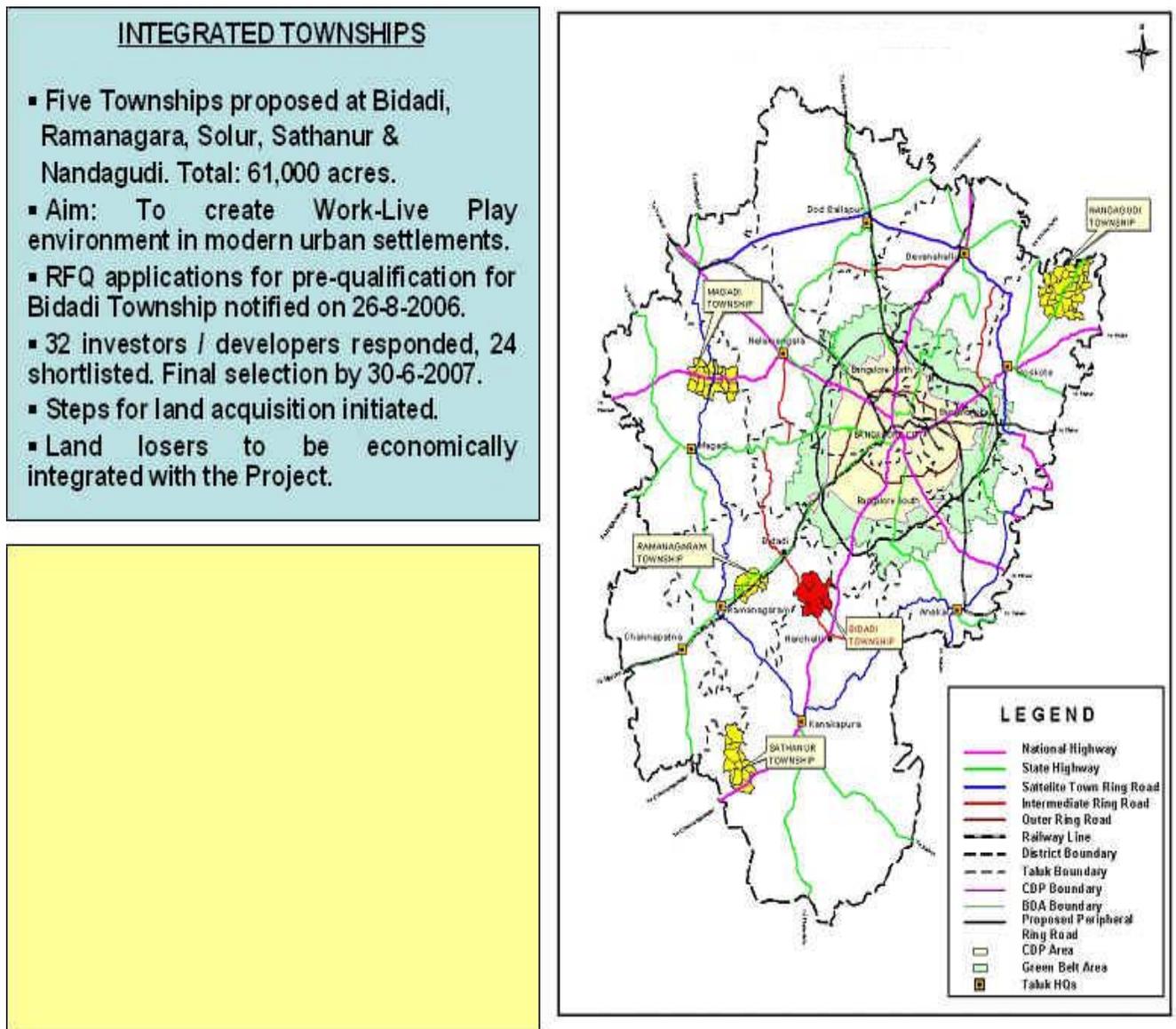
> "Bangalore has *incontestable advantages* to develop into an *international metropolis* but at the same time faces significant constraints. The city is embedded in its history and depicts the greatness of *a truly Indian city* established before invasions and colonization. It has a diverse set of activities, from silk to aeronautics, from clothing to information technology, and *is a gauge of dynamism and solidity of the city*. While the city is internationally recognized for information technology, the industrial public sector occupies an important place and ensures a balance between the public and the private sector. The quality of technical training is renowned and constitutes the best support structure for development of advance technologies and the *overall urban structure is coherent*; it ensures *a good correlation between activities and social classes*. Natural drainage, climatic advantage and the availability of water in the Cauvery basin are factors that assist in improving the quality of life in the city."[36]

It seems now Bangalore in the near future is expected to become an extended metropolitan region. The current plan- Bangalore Master Plan-2015 announces infrastructure development in the Bangalore Metropolitan Area to attain international standards and urbanization of extended Bangalore Metropolitan Region. In search of more and more land it opens to the whole of Bangalore rural district that is the Bangalore Metropolitan Development Authority (BMRDA) area. BMRDA has the plan for development of townships in the Bangalore Metropolitan Region which is spread across taluks of Bangalore rural district. Bangalore Metropolitan Region comprises of five 'Area Planning Zones' and six 'Interstitial Zones' which are planned along the transport 'corridors' of (1) Bangalore – Bidadi, (2) Bangalore – Nelamangala, (3) Bangalore – Devanahalli, (4) Bangalore – Whitefield, Hoskote, and (5) Bangalore – Anekal, Sarjapur – Hosur. BMRDA is expected to coordinate developmental activities in association with Bangalore Mahanagara Palike, Bangalore Development Authority, the Bangalore Water Supply and Sewerage Board, the Karnataka Slum Clearance

Board, the Karnataka Power Transmission Corporation Ltd., Karnataka Industrial Areas Development Board, Karnataka State Road Transportation Corporation etc.,[37] in these expandable hubs. Map 6.1[38] shows Bangalore Metropolitan Region Local Planning Areas and Map 6.2[39] shows integrated townships.

Map 6.2

Integrated Townships

INTEGRATED TOWNSHIPS

- Five Townships proposed at Bidadi, Ramanagara, Solur, Sathanur & Nandagudi. Total: 61,000 acres.
- Aim: To create Work-Live Play environment in modern urban settlements.
- RFQ applications for pre-qualification for Bidadi Township notified on 26-8-2006.
- 32 investors / developers responded, 24 shortlisted. Final selection by 30-6-2007.
- Steps for land acquisition initiated.
- Land losers to be economically integrated with the Project.

LEGEND

National Highway
State Highway
Satellite Town Ring Road
Intermediate Ring Road
Outer Ring Road
Railway Line
District Boundary
Taluk Boundary
CDP Boundary
BDA Boundary
Proposed Peripheral Ring Road
CDP Area
Green Belt Area
Taluk HQs

Map 6.1 gives a broad overview of the welter/intermeshed planning operations to come. Expandability with the metropolitan region is imagined in circular fashion which is clearly indicated in the planned "ring roads", though there are multiple

nodes/hubs/corners earmarked for planned development of townships which are seven nodes in total- Devanahalli, Hoskote, Anekal, Kanakapura, Ramanagara, Magadi and Nelamangala which are taluks. Each of these taluks is conceived as Local Planning Areas (LPAs) for administrative purpose for future growth, development and expansion within the Bangalore Metropolitan Region (BMR). Broadly, beyond the Bangalore Metropolitan Area (BMA) the areas of BMR are conceived and classified into two-

> **Area Planning Zone (APZ):** Area Planning Zone is an area where urban development is permitted subject to certain regulations…[and] **Interstitial Zone (IZ) :** As the name suggests, it is an area lying between APZ's where urban activities are restricted giving more emphasis to environmental issues like protection of forest area, bringing waste land in to more productive use, increase in agriculture produce etc.[40]

The "Area Planning Zones" marked by different patches of colours on the map are expandable zones. Two of the zones are specialized transport projects meant for namely Bangalore International Airport Area Planning Authority (BIAAPA) zone in the Devanahalli LPA and Bangalore-Mysore Infrastructure Corridor Project Area (BMICPA) zone in the Ramanagara LPA.

The Map 6.2 shows the "integrated townships"…"to create Work-Live Play environment in modern urban settlements". In 1999, in its tenth meeting, BMRDA had approved the 'Draft Structure Plan' for the "balanced planned development" of the Bangalore Metropolitan Region.[41] The government order 'GO NO. UDD 97 BMR 2006' elaborated on the functions of balanced planned development.

> In order to preserve and improve the *quality of life* for the citizens within the Bangalore Metropolitan Area (BMA) and at the same time to *cater to needs* of the rapidly increasing population, it is felt necessary to take up development of new integrated urban settlements in Bangalore Metropolitan Region (BMR) that would *relieve the pressure on BMA and facilitate balanced urban growth*. In this context, the Bangalore Metropolitan Region Development Authority (BMRDA) has proposed the following set of major activities to solve these problems in a planned manner:-
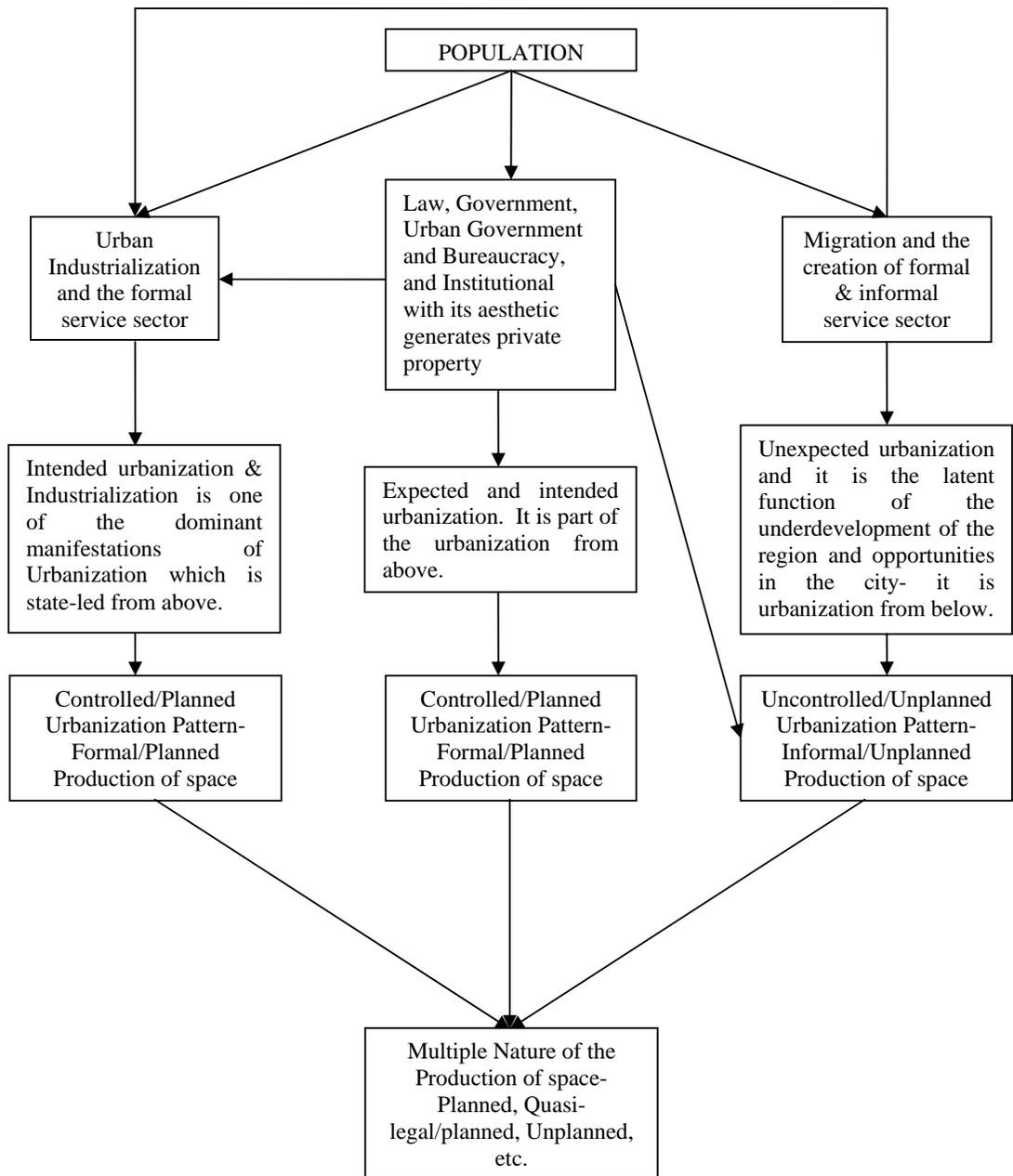> a. Development of a series of "integrated townships" focused on one or more economic activity, providing for complete work-home relationship;
> b. Development of Satellite Towns Ring Road (STRR), Intermediate Ring Road (IRR) and the Radial Roads; and
> c. Preparation of Interim Master Plans for the various urbanisable blocks in the Metropolitan Region.[42]
> (emphasis added)

It is the articulation of spatial integration of the core with various parts in the periphery of the region. The core is BMA and the peripheral areas are the "integrated townships". The economic-spatial integration and containment of migration by diverting the population into particular economic zones, as a strategy in the context of expansion of Bangalore City has not been successful so far. It seems planners assume that people could be domesticated into the economic dynamics of the city and its extended metropolitan region.

Broadly if "area planning zones" are meant for urban activities- economic-mainly for different kinds of industrial activities and residential, the "interstitial zones" are meant for agriculture, horticulture, mining and quarrying etc., and its linked built environment and amenities, and amenities associated with highways, etc. In the interstitial zones residential developments are allowed within 200 meters from the gram thana (the village boundary), for the "natural growth" of the gram thana and such

buildings would be limited to two floors.[43]   In that sense "interstitial zones" are supposed to function as producers and suppliers of various non-agricultural raw materials and agricultural products to the metropolitan region.

Planning has been top-down in its approach. Though, of late, there has been an indication of participation of people in the planning exercise. Still it remains to be a least participatory mechanism. If planning were assessed by its outcomes, continued existence and increasing of non-conforming or informal large-scale settlements are a clear indication of the lag in implementing or applying redistributive justice in the city development and expansion.   This has only exacerbated into legal contests and competitions for land among dominant state and legitimized or legalized associations, large-scale private property developers, subsistent small-scale informal land settlements, slum dwellers and other informal settlements. Government from the days of initiation of modern planning has desired or has been promoting private development of land for housing, though with cooperative and affordability spirit which would give access to land and housing to residents most. The laws formulated too express such intent. But over period of time, private development in land for the upper and middle classes has been consciously promoted. Without consideration to the intent of the spirit of laws, there have been large-scale violations on the part of the state and legitimized civil society associations.

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                              ┌──────────────────┐
                              │   POPULATION     │
                              └──────────────────┘
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Urban Industrialization and the formal service sector	Law, Government, Urban Government and Bureaucracy, and Institutional with its aesthetic generates private property	Migration and the creation of formal & informal service sector
Intended urbanization & Industrialization is one of the dominant manifestations of Urbanization which is state-led from above.	Expected and intended urbanization. It is part of the urbanization from above.	Unexpected urbanization and it is the latent function of the underdevelopment of the region and opportunities in the city- it is urbanization from below.
Controlled/Planned Urbanization Pattern- Formal/Planned Production of space	Controlled/Planned Urbanization Pattern- Formal/Planned Production of space	Uncontrolled/Unplanned Urbanization Pattern- Informal/Unplanned Production of space

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                    ┌────────────────────────────┐
                    │  Multiple Nature of the     │
                    │  Production of space-       │
                    │  Planned, Quasi-            │
                    │  legal/planned, Unplanned,  │
                    │  etc.                       │
                    └────────────────────────────┘
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The above flow chart indicates the nature and process of urbanization, planning and land development. Long back it was accepted that urban land became a commodity, while considering the market value of land. It was judged and decided that market value of land was to be considered in terms of its price in the immediate past, the willing vendor and purchaser, and the potentialities of the land which could be put to various uses and exchanges interchangeably with its increasing or decreasing prices.[44] The belief in the market as a deciding force has been gradually accepted and market has become a dominant force. Such a belief has set terms for expandability of the city instead of the controlled expansion of the city within its boundary of local planning area. In Bangalore city's context, the underlying ethical principles of rational-

technocratic planning are- i. its ethical reasoning is teleological; ii. focus is universal; and iii. interests served are of individual. It has been enabled by different forces in the market of multiple interests, competitions, conflicts and contests to develop land. One may perhaps draw taxonomy of kinds of actors and social processes involved in the land development process.

Actors	Nature of Activities	Interests & Alignments	Social Processes	Investments
State/government's agencies or Parastatal Authorities	Planning & Acquisition, and Land Development and Housing	Coerced land acquisitions by the government with the purpose of affordable land parcels and housing	Legal contests and violent conflicts	Both central and state Governments' or international financial institutions
Land Owners/ Farmers	Governmental or Private Land Development- through the acquisitions or voluntarily use/exchange in urbanizable land	Coerced land acquisitions by the government with the purpose of affordable land parcels and Housing or Voluntary speculative development for profits for subsistence	Legal contests, violent conflicts	Public investment or land itself is invested to generate revenues/capital
Legalized Private Land Developers/ Builders	Quasi-governmental- Government plans and policy will have to be accepted for the land development and directly purchase lands from the concerned land owners	Voluntary involvement for Supernormal profits	Competition	Private financial institutions, public banks, 'black money', informal sources of loans, etc.
Non-legal Private Land Developers/ Builders	Lack of any legal or governmental plans and lack of consciousness of the purpose of legality and governmental plans or policies	Voluntary involvement in Speculative development for profits	Legal contests, violent conflicts and forced evictions	Land itself is invested to generate revenues/capital
House Building Cooperative Societies	Quasi-governmental- Government plans and policy will have to be accepted for the land development and directly purchase lands from the concerned land owners	Coerced land acquisitions by the government with the purpose of affordable land parcels and housing	Legal contests and violent conflicts	Savings and loans from financial institutions and banks
Slum Dwellers	Lack of any legal or governmental plans and lack of consciousness of the purpose of legality and governmental plans or policies	Voluntary involvement for survival	Legal contests and violent conflicts and forced evictions	Marginal/nil

Above chart gives a picture of four kinds of land development which are part of planned, unplanned, quasi-planned, and privately planned. Planned development was the dominant form of land development in the initial stages of the planning in the post-independence period, though unplanned and quasi-planned developments too were prevalent in marginal forms. It was happening in the context of compulsory land acquisitions for public purpose and low compensations. In the later stages there were vast spread of unplanned forms of developments since the compensations were low and coerced acquisitions without much scope for the negotiations for higher prices. Negotiations and bargains were only nominal. State expected patriotic altruism on the part of the land owners and others in accepting low level of compensations and forego the land so that public purpose would be achieved. With the expansion of the city the production of planned areas did not keep pace with the demand. Such patriotic planned production of space only yielded in the long run more of unplanned formations. As it became clear that it was difficult to produce space at cheaper/affordable rates for the salaried middle-classes or for others, quasi-planned, private planned developments were

allowed or forced. Since planned developments or all other kinds of land developments were targeted at private ownership by individuals, the speculation in land to seek profit became a wide spread phenomenon. The value of a BDA site or any small parcel of land has been considered a prized possession. Disspossesive land acquisition in such a context has become not only a shock and a real loss but also a moral outrage. Violent resistance or legal contests have not been successful for the concerned people who expect "market price compensation" or want to get back land itself. Thus it all manifests in the form of unplanned developments which have provided a stiff competition to the planned developments, though not directly. Actually land value has been measured with the increasing amounts of money, and individual becomes the focus of ownership. There has always been the tension between the welfare's collective aims of land as the 'need' for the targeted populations in general and the exchange/use at the individual level. The increasing potential of money to grasp land has been engendering more tensions and competitions.

Legal Cases Related to Land Acquisition.

For all the planned development, procurement of land forms the basis. For the internal operations of the plan within the legal boundaries and its land requirements are clearly defined by the way of laws acting as catalysts to procure land. The logic of planning for Bangalore city has been the *expandability* of various kinds of developments under the existing laws of L.A. act 1894 and the CBIA 1945. Those were the two laws which were mainly acquisitive in nature, though the latter one was rudimentarily the planning law too until KTCP 1961was brought into force in the post-independence period. CITB in consent with the government was the institution which had been giving effect to CBIA, L.A. Act, and KTCP, until BDA was established. KTCP clearly had prescribed accessing land for planning through acquisitions though consent was still an option. Apart from that KTCP had also prescribed to set up a planning institution for the development of the city in a planned manner. Thus the logical offshoot was the coming into existence of BDA by superseding CITB. The establishment of BDA – the planning and land development institution which would give effect to KTCP –with passing of the law- BDA Act, 1976. BDA Act again was to perform triple functions of planning, land development and acquisition. In the post-independence period the whole gamut of laws had been mainly acquisitive in nature. In addition to these laws was the ULCRA 1976 which was confiscating in nature to prevent concentration of land with the few. Even the well intentioned Karnataka Regularisation of Unauthorised Constructions in Urban Areas Act, 1991 was on the path to recover land for the government than allowing people to use it or exchange it, in a given developed form. All these laws were enunciating a planned development of Bangalore city. The acquisitive nature of laws gives least scope to the private planning

and land development in principle, except for the investors (should be quasi-legal bodies) or private individuals or corporates who would adhere to planning and its rules of law.

An attempt is made in Chapter 4 to concentrate on the kinds of disputes that the acquisition processes had given rise to and the modes of acquiring or accessing land by different institutions, individuals, social groups, associations, etc. For the purpose,a survey of two journals was made to identify issues related to Bangalore city's land. These journals publish landmark judgments which give a comprehensive view of disputes and the significant interpretations of laws. The journals are (1) All India Reporter (AIR) and (2) Mysore Law Journal (Mys. L. J)/Karnataka Law Journal (K. L. J).A total of 137 reported land dispute cases related to Bangalore city were available from the two law journals. For analytical purposes, the cases had to be classified under various clusters of laws and acts, which would clearly distinguish the disputes which focus on acquisition, modes of acquiring land and other issues. Of 137 reported land dispute cases majority i.e., 90 cases were with regard to land acquisition

The laws work to control, provide, and regulate city's development, growth and expansion. Laws are characterized not just by *eminent domain;* they create conditions of dominance to impose the sovereign-will which is hidden in the term "public purpose" as a justification to put into practice. Most of the times the content of the contentions are merely "incidental" to the actions of law and insignificant when compared to the purpose of the law and the content of the planning. Legal judgments cannot have a say on the quasi-judicial actions or decisions of the authorities. Authorities have discretionary powers to deploy and employ laws of their choice in operations to strategize in regulating land acquisitions or developments. Issues of time/duration and jurisdiction are all incidental and flexible in developmental projects of the city and are non-issues to be judged through a legal process. Issues of environment, viability of the projects, etc., are not be judged by the courts. They are all technically assessed and decisions are taken. Thus they belong to the realms of technocratic understanding. Again issues of policy are unquestionable in the court of law, because they are left to the discretion or judgment of the government or the parliament. By the late 1980s and through the 1990s the government and the courts became more conscious of the dynamics of land development. But still the approach to the disputes and contentions did not change drastically. The Government and laws could not contain speculation and profiteering in land development and business. Given the ways of individualizing the property by the law, it was only propelling all through the perceived illegitimate and illegal market dynamics. People doing business in urban land mostly negotiate with the institutions and the powerful actors have the

chances to influence the decisions of the institutions to work in their favour. One knows now, planning within the districts have proceeded by allowing private actors to do business in lands. It is partly due to the policy and also due to other influences. Planner have had always been proud of their middle class settlements and private investments in creation of such settlements were not considered undesirable. Those options existed for newly emerging associations and relatively big investors. Small investors and land owners with small holdings seem to have lost in the process and have been subjected to land acquisitions.

The only effective and generally expected and accepted way to agitate, protest, oppose, etc., against land acquisitions or regularization is mainly in the courts. In the whole process the problem to oppose or to protest or to even accept anything is individualized and fragmented, whereas the logic of planning, law and its purpose pose a unity. They attempt to derive and demonstrate the cohesion of the imposing state. Apart from that, laws and its authorities, and its planners, expect and assume that people should have a clear understanding of not only the law but also the purpose of the land acquisition or regularization. The law, courts, authorities, etc., who all work in tandem expect the property or land losers to be not only aware of the laws and its purpose, but also to submit to it. Many a times communities which are untouched by the government or law, when they come into direct contact are caught *unawares*. Land acquisitions operate on the entire communities. The only option available for the property or land losers is the access to the lawyers who can inform their land-loser clients and the court.

The return for the land acquisition has been only the compensation which had been the source of contention for several years. Since it is an incommensurable loss to the individuals land itself has been central to disputes, directly or indirectly. In the cases of regularization it has been mainly paying fines and in the lost legal cases it has been demolitions of illegal structures. The conceptual scheme of perceiving the loss of land or property seems to be inadequate. The L.A.Act merely enlists what constitutes the "public" and hence that public deserves the land sacrifice for the "purpose". Monetary compensation constitutes restitution for resuscitation. In that sense land is merely seen as a convertible and exchangeable thing. In socio-spatial sense land which is part of social organization is reduced to the level of economic compensation or nominalization. Land which forms the base/source of agriculture and a part of the educational and learning process passed on from previous generations is destroyed.

The Village Studies

The dramatic shift in Bangalore's urbanization during the 1970s resulted in a number of 'outgrowths' in the villages surrounding the city. These outgrowths became part of

Bangalore's urban agglomeration. The Census of 1981 enumerated 77 villages as outgrowths of Bangalore city, of which 36 belonged to Bangalore North District and 41 to South District[45]. Bilekahalli and Jaraganahalli in 1981 were enlisted as outgrowths of the expanding Bangalore city[46]. In the same year it was also noted that Bilekahalli had revenue layouts and Jaraganahalli had slums[47]. In the Census of 1991 they had been shown as outgrowths of Bangalore Urban Agglomeration[48].

The Census Abstracts of 1951 and 1991 hold contrasting pictures of Bilekahalli and Jaraganahalli indicating the change brought about by the expanding city of Bangalore and the processes of integration of these places with the city (See Tables 5.1 and 5.2). The profiles of the two villages in 1951 and 1991 reveal changes in occupational structure, and increase in population due to in-migration. The changes can be noted mainly in terms of density of populations and expansion of multiple activities due to the establishment of production and service industries over a period of time. These changes affected land development process. Land development forms the basis of the expansion of the city. The dynamics of land development is mediated by various actors, institutions, associations, etc., to give it an urban form and also indicates various purposes that shape the city.

To plan the areas first the villages and their constituent lands were notified as the Local Planning Area/Bangalore City Planning Area. In other words the notified lands were to be for various development purposes. Development was mainly conceived as state driven, but individuals or private parties had been increasingly part of the development activities with the mandatory permission of the government. The land development has seen both adherence and violations with the involvement of private parties and individuals. The whole process has given rise to 'haphazard' or 'unplanned' or 'unauthorized' growth in the area and the city too.

Bilekahalli and Jaraganahalli were in the City Municipal Council area of Bommanahalli. Bommanahalli CMC had sixteen villages. This reconstitution of the areas was taking place in the context of both planned and unplanned development and growth or expansion of Bangalore city, over a period of time. This organization and reorganization of municipal administration was to deal with mixed or unauthorized land development in the Local Planning Area/Urban Agglomeration. The task before us then is to demonstrate the kinds of land developments and the strategies involved in the context of mixed production of space. Given various sets of actors involved in the land development in the city, how did land development patterns, whether planned or unplanned, shape various places? What are the types of land development? What are the kinds of social processes that underlie land development process? Who are the actors apart from the government and its planning agencies, involved in the process of land development? To answer the questions two villages – Jaraganahalli and Bilekahalli –were chosen for a micro level study to know the kinds of strategies involved in land development process and formation/evolution of newly urbanized areas of Southern Bangalore city.

In the Chapter 5 an attempt was made to illustrate the kinds of land developments in two areas- Bilekahalli and Jaraganahalli chosen for intensive study. Fieldwork involved ethnography and survey of these two areas (See Methodology in Chapter 1). Study took into account the planning mechanisms, law, various actors, etc., involved in the development of these areas. Study more significantly attempted to investigate the responses from below to the different kinds of interventions in land development. Bilekahalli gives a picture of the kind of planned land development process and formation that has taken place. The village mainly depended on agriculture and horticulture/floriculture. The village was populated mainly by the Backward classes and the Scheduled castes. It became part of the ribbon developments in the wider process of urbanization, planning and expansion of the city. Changes in the village were initiated by the processes of land acquisition. Interior agricultural and garden lands were acquired over a period of time in phases by CITB, BDA, Central Government, and House Building Cooperative Societies, for the institutional and residential land developments. Marginally garden lands were quickly converted by the people into to unplanned layouts in the midst of multiple acquisitions before any governmental or quasi-governmental could initiate another phase of land acquisition proceedings. All these processes are described elaborately in Chapter-5. There are a few points which need some elaboration here. For the agricultural communities land is the source of livelihood. Land as a legal entity is very significant. Land is part of the social life and existence. It is part of the socio-spatial structure. Land is meant for marketing the cultivation of different kinds of crops for their consumption. Loss of land leads to shock, because the communities concerned are responsible for the future sustenance of the households. Thus such a transaction is discouraged. The residents were forced to sell their lands under the aggravating circumstances. The State with its legally legitimated power, coercively has acquired lands. As an adaptive strategy some of the inhabitants of both the places- Jaraganahalli and Bilekahalli, have bought lands in Bangalore rural district. This is indicative of inadaptability to the urban occupations. They have directly confronted and engaged the authorities of the state and police, the aligned agencies- House Building Cooperative Societies, in a violent manner. The villagers have experienced harassment in the processes of negotiation for compensation and to retention of land, at various levels of the bureaucracy. They have legally contested the acquisitions leading to enormous loss of monay and time.

Land acquisition has been a highly contentious issue, for the following reasons.
a. To begin with compensation was the issue; it was enhanced by the court.
b. Apparently, the acquisition of land by the Vijaya Bank Employee Housing Co-operative Society Limited (VBEHCSL) was challenged in the court since acquisition for a private housing association was not considered as a public purpose by the people of Bilekahalli. But the actual reasons were the fast increasing land values in the market, and the bleak future of the people of Bilekahalli. In the case of Vyalikaval Home Building Co-operative Society Limited (VHBCSL), it was very clear that the aim was to acquire lands at substantially cheaper rates and sell at higher rates over a period of time. Apart

from that, people were worried about their employment and sustenance. For all these reasons land acquisition and land development processes have been contentious, competitive and violent.

The findings of this study show that the unacquired and regained lands were converted into private layouts fearing future acquisitions and to maximize revenues. Now one finds a congested village pocket surrounded by few unplanned layouts, large number of planned housing estates and planned residential layouts.

The former village of Jaraganahalli represents mainly the unplanned socio-spatial formation. It was mainly an agricultural revenue village constituted by caste communities involved in dryland agriculture, horticultural, floriculture. Main land owners were the 'upper castes'- Achary and Reddy, Ligayats and 'lower caste'- Thigalas. Most of the communities belong to the backward castes, upper castes belong to general category and only one belongs to scheduled. The villages lands were acquired for the residential development by the City Improvement Trust Board, industrial and commercial uses along the Kanakpura Road. These developments led to immigration of outsiders. The developments within the surrounding villages had influenced the developments at Jaraganahalli village.

Jaraganahalli today has mixed land-use having residential industrial and commercial uses. Many residents have rented houses. Such process of land development has created more number of landlords of rental housing which could be termed as 'subsistence landlordism'[49]. All these landlords have undertaken produced housing to satisfy their daily needs and consumption than to accumulate. Such rental income generally adds as supplementary income for the households. Most of the households members are employed or self-employed in the low paid or low-income informal sector jobs. Given the small landholdings held before selling the lands, the revenues generated by selling the lands were invested in the production of such low-income rental housing which is their only source of subsistence. Largest numbers of household members have become subsistence landlords. The village serves the use needs of the low-income population. From the point of view of planning, the area represents a crowded one- in terms of density of the built environment and the concentration of people, with lack of- building norms, proper roads, water supply, etc. The village core and its surrounding social-spatial formation and the built environment represent the creation of more of use values than the exchange values. The growth and development of Jaraganahalli in an unplanned manner clearly indicates the lack of consciousness of the significance of planning because it does not address the questions of the conditions of existence of the village inhabitants, and thus planning lacks legitimacy.

The private layout formation is generally characterized, from the legal-planning point of view as 'unauthorized' or 'unplanned' spatial formation. That apart, in Jaraganahalli private layout plans are part of the social plans in terms of adaptation to

the fast changing villagers' scenario in the land market. One can see from the analysis (see Chapter 5) that there are larger processes underpinning the private layout formations. One could summarize the factors influencing the formation of private layouts in the following way.

a. The process of urbanization influencing the expansion of Bangalore city has been addressed and managed by the governmental spatial production. This process allows and makes provision mainly for large scale industrial production and business, and their concomitant residential and other needs. The spatial needs of lower classes are only marginally addressed, and the planners are neither conscious of nor can afford legal planning. Thus planning which works through exclusion, not only engenders unequal spatial production, but also is unaffordable. Thus places like Jaraganahalli produce unplanned/unauthorized formations because they are affordable for work and residential uses.

b. Low compensations fixed by the courts, are not equal to the market values. As always, courts or even the authorities take into account the registered market value in private transactions or other transactions to fix the compensation value. The registered market values are usually far below the market values. If a private transaction is registered at the market value, the parties involved in the transactions have to pay more registration fee. Therefore the transacting parties, all the time, quote a low value while registering, to evade taxes. The residents of Jaraganahalli due to the fear of land acquisition by the government decided to form private layouts. This move maximized revenues and at the same time gave rise to mixed land uses.

c. Finally, as a corollary to the previous two points, private layouts are not planned according to the planning rules or laws for the below mentioned reasons. 1. The small scale land holdings of horticulturists/agriculturists are mainly converted into layouts to maximize the spatial production for urban uses in terms of exchange value i.e., to maximize returns through sale of sites. 2. Since there is no collective production of large scale urban uses i.e., governmental production of space for all, the spatial logic of agricultural formation, as described earlier, replicates itself, by and large, to form unauthorized urban uses.

Lefebvre (1993) says,

> In connection with the city and its extensions (outskirts, suburbs), one occasionally hears talk of a 'pathology of space', of 'ailing neighbourhoods', and so on. This kind of phraseology makes it easy for people who use it – architects, urbanists or planners – to suggest the idea that they are, in effect, 'doctors of space'. This is to promote the spread of some particularly mystifying notions, and especially the idea that the modern city is a product not of the capitalist or neocapitalist system but rather of some putative 'sickness' of society. Such formulations serve to divert attention from the criticism of space and to replace critical analysis by schemata that are at once not very rational and very reactionary. Taken to their logical limits, these theses can deem society as a whole and 'man' as a social being to be sickness of nature. Not that such a position is utterly indefensible from a strictly philosophical viewpoint: one is at liberty to hold that 'man' is a monster, a mistake, a failed species on a failed planet. My point is merely that this philosophical view, like many others, leads *necessarily* to nihilism.[50]

The study shows that the intervention of State in the land development through urban planning generates the market in land, thus the second nature of space i.e., real

estate business obtains itself automatically. State by deploying laws individualizes property. All these tendencies have led to new rescaling of property and property relations in Bangalore. The terms like legal/illegal, authorized/unauthorized, planned/unplanned, etc. are only epiphenomenal.

Endnotes and References

[1] A. R. Desai & Devdas S Pillai, 1990, *Slums and Urbanization,* Popular Prakashan, Bombay, p. 432.

[2] M. Gottdiener. *The Social Production of Urban Space*, p. 123.

[3] M. Gottdiener. *The Social Production of Urban Space*, pp.124-125.

[4] M. Gottdiener 1997, *The Social Production of Urban Space*, pp. xi-xii.

[5] Manuel Castells *The Urban Question,* p. 261.

[6] M. Gottdiener 1997, *The Social Production of Urban Space*, p. xiv.

[7] Marc Los. 1981, *Some Reflexions on Epistemology, Design and Planning Theory*; Peter Hall. 2002, *Urban and Regional Planning*; Scott Campbell & Susan Fainstein eds. 2003. *Readings in Planning Theory*, Oxford/Melbourne: Blackwell Publishers Limited.

[8] Scientific epistemology was based on "the notion that it was scientific, in the sense that the world could be completely understood and its future states predicted; the notion that planning could be value-free, in that the planner could disinterestedly determine what was best for society; the notion that the planner was planning for a society that was a homogenous aggregate, in which the welfare of the entire people was to be maximized, without too much concern with distributional questions; and the notion that the task of planning was to come to terms with – which, in practice, meant adapting to – the facts of rapid growth and change" (Hall 1996: 246).

[9] The experiments in US and UK are case in point. In US "Community action in planning" became popular. In 1970s in UK influence of intellectual currents in Marxism held a sway over the planning exercise leading to the 'community development projects' at local levels in the cities (Hall 1996: 247).

[10] James Heitzman 2004, *Network City*, p. 69. Bangalore's urban district consistently maintained the top rank on most of social and economic scales within the state of Karnataka (ibid: 69).

[11] Fazlul Hasan, 1970, *Bangalore Through the Centuries*. Environment of Bangalore of 17th and 18th centuries was partly human made and was also endowed with natural advantages. In the second half of 18th century fort town and its ecologies started changing under the royal patronage of Nawab Haider Ali Khan. Bangalore was becoming a military town, however what is significant here is the other ecological changes that were promoted- the 'Gardens' mainly and 'Parks' in the region started spreading. The only known big park that was laid out during that time was Lal Bagh. What is much more significant is the import of a caste/community of gardeners known as Tigalas. This was to change the scenario of the Bangalore's environs (ibid: 147). The preferences for a particular kind of city environment found such representations and resonated among the colonial settlers- 'The domiciled Europeans, mostly Englishmen, who found *Bangalore an ideal place to live to create 'the green' of English countryside here and adorned their home with beautiful gardens – 'the entrancing beauty spots'*…Of course, Bangalore had *'no parched plains and no dust laiden (sic) sky even in summer'* (ibid: 214) (Emphasis added). Bangalore was conceived as a place of 'elsewhere' to become 'the green English countryside', the beauty of gardens. It was no more a Bangalore of Princely Mysore State or of the people. The influence of the British processed the townscape into a form for leisurely lifestyle. However, the bi-nodal town, constituted of native town and Cantonment area, was situated within the environs of greatly non-built environment – among parks, gardens and tanks, and the vast spread countryside in the vicinity in all directions – by the end of 19th century. What is significant here is, to just take note of the fact that 'park' in the town's landscape found legitimacy and support from the authority. Park had already become a necessary feature of the Bangalore Town. Cubbon Park indicates such a propensity. Such an ambiance gave way to the Public Offices Building too from where the government was functioning. Many more parks like, Langford Gardens, Richmond Park, Cole's Park, etc., were all created during those times (ibid: 214). Similar resonances of a 'beautiful city found a place, in consonance with the dominant pattern – of the view of how city is to be – in the ruling establishment and the bureaucracy of Princely Mysore in the first half of 20th century. It was the times when new buildings for public uses, parks, etc., were fashioned. Though the native town area was developed in the similar aesthetic spirit of the Cantonment area, but it was not without a difference of added paternal welfarism. After 'Silver Jubilee Celebrations' of Maharaja in 1927, the programmes were taken up as the larger part of 'beautifying' the city and increasing public utilities. Notable were the creation of Silver Jubilee Park, Town Hall, Technological Institute, maternity hospitals, new circles, broad roads, etc., were added to town landscape. Dewan Mirza Ismail took greater interest in 'beautifying the City'. Few individuals too contributed through donations to such an urban patterning and urbanization process (ibid: 216). This kind of urbanization provided the overarching principle to configure Bangalore City in both the parts of the divided city of the pre-independence times

[12] Report of the Bangalore Development Committee, 1954, pp. 103.

[13] Report of the Bangalore Development Committee 1954, pp. 68-69.

[14] The Outline Development Plan For The Bangalore Metropolitan Region, 1963, pp. 105.

[15] See The Outline Development Plan, 1972, p. iv.

[16] RCDP 1976, p. i.

[17] There was slight change in the system of measuring the space of city. City was measured in miles, in 1985 the measure was indicated in kilometers. (Comprehensive Development Plan Report, 1985, p. Introduction)

[18] Rapid increase in the population was given as the reason for the city expansion within the context of city being "administrative centre, industrial centre, centre for trade and commerce and as an educational centre." (Comprehensive Development Plan Report 1985: Introduction)

[19] Report highlights the question of expanding boundaries of city while expressing its environmental concerns. It goes on to say that- "The City has a salubrious climate earlier but due to *very rapid expansion of the City and shifting of the Green belt of the City* is experiencing change in environment resulting in higher temperature." (emphasis added; Ibid: Introduction)

[20] See Comprehensive Development Plan Report, 1985, p. 23.

[21] Comprehensive Development Plan Report, 1985, Introductions' second page without page number.

[22] The Karnataka Co-operative Societies Act, 1959, Department of Law and Parliamentary Affairs, Government of Karnataka. The law and approach to it, is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

[23] G.V.K. Rao 1988, Report on an Enquiry Conducted Under Section 64of Karnataka Co-operative Societies Act 1959 into the Activities of Certain House Building Co-operative Societies of Bangalore City, Bangalore. (from now on for reference purposes or citation the usage would be- GVK Rao, Report 1988)

[24] GVK Rao, Report 1988, p. 1.

[25] GVK Rao, Report 1988, p. 2.

[26] From the political point of view Quasi-pragmatic approaches were also an indication or response to a kind of a people's will and other conditions of the region or the urbanization, etc., were all part of a broader democratic process, to which planning, policy, law, etc., were only adapting, all that was unsaid though.

[27] CDP-Revised was not alarmed as it happened with CDP 1985.

[28] Despite such declaration, the plan tends to do the opposite, or rather it is ambivalent, when it declares that "recommendations are made to seriously curb the growth in Bangalore Local Planning Area and encourage growth of other small and medium towns in the state" (CDP-Revised 1995: 3).

[29] Comprehensive Development Plan (Revised) Bangalore-Report, 1995, Bangalore Development Authority, Bangalore, p. i. (Emphasis added)

[30] CDP-Revised, 1995, p. i.

[31] Comprehensive Development Plan (Revised) 1995, Bangalore Report, Bangalore Development Authority, Bangalore, p. 1.

[32] Ibid: p. 3.

[33] CDP-Revised, 1995, p. 73.

[34] DRAFT MASTER PLAN – 2015 (2006) An Integrated Planning Approach…Towards a Vibrant International City, Bangalore Development Authority, Bangalore, http://www.bdabangalore.org/pdfs/brochure.pdf (20 Nov 2006). This master plan's time period would be from 2005 to 2015.

[35] Bangalore Master Plan – 2015 (2007), Vision Document, Volume I, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore Development Authority, http://www.bdabangalore/Vision_Document_RMP2015_BDA.pdf, p. 1(November 14, 2007).

[36] Bangalore Master Plan – 2015, p. 1.

[37] http://www.bmrda.kar.nic.in/ (accessed on 23rd September, 2009)

[38] http://www.bmrda.kar.nic.in/ (accessed on 23rd September, 2009)

[39] http://www.bmrda.kar.nic.in/ (accessed on 23rd September, 2009)

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[41] http://www.bmrda.kar.nic.in/naduvalli-10.htm (accessed on 23rd September, 2009)

[42] http://www.bmrda.kar.nic.in (accessed on 23rd September, 2009)

[43] http://www.bmrda.kar.nic.in/naduvalli-10.htm (accessed on 23rd September, 2009)

[44] The Bangalore Municipality's Commissioner v The Sub-division Officer, Bangalore, and Five other respondents, Regular Appeal No. 105/Case No. 2 of 1943-44, Appellate Civil/ The Mysore Law Journal Reports [Vol. XXVII], 1946, p. 148.

[45] *Census of India 1981, Series-9, District Census Handbook, Bangalore District, Part XIII-A&B: Town and Village Directory, Village & Townwise Primary Census Abstract*, pp.53-55.

[46] Ibid. pp. 83-84.

[47] Ibid. p. 971.

[48] *Census of India, 1991 Series-11 Karnataka, Part XII-A, District Census Handbook, Bangalore, Village and Town Directory*, p. xxxix.

[49] Sunil Kumar 1996, *Subsistence and Petty Capitalist Landlords: A Theoretical Framework for the Analysis of Landlordism in Third World Urban Low Income Settlements*, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 1996 - Vol.- Issue-2 Page 317-329.

[50] Henri Lefebvre [1973] 1993, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, *The Production of Space*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford/Cambridge-Massachusetts, p. 99.