Chapter-II

FACTORS AND FEATURES OF URBANIZATION AND BIRTH OF BANGALORE CITY

During the Neolithic era and new Stone Age, probably eight thousands years ago, the art of agriculture was discovered. Animals were domesticated and progress was made in industrial art, building of shelters, weaving, pottery making, and many other useful crafts. These developments formed the bases for the rise of cities.¹ But in ancient times, cities were a few, scattered and their size was restricted depending upon their social advancement. As the rise of society and culture throughout the world, the size of cities grew and with it started the process of urbanization. It is only in modern times that with the advent of industrialization, urbanization has become unimaginably wide spread. It is the hallmark of the 19th and 20th centuries and has changed the setting, planning, and ways of living and culture of urban areas.

In the words of J. Clyde Mitchell the well known British scholar of social sciences, “urbane is the process of becoming urban, moving to cities non agricultural and non cultivable population giving this concept changing from agriculture to other pursuits common to cities.”² In the opinion of Sudha Saxena, the author of Trends of Urbanization in Uttar Pradesh, urbanization refers to a process where traditionally rural bound community, either the

whole or section of it, moves to adopt a different pattern of living. All these observations suggest that urbanization is the process where there is concentration of population in a new place of habitation or in a place characterized by a new way of life.

Human beings have been living on this earth for more than a million years, but we trace the history of the cities only 5000 or 6000 years ago in the great river valleys of the Euphrates, the Indus and the Nile etc. History has revealed that the cities were always planned with definite purpose in mind; it may be cultural glorification, protection, trade, etc. The growth of urban population and its concentration in large cities is one of the distinctive characteristics of the present age. But cities and towns have been there for centuries and historians remind us that cities are as ancient as civilization itself. All civilization has had their cities and indeed the only evidence of the existence of many civilizations is the ruins of their cities. Cities and towns have existed in India for a very long time is revealed by the excavations at Harappa and Mehenjo-daro and also mentioned in our ancient literature. Manu the ancient Hindu law giver has mentioned grama, pura and Nagara were the three kinds of settlements were existed. Each has produced typical urban forms depending both on the geographical environment and on the particular social heritage.

The histories of urbanization and modernization has reflects both process and impact. As a process, they refer to the gradual application of

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science and technology to various facts of human life and to the migration of
people from rural communities to urban settings, such towns, cities and
metropolitan areas. As an impact, they refer to all types of consequences and
changes in social organization and human behavior. Despite the widespread
use of these concepts for the last several decades, they continue to remain
vague, elusive and lacking in precise meaning.⁵

Urbanization is a multifaceted phenomenon. For both understanding
and planning, it cannot be limited to one discipline of study or compressed
into one concept or one process or one problem. Urbanization is both cause
and consequence of socio-economic development and has temporal, spatial
and functional dimensions. The territorial scale ranges from urban to
metropolis, urbanization i.e. shift of rural population to towns with a
structural shift in occupational patterns and land use, should be distinguished
from urban growth. In the regional development of planning, the urban factor
is being used as a tool, a lever and Infrastructure to channel and decentralize
economic development. The urban center becomes a key component for
transformation of regional economic structure and promotion of spread and
service effects, and for the development of urban rural continuum and a
rested hierarchic system of settlements.⁷

The Indian metropolitan cities like Bangalore, Delhi, Bombay, Chennai
etc have played an important role in Indian society and its economy. All these
metropolitan cities of India have occupied a unique position not because of

⁶ Yogendra Singh, “Essays on Modernization in India”, (New Delhi, 1978),
Pp.11-14.

⁷ Rodwin, L. “Nations and Cities: A Comparison of Strategies for Urban Growth”,
(Boston, 1970), P.3.
their population but because they are the centers of industry, commerce, banking, political life, administration, education and social services. They also act as agencies for the diffusion of all kinds of social and cultural change. In addition, these centers along with other metropolitan cities have become magnets for rural population and provide vast employment opportunities. All the metropolitan centers are however confronted with massive problems of providing adequate employment, housing, transport, water supply and drainage systems. More than one fourth of their population is reported to be surviving at the subsistence level where even the basic amenities of life are often lacking. Urban sprawl is wide spread which is characterized with vicious cycle of poverty, monster of unemployment and higher rates of social disorganization.\(^8\)

It is true that industrialization and urbanization may not always result in transformation of traditional ways of life, but available studies of contemporary life in some of the metropolitan cities do show that the old ways are undergoing considerable changes and new patterns of life, combining both old and new in varying degrees are taking shape emphasizing more or less greater degrees of individuality, rationality, adaptive attitudes, occupational achievement, formalism and secondary forms of relationships. This trend constitutes the basis of urbanization and modernization.\(^9\)

The development of the cities was always done by a separate administrative unit or a body like agency. The composition, size and functions of these agencies have been different through the ages. It may be a king and

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\(^8\) Yogendra Singh, "Modernization of Indian Tradition", (New Delhi, 1972), P.84-93.

his advisors, a city council, a panchayath, a separate committee, a town council or public works departments were the agencies worked for the smooth functioning of state and society. In ancient India, during the Mauryan and Gupta periods, separate urban planning and development agencies existed. The work of urban planning and development was performed by city council and town councils along with other functions of the state. E.B. Havells an anthropologist of England, testifies the functionaries of the state in his work, ‘the History of Aryan rule in India’, stating that during Chandragupta Maurya’s rule the city council was collectively administered the general affairs such as, finance, sanitation, water supply, provision and upkeep of public buildings, fruit and flower gardens etc.\textsuperscript{10} Further he describes the structure of the city councils, the city council was modeled upon that of a village Panchayat and it may be assumed that it was an elected body though certain works were reserved for the control of the imperial officers, which it consisted of thirty members. The city council was an elected body, but it was under the control of the king. In Gupta period, there is also evidence of the existence of town council. The public were also very vigilant about proper development of the towns and cities. The town administration was carried out by an officer called Purapala. The people were aware that their city should have good water supply, fine gardens, imposing temples, spacious halls for public meetings and town councils had to take necessary steps for these matters.\textsuperscript{11} Though the ancient Hindu cities are irrevocably gone, we still find relics of the past in some parts of the country. During the Muslim period, most of the ancient cities fell, some underwent changes and only a few were able to preserve their

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., P.82.
traditional nature and some new cities also took shape during the Muslim regime.\textsuperscript{12}

The Muslim architects and their conception of city planning had great influence on the cities of medieval India. Many famous cities like Delhi, Agra, Fateh-pur-sikri, Ajmer, etc clearly bear the influence of Muslim architecture and culture. It is evident from history that a separate department existed for the construction and developmental work. The ruler himself was in charge of the department and he was assisted by many eminent architects, engineers, and ministers. During the Akbar's period, a public work department was established for planning and development of construction work. His able architects and engineers carried out the plans.\textsuperscript{13} All the Muslim rulers had a separate department of urban planning and department. But these organizations were under the control of emperors with respect to their necessities and requirements.

During 18\textsuperscript{th} century, European Colonial rule had brought sweeping economic and political changes which affected the process and growth of urbanization. This considerably led to the establishment of new commercial ports and administrative cities. At the same time, a number of traditional cities dwindled and some were disappeared. New cities rose mainly as centers of foreign trade, raw materials and centers of export and import of foreign goods. Some cities become administrative cities, educational centers, military stations and they functioned as centers to political activities. Though, the rise

\textsuperscript{12} Ghurye, G.S. "Cities and Civilization", (Bombay 1963), Pp.142-148.

of these cities mainly non-industrial in character, but facilitated the movement of labor and capital and set the stage for industrial growth and urbanization.

The beginning of the factory system in India from 1880-95, as reflected through the establishment of the textile and jute industries along with the introduction of a network of rail, road systems, gave birth to several new cities and also brought an industrial orientation to some existing cities.\textsuperscript{14} However, the pace of industrialization remained sluggish during British rule. Considering India’s vast potential and there was no attempt to lay sound foundations for industrial expansion by developing basic and capital goods and manufacturing industries. In the 20\textsuperscript{th} century particularly during the II world war, the British government became more conscious of the necessity for industrial expansion and substantial progress was achieved in the post war period. But industrialization on the whole played a limited role in the growth of urbanization and consequently, only a few cities grown up and gained the industrial character more than that even in many industrial cities, a large proportion of the labor force was continued to be engaged only in small scale establishments.\textsuperscript{15}

Since attaining independence, the Indian government has enunciated a comprehensive industrial policy for systematic and through expansion of organized modern industries. Inauguration of the first five year plan in 1951 paved the way for establishment of large scale industries and subsequent plans for over all economic development and promoted a bold program for industrial growth. Several new industrial towns were established which grew

\textsuperscript{14} Buchanan, D.H. “The Development of Capitalistic Enterprise in India”, (New York, 1934), Pp.87-112.

into cities in a single decade. The policy of decentralizing industries to bring about balanced regional development and population dispersal was also encouraged to some extent. The impact of industrialization on urban growth has not been dominant because of multiple push factors in the rural economy which have been much more responsible for the inflow of rural migration to urban base. Never the less the ambitious programmes of industrialization introduced during the last three decades have intensifed urbanization and promoted further rural migration to towns, cities and metropolitan centers in recent years.  

The growth of large cities in general, organized industries in particular, has undoubtedly shaken the traditional and social structure. The increase in population itself has also added many new pressures towards change in urban life. The phenomenal growth of urban agglomeration adds and impacts not only on the people living in large cities, but also on others who live in the neighboring towns and villages. The programmes of industrial development are further accelerated the pace of urbanization and are generating the forces which will inevitably mean a shift of employment from primary production to secondary and tertiary industries in course of time. The big urbanized cities were the centers of human activities ranging from industry, commerce, finance, education, health, science and technology and the production of consumer goods. The cities were also the very life blood of the Indian society and provide most of the revenue to their respective states and the central


government. Almost all forms of change radiate from these cities to other parts of the country.

The city centers have become so cosmopolitan in the context of our culture, all people from own little communities are group based on their caste, religion and culture. The entire city centers are however, confronted with massive problems of providing adequate employment, housing, transport, water and drainage systems. More than 50% of their population is reported to be surviving at a subsistence level, where even basic necessities of life are often lacking. A typical city contains a congested old section having a main market place, with irregular narrow and crowded streets and little open space after surrounding the commercial streets are residential neighborhoods.\(^{18}\)

In our cities, we have seen focal points of power, wealth, political action and social progress, centers of trade, industry, finance, transport and communication centers which patronize art, set fashions and diffuse new ideas. It is often found that the giant cities are also endowed with scientific, technical and research bodies enjoying national and international status as well. Bangalore is not an exception for it. It is in urban areas like this, the centers of education; science and technology are located and have been witnessing a phenomenal growth.\(^{19}\)

During modern period, the first urban improvement authority was established in 1794 at Calcutta with limited powers. In 1864, on the example of Calcutta and on the advice and insistence of the Royal Sanitary commission,


the sanitary commissions were set up in Bombay and Madras presidencies to
give advice and assistance in all matters related to public health, sanitation,
etc. Encouraged by the working of Calcutta and Bombay, the government of
Mysore took the initiative and the city of Mysore improvement Act was passed
in 1903. Under the provisions of this act, Mysore city improvement Board was
constituted. In 1945, the city of Bangalore improvement act was passed and
Bangalore improvement trust was established. In 1959, the provisions of the
Acts, the existing agencies were modified and new urban development and
planning agencies were established in various cities of Mysore state. Among
the existing separate urban planning agencies in the country, the Mysore trust
established in 1904 is the oldest one.

2.1 FACTORS AND FEATURES OF URBANIZATION

It is difficult to organize statistical data on urbanization without
defining what is urban. It is equally difficult to define urban owing to its
multi-dimensional, structural demographic, social, economic, physical,
geographical and political as well as administrative. The fact that urbanization
is frequently equated with the quality of life and the quality of environment,
further complicates any exercise in measurement resulted with the indicators
to measure urbanization relate to the change in the characteristics of people,
place, area, technology and functions. The mixing up of the descriptive and
normative aspects of urbanization only adds to the problem of measurement.
Urbanization could be treated as a dependent variable [economic, social and
political], and also as an independent variable [population, size, density and

intensity]. With the changing structure and patterns of urbanization and structural inter relationships and owing to policy intervention, this compartmentalization is losing much of its significance. City size could be used as a sum agate for population density, and population threshold size has its significance for the development of urban infrastructure. But city size often obscures the underlying inter relationships between the different structural elements. In this contest, city size becomes an intervening variable. Compared to city size and the associated demographic criteria, land-use, functional structure and the level of urban infrastructure are more sensitive measures of urbanization.22

Urbanization needs to be equated not only with increasing employment in non-agricultural sector and the associated higher technology and income levels, but also with urban infrastructure, both economic and social, to promote dispersal of development and the quality of life of the people. In this context, urban development policy is concerned with ensuring that urban centers plays a positive role in national and regional development, and also provide healthy living environments.23 Urbanization has national and regional and intra-city dimensions and the hierarchical frame work gives a useful working basis.

The basic principle underlying the settlement hierarchy, along the hamlet-megalopolis settlement spectrum is that in the cover orders to regional reciprocal relationships are more dominant, as in resource towns and market towns and their hinterlands, while in the higher orders, inter-urban and inter-

regional relationships are more dominant. The level of the hierarchic rank of an urban center is related to the level of its functional specialization. The problem of the Indian urban system is its truncated character, particularly at the metropolitan level and the associated functional and spatial gaps and the city regional parasitic relationships. Urban regional functions are more generative in the urban commercial sector with market towns and medium size industrial cities in contrast to the parasitic metropolitan industrial cities. Urban India is still polarized structurally and spatially though the degree of polarizations is getting reduced.\footnote{Ibid., p.292.}

What is important to the policy makers knowledge about the ongoing changes in the urban and regional hierarchic system, and the deviations from the nesting of functions due to 1) changes in the level of production and transport technology, 2) diversification in resource use, 3) increased incomes, 4) the changing consumer and producer travel behavior leading to by passing of number of intervening opportunities and 5) policy intervention itself. Unless there is a feedback through appropriate and sensitive data base and information system, the policy maker's decisions to select locations for investment often turn out to be ill founded, at most a complete failure. In operational terms there are different policy makers industrial, commercial, housing and transport, to mention a few. Here, any effort to co-ordinate sectoral policies has so for not led to functional integration.\footnote{Das, R.B. "Urban Planning and Local Authorities", (New Delhi, 1970), p.X-XII.}

In any settlement hierarchical system, the new towns, single industry towns, project towns, railway towns, military towns, temple and tourist towns
should be treated as, independent centers and should be excluded from the hierarchical system. The development plans for these centers should be town specific, oriented to the specific function. These centers get drawn into the system as they grow and their economic base gets diversified. The national, regional and local economics are organized through the settlements of different sizes and functions. There is no need to repeat that development of settlement cannot be just equated with the construction of houses and development of infrastructure.  

Urban planning in India, both at the inter city and intra city levels, more often follows urban deployment instead of directing development according to a pre-designed plan. This only leads to regularizing irregular urban sprawl. The basic city planning instrument, the city "master plan", the procrastinate bed of land-uses, has become only too static, too defective and too out molded, to be of much value in monitoring the changing structure and pattern of development in the city and the city region. What further compounds the problem is the time lag between the formulation of the plan and its implementation. It is known that plan implementation is exposed to rough weather from 1] the different agencies involved in city development, pulling in different directions, 2] the rigidity of rules and regulations,3]the inadequate machinery for implementation and 4] above all, inadequate finances. All these conspire with the ‘master plan’ and its defects. These harsh realities lead to non-implementation and are stressed again and again in the different town planning conferences and seminars and periodical reviews of city master plans.  


At the policy level, the national planners are shifting their emphasis on urban development, while the state planners faithfully follow the shifts, with the result that urban centers develop without proper direction and planning. If the Indian urban system is lopsided, it is only because the urban system is still, subservient to industrial development and the socio-economic class and regional imbalance. The major problem is the increasing imbalance between the urban and rural population growth and the rapid growth of cities beyond their economic capacity to sustain, given the existing local government system.28

The urbanization in India has three major facets, those based on industrialization, commercialization and urbanization of the countryside. The urban base in the rural areas is substandard, and the intermediary link with the metropolitan apex, through market towns, is weak commercialization with its multipliers and industrialization with its multipliers or two separate processes, each influencing an urban center in a totally different manner if the sharp interstate and inter regional variations in urbanization are given their due weight, there is a strong case for state/ regional urbanization policy which need not necessarily conform to national policy. Instead of every state, every sub-region and micro-region, mechanically following the same pattern of urban development-counter magnets, satellite towns, marginal towns, ring railways, ring roads related to the regions resource development pattern and potential should be worked out, indicating the cost and benefit of each

model. At the intra city level, alternative land use, allocation models should be worked out before taking the final decision. In this context the urban and the rural sectors are two sides of the same coin and hence, require complimentary development programmes.

Urbanization is the child of industrial revolution in the modern times. With the rise of industrialization, the pace of urbanization increased. Besides industrial revolution, other factors responsible for urbanization are present economy, political system, modern technology, warfare and growth of service sectors. Four major factors stand out as determinants of urbanization are:- Agricultural revolution, Industrial revolution, Commercial revolution and the Demographic revolution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>251.3</td>
<td>297.9</td>
<td>318.7</td>
<td>361.1</td>
<td>439.2</td>
<td>547.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Urban population</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>78.9</td>
<td>109.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Urban Population as% of total population</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Decimal increase</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>19.12</td>
<td>31.97</td>
<td>41.43</td>
<td>26.41</td>
<td>37.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>No. of urban places</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>2047</td>
<td>2212</td>
<td>2424</td>
<td>3660</td>
<td>2700</td>
<td>2921</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India 1971 U.P – Population in Millions

However, the growth of urbanization is very rapid all over the world, but especially in developing countries it is taking place at an alarming rate.

The following table denotes the total populations, urban population, delimit increase and number of urban places in India from 1901-1971 in million. The growth and pace of urbanization has been very fast in India and which is the most populous sub-continent in the world.\[^{30}\] Since independence the growth of India’s population is 100 percent and the increase in urban population is 250%\[^{31}\]. The demographer’s assessment proved right that by the end of this century, the Indian population may triple. In the general opinion in 1961, one out of every seven Indians was a town dweller. By 1981, one fourth of Indian population will be living in towns. Thus the urban population is increasing at an accelerated rate. What is true of India is also true for Bangalore.

It is well known that growth of population in urban areas takes place due to natural increase of population, i.e. births over deaths and due to migration of people to urban areas in search of employment and urban facilities. Therefore, the urban local authorities have to accommodate the rapidly increasing urban population by periodic extension of the built up area and providing infrastructure facilities, including civic amenities and community facilities.\[^{32}\] Local bodies alone cannot make the provision of urban infrastructure, particularly in cities like Bangalore. Various departments of State, Central Government and public organizations and others also involved in providing infrastructure facilities for Bangalore metropolitan area.

Bangalore is growing so fast that infrastructure facilities are being augmented periodically, though there are backlogs. For example water supply to Bangalore was provided from Hesaraghatta at the end of the last century [in


and from Tippagondanahalli [in 1933] and from river Cauvery since 1974-75. Similar action is needed in other sectors of Infrastructure to meet the growing demand due to increase in population.

The following table shows the growth of population in Bangalore metropolitan area in millions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Metro Politan Area</th>
<th>City Corporation Area</th>
<th>Metro Politan Area Excluding Corporation Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Percentage of increase</td>
<td>Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>0.228</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>0.260</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>0.192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>0.311</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>0.240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>0.369</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>0.308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>0.510</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>0.407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>0.991</td>
<td>94.9</td>
<td>0.779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1.207</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>0.906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1.648</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>1.422</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India 1971.

The urban population is growing fast, during the last decade of 20th century mainly due to our realization of natural resources, and fast growth of industries are based on them. This resulted in to crowded cities, growth of slums, lack of residential accommodation etc. These problems can be tackled only by a proper, timely modern scientific urban planning. But the unfortunate fact is that the urban planning is not given due priority at the central, state and local levels. In the beginning, the responsibility of development and growth of urban areas was that of municipalities but they did not perform their functions properly due to lack of power, finance, initiative and drive.33

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33 Ramegowda, K.S. “Infrastructure Facilities for Urban Areas, with Special Reference to Bangalore”, (Bangalore, 1999), P.1.
The metropolitan cities occupy a unique position in Indian society and economy. The cities are the centers of manufacturing Industries, Commerce, banking, political life, administration, education and social services. They also act as agencies for the diffusion of all kinds of social and cultural change. They are also the major loci of western-educated manpower and political power. In addition these metropolitan cities have become magnets for displaced rural residents seeking employment opportunities and they are promoting new expectations and aspirations among longer term residents.\footnote{Balakrishna, R.C. “Report of the Economic Survey of Madras City”, Government of India, (New Delhi, 1961), Pp.63-69.}

The metropolitan cities of India have become so cosmopolitan in the context of Indian culture that people from almost all regions have come to them and established their own little communities based on their caste, religion and language. All the metropolitan centers have confronted with massive problems of providing adequate employment, housing, transport, water and drainage systems. More than one fourth of their population is reported to be surviving at the subsistence level where even basic necessities of life are often lacking.\footnote{Yadav, D.S. “Landuse in Big Cities: A Study of Delhi”, (New Delhi, 1979), Pp.109-114.}

The colonial origin and development of almost all major existing cities are responsible for several unique features which deserve special mention. The urban morphology of cities usually is a mixture of indigenous and European patterns. The typical Indian cities contains a congested old section having the main market place, with irregular, narrow and crowded streets and little open space, often surrounding the commercial streets with residential
neighbor hoods. The European pattern exhibits a remarkable contrast with wide streets, large homes, parks and spacious grounds, though this pattern is undergoing considerable changes. Some cities, of course have exclusively European patterns, while other show varying degrees of blending as well as conflicts with indigenous patterns. This ecological pattern has generally promoted population segregation according to function and social status. It is still being followed and has been even extended in some cases when new urban development has taken place.\textsuperscript{36}

India's giant cities are focal points of power, wealth, education, political action, social progress, and they are the centers of trade, industry, finance, transport and communication. These patronize art, set of fashions and diffuse the new ideas. India has a wide range of variation in the income of different classes of people and a microscopic section of the population has considerable income commanding a large portion of the total wealth. The giant cities were also endowed with scientific, technical and research bodies enjoying national and often international status. In contemporary India, metropolitan cities are centers of innovations, ideas and inventions in all fields of all activity, while in the rural India, it is primarily the feudal society which still thrives and dominates living patterns. The distinct impact of westernization is discernible social and intellectual walks of life.\textsuperscript{37}

The growth of the urban sectors is dependent on the rural sector for daily necessities like the food supply, the supply of cheap labor, the vast market of its manufactured goods, the sale of skills and technical knowledge


and the provision of administrative functionaries. The spontaneous
development of urban life began much later. The town like, the village, areas
from the need of mankind to congregate for purposes of security, social
welfare or trade. It may become a common center for administration,
marketing or for religions, educational and other social activities. It is often a
center for specialized craftsman and for banking. Most of the modern towns
are industrial to some extent, although towns have existed in the past today's
urban way life is vastly different from the pattern of a few generations ago.

In India during the pre-British period, the cities that arose were few and
they were archaic in type. They were largely political or religious centers and
there was little of industrial or commercial development in them. The Muslim
rulers used to shift their administrative headquarters frequently with the
result that the old capital cities dwindled and new towns sprang up around
the next governmental headquarters where military necessity required a
permanent camp such as mountain passes, cross roads and bridge heads
where towns and cities developed. Some regional places which the pilgrims
used to frequent in due course became bigger towns and cities. Thus, the early
towns were largely non economic in character except for local trade, later after
a long time, commerce and industry followed these places. The modern city,
based on organized industry, trade and commerce, and natural resources is of
late origin and has came into prominence only recently.\(^3\)

The process of urbanization is continuous and unchecked throughout
the world. Because of the rise in industrialization, the pace of urbanization

\(^3\) Sovani, N.V. "The Analysis of Over-Urbanization, Economic Development", Vol-
has also increased. The other factors like the present economy, political system, modern technology, warfare and growth of industries also plays a responsible role in Urbanization. Along with these, agricultural revolution and industrial revolution has increased efficiency of transportation. The demographic revolutions stand out as determinants of the urbanization. It is very difficult for any plan to limit the growth of a city in a country like India, where the population is growing rapidly and the democratic forces are working actively. In a socialistic country it may be easy to control and regulate the growth of any city, as the migrants need permission before to go and settle down in a city. It is better that a long range development plan is needed for the entire metropolitan region by the end of this century, and for the growth of marginal towns, counter-magnets and other industrial complexes around the city. Vested interests should be discouraged from violating the provisions of the plan and a strict control over the growth of the city has to be enforced in the interest of the planned development of the Bangalore urban growth.

2.2 PRE-COLONIAL HISTORY OF BANGALORE

This section provides a brief introduction of the growth of Bangalore from fort city to a large metropolis. Since the pre-colonial period the studies about Bangalore briefs its issues, programmers, with emphasis on the development of the city. The insertion of this chapter is to understand how Bangalore evolved and the issues that were created by urbanization as it applies to public space. Today Bangalore is India’s fifth largest city and one of the fastest growing principal cities was in then Mysore state and was the head quarters of the government of Mysore. The city, which was 700 years ago,
during the reign of king Veeraballala, an uninhabited patch of land, is now one of the thickly populated cities of India and constituting the poly-metropolitan urban apex. It has a population of around five million [1961-71] and is a true cosmopolitan city. However it had modest beginnings and the origin of Bengalooru is lost in history. Though several artifacts have been found dating back to 900 AD and even earlier Bangalore in its present context was founded when a mud fort was built at Bengalooru.

The emergence of powerful Nayakas and palegars under Vijayanagar Empire could be attributed to the policy of decentralization of local administration, which the Vijayanagar rulers adopted from the beginning due to the Amaranayaka system. The contributions of many Nayakas and palegars were supported for the development of Vijayanagar. After the collapse of Vijayanagar Empire many feudatories were raised towards independent ruling. Among those Wodeyar of Mysore, Nayakas of Ikkeri, Yelahanka nadaprabhus and others were note worthy.

The hallmark of this period was the phenomenal growth of settlements and new towns. This was perhaps an outcome of the micro-regions that emerged after the disintegration of the Vijayanagar Empire. Every Palegar, of smaller or bigger provinces wanted to have a fortified town. Here the Yelahanka Nadaprabhus and their role in founding and developing of Bangalore is discussed in some details.

There was a popular tradition about the original home of the castors of the Yelahanka Nadaprabhu. According to the tradition, they migrated from

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Suryanath U. Kamath (Ed.) “Karnataka State Gazetteer, Bangalore District”, (Bangalore, 1990), Pp.182-183.
Yenamanjiputtur near Kanchipuram of Tamilnadu. Rana Baire Gowda the earliest known member of this family migrated from Puttur and settled down at Ahuti or Avathi near Devanahalli of present Bangalore district. Probably he was appointed as Nadaprabhu or chieftain of Yelahankanadu by the Hoysala ruler Veeraballala III. Later he was succeeded by Kempe Gowda I in 1510 AD and he ruled up to 1570 AD. Under him the prestige of the family was enhanced due to the encouragement given by the two contemporary Vijayanagar rulers Krishnadevaraya and Achyutaraya.\(^{40}\) He spent huge money on the construction of tanks, agraharas, temples and forts. To him nothing was dearer than the welfare of his subjects. He also envisaged great interest in founding new settlements, the foremost being the foundation of the town of Bangalore.\(^{41}\)

The founding of Bangalore in 1537 AD was a unique achievement of Kempegowda I and the political history of Bangalore from 1537 to 1947 can be divided into two divisions. The primary being the pre colonial rule; Bangalore had seen 3 stages they are,

1. Administration of Bangalore under the control of Yelahanka Nadaprabhus From 1537 AD to 1638 AD

2. Under the control of Marathas and the Mughals: 1638 AD to 1690 AD
   
   A. 1638 AD to 1687 Marathas [shahaji and Ekoji]

   B. 1687 AD to 1690 Mughals [khasim khan and Subedhar of Sira]


\(^{41}\) Annaswamy, T.V. "Bengaluru to Bangalore", (Bangalore, 1970), Pp.17-19.
3. Under the control of Mysore Wodeyar: 1690 AD to 1799 AD

   A. 1690 AD to 1758-Mysore Wodeyar and twenty-six faujidars.
   
   B. 1758 AD to 1799-Hyder Ali[1758-1782]Tippu Sultan [1782-1799]

4. The secondary stage was Administration under British: 1799-1947

   A. 1799-1831 Mysore Wodeyar and early Dewans,
   
   B. 1831-1881- British Commissioner’s rule and
   
   C. 1881-1947- Wodeyars and Dewans.

Kempegowda had raised a mud fort around the new township. It was of modest dimensions with mud as the main building material.\textsuperscript{42} Within the fort, localities were marked for people of different vocations and also he had built eight gates for this fort, they are,

a. Yelahanka Gate - present Mysore Bank square,

b. Yeshwantpur Gate - near upper pet police station or Balepete,

c. Kengeri Gate - now a police station is named after it near Cottonpete,

d. Halasoor Gate - now a police station is named after it near Negartpete,

e. Kanakanahalli Gate-near Vokkaligara Sanga building near old karanjikere,

f. Sondekoppa Gate - present Magadi Road side,

g. Anekal gate - the old Shivaji talkies near by town hall and

h. Delhi gate - covers the vartoor gate and sarjapur gate or at the fort in K.R. Market.

\textsuperscript{42} Ribeiro, E.F.N., “Form Mud Fort to Metropolitan Region, Architecture and Design March-April-1999”, (Bangalore, 1999), P.34.
These narrow streets continue to exist to this day and are the busiest commercial centers of Bangalore. The fort of Kempegowda stood at the place where now exists the old town of Bangalore with its numerous petes or commercial localities. Within the fort, the towns were divided into petes or residential localities occupied by communities of different professions as could be seen by the names of the streets still used in the old city area such as chickpete, Dodpete, ballapurada pete, Nagarathapete, old Taragupete, Balepete, Cottonpete, Akkipete, Kumbarpet, and other areas earmarked for different trade and artisans. The town had two streets; Chikpete Street ran east to west and Dodpete street ran north to south, their intersection of forming Dodpete square the heart of Bangalore.\(^{43}\)

To improve the city Kempegowda I granted lands, money, and provided other facilities. The cave temple of GaviGangadareshwara at Gavipura, the eleven foot high magnificent Nandi at Basavanagudi, someshwara temple at Ulsoor etc. were some of the monumental relics of the times of Kempegoda I. He also had the credit of constructing, Dharmam Bhudhi and Sampangi tank around Bangalore.\(^{44}\) He also constructed four watch towers in four directions of the city on eastern side at Ulsoor, on western side at Kempambhudi tank, on northern side at Hebbal and on southern side at Lalbagh. One could also observe that the city has outgrown the limits, and the prophecy of the founder has now been more than fulfilled.\(^{45}\) Kempe Gowda's encouragement for the construction of temples, tanks and planned residential layouts or agraharas,

\(^{44}\) Ramakrishna Rao, “Bangalore Past and Present”, (Bangalore, 1970), P.4.
around each temple etc transformed Bangalore from sleepy village to a city of culture based centre.

Kempe Gowda I was succeeded by Kempe Gowda II in 1585 and continued the work of developing Bangalore into an urban centre and had made a prosperous town. The patronage of Kempe Gowda II developed the city in the tradition of the Vijayanagar cities, a mosaic of bazzars, temple complexes and the agraharas. The political stability and economic prosperity gave way for progressive socio-religious activities among the towns’ men. This in turn made Bangalore one of the premier cultural centers of South India.

Bangalore witnessed a great political change exactly after a century of its foundation. In 1638 AD, the town was besieged by Ranadulla khan, the commander of sultan Mohammed Adilshah of Bijapur, was accompanied by another military officer Shahji Bhonsle.\(^{46}\) For the valuable services of Shahji Bhonsle to the Bijapur sultan, he granted Bangalore as Jahgir to Shahji. For some years Shahji lived with his second wife Tukkabai in a palace called Gaurimahal in the present Chikpet area. Besides, it seems that Shivaji had visited Bangalore at the age of 13 with his mother Jijabai [first wife of Shahji] and his tutor Dadajikondadeva and spend two years [1640-42] at Bangalore.\(^{47}\)

By the persuasion of Jijabai, Shahji had celebrated the marriage of Shivaji, with girl named Sayibai from Nimbalkar family at Bangalore.\(^{48}\) After spending two years, Shivaji returned to his father’s early Jahgir pune with infantry, cavalry, elephants, prominent ministers, renowned instructors, costly

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\(^{47}\) Dr. B. Muddachari, "Mysore Maratha Relation", (Mysore, 1972), Pp.64-68.

\(^{48}\) Sarkar, J. “Shivaji and His Times”, [Bombay 1969], P.22.
flags, and plentiful treasure presented by his father. His stay in Bangalore wielded a great influence on young Shivaji. The administration of Bangalore was continued by Shahji with the support of his second wife's son sambhaji. At a later date Ekoji, or venkoji, the another son of Shahaji continued the administration of Bangalore.⁴⁹ Due to misunderstanding in between Shivaji and Ekoji related to his father's possessions in the south, the Bangalore Jahgir was conquered by Shivaji. But Shivaji gifted back Bangalore and some of its provinces to his sister-in law Dipabai [Ekoji’s wife]. As Ekoji started to stay at his conquered province Tanjore, in 1675 he could not retain his Bangalore Jahgir for long.⁵⁰

The Mughul army that came to the south after conquering Bijapur took Bangalore on 10th July 1687. Later Bangalore and surrounding territories handed over to Chikkadeveraja Wodeyar of Mysore for three lakhs pagodies [gold coins] in consideration the valuable military help he had rendered to the Mughal general, Kasim Khan to capture Bangalore after a successful siege from Venkoji. Dalvoi Daddaiah and Shambog Thimmiah, an expert in accounts were appointed for the management. This two organized suitable revenue system and laid the foundation of the future prosperity of Bangalore under the Mysore sovereigns.⁵¹ Kannada, Marati and Urdu became administrative languages during this period.

The Vijayanagar system of administration was continued in Bangalore. A new mud fort to the south of the one of Kempegowda was raised in Bangalore and the Kote Venkataramana Swamy temple was also constructed in

it. To improve the economic prosperity of the city, he had accommodated 12,000 weavers from Baramahal [Tamilnadu] area and the merchants from other part of the neighboring states particularly Andhra Pradesh to come and settle down at Bangalore. Thus he was responsible for the flourishing of Bangalore as a commercial and industrial centre of south India. The successors of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar were weak and they were not in a position to command on administration which caused the raise of Dalvoys in the administration of Mysore. In 1758 the Maratha troops captured Bangalore and proceeded towards Srirangapatnam. They insisted on the prince paying them Rs.50 lakhs. Krishnaraja Wodeyar II deputed Haider to Bangalore. He took Bangalore and humiliated the Marathas. Then Hyder who managed to diffuse the crisis got Bangalore as Jahgir. Haider appointed Kabir Beig the Amaladar [killedar] of Bangalore. Hyder strengthened the Bangalore fort which built by chikkadevaraja by using granite blocks by removing the old mudwalls. The town was about 5 kilometers in circumference, with the fort at the south end, with well planned streets and prosperous shops indicating a flourishing economy. A big market stretched from the north gate of the town to the oval fort, a predecessor of today’s Avenue road. As a Continued effort of Hyder for the beautification of Bangalore, today’s famous Lalbagh garden was built in 1760 AD.

Bangalore was a favorite town of Hyder Ali, as he sought refuge in Bangalore when he was fleeing the attack of the Mysore and the Maratha forces. Hyder regrouped and out fitted his forces with the assistance of the rich merchants of Bangalore and defeated the plans of the Mysore ruler to

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oust him. Hyder’s broad vision and administrative policies encouraged Bangalore to develop as an industrial and commercial centre.\textsuperscript{53}

In 1781, he had begun the work of construction of a palace in Bangalore fort. Later his son Tippu completed the construction of palace. The form of the fort was in oval with round towers at proper intervals, it had. The two gate ways, one in the north and another in the south, were called as Delhi and Mysore gates respectively. It was a handsome structure in the best style of Muhammadan military architecture and consisted of several gates surrounded by traverses.\textsuperscript{54} Dr. Francis Buchanan, a doctor by profession and a good writer, who belongs to health and medical department of Bengal government of East India company, and he was appointed by governor general Lord Marquis Wellesley to report the situation of south India. On 10\textsuperscript{th} May 1800, he visited Bangalore and narrated every aspects of Bangalore life in his writings. The palace of Bangalore fort was described by Buchanan as abode of happiness and envy of heaven.\textsuperscript{55}

Bangalore played a vital role even during the third Anglo Mysore war. It was the first major place to be attacked by the British army personally commanded by the governor general Lord Cornwallis in 1791. His interest in Bangalore was based on the fact that it was, next to Srirangapatna, the most important town in Mysore. A major textile producing and trading centre which exported to several places outside Mysore, it was the economic lifeline to Tippu’s kingdom. The fall of Bangalore would virtually ensure that Tippu did


not have the finances to take the offensive against the British. On 4th March 1791, Cornwallis army had en route to Bangalore. Due to strong resistance from the troops of Tippu the battle for Bangalore continued. On 21st March 1791 at 11 o'clock on the midnight the Cornwallis troops were successful in seizing the fort, at the end of 18th century, it became one of the strongest military centers of British in south India after words.  

The British and Mysorean forces well marched, and the battle for Bangalore in 1791 was clearly a war of maneuver calling for the best strategies that both sides had to offer. However, the battle for Bangalore ultimately tilted the scales in favour of the British. Bangalore was returned to Mysore under the terms of the treaty of Srirangapatna. After Tippu, again Bangalore came under British control, and in that sense, it was the first sign of British domination over Mysore, a domination which was to last for nearly about 150 years.

The British found Bangalore to be a pleasant and appropriate place to station their garrison and thus on the eastern side, the civil and military station was founded by the British in the beginning of the 19th century. They moved the British troops, which were garrisoned at Srirangapatna. The idea of the cantonment began in the early 19th century and Bangalore’s cantonment has a colourful and grand history. Earlier, British soldiers, who were stationed near Srirangapatna, were fed up with the mosquito-infested swamps around the area, and wanted to move to Bangalore, which was nearer to England in climate and ambience. The troops were initially housed within the fort, but the Madras government began negotiating with the Mysore Maharaja for separate land. Acquiesce to the request, the Maharaja granted land near Agaram and

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Halsoor, and the troops began moving to the new place. It was a state within a
state, because it was a British administered region and within the Mysore state
a foreign territory was established. Although sovereignty over the area vested
in the Maharaja, the jurisdiction was exercised by the resident as head of the
administration, in addition to this a large number of Europeans, Anglo Indians
and native Christians made Bangalore cantonment their home. By 1807, some
of the British regiments occupied the barracks, which were built near Ulsoor
village, and the civil population, attracted by the trade and other employment
opportunities offered by these troops, began to settle down near the military
establishment. This formed the nucleus of the civil and military station, which
developed gradually into a separate city under the direct control of the British,
while the old city was administered by the Maharaja's State government. It
was separated by a 11.5 kilometer wide strip of open land, from the native
'town or pete'.

Explaining the origin of the word cantonment which is from the French
cantor, meaning comer or district. It has become, through usage, an Anglo-
Indian word and is applied to military stations in India, built usually on a plan,
which was originally that of a standing camp or cantonment. Each cantonment
is essentially a well defined and clearly demarcated unit of territory set apart
for the quartering and administering of troops. Cantonments were built by the
British primarily for security and health reasons. With the defeat of Tippu
Sultan the British became the foremost power in south India. Bangalore ceased
to be a strategic citadel in the medieval sense, instead of becoming a British
cantonment. Bangalore fort slowly passed into oblivion, the fort walls coming
down in stages to make way for the expanding city. The parade ground,

57 Ramegowda, K.S. "Bangalore its Growth and Development", (Bangalore, 1984),
surrounded by a ride or mall called Rotten Row was more or less the heart of Bangalore cantonment\textsuperscript{58}, around this grew the civil and military station [C & M]. A civilian population of lower economic strata, attached by the opportunities for employment and trade and offering subsidiary services to the military personnel, settled in a high density, congested and unhealthy locality. This is due to a lack of concern shown by the British towards Bangaloreans. This area evolved into a general bazaar called Black pally, which is today's Shivajinagar area. According to Prof. M.N. Srinivas some parts looked like a small Tamil town like Vellore, with houses having Tamil style verandas facing the street. These verandas were important spaces to socialize and also to segregate the private areas of the house from the outside. There were also slums on the outskirts of the colonial city like pottery town. According to P.D. Mahadev the colonial city unintentionally helped decongest the old native city and also provided much needed “lung space”. Several developments, led to the rapid growth of the city. Both the former city of Bangalore and the C and M station passed through several stages of planned development during 19\textsuperscript{th} century. The cantonment covered a vast encompassing present day Richrds town, Agaram, Longford town, Cubbon park, Raj Bhavan, Vidhana Soudha, Millers road, Cunningham road, cantonment station and palace grounds. The parade ground was at the centre of the military station and there were clear, demarcated areas for officers and native soldiers. The classic British and European styled British bungalows and other structures came up in the region of cantonment. Some buildings were gothic style and some were with the native Mysore style.\textsuperscript{59}


\textsuperscript{59} Mahadev, P.D. “Bangalore: A Garden City of Metropolitan Dimensions (Million Cities of India)”, (Bangalore, 1998), Pp.242-244.
The shopping areas were very many those are popular to this day-south parade [M.G. Road], Brigade Road, Commercial Street and St. Mark's Road. A few movie halls, notably the BRV, provided cinematic distractions, while the opera and a few other restaurants afforded patrons space for dancing, the golf court, Race course and some parks were developed in between the two cities to provide recreational facilities for the European community.\footnote{Ramegowda, K.S., Op.cit., No.57, P.3.} While the cantonment grew, so did the original city area, and together they made Bangalore a flourishing centre. Hence the city was gone with unprecedented growth and the city being to sprawl into the country side unchecked. Both twin city were followed their own traditions of urban form and thus evolved different sets of public spaces.\footnote{Issar, T.P. "The City Beautiful, Bangalore Urban Arts Commission", (Bombay, 1998).} However, each presented a highly imaginable urban structure: the Indian city continued the medieval tradition of high-density, mixed neighboring hoods with temple squares and markets forming nodes and open spaces in the British on the other hand adopted the cantonment type urban form, which was the antithesis of the Indian city.\footnote{Ribeiro, E.F.N. Op.cit., No.42, Pp.28-29.} In contrast, with the narrow streets of the pete, the cantonment with wide tree-lined avenues and spacious bungalows, the mall, parade ground and park were the some of the public places developed in the colonial city.

2.3 CITY STRUCTURE AND URBANIZATION: BANGALORE

Cities were subjected to the process of urbanization for common needs and pressures of their surroundings and their own cultural heritage to be exactly alike. Each speaks in a unique way of the history and geography of the
region it expresses. From the beginning of the historical period the cities of south India have shown diverse morphological structures and evolutionary patterns. Various factors like historic, geographic, physical, cultural etc that have been contributed for the growth of cities in south India, by investigating the overall geographical distribution of urban places, and the specific morphological patterns were considered.\textsuperscript{63}

Evolution is modification by a succession of infinitesimal changes; the modification endures long after the causes for it cease to act. In this section the geographic features molded by historic events, are analyzed to bring out some salient features of the evolutionary processes which have acted in the cities of south India.\textsuperscript{64} The Chera, Chola and Pandya kingdoms flourished in South India prior to the 12\textsuperscript{th} century. The rulers of these kingdoms constructed temples in as many habitable sites as possible. The temple was the center of social life and thus it became the nucleus of the settlement. According to ancient literature, a place without a temple was considered a barren waste land. For this reason, kings initially gave much importance to the construction of temples and considered it as a meritorious task.\textsuperscript{65}

Later with the establishment of administrative functions and construction of small places, these temple settlements grew as urban centers, recognized as important cities, though it may not be possible to equate such early cities with the present urban areas. During 13\textsuperscript{th} century by the invasion of Malik -Ka- fur, which resulted in the destruction of southern cities and


\textsuperscript{65} Aiyyer C.P.V. “Town Planning in Ancient Deccan”, (Madras, 1916), P.155.
growth was retarded. Soon the rise of Vijayanagar empire check the further invasions of Muslims, a number of forts were constructed which became the nuclei of many urban settlements. Feudal lords were appointed, in order to establish strong administrative control. In many respects the first half of this period was very well compared to the mediaeval period in England which gave rise to many feudal lords whose administration was centered on fortified castles.

In the first half of the 17th century the energy of the Muslim rulers was devoted to the building of mosques, renovating of the old forts, and the establishment of new centers to administer conquered territory. In the second half, the supremacy of the Muslims was challenged by the British. During this latter period, Dindigal, Coimbatore, Bangalore, Shimoga, Belgaum, Bijapur, Gulbarga, Bellary, Mysore, Mangalore and Vellore became important strategic towns. The frequent shifting of capitals retarded the growth of older cities. For instance, Srirangapatnam was made the capital and the former capital, Mysore, lost much of its importance, similarly, Hyderabad declined when administrative functions were shifted to Aurangabad, and revived when Hyderabad became the capital of the Nizami’s domain.

In the latter part of the period, during the conflict between the British and the Muslim rule, several cities were completely destroyed. The best known example is Coimbatore devastated during the fourth Anglo Mysore war. The city was deserted, reduced to the state of a petty village.

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century, garrisons and cantonments were established in a number of cities, and these played a dominant role in the development of many modern cities in South India. Bangalore and Hyderabad were the examples of cities whose entire characters have been shaped by the presence of a spacious cantonment. The various geographic and cultural factor which stimulated the growth of cities in south India during this period, can be grouped under [a] the changes that took place in the administrative boundaries of Taluks and districts, thus determining the establishment of taluk and district head quarters, [b] the constriction of railways and metal led roads with bridges [c] introduction of many educational institutions and medical facilities by the government as well as by Christian missions, [d] establishment of cantonments [e] irrigation and power development and [f] industrial development.  

In this context, the present effort is to examine to what extent does the pattern of the ecological structure of Bangalore city follows the classical model in its urban growth. The developing urban structure in the historical past of the city and spatial distributions of selected socio-economic characteristics are analyzed. Bangalore, the capital city of Karnataka, with its population around 5 million and ranks with fifth longest in the city system of India and is a true cosmopolitan city.

The fort near the city market in the west and the barracks near the Ulsoor tank in the east, were the two foundation of Bangalore city. The Kernels of the city situated only 4 miles apart but founded with a time Lag of more

than two and a half centuries the fort built in 1537 and the British garrison and barracks established in 1809. The neighborhood of the fort and the neighborhood of the Ulsoor tank developed under different reasons. The defensive strong point apart, the fort city was oriented to the philosophy of a city and temple builder, an agriculturist turned warrior, under whose patronage developed a township of wholesale and retail traders, and of highly skilled artisans particularly families of cotton weavers.\textsuperscript{72} In contrast to this, the neighborhood of the Ulsoor tank was developed to cater to the requirements of the British troops and British officers who were pulled out of Srirangapatnam and settled near the tanks. Thus, a military cantonment developed along with a civilian settlement of mainly retail traders and service classes adjoining the Ulsoor village. While the fort neighborhood developed as a typical native town with its bazaar, traders and artisans, the Ulsoor neighborhood developed as a cantonment with its artillery and cavalry, Barracks, parade ground, infantry road, the mall, fire and spacious bungalows, bars and night clubs. In addition polo playing and racing developed in keeping with the cantonment culture. Thus, the cantonment became the home for the British oriental Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians.\textsuperscript{73}

Both the nuclei expanded; the fort neighborhood expanded east, north and south, and the Ulsoor neighborhood expanded west, north and south, invading the open spaces and fertile agricultural lands. The east and west developed under two independent administrative units, with independent development programmers for nearly eight decades till their merger in 1949. Thus the development goals of both the municipalities were to provide

\textsuperscript{72} Fazalul M. Hassan, “Bangalore through the Centuries”, (Bangalore, 1970), P.5.

minimal urban amenities and housing, the initial disparities in congestion, growth rates, and levels of urban amenities led to an east-west Zone. With the development of Russell market and west ward expansion of the cantonment, the nucleous of the west shifted to the Russell market locality, while the development of the city market near the fort contributed to further intensification of the growth nucleus of the west. The east-west zonation certainly had its intermixing and integrating socio-cultural elements in the two nuclei-temples, churches and mosques near both the city market and the Russell market though the east had more churches and mosques and the west more temples. Even the street names such as Dharmaraya Koil Street and Meenakshi Koil Street in the pre-dominantly Muslim and Christian areas near the Russell market, and sultan pet near the city market, a predominantly Hindu area, only echo the existence of the different religious communities bring together.\textsuperscript{74} Although, the east-west differentiation in teams of economic characteristics is not so marked, it is quite significant in terms of social composition of the populations in the two parts of the city.

\textsuperscript{74} Ranjana Hanspal. "The Spatial Structure of Bangalore City", (Bangalore, 1976), p.36-48.