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'Social Municipalism' and the New Metropolis

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In his address to the Bangalore Literary Union in 1953, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, Mysore's leading engineer–statesman, who had long stressed the imperatives of economic planning, shared his visions for the future of Bangalore. Among many suggestions, which included the call to Bangalore's citizens to lead a 'disciplined life', was the one he made for a 'Ring Strauss' (sic) around the city, and a plea for a promenade along the lines of Bombay's Marine Drive 'to facilitate the City Population taking an evening drive or walk in open air so that it may become a centre of recreation (Visvesvaraya 1953: 13). 'What makes Americans long lived, progressive and prosperous,' he continued 'is the planned, disciplined lives they lead. Our activities on the other hand are unplanned, and our behaviour unplanned and inactive.' Referring to the citizens as 'stockholders of the city corporation', he suggested that only an 'enlightened and forceful public opinion' would help the executive in its daily administrative tasks.

If Visvesvaraya's hopes have been realized, they have not always been in ways he anticipated. Planning in Bangalore city, as in many other metros, appears to have gone awry, as urban space has often been put to unplanned uses and as public behaviour remains incorrigibly unpredictable. But at least one of his hopes has been realized, and perhaps this time in ways that might have met with his approval. The appeal to citizens to see themselves as 'stockholders of the city corporation' appears to have struck root in the last two decades, inaugurating a period of middle-class engagement with municipal concerns, and public–corporate involvement with the municipality, that is unprecedented. This paper outlines some of the institutional forms that such an engagement has taken, and also assesses some of its effects, especially as it has refigured the meaning and content of contemporary citizenship.

I

Since the mid-1980s, the middle classes of the city have been called into action in ways that are quite distinct from earlier modes of engagement with urban life.[1] The contrast with previous modes of public activism is well illustrated by the work of the Poura Samithi [Citizen's Forum] in the 1960s, which included local stalwarts such as K.M. Naganna and T.R. Shamanna who represented

a non-party effort at entering and running the council. As Mayor in 1965, Naganna had abolished the unpopular cycle tax, though it was restored by the subsequent Congress-led Council. He led struggles to restore free water supply to ratepayers, organizing rallies, dharnas (peaceful sit-ins) and hunger strikes against the Nijalingappa government. Above all, he called for accountability among corporators from within the world of electoral politics. Although most issues for which Poura Samithi gained visibility were middle class ones, the strategy of working within, rather than outside, elected bodies distinguished it from forms of civic activism that followed.

The constitution by the newly elected S.M. Krishna Government in 1999 of the Bangalore Agenda Task Force (BATF), a body to oversee the development of Bangalore, is an acknowledgement that a municipal system run by elected representatives may not adequately meet the infrastructure demands of the new economy. Elected representatives, it is believed, no longer fulfil their responsibilities to the city, and can be made responsive only to a more vigilant middle class. It is equally a belief that the successes of corporate governance ('best practices') can be applied to the city as a whole. In effect, it has meant that those for whom the city has been the space of accumulation on an unprecedented scale may be allowed to determine the development and infrastructure of the city. There is thus, in the recent appeal of Janaagraha, a sub-initiative of BATF, an attempt to enthuse the middle class into taking an interest in municipal affairs, a field, which they had long abdicated to the professional politician. Janaagraha is described as 'a collaborative movement' intended to help citizens make 'informed and effective decisions that truly represent citizen's priorities', makes a direct call to people to 'take ownership and get to participate in governance'.[2]

The current middle class political engagement, therefore, stages a break with earlier forms of political involvement. Such initiatives also come at a time when certain sections of the city population – slum dwellers, unemployed young men, women's groups – are fighting for entitlement to space in the city. Whether material or symbolic, this fight is a way of redefining rights as claims, rather than as possessions held against the world.[3] Yet such claims are increasingly being made in languages that are violent; they reterritorialize city space and redefine public life in ways that are a source of mounting anxiety to the middle class, dismayed by the 'political noise that now occupies the airwaves' (Ramnathan 2002). The activism to which the middle class is drawn is, thus, a response to the new and perceived threats of metropolitan democracy.

Few contemporary Indian cities allow us to track the passage of a small town to metropolis over just a few decades as well, as the city of Bangalore. The city expanded demographically and spatially in ways that were entirely unanticipated by planners from the early 1960s. Its population burgeoned in the 1971–81 decade by 76 per cent, and although the pace of growth has slackened in the last two decades, it has risen to metropolitan independence, from a small town with a marked public sector presence, to a large city in the 1970s with a substantial electronic and electrical engineering sector, largely private owned. Since the early 1980s, it has become India's premier site for microprocessor-based, information technology industries, and is now a five-million plus city. Since independence, the urban agglomeration has grown from 66 square miles to over 440 square miles.

The planning apparatuses were usually forced to cope with unplanned and haphazard growth, though from the 1970s on, they did not merely respond to the transformations in the economy, but attempted to shape it. Housing the industrial worker was a central concern of planners in the 1950s and 1960s. Participating with pride in production for national purposes, cities such as Bangalore were planned as models for new townships. By the 1970s, however, the concern of planners was increasingly focused on the management of the metro, and on measures which would stem the influx of people into the city, if necessary, through a ban on large-scale industries. Since the 1970s, production itself, and the industrial worker in particular, have been invisibilized, with interesting consequences for planning and the image of the city. By the 1980s, the city became a space of flows, a space to 'move through' rather than 'be in'. Every attempt is now made to produce the space of 'placeless production', a neutralized and globally acceptable space.

The invisibilization of production has occurred at a number of material and ideological levels. For one, Bangalore largely bypassed the smokestack stage of industrialization, leapfrogging straight into 'cleaner' forms of industrial production. The result is the absence of the proletarian cultures that have developed in such metros as Kolkata or Mumbai. Two, the location of the public sector units in planned enclaves on the outskirts of the city, physically isolated these centres of production from the rest of the city. This despite the fact that many public sector workers lived in mixed localities and commuted to their jobs.

However, perhaps the most important reason for the invisibility of work, and indeed the worker in the city, is the ideological definition of the worker as a member of the middle class. The public sector produced an enclave of privilege in which workers, despite a strong tradition of collective action, have adopted the lifestyles and aspirations of the middle class. Prakasa Rao and Tewari were among the earliest scholars to point to the overwhelmingly middle-class profile of the city, even in the mid-1970s (Rao and Tewari 1979). (The proportion of those who live in slums, for instance, variously estimated as accounting for 13–20 per cent of the population, is lower than the figures for most metros of equivalent size.) The work culture that has evolved around the new economy has strengthened this middle-class link, and fostered a self-image of the Information Technology (IT) employee that is far removed from any concept of a labouring self, emphasizing work as a lifestyle whose goal is enhanced consumption. Notwithstanding the massive presence of workers, and informal workers in particular within the metropolis, labour is invisibilized and production is subordinated to the image of the city as a vast residential zone. The city, which was recognized as a premier site of public sector production, with vast industrial complexes employing thousands of workers, is increasingly recognized as a space

of consumption – of space, commodities and global events on the one hand, and as a space of flows – of communication networks, road systems and expanded international airports on the other. It is to the definition of the city as a vast residential space that some forms of civic activism have turned their attention, while the city as the space of flows is the preoccupation of the present government and its newly appointed managerial elite. The definition of the city as primarily residential has led to a redefinition of the meaning of the neighbourhood; it is to this aspect of contemporary metropolitan life that I first turn.

II

The neighbourhood has long been the site of a range of activities that go beyond the purely residential in the city's history. In poorer areas, and particularly slum areas, the neighbourhood is factory, with manufacturing slums accounting for nearly 20 per cent of the 440 slums in the city. The rich mix of manufacturing, fabricating and retailing industries in these areas make the neighbourhood a location which meets many of the labouring populations' economic, social and private needs.

The neighourhood was also the site where workers were contacted about workplace concerns, especially during strikes, when meetings could not take place at the factory. When the trade union movement was flourishing, and organizations at the workplace had gained a certain visibility, particularly in the 1960s and the 1970s, working-class neighbourhoods were a crucial point of contact between the leaders and the rank and file. During the public sector strike of 1980–81, the neighbourhood took on a new meaning when, for the first time in the trade union history of the city, area committees were formed to serve as means of mobilizing and communicating with workers. In all, there were an estimated 30–40 committees all over the city (Subramanian 1997: 844),[4] which served as conduits for information between the rank and file and the leadership, while attempting to solve local problems as well. A new leadership emerged as a consequence from among those who were engaged in the symbolic actions and negotiations.[5] Militant workers were chosen to start these committees in localities which had a large concentration of working-class residence. Thus, 'HAL and BEML along with ITI took charge of east Bangalore, while BEL and to some extent HMT took charge of west Bangalore' (Subramanian 1997: 844). Dilip Subramanian traces the process by which the area committees served the strike: they distributed handbills, 'countered rumours and generally boosted the morale of workers'. They also became the most important means of mobilizing workers for the many rallies, *jail bharos* and other symbolic protests in the city during the 77-day strike. However, Subramanian suggests that the success of the area committees was severely limited and perhaps even discouraged by the strike leadership, since they did not want the emergence of an alternative locus of power, whether during or after the strike. Indeed, the committees which could have been powerful organs for sustained mass actions, were in fact not deployed to their fullest capability.

Garment and electronics factories have usually found it advantageous to be located near the sources of labour, since young unmarried women are the preferred employees. This policy was changed when it was discovered that unions, largely disallowed from contacting workers within the units, could successfully regroup them in the neighbourhood. The five-month strike at BPL in Bangalore in 1998–99 affected 6336 employees in 14 units in and around Bangalore, nearly 80 per cent of whom were single young women. The union attempted to organize meetings in the residential neighbourhoods during this difficult period.[6] Yet this was a difficult task since, as Theresa, Secretary of the union at the Arikere Unit that produces the television monitor, said, 'BPL does not employ people from around the unit.' The potential threat posed by an organized workforce was reduced through long distance mobilization of women from areas around Bangalore: thus, nearly all workers at the Doddballapur units were from Bangalore city, and were bussed to their jobs.

A redefinition of the 'local', and the neighbourhood as the site of such redefinition, has occurred more recently as a result of two separate processes which correspond to distinct class groups in the city. On the one hand, identities based on caste or language, which have strengthened since the early 1980s, proclaim a right to the 'local' and a sense of belonging to a wider regional identity, through such physical markers as the establishment of flag poles and statues, usually enabled through contributions from local sources. Kannada Sanghas, fan clubs of film stars, and Ambedkar Sanghas whose insignia crowd the entrance to many slums and villages in the city, are a visible sign of how poor and lower middle-class young men in particular, assert a new urban identity. Despite its avowed neutrality, planning mechanisms historically did not efface caste hierarchies in the city, but displaced them onto an urban social order based on class difference. Lower castes and ethnic minorities, therefore, are disproportionately clustered in lower class neighbourhoods, and reveal the inadequacies of conventional zoning laws or land-use patterns. Moreover, new urban social movements make confident claims on street space, and proclaim new urban identities, reasserting caste as an identity rather than as a pre-given position in a social order. Other more temporary claims on the city are made by marginalized groups, and manifested in high decibel celebrations of local festivals (*ur habbas*), political events (*Rajyotsava*) and national religious festivals (Ganesh Chathurthi).

The idea of neighbourhood as a site from which to address strictly municipal concerns, took shape as far flung areas were annexed to the city as middle-class layouts. The flowering of associations based in the neighbourhood, particularly since the early 1990s, has occurred at a time when concerns about service delivery in the city have crowded out any other definition of political involvement, particularly by the middle classes. This form of political activism privileges the private homeowner (namely the taxpayer) as the quintessential citizen, and energizes hitherto political sections in the city – women and retired people, in particular – to take an interest in maintaining a vigil over the problems of the neighbourhood. Throughout the 1990s, such associations have been

formed in newer middle-class localities, and numbered about 150 at the end of the 1990s.

One of the earliest groups existed in Malleswaram, and the idea of building up a city-wide forum came up in conversations between UN–ESCAP representatives and the then Corporation Administrator, A. Ravindra (Heitzman 1997). In 1995, the Chief Minister Deve Gowda officially launched the Swabhimana forum, to be coordinated by the Public Affairs Centre of Bangalore. The Malleswaram and Bangalore East Swabhimana forums were among the earliest to succeed, but they paved the way for nearly 150 such organizations by the late 1990s. Middle-class women have been noticeably active in these forums. Swabhimana was defined as 'a citizen–Local Government initiative for a cleaner, greener and safer Bangalore', and worked in collaboration with the Bangalore Development Authority, the Bangalore Municipal Corporation, NGOs, as well as worked for the provision of civic services.[7] From the early 1990s, several neighbourhood associations had been set up to monitor garbage collection, maintain parks and supervise the installation of electric lights.[8] They were hailed as a sign of a new and vibrant form of citizenship organized against the failures of local government. This notion of the 'local' was further strengthened by the emergence of weekly English language tabloids in several areas that reported on municipal problems and the efforts of local activists to solve them.

The emphasis of these groups has been to make municipal officials more responsive to the needs of residents. The government initiative, moreover, was an attempt to invite corporate groups to share in the maintenance of the city, through the sponsorship of parks, circles, light fixtures, etc., and thereby redress 'the steady deterioration in the quality of life which is proving to be a traumatic experience for citizens'.[9] Identification with the 'local' was increasingly sought to be redefined to correspond to the administrative division of the city into wards. In particular, the enabling provisions of the law, especially the Seventy-Fourth Amendment which called the ward committees into existence, were invoked to expand the meaning of the term 'local'.

Women have been warmly welcomed into these kinds of civic activism, particularly since the emergence of Residents' Associations. Much of the work is seen as an extension of their role as housekeepers to the neighbourhood as a whole, since this form of activism is associated with garbage clearance, park maintenance, and community activities in middle-class residential localities. Women have also been remarkably successful in entering the sphere of civic activism by actively preserving the strictly residential profile of the neighbourhood and imposing zoning laws. Women of Lal Bahadur Shastri Nagar, for instance, took the law into their own hands by closing down a liquor shop following the suicide of a young woman, and were applauded for their act.[10]

Such activism may be aptly described as 'social municipalism' following Manuel Castells – a citizen initiated involvement in municipal affairs that aims to bypass or correct the electoral machine. By such a definition, social municipalism also brings the middle-class neighbourhood into direct conflict with the notion of the local that marks city space in ways I earlier outlined. Thus, Subbarayan Prasanna, in a detailed discussion of the role of neighbourhood associations and ward committees, says of the 'huge number of welfare associations' in cities like Bangalore that 'their main activity seems to be the celebration of an annual or seasonal ethnic festival in a major way' (Prasanna n.s.). The celebrations disrupt 'number of roads and streets as they can block traffic for the duration of the festival. Added to this is the wattage in the high-volume public address system. They can, therefore, be best discouraged as an instance of "ethnocentric parochialism"'. Prasanna suggests that the young workers and volunteers of such associations be weaned 'into more secular items and activities of urban co-operation'. Finally, he views, collectivities that embraces the urban poor as either non-existent or unviable, and therefore, necessitates thinking afresh the modalities by which they would be drawn to this kind of civic activism.

What is attempted in the definition of the new collectivity is a middle-class notion of city governance that attempts to balance modes of political association and activism favoured by other sections in the city. This call to action, therefore, redefines the idea of citizenship in the contemporary city. The middle class, perhaps more than any other urban social class, is called on to actively intervene in the protection of public spaces as ecological concerns gain ground. This has been done through the invocation of legal citizenship, on the one hand, and through the mobilization of aesthetics and a promotion of 'beauty by banning' on the other. I will consider how these strategies have refigured the meaning of municipal involvement and public life itself, through a discussion of the contests over the use of Cubbon Park.

III

Cubbon Park is a broad swathe of parkland that lies between the erstwhile old city area on the west and the cantonment on the east. Throughout the period of the freedom struggle in Bangalore, the areas around Cubbon Park belonged to the city municipality, were the ones from which rallies and demonstrations were launched. Shankarappa Banappa Park to the north-east of the old city area, bordering the south-western edge of Cubbon Park, was frequently used by Congress workers and unionists alike from the 1930s (see Nair 1991). Another favoured meeting place of the nationalists was the Tulsi Thota, today called Chik Lal Bagh, which bordered the old city area, in the neighbourhood of the Congress office at Cottonpet. It allowed for easy contact with the growing number of textile workers from the three large mills – the Binny's, Minerva and Maharaja Mills – as well as the thousands who worked in the small textile units of Cubbonpet, while students from the neighbouring Central College area were also conveniently at hand. The Mysore Bank Square, into which several major roads of the city debouched, was the site of both peaceful demonstrations and pitched battles: six people, including the weaver Gundappa, were killed in police firing during the Nariman disturbances of 1938 (Manor 1997: 105).

After the unification of the two parts of the city in 1949, namely the

western old city area and the cantonment to the east, the Mysore Bank Square became a popular node from which a variety of struggles were launched. In 1956, the newly unified State of Mysore included vastly extended areas, from Hyderabad and Bombay Karnatakas in the north, to Coorg and parts of the Madras Presidency in the south. The establishment of the Ambedkar Veedhi in front of the Vidhana Soudha the very same year, provided a new route through which groups of workers, peasants, students and others coursed, sometimes to squarely confront their elected representatives within the imposing building. Since the late 1960s, discontented groups, whether from within or outside Bangalore, had developed a more direct and entrenched mode of address to the state legislature from a corner of Cubbon Park that faced the main (eastern) entrance of the Vidhana Soudha. Right through the 1960s, 1970s and the early 1980s, many memorable struggles such as the anti-price rise stir,[11] the NGOs' strike of 1965,[12] the struggle against water tax in 1966,[13] the Public Sector Strike of 1981,[14] the farmer's Jatha (procession) during the farmers' agitations in Nargund–Navalgund,[15] and rallies of the Dalit Sangarsh Samiti, to name a few, converged on this strategic corner opposite the state legislature. Other annual events, such as the May Day rallies of the late 1970s and 1980s, laid claim to the park itself. In 1979, Karnataka dalits urged the Government to rename Ambedkar Veedhi after the great architect of the constitution, B.R. Ambedkar.[16] In addition, the park has remained a popular haunt of unemployed youth, while providing a hospitable resting ground for workers from many government offices and courts bordering the park.

These plebeian rights to the park and its environs have, however, been gradually eroded through the late 1980s and 1990s on a variety of aesthetic and environmental grounds, with the clamour over the environment reaching its peak in the late 1990s. The call for 'beauty by banning' was frequently made after the late 1970s, when the Bangalore Urban Arts Commission was set up. Since at least the early 1980s, there has been a noticeable reluctance to give police permission for meetings in the park. During the memorable public sector strike of 1981, workers' marches were routed from Shivajinagar Stadium to the Silver Jubilee Park, possibly since the stadium made surveillance easier and kept workers away from the more central Vidhana Soudha area.[17] The campaign to 'Bring Back Beauty to Bangalore' made a further assault on those who lacked the power and the resources to resist involuntary dislocation. Those who had toiled to build these central administrative structures were regarded as a blot on the landscape: in the early 1980s, 300 families of construction workers near the Vidhana Soudha were therefore evacuated to Laggere on the western edge of the city.[18]

By far the most forceful plea to make Cubbon Park out of bounds to rallies and demonstrations was made by the committee to beautify Bangalore. Set up in 1993 to formulate 'a time bound plan for restoring the beauty of Bangalore and removing the numerous hazards which are looming large and threatening the deservedly admired ambience of the city', the committee called for the 'banning of public rallies and political or labour demonstrations in public parks'.[19] An example of the more objectionable uses of the park, in this account, were the gatherings at the corner near the High Court called Gopala Gowda Vritta after the socialist leader of the memorable Kagodu Satyagraha of 1950–51 and later member of the Legislature.[20] The report cited a 1993 rally by farmers who 'ran all over the place and destroyed the greenery within a few hours', as an example of reckless unconcern for the environment, and argued that there would 'be no denial of freedom of expression if such misuse of park areas is prevented' (Nadkarni 1987: 23). There were other proposals as well, all of which were intended to curtail or make more manageable the use of the Park. There was a proposal to introduce an entrance fee to discourage vandals (ibid.),[21] and another to design 'aesthetically pleasing railings and barricades where necessary' (ibid., 34).

By 1995, the High Court admitted a public interest writ petition filed by N.H. Desai against the accumulation of debris from construction in the park, and directed the government to ban rallies. In 1997, regular middle-class users of the park successfully secured a ban on public rallies in the park.[22] Clearly the process of plebeianization that Sudipta Kaviraj outlines for most postcolonial societies has had a different trajectory in places like Bangalore, where changes have neither been unilinear nor uniform. If anything, the success and visibility of the middle class in re-establishing its claims to the park, and the involvement of the corporate sector in sponsoring such efforts, comes at a time when the city government itself increasingly seeks the latter's partnership in running the city. An older social order placed Cubbon Park and its surroundings well within the control of the middle class. Although it was gradually transformed by the everyday occupations of the lower classes, the park has once more reverted to being a place of leisure. The latest stage has been ensured by a mixture of legal controls and physical barriers. Robert Sommer's words are worth recalling in this context: 'the deterioration of dominance relationships within a social system leads to a greater reliance on territorial rights. A society compensates for blurred social distinctions by clear spatial ones – physical barriers, keep out signs and property restrictions' (cited in Harvey 1972: 23). By 1998, this public utility had been more or less 'privatized' with the installation of chain link fences and large gates which, though 'aesthetically pleasing', kept all, except the jogger and walker, from the use of the park at certain hours.[23] Not only have rallies been banned, points of access to or entry into the park have been drastically reduced. The circle near the High Court was the location of all major demonstrations throughout the 1970s and 1980s, but the new restrictions on public life seal the place from all but the rush of traffic.

The recurrent emphasis on the environment and the need for its protection in the city is, as Manuel Castells points out, a specific ideological construction that posits human society as eternal and undifferentiated, technological progress as a 'blind and ineluctable force', and Nature as a set of resources existing prior to human intervention (Castells 1977: 185). However, recent measures have served restrictive purposes. The gates installed at the entrances to

Cubbon Park and other legal restrictions speak of the middle-class citizenry's success in preserving this area from the uncertainties of plebeian democracy. The fencing of an area that once was open parkland renders the public space elite, in the way that Holston describes for Brasilia. The opposition between private and public space breaks down when access to the 'public space' is restricted or determined by conditions that bestow 'user rights' on the individual pleasures of joggers, walkers or those on a family picnic. This 'ownership of rights' over a public space replaces all public collective uses with strictly elite ones, and represents a triumph of the discourse of the environment. In such discourse, the environment is defined as a general public good, indiscriminately benefiting rich and poor alike. The legal activism that led to the restricted uses of park space renewed a notion of citizenship that had, for some time, been questioned by those who saw the city as a far more contentious zone, providing opportunities and the hope of new forms of self-definition. The renewal of an older, more restrictive notion of citizenship, moreover, occurs at a time when the state apparatuses themselves seem to favour a more homogeneous planning or legal regime.

The familiar corner (Gopal Gowda Vritta) at which hunger strikes, protests and dharnas were held was sealed off, and protestors were forced to seek other locations, which did not have such direct access to the Legislature. These included areas on the periphery of the park, such as the space opposite the Visvesvaraya statue, the park before the Gandhi statue on Mahatma Gandhi Road, and, more recently, the area around Queen Victoria's statue at the junction of Kasturba Gandhi and Mahatma Gandhi Road. Some officials even encouraged more restrained and dignified forms of protest by responsible citizens. Thus, the Secretary of the Department of Environment in 1997 proposed a Hyde Park, a 'speakers' corner' reserved only for 'green speakers': the idea was warmly received by the Hotel Windsor Manor which agreed to serve tea on such occasions.

Although no such speakers' corner has been established, the agitation to 'serve and protect Cubbon Park' in September and October 1998, was a significant sign of the success with which the changed uses of the park were firmly anchored in the new confidence of the city bourgeoisie. Conducted in full public view in the area just below Queen Victoria's statue, the protest had its back to the apparatuses of the state, thereby preferring to address the media and perhaps a section of the commuters at the fairly major intersection. This restrained and largely silent action by a large number of middle-class protestors was organized in relays and was so highly publicized that most newspapers began a regular column to track its progress for nearly two months. This protest, to which I turn now, signified a new stage in the history of middle-class involvement in urban affairs.

IV

The proliferation of symbols of linguistic and caste identities in the making, and the symbolic occupation of space by ethnic minorities, call attention to the multiple meanings of citizenship in the city. In equal measure, if one considers the universe of symbols, there has been a renewed interest and even pride in the Colonial Street and street furniture heritage. The statue of Queen Victoria, periodically the target of anti-imperialist anger, especially in the 1980s as we have seen above, has, in the late 1990s, been protected by the Raheja's, a well-known Bombay building firm. However, it has also been, at least since 1993, the rallying point of the citizens of Bangalore, a place for the display of anger that is markedly different from the actions of 'political society', with rallies around the statue, organized over the issue of newly fixed boundaries of Cubbon Park in 1998.

On July 30, 1998 the Government of Karnataka specified new boundaries for Cubbon Park, removing about 32 acres from its legal limits that would enable, among other intended uses, 'to legally correct' the status of the land upon which the Annexe to the Legislators' Home was being built since 1996.[24] The Cubbon Park first took shape when Mark Cubbon purchased 91 acres of land in 1836 to build a Residency for himself (the current Raj Bhavan, built in 1849). The sprawling park of 100 acres was laid out before the Residency as a tribute to Cubbon in 1868 by Richard Sankey when the Attara Kacheri was built. The park was expanded in 1910, 1917 and 1930, and although many buildings were added to it, it still occupied some 192 acres in 1967.[25] In 1983, several institutional areas, such as the Raj Bhavan, the Vidhana Soudha, the LRDE compound and the Legislators' Home, amounting to 76 acres, were included in the area of the park. It was a denotification of a portion of these newly added areas that led to the public outcry, court case and eventual campaign to protect the park.

For six full weeks in September and October 1998, the Victoria statue became the rallying point for middle-class citizens seeking to protect the Cubbon Park from the slow process of attrition that had reduced it from its original size.[26] For the first time in the city's history, there were daily gatherings of women, children and men at this important road junction, silently expressing anger over the decision of the state government to 'denotify' parts of the Park.[27] In a series of pamphlets, a women's organization called Sanmathi urged the citizens of Bangalore to save Cubbon Park, by sending letters of protest to the government. Soon the campaign snowballed to include a variety of actions that were organized in relays, but centred on the statue of Victoria 'so that', as one pamphlet put it, 'she can be reminded that her prestigious place is under threat'.[28] Actions included handholding on the perimeter of the park, *urulu seves*, silent marches, silent demonstrations of women and children with placards in their hands, and so on.

The arguments against the proposed buildings were many and ranged from strictly ecological concerns to concerns about citizenship itself. An interest in protecting the park as an important ecological niche [29] followed a census of trees and butterflies that was conducted during the protests.[30] But the dominant mood was that of indignation at the 'unaccountable actions' of politicians and anger at the deteriorating condition of public services in the city.[31] Alleging that the construction of the Legislators' Home was begun when the area was still

legally a part of Cubbon Park, the Save Cubbon Park Campaign announced that it represented 'the collective will of the people of Bangalore from every shade of life and section or society', to ensure that the lawmakers would not turn into lawbreakers.[32]

The Cubbon Park protest was widely covered in the press, and there was skilful deployment of a range of local personalities to sustain press attention. Nearly 30,000 women and children signed protest letters. Civic and corporate groups were mobilized for the protest, in addition to writers, artists, animal welfare groups, environment groups and residents' groups. Notably absent from these protests was the BUAC, despite its history of participation in moves to restrict park access. Indeed, the Save Cubbon Park Campaign came at a moment when the plurality of public uses of the park had already been severely restricted, as I have shown above.

The choice of the Victoria statue as the location for a protest to save the park, therefore, sought to empty the site of its historic meanings and deploy it as a sign of an aesthetics under siege. Indeed, the protest itself was aesthetic in its mobilization of the middle class. In addition to the choice of this site, the aesthetics of this mobilization involved vintage car rallies,[33] protests by former beauty queens, actions by artists,[34] and such remarkably arcane groups as the Hash House Harriers.[35] This did not preclude the use of conventional strategies such as appeals to the law,[36] the invocation of science, and marshalling of people's support through 'opinion polls' led by the mouthpiece of the new urban elite, the *Times of India*.[37] The groundswell of opinion against the 'venal politician' was deployed not only by the press, but by the judiciary as well, led by the activist judge Michael Saldanha.

The Cubbon Park protests foregrounded the willingness of the older fractions of the city's middle class to confront the ambitions of the politicians, not all of whom were from Bangalore itself, while redefining the strategies of the less privileged groups, against whom the park had already, and more easily, been 'protected'. This protest was framed in terms of general environmental benefits that would accrue to the population at large, and thus an attempt was made to recast a fragile consensus of citizens, whose quality of life was threatened. Here too, the emphasis was not the radical ways in which the market has transfigured the topography of the city; a great deal of anxiety was focused on the image of the city among potential global investors. Hence, one of the slogans on the posters that said 'Don't drive the birds to Hyderabad', drew the attention of the political masters to the flight of capital to more attractive destinations in the south.[38]

Among the more remarkable aspects of the Cubbon Park protests was its large-scale mobilization of women,[39] in striking contrast to the (male) gendered sphere that has long characterized linguistic or caste movements, fan club or trade union activity in the city. Clearly, organizers succeeded in gaining a high degree of visibility for this 'part-time' protest, which easily fitted into otherwise busy official or domestic schedules. The active mobilization of women and children (as well as the handicapped[40]) gave the protest its 'universal' appeal.[41]

The location also ensured that the protest, which was not addressed to the elected representatives sitting in Vidhana Soudha but against them, was more directly addressed to the media. Thus, groups gathered at the site of the statue every morning to register a token protest, while ensuring that they were photographed below the regal statue, now a sign of all that the city stood to lose. In addition, the visually pleasing and dignified protest attracted public and media attention for conforming to rapidly vanishing norms of counterparts of political society. In that sense, the Cubbon Park protests were the most sustained public display of a new kind of civic activism of the 1990s, aimed at preserving an uninhabited space that was increasingly under siege. It was pitted not merely against professional politicians, but against the new, unrecognizable forms that politics itself had taken. It reasserted the value of restraint, while producing a new consensus which had been severely fractured in other spheres of city life.[42]

In its judgement, which considered several pending cases filed on the uses of the park, the court upheld the de-notification of the government as valid, and said that no blanket ban on constructions was possible. Sharing, however, 'the concern of the petitioners for as much open space as possible', it held that no further construction be undertaken without obtaining the clearance of the court.[43] The court, however, remained silent on the petitions of the six hawkers that it had included in its ambit, who had complained of police harassment.[44] The court decision, moreover, came at a time when the state was increasingly defining itself as a service provider, and seeking the assistance of the private sector in limiting its responsibilities to the city.

V

Although Bangalore's passage through the historical transformations engendered by informational technologies is as yet hazy, there is at least one semantic shift that denotes the ways in which the notion of citizen has been redefined. The concept of Employees' Stock Options, which has excited the imaginations of those seeking not just jobs but stakes in the IT workplace, has paralleled the emergence of new modes of public participation in city life. Not only are the agencies that provide the infrastructural services to the city now increasingly referred to as 'stakeholders', but citizens' groups themselves have turned into owners of rights.

The term 'stakeholder' has its origins in corporate management, and refers to a managerial practice that identifies 'persons or groups with legitimate interests in procedural and/or substantive aspects of corporate activity' (Donaldson and Preston 1995: 67). The 'stakeholder' concept gained currency in the 1990s when the problems of rapidly urbanizing societies, particularly in the third world, began to engage international agencies interested in the 'management' of cities. A forum like CIVIC, which evolved in the early 1990s, is a response both to the Seventy-Fourth Constitutional Amendment which mandated the gradual devolution of funds to urban local bodies, and to the enormous interest of international

agencies such as UN–ESCAP in promoting the ideology of 'good governance' in cities across Asia.[45] As more and more international funding agencies – ADB, ESCAP and the World Bank, to name a few – have turned their attention to cities in general, the cities have acquired the status of organized and well-managed service providers. The mandate of the Public Affairs Centre (PAC), formed in 1994 by Samuel Paul, a former Director of the Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad, was described by one of its coordinators as posing 'advisory services to bilateral funding agencies'. Thus, PAC has produced a series of well-researched 'report cards' on services in Bangalore and some other cities, to assess the money and time spent on accessing public services, in order to make the broader argument for a market driven and, therefore, efficient provision of services to the city dweller.[46] Considerable effort also goes into providing information on the assets and records of candidates for local elections.

In Bangalore, the term 'stakeholder', whether taken to mean service providers or residents' associations, has come to replace the notion of the citizen as a rights-bearing individual subject, with one who enjoys an ownership of rights to the city. Central to the use of this concept in the urban context is the notion of partnership, an equalization of abilities and entitlements through which a new kind of civic activism is encouraged. CIVIC, an NGO which was formed in 1992 by a group of concerned citizens who had been regularly meeting to discuss city problems and analyse the Corporation budget, had as its stated intention: 'increasing people's participation in the city and civic affairs'. This came to mark a contrast with civic activism, which was more closely tied to electoral politics: indeed, the NGO eschewed any such association by describing its work as 'apolitical'. It thus distanced itself form the more contentious issues among the urban poor that might have deployed electoral politics to its advantage, and also from modes of civic mobilization in the past that involved mass agitational modes. Vinay Baindur, the coordinator of CIVIC described why stakeholder is the preferred term in the discourse on managing the city:

> The citizen has a very weak definition of responsibility and . . . citizen-led demand . . . which is resulting in responsiveness in urban governments hasn't been enough . . . so the stakeholder is a stronger definition of the word. And it is dependent on more transparency and complete openness and collaborative efforts between the government and the community, as well as to see the role of private sector participation.[47]

To the extent that the 'stakeholder' represents a pre-existing interest group, which is concerned with the city as a space of residence, it is middle class by definition. Other classes are represented by organizations such as 'the trade union, the student union and the slum dwellers' associations'. The 1990s forums and organizations represent efforts at forging new institutional forms, which will replace or at least supplement the overwhelmingly state-run modes of mobilizing and distributing resources.

Circumstances in the 1990s have been vastly transformed due to the expansion of the city and its economy. The attractions of local body elections are undiminished by the activities of PAC or CIVIC. The reasons are not far to seek: the council has expanded from 63 (up from 50 wards after independence) to 87 (in the early 1980s) and now 100 wards (since 1996), with populations between 35,000 and 50,000 residents. Its budget runs into Rs 938 crores (as per the 2002–03 figures), and the attractions of large infrastructure projects for the accumulation of both money and prestige are considerable. They cannot easily be replaced by non-elected or parallel supervisory bodies, although the Congress' record of periodically superceding the corporations continues to animate Chief Ministerial pronouncements even today. Nevertheless, the appointment of the BATF by the Krishna government in 1999 was an expression of a hope that the leaders of the new economy would shape the city of the new millennium.

The BATF is a fifteen member, nominated body that consists of professionals from the IT and biotechnology industries, management and financial experts, and architects. It declared its intentions of making Bangalore properly reflect its status as a site of globalized production:

> The (BATF) mandate is basically to upgrade the infrastructure and systems of Bangalore through Private–Public Partnership to enhance the quality of life in the city. The BATF in particular is to recommend specific measures to initiate IT, best practices, innovative management tools, as well as internationalization of norms and tools, and to involve corporate bodies and empower citizens and provide for urban advancement.

At its inaugural summit, the BATF announced the results of its survey of common citizens' problems which would form the basis of its plan of action in the years to come. The poll found that the five most important public concerns were, in that order: the condition of roads, garbage, mosquitoes, pollution and public toilets. Roads, rather than public transport; garbage and pollution, rather than public housing; mosquitoes and public toilets, rather than public health. The second tier of problems included blocked sewage, poor traffic management, alcohol in residential areas, public safety, and finally, bringing up the rear, public transport.

Questionable sampling methods apart, the strongly middle-class profile of the city itself could have accounted for this order of priorities. Other studies of how different sections of the city prioritize their municipal problems, reveal altogether different concerns: concerns about the availability of water, the existence of job opportunities in poor neighbourhoods, and an overwhelming anxiety to claim citizenship and voting rights through getting on to the voters' list.[48] The last was seen in many cases as critical to the survival of poorer groups in the city, since politics is often the only resource in a system which may deny the benefits of policy decisions or legal remedies to the poor.

Only token gestures towards the city's maintenance have thus far been made towards the publicized 'public–private' partnership. At the high profile BATF seminar in January 2000, several corporate groups made pledges to do the

following: Volvo agreed to upgrade 2.5 kms of road near Old Madras Road, Biocon and Coca Cola pledged Rs 1 crore each for parks, BPL agreed to beautify Church Street, ABB and the Prestige Group agreed to improve small sections of Tumkur Road and Infantry Road respectively, the Brigade group and Aditi Technologies pledged to improve 2.2 and 0.5 kms of road, the Infosys Foundation agreed to establish 100 sanitation systems, and a private individual, B.V. Jagadeesh donated $1 million for improving corporation schools.[49] In its sober, end of the year review (February 2001), the report card did not include a stocktaking of these promises.[50] Among the more visible changes to the city have been the new bus shelter designs, the street furniture on prominent roads, and the public pay toilet system. Among the more important changes that were initiated was the Self-Assessment scheme of the BMP.

No summit of the BATF has been held since September 2001, at least on the scale on which it began. In its review of the three-year period that it had been in existence, the BATF makes only general and no specific claims particularly on the publicized commitment of private funds to the city's infrastructure development:

> These funds were indicative and no detailing of project plans was done at that time. The complexities of operationaizing (sic) and converting some of these final commitments into projects and hence translate the monies into actual was not possible due to a variety of reasons. Since the first summit, a number of corporates have continued to come forward either through the BATF or directly with the ULB as the faith quotient has increased and the pilots deliver results.[51]

However, BATF continued in its quest for a consensus on its agenda of reform by citizens' poll on the new initiatives of the three-year period. The response, which has been largely positive, is taken as a sign of the success of BATF's initiatives. The three-year review, however, suggested a reorienting of priorities:

> This is evident from the fact that there is a shift in priorities for the citizen – where cleanliness and roads were a major issue three years ago, the citizen now wants the government to tackle issues like mosquitoes, stray dogs as well as more esoteric issues such as corruption and ease of transacting with the government.

The mandate of the BATF, however, reveals that the Government did not stop at envisaging a body that would improve the quality of life in the city, through a deepening of the Public–Private Partnership. It also entrusted the BATF with 'institutionalizing upgraded service delivery mechanisms by amending the legal framework'. In other words, BATF was not merely a parastatal agency to which each of the stakeholders would report their progress, but one which would duplicate, or at least shape, legislative functions of the government. Thus, the BATF claims that one of the lessons it learned was the importance of consensus on its initiatives: it is 'important to seek a balance between the Political system and the Executive. It is essential that the system effectively be in one voice for any legal amendments necessary.' It was necessary, moreover, to encourage the state agencies to 'view (the) citizen as "customer"'.

The notion of the citizen as customer, as I have already shown, has echoed in the conceptual foundations of many civic initiatives. Implicit in such a vision of urban citizen is the question of ownership of rights to the city. In 2002, a programme called Janaagraha was launched by BATF member Ramesh Ramanathan. It was essentially an invitation to residents' groups, numbering about 150 in the city, to participate in governance through ownership: 'We the people will take ownership and get to participate in governance.' The programme, tried for the first time in early 2002, was intended to prioritize local area needs, and prepare budgets on the basis of ward allocations which would persuade corporators to 'include some of the real needs of the people'.

The operational effects of this scheme are yet to be known, but the general effort of the BATF has been to forge a new relationship between private and public, between residents' associations and elected representatives in the management of the city. It is an expression of an unprecedented will to power, from the captains of the new economy. These efforts have been aided by the emergence of forums such as PAC and CIVIC, which share a concern for the management of the city. Combined with legal activism of the 1990s which literally dragged a reluctant city into a metropolitan existence, placed controls on agitational modes of seeking redress, and recast the meaning of urban citizen, these new institutional structures represent a step towards asserting a place for the middle-class resident in government discourse. Urban renewal is thus understood in terms of highly visible infrastructure projects and flyovers, and the ease with which industries in the new economy are able to take root. The overwhelming emphasis in the last decade, and of the BATF itself, is the city as a space of flows, of uninterrupted traffic and information channels, of continuous power and water supply, and of an untroubled market in commercial and residential properties. A great deal of attention, as we have seen, has been on the city's infrastructure, and on the tedium of dealing with state agencies.

It is perhaps a sign of the BATF's current inability to cope with the baffling complexities of the city that its news website has not been updated since 2001, and its meetings are less publicized affairs. One of the most visible examples of the paradoxes of a city striving to attain the status of an informational city is the prolonged disruption, delay and secrecy that accompanies the laying of underground optical fibre cables. When complete, the service will be unaffordable to most residents in the city. Announced with great fanfare in 2000, there was only brief and embarrassed mention of its incomplete state in the subdued BATF review of February 2001.

This is an important visual reminder of the conditions under which the city strives to take advantage of informational technologies. The fact that an estimated 20 per cent of its population resides in slums, that close to 70 per cent of its employment is in the unorganized sector, and that 60 per cent of its population

is ill-served by a public transport network, challenge any proud claim that Bangalore is well on the way to becoming a network society. The new economies have to contend not only with fragments of traditions and formative culture of the past, but with new definitions and styles of democracy from below that may reject the fragile 'consensus' on the image of the city.

Nevertheless, BATF's efforts, however limited and piecemeal, are symptoms of the distinctive aspirations of the new economy. Never before in the city's recent history, and indeed modern Indian history, has the capitalist class achieved such hegemony in the shaping of the urban form, as the leaders of industry attempt to control and manage systems that embrace the entire city, and in technocratic ways that bypass political systems already in place. Certainly neither the public sector at its height in the 1970s, nor the more conventional private sector industries have shared the totalizing ambitions of the knowledge economy. In part, the desire to exercise control over the city must be seen as compulsions produced by the industry itself. In none of the previous phases of economic development has a single industry aspired to recast the image of the city as a whole, and redefine it as a 'space of flows'. The emerging hegemony has gained high visibility in a range of fields, that extend well beyond the boundaries of the purely economic, to build up a persuasive ideology of success. Consensus-building through interventions in education (as the WIPRO foundation has done), in public health services (as in the setting up of pay-and-use toilets), budget-framing and analyses, as well as participation in the wider cultural and academic worlds, seem to succeed in promoting an ideology of success, and of a movement towards a more efficient urban order.

It would be tempting, but an unduly narrow reading of current events, to see the new mechanisms that have been brought into being, as translating into direct benefits for the IT sector alone. The title of a brief diary in the *Outlook* magazine in November 2001 proposed such a reading when it asked: 'Does Infy rule Bangalore?' It produced a skein of relationships around the central figure of the Chief Minister S.M. Krishna. Certainly, the number of corporate icons – Nandan Nilekani, Kiran Mazumdar Shaw and Narayana Murthy – who have been drawn into cooperating with emerging bureaucratic icons – K. Jairaj, Vivek Kulkarni or Jayakar Jerome – reveals a tight network of people working to overcome political and legal hurdles that block the vision of a bright new metropolis. The committee for the new international airport, which has run into rough weather, is headed by Narayana Murthy and includes IAS officer K. Jairaj. The BATF is headed by Nilekani in collaboration with stakeholders such as BDA, of which Jerome is the Commissioner. Kiran Mazumdar Shaw along with the state's IT secretary Vivek Kulkarni, heads Karnataka's ambitious Biotech task force. Others have been quick to note the personal gains that have been made by members of the BATF, such as architect member Naresh Venkatram bagging two public building contracts in the city (the renovation of the Modern Art Gallery and the design of the Biotech Park) virtually bypassing open competition. This is taken as a sign that BATF merely represents old wine in new bottles, one that furthers its interests by avoiding the challenges of electoral politics. Such overwhelming evidence of the material underpinnings of links between the government and the new economy notwithstanding, the new institutional mechanisms are still in flux, and as the pitched opposition to the location of the new Biotech Park in the UAS campus has demonstrated, they will have to contend with other interests and the elected representatives in the city.

Bangalore's transition to metropolitan status has clearly paralleled a shift in the character of the state. The developmentalist phase of the state was evident in the preponderance of the public sector, controls on consumption, and the redistributive mechanisms that it instituted.[52] Institutional arrangements in these enclaves as well as in civil society, I have shown, reflected optimism about fashioning a public that could function as a responsible citizenry. Yet, if the middle-class locality once wore the proud badge of the public sector company (e.g., HAL Second Stage), today the dream of dollars lends its name to entire colonies (e.g., Dollars Colony). The interim period has been characterized not only by the growing preponderance of the market, and a decline in the largely pedagogic role of civil–social institutions, but equally has seen the rise of social movements which imagine democracy quite differently. If there once were areas of the city where Kannada was rarely heard, (e.g., Fraser Town), as the city is reterritorialized today, a more assertive voice of the region is heard, not through a return to the name of an older settlement that was displaced as the city grew, (i.e., Papareddipalya) but through producing a new linguistic cosmos of names drawn from history. (i.e., Pulakesinagar).

In its new metropolitan phase, therefore, the city has become the ground on which broadly two contending forces stake their claim: on the one hand are the newly renovated citizens, who are amply aided by a technocratic vision of change offered by the leaders of the new economy. On the other hand are those for whom democracy has come to have a different meaning in the urban setting. There may perhaps be no decisive victory for either of these forces in the short run, given the heterogeneous composition of power in the city, although the well planned, legally unambiguous city will gain visibility in the decades to come.

Notes

[1] I am not entering here into the definitions and size of the middle class which, as Satish Deshpande has recently pointed, could yield very different proportions and characteristics, depending on the measures used. For the most part in this discussion, the middle class refers to the managerial/professional elite, a large proportion of whom are homeowners, leaving aside for convenience, the globalized middle class on one end of the spectrum, and the blue-collar worker, who is middle class in consumption styles and in homeownership.

[2] *Janaagraha: Team up for a Better Bangalore,* Pamphlet.

[3] On the question of 'right' as a claim upon, rather than as a possession held against, the world, see Holston and Appadurai (1996: 197). On the ways in which illegalities are the mark of third world cities, see Fernandes and Varley (1998).

[4] The BEEU pamphlet however suggests that there were 80 area committees, *History of the Bharat Electronics Employee's Union*: 40–41.

[5] *History of the Bharat Electronics Employee's Union*: 40–41.

[6] The paragraph that follows is based on Nair (1999).

[7] *Swabhimana* pamphlet.

[8] The Beautify Lavelle Road Association was among the earliest to respond to the call: *Times of India*, 3 December 1997. Other Associations in the ISRO Layout, HAL Third Stage and Hanumanthanagar followed suit. *Times of India*, September 9, 1996; *Deccan Herald*, 21 November 1997.

[9] *Swabhimana Initiative and Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development and Finance Corporation*, 3 November 1998.

[10] 'Lal Bahadur Shastrinagarada Bahadur Kelasa', *Slum Suddhi*, September–November 1997.

[11] At its height in 1973, the anti-price rise stir drew 1 lakh strong workers on to the streets, converging on Vidhana Soudha, 'Violence mars march on Vidhana Soudha', *Deccan Herald*, 24 June 1973.

[12] The Non-Gazetted Officers' Forum of Karnataka was energized in the early 1960s into seeking higher wages by Mary Devasia, a leader who introduced the tactics of mass action into an otherwise sedate organization. *Deccan Herald*, 27 February 1965; 7 May 1965; 12 April 1966.

[13] In 1966, the abolition of the free water allowance to Bangalore citizens led to a spirited protest led by former Mayor K.M. Naganna, turning the lawns of Vidhana Soudha into a vast 'fasting ground': *Deccan Herald*, 2 February 1966; 21 February 1966; 22 March 1966. The allowance was restored, although taxes and cesses were proportionately raised.

[14] For 78 days in 1981, Bangalore's public sector workers numbering 80,000 went on strike, demanding uniform wage structures in all units.

[15] A militant farmers' movement in north Karnataka began demanding a series of concessions from the government in the late 1970s. Farmers' rallies were organized in the state capital in December 1980 and early 1981. The most memorable was a jatha or long march organized by the Progressive Democratic Front, which began from Nargund/Navalgund, a distance of 550 kms from Bangalore. The jatha reached on 4 February 1981, and mingled with thousands of industrial workers then on strike. *Deccan Herald*, 5 February 1981.

[16] *Deccan Herald*, May 3, 1979. Narayani Gupta has made the useful observation that the naming of streets and areas in memory of administrators or political and military elites has its origins in the colonial period; pre-colonial cities named areas after communities residing in the area, or for the economic and social uses of the space. Gupta (1993).

[17] *Deccan Herald*, January 10, 1981. Babu Mathew, a former trade union activist associated with the All India Trade Union Congress, affiliated to the Communist Party of India, suggests that 1981 may well have been the crucial turning point in the history of political uses of the park. He said that trade unions who formed the Joint Action Front agreed that it was strategically and symbolically vital to maintain a foothold in that space, although the police constantly limited their mobility and attempted their eviction. Interview with Babu Mathew, 8 October 1999.

[18] *Deccan Herald*, 2 May 1981.

[19] RHPC (1994: 25), refer Table 1 of Chapter 3.

[20] In 1950, the tenants of Kagodu Village in Shimoga district protested against, among other things, the unjust size of the measure used by landlords in calculating rent paid in kind. This movement of peasants (who were largely lower-caste *deewar* tenants) was supported by the Socialist Party led by Gopala Gowda, state secretary of the party. The movement was brutally suppressed by the forces of the Congress-led state government, though it did put an end to the unjust extraction of free labour by landlords. See Nadkarni (1987: 19–22).

[21] This demand was made into an order by the activist High Court Judge M.F. Saldanha in 1998, but was swiftly grounded by a stay order.

[22] The Police Commissioner, L. Revanasiddaiah disallowed rallies in Cubbon Park in 1997, *Times of India*, 3 May 1997; this action was hailed as timely in the English press, *Deccan Herald*, 5 May 1997.

[23] *Times of India* July 28, 1999. The *Kannada Prabha* questioned the propriety of spending Rs 12 lakhs on the construction of the gates. 'Cubbon Park Rakshanege 12 laksha veccha madi getu haaka beke?', 5 May 1999.

[24] *WP No. 32232/98 (RES PIL GM)*: In this petition, the Environment Support Group sought to be included as an impleading applicant in the case in which G.K. Govinda Rao and others were petitioners.

[25] Objections filed by the respondent, Government of Karnataka, *WP No. 32232/98 (RES PIL GM)*.

[26] *Deccan Herald*, 6 September 1998; *Times of India*, 7 September 1998.

[27] 'Prominent Citizen's protest denotification,' *Deccan Herald*, 28 October 1998; Editorial 'Reverse the Decision', 13 October 1998.

[28] 'Meet to Save Cubbon Park Once and Forever' on 14 November 1998.

[29] 'Spectacled Cobra, Blue Rock Pigeon are our neighbhours', *The Hindu*, 17 October 1998.

[30] '65 Species of Trees Identified during census', *Deccan Herald*, 13 October 1998; 'Counting Trees to Protect Them', *The Hindu*, 26 October 1998.

[31] 'Pushed to the wall, citizens will now take to the streets', *Times of India*, 10 October 1998.

[32] Save Cubbon Park Campaign, 23 October 1998.

[33] 'Old is Gold, Keep It', *Deccan Herald*, 22 October 1998.

[34] 'Cubbon Park Kabalikke Yathra: Samskruthika Kshetrada Mauna Pratibhatane', *Kannada Prabha*, 28 October 1998.

[35] 'Hash Run for Cubbon Park', *Indian Express*, 1 November 1998.

[36] 'How Can Rules Bend for Convenience?' *Times of India*, 26 May 1998.

[37] 'Majority of Citizens vote for Lung space,' *Times of India*, 31 October 1998.

[38] *Deccan Herald*, (Photograph), 16 October 1998.

[39] 'Women protest against GO', *Deccan Herald*, 11 October 1998.

[40] *Times of India*, 23 October 1998.

[41] 'Cubbon Park Uluvige Urulu Seve', *Kannada Prabha*, 16 October 1998.

[42] New curbs on traffic in the park are being implemented on the orders of the activist judge M.F. Saldanha, though the consensus regarding such measures is already evaporating, 'Cubbon Park Rakshanege 12 Laksha Veccha Madi Getu Hakabeke?' *Kannada Prabha*, 5 May 1999.

[43] Judgement on *WPs 3223/98, 19541/99, 18287/98* and *8428–34/1998*.

[44] The most recent plans to expand the Karnataka Lawn Tennis Association into a club within the park, which has graver implications for encroachment on park property, has not provoked the same outrage on the part of citizens who protested the Legislators' Home. The patrons of this project include the Chief Minister, S.M. Krishna, as well as many other corporate icons such as Kiran Mazumdar Shaw who were part of the Save Cubbon Park Campaign. Information from Leo Saldanha; see also KSLTA pamphlet, 'Be a part of the game, be a part of an exclusive club'.

[45] See Heitzman (1997: 5). Interview with Vinay Baindur, 29 September 1999.

[46] For instance, Paul (1995) uses data from a sampling of citizens in three cities, Bangalore, Pune and Ahmedabad. Paul argues that citizens were already incurring 'unproductive investments' to compensate for the 'uncertainty and unreliability of the services provided'. Such infructuous investments totalled Rs 1000 crores, demonstrating the ability and willingness of the middle class to pay for more efficient services. Similar Report Cards were produced for Madras and Calcutta.

[47] Interview with Vinay Baindur, 29 September 1999.

[48] The UNIFEM study on Gender and Urban Governance undertook a ward survey of 100 people each from eight selected wards. This is a preliminary and very superficial summary of the data which is yet to be processed.

[49] *Deccan Herald*, 25 January 2000.

[50] 'While the maiden Bangalore Summit last year was full of euphoria, the second summit concentrated on reality', said the *Times of India*, 'BATF: A small steady step for city' 25 February 2001; 'CM snubs politicians for opposing BATF' *Deccan Herald*, 25 February 2001.

[51] 'BATF Urban Initiatives: The Experiment in PPP approach', www.blrforward.com.

[52] Some of the formulations in this paragraph are indebted to Partha Chatterjee's discussion of the civil society/political society divide in Chatterjee (1997).

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