



Urban Restructuring and Change: Planning, Development Practices and Impacts on the Urban Poor



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Abstract

Urbanization in the emerging economies like India is taking place at an accelerated rate. Urban growth in cities of India is uneven where some are growing faster than others. Current restructuring of urban areas to prepare themselves for the growing global economic demands and providing better infrastructural facilities for smooth functioning of neo-liberal agenda had changed the direction and tasks of urban planning. These transformations in the metropolitan cities have severe impacts and implications on urban space and urban poor localities in particular while affecting the spatial organization of cities.

1. INTRODUCTION

Urbanization is a process which has spatial dimensions. Urbanization is a natural part of development. The urban population is the function of both migration and natural increase of the existing population. Population shifts take place only when certain development is realized and human power is required for functioning. Therefore, urbanization and industrialization are closely associated and had strong relation in the earlier phase of urban growth. It was industrial development which showed a way for modernization both of society and economy. Smart and Smart (2003) made it clear while noting that the rapid growth of cities after 1800 was possible because with industrialization cities became centers of production. Economies of scale in manufacturing produced vast agglomerations with all the disorder and human misery described so well by Engels and Dickens. Transportation and other facilities increased the attraction of cities for new industries, and growing populations created demand for services.

Similarly, modernization was considered to be achieved only with the industrial growth and urban developments. Although India had long series of historical changes followed by uneven development of urban centres during different kingdoms, the colonial processes reinforced it in different ways and urban centres served as places of economic growth and socio-cultural development. What is unique about the urbanization in developing countries is the high degree of concentration, the share of large metropolitan areas to total urban population, characterizes rapid urbanization in many developing countries. It is associated with colonial legacy of current urban processes and continuous importance of large urban centres in economic, technological, political and socio-cultural

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spheres of nation's development and progress. Now, economic growth is both a driving cause as well as the chief outcome of any urbanization process.

As per census of India 2001, around 285 million of the total population lived in more than five thousand urban centres reaching a 28 percentage level of urbanization. India has experienced rapid urban growth in the 20th century as is illustrated by these numbers. The total urban population increased tenfold between 1901 and 2001. Thus, there were 35 metropolitan and million plus cities which had large proportion of urban population. There are estimations which note that by 2015, over 50 percent of India's population will be urban and there will be over 50 cities with population excess of one million. The future projections are that by 2021 around 550 million people will be living in urban India. Fortunately, it was same census which brought data on slums and their multifarious conditions. There were over six hundred towns and cities reported slums in their space counting for 61 million. Largest proportion of slum population was registered in Maharashtra (10.64 million) and Greater Mumbai 44.8 percent. Rapid urbanization, poverty, inadequate health, poor sanitation, urban slums and environmental degradation pose a formidable challenge in urban centres of India.

There is no doubt about the fact that slums are result and product of urbanization and changes in urban economy. The slums as places of filthy locality and habitats of inhuman living conditions are often described in the academic and journalistic analysis and documentation. Urbanization may be considered as the tool for social change in a society, but the large proportion of population which lives in slums and is termed as urban poor belong to the lower castes in the caste hierarchy of India. It appears that the city offered hope and sometimes prosperity, livelihood and opportunity to poor migrants, but today it is increasingly turning its back on them. The result is while about a quarter of the urban population lives in slums, slum evictions and demolitions in the name of development and needs of global forces shaping economy, even due to local politics also, has increased substantially in almost all major cities of India. Another observation points out that there are variations in levels of facilities and basic amenities in notified and non-notified slums in cities and towns subject to terms and conditions of local administrative agencies. For official purposes squatters are defined as illegal settlements, and as such are defined by the high proportions of residents who lack any legal claim to their dwellings.

Here, what is important for the current study is to look at the circumstances and conditions which pave a way to the emergence of slums and their exclusion from the various processes of development and planning. More or less urban geography also unfolds different patterns of spatial concentration and their relations with surrounding subjects and entities. It is relevant to understand the impact of global on the local and contestations within locality to create such spaces which offer opportunities for inclusion in local planning and development. Therefore,



it can be said that the nature or character of urban planning and development models which work in the public interest and proclaim for the welfare of the urban community. These planning practices not only envision the city with a projected future pattern but also change the urban geography of the concerned urban centres. Thus, this paper addresses the following questions:

- What are the changing circumstances and urban processes, which affect urban space by creating a pattern of spatial divide and marginalization?
- How do urban planning practices affect spatial organization and structure of the city, which paves a way for occurrence of slums or ghettoization of certain localities?
- What role urban governance plays in the empowerment of the excluded and marginalized urban dwellers?

2. UNEVEN URBANIZATION AND GROWTH OF SLUMS- A SUSTAINED LEGACY

Emergence of slums is due to urbanization and changes in the economy for development and changing development incentives for the economy. In both ways urbanization is integral and inevitable to take place. Tisdale (1942) postulated that urbanization is a process of population concentration. It proceeds in two ways: the multiplication of points of concentration and the increase in size of individual concentrations. These are the results of shifts of population and spatial growth, changes in social, cultural, economic and demographic settings. India has been considered to be a major contributor to the incremental urban population by large demographic weight and dynamics of urbanization.

In fact, the genesis of the hierarchy of urban centres and spatial structure in contemporary India can be traced back to the development dynamics during the colonial period due to demands and requirements of an imperialist regime. So, the very industrialization caused the emergence of slums in the cities of Europe and America which created vulnerable and hazardous, unhygienic living localities. It was because the 'industrial revolution' converted the cities into workshops, production and manufacturing units. By and large, growth and emergence of slums is one the major characteristics of modern urbanization. So far urban growth is concerned, the urbanization processes and level of urbanization is not equal across the states in India (see Table 1). Thus, urban agglomerations namely Chennai (Madras), Kolkata (Calcutta), Mumbai (Bombay) served as focal points of a mechanism for generating economic surplus. Such actions were part of vast agenda of modernization and development emerged in the West. Anyhow, these cities had played significant roles to legitimize actions and setting a certain system under the imperial power.

The change in urban sphere of sub-continent was brought up in colonial rule by two factors: the pre-existing rural-urban interactions were gradually replaced by export-import oriented commodity flows, and mobility further disrupted the

**Table 1 Level of Urbanization in States and India, 1971-2001**

State	1971	1981	1991	2001	State/U.Territory	1971	1981	1991	2001
Andhra Pradesh	19.31	23.25	26.84	27.08	Nagaland	9.95	15.54	17.28	17.74
Arunachal Pradesh	3.7	6.32	12.21	20.41	Orissa	8.41	11.82	13.34	14.97
Assam	-	9.88	11.08	12.72	Punjab	23.73	27.72	29.72	33.95
Bihar	10	12.46	13.17	10.47	Rajasthan	17.63	20.93	22.88	23.38
Chhattisgarh	-	-	-	20.08	Sikkim	9.73	16.23	9.12	11.1
Delhi	89.7	92.84	89.93	93.01	TamilNadu	30.26	32.98	34.2	43.86
Goa	26.44	32.46	41.02	49.77	Tripura	10.43	18.01	19.89	20.78
Gujarat	28.08	31.08	34.4	37.35	Uttar Pradesh	14.02	18.01	19.89	20.78
Haryana	17.66	21.96	24.79	29	Uttranchal	-	-	-	25.59
Himachal Pradesh	6.99	7.72	8.7	9.79	West Bengal	24.75	26.49	27.39	28.03
Jammu & Kashmir	-	21.05	23.83	24.88					
Jharkhand	-	-	-	22.24	A & N Islands	22.77	26.36	26.8	32.67
Karnataka	24.31	28.91	30.91	33.98	Chandigarh	90.55	93.6	89.69	89.78
Kerala	16.24	18.78	26.44	25.97	Dadra & N. Haveli	-	6.67	8.47	22.89
Madhya Pradesh	16.29	20.31	23.21	26.67	Daman & Diu	-	-	46.86	36.26
Maharashtra	31.17	35.03	38.73	42.4	Lakshadweep	-	46.31	56.29	44.47
Manipur	13.19	26.44	27.69	23.88	Pondichery	42.04	52.32	64.05	66.37
Meghalaya	14.55	18.03	18.69	19.63					
Mizoram	11.36	25.17	46.2	49.5	INDIA	20.22	23.73	25.72	27.78

Source: Sivaramakrishnan, et al., "Handbook of Urbanization in India" 2005, p. 60

core-periphery relationship and strengthened the centrifugal forces. Another fact is that following Manchester's industrialization, nineteenth century India initially experienced de-urbanization, millions of her town dwelling artisans forced back to dependence upon tilling soil of ancestral villages by Britain's industrial competition.

For better economic functioning and aesthetic quality, certain planning concepts applied without proper experience of local conditions, which resulted in socio-spatial exclusion of the indigenous communities. For instance, Heitzman argues that as in other Portuguese cities on the western cost of India, Goa's city plan came to be influenced by Renaissance concepts of city planning with orthogonal streets and blocks, but in practice the neighbourhoods without a public water supply were a maze of small, filthy streets and alleys flanked by close by two-storey homes with red tile roofs. However, local urban practices, whether they



related to the mix of the public or private or concerned the proper relationship between the spaces of living and dead, could not simply be cajoled into transforming themselves.

More or less similar conditions are found in post-independent Indian cities which absorb huge chunk of urban poor and slums dwellers particularly in spatially vulnerable areas. Slums, as a consequence of the prevailing socio-economic conditions, often political, and determinants have become an essential part of not only million plus cities of India, but also in medium size cities and towns as well. Slums are known by their variety of names in the country. In India, Rao (1990) described that there are the multi-storied concrete Chawls of Bombay (renamed as Mumbai), the dilapidated Katras of Delhi, the insanitary, overcrowded Ahatas (huts inside a compound or enclosure) in Kanpur, the Cheries in Madras (renamed as Chennai) or Madurai and the Bustees of Calcutta (renamed as Kolkata). When it comes to defining a slum, they are defined by various experts applying a different point of view. Here are economists who see a slum as an area of poverty and deterioration, administrators for whom it is an area which is physically as well as morally wanting, and a townplanner for whom it is an area of complete physical deterioration, lacking basic amenities and requiring flat demolition and reconstruction.

For Rao, however, the slum is a physically deteriorated area where human beings live organized life of their own though they are economically poor. In contrast, very often the development reports and plans are biased in the way these areas are studied. It is because the inherited conventional wisdom leads to an interpretation of such settlements as physically decrepit lacking in basic amenities, chaotic, and disorganized-an attitude that persists in much of the urban planning community, which tends to interpret such settlements as obstacles to good civic design.

Slums are not alien to these relations because the sociological studies unfold a kind of social organization and a way of living and belongingness. The distinct characteristic of urbanization in India is the process of urbanization which is proceeding apace without commensurate growth in industrialization and the rise in the level of overall economic development. These features are following:

- Lopsided urbanization induces growth of large cities;
 - Non-industry based urbanization and weak economic base;
 - Urbanization is mainly a product of demographic explosion and poverty induced rural-urban migration;
 - Accelerated urbanization leads to haphazard growth of slums and cumulative poverty in the cities;
 - Lacking minimum urban infrastructure and facilities in the cities;
 - Poor quality of rural-urban migration leads to poor quality of urbanization;
- and



- Natural increase of population is higher than migration led increase

Large cities have not been able to absorb labor and increase investments within the formal sector of economy leading to problems of slums and the informal economy. In the post-independence period the large cities have shown rapid growth while small and medium towns and cities remained stagnant and have slowed down the pace of urbanization.

3. UNDERSTANDING THE CREATION OF SLUMS AND SPACES OF DEPRIVATION

There is a need to understand the causes of slums development in terms of economic, ecological, social, physical, and decision making processes. With the passage of time their position has been altering with the changing circumstances, but some still have potential. The perception about slums is that the distinctive feature of slums is not appearances as such, but the relation between slums and its inhabitant and that neighborhood and its inhabitants which the city regards as having met the minimum livability standards. These differences are based on social and economic measures and choices of opportunity offered by the city. Immigrants bring certain personal capability which may be useful or not as per availability of employment and social relations. Stokes (1962) postulated clearly that slums formation depends on the rate of immigration as well as on the rate of integration or absorption of the migrants. Obviously, slum formation depends on the existence of barriers to escalation as well as the distinction between income and ability classes.

Robert Park had expressed and conceptualized his understanding of the city and its life during 1930s. He had analyzed the city growth and chaos following ecological approach which he termed as 'human ecology'. By this he was trying to understand the apparent chaos of industrial metropolis. According to him nearly every large city has its central business district, residential areas, industrial districts, satellite cities, slums, immigrant colonies, and these are the natural areas. They are natural because rather than being planned they result from the ecological processes, which affect an orderly distribution of population and functions within the city. There are constructive comments on the ecological process, which emphasize the importance of 'competition' and 'mobility' as the background factors in their operation. Competition for space derives from the fact that two objects cannot occupy the same space at the same time.

Based on similar approach, several studies were conducted and have postulated theoretical propositions about the formation of slums in American cities. So is the land use pattern change and emergence of deprived areas. It follows that in the beginning the development of the city, a fashionable residential district particularly occupied by the upper classes surrounds the central business district. With the invasion of commercial and industrial areas, the residential neighborhood surrounding the central business area is occupied by industrial storage and wholesale operations. Consequently, more wellto do move further out



of the central parts of the city. The new migrants and low income workers move in and become the exclusive inhabitants of these areas. Low rents and poverty of the tenants prevent any improvement in the dwellings while the landowners try to 'milk' the occupants to the maximum extents possible. Therefore, subsequently the very area turns into slum due to overcrowding and lack improvement of the basic facilities.

Apart from above mentioned process, which shapes the urban conditions; there are external forces also which directly or indirectly have great influence on the city level. The role of economic and political decisions at the higher levels directly shapes the local economy and particular social, economic and spatial environment of the city. The point is that the local or city is not isolated from the external factors working and influencing the urban system as whole. Apparently, the local maintains certain structural links with external forces which operate in such a manner that causes social and spatial exclusions between the urban centres and within the cities. The role of such factors can be defined if not proved accurately. The current restructuring of the urban settlements under the influence of economic changes is quite clear and a reflection of these factors at the workplace. More or less such economic changes are politically legitimized and have considerable impact on the city economy and unevenly on its residents. The socio-spatial fragmentation and divides are taking place due to uneven development and increasing inequality. Thus, the economic and demographic changes associated with urban growth have also remodeled the spatial structure of the cities.

Urban processes cause and sometimes enforces urbanization, suburbanization, counterurbanization and reurbanization. Rapid population growth, high densities, poverty and high differentials in access to housing, public services and infrastructure have led to an increase in vulnerability over the last few decades or so. Certain factors in such rapid growth are that since independence many more iron and steel, electrochemical, electronics industrial units have flourished in the urban centres. Wolpert (1991) writes that New Delhi has more than tripled its population in the last twenty years, with over six million now living on the sprawling plain around that modern capital magnet, whose shabbier sister-city, Old Delhi, reflects all the poverty, congestion, and pluralism of ancient India with as many as people crammed inside its narrow precincts. The reality is that India has been experiencing urban revolution and its urban centres are growing at accelerated growth rate. The fact often not recognized is that in most of the metropolitan cities and other urban centres, ethnic communities tend to recreate a replica of their original cultural and social environment.

Generally, growth of slums is a manifestation of the urban poverty as the majority of urban poor live in the slums. The narrative of Hari Sud (2006) is informative to be highlighted here. Our attention is drawn towards the effects of development



ideology, preparedness, political interest, and a link between rural and urban in India, in general. "After independence in 1947, commercial and industrial activity needed cheap labor in the cities. Plentiful was available in the rural area. They were encouraged to come to cities and work. People, who migrated to the cities and found work, brought their cousins and rest of the families to the cities. Unable to find housing and afford it, they decided to build their shelter closer to work. By mid-sixties Mumbai, Kolkata, Delhi, and all other large cities were dotted with slums".

The urban structure of the cities has been transforming and producing a different kind of urban form. From the early industrial and Fordist kind of production to non-Fordist economy (1970s onwards) had great influence on both land use and sectors of city economy. Banerjee-Guha (2009) articulates clearly that it was a time when world capitalism system became increasingly neoliberalized, subsequently taking a dominant form, impacting social and economic spaces of countries across the world, especially those of global south and finally their entire development system. It was beginning for rolling back of welfare state and growth of market forces. Later on, 1990s India also adopted certain economic changes and reforms. In cities, the formal economy is unsuitable and unaffordable to attract all the migrants and provide livelihood opportunities. In contrast the informal ways of livelihood and earning better suits non-skilled labor in cities. But, the role and character of local politics and bureaucratic interventions through local government cannot be ruled out in the deprivation of slums dwellers. The point is that squatter and slums settlements have formed mainly because of the inability of city governments to plan and provide affordable housing for the low income segments of the urban population.

Even if certain actions are taken towards easing urban poverty and poor housing, such initiatives have been inadequate, destructive and 'planned' slums. Ritu Priya has shown in her study of resettlement colonies about the actions taken by the DDA (Delhi Development Authority), during authoritarian state. According to her the resettlement colonies are no more than 'planned' slums if multiple index used in the master formulation applied to them. She mentions that an adequate potable water supply, a working system of drainage, of garbage removal, and an adequate system of latrines and safe excreta disposal, all vital aspects for public health, are conspicuously absent. One cannot rule out the 'politics' and 'exclusion' in the development and planning activities. For a long time, the top-down bureaucratic ideology had excluded the socio-economically weak and politically unconscious urban poor.

In India, allocation and redistribution of urban scarce resources in cities are directly and indirectly, determined by politics, social status, economic and financial position and historical values of a particular social group in the heterogeneous but internally and sometimes invisible homogenized urban space. Urban planning has two components first, it is defined in relation to



its objects, and second, it is a method in the decision making. Therefore, both these aspects are important for the process of structural change on the local level, since the first is about coping with relicts of the previous era and shaping the necessary physical structure for the new industries, while in the decision making process about spatial strategies and urban projects public, private and civic actors negotiate their respective interests and by that influence the future development of the city and its economic and built structures. By and large urban planning is an 'institution' at the city for planning cities. Whole process of planning and its actions affect, by both offering advantage and making some disadvantageous, the existing urban structure and socio-economic conditions of the people, citizens and urban environment.

4. CURRENT URBAN RESTRUCTURING - PEOPLE, PLANNING AND UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

Reality about the Indian urbanization is that large, million and metropolitan cities growing at a rapid rate than others. Overall, driving urban growth is the diversity and concentration of economic activity in cities, ensures they are the leading sector of macro-economic development and as often termed 'motors' of development and 'centres of investment'. The changing demands of the economic factors directly affect the overall pattern of city life and infrastructure base of the city. The contemporary processes and patterns of urbanization in India raise fundamental and basic questions about equity and the impact of development. Neoliberalization following the structural changes in India has swelled the existing urban challenges and has accelerated the spatial and economic transformation of cities and land use patterns to adapt to scale of growth.

Therefore, at city level, it is characterized by increasing constraints regarding planning and the political capacity of elected municipal governments, privatization of basic services, withdrawal of the state from urban development, escalating support for public-private partnerships, especially in infrastructure projects, increasing gentrification to expend space for elitist consumption and a growing exposure to global competition reflecting the power of disciplinary finance regime and a hegemonic cultural framework.

What different does it make to the development process? At a minimum it strengthens 'market enablement' at various scales- national, regional and local levels. The paradigm shift in development during the last two decades or so in developing countries like India is being pushed through 'modes of intervention' and 'modes of governance'. The state is playing a role of 'enabler', 'facilitator', and sometimes termed as 'supplier' in former and the restructuring the machinery and the role of government is integral part of the later. In Zeeter's (2004) opinion one of the basic characteristics of the neoliberal state is to separate policymaking from implementation, and to isolate the production and provision of urban public services from public control.



Results can be seen. Marginalization of the urban poor households in terms of access to facilities and affordability of vital urban commodities such as housing, land and water supply, basic amenities due to their re-pricing. Anyhow, urban governance provides spaces for contestation in decision making, but still has to go a long mile. Under urban restructuring, transformation of urbanscape is showing signs of spatial crisis led by contradictory processes of integration and segmentation in the race for 'global city' status. However, not all quarters of their population are affected equally and the processes benefit only parts of the society and therefore, parts of the city space. Therefore, neoliberalism affects both policies for slums and slum politics bringing up something of a paradox. In the urban political arena neoliberalism has a strong tendency and nature to forge a political sphere that is pro-growth and that shows disinterest towards potentially wasteful policies aimed at slum development and dwellers and urban poor in general.

5. FEATURES OF URBAN RESTRUCTURING: CASES OF BENGALURU, AND MUMBAI

Basically, these two cities have had a rich past and are centres of modernity in the Indian context. Why only two cities are selected here for the purposes of the study is based on some factors. These cities have shown signs of urban displacement and restructuring of urban space in the last decade or so; slum demolitions and resettlements activities carried out amidst conflicts and controversies; changes in economy; and new forms of planning interventions are salient features.

Fernandes is of the opinion that Mumbai and Bangalore (Bengaluru) are in many ways similar cases given that they have had long historical traditions of commercial and scientific growth, visible English-speaking middle class, professional urban cultures, and sought after private and multinational capital prior to the 1990s period of liberalization. New economy and changes in base of economy has shown signs of transforming urban landscapes in these cities. Having a rich and great history and remained seats of power, these cities have grown at a faster rate. The post 1990s period has left major changes in its economy and spatial environment of the city affected millions of peoples' lives and living conditions. Although development is a sign of progress and prosperity for a nation, but if it comes at the cost of crushing sources of livelihoods of urban poor, then patterns of growth and development are exclusionary in nature and benefiting only a few. This can be seen in frequent demolitions and resettling of the urban poor in far flung areas.

The capital flows from foreign countries have shaped the local urban space by transforming the economic structure and spatial structure of cities. Foreign Direct Investment has played a great role in the metropolitan cities in India. Earlier, the FDI was prohibited in real estate sector in India, has recently welcomed by the national government. However, since dawn of current century, the global forces



had played a significant role in the indirect progress of this particular sector, built environment in India. It happened through the demand for office space by the export-oriented IT, Business process outsourcing, increasingly knowledge process outsourcing organization that are coming up in the metropolitan cities and also by NRI demands for residential properties.

5.1 Bengaluru - A Divided Technology City

In its foray into the global economy through policy led liberalization in the 1990s, the Indian economy has been able to capitalize on the opportunities for production in the information technology sector. Two components of the advanced technology sector are software and back office services production. In terms of Information Technology industry, the southern city of Bengaluru (formerly Bangalore) has attracted much of the attention as the 'Silicon Valley of India'. The history of Bengaluru/Bangalore is a tale of two cities, a western part that dates back to at least five centuries (referred as Bengaluru) and the eastern part (or 'cantonment' referred as Bangalore) that is no more than two centuries old. At the time of independence, its industrial base was dominated by textile production, homemade and factory manufactured public sector units such as the Hindustan Aeronautics.

Anyhow, shift induced by opening up of the economy was not new; the city has been desired site and home of various centres of scientific development and innovations, research and public sector industries and enterprises. But there has been considerable transformation in the urban form and spatial manifestations reveal growing inequality in city space.

The plan of establishing software technology parks starting in 1988 with 100 percent allowable foreign equity, no taxes on import hardware and software, high speed data communication, security, independent telephone facilities, uninterrupted power supply, etc. was motivating factors for the growth of Bengaluru.

Table 2 A Profile of Cities

Sl No.	Items of Profile	Bengaluru	G. Mumbai
1	Metropolitan Area (in sq. km)	8,022	4,355
2	Urban Agglomeration (sq. km)	1,307	1,097
3	Total Metro/UA Population (m)	5.8	16.4
4	Main City Area (sq. km)	800	468
5	Main City Population	4.3	11.9
6	No. of other Municipalities	11	27
7	No. of Semi-urban Villages	284	>1000
8	Migration (1991-2001)	18	21
9	Annual Growth Rate (1991-2001)	3.7	2.9
10	Household Size	4	5
11	Literacy Rate (in %)	75	77
12	Work Participation (in %)	39	37
13	Main Worker (in %)	36	35
14	Marginal Worker (in %)	2	2
15	Non Worker (in %)	62	54

Source: Based on Sivaramakrishnan (2009) and Annapurna Shaw & M. K. Satish (2007)



During the late 1980s to middle of 1990, the city experienced a significant real estate boom, growth of private enterprises, particularly in microelectronics, and entry of multinational corporations was popular across for its changing economy. Thus, changes brought by the service sector and commercial space demand in the city created spatial fragmentation. The core of the city packed with commercial spaces, needed once upon a time, have been given new shapes amidst current needs of the city economy. The core of the city has seen a considerable renewal to accommodate the IT based units and providing office space. The real estate prices in the city have followed a speculative pattern of sharp rise in prices from the mid-1980s to 1995-1996. Rentals for high quality office space in the CBD rose from Rs.10 per sqft to about Rs.80 per sqft.

Later on, the periphery areas emerged as the signs of another hub of globally connected spaces. The south and north eastern parts of the city have “IT Corridor”. The international Technology Park in Whitefield and Electronic City are located here. In response, its central city areas changed with new up-market stores, international banks, and renowned attention to its pubs and international fast food chains, although not without reaction. If Bengaluru city transformation has to be understood, the role of increasing industrial enclaves and appropriate site location factors for IT sector has to be analyzed. Location of IT enclaves in the city is given below:

- Central Business District (CBD) and the secondary business district (SBD): multi-tenant office complexes;
- Municipal areas in the south and east quadrant: converted residential properties;
- Along major highways leading out of the city; and
- Special zones or locations in the periphery: specialized multi-tenant offices complexes and single firm campuses

Aranya (2003) says that the physical agglomeration of the firms in a limited area of the city is attributed to the availability of space, infrastructure and technological limitations of the communications network but the enclaves and exclusive campuses are representative of the divide that exist between the global economy and the local economy. The contrast of affluence and poverty is even more apparent in the context of a city in the developing economy where the glass and steel structures are incongruent with the collapsing urban infrastructure and the impoverished millions. In fact, the role and share of local economy is higher and it caters to poor and middle income groups.

Since, implementation of neoliberalized state agenda, a huge government intervention is seen to facilitate several mega development projects both sports related and exclusive mass housing by the demolition and resettlement. Such change in urban space imposed constraints on the urban poor and pushed



many of them to distant locations due to hiking land prices. National Games Complex (about 1997) and its associated facilities was the official reason for slum demolition at specific locations. For instance, eviction of 218 families from Ashoknagar slums adjoining the football stadium occurred on aesthetic grounds; and eviction of slums dwellers from Kormangala tank bed area, it was claimed, was done for the 'public purpose' of building 5,000 flats.

However, whole process of transformation was caused by the information technology sector as a basis for modernization, which has captured the imagination of Bengaluru's political, and economic decision makers and bureaucratic elite. In such circumstances, the multinational investors and corporate information technology groups pointed out and drew attention to the deficiencies in and inadequacy of infrastructure in the city. Thus, sudden response from the state and central government was a mega-city project. Under the project, funds allocated to the responsible local authority to focus on shifting the iron and steel market to decongest central areas, and on the construction of ring roads, flyover bridges and truck terminals. The 'satellite cities' project launched in the city, Benjamin says, aimed towards acquiring land to promote large corporate residential and work environments and related infrastructure such as multi-lane highways and dedicated water supply and electrical power stations.

By and large, the definition and meaning of satellite cities was shaped by contextual demands of city economy and space. More or less these were set up and upgraded to ease the main city and provide spacious environment to the IT sector professionals and circulation and flow of software industry related articles and products. The fact is that the signs of poverty can be found in the Bengaluru city particularly the slums, shanty localities, socio-economically and spatially marginalized citizens. Benjamin argues that issues of poverty remain submerged by the euphoria over the expansion of the information technology industry and Bengaluru is in many senses a divided city.

Thus, so called globals and globally connected spaces in the city are in contrast with the dense squatter settlements and lack of proper facilities and basic amenities in the central parts of the city. Anyhow, the CBD has acquired an additional function of being the entertainment and leisure center with a large number of pubs and restaurants having sprung up here. On poverty and poor, the enumeration of people and number of slums is not without errors and underestimates made by the assigned authorities. The point to be made here is that slums are not naturally suffered the way they have experienced lack of basic facilities and infrastructure, but the public policy led development agenda and changes in city economy played a key role in their marginalization and exclusion in urban space. Bengaluru has experienced an exponential growth of slums in the decade of the 1990s, from 444 slums in 1991 with a population of 1.12 million to 733 slums in 1998-1999 with a population of 2.2 million, about 20 percent



of the city's population. As per Census of India, 2001, there were 733 slums in Bengaluru. City planning is more or less preparing urban space for global and business requirements rather than upgrading these slums. Apart from slums, the Census of 1991 says that there were 10,654 homeless people in the city. By 2001, there number grew to 12,014 as per census report.

The point is that there has not been an adequate public policy response and proper recognition of the problems of planning metropolitan cities. The obsession of the technocrats, media, and the ideologues of the state in Bangalore with the image of Singapore is a symptom of this bankruptcy. The sudden changes in land use to accommodate the IT industry have had critical impact on the localities and livelihood of many people. An increasing number of slums dwellers were indirectly servicing the formal economy as well as the high technology enclaves by engaging in informal construction work, coolie work, hotel work, garbage picking, vegetable and fruit vending, petty hawking, and working as domestic servants. Therefore, the slums found in the city are located in central parts, west, southern and north and northeastern parts of the municipal corporation.

In Bengaluru city, the slums are distinguished on legal terms and often called as 'unmarked', 'notified' or 'declared'. Only the 'declared' slum successfully resists relocations; conversely, a slum may be demolished even after it is notified. On the other side, the composition of slums in Bengaluru is very placespecific, based on the social cohesion provided by religious, ethnic and linguistic bonds; the growth of slums in the city can be linked to the economic promises made by the 'global city' agenda; and in migration followed up. Most of the new migrants find shelter for themselves in suburban and peripheral parts of the city.

Of the three structure of power that impinge on the lives of the urban poor, with varying results-policies and planning, the judiciary and local politics-the poor are ill-served by planning processes and policy decisions. The spaces on periphery have come up as "farmhouses" with quite modern facilities and unpolluted environment and most of residents in are NRIs. Property developers have swelled in the city to meet the middle class needs of housing. Nair (2005) critically says that what is new and different about developers is that they no longer sell housing or buildings but planning; indeed, planning itself takes on exchange value. Another face of local planning is in Bengaluru that not only is there a shift from managerialism to entrepreneurial urban planning but there is almost a marginalization and reduction of local planning and elected bodies in the spatial decisions of the city. The result is that large number of ICT and business parks, commercial complexes, malls, upmarket townships and stylish apartment blocks are coming up particularly in the urban mid-periphery while government investments in providing shelter and affordable housing to the urban poor have been substantially reduced and the protection of tenants gradually removed.



5.2 Mumbai - A Global City

Mumbai metropolis, economic and commercial capital of India, is located in the western parts of the city and is also administrative capital of a large state, Maharashtra. Mumbai is the largest metropolitan city in Indian Republic and its contribution to GDP is 20 percent. The city is both 'engine' of economic growth and 'gateway' to the flow of FDIs in the country. Cities in the peripheral countries and their links with core cities/regions, their own restructuring to make easy the pace of globalization, and political economic conditions, reflects that globalization more or less rests on a divided world. Mumbai's contemporary urban restructuring and space transformation is associated with the current forces of globalization processes. Another quality of city life is that about 38 percent of the population of urban MMR lives in slums at an aggregate level. In Mumbai slums are called Chawls, Patrachawla and Zopadpattis. The situation is more alarming in Greater Mumbai where about half of the population lives in slums. Further, the situation is also serious in Thane Municipal Corporation area, where about 28 percent of the population lives in slums. Interesting thing about the inequality in urban space is that approximately 60 percent of the population of Mumbai lives on approximately 10 percent of the land in the city's interstitial spaces: beside roads, in drainage pipes or ditches, on the edges of railway line, on sidewalks under plastic sheets, or in houses with walls made of empty storage drums.

The fact is that after 1947, the planning objectives and their practical realization has depicted gap in the cities like Mumbai. What has changed since 1990 is that gap between declared objectives and actual projects started reducing because urban planning is now pursuing an agenda of technically managing urban space for giving the city a global status. The principles like urban decentralization, urban dispersal oriented growth, are being replaced by concentration that too in Mumbai metropolis. A review of Regional Development Plan (1995) provides a view of the reversal of planning ideology amidst and while facilitating globalization agenda where city becomes a significant place. The very objective of the plan is to make better use of space and achieve global status by

- Amendment of rent control act to facilitate recycling of old office spaces and urban renewal;
- Relaxation of land use zoning to permit new office space in already developed commercial areas;
- Renewal and inter-change of land use in dilapidated areas;
- Facilitating high tech industries in the city;
- Recycling of land and removal of constraints on land use; and
- Creating an international finance and business center



The logic of current restructuring of urban space is the demand of globalization processes. The contemporary situation of restructuring due to globalization can be understood through 'production of space' in cities like Mumbai. Because space is not neutral and timeless or self enclosed, with the increasing interconnectedness of social relations on a global scale, space should not be understood as a 'static platform of social relations', but as 'one of the constitutive elements of globalization, historically produced, reconfigured, and transformed'. Here, the role of built environment, transportation infrastructure, and production and business complexes becomes important.

Built environment, a phenomenon in the urban development process, is fixed in space whose individual elements may be produced, maintained, managed and owned by diverse class and economic interests. Thus, spatial transformation of the city is determined by both the economic demands and internal supply by power of politics. Thus, the production of space is not a result of a unilateral impact of global economic forces on the urban environment, but is a contested and negotiated process in which social movements subvert or challenge these hegemonic processes. During 1990s, Mumbai's policy has been proactive towards the changing requirements of the new economy and planning also contributed considerable actions to meet such goals. The poor were pushed out from old industrial cores to the outskirts, ghettoized in peripheral slums leading to massive intra-city migration.

As far as Mumbai is concerned, the city of Mumbai expanded industrially and commercially, so did the number of its squatter settlements and slums. Available data on slums in the city shows that from 1976 to 1991 Greater Mumbai's slums population increased from 2.2 to 5.5 million or from 41.3 percent to 56.6 percent of the total population. Another figure about slums is that between 1976 and 2001, the overall population grew with 2 percent per year but the slums population grew by 2.9 percent per year. The spatial distribution of slums is already very unequal over the whole municipal territory. The island city shelters only 17 percent of slums dwellers while 58 percent live in the western suburbs and 35 percent in the eastern suburbs.

Factors leading to slum growth in Mumbai are related to its historical development. The city grew out of the seven tiny islands into huge industrial commercial place, which resulted in the displacement of the Koli fishermen who moved into impoverished living space that was far shabbier than before. Some villages were enclosed by the city growing around them. Dharavi, originally a village with a small tanning industry, has become a slum in this fashion. The standard of "world class city" reflects in the availability and existence of a city with elevated highways, with zipping modern cars and an elevated monorail through the central city, tall glass buildings, fancy looking malls with glass facades, stylish looking residential blocks, parks with water bodies having water sports,



lots of green, wide roads on the surface with footpaths, and if people are put in them people with western clothing. Moving towards 'world class city' metaphor, in Mumbai, between November 2004 and March 2005, 90,000 homes of slum dwellers, located over 44 localities, were demolished. Considering an average of five persons living in one slum home, 450,000 slum dwellers were evicted by this concerted act of demolitions. This means that about 8 percent of the population living in slums within the jurisdiction of the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGB or BMC), were evicted in the span of four months. The point is that the extent and severity of exclusions depend on the inclusive or exclusive politics, development policies and process of the nation in general and the city in particular.

Slum demolition is not uncommon in Mumbai; a city is in race for world class city status. City has been following the development footprints of Shanghai and trying to produce a replicate of Shanghai in India. Global capitalism is playing smart role in the spatial transformation of the city while its consequences on the social life of majority are very severe. Slums are not coming up naturally rather than produced in certain locations and spaces in the city by the policies and political actions.

Economic and political factors decide the fate of urban poor in the urban space and planning legitimizes such drives by reformulating their agendas and development plans. Therefore, planning is not neutral and technical but political and an instrument of control of urban space. Slums are on the axe, if the city has to beautify and convert herself into something else or to attract investments, if there is a natural disaster, if there is a buoyancy of the property market and if there is a pressure from middle class citizens groups to decriminalize or detoxify the city.

Cities like Mumbai are 'centres of investment' in the neoliberal or market economy the challenges are dual both arising from internal demands and external requirements. Thus, apart from meeting the huge challenges that is emerging due to increase in services standards demanded by citizens, Mumbai would also simultaneously respond to emerging opportunities in the globalized world. Therefore, the 'spaces of difference' created in the cities are by and large a part of global city system rather than the city alone. The 'deindustrialization' of central parts of Mumbai indicates the ambitions of the city for world class city status.

The fact is that in such a process, with the general rhetoric shifting from balanced regional development to economic growth, intra-city policies have also started leaning more to selective items or mega projects rather than to balanced distribution of basic services. Bhide (2008) makes it clear that the economic and political implications of half of the population living in abysmal conditions in a



city aspiring to be a ‘world city’ is a development paradox to which solutions are sought through measures like limiting the number of tolerated slums through cut-off dates, accelerating the pace of SRSs (slums rehabilitation schemes, 1995) and initiating other programmes along similar lines. Developers have high incentives operating under free market. Indeed, the SRS made efforts right at the moment of an unprecedented escalation of real estate that was directly caused by liberalization measures and rapidly increasing demand for urban land. The method is to allow ‘Incentive FSI’ to the developers who could then make profit by selling the surplus FSI as tenements or in the form of Transfer of Development Rights (TDR) in the open market. So far planning is concerned, urban planning in Mumbai has become an instrument in the hands of the capitalists to fulfill their interests. These points can be seen in much of the slum demolitions.

Table 3 Slum Demolitions in Mumbai in 1990s

SL No.	Year of Demolition	Slum Dwelling Demolished
1	1994	55,784
2	1995	62,285
3	1996	84,681
4	1997	108,322
5	1998	49,154
6	2004-5	94,000

Source: *Based on Mahadevia & Narayanan, 2009*

6. PLANNING VERSUS GOVERNANCE- INCLUDING THE EXCLUDED AND MARGINALIZED CITIZENS

Planning has been changing in its meaning and agenda but remains as a profession of state legitimized actions. In the name of creating an orderly, hygienic and aesthetically pleasing environment, urban planning denies the poor access to adequate housing and environment. Urban planning also works in a top-down frame in spheres of development and allocation of urban spaces. The institutionalization of planning practices within a complex bureaucracy has contributed to the

re-politicization of urban planning. It has become a mode of intervention that is only implemented when it serves the specific interests of specific parties. Therefore, it has left imprints of advantages to a few and disadvantage to the majority in the cities like Mumbai and Bengaluru. In need of the world class city reward, planning has been shifting its agenda and goals to facilitate the optimum use of cities and carrying out the restructuring of urban space. The fact is that the citizens stay out of decision making processes and are vulnerable in various ways in urban areas.

Strong governance can lift such marginalized sections of urban population and bring them in the decision making spheres for urban development and provision of fundamental services and facilities. Lama-Rewal (2009) quotes UN Habitat report that urban governance is the sum of many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action can be taken. It includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements and the social capital of cities. Although, a beginning has been made during the last one and half decade, it must be strengthened in a proper way for sustainable urban governance.



For example, Chamaraj and Rao (2006) point out that although formation of ward committees for the implementation of 74th CAA in Bengaluru is right direction, their weak and undemocratic structure, lack of access to information, lack of empowerment with funds, functions, functionaries and facilities made decentralization through wards committees largely unfruitful in Bangalore Mahanagar Palika. In similar vein the city has not established the Metropolitan Planning Committee yet. The nature of local body is more or less a service delivery organization. Further, the functions of 'economic and social development' listed in 12th Schedule of 74th CAA need to be brought under the obligatory list of functions of Karnataka Municipal Corporation Act and these in turn given to wards committees for implementation.

Whereas in Mumbai, the BMC is in charge of public transport, health, education, water supply and sewerage, slums improvement as well as electricity functions in the island city, a function not included in the 12th Schedule of 74th CAA. Here, out of all the eighteen functions mentioned in the 12th schedule, only two i.e. urban planning (including town planning) and regulation of land use and construction of buildings, are not under the control of the BMC but shared with a number of agencies. The politics of development and rehabilitation is also affecting majority of slums dwellers in the city and depriving them in basic services and facilities. Participation and involvement of citizens through formal and informal ways must be realized in the city development and local bodies be strengthened. Planning actions have to be democratized and made inclusive in nature. The marginalized sections and social groups, and civil society groups, have to contribute in the city planning and allocation of urban scarce resources and facilities, to make governance happen.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Propelled by economic progresses, urbanization is an inevitable process. So, slums are an integral part of cities in India and viewed in various ways through different angles or understandings. These localities have been interpreted as sites of pollution and blots on the city space. The point to be made here about the emergence of slums apart from migration and urban growth is that changing urban structure to adapt the changing economic environment of cities also affects the location of slums. Another factor is planning actions and agendas legitimized in the name of development to control urban space. The shifting goals of urban planning, as has been seen in development plans of Bengaluru and Mumbai cities, have both direct and indirect influences on the urban poor and their living spaces. The restructuring of urban space changes spatial organization of the city. The city is preparing itself to facilitate and meet the neoliberal agenda and requirement of the global economy rather than overcoming the internal challenges. Doing so, it recreates the internal differences and spaces of inequality where majority of urban population remain vulnerable. The increasing demands for space in the city



take place on the costs of poor settlements and so called 'informal settlements'. Certain portions of the city are cleared and replaced with efficient use and other related purposes. Here, planning, which stood for long as a medium for welfare of urban population, plays a key role in preparing cities and providing the world class infrastructure and facilities for functioning of market economy. Land use policy changes indicate the sign of supporting the neoliberal processes. Slum development policy changes and politics reinforces these processes deeper, the measures taken to solve slums problems remain uneven and partial.

Planning goals change as the economic environment changes at the city level as well national level. Planning has remained top-down and bureaucratic in nature. Today it has become increasingly exclusionary in character. Therefore, urban governance and involvement of people is essential part in the urban development and planning. Although there have been attempts to realize the democratic planning as per the constitutional amendment act, we have to go a long way to achieve that goal. Local level planning can play an important role in the overall and inclusive development of the city. A combination of citizens, civil society and associations would be crucial factor to pursue strong local governance agenda. The current global factors and forces are affecting the urban space and economy. Democratic governance would offer advantages and strengthen local politics for providing space for the marginalized sections and vulnerable dwellers in cities.

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