

Battles for Bangalore: Reterritorialising the City

Janaki Nair

Centre for the Study of Culture and Society

Bangalore, India

A divided city, cleaved by a swathe of parkland and administrative buildings that runs from north west to south east, was united in the single Bangalore City Corporation in 1949.¹ No longer did the Bangalore Civil and Military station (referred to as the Cantonment, and the location since 1809 of British troops and their followers), have a separate administration from the old city area. And not just a geographical unity was forged, since the maps of linguistic, cultural and political traditions were redrawn. A previous move to unite the Cantonment, then under the control of the British Resident, with the rest of Princely Mysore was resisted by several cultural and economic groups that had long resided in the Station and enjoyed the perquisites of serving the colonial masters.² A flurry of petitions protested the proposed "retrocession" of 1935 which would bring the Bangalore Cantonment under the Mysore administration; only the war delayed this move until July 1947.³

By 1949, such petitions were no deterrent to the plans of the new masters. But in the five decades since the formation of the Bangalore corporation, the city's east-west zonation continues to persist, and the uncomfortable question of "independence"⁴, or at least administrative freedom of the erstwhile cantonment has often been reiterated⁵. Most frequently, this has been in response to emerging cultural and political movements that seek to reterritorialise the city, refashioning its symbols, monuments or open spaces to evoke other memories, or histories that reflect the triumphs of the nation state, the hopes and aspirations of linguistic nationalisms or of social groups who have long lacked either economic or symbolic capital in the burgeoning city of Bangalore. Such battles sharpened after the city of Bangalore became the capital of the unified state of Karnataka in 1956, and a premier metropolis of the southern region. Today, the dream of turning Bangalore into a "city-state" is shared by the corporate sector, amidst forlorn hopes of keeping at bay those political forces that serve as a frustrating ideological drag on the Information Technology industry's visions of "spaceless" production.⁶

This article will examine the question of how space in Bangalore city has been appropriated, deployed or controlled by competing interests and ideologies over the five decades since 1949. Specifically, the article turns to the symbolic spatial strategies of dominant and ascendent cultural or economic groups, strategies that link in everyday practice the physical-material and mental-imaginative aspects of social space.⁷ What emblems of the colonial past, for instance, have been replaced or found a fresh lease of life within the newly dominant corporate cultural order? What nationalist fictions have found symbolic expression in the city? How has the increasing dominance of global capital on the one hand or older cultural

formations on the other been challenged by spatial strategies of relatively newer claims on the city? And finally how do these political strategies rearticulate notions of "citizenship" or acknowledge the marks of caste and gender in ways that were unanticipated within the moral cultural ground of modernity and indeed "civil" society as Partha Chatterjee has recently suggested?⁸

New political and social forces which have laid claim to the city in order to make it their own have evolved varied and incommensurate strategies: invoking the language of rights to the city, or contesting uses of the city's past or deploying images that recast power in the city. If Bangalore has, especially in the last two decades, come to exemplify both "consumption of space as well as a space of consumption",⁹ these competing claims on city space set limits to the consumption of the city's colonial and royalist past, as exemplified in campaigns to "Bring Back Beauty to Bangalore"¹⁰, and to keep production and the labouring classes safely invisible. Bangalore's class, caste and ethnic fractions occupy, control or deploy space in ways that recover visibility, so that the city is a far more disturbed zone than what is valorised in technocratised planning.¹¹ These processes not only express the uneven development of capitalist relations in the city, but of challenges to the "universals" (and their exclusions) on which Indian modernity is founded.

The City in the Past

The eastern and western zones of Bangalore have long developed along distinct historical, demographic, economic and spatial trajectories.¹² The western part or pettah of Bangalore has existed for at least 460 years, beginning as a small mud fort of Kempe Gowda I. Chosen more for its strategic location overlooking a ridged valley, it soon developed an economic vibrance as part of an inland emporium of the Mysore plateau, along with Srirangapatnam and Mysore¹³, absorbing the manufactures of towns such as Channapatna, Doddballapur and Kanakpura. A primary textile and weapon manufactory in the time of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, the city was deindustrialised with the onset of British rule, and remained a mere entrepot for military goods through most of the 19th century, hardly extending its boundaries until the 20th century.

The cantonment, founded in 1809 to the east, was a military station in a foreign territory. Though industrial enterprise was conspicuously absent through the 19th and early 20th centuries, barring breweries, a large tobacco factory and several tanneries,¹⁴ cantonment boundaries were more expansive. Through the twentieth century, the city has had at least three new leases of economic life. At first, Bangalore was the location of some large private textile mills and several other joint-sector companies, this industrial profile was dramatically transformed during the war and just after independence when Bangalore became the location of several large public sector industries and their ancillaries, employing more than 110,000 workers in the sixties¹⁵ and more than 300,000 in the mid eighties.¹⁶ As the capital of the newly unified and

enlarged linguistic state of Karnataka in 1956, the city's economic dominance of the southern Karnataka region was extended to include the northern districts. Today, although the public sector units are gradually being dismantled in keeping with the logics of liberalisation, Bangalore has become the location of a substantial electronic and Information Technology industry¹⁷, while garment manufacture employs close to 80,000 workers, most of whom are female.

For a while after the formation of the single corporation of Bangalore, the divided city heritage was acknowledged in the choice of Mayor and Deputy Mayor from the City and the Cantonment in turns.¹⁸ The city continues to bear the marks of its divided past, with two densely populated commercial areas served by their own bus and train depots and markets.¹⁹ While the spacious lines of the former cantonment have today become the core of the unified city -- a blend of business space with the residential that has appealed to national and multinational capital -- the old city cores have remained important production and commercial centres.

More striking were the linguistic and cultural distinctions between the zones, since the Cantonment had attracted a large number of camp followers from Tamil speaking areas of the neighbouring Madras Presidency.²⁰ Consequently, the Kannada language's restricted presence in the city was only altered in two decades of somewhat spectacular demographic growth, the decade of 1941-1951 when the population grew by 100 per cent, and the decade of 1971-81 when the city grew by 76 per cent.²¹ The city drew more migrants from districts within the state after the 1950s, significantly altering the linguistic map of the city.²²

If Bangalore has had the reputation of a "clean" city that is "cosmopolitan" in character, and "tolerant of income disparities"²³ it is not merely the topography that is being described. True, the strongly middle class demographic profile and the relative invisibility of the labouring poor contributes to such an image, since slums account only for between 15-19 per cent of the city's population, figures that compare favourably with other metros such as Hyderabad.²⁴ Yet such descriptions ideologically privilege an absence, the relatively weak and delayed emergence of nationalist politics in the city and the severely restricted career of the left, which in the post independence years was founded on the (overwhelmingly male) trade unionism of the privileged public sector and large private units, such as MICO. Over the past two decades, however, the city's claim on "tolerance" has weakened, such attributes even taking on a pejorative meaning among those arguing for a more assertive linguistic ethnics, marking a break from earlier efforts at redefining the city's colonial past.

Pasts in the City

Which of the city's many histories would the new masters evoke in their monuments, spaces and architecture? Here was a city marked more strongly by its colonial and monarchical legacies than by participation in national or other movements for social change. Nationalist ideologies were late to develop,

and were always somewhat overwhelmed by the culture of royalism. Predictably, the imperial and indigenous royal legacy is writ large in the erstwhile cantonment area, in the form of place names, parks and statues, and architectural features which the newly migrant multinational houses have found uniquely allied with the styles of consumption they wish to promote²⁵. Pride in, and nostalgia for this aristocratic past, has clearly marked conservation efforts, architectural imaginations and literary genres alike.²⁶

It took another nationalism, the linguistic nationalism of Kannada which flowered after reorganisation of the Indian states in 1956, to challenge and transform some symbolic legacies of the colonial period, and to realise one of the earliest decisions of the corporation of Bangalore. As early as 1949, the Corporation decided to demolish a cenotaph honouring British soldiers who had died during the battle for Bangalore in 1791-92.²⁷ Demolishing the monument which stood before the Corporation offices would erase the memory of historic humiliation, its place taken by a symbol of national pride and glorious Indian antiquity, the Asoka pillar.²⁸ Yet nothing came of this decision until a new battle for Bangalore began more than a decade later, when the movement to enshrine Kannada as the state's official language began to reach beyond the restricted realms of protests and activities of the literary elite.²⁹ By this time, Mysore State, and more properly Bangalore, was moving out of the cultural shadow of the Madras Presidency. It was Madras that had supplied generations of bureaucrats and workers, and even performing artistes for the annual music and dance season in Bangalore. It was to Madras city that generations of aspiring Bangalore officials had travelled for their higher education; even the fledgling Kannada film industry found its feet in that Presidency city.

The nascent Kannada movement's battle for Bangalore was to wrest linguistic control or at least dominance in a city that was at once state capital, industrial metropolis and gateway to new and intensified forms of consumption. Anti-imperial protests were therefore merely a prelude to asserting the Kannadiga as the true son-of-the-city-soil, whether in jobs or educational opportunities. Producing a cityscape of Kannada cultural heroes -- figures from history, intellectuals or artistes and politicians -- could become possible only when the supporters of Kannada and Karnataka found a mass base in Bangalore and seats in the municipal corporation.

In 1962, leading litterateur Aa Na Krishna Rao launched a protest against (the Tamilian) MS Subbalakshmi's concert during the Ramanavami festival in Bangalore, decrying the neglect of Kannada artistes saying "Idu Ramotsava alla, Tamilotsava" ("This is not a festival for Rama, but of Tamils").³⁰ This coincided with the period when the Kannada film industry, so crucial to the development of linguistic identity, was seeking to relocate in the unified Mysore state's capital. By this time, too, employment in the Bangalore based public sector industries began attracting Kannada speaking migrants,³¹ to whom the city offered new possibilities for economic, cultural and political redefinition, just as it had for their Tamil and Malayalam speaking forerunners.

Even as protests against the perceived hegemony of Tamil/Tamilians in Bangalore were beginning,

the consensus on installing the Asoka pillar had yielded place to a new initiative in 1959 to commemorate the life of Kempegowda, the founder of Bangalore. The absence of a reliable visual record of the legendary hero delayed work on the statue for five years.³² When plans were finally made to instal it on November 1 1964, to commemorate the day on which a unified Karnataka came into being,³³ the long forgotten call to remove the offensive cenotaph in the area was renewed.³⁴ In September 1964, following several assaults on the cenotaph by groups of Kannada Chaluvalli volunteers who threatened to destroy it³⁵, corporation authorities sought permission from the Chief Minister to demolish the British war memorial.³⁶ Today, Kempegowda's statue presides over Narasimharaja Square in front of the City Corporation offices, while Cenotaph Road has been renamed after the Kannada poet Nrupathunga.

The image of the city as a refuge for the hard working son-of-the-soil (Kempegowda) was soon deployed in one of the early Rajkumar films *Mayor Muthanna*. Cast out of his village because he was falsely implicated in a temple theft, Muthanna (Rajkumar) arrives in the bewildering city of Bangalore, and falls asleep at the foot of Kempegowda's statue. Not surprisingly, his first encounter in the city is with the state's emissary, the policeman on night beat who rudely evicts him from the spot. Muthanna, appeals to Kempegowda's bronze visage "O Kempegowda! You built this city for people to survive and live in, but if there is no space for an orphan like me to lie down, what kind of city is this?"³⁷ Of course, Muthanna goes on to triumph in the city of Bangalore, and eventually becomes the Mayor himself: the rural migrant finds not only a job, a home and a wife in the city, but political power by rescuing the institutions of the newly independent state from venal politicians.

The erasure of a colonial memory was thus accompanied by an assertion of regional pride, which in turn was swiftly deployed against other linguistic groups in the city. The shift in attention to the dominance of Tamil in parts of Bangalore has therefore muted protests against the symbols of colonial rule: the tarring of Queen Victoria's statue during the protest against the Dunkel Draft in 1994 by the GATT Virodhi Okkuta was an exception rather than the rule.³⁸ In part this is due to the zealous protection of this heritage by new corporate sponsors³⁹, but more important it is because the focus, at least of sections of the Kannada movement, is more clearly on keeping other linguistic and cultural heroes away from the public spaces of the city.

The Territories of Linguistic Nationalism

Muthanna's filmic fortunes were not usually matched by other new migrants into the Bangalore of the 1960s. The sense of being a "local refugee" haunted the Kannadiga migrant, in a city, or more properly the cantonment area, that was awash with English and, more distressing, Tamil popular culture. M. Chidanandamurthy, a Professor of Kannada literature who grew up in a small town of Shimoga, speaks in his autobiography of being humiliated at a theatre in the Cantonment area when he asked for a ticket in Kannada.⁴⁰ The city of Bangalore and more properly the cantonment was alien not simply because it

was a zone where Kannada was rarely heard but one where Tamil enjoyed a dominance, although largely among the working classes. "In every public sector unit," says Ra Nam Chandrasekhar, a worker at Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) and activist of the Kannada Shakti Kendra, "we only saw groups of workers reading Tamil newspapers, not Kannada ones."⁴¹ Underlying the anxiety about the visibility, or more correctly audibility of Kannada, was a concern for jobs in the prestigious public sector, whose workers were the Labour aristocracy, earning good wages, enjoying relatively undemanding work routines, with all the perquisites of housing and transport and subsidised canteens, much of which was enabled by the actions of strong and centralised, usually left wing, unions. Not surprisingly, unions, as well as the ebullient workers' cultural troupes and organisations that sprang up at these units, soon became the battle ground of new Kannada entrants.⁴² Kannada sanghas in turn received a shot in the arm from those managements anxious to curb the growing influence of left wing unions in the public sector.⁴³

In its early stages, the political models of the Kannada movement were those of Tamil nationalism. The geographies of violence during the mid-1960s anti-Hindi movement in Bangalore revealed clear patterns of Tamil-led street protests: apocryphal tales still circulate of Kannadigas being "shamed" into resisting Hindi imposition by the "gift of bangles" from Tamil activists. We may note the very specific ways in which language politics was *gendered* even in its early stages, masculinising the movement for linguistic solidarity, even while the language itself was symbolically feminised as "Kannada Bhuvaneswari", a female deity to be worshipped and protected. Many Kannada activists cut their political teeth within the Dravida Kazhagam (DK, rationalist) movement. The Kannada flag designed by Ma Ramamurthy in the 1960s bore more than striking resemblance to the flamboyant colours of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam flag, black and red, although perhaps not unwittingly, evocative of the sacral colours of Hinduism, red and yellow.⁴⁴

Kannada activists were not slow in seeking an end to Hindi domination, but also a reduced Tamil presence, demanding films in their own language.⁴⁵ The link between linguistic and cultural dominance was most visible in the realm of cinema, since the Tamil film held its own against Hollywood and Hindi films in the city. Kannada films were a distant fourth or even fifth in this hierarchy. Controversy first broke out over *Kanchi Thalaivan* (1963) which portrayed the Pallava kings' triumph over the Chlaukyas.⁴⁶ The same groups, led by Vatal Nagaraj's Kannada Chaluvalligars, which had staged their protest against the cenotaph, threatened to force the closure of theatres where Tamil films were being shown.⁴⁷

Although, by 1973, the anti-Hindi agitation was more firmly in the hands of Kannada activists, they could not quite overcome the charge of being poor imitators, relying too heavily on the state to take initiatives which Tamil nationalists had won on the streets. Indeed, when the Karnataka Government made the unexpected announcement in 1977 that it would shift the "statues of three foreigners" out of the Cubbon Park (the statues of Victoria, Edward and Mark Cubbon), the middle class its opposition to the erosion of a precious aesthetic legacy, suggesting that unlike Tamil Nadu there had been no popular or vociferous

demand for such a shift.⁴⁸ Bangalore has been remarkably free from what has been described as the "statue culture" a highly politicised phenomenon in Tamil Nadu.⁴⁹ Nor had the state been notably active in commemorating its cultural past, at least until the 1980s. There is no massing of statues in one designated area such as Marina Beach in Chennai or Tank bund in Hyderabad, where the cultural and political heroes (a few heroines) of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh respectively are honoured through the munificence of the state.

By the time of the Gokak agitation of 1982 (it demanded sole first language status for Kannada), which was supported not just by the intelligentsia but by Kannada sanghas in various industrial units, Dalit organisations, and professional groups, the Kannada movement had found a new and confident voice.⁵⁰ If anything, the Kannada movement in Bangalore gained disproportionately from state-wide mobilisations centred in Hubli-Dharwar, historically the cultural centre of Bombay Karnataka and home of Kannada Ekikarana movement. The Gokak agitation coincided with Kannada matinee idol Rajkumar's decision to shift his work and residence from Madras to Bangalore, and seek a possible entry into politics.⁵¹ Rajkumar's fugitive existence during the highly publicised Chikmagalur election of 1978, eventually won by Mrs Indira Gandhi, had propped up the mythology of a self effacing hero, who had "refused to enter politics".⁵² The popularity of the Gokak movement coupled with a growing fan culture were signs that 1982 was far more appropriate historical conjuncture; it was the entry of Rajkumar and the Rajkumar Abhimanigala Sangha (Rajkumar Fans' Association) into the Gokak movement that decisively altered the nature of its mass appeal.

A new and more belligerent face of Kannada activism soon became evident in the occupation of public spaces both in a temporary and more permanent sense. If newer Tamil dominated slum areas have been the target of rioters, older and more established Tamil localities have been the site of symbolic occupations. Poles sporting the Kannada flag mounted on tiled platforms that figure Kannada Bhuvanewari, have proliferated across the city in the years since 1982, at street corners and in circles, as road dividers and as signs of the mobilising efforts of small neighbourhood youth groups and Kannada sanghas. The President of the Rajkumar Abhimanigala Sangha Sa Ra Govindu claims that more than 40 per cent of flagposts that dot the city were inaugurated by him⁵³. Flags in front of major public sector units proclaim the pride of Kannada sons-of-the-soil, leaving no doubt as to the markedly (male) gendered politics of language. The Kannada Rajyothsava day on November 1 has become an annual occasion for young Kannadiga males to occupy street corners, as a gesture of celebration of Karnataka unification but also in defiance of other class and linguistic oeuvres.

Yet if red and yellow flags are particularly numerous in areas which are dominated by Tamilians such as Ulsoor or Murphy Town, they do not symbolise linguistic dominance: rather they serve to *visually* compensate for what is plainly an *auditory* absence. Nor does the Kannada movement speak in one voice. Groups such as the Karnataka Vimochana Ranga (KVR), a left wing organisation, have rallied cultural

workers and intellectuals to challenge the state's development strategies: far from restricting itself to issues of language, KVR has organised against the Japanese township at Bidadi, against GATT and most recently against the proposed Bangalore Mysore corridor.⁵⁴ Yet though KVR narrativises Karnataka history differently and questions the dominant paradigms of economic development⁵⁵, it those who are seeking a stake within this paradigm that have become the dominant voice of the movement, those for whom claims for land, labour or water, are based on the exclusive identities of language⁵⁶. Rajkumar's call for a Bangalore *bundh* (symbolic shutting down of the city) in 1984 to compel the state to reintroduce Kannada examinations for the Class III and IV employees⁵⁷ proved deeply unpopular, and effectively thwarted his launch into electoral politics. But it also established the more strident face of Kannada nationalism in the city.⁵⁸ The poet Chennavira Kanavi's words became the call to battle: "Hesaraayithu Karnataka, Usiragali Kannada" ("The name is now Karnataka; let us breathe the air of Kannada")⁵⁹. It was a battle that marshalled census figures and data to emphasise Kannada's dominated status at the same time as it mobilised troops who would lay claim to city spaces.

The Politics of Compensation

The invisibility of Kannada and Kannadigas within Karnataka (where only 65 per cent of the people claim Kannada as their mother tongue) is emphasised in language activists' analyses of demographic change in Bangalore city. Not only are Kannada speakers a minority in Bangalore (35%) but non-Kannadigas such as "north Indians" dominate the business world, while Tamils and Malayalis dominate the privileged enclaves of industrial work, and even trade union leadership.⁶⁰ Statistics are used to prove that Tamils constitute the most numerous, though declining, body of migrants into the city after Kannadigas. In the view of groups such as the Shakthi Kendra, Tamils are the stubbornly unassimilable minority in the city, flaunting their language, cultural symbols and heroes unlike the Telugus or the Malayalis.⁶¹

The longer history of Tamil residence in the erstwhile cantonment has certainly produced a well developed identity that newer Tamil migrants, particularly from non-upper castes, have found easy to identify with. The Bangalore Tamil Sangam has played an important role in enabling such assimilation, promoting Tamil literary and cultural programmes since 1950, as well as organising Kannada classes (since 1962) popular among Government employees seeking promotions⁶². Despite this record, it was the Sangam's effort to instal a statue of its cultural hero, Thiruvalluvar, that led to a bitter and prolonged controversy that remains unresolved.

Statues of Thiruvalluvar, a Sangam poet, are common in many parts of Tamil Nadu and in Tamil dominated areas such as Kolar Gold Field. A proposal to instal one in the lake opposite the Tamil Sangam was agreed to by the then Chief Minister S Nijalingappa in 1968⁶³, although the revived proposal was turned down by the Bangalore Urban Arts Commission in the late 1970s on aesthetic grounds⁶⁴. Following

the allotment of a small park bordering the lake in 1989, the Tamil Sangam began a collection drive from members and sympathisers in early 1991⁶⁵, and plans were made to unveil it on September 1, 1991 after the Corporation Commissioner's permission was obtained.⁶⁶ By late August, when some Kannada organisations led by Kannada Shakti Kendra and Kannada Pulakesi Sangha got wind of the plans, the statue was already installed. The Kannada groups sought a stay on the unveiling function, questioning the authority of the Commissioner to give permission without a debate in the Corporation Council.⁶⁷ Meanwhile, dharnas and protests grew steadily more violent until the Commissioner withdrew his permission.⁶⁸

There were a number of registers on which the protests were pitched. For one, the installation of the statue was seen as a deliberate reterritorialising of the Ulsoor area. The Bangalore Tamil Sangam President's unwitting remark that the statue could not be offensive since it was in a Tamil dominated area only proved more irksome to those who had desired that Bangalore city should reflect "Kannada culture and civilisation"⁶⁹. One objection was to the statue's location on public (secular) ground, rather than the Sangham's own premises.⁷⁰ Also, Kannada Pulakesi Sangha leader Pramila Nesargi and others claimed that the alacrity with which the Commissioner agreed to the statue was in conspicuous contrast to his lukewarm attitude to similar demands from Kannadigas⁷¹. Betraying both envy and fear of the more robust Tamil nationalism, activists bargained for equivalent compensation, certain that the Tamil Nadu Government would never agree to a demand for a statue of a Kannada hero in Chennai.⁷²

The vociferous protests against the Tamil Sangham had unintended consequences⁷³, since pictures of a fully wrapped statue of Thiruvalluvar served to rally Tamilians in other parts of Karnataka and all over Tamil Nadu⁷⁴. The Tamil Sangam in particular and Tamilians in general have also been at pains to point out that Thiruvalluvar cannot be strictly called a Tamil national hero since his *Kural* does not mention Tamil or Tamil Nadu as a region, that his poetry has universal appeal as a code of ethics and morality rather than being a rallying call of Tamil nationalism⁷⁵.

The politics of compensation deployed by the Kannada activists was quickly turned to the advantage of the Tamils. Did not the Tamil Nadu Government honour the Kannada technocrat Sir M Visvesvaraya with a tower and a park in his name?⁷⁶ Had not a large number of Tamilians made vital contributions to the Kannada literature⁷⁷? Had not the Indian state itself conceded that Thiruvalluvar belonged to the pantheon of Indian heroes by honouring the poet in Delhi?⁷⁸ Was not the opposition to the Thiruvalluvar statue a sign then of working against national integration?⁷⁹ A move towards conciliation has been made by the Bangalore Tamil Sangam and the Chennai Kannada Balaga by seeking permission for a statue of the 17th century Kannada poet, Sarvagna in Chennai⁸⁰.

By no means did the Kannada organisations that raised virulent opposition to the Thiruvalluvar statue speak for all Kannada intellectuals and social groups. A large group of Kannada intellectuals publicly condemned this stand as trivialising the cause of Kannada, and undoing a unique heritage that has been enriched by several languages.⁸¹ Many of them had consistently opposed the more belligerent, and

anti-minority, turn that the Kannada movement had taken in Bangalore since the Gokak agitation.⁸² Another critic of Kannada chauvinism, KRRS chief Nanjundaswamy said both Tamils and Kannadigas should make common cause as Dravidians.⁸³ Opposition to the Kannada protagonists was framed quite differently by the Karnataka Samata Sainik Dal which laid claim to Thiruvalluvar as a Dalit poet, and read the opposition of upper caste Kannadigas as another move to deny Dalits any visibility.⁸⁴

These dissenting voices were overwhelmed by the strident tone of groups such as the Kannada Shakti Kendra and the Rajkumar Abhimanigala sangha against Tamil cultural assertion, a tone that became more menacing in the days leading up to the Cauvery agitation and anti-Tamil riots of December 1991 following a central directive regarding the sharing of the Cauvery river waters.⁸⁵ Many Kannada leaders emphasised that the people of Karnataka were paying the price for their historic tolerance of other communities; violence was to be the new language of the Kannada movement. No wonder then that the Tamil groups in turn took to a defensive reinterpretation of Bangalore's history, suggesting through an analysis of place names and temples that the region had been a Tamil stronghold since the time of the Cholas. "In fact," said the Tamil Sangham pamphlet *A Mute Genocide*, "Tamils of Bangalore and Kolar are the original inhabitants and these areas were gradually colonised"⁸⁶. The alleged arrogance of former Tamil Sangam President Maran in saying "I was born in Bangalore, not in Karnataka" echoed demands for Bangalore's "autonomy" from the region.⁸⁷

The attempt to forge a unity of all Kannada speakers was not unmarked by caste: in 1967, the Karmika Sangha at BEL (Bharat Electronics Limited) was seen not only as a Kannada sangha but more correctly, a sangha of newly urbanising agricultural castes with no experience of factory life.⁸⁸ Non-upper caste Kannada and Tamil workers were therefore warned against the possible reassertion of upper caste hegemony by the leaders of the Kannada movement.⁸⁹ Given the growing claims on the city's economic political and cultural spaces, both in a physical-material and a mental-ideological sense, the state too deployed public spaces within Bangalore in accordance with emerging political alignments, sometimes on avowedly caste bases. Karnataka Chief Minister Bangarappa, for instance, only withdrew his decision to unveil the Thiruvalluvar statue after protests began, but found it politically expedient to embrace an anti-Tamil stance during the Cauvery riots. By the late 1980s, when new ways of marking the locality or of deploying space to proclaim identities were becoming common, the state maintained no neutrality. For instance, if state as well as popular initiative combined to provide Dalits in the city with a new visibility, it was equally crucial that state apparatuses remain alert in protecting these symbols of power.

Geographies of Caste

More than two lakh Dalits from all corners of the state descended on the state capital on August 19, 1981, during the regime of Congress I CM Gundu Rao, to attend the unveiling of a bronze statue of Babasaheb Ambedkar, national hero and chief architect of the Indian constitution.⁹⁰ Ambedkar's

emphatically national status was proclaimed by the fact that the unquestionable hero of the new Indian nation, Jawaharlal Nehru, was eventually placed opposite him. But a different Ambedkar was beginning to be deployed in city and village spaces to become the proud symbol of self assertion on the part of Dalits. The extraordinary spatial congruence between caste and class, for long disavowed by technocratised town planning, was thereby made visible, this time not as a mark of a social position within a caste hierarchy but as a new political identity.

A flurry of activity relating to the installation of Ambedkar statues was taken up in various localities (Tilaknagar and Kadugondahalli to name just two areas), though only sometimes by Dalits themselves: such symbolic spatial strategies were equally deployed by local MLAS or council representatives seeking the support and sympathy of the Dalits. Before long, the Ambedkar statue had become a new deity on the city horizon, attacks on which were as routine as attacks and violations of Dalits themselves.⁹¹ Semantic shifts in news reports of such attacks reflected the gradually evolving status of these symbols: beginning with the use of the word "defaced" or even "defiled", reference to such vandalism has more recently always been described as "desecration".⁹²

The primacy of class over caste in the ideologies of city planning has obscured from view the very real ways in which upper castes have historically appropriated and controlled space in the city. In the colonial period, it was caste and community that dominated the vision of town planners as was evident in plans for the two new extensions of Basavangudi and Malleswaram⁹³, but also in the arrangements that were made in other areas of the town such as Knoxpet or Murphy Town.⁹⁴ In the post independence period, the class-based ordering of space has repressed, not effaced, the operations of caste, with lower castes more or less exclusively being confined to the burgeoning slums and poorer areas of Bangalore.⁹⁵

The emergence in the 1970s of a Dalit movement primarily led by the Dalit Sangarsh Samiti (DSS), and the policy of reservations have combined to provide new avenues of improvement for Dalits in the city. The state, meanwhile, has been quick to respond to or even pre-empt Dalit anger on questions relating to symbols of assertion, thereby seeking to keep in check a radical challenge to the caste order. Indeed, as Mangaluru Vijaya, longtime activist of the DSS pointed out, the Samiti has never made statue building a programme, but has always reacted strongly to cases of vandalism, largely to counter the placatory role played by the state.⁹⁶

Emerging job and educational opportunities have produced a layer of Dalits whose class position has distanced them from the symbols and structures so dear to other Dalits. For instance, the name of Ambedkar has been used to set up a private medical college, ostensibly to serve the needs of Dalits for higher education, although such private colleges are guided more by financial concerns. This became clear in December 1995, when a group of 7 inebriated students at the Ambedkar Medical college, including three Dalits, vandalised the bust of Ambedkar in front of the college, and offered liquor and meat to the statue.⁹⁷ Violent state wide protests followed for ten days, with various Dalit groups, particularly the DSS, calling

for stern action against the culprits, and demanding the resignation of Kannada and Culture Minister Lalitha Naik, herself a Dalit, for her son's involvement in the incident.⁹⁸ The protests targetted state property through rail rokos, road blocks, burning of buses and demonstrations, particularly in district headquarters, and in Dalit dominated areas of Bangalore.⁹⁹ Lalitha Naik's defiant refusal to resign her post quickly evaporated in the face of unrelenting opposition.

The scale of Dalit protests was quite unprecedented and overwhelmed the Government's feeble claims that opposition was primarily focused against a Dalit woman in power.¹⁰⁰ The Government in turn claimed credit for its contribution to building a positive Dalit identity: translating Ambedkar's work into Kannada and building Ambedkar Bhavans in the state. This was no simple case of upper caste contempt for Dalit symbols: if anything, the politics of class and gender seemed to blunt the force of a exclusively caste argument. The People's Democratic Front report revealed that all the seven students involved in the vandalism had bought seats for a capitation fee, and that a culture of asserting class privilege had already set in even among the Dalit students.¹⁰¹ The Ambedkar college incident cast new light on the problems generated by the increased privatisation of higher education in the state, and the creation of new economic elites. Ambedkar Medical College was no exception: it could not claim to represent the desire of many poor or marginalised Dalits for high quality education.¹⁰²

Even so, the massive Dalit response speaks of an emerging economy of symbols in the process of self definition in the city. Space that has been "deterritorialised" by the operations of the real estate market or the town planning process are being "reterritorialised" in new ways. Protests over perceived insults to symbols of caste or ethnic assertion have increased at a time when there has been an intensified consumption of (particularly urban) space. In contrast to the move to replace place names that are reminiscent of the colonial master with those that resonate with Kannada cultural pride, newer corporate groups and old elites have more than amply declared their interest in protecting and nurturing some of the more elegant architectural and spatial legacies of central Bangalore, through the establishment of the Bangalore Urban Arts Commission and the corporate "sponsorship" of major, and it must be emphasised colonial, historical monuments. This has not been without a complementary definition of the meaning of responsible citizenship, its modes of protest and its political responsibilities.

The Citizen's Initiative

If there has lately been a proliferation of symbols of linguistic and caste identities in the making, there has also been a renewed interest and even pride in the colonial heritage. The statue of Queen Victoria, periodically the target of anti-imperialist anger has, in the late 1990s, become a feature of the city's heritage protected by the well-known Bombay building firm, Raheja's. However, it has also been, at least since 1993, the rallying point of the 'citizens' of Bangalore, a place for the display of righteous anger that is markedly different from the actions of 'political society', a counterpoint to those who rally around the

Mahatma's statue just across the road.

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 to less than 300 acres.¹⁰³ 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' 32 acres of parkland for the purpose of extending the Legislator's Home.¹⁰⁴ The arguments against the proposed buildings have ranged from an interest in protecting the park as an important ecological niche¹⁰⁵, following a census of trees and butterflies that was conducted during the protests¹⁰⁶, to those which express indignation at the 'unaccountable actions' of politicians and anger at the deteriorating condition of public services in the city¹⁰⁷.

The Cubbon Park protest, which was widely covered in the English language press, given the deliberate deployment of local personalities, came at a moment when the plurality of public uses of the Park had already been severely restricted. Through the late 1970s and 1980s the park had been the location of political rallies and meetings, while the corner directly facing the Vidhana Soudha, housing the state legislature, was regularly used for political protests, sometimes spread over several days. Since 1997, rallies have been banned in the park¹⁰⁸, and protestors have moved to the edges of the park, most favouring the statue of Mahatma Gandhi and another major road junction near Visvesvaraya's statue as their new rallying points.

The choice of the Victoria statue as the location for a protest to save the park was therefore not only symbolic but aesthetic in its mobilisation of the middle class. The aesthetics of this mobilisation further involved vintage car rallies¹⁰⁹, protests by former beauty queens, actions by artists¹¹⁰, and such remarkably arcane groups as the Hash House Harriers¹¹¹. This did not preclude the use of conventional strategies such as appeals to the law¹¹², the invocation of science, and a marshalling of people's support through "opinion polls"¹¹³.

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, although the protest was also underwritten by a great deal of anxiety regarding the promotion of the city among potential global investors. Hence one of the slogans on the posters "Don't drive the birds to Hyderabad" darkly warned the political masters of the flight of capital to more attractive destinations in the south¹¹⁴.

Among the more remarkable aspects of the Cubbon Park protests was its large scale mobilisation of women¹¹⁵, in striking contrast to the (male) gendered sphere that has long characterised linguistic or caste movements, fan club or trade union activity in the city. Clearly, organisers 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 mobilisation of women and children (as well as the handicapped¹¹⁶) gave the protest a "universal" appeal¹¹⁷. In addition, the visually pleasing and "dignified" protest attracted public and media attention for conforming to rapidly vanishing norms of liberal-democratic discourse, compared with the traffic disrupting, slogan-shouting counterparts of "political society"¹¹⁸. 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 seige. It was pitted not merely against professional politicians but against the new, unrecognisable forms that politics in Indian cities had taken, and reasserted the value of restraint while producing a new if superficial consensus which had been severely fractured in other spheres of city life¹¹⁹.

Conclusion

I began this discussion of struggles over symbolic spaces by citing the destruction of a colonial symbol in the years shortly after independence, and concluded with an example that speaks of the fearless confidence with which colonial symbols have been incorporated in the 1990s era of globalisation. Yet what becomes clear in this discussion of strategies to occupy or deploy space in Bangalore city is the question of who speaks for the city's pasts, and possible futures. Politicised linguistic, caste or ethnic groups frequently frustrate the ideologies of (corporate) beauty by expressing their 'desire for democracy', rather than modernity, thereby disrupting the rational visions of the town planners and citizens who cherish the image of a city that will take its proud place in a global capitalist order. At a time when the instrumentalities of the state (the judicial or the planning apparatuses) are skilfully deployed by those possessed of a vision of modernity, the untidy often violent spatial strategies of political society may well "reterritorialise" space that has been "deterritorialised" by the globalisation of capital so that "we may well be witnessing an emerging opposition between modernity and democracy" in the contests over city-space.¹²⁰

* Versions of this work have been presented at conferences at Hiroshima Japan, and La Paz, Bolivia, as well as to colleagues at the Centre for the Study of Culture and Society, Bangalore. I have benefitted from comments at these presentations as well as those from Tejaswini Niranjana, MSS Pandian, AR Vasavi, James Heitzman, P. Sudarshan and Madhava Prasad.

Notes:

1. *Report of the Bangalore Development Committee* (Bangalore, 1954), p. 104; *The Outline Development Plan for the Bangalore Metropolitan Region* (Bangalore, 1968), p. 1-2.

2. *Papers relating to the Restoration of Jurisdiction over the Assigned Tract of Bangalore to the Mysore State*, p. 38ff; *Rejoinder from the Muslims of the C&M Station to the memorial submitted by the Central Mohammedan Association on December 12, 1934*; *Memoranda of several associations in the Retrocession of the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore to the Mysore State, 1934*; Karnataka State Archives (KSA), Bangalore.

3. Fazlul Hasan *Bangalore Through the Centuries* (Bangalore: Historical Publications, 1970), p. 129-30.

4. Deccan Herald April 6, 1970; April 15, 1970. The demand for "independence" of Cantonment was made by a militant Tamil group styling itself Tamil Sena, but was condemned by the most important Tamil political grouping at the time, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK).

5. Samyukta Karnataka March 31, 1994. The demand for a separate administration was raised by a DMK corporator protesting the neglect of certain areas of the cantonment such as Shivajinagar, Bharatinagar and Shantinagar, although remaining silent on those parts of the erstwhile cantonment that are well developed! More recently, the DMK corporator refused to participate in the vote for the mayor insisting that the Deputy Mayor must be from Cantonment. Deccan Herald December 1 1998.

6. The vision of such self governing enclaves is most clearly expressed in the sanction of a township for Information Technology (knowledge) workers, whose Mayor will be Infosys CEO NR Narayanmurthy. "It will be like a slice of life in the US" says Sanjoy Dasgupta, Secretary of IT, Government of Karnataka. "Karnataka: India's IT Powerhouse", *Economic Times Supplement*, November 1998, p. 5. Also, "Let Bangalore become a City-State", *Economic Times* 6/4/1997.

7. See Satish Deshpande "Communalising the Nation-Space: Notes on the Spatial Strategies of Hindutva" Economic and Political Weekly (EPW) 30.50 (Dec. 16, 1995), pp. 3220-3227 for a pioneering attempt to theorise the social construction and meaning of space in contemporary Indian society.

8. This draws on Partha Chatterjee's recent explication of the inadequacy of state/civil society distinctions in post colonial societies such as India and the consequent need for the category of "political" society. Chatterjee "Beyond the Nation? OR Within" Economic and Political Weekly 32.1&2 (Jan. 4-11, 1998), p. 30-34.

9. Henri Lefebvre Writings on Cities Translated and edited by Eleanore Kaufman and Elizabeth Lobas (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers 1996), p. 73.

10. The ideology of beauty which envisages a city free of "modernised and cubistic structures" air horns, spitting and littering, flyovers and graffiti found its most eloquent advocate in TP Issar, First Chairman of the Bangalore Urban Arts Commission, 1976-1980: "Bangalore: Keeping out the Wedge" Deccan Herald June 2, 1979; and "bring Back Beauty to Bangalore" Deccan Herald November 10, 1985. See also his City Beautiful: A celebration of the Architectural Heritage and City Aesthetics of Bangalore (Bangalore: Bangalore Urban Arts Commission, 1988).

11. Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, p. 84.

12. Hasan, Bangalore through the Centuries, p. 1-2; Ba Na Sundara Rao, Bengalurina Itihasa (Bangalore: Vasanth Sahitya Granthamala, 1985), p. 1-7, suggests an antiquity stretching back to the 9th century, as well alternative etymologies for the name.

13. Narayani Gupta, "Urbanism in South India: Eighteenth/ Nineteenth Centuries" in Indu Banga ed The city in Indian History (Delhi: Manohar, 1994), p. 120-147, esp 125.
14. Janaki Nair "The Emergence of Labour Politics in South India: Bangalore 1890-1947" Phd Dissertation, Syracuse University, 1991.
15. KS Rame Gowda Urban and Regional Planning Principles and Case Studies (Revised and enlarged, Mysore: Prasaranga, 1986), p. 135, 147.
16. Narender Pani "A Demographic and Economic Profile of Bangalore" (Bangalore 2000, Times Research Foundation, 1988), p. 20.
17. VN Balasubramanyam, "Bangalore is where the action is" presentation at Bangalore IT.com, November 1988.
18. Deccan Herald January 18, 1962.
19. This has been described by Prakasa Rao and Tewari as "binodality" with a "crater" in between. Prakasa Rao and V Tewari, Structure of an Indian Metropolis, p. 169-171.
20. Note on the Development of Civil and Military Station, Bangalore (no date) KSA.
21. Pani, *A demographic and Economic Profile of Bangalore*.
22. Prakasa Rao and Tewari, The structure of an Indian Metropolis, p. 245.
23. The last phrase was used by VN Balasubrahmanyam in "Bangalore is where the action is".
24. Prakasa Rao and Tewari, p. 355; H Ramachandran "Slumming of a Metropolis" in Vyasulu and Reddy ed *Essays on Bangalore* Vol. 2 (Bangalore, KSCST, 1985) p. 38 suggests that slums account for 10 percent of Bangalore population.
25. The five star hotel Windsor Manor is not only an architectural quotation from the colonial past, but celebrates the imperial heritage by calling its coffee shop "The East India Company".
26. Maya Jayapal *Bangalore: The story of a city* (EastWest Books, 1997).
27. Mysore Legislative Assembly Proceedings, Vol. 100, October 24, 1949.
28. Ibid.
29. Interview with Ra Nam Chandrasekhar, Secretary, Kannada Shakti Kendra, 7/10/1998. Chidananda Murthy Nanna Baduku, Ondu Kiruchitra, Samshodana (Bangalore, no date), p. 942.
30. *Samyukta Karnataka*, April 28, 1962.
31. In this context, I might add that the CPI dominated unions in the public, government and private sectors, were strong and usually led by people of Tamil and Malayali origin, an additional cause for both management and Kannada activists' resentment. Ra Nam Chandrasekhar, Interview 7/10/98; also Interview of Dilip Subramanian with MSL Rao, BEL worker, June 1981.

32. Interview with former Mayor, G Narayana, 25/10/98. It may be no coincidence that this Mayor was an active member of the Vokkaliga community, which claims Kempegowda as a caste hero as well.
33. Corporation of the City of Bangalore, Proceedings, Vol. 35, September 21, 1964.
34. Corporation of the City of Bangalore, Proceedings, 31 January 1964. p. 146.
35. *Samyukta Karnataka*, September 2, 1964, September 5, 1964; *Deccan Herald* September 20, 1964, September 21, 1964.
36. *Samyukta Karnataka* October 29, 1964. Corporation of the City of Bangalore, Proceedings: Resolution to Remove the Cenotaph. In his speech on the occasion of the unveiling, G Narayana said "In the 1791 battle fought by Col. Moorhouse, 600 were killed and killed cruelly. More cruel than Jallianwala Bagh! So this monument is an insult to all Indians, and especially all Kannadigas. Gone is the time when the citizens of Bangalore hung their heads in shame before a cenotaph to British victory in the city centre; in its place is the statue of Kempegowda, an achievement which has brought pride and joy." Vichara, p. 102.
37. But not before he has had a crash course in democracy from his more intrepid friend Ranga while standing before the corporation offices. Ranga who boasts of "20 years of experience in Majestic" tells an awe struck Muthanna that there are no kings in the city, only elected representatives.
38. *Samyukta Karnataka* April 16, 1994.
39. *Times of India* 16/6/95.
40. Chidanandamurthy Nanna Baduku, p. 942.
41. Interview with Ra Nam Chandrasekar, 7/10/98.
42. Interview with MSL Rao, by Dilip Subramanian, June 1981. *Samyukta Karnataka* January 25, 1962; February 25, 1964 cited Aa Na Kru talking about the insult and injustice to Kannadigas in the city.
43. Interview with MSL Rao, BEL worker, June 1981.
44. Interview with R Nam Chandrasekhar, 7/10/98.
45. *Deccan Herald* August 4, 1963; AA Na Kru condemned Kannada actor Kalyan Kumar for acting in Tamil films. The demand began to be made for a film studio in Bangalore. *Deccan Herald*, January 13, 1964.
46. Interview with Ra Nam Chandrasekhar, 7/10/98.
47. *Deccan Herald* December 28, 1960; February 20, 1962; September 8, 1962, a period when growing demands were made for Kannada films in the city.
48. *Deccan Herald* December 5, 1966, December 2, 1966.
49. A Srivatsan "Politics of Tamil Monuments", unpublished paper.
50. Chidananda Murthy, Nanna Baduku, 942-43; Kannada- kannadiga-Karnataka (Bangalore: Kannada Pustaka Pradikara, 1996), 74-80.

51. See more generally, my article "'Memories of Underdevelopment': The Identities of Language in Contemporary Karnataka", Economic and Political Weekly, October 1996. Also see, TS Ramesh Bairy, "Competing Construction of Kannada Identity: A Study of Two organisations", MPhil Thesis, University of Hyderabad, 1996.

52. Interview with Sa Ra Govindu, 23/10/98; *Deccan Herald* April 17, 1982; The Kannada stir turned violent days after Rajkumar joined the fray. "I have not come to do politics, I have no such ambitions. I have come to voice the feelings of 3 crore Kannadigas" he said. *Deccan Herald*, April 18, 1982.

53. Interview with Sa Ra Govindu, 23/20/98. Autorickshaw drivers have taken an active part in establishing Kannada flag poles near their stands at major street junctions. *Times of Indiranagar*, November 2-8, 1998.

54. See Karnataka Vimochana Ranga Pranalika Hagu Samvidhana (Bangalore: Rajya Samithi, 1994) and Japan Kaigarika Nagara Virodha Yake? (1993).

55. Bairy "Competing Constructions", p.68ff.

56. Kannada-Kannadiga-Karnataka, Ra nam Chandrasekhar, Kannada Shakti, (Kannada Shakthi Kendra, Bangalore 1996). "It was to realise the aspirations of Kannadigas that the state was formed", says Sa Ra Govindu: Interview, 23/10/98.

57. *Deccan Herald* January 19, 1984, "Three killed in bundh violence" . Also editorial.

58. Sa Ra Govindu says "People say 'they caused riots, looted', but without riots and loot government would have assumed that we are all dead...when we are dominated there are always limits to this toleration.." Interview 23/10/98.

59. Kannada-Kannadiga-Karnataka, p. 19-20.

60. Ibid, especially chapters on Migration; Ra Nam Chandrasekhar, "Kaigarika Kacheri Kannada Sanghagala Kainkaryu" unpublished.

61. Several suggestions have been made to redress this demographic imbalance. "Migration from areas such as Bijapur and Raichur must be directed away from Goa and Maharashtra towards Bangalore" Kannada-Kannadiga-Karnataka, p. 61; Sa Ra Govindu on the other said that no more factories should be opened in Bangalore (Interview 23.10.98), a similar demand to direct developmental work away from Bangalore which enjoyed a disproportionate share of the state's resources has been made by Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha chief M Nanjundaswamy: talk by B.K.Chandrasekhar at Centre for Study of Culture and Society, 20/5/1998.

62. *Deccan Herald* September 27, 1979; the sangam claims to have trained 11,000 people in Kannada. Interview with Shanmughavelan, President Tamil Sangam, 11/10/98. See Bengaluru Tamizh Chankam 41am Aandi Sirappu Malar, 1/9/1991, p.1-7.

63. *Deccan Herald* October 1, 1967;

64. *Deccan Herald* September 27, 1979; Interview with Shanmughavelan, 11/10/98.

65. Pamphlet of January 1991, *Ootru*, March 1991; April 1991.

66. *Ootru* announcement that statue will be unveiled on 1.9.91, followed by literary lectures. *Dinasudar* 29.8.91 announced plans for a 10,000 strong meeting. "It was better to instal the statue when there were so many Tamil councillors in the Corporation", *Ootru*, April 1991. Hundred of subscribers contributed

to the statue, and all donations were duly acknowledged.

67. *Hindu* August 31, 1991; *Dinsudar* August 30, 1991, September 3, 1991; Pamphlet denouncing the "devious ways of the Bangalore Mahanagara Palike in allowing Thiruvalluvar Statue" signed by 19 Kannada organisations.

68. *Dinsudar*, September 17, 1991.

69. *Sanjayvani* September 18, 1991; for statement of Harnahalli Ramaswamy, *Deccan Herald* August 30, 1991

70. Interview with Sa Ra Govindu 23/10/98; *Dinathanthi* 17.9.91 "The statue must be in a public place," the Tamil Sangam submitted in court, "because nearly 8000 had contributed to it."

71. *Dinsudar* September 16, 1991.

72. R Mallikarjuna BMP councillor first said that "until Tamil Nadu puts up a statue of Basavanna, founder of Virsaivism, Thiruvalluvar cannot be allowed here even if he is the founder of Virasaivism in Tamil Nadu". *Sanjayvani* September 18, 1991. Legislator Vatal Nagaraj said that Kuvempu's statue must be installed in Madras. *Sanjayvani* September 3, 1991. Dalit organisation made a pleas for a statue of Sarvagna in Madras, (*Sanjayvani* October 13, 1991) for which LS Seshagiri Rao claimed that permission had been sought. *Illustrated Weekly of India*.

73. Kannada activists had had a full dress rehearsal in the late 1980s when they opposed the installation of the statue of Shivaji in Sadashivnagar on similar grounds several years earlier. *Times of India* September 18, 1991. Though demands were made for the installation of a statue of Kittur Rani Chennama in Mumbai, the statue was installed and unveiled, after a brief period under wraps, and its existence is seen as a serious failure of the Kannada movement to act in time. *Deccan Herald* June 13, 1988; October 8, 1994. The protest against the Sivaji statue was also joined by those who saw it as a sign of Hindu revivalism. "Medium for Communalism", PDF, Bangalore December 1994.

74. *Dinasudar* September 6, 1991' September 22, 1991; Septmebr 19, 1991, Setmeber 23, 1991; *Dinathanthi* October 6, 1991.

75. *Thenamudam* October 1, 1991 Vol. 15, No 10; *Dinasudar* 27.9.91.

76. *Dinasudar* September 29, 1991.

77. *Dinasudar* August 31, 1991.

78. *Venapoonga* (no date)

79. *Murasoli* October 1991.

80. Petition from Kannada Balaga May 30, 1997; District Revenue Officer Chennai Corporation to President Kannada Balaga, March 20, 1998; Petition from Bangalore Tamil Sangam, July 11, 1997. Bangalore Tamil Sangam has taken the initiative in getting a likeness of Sarvagna approved by the Kannada Sahitya Parishat in Bangalore, and in providing the estimates for its installation in Chennai: letter of Bangalore Tamil Sangam President, D Shanmughavelan, to District Revenue officer, August 11, 1997.

81. *Dinasudar* November 11, 1991.

82. *Deccan Herald* April 19, 1982.

83. *Dinasudar* October 3, 1991.
84. Pamphlet of Karnataka Samat Sainik Dal, no date.
85. *Deccan Herald* December 12, 1991.
86. A Mute Genocide, p. 39.
87. Ra Nam Chandrasekhar, 7/10/98.
88. Interview by Dilip Subramanian with MSL Rao. June 1981.
89. Ra Nam Chandrasekhar, 7/10/98
90. *Deccan Herald* August 20, 1991.
91. *Indian Express* November 22, 1995 "No Son Shall rise above the Law" reports that there were 14 acts of vandalism against Ambedkar statues between 1990-1994.
92. *Deccan Herald* July 13, 1989; compare *Deccan Herald* November 15, 1995, November 17, 1995.
93. Ba Na Sundara Rao Bengalurina Itihasa, plates
94. MSS Eur D 798/55 (1923), India Office Library, London.
95. Prakasa Rao and Tewari, Structure of an Indian Metropolis,
96. Interview with Mangaluru Vijaya, 29/10/98.
97. *Deccan Herald* November 18, 1995.
98. *Deccan Herald* November 21, 1995
99. *Deccan Herald* December 3, 1995
100. *Kannada Prabha* November 19, 1995
101. PDF Press Release, no date.
102. Of the seven medical colleges and ten engineering colleges in Bangalore, only one each are run by the Government, the others being private capitation fee based colleges. Comprehensive Development Plan, 1995, p. 46-47.
103. *Deccan Herald* September 6, 1998; *Times of India* September 7, 1998.
104. "Prominent Citizen's protest denotification" *Deccan Herald* October 28, 1998; editorial "reverse the Decision", October 13, 1998.
105. "Spectacled Cobra, Blue Rock Pigeon are our neighbours" *The Hindu* October 17, 1998.
106. "65 Species of Trees Identified during census" *Deccan Herald* October 13, 1998; "Counting Trees to Protect Them" *The Hindu* October 26, 1998.
107. "Pushed to the wall, citizens will now take to the streets" *Times of India* October 10, 1998.

108. Bangalore Poice Commissioner Revanasiddaiah banned rallies in Cubbon Park in 1997. *Times of India* 5/5/97; 3//5/97.
109. "Old is Gold, keep it" *Deccan Herald*, October22, 1998.
110. "Cubbon Park Kabalikke Yathra: Samskruthika Kshetrada Mauna Pratibhatane" *Kannada Prabha* 28/10/1998.
111. "Hash Run for Cubbon Park", *Indian Express* November 1, 1998.
112. "How can rules bend for convenience?" *Times of India* May 26, 1998.
113. "Majority of Citizens vote for Lung space" *Times of India* October 31, 1998.
114. *Deccan Herald* (photograph), October 16, 1998.
115. "Women protest against GO" *Deccan Herald* October 11, 1998
116. *Times of India* October 23, 1998.
117. "Cubbon Park Uluvige Urulu Seve". *Kannada Prabha* Pctober 16, 1998.
118. A proposal to start a "green corner" "where you can speak only about the environment" was made by Secretary of Ecology amd Environment Raja Rao, and has found sponsors in Windsor Manor and Sheraton who "offered to supply tea in envirinment friendly cups tot he audience".*Times of India* 6/6/97.
119. The issue now rests with the legislature and the court, although new curbs on traffic in the park are being implemented on the orders of the activist judge MF Saldanha, though the consensus is already evaporating. "Cubbon Park Rakshanege 12 Laksha Vecche Madi Gatu Hakabeke?" *Kannada Prabha*, May 5, 1999.
120. Chatterjee, "Within the Nation? Or Beyond?", p 33