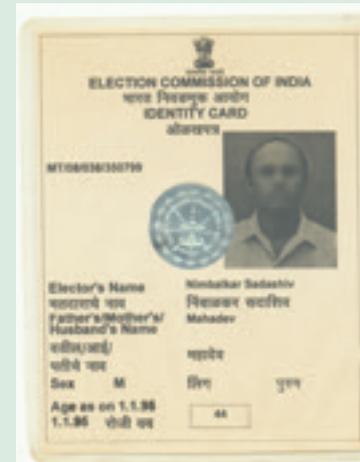


1983

1990



The Eldorado dream continues

*Bum Bum Bum Bumbai /*

*Bumbai humko jam gayi*

**Bumbai suits me fine**

Govinda, a newly arrived migrant, dances around the cityscape in **SWARG** Heaven

1990

**EXPRESSION** first women's arts festival in the city as the feminist movement enters its second phase

later renamed **M.I.F.F.**

Independent documentary filmmaking gets a boost as Films Division starts BIFF, Bombay International Documentary Film Festival



Top models Madhu Sapre and Milind Soman are arrested for posing nude in the embrace of a python for a Tuff shoes ad

**BJP starts using video for election campaign in early '90s**

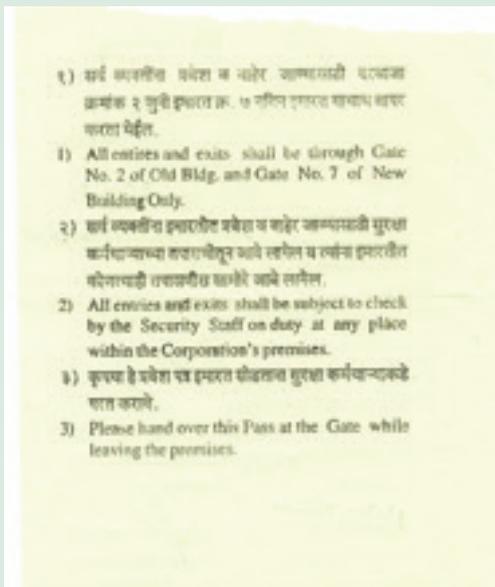


**Through the '90s, space narratives of the city evolve**

--> from Sai Paranjape's **DISHA**  
**The Uprooted** on conflicting aspirations revolving around migration from expansive rural land to the space-starved industrial city in '90  
 --> to Sudhir Mishra's **DHARAVI** on ever-decreasing living space and ever-expanding fantasies in '91  
 --> to low-rise vs. high-rise in the highstrung **ANGAAR** **Rage** in '92  
 --> to 'outsider' land mafia attired in fur caps 'biting dust' at the hands of the brahman saviour from Benaras in the ultra-violent **GHATAK** **Lethal** in '96  
 --> to *tapori* boy rises to oppose land mafia in **GHULAM** **Slave** in '98  
 --> to **SPLIT WIDE OPEN** where Dev Benegal elevates the generic real estate issue to the specifics of water crime in '99

**Kamatipura still lures**

Migrant taxi driver (Sanjay Dutt) plays saviour to a sex worker in **SADAK** **The Road** '91



1990 **HUM** **Us/We** the blockbuster song

*Jhumma chumma de de...*

**Jhumma give me a kiss** is shot at Mukesh Mills, with a sprawling compound of 40,000 sq. metres at Colaba, which closed down after a fire in 1982 the burnt-down factory at the edge of the sea in the heart of the city provides a picturesque location for shooting feature films and advertisement shorts - is rife with whispers about ghosts and haunted spirits - as well as houses 800 former employees

1990 **Aapla Mahanagar (Our City)**

Marathi daily starts publication under the editorship of Nikhil Wagle



In 1991, at Swati Building in the crowded Lokhandwala complex (a nouveau-riche neighbourhood of Andheri), a police team kills 7 gangsters including the notorious Maya Dolas and Dilip Buwa in broad daylight, and video-records the entire event as evidence (Hindi film **SHOOTOUT AT LOKHANDWALA** is made based on this event in 2007)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2hXN2tWvKqQ>

Encounter killing: A controversial police strategy to kill criminals in direct shoot-outs in order to avoid procedural delays and legal lapses is implemented in the '90s

1991

Over 1000 places of worship in Greater Bombay are housed in unauthorized structures (rather, the unauthorized structures are protected by erecting religious sentiments around them)

BMC Report 1991

**Demography**

Population of the Island City: 32,85,042 in '81 and 31,74,889 in '91 (3.4% decrease)

Population of Greater Bombay: 66,17,058 in '81 and 1,02,03,360 in '91 (35% increase)

Census 1991

BMC revises DC (Development Control) Rules for Greater Bombay in 1991, allowing sale/lease of mill land for 'redevelopment'

GR, Urban Development Dept, 20 February 1991

Greater Bombay: Employment in manufacturing industry reduces from 36% in '81 to 28.5% in '91, and employment in trade and services industry increases from 52% to 64% in the same period

Census 1991

1992-93 Shivsena-sponsored riots against the minority Muslim community and the subsequent serial bomb blasts divide the city along communal lines and make it prone to public violence

### the riots spark debates on citizenship

**BOMBAY'S BLOOD YATRA** ('93) chronicle of the riots

**I LIVE IN BEHRAMPADA** ('93) on development, citizenship & a Muslim ghetto

**MAMMO** ('94) subversion of citizenship laws in a non-polemical tale

**NASEEM** ('95) the 'growing up' of a young city girl in a Muslim family on 6th Dec

**BOMBAY** ('97) released only after approval from Bal Thackeray

**ZAKHM Wound** ('98) xenophobia within the family unit

**FIZA** (2000) the city that resembles a borderland under conflict

**BLACK FRIDAY** (2004) thriller

**SLUMDOG MILLIONAIRE** (2008) Hollywood

1992

NMMC (New Bombay / Navi Mumbai Municipal Corporation) is constituted to administer a part of the new city (the rest of the area remains under CIDCO which continues to convert rural land into urban and industrial plots)

Vasai-Virar region

380 sq. kilometres, beyond the northern border of Greater Bombay, constituted of unused ports, small towns and fishing-salt pan-agriculture-based villages. As government de-regularizes agricultural land in '88, private builders initiate haphazard development resulting in real estate-related criminal activities and 150% rise in population between '81 and '91

Census 1991 and Regional Plan - MMRDA, 1986-2001

1991

The region is placed under CIDCO (City and Industrial Development Corporation) for 'planned and synchronized development'

By the late '90s a substantial number of working-class migrants from outside the state settle here, making Bhojpuri songs and Ramlila performances a part of the local culture

1992

Western Railway starts a Ladies Special local between Churchgate and Virar

1993-98

Bombay police provides intense police protection for Justice Srikrishna as he takes over as head of the Commission of Inquiry on the Bombay riots

Yet, on a Saturday afternoon, a burglar breaks into his house and steals a VCR

1993

Release of **KHALNAYAK** The Villain film star Sanjay Dutt is arrested for possession of unregistered fire arms after his M.P. father, Sunil Dutt, is hounded by Hindu fanatics for being sympathetic to Muslims

Stock exchange scam of Rs 4000 crores (roughly US\$ 1.3 billion) exposes the greed and ambition of the Indian middle class. In '94 Filmfare Awards invites the central figure of the scam, Harshad Mehta, to present the trophy for best villain of the year



*his funeral becomes a national spectacle on TV and initiates the appetite for reality TV*

Market for the reality narrative and infotainment grows with the emergence of video news magazines launched by leading media houses: **Newstrack** in '88 by the India Today group; **Business Plus** in '90 by Paradigm Media; **Eyewitness** in '91 by Hindustan Times; **Hindi Observer News Channel** (ONC) by the Observer group in '91; and bilingual **Indiaview** by ITV of the Dalmia group in '91

1992

As part of 'economic reforms' government liberalizes the broadcast industry and foreign private channels such as BBC, Star TV, CNN, and domestic channels like Zee TV and Sun TV begin satellite telecast - in December '92, when Doordarshan blocks out reportage on the Babri Masjid demolition, viewers watch it on BBC

1993

Star TV acquires 49.9% shares in the domestic Hindi Zee TV network



'92-'93  
bawdy songs

*...sarkais khatia...* and *... choli ke peechhe kya hai...*  
... move the cot closer...    ... what is beneath the blouse...  
invoke debates on public morality and censorship norms get stricter

'92-'93 Shahrukh Khan, middle-class migrant, plays the role of the fallen idealist in **RAJU BAN GAYA GENTLEMAN**  
Raju has turned into a gentleman - a take on **SHRI 420** and the revenge maniac in **BAAZIGAR** Gambler



1993 **Masterji** - a photo series by Dayanita Singh on the dance choreographer Saroj Khan who has codified a kind of aggressive female sexuality in legendary numbers

*Kaate nahi katate ye din ye raat* - Sridevi in **MR INDIA**; *Ek do teen* - Madhuri in **TEZAAB**; *Choli ke peechhe kya hai* - Madhuri in **KHALNAYAK** ...

1994  
Balaji Telefilms run by Ekta Kapoor opens shop - produces a large number of regressive soap operas (many female performers get steady employment)

**HUM AAPKE HAI KAUN** Who am I to you lures the Indian diaspora and cultivates the overseas market

with the warming up of the market in the west, popular writings on Bollywood and the rich in Bombay become a lucrative proposition (pulp writers like Shobha De begin to be widely translated and studied in foreign universities)

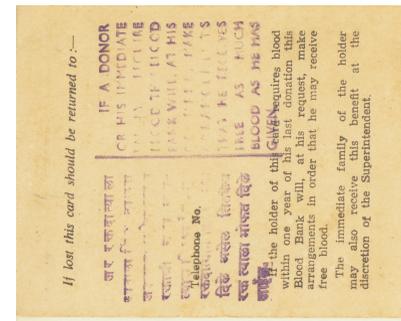
1994

In order to expand its constituency from Marathi to Hindi, Shivsena launches a Hindi tabloid, **Dopahar ka Saamna**

Rupert Murdoch (Star TV) announces a pay-TV channel in Hindi

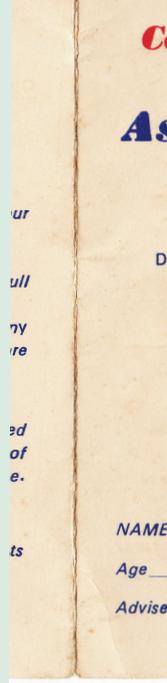
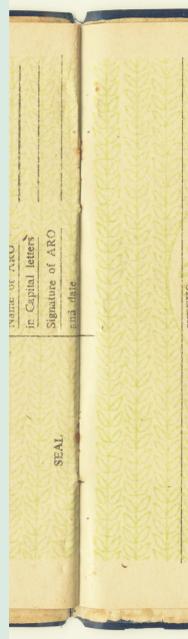
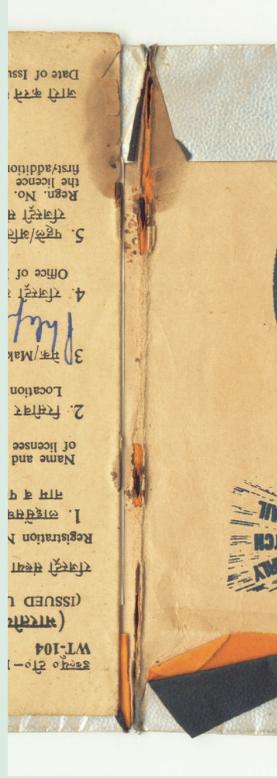
The success of the Hindi dubbed version of **JURASSIC PARK** begins a trend of dubbed Hollywood films (Association of Voice Artists is formed in 1999)

Shivsena monopolizes control over cable TV networks through Cable Sena - starts censoring television channels - does not allow any other service provider to operate



City police notifies taxi drivers not to ply single women passengers after midnight

women activists surround police headquarters in large numbers after midnight



1992  
900 workers and employees of Ciba-Geigy are made to 'retire' - this marks the beginning of manufacturing companies around LBS Marg in the eastern suburb closing down in favour of real estate interests

Irani Restaurants, situated at street corners on prime sites and popular locations for film shooting, are attacked by Hindu mobs during communal riots - over the next few years these iconic neighbourhood restaurants (especially the ones in the suburbs) begin to give way to vegetarian Udipi restaurants or fast food chains  
1992

1995  
BMRDA (MMRDA) announces its Draft Regional Plan for 1996-2011 to turn Mumbai into a 'global city' with improved infrastructure

1995  
SRA (Slum Redevelopment Authority) is launched to provide low-cost housing in high-rise buildings for 'eligible' slum dwellers, in collaboration with private builders who are offered incentive in the form of surplus FSI (more construction area per plot) in the open market

1994  
Deals relating to the sale of mill land lead to the murder of Sumit Khatau, owner of Khatau Mills, at a traffic signal in broad daylight

1994-99  
40 years after its inception, the Shivsena along with its ally, the BJP, wins the Maharashtra state elections, almost as a reward for orchestrating the anti-Muslim riots of '92-'93

By the mid-'90s Hiranandani Gardens, a township of monumental buildings and tall gates, comes up in the forested and agricultural land between Powai Hill and Powai Lake

1994-99  
Mumbai's international airport, railway terminus, museum, parks, and a large number of artery roads and public institutions are renamed after the 17th-century king Chhatrapati Shivaji by the Shivsena - also named after him - the party in power  
Mama, what was Shivaji called before he was called Shivaji? - R K Laxman in TOI

in its verticality, the city's cinema finds its new motif of urbania

With liberalization of the automobile sector in 1992, the number of private cars in the city increases manifold. Lack of space and infrastructure compels some car owners in south Bombay to engage beggars and pavement dwellers to guard their cars at night. The homeless assignees start sleeping under or next to their designated cars

Around the mid-'90s: large-scale exodus of Muslims from cosmopolitan/Hindu/centrally-located neighbourhoods to the faraway suburbs of Mumbra and Bhiwandi

1995  
Phoenix Mill management secures a tax concession on the ground of reviving the sick mill

1994  
On the premises of the Sessions Court, Arun Gawli's henchman, disguised as a lawyer, shoots at an undertrial and rival gangster, Ashwin Naik

1998  
1995  
1992  
1994  
1999

1994

**Encyclopaedia of Indian Cinema**

edited by Ashish Rajadhyaksha and Paul Willemen

**Bombay First** (later Mumbai First) launched by members of the Chamber of Commerce to 'transform Bombay into a world-class city to live and do business in'

By late '90s, with pirated VHS cassettes, ever-increasing television programmes and dilapidated cinema theatres, entertainment gets domesticated

Many home-based women lose their only contact with public places in the city (their regular visits to cinemas)

*Tapori* - Bollywood's indigenous hoodlum character consolidates: Aamir Khan's

Munna in **RANGEELA** *The Flamboyant*, '95 and Siddhu in **GHULAM** *The Slave*, '98

1995 Bachchan launches film corporation ABCL and declares bankruptcy in three years

1996 publication:

**So Many Cinemas** by B D Garga

1997 Kalpana Lajmi tries a mix of vintage Bollywood and contemporary sexuality issues in **DARMIYAN** *In Between*

1997

In defiance of the 'Hindu don' title, Arun Gawli starts a secular Marathi party, Akhil Bharatiya Sena (**All India Army**), in opposition to the Shivsena (**Army of Shivaji**)

Popular trade union leader Datta Samant is gunned down by Chhota Shakeel's men - 1,00,000 workers attend the funeral

Baron of the music industry Gulshan Kumar is shot dead

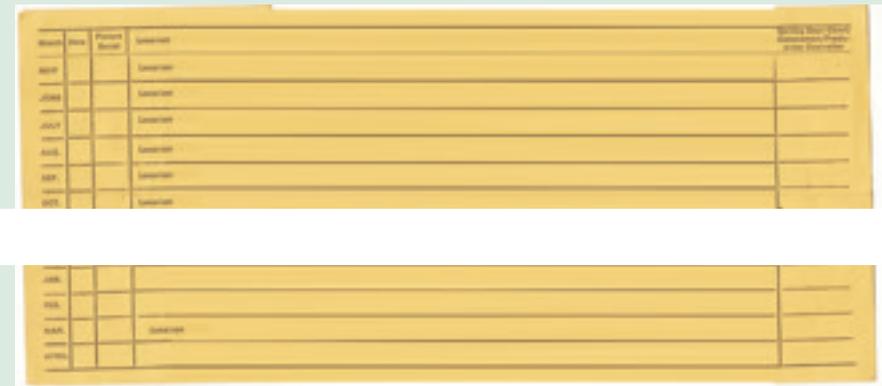
Best villain award goes to Rekha for **KHILADIYON KA KHILADI** *Champion of Champions* - STAR SCREEN AWARDS

1995

Xenophobic leader Raj Thackeray brings Michael Jackson to the city

**DDLJ - DILWALE DULHANIA LE JAYENGE**

**The one with a large heart will get the bride** known as the first NRI film, valorizes the diaspora and its archaic notions of Hindu family values



CNN announces a Hindi news channel in partnership with Doordarshan

Youngsters gyrate to pop nationalism with Alisha Chinai's music video *Made in India*

**Diasporic writers chronicle their Bombay**

**A Fine Balance** by Rohinton Mistry, on the interface between two Parsi protagonists and migrant artisans from north India at the time of the Emergency of 1975

Salman Rushdie's **The Moor's Last Sigh** the protagonist of hybrid ancestry (Indian-Jewish-Arab-Portuguese) meets a caricature of Thackeray

The government announces PIO (people of Indian origin) scheme of visa-free travel for the Indian diaspora - barring people living in Bangladesh and Pakistan

1998

700 Bengali-speaking Muslims are deported from Mumbai on charges of being illegal Bangladeshi migrants, but they are denied entry into Bangladesh and thus remain stranded at the West Bengal border - **the Mumbai police, the West Bengal government and the state of Bangladesh** get entangled in a debate over citizenship

1999

YOU NEED NOT ROUGH IT OUT  
WE BRING THE PICTURE PERFECT  
NEWS TO YOUR LIVING ROOM

1999 January

MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT	SUN
04	05	06	07	08	09	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

1999



# मुलगी शिकली प्रगती झाली

महिला व बाल कल्याण विभाग, महाराष्ट्र

DAY	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL
MON	3 10 17 24 31	7 14 21 28	6 13 27	3 10 17 24
TUE	4 11 18 25	1 8 15 22 29	7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25
WED	5 12 19	2 9 16 23	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26
THU	6 13 20 27	3 17 24	2 9 16 23 30	6 13 20 27
FRI	7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25	3 10 24 31	7 20
SAT	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26	4 11 18 25	8 15 22 29

DAY	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST
MON	3 10 17 24 31	7 14 21 28	6 13 27	3 10 17 24
TUE	4 11 18 25	1 8 15 22 29	7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25
WED	5 12 19	2 9 16 23	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26
THU	6 13 20 27	3 17 24	2 9 16 23 30	6 13 20 27
FRI	7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25	3 10 24 31	7 20
SAT	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26	4 11 18 25	8 15 22 29

MILENIUM YEAR 2000

महाराष्ट्र शासनाची  
गौरवशाली ४० वर्षे

2001 Dahanu Road 18 15 24 31  
2002 Mumbai Road 18 20 27 34  
2003 Mumbai Road 18 20 27 34  
2004 Dahanu Road via Agri 27 34 41 48 55  
2005 Dahanu Road via Agri 27 34 41 48 55  
2006 Mumbai Road 18 20 27 34  
2007 Mumbai Road 18 20 27 34  
2008 Mumbai Road 18 20 27 34  
2009 Mumbai Road 18 20 27 34

2000



**1996 The court room of the Chief Justice of Bombay becomes colourful as 547 sex workers, rescued and remanded by the Bombay police, appear in court for daily hearings along with their visitors - pimps, brothel-owner aunties, dedicated customers and other beneficiaries**



INHAB T / be ong	
Virtually	
Mentally	
Philosophically	
Physically	

1996 Shivsena cadres, assisted by government machinery, vandalize cinema halls showing Deepa Mehta's film **FIRE**, objecting to the naming of the lesbian protagonists after the mythological characters Radha and Sita

1998 Bajrang Dal, assisted by Shivsena, attacks artist M F Husain and ransacks his house in Mumbai on the pretext of avenging Hindu religious dignity sullied by the works of the artist

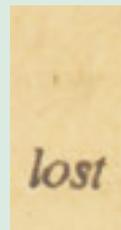
1998 Shivsena cadres vandalize the concert of Pakistani ghazal singer Ghulam Ali at Hotel Juhu Centaur in Bombay / also damage the cricket pitch at Ferozshah Kotla grounds in Delhi prior to a Pakistan-India match in 1999

1998 Shivsena minister Pramod Navalkar launches cleansing operation against masseurs, bar dancers, sex workers, hijras, rock musicians, Pakistani artistes and young lovers

1997 Lata Mangeshkar performs live for the first time in 12 years - for a Shivsena-led initiative at Andheri Sports Complex



With iconoclasm as the flavour of the season, a bunch of popular Marathi plays spring up ridiculing Gandhi and nationalism - **Gandhi viruddha Gandhi** (Gandhi vs. Gandhi) '96, **Gandhi and Ambedkar** '97, **Mee Nathuram Godse Boltoy** (This is Nathuram Godse Speaking) '99, **Shobhayatra** (The Show Parade) '99



#### Documentaries on performers

1990 **CHILDREN OF THE SILVER SCREEN**

NFDC produces its only documentary - on child artists, director Dilip Ghosh

1992 Reena Mohan makes biographical film **KAMLABAI**, on and with the first female performer of the Indian screen

1993 Jill Misquitta's **CLAP TRAP** on extras / junior artistes in the film industry

1993 Riyad Wadia makes **FEARLESS - THE HUNTERWALI STORY** about his grand-aunt, the legendary stunt artist Nadia

1997 **SUNDARI: AN ACTOR PREPARES** - Anuradha Kapur and Madhusree Dutta make play/film on performance and impersonation in early 20th-century Bombay theatre

1999 **THIN AIR** by Ashim Ahluwalia - on three magicians in the city

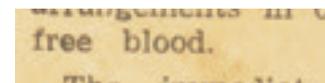
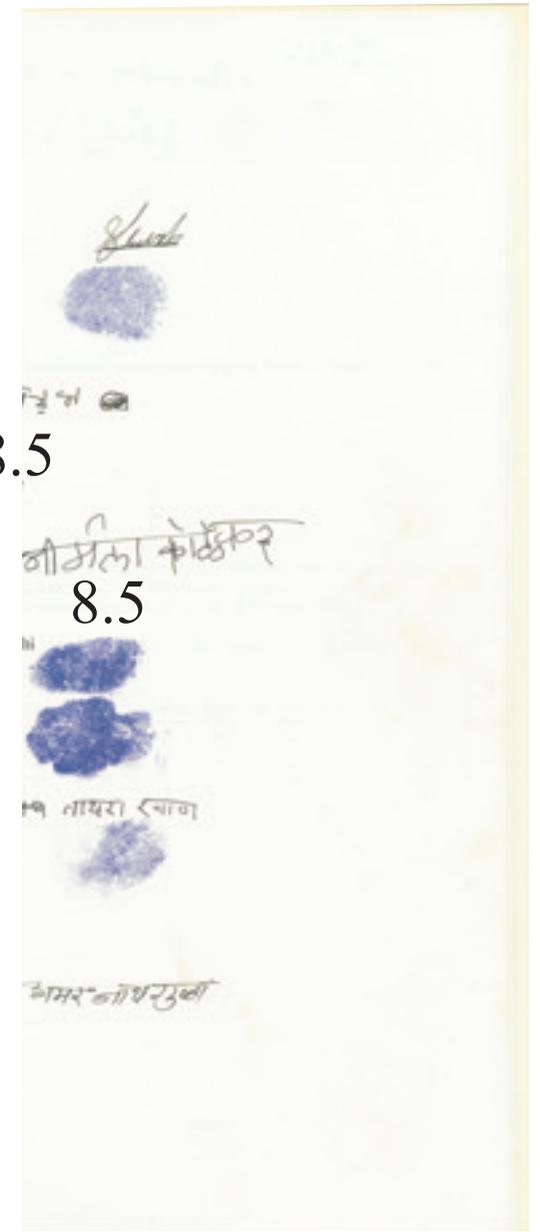
Through the decade of the 90s, artist Atul Dodiya evolves Bombay/Mumbai:

**Labyrinth/Laboratory**, a body of works simultaneously addressing contested, complex, contemporary cultural legacies, and the brash popular as personal memory, while Kiran Nagarkar writes his chawl novel, **Ravan and Eddie** ('95)

1998 As the city is rechristened Mumbai in '95 in the name of exorcising the colonial past, veteran columnist Behram Contractor of Busybee fame publishes **From Bombay to Mumbai**, a collection of the best of his columns in 1996-97

1998 Phalguni Pathak debuts in the Gujarati *dandiya* dance sector with a unique cocktail of rustic Gujarati folk songs, rock-inspired band arrangements and Bollywood-style performance

By late '90s the surveillance camera becomes a consumer good in the Indian market



From the late '90s, art director Sharmishta Roy brings in a post-globalization lifestyle statement into films about ultra-rich urban youth **DIL TO PAGAL HAI** *The heart is crazy*, **KUCHH KUCHH HOTA HAI** *Some little things happen*

1997 The last of the studio clusters at the Teli Gulli-Chakala Junction neighbourhood, Nataraj Studio, shuts down

Other studios - like M&T, Mohan and Modern - had given way to real estate development and the Western Express Highway decades earlier

1997 As the government-sponsored IFFI (International Film Festival of India) gets permanently located in Goa, **MAMI** (Mumbai Academy of Moving Images) is constituted by film industry veterans to organize an annual Mumbai international film festival with corporate sponsorship

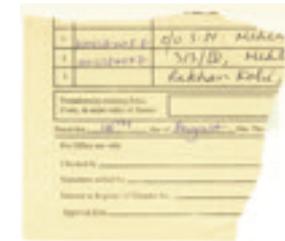
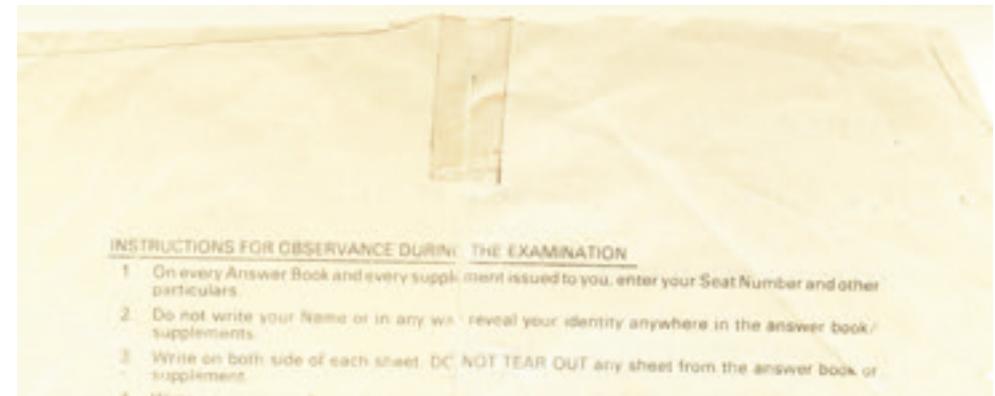
#### Will audiences come back to the theatres?

After a lull of more than a decade, there is market investment in high-end movie theatres in the western suburb: 1997-99 Samrat upgrades to **Cinemax** at Goregaon (W), Darpan to **Cine Magic** at Andheri (E), Sonar to **Cine Star** in Kandivali (E) and **Movietime** opens in Malad (W)

With the death of big studios since the late 70s, film production work based on artisanal practices - carpentry, prop making, costume making, banner painting, etc. - gets fragmented across small sweatshops around shooting locations (Goregaon, Andheri, Dadar and Chembur)

In the late '90s, with the advent of digital technology, post-production studios - for editing, dubbing, sound mixing, sub-titling, mastering, duplicating, etc. - too shrink into small kiosks in the bazaars and residential areas (Adarsh Nagar, a shanty town adjacent to upmarket Lokhandwala, becomes a media industry zone)

culminates in the construction of **IMAX** (2000) with the largest dome in the world and five screens, at a deserted corner in Wadala



#### The Mumbai Mafia / Male Movies of the 1990s:

'90 **INDRAJALAM** *Magical Spell* (in Malayalam) Mohanlal plays the don

'91 **AGNEEPATH** *Path of Fire* After a disastrous stint in national politics Bachchan is relaunched in his 13<sup>th</sup> role as vigilante Vijay, a character with a 'Mumbaikar' accent (rumoured to be based on gangster Manya Surve)

a set resembling the multistoreyed mud structures of Dharavi Kumbharwada is used as the don's den

'91 **ABHIMANYU** (in Malayalam) phenomenon of bonding between the migrant outlaw and the sex worker in the city

entire Kamatipura is recreated at Ashoka Studio in Madras

'92 **ANGAAR** *Rage* chawl romance - real estate mafia - benevolent don / a take on the 70s' don-turned-builder-turned-social worker Yousuf Patel

'93 **GARDISH** *Drugs* an ordinary boy is sucked into street violence - complete with sex workers, bar dancers and muscle men

the location is a 'dangerous basti' called Kala Chowki (name of a working-class neighbourhood in Parel)

'95 **RAAM JANE** *God only knows* Shahrukh Khan starrer / an orphan-turned-don / deliberate comic strip treatment

'98 **SATYA** beginning of Ram Gopal Varma's gangster series - south Indian hotel worker turning gangster resembles the life of Sadhu Shetty in the '70s

footage of the city in docu style Ganapati visarjan at Chowpatty monsoon light

'99 **VAASTAV** *Reality* Sanjay Dutt plays the Marathi don who grows up in a working-class chawl / loosely based on real-life mafia don Rama Naik's story

1998 Indian government passes a law exempting cinema and television exports from taxes

**The film industry is given industry status, qualifying it for institutional finance**

Subhash Ghai's Mukta Arts gets listed on the Bombay Stock Exchange

1998 Shivsena launches **Bharatiya Kamgar Chitrapat Unit (Indian workers' cine unit)**, in opposition to the independent Allied Mazdoor Union and Cine Artists' Association

1999 Smita Thackeray, daughter-in-law of **Marathi Hruday Samrat (emperor of Marathi hearts)** Bal Thackeray, turns Hindi film producer / after producing just one film, she becomes a key figure in IMPPA

1998 Picturesque Konkan Railway, connecting the hinterlands of Maharashtra and Karnataka with Mumbai, starts operating

and

Tapori Aamir Khan runs headlong towards a rushing local train in **GHULAM**

**1994-99 Shivsena - BJP alliance government commissions construction of 56 flyovers in the city**

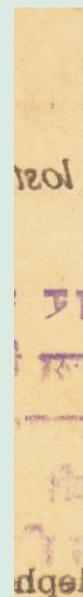
1999

Nhava Sheva port starts functioning with public-private investment, expecting a boost in migration of labour and capital to New Bombay

50% of slum dwellings are located on private land, and the rest are on lands belonging to various state agencies

Slum Sanitation Survey by Montgomery Watson/Yuva, 2001

slum dwellers pay more than the residents of apartment buildings for electricity, water supply and other basic amenities



1999

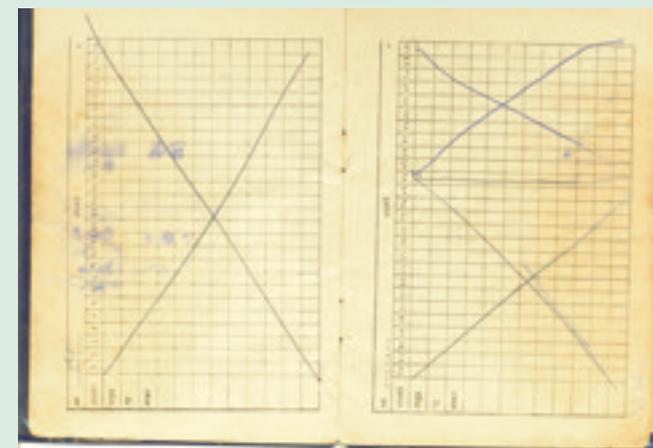
**Café Naaz**, the celebrated site for ideas, romance and film shooting, is demolished

**Channel V** Board approves 81% increase in the programming budget for India

Corporate houses and art galleries conceive **Kala Ghoda Annual Art Festival** in order to convert the area into an art district

Mumbai as a **monsoon tourism** destination for Arab nationals is aggressively promoted by the rapidly expanding hospitality industry

**Crossroad** - the first shopping mall comes up in Tardeo at the site of a closed pharmaceutical plant - causes huge traffic congestion at Haji Ali junction





At the close of the century:

### Population in

GREATER BOMBAY	1,19,14,378
METROPOLITAN REGION	1,88,93,059
MAHARASHTRA	9,67,52,000
URBAN INDIA	28,53,55,000
INDIA	102,70,15,000

CENSUS 2001

1999 "PRESENTING, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN - THE BOWLING COMPANY - INDIA'S PREMIER LEISURE CENTRE. 30,000 SQUARE FEET OF STATE-OF-THE-ART FUN - THAT'S A FIRST FOR MUMBAI, WE CAN TELL YOU"

Bowling alley opens at Phoenix Mills compound, beginning an era where land reserved for manufacturing industry would be taken over by the service industry and entertainment outlets