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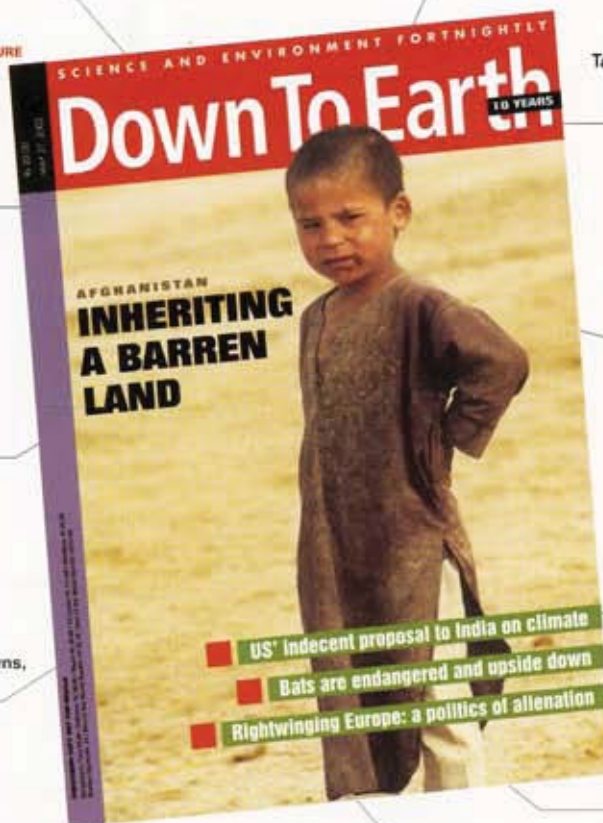
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About this Issue

This special issue is about rapid urbanisation, need for urban renewal, urban governance, historic city cores, facilities for the urban poor, participatory planning and the mammoth mission that covers this all – the JNNURM.

Introduced about a year back, the mission has become a catalyst to urban renewal in the 63 short-listed cities and affected many more giving way to several city planning activities all over India. The remarkable attribute of this mission is that during the planned period, it seeks to ensure sustainable development of the selected cities. The success of the implementation process of the mission would be evaluated and monitored on a regular basis and the resultant observations shall provide a background for formulation of the Eleventh Five Year Plan.

This issue reviews the ongoing activities under NURM and brings forth multidisciplinary perspectives of professionals, bureaucrats, academicians and NGO's engaged with the mission in one manner or the other. We have been encouraged by the response received for this issue and are thankful to all the authors for making this issue possible. We also hope that limitations imposed on us due to space constraints within this volume will be understood in the right spirit.

The wide variety of articles are categorised in 4 main sections – the first on JNNURM itself where the authors interpret the mission and its objectives, the second section on the States and the Mission Cities and their achievements and shortcomings, the third section on the historic city cores with views of heritage experts and finally two articles in the last section that exemplify good urban governance and a sustainable conservation approach.

Despite certain shortcomings, there is no denying that the mission if successful could achieve a major overhaul of the Indian cities. Realising the need for involvement of the civil society and as a commitment to the mission, DRONAH will be carrying a special section on JNNURM in each issue of this journal till the mission lasts.

Disclaimer: All articles included in this issue express individual views of the author and not of any organisation. All photographs are contributed by the authors unless specified otherwise.

New opportunities abound, for the development and renewal of cities throughout India. The Jawaharal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) - as the thought-provoking articles in this review expound can become a milestone for sustainable cities, just as it can be a hallmark of failure. The stakes are high, and of global significance. India's urban population - the second largest in the world, will soon be as numerous as the entire population of the nations of the European Union or of the African continent. The future of the cities of India and its inhabitants will directly impact the course of the world - environmentally, politically, socially, economically and culturally.

Urbanisation as a phenomenon is a global reality, a trend that will be further expedited by the globalisation of the world economy and the industrialisation of food production. The crucial urban-rural linkage, and delicate mutual interdependence needs to be harnessed, as India becomes a global economic force. JNNURM, as well as other national schemes to support urban development, such as the Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme for Small and Medium Towns (UIDSSMT) or the Integrated Housing Slum Development Programme (IHSDP) amongst others, represent a response to this reality and demonstrate a political commitment by the Government of India to promote a new type of urbanisation, going beyond the mere growth of urban facilities. Substantive financial support is to be injected to make decentralisation and participatory democracy function as laid out in the 74th Constitutional

Amendment Act. The diversity within the unity of India, the country's strongest asset must not be jeopardised in the process. On the contrary, it needs to be carefully protected, enriched and valorised. The cultural wealth of Indian cities-amongst the earliest in the world, cannot be and must not be, lost in exchange for the "international" model that takes no heed of the specificity of the inhabitants and their mode of life. India's cities are as diverse as its people, their beliefs and their natural features that together determined its architecture and urban pattern. "Cultural heritage" goes way beyond the grandeur of an individual or the sum of historic monuments and archaeological sites protected by the Archaeological Survey of India and the State Archaeology Departments. Defining it as such does not do justice to the centuries of human creativity that India has nurtured. Its urban and rural settlements, its sacred sites and views, its cultural landscapes, tell the many stories of India that merit being recounted and witnessed by future generations of humanity.

For UNESCO, as the intergovernmental organisation of the United Nations System, mandated by the world community to foster peace through educational, scientific and cultural cooperation and to communicate the need for world unity, promoting the protection of natural and cultural diversity is one of its major duties. UNESCO looks towards India - one of its most influential Member States, for examples it can show the world. How to maintain the peaceful co-existence of all major religions and many indigenous belief systems; how the industriousness and creative genius of its population can be fostered to ensure the fair distribution of wealth and opportunities among all its people through inclusive and sustainable development; and how the quality of life for all can be ameliorated without adding to the global environmental risks … are among the many challenges facing India. The *Network of Indian Cities of Living Heritage*, established in September 2006 at the initiative of UNESCO and under the aegis of the Ministry of Urban Development, and in close consultations with the Ministry of Culture of the Government of India, thus aims to support the urban local authorities and the citizens in addressing these issues. As a platform of reflection, of solution exchange and technical support, its objective is to promote sustainable urban development by building on accumulated knowledge bequeathed from the past. Many examples, both good and "regrettable", from within India and abroad exist on how insalubrious urban conditions can be improved through a combination of traditional and modern technologies and social management systems. Policies and programmes to improve housing, sanitation, social welfare, urban mobility, mass transport systems, generation of employment opportunities, spatial and social organisation for a people-centered city, big and small, from around the world can serve to enlighten the future course of India's cities, which can turn into examples to serve other nations. Each city requires its specific solution, but all solutions require reflection and technical competence in planning, programming and implementation. UNESCO, having served as a member of the Taskforce on Heritage, in the JNNURM, is committed to the protection, conservation and enhancement of urban heritage – in all its forms - tangible and intangible - as a vital force for urban renewal and development.

We stand ready to join the grand assembly of stakeholders to harness the future development of India's cities, strengthened by the identity and knowledge imbedded in their unique heritage for citizenry, civility and civilisation.

On behalf of UNESCO, I congratulate DRONAH, for bringing to the public arena, the current discourse over the JNNURM and the cities of India, for the sharing of information, reflection and public debate is the key to progress.

Minja Yang
Director, UNESCO, New Delhi Office

Minja Yang is UNESCO Representative to Bhutan, India, Maldives and Sri Lanka and Director of the UNESCO New Delhi Office since October 2005. Her 27-year experience in human settlements, urban conservation and heritage-based local development spans across many countries in Asia, Africa and Europe. During her 17 years at UNESCO HQs in Paris, she served as Director for Museums; Deputy-Director of the World Heritage Centre and concurrently as Coordinator of World Heritage Cities; Head of Asia-Pacific Region of the World Heritage Centre; Chief of Angkor Unit, after 10 years working at the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) dealing with issues of emergency human settlements, population movements and political asylum.

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Agra

Lucknow

Kanpur

Varanasi

Patna

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Ahmedabad

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Nasik

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Pune

Hyderabad

Vishakapatnam

Bangalore

Chennai

Coimbatore

Madhurai

Methods & Approaches

JNNURM - The Mission

JNNURM: Towards Integrated Spatial Planning

M. SUBASH CHANDIRA

ABSTRACT

This article summarises the urban development policies in India since Independence by providing an overview of all the Five Year Plans and the recently launched JNNURM programme. It provides a brief analysis of JNNURM programme and outlines the key to its success.

INTRODUCTION

In 2001, the population of India was 1,027 million of which 27.78 percent was urban. The growth rate of the urban population was 4.61 percent per annum during 1971-81, 3.62 percent per annum, during 1981-91 and 3.12 percent per annum during 1991-2001. The number of urban settlements has gone up by almost 3 times in the period of 100 years (from 1,827 in 1901 to 5,165 in 2001). In fact, the number of urban settlements in India is too small and does not commensurate with its population and area. The demographic and settlement structure of India can be summed up as too many people in too few towns and cities. The growth pattern of urban centres in India is rather unique. There are wide variations among States in the levels of urbanisation as well as growth rates. The pace and spread of urbanisation is more pronounced for some States. In 2001, the Class-I cities (population one lakh +) accounted for 61.50 percent of the urban population of India, indicating that bulk of the urban population is concentrated in few metropolitan cities and that are growing much faster than small towns. The policies of urban development and housing in India have come a long way since the fifties. The pressure of urban population and lack of housing and basic

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Increasing urbanisation in Indian cities

services were very much evident in the early 1950s. In some cities, this was compounded by migration of people from Pakistan. However, the general perception of the policy makers was that India is pre-dominantly an agricultural and rural economy and that there are potent dangers of over urbanisation which will lead to the drain of resources from the countryside to feed the cities. The positive aspects of cities as engines of economic growth in the context of national economic policies were not much appreciated and, therefore, the problems of urban areas were treated more as welfare problems and sectors of residual investment rather than as issues of national economic importance.

In the First Five Year Plan, FYP (1951-56), emphasis was given on institution building and on the construction of houses for Government employees as weaker sections of society. The Ministry of Works and Housing was constituted and the National Building Organisation and Town and Country Planning Organisation were set up. A sizeable part of the plan outlay was spent for rehabilitation of refugees from Pakistan and on building the new city of Chandigarh.

The scope of the housing programme for the poor was expanded in the Second FYP (1956-61). The Industrial Housing Scheme was widened to cover all workers. Three new schemes were introduced, namely, Rural Housing, Slum Clearance and Sweepers' Housing. Town and Country Planning Legislations were enacted in many States and organisations necessary for the

preparation of Master Plans for important towns were also set up.

The general directions for housing programmes in the Third FYP (1961-66) were the co-ordination of efforts of all agencies and orienting programmes to the needs of the Low Income Groups. Master plans for major cities were prepared and the State capitals of Gandhi Nagar and Bhubaneswar were developed.

Balanced urban growth was accorded high priority in the Fourth FYP (1969-74). The plan stressed the need to prevent further growth of population in large cities and the need for decongestion or dispersal of population. It was envisaged that this would be achieved by the creation of smaller towns and by planning the spatial location of economic activity. Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) was established to fund remunerative housing and urban development programmes promising a quick turnover. A Scheme for Environmental Improvement or Urban Slums was undertaken in the Central Sector from 1972-73 with the aim of providing a minimum level of services, like water supply, sewerage, drainage, street pavements in 11 cities with a population of eight lakhs and above. The Scheme was later extended to nine more cities.

The Fifth FYP (1974-79) reiterated the policies of the preceding plans to promote smaller towns in new urban centres in order to ease the increasing pressure

Robust City Development Plan: Imperative for Achieving JNNURM Goals

AMITAVA BASU

BACKGROUND

According to the 2001 Census, India has a population of about 1027 million with approximately 28 percent or 285 million living in urban areas. It is estimated that the share of urban population will increase to 40 percent of total population by the year 2021.

With the liberalisation of the economy and the resultant impetus to economic and social activity, the urban sectors are posed for momentous growth. Already a sizeable part of the country has reached levels of urbanisation that are much higher than the national average. The States of Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra are very close to the halfway mark and Gujarat and Karnataka are substantially urbanised. Even in states such as Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, which have large rural settlements, the urban population is significant.

However, by and large, cities in India are suffering from inadequate and poor quality of urban services and environmental degradation. Further, with the significant migration of the rural poor to select urban locations in search of employment and livelihood, there has been a sharp rise of slums in the cities, dividing them into formal and informal settlements.

The deterioration of urban sectors is attributed to adhoc planning, poor management, inadequate governance and the shrinking financial resources of Urban Local Bodies (ULBs).

Cities in India are required to cope with a greater number of people, plan to provide them proper services, find resources to meet the needs of augmenting and maintaining infrastructure, preserve environmental balance, respond to urban poverty and retain their competitive edge. The efficiency of urban centres largely depends upon availability of infrastructure and basic services such as water supply, sanitation, sewerage, drainage, waste management, roads and transportation. The level of investment required for this purpose is of very high order. The decadence that has long characterised the management and operation of most ULBs in the country crippled these bodies to address the challenges. It has been realised that a countrywide initiative is required to reform the ULBs for fast-track, planned development of the cities. Reforms are essential if Indian cities are to have proper infrastructure, efficient services delivery mechanism, community participation and the ULBs are to be accountable to the citizens.

JNNURM

Against this backdrop, on 3rd December, 2005, the Union Ministry of Urban Development launched JNNURM with a time frame of seven years (2005-2012). Under JNNURM, 63 cities have been selected, including the metros of Mumbai, Delhi, Chennai and Kolkata. The Mission has two focused dimensions – urban infrastructure and governance and basic services for the poor.

The objectives of JNNURM are:

- Focussed attention to integrated development of infrastructure services in the cities covered under the Mission.
- Secure effective linkages between asset creation and asset management so that the infrastructural services created in the cities are not only maintained efficiently but also become self-sustaining over time.
- Ensure adequate investment of funds to fulfill deficiencies in the urban infrastructural services.
- Planned development of identified cities including peri-urban areas, out-growths, urban corridors, so that urbanisation takes place in a dispersed manner.
- Scale-up the delivery of civic amenities and provision of utilities with emphasis on universal access to urban poor.
- To take up urban renewal programmes, i.e. re-development of inner (old) cities to reduce congestion.

To achieve these objectives, it is imperative to prepare a city development plan that forms the starting point for the reform laying the basic for identifying core city challenges, indicating the readiness of cities to reform and suggesting mechanism to monitor and evaluate implementation of the plan. To prepare the city development plan, a four stage task approach is desirable.

Stage 1 : City Assessment-Analysis of Existing Situation
The existing situation analysis should be carried out for:
- Demographic Profile

- Economic Base
- Infrastructure Profile
- Financial Profile
- Physical and Social Aspects
- Institutional Aspects

Based on the findings of the existing situation analysis, and in consultation with the stakeholders (civic officials, corporators, academia, non-government organisations, leading citizens, general public, etc) the core strengths, issues / challenges, risks and opportunities have to be identified through a Strength, Weakness, Opportunity and Threat (SWOT) analysis.

Stage 2: Developing Vision for City
Based on the SWOT analysis sectoral and reform agenda needs to be developed through further stakeholder consultation and workshops. The sector wise visions can be fulfilled through sectoral strategies. These sectors are; Water Supply, Sewerage and Sewage Disposal; Transportation; Urban Environment; Urban Housing; Urban Poor and Slums; City Economic Development; Urban Governance and Institutional Development and Urban Finance.

Stage 3: Formulation of City Development Strategies
Following the development of the city's vision, the strategy for project preparation is required to be developed through the evaluation of gaps, criteria for selection of strategy, and project identification. The gap evaluation will be through SWOT technique; selection of strategy through prioritisation of issues and project identification based on demand assessment, and stakeholder consultation. The desired outcomes are Prioritisation of Projects Based on Stakeholder Consultation and Demand Gap Assessments as well as Proposed Projects.

Stage 4: City Investment Plan and Financing Strategies
Next comes the preparation of capital investment and financial operation plan. The project and capital investment plan will cover initiatives for physical and social infrastructure and services and aid in preparation of Project Cost Estimates, Funding Options and Availability. The financial operation plan will cover the baseline scenario with no change in existing situation; and an alternate scenario with a sustainable rate of growth and help in the preparation of project funding requirement, funding strategies; likely impact of new investments and suggestions on improving existing accounting framework.

CONCLUSION

It may be underlined that city development plan is the foundation for growth and development of a city, and therefore needs to be given proper attention and meticulous care. It is a fact that one of the principal causes for the present malaise is adhoc planning. It also needs to be understood that to prepare a plan that can meet the needs and aspirations of the residents of a city and ensure their participation and support in its implementation, the involvement of a wide section of the residents and various stakeholders is necessary. A hurried job to meet an unrealistic deadline may not serve the purpose of the JNNURM.

This laudable programme must therefore be undertaken with a pragmatic approach and not in the usual run of the mill manner. Let the cities flourish and urban India develop to meet the dream of the first prime minister of the country in whose name this Mission has been launched.

CDP
Process

Financial
Operation Plan

↑ PLAN
PREPARATION STAGE

Captial
Investment Plan

↑ PLAN
PREPARATION STAGE

Developing
Vision of City

↑ PLAN
PREPARATION STAGE

Priorisation of
Issues

↑ PRIORTIGATION STAGE

City SWOT
Assessment

↑ ASSESSMENT STAGE

Assessment &
Identifaction of
Issues

↑ ASSESSMENT STAGE

Existing Situation
Analysis

↑ ASSESSMENT STAGE

Departments of
City Government

DATA COLLECTION
STAGE

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on urbanisation. A Task Force was set up for the development of small and medium towns. The Urban Land (Ceiling and Regulation) Act was enacted to prevent the concentration of land holdings in urban areas and to make available urban land for the construction of houses for the middle and low income groups.

The thrust of the Sixth FYP (1980-85) was on the integrated provision of services along with shelter, particularly for the poor. The Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns (IDSMT) was launched in towns with populations below one lakh, for provision of roads, pavements, minor civic works, bus stands, markets, shopping complexes etc.

The Seventh FYP (1985-90) stressed the need to entrust major responsibility of housing construction to the private sector. A three-fold role was assigned to the public sector, i.e. mobilisation resources for housing, provision for subsidised housing of the poor and acquisition and development of land. The National Housing Bank was set up to expand the base of

In the backdrop of this report, the Eighth FYP (1992-97) for the first time explicitly recognised the role and importance of the urban sector for the national economy. While the growth rate of employment in urban areas averaged around 3.8 percent per annum, it dropped to about 1.6 percent in the rural areas. Therefore, the urban areas have to be enabled to absorb larger increments to the labour force. The Plan identified the key issues in the emerging urban scenario:

- The widening gap between demand and supply of infrastructure services that were adversely affecting the poor whose access to the basic services like drinking water, sanitation, education and basic health services was shrinking; the unabated growth of urban population, aggravating the accumulated backlog of housing shortages and resulting in the proliferation of slums and squatter settlement and the decay of the city's environment;
- The high incidence of marginal employment and urban poverty as reflected in NSS 43rd and approximately 41.8 million urban people living below the poverty line.

Urbanisation projections for India - 2001-2051 (estimates)

Census Year	Total Population (in millions)	Total Urban Population (in millions)	%age of Urban Population	Decadal Increase of Urban Population (in millions)	Decadal %age increase of Urban Population	%age of Rural Population	Remarks
2001	1027	285	27.78	68	2.26	72.22	Actuals
2011	1220	372	30.50	87	2.72	69.50	Projected
2021	1390	473	34.00	101	3.50	66.00	-do-
2031	1534	583	38.00	110	4.00	62.00	-do-
2041	1648	700	42.50	117	4.50	57.50	-do-
2051	1732	820	47.50	120	5.00	52.50	-d0-

Source : Census of India + Projections

housing finance. NBO was reconstituted and a new organisation named Building Material Technology Promotion Council (BMTPC) was set up for promoting commercial production of innovative building materials. The Seventh Plan explicitly recognised the problems of the urban poor and for the first time an Urban Poverty Alleviation Scheme known as Urban Basic Services for the Poor (UBSP) was launched. As a follow-up of the Global Shelter Strategy (GSS), National Housing Policy (NHP) was announced in 1988. The role of the Government was conceived, as a provider for the poorest and vulnerable sections and as a facilitator for other income groups and private sector by the removal of constraints and the increased supply of land services.

The response of the Plan to this scenario was the launching of Urban Poverty Alleviation Programme of Nehru Rojgar Yojana (NRY).

It is expected that by 2051, all large urban local bodies would be planned as urban agglomerations comprising of more than one Local Body (LB). State level Development Authorities would be required to provide 20 year agglomeration level frameworks with five yearly updates but with detailed plans by Local Bodies.

For a sustainable development canvas, in a Local Body-State partnership, urban areas are best reclassified as mega-cities with Municipal Corporations and other multiple Local Bodies (five million plus); other metros with a Municipal

Urbanisation in India

Decade	Annual Growth Rate (%)	Urbanisation (%)
1971 - 81	3.79	23.53
1981 - 91	3.09	25.70
1991 - 01	2.73	27.79
2001 - 10*	2.30	30.30
2010 - 20*	2.50	34.70

Corporation and several other Local Bodies (one to five million); large city agglomerations with a Municipal Corporation and few other Local Bodies (0.3 to one million); small city agglomerations with a Municipal Corporation or Council and few other Local Bodies (0.1 to 0.3 million); large town agglomerations with a Municipal Council and a few other Local Bodies (20,000 to 0.1 million); and small towns with a Municipal Board or Nagar Panchayat (less than 20,000). The emerging canvas would be one of urban corridors and large rural intertowns by 2051. This is due to several nationally sponsored infrastructure developments, such as:

- Investment on Road Network the establishment of the National Highways Authority of India (NHA1) for initiating the National Highways Development Project for the Golden Quadrilateral of about 6,000 kms. Connecting the high density metro corridors of Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai and Kolkata; the north-south corridor (Srinagar to Kanyakumari); the east-west corridor (Silchar to Porbandar); 4/6 laning and strengthening of the national highways; and facilitating access to major ports and international and national airports;

- Upgradation of Railway Lines is a priority by the Ministry of Railways e.g. phasing out meter gauge; providing electrified double track broad gauge on all trunk and several regional routes; effectively connect all ports and airports and coordinate with State / City government on intra-settlement transportation.

THE WIDENING GAP BETWEEN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC INVESTMENT

Development planning and control mechanisms in the cities are either absent or so adhoc that private real estate development is adding urban extensions without concomitant development of infrastructure. Urban economic activity depends heavily on infrastructure such as power, roads and water. It is therefore essential to create infrastructure facilities with increasing urbanisation to foster economic growth. However,

since the nature and extent of growth is unplanned and unanticipated, the provision of services is not proactive, but reactive. The demand for services such as transport, water, and sewerage continually outstrips supply, this is resulting in a situation of perpetual scarcity and shortage.

THE RURAL SECTOR VS LIBERALISATION

The present rural dependence on 68 percent employment through agriculture is unsustainable in the long term as it could lead to social unrest spurred by the economic disparities between urban and rural population. Economic development for India in agriculture, industry and services necessitates accelerated focus on investment and development of physical infrastructure in order to achieve cost effectiveness of the logistics chain from supply to manufacture and from product to delivery end. Further, the import of agro-products from SAARC countries and the impact of liberalisation will further endanger the livelihood of the rural population.

Pressure on the basic services is evident. About 54 percent of urban households do not have access to toilets and 64 percent are not connected to the public sewerage system. Almost 50 percent of solid waste remains uncollected. Although 89 percent of the urban population is covered by treated water supply, water is supplied only for a few hours per day. City roads are clogged. Though vehicle population in India increased 80 fold in the last 40 years, road area increased by only five percent. Little attention has been paid to the development of rapid mass transport systems in most major cities.

Only 17 of the largest cities have organised bus services, and only three cities, i.e. Mumbai, Kolkata and Chennai have a suburban rail system. A good network of roads coupled with efficient mass urban transport system makes a substantial contribution to the efficiency of the cities and enables them to become a catalyst of the economic and social development. The 1996 India Infrastructure Report had assessed an annual investment of Rs.280 billion till 2005 at the 1996 price level for urban water supply, sanitation and roads.

JNNURM

The Prime Minister of India launched the JNNURM in 2005 consisting of two Sub-Missions:
- On urban infrastructure and governance to be

administered by the Ministry of Urban Development,

- On basic services to the urban poor, to be administered by the Ministry of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation.

JNNURM, the Scheme, worth more than Rs.100,000 crores will cover 63 cities with a million-plus population, all state capitals and several cities of religious, historical and tourist importance. What comes as the additional benefit is the investment amount which is likely to go up to over Rs .10,000 crores a year from Rs. 5,500 crores in the first year; to be implemented over the next seven years. JNNURM is designed to focus on the integrated development of urban infrastructure and services, secure effective linkage between asset creation and management and to ensure adequate investment of funds to fulfill deficiencies in the urban infrastructure and providing space for urban basic service sectors, ultimately boosting our economy. The massive central assistance to states and local bodies would be expected to link to the implementation of reforms at the micro level that provide the necessary boost to infrastructure development of the nation. The mission would have a component for special emphasis on the provision of basic services to the urban poor; including housing, water supply, sanitation, slum improvement, community toilets / baths etc. and the efficiency of city governance through public participation and disclosure would also be among the major objectives.

The Mission was prepared in keeping with the objectives of the National Common Minimum Programme (NCMP), which also seeks to give reform-linked central assistance to the selected cities for infrastructure development and provision of basic services to urban poor.

Earlier this year, the government has announced two mega projects for rural infrastructure development; Bharat Nirman and the Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme. Similarly, the government has also recently introduced the concept of PURA or in-situ urbanisation, where urban facilities are provided to a cluster of villages with economic potential in the non-farm sector, which inter alia would lead to further development and strengthening of trade and commerce, industry and service sector in the cluster leading eventually to full urbanisation. Having announced two mega projects for rural infrastructure development earlier in the year, the Government has turned its attention to urban India.

The JNNRUM has also launched two parallel schemes: an urban infrastructure development scheme for the small and medium towns and a housing and slum development programme. Central grants for these schemes would also be linked to necessary reforms at the ground level. The objectives of these reforms are to improve the financial condition of local bodies, their creditworthiness, ability to access market capital for taking up new projects, secure public participation and commercial sustainability in the provision of services.

Through the JNNURM, the Government of India intends to achieve focused attention on integrated development of infrastructure and services, secure effective linkages between asset creation and asset management; ensure adequate investment of funds to fulfill deficiencies in urban infrastructure services; planned development of identified cities including semi-urban areas, out growths, urban corridors so that urbanisation takes place in a dispersed manner; scale up the delivery of civic amenities and provision of utilities to the urban poor; to take up urban renewal programme i.e., redevelopment of inner or old cities area to reduce congestion; and provision of basic services to the urban poor including security of tenure at affordable prices, improved housing, water supply, sanitation and ensuring delivery of other services such as education, health and social security.

Massive central assistance to states and local bodies under JNNURM has been linked to the implementation of reforms at the micro -level that will provide necessary boost to infrastructure development. Reforms comprise two sets of mandatory reforms i.e., core-reforms, at the urban local body level, which are targetted at the process of re-engineering through the development of technology to enable more efficient, reliable, and timely services in a transparent manner. Other reforms include frameworks of state administration.

The projects suggested under JNNURM are laudable even though their implementation comes rather late after more than 50 years of Independence. The existing piecemeal approach towards development is really a disturbing factor for any planner, whose vision is a well co-ordinated and balanced approach combining all the socio economic factors, whether for any particular region or for the whole country as such. The vision of any planner is not pragmatic in the Indian context because of the vast extent of the area, the multi -faceted culture, religion, economic status etc. Above all, the major issue has been the political system in the

country, which is also playing a vital role in deploying the limited resources of the economy as per its manifesto and priority. The five years tenures of those in power, as well as the planning tenure terminates at the same time,but the ongoing projects implemented on very big scales suffer a great set back when there is a change in the seat of power. As a result of such inevitable political changes in a democratic set up, projects run into cost over run, time over run, shifting of priorities in implementation, and even shelving off such projects at the cost of tax payers money. Such a scenario, is very common in the Indian context, and often prevents the development of the country.

The report of the National Commission of Urbanisation as earlier mentioned, is very transparent and critical about the way, the above mentioned five year plans drained the outlays allocated for achieving the objectives of the five year plans. A similar situation under no circumstances should be repeated during the implementation of JNNURM.

CONCLUSION

An independent body, similar to National Commission for Urbanisation, is needed for the effective and successful implementation of not only the projects formulated under the JNNURM but also for all the major projects which will be implemented in due course. All the projects drafted in the JNNURM are obviously to be implemented by the technocrats at the Local Body level. Their skill in implementing such mega projects is limited and hence experts in the field are to be deployed for quality asset creation for the Local Bodies. The operation and maintenance may be granted to the Local Body officials in order to formulate effective day to day service to the society. It ought to be noted that the local bodies' financial position will not allow adequate resource allocation towards the maintenance of the assets created. All the JNNURM funded projects need an annual maintenance budgetary provision by the Government of India so as to ensure proper maintenance and better service to the society.

Notes and References

Housing and Urban Policy in India

54 National Town and Country Planners Congress *(Jan 14-16 2006)*

Technical Papers

National Urban Renewal Mission: Potential to Strengthen Local Governance

BINOY ACHARYA

ABSTRACT

The mission oriented urban renewal programme initiated by the government is a welcome approach. Its vision of upgrading the overall infrastructure and basic utility services of the towns and cities with the effective involvement of the community, will hopefully ensure greater accountability of the municipalities to the people. However, the mission should not end up in creating infrastructure and services without making any effective changes in governance practices. Strengthening decentralised urban governance in the spirit of 74th constitutional Amendment should be the overall goal.

After seven years of the mission period, there should not be a situation where all resources are used for the creation of infrastructure and basic services and the governance reforms are met as just perfunctory administration compliance. There is a need to build a political commitment across the States and the country as a whole to implement participatory decentralisation in urban areas with clear obligations to all the citizens in general and the poor and marginalised in particular.

This article critically reviews the programme with an intention to remove road blocks and ensure equitable development and social justice with civic participation, particularly that of the poor and the vulnerable.

INTRODUCTION

Issues related to growing urbanisation, the increasing number of urban poor, pressure on basic urban services and poor urban infrastructure has received enough scholastic attention. There are also enough insights among academicians, planners, policy makers and administrators on the lack of impact of various developmental programmes on the conditions of the cities. It is increasingly being realised that unless the local governance is strengthened and appropriate governance reforms are initiated, developmental issues cannot be adequately addressed. Urbanisation is on the march and urban areas are becoming predominant growth centres. This calls for a strengthening of infrastructure so that upgraded basic services are available to the growing urban population.

The mission aims to improve the urban infrastructure and basic services along with strengthening the devolution process initiated through the 74th Constitutional Amendment. The mission is viewed as a reform and development process to be achieved in a seven year time frame. Civil society organisations, researchers and urban planners have shown considerable interest in the mission, either in terms of creating space to facilitate the process or organised consultations to provide constructive suggestions so that the programmes do not end up as yet another ineffective one. Many civil society organisations do not necessarily indicate that there is overall consensus on the design and implementation strategy. It is interesting to find that the programme is conceived as two sub-missions: Urban infrastructure and Governance, administered by the Ministry of Urban Development and Basic Services to the Urban Poor, administered by Ministry of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation.

A programme for small and medium towns has been evolved along similar lines; the programme is named, Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme for Small and Medium Towns (UIDSSMT) and Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme (IHSDP). As evident from the nomenclature, the former primarily focuses on urban infrastructure and the latter, mostly on the urban poor. Two broad categories of reforms have been outlined – mandatory and optional, to be initiated at the ULB / Parastatal level and the State Government. The overall purpose of these reforms is to improve efficiency in service delivery, promote equity, build citizens participation, and facilitate planning and implementation. For the first time, the government is visualising the development of physical infrastructure of the cities with a governance framework that is efficient and accountable. While such a large scale urban development agenda is being initiated with governance reform, there is a need to create supporting and enabling environments to execute the programme.

INFRASTRUCTURE AND BASIC SERVICES

For the growth of a city both infrastructure development and basic services for the urban poor are essential. Activists working for the entitlement of the urban poor often feel that the cities might come up with proposals of flyovers, road networks, bus terminals which might displace the urban poor living in informal settlements. The programme is silent about the eviction and demolition of slums. In principle, all infrastructure projects should be planned in such a way that the urban poor are not adversely affected. There is no disagreement from any quarter on this basic principle. However, this principle is repeatedly violated in practice, it is understood that the mission will not support the creation of social infrastructure and employment related activities. It is assumed in the mission (and correctly so) that the infrastructure created under the mission will contribute to economic growth. In order to make the investment equitable there is a need to identify infrastructural requirement, that benefit the informal economy. Perhaps infrastructure like worksheds, hawking zones, parking areas for cycle rickshaws and hand carts, transit camps for migrant workers can be considered. The urban poor get subjected to exploitative intermediaries in the absence of such facilities. The CDPs and DPRs need to clearly specify how their needs and entitlements are going to be protected under the infrastructure development category. The approval and monitoring committee and the advisory committee has a critical role to play to ensure equity in the investment proposals. First of all the proposals need to specify what measures are taken to consult the urban poor and how the infrastructure is going to benefit them directly. General consultations may not be appropriate as often the voices of the poor are not heard in such forums. The consultants working on CDPs and DPRs need to be oriented on authentic participatory processes.

The government aims to put in place an Area Committee, Ward Committee, Metropolitan Planning Committee and District Planning Committees to facilitate participatory planning. Such committees are

not yet in place. However, plans have been submitted and developed by empanelled consultants. Though the mission very strongly argues that the cities covered under it will not be subjected to the vagaries of political and bureaucratic class, there is very little scope to incorporate participation in the submitted project. JNNURM mandates city corporations and municipalities to appoint consultants to prepare city development plans (CDPs). The Ministry of Urban Development has put out a list of approved consultants who can be hired by the municipalities to put together CDP and DPR. CDPs are to be prepared with multi-stakeholder consultation. Experience shows that with the timeframe available for preparation of CDPs and with the current level of citizens' knowledge and engagement, no participatory process can be put into place if there is any; it will be perfunctory to satisfy the contractual obligations.

There is another issue with regards to CDP formulation under JNNURM. It is not clear what will happen to the already existing and implemented master plans and development plans. Are all the cities under JNNURM supposed to undertake fresh CDPs or make amendments to existing DPs and Master Plans? If at all there is any inconsistency, how are those issues to be redressed?

The current developmental interventions are being made under already prepared statutory master plans. There is a need to develop systematic guidelines to review the master plans along with current studies of city development trends, guidelines of national slum policy and stakeholders; particularly the poor. The Ministry has developed a guideline for the CDP. It needs to be seen how many of the outlined processes have been adopted while developing / reviewing the CDPs and developing the DPRs.

In Gujarat, the State government (GUDC) is planning to take up a review cum study on urban land related laws. The mission aims to earmark 20-25 percent of land for the economically weaker sections (EWS). The two mandatory reforms for the State for Repeal of Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act (ULCRA) and Reform of Rent Control Laws need to be formulated in such a way that the poor retain their land titles in both, regularised and unregularised areas, and cities are developed with principles of social inclusion rather than dividing the cities into posh locality and slums.

Water supply and sanitation schemes have been exempted from the ULCRA. The project submitted for water and sanitation need to be examined in terms of whether it caters to all sections of the city. Can the projects guarantee that the populations covered under their mandate have equitable access to services. Under UIDSSMT, only water supply projects are being submitted. It is understood these are the initial projects and there is no clear roadmap developed to institutionalise the reforms. Perhaps there is an urgent need to popularise the programme and initiate the reform process. The resources available for capacity building need to be used at the beginning of the project to orient the elected representatives and citizen leaders so that they have a clear understanding before any MOU is signed.

Since the urban poor cannot access formal houses from the market, urban land reforms must ensure that the urban poor have access to housing and basic services at an affordable price. Since the government puts emphasis on security of tenure, the projects must mention the processes and mechanisms through which basic services and housing can be ensured for the urban poor. The projects should not be approved if any infrastructure project includes elements that may displace people and proposes to cover the displaced people under BSUP or IHSDP.

ENSURING PARTICIPATION

The mission aims to institutionalise people's participation to this end, the Ministry aims to bring out a Participation Act soon. In this reference, a tool kit has already been made available. It is yet not clear for what kind of projects public participation is mandatory. The biggest challenge is how the voices of the poor and the marginalised will be included in the project formulation. It may so happen that the self-appointed representatives of the urban poor take positions in the decision making process. It is often argued that public consultations often lead to criticism of the programme or raising of grievances. While this may be the starting point, the views and grievances need to be re-interpreted to articulate the needs of the participants. The mission needs to institutionalise participation for all projects, without such a process, the mission may not be able to address the real issues of the poor and thereby increase the gap between the conditions of the poor and the affluent in the city. It is not expected from the technical consultants to ensure authentic participation of the poor communities as they have no prior experience on the mobilisation of such an important stakeholder. As there exists a variety of unequal stakeholders it is a challenge to elicit

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU NATIONAL URBAN RENEWAL MISSION (JNNURM)

STATE-WISE LIST OF PHSICAL AND FINANCIAL PROGRESS UNDER SUB-MISSION FOR URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE AND GOVERNANCE (AS ON 28.03.2006)

Name of State	Number of Projects approved	Total approved cost (Rs. in lakhs)	Total Central Assistance Admissible (Rs. in lakhs)	Central Share approved for release (Rs. in lakhs)
ANDHRA PRADESH	11	47190.00	17893.00	4472.50
ARUNACHAL PRADESH				
ASSAM				
BIHAR				
CHHATTISGARH				
DELHI				
GOA				
GUJARAT	5	17745.25	8064.00	1844.00
HARYANA				
HIMACHAL PRADESH				
JAMMU & KASHMIR				
JHARKHAND				
KARNATAKA				
KERALA				
MADHYA PRADESH	2	3793.31	1897.16	474.29
MAHARASHTRA	5	17754.39	8877.18	2219.80
MANIPUR				
MEGHALAYA				
MIZORAM				
NAGALAND				
ORISSA				
PONDICHERRY				
PUNJAB				
RAJASTHAN				
SIKKIM				
TAMIL NADU				
TRIPURA				
UTTAR PRADESH				
UTTARANCHAL				
WEST BENGAL				
TOTAL	**23**	**86482.95**	**36731.335**	**9010.584**

Source: jnnurm.nic.in, Nov.2006

participation of the poor in a manner so that their interests, can be represented as forcefully as that of organised groups such as traders, builders and other service providers.To institutionalise the participation of the poor, the municipalities developing programmes under JNNURM need to make their own strategy through the formulation of CBOs, involvement of slum dweller's federation, SHGs, and other associations. To strengthen community participation, a parallel process should be initiated.

There seems to be no consensus on public private partnership (PPP). It is argued that private partnership will bring in resources for infrastructure programmes. The other reason of PPP is to bring in efficiency in operations and the maintenance and collection of tariff.

While the Mission gives priority to PPP based projects, it may also provide priority to decentralised people's owned and managed projects. Wherever there is a proven track record of people's managed services, more effort needs to be made to strengthen these in order to demonstrate alternate management practices. Gujarat Government's Water and Sanitation Programme (WASMO) took a principled stand that all projects are to be managed through decentralised and participatory framework. This programme has received wide coverage and success. Perhaps lessons can be drawn from WASMO to promote community managed basic service programmes for water supply, street cleaning, solid waste disposal, etc. The mission need to recognise that PPP is not the only available solution for effective delivery of services.

There is as yet no model for fixation of tariffs and user charges for basic services that takes into account entitlement and equity. Looking into our urban poverty and large informal settlements, the mission may also set up separate studies to develop tariff structures where a minimum quantity of basic services are provided to all as entitlement of the citizens. It seems the concept of 'Poor can Pay' has been stretched without taking into account the basic obligations of the State towards its citizens.

STRENGTHENING DECENTRALISED MEASURES

The reforms proposed in the mission are critical to strengthen the governance process. However, it remains to be seen whether the ULBs and State governments will implement the reforms. It may happen that some reforms are given importance over others. For example, the removal of ULCRA and the Rent Control Act may be initiated, ignoring the housing entitlement of the poor in both notified and non-notified slums. The security of tenure may be interpreted in such a way that it evicts the poor. The set of reforms (mandatory and optional) may be analysed by the ULBs and the State jointly rather than by just developing MOUs to comply with the reforms. All the reforms need to be seen in the context of the 74th Amendment. Reforms should be carried out in such a way that the respective municipalities develop their own mechanisms to regulate land price, service tariffs, taxation, etc. In a decentralised governing system, the market forces should not be the only criteria for the creation of infrastructure and basic services.

It will not be difficult for ULBs to introduce the technical reforms such as e-governance, GIS based tax collection, accounting systems. However, other reforms require political and legislative commitment. In fact, the release of grants should not be linked with the compliance of reforms. The reform on governance should be an overall commitment rather than just as an instrumentality to access mission resources. To put it crudely, if the ULBs or the state governments do not implement the reforms in a satisfactory manner, will the project be stopped mid-way? It will only delay the implementation and increase the cost. Moreover, in our federal system it would be difficult to prove the satisfactory aspect of the implementation of reforms. Hence, the mission may take up State-specific initiatives to develop a strategy and guideline of governance reform in the true spirit of decentralised governance.

The first mandatory reform proposed at the State level is the effective implementation of decentralisation initiatives as per the 74th Constitutional Amendment. All State governments have enacted State-specific Municipal Acts. However, there is yet to be any effective measures taken with regard to the devolution of functions and funds. The State Finance Commissions have not critically looked into municipal finances. The State of Rajasthan officially claims that out of the 18 items listed in the 12th schedule; 16 functions have been transferred to urban local bodies. All State Governments need to examine whether such transfers have been actually practiced in terms of devolution of funds and functionaries with the spirit of subsidies. Strengthening decentralisation is a national agenda. However, there has been very little commitment shown in last 12 years with regard to its implementation. Urban local bodies continue to be governed by appointed bureaucrats (Municipal Commissioners and Chief Officers) rather than by elected representatives. The Mayors have a term of one to two years, a period that provides very little scope to translate their vision into action. The Ministry of Panchayati Raj has been taking initiatives for the last two years to take stock of devolution through activity mapping. Many States have not confirmed this. With this experience, it is difficult to assume that the State governments will take the devolution mapping for urban local bodies seriously. In order to strengthen decentralisation, a consensus need to be built at all political party levels. It cannot be left to the bureaucracy or to the mission to ensure decentralisation.

Though the mission is talking about the reforms along with the implementation of 74th Amendment, there is no overall emphasis on strengthening the decentralisation. It should not be interpreted that those towns and cities which fall under the mission will implement the reforms and others will not. In fact, it should be a national agenda. There should be a time frame to revitalise the State Election Commission (SEC), State Finance Commission (SFC), District Planning Committees (DPC) etc. Such constitutional bodies have been ineffective and dysfunctional in many states. Under the State Municipal Acts there should be a clear provisions of revenue generation, financial management practices, functioning of various committees, role of parastatel bodies and constitutional authorities like SFC, SEC and DPC. For example, the SFC can be empowered to play a critical role in the resource allocation in the State budget, accommodations for tariff and taxation, regulate private participations for infrastructure financing and operations and managements of basic services.

As mentioned above, the State Municipal Acts have not operationalised the transfer of various functions under the 12th schedule. The basic amenities and social security services like PDS, employment, housing, child care, primary health care, primary education and other social security programmes are implemented by line departments without any accountability to the ULBs. The municipal acts must clearly specify all the functions that need to be carried out. The non-transference of functions have been continuing in the name of a lack of adequate technical capacity and resources with the municipalities. There is a need to build the capacity of municipalities so that all urban local bodies can effectively access resources and implement programmes. Lack of capacity cannot be a factor for municipalities to access resources. Without this, the better managed and efficient ULBs will gain advantage and it will lead to unequal development of towns.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the JNNURM should not be treated as yet another programme of the Ministry. It should be considered as an opportunity to strengthen local governance and make it financially stable, and administratively efficient in providing quality infrastructure, basic services and social security while remaining accountable and transparent to the citizens.

Beyond JNNURM : An Approach for Civil Society

RAVIKANT JOSHI

...Launching of the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission is a recognition of the phenomenon called "urbanization"...
<div align="right">S. Jaipal Reddy, Minister for Urban Development</div>

ABSTRACT

Recently launched Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission by GOI indicates paradigm change in public policy towards urbanisation and urban development. JNNURM is aimed at creating cities which are - Economically productive, Efficient, Equitable and Responsive. JNNURM has received mixed reactions from different quarters. This article welcomes JNNURM initiative of GOI in general and more specifically for its unstated, implicit objectives like developing and owning collective vision for the city by all the stakeholders and change in the conscience of local polity, body and society. But JNNURM in its present form is highly susceptible to failure unless there is constructive civil society engagement. Without civil society engagement it will not achieve its unstated and implicit objective of new urbanism in India. In the light of these stark realities, this article pleads civil society to go with the JNNURM to ensure that it will not fail and to go beyond the JNNURM to ensure that larger and more important unstated objectives get attained in Indian cities.

BEGINNING OF THE GRAND RACE OF CITIES

At the present juncture, the scheme of JNNURM has become known to most of the people in the sector. On the one hand it has generated a great

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deal of discussion about its merits and demerits among intellectuals and civil society activists, and on the other hand, bureaucrats, technocrats, and consultants have all become very busy as a grand race has started amongst the 63 cities under JNNURM. This race is unique in the sense that the participants of the race are not professional well trained racers but a bunch of lazy jacks who have been dragged all of a sudden from their beds and have been lined up for the race. Before they realise what they are getting into, the starting pistol of their race with each other has been fired and the cities have started limping (running) forward as they can not go backward or stay on the starting line. Another race of toddlers (4300 smaller cities) who do not know how to run or compete with each other has also commenced. In this second race it is the teacher (state government) who will run in real sense with other teachers to make his class win. The essence of this race is to teach toddler cities the concept of run (competition) and their subsequent running. The problem is that, the direction of running is made unimportant. While these races are on, this article attempts to go beyond JNNURM in order to know how civil society can go along with it. First let us know JNNURM and its rules of the game.

THE JNNURM – AN OFFICIAL BLUE PRINT

- It has two tracks - JNNURM which covers 63 cities, Million + population, 35 State Capitals[1] & 28 Special Cities, UIDSSMT & IHSDP - all other cities – around 5000.
- Aimed at creating cities which are economically productive, efficient, equitable, responsive
- It will fund infrastructure investments, preparatory activities and capacity building
- Its funding structure[2] is 35 to 90 percent as grant from GOI, 10 to 20 percent as grant from State Governments, balance 10 to 50 percent by ULB in the form of internal surplus, debt and PPP
- Its stated objectives are planned development, integrated development of infrastructure, linkages between asset creation & management, ensuring adequate investment of funds, scaling up delivery of services and emphasis on universal access and renewal of inner city areas
- Admissible components/sectors/projects under JNNURM, are urban renewal, water supply (including desalination & sewerage), solid waste management, storm water drains, urban transport, parking spaces on PPP basis, development of heritage areas, prevention & rehabilitation of soil

erosion (only in case of special category states), preservation of water bodies
- Inadmissible sectors are power, telecom, health, education, wage employment & staff components
- It will be administered by two ministries and two Sub-Missions through dedicated mission directorates. The two Sub-Missions are – urban infrastructure and governance, basic services for the urban poor
- Its duration will be of seven years 2005-2011 (was announced at the end of first year)
- Its strategy mainly comprises three things
  a. City Development Plan - A vision document defining what the city wants to achieve
  b. Detailed Project Reports for the specified sectors within CDP framework
  c. Reform Plan with time frames
- Mandatory reforms for local bodies, accrual-based double entry system of accounting, introduction of system of e-governance using IT applications like GIS and MIS for various services provided by ULBs, reform of property tax with GIS so that it becomes major source of revenue, levy of reasonable user charges, internal earmarking within local body budgets for basic services to the urban poor including security of tenure at affordable prices, improved housing, water supply, sanitation and ensuing delivery of other already existing universal services of the Government for education, health and social security. These works must be given minimum 35 per cent share of funds going to be spent under JNNURM.
- Mandatory reforms for State Governments include the implementation of 74th Constitution Amendment Act, enactment of public disclosure law, enactment of community participation law, assigning or associating elected ULBs with "city planning function", repeal of Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act, reform of Rent Control Laws balancing the interests of landlords and tenants, rationalisation of Stamp Duty to bring it down to no more than 5 percent within next five years.
- Optional Reforms (States and ULBs/ Parastatals) are revision of bye-laws to streamline approval process for construction of buildings, development of sites, simplification of legal and procedural frameworks for conversion of agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes, introduction of property title certification system, earmarking at least 20-25 percent of developed land in all housing projects (both Public and Private Agencies) for EWS/LIG

category with a system of cross subsidisation, introduction of computerised process of registration of land and property, revision of bye-laws to make rain water harvesting mandatory in all buildings and adoption of water conservation measures, bye-laws for reuse of recycled water, administrative reforms, structural reforms, encouraging Public Private Partnership (PPP).

THE JNNURM – THE FINE PRINT AND IMPLICIT REFORMS

There is a significant fine print with implicit reforms, hidden in the official blue print presented above, which is of great concern to all. The following is revealed by reading in between the lines–

- It is recognition of the phenomenon called "urbanization" and its economic and social significance in an official (public) policy by any government in the six decades of post independence era. It is a paradigm shift in policy which had anti-urbanisation bias.
- It is an acceptance of the fact that urban growth, urbanisation and urban economy can not be left to the mercy of state government/local governments and in the absence of positive and adequate efforts by them in the hands of markets resulting into lopsided, exclusive and iniquitous growth and the central government must play a pivotal role.
- For the first time it is a demand based scheme rather than usual top-down supply side solutions based scheme.
- The size of grant to a city will depend on financial ability of a city to put its own share, relevance of the projects submitted for JNNURM assistance, commitment and ability to undertake stipulated reforms and overall quality of governance possessed by the applicant ULB. In this manner it is a merit-based scheme
- It is of a challenge fund nature. A city (ULB) is expected to take up the challenge and ask for the necessary help. Ability to conceive and to fulfil challenge is of utmost importance under this scheme.
- It is a performance based scheme. The release of grant from central government will be on the basis of achievements, the fulfilment of infrastructure development and governance reforms and commitments agreed under the framework of Memorandum of Agreement. In this sense it is tilted towards efficiency rather than equity.
- It is a catalyst that provides precious resources and removes external hurdles

Because of these features right from its inception JNNURM has faced opposition from certain quarters of intellectuals and civil society. They have termed JNNURM scheme elitist, exclusionary and have expressed concern that it will accentuate gap between developed and not so developed cities. The better placed or performing cities will attract most of the resources and will become a stronger magnet for migrants and therefore, will expand in size.

The criticism of the JNNURM by a certain section of society as being 'elitist', in spite of its merits is not free from logical loopholes and fallacies, and can be subject to strong counter-argument and debate. This group has probably overlooked the implicit merits of JNNURM which are of real substance in lieu of the explicit merits/scheme detailed in official blue print of this scheme.

The unsaid reforms or implicit potential of the JNNURM are
- Developing collective vision for the city through participation of all stakeholders of the city thus paving the way for 'inclusive city'.
- Changing the conscience of local polity, bodies and society
- Providing basic urban services to all including urban poor by end of scheme (2011) which will lead to fulfilment of Millennium Development Goals to a great extent.
- Stipulation to spend 35 percent of funds on the works pertaining to provision of basic service to urban poor, thus ensuring equity in allocation of resources and distribution of resultant benefits.
- Furthering attainment of objectives of transparency and accountability.
- Providing political space for urban leadership to develop
- Transforming urban administration in to performing machinery

Intrinsically there should be nothing wrong if better performing cities perform even better and expand in size. That trend would facilitate the national dream of India emerging as a super power. They can be transformed into growth engines from their present state of stagnation. The prevalent fallacious and negative notion of equity deserves to be condemned in the strongest terms if it does indeed seek to withhold the progress of the capable and efficient, to retain them at par with inefficient non performers, the mistake that we have made for too long. Handfuls (about 20) of world-class cities are better than all cities stagnating in

mediocrity. The former may well give a positive signal by providing an example for smaller cities to follow. Even to set up a few such role models, one needs a true merit and efficiency based scheme.

A very small section of civil society has welcomed JNNURM while large quarters of our civil society is still undecided about their reaction to JNNURM.

THE JNNURM – AN APPROACH FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ENGAGEMENT

The Central Government is transparent and is asking wider community participation and co-operation of the civil society in JNNURM. The civil society should be aware of some realities about JNNURM.

- The Central Government has decided to give large amount of funds that is more than Rs. 5,00,000 million in seven year's period 2005-2011. No other body in India except the Central governement can raise such a large sum. This is so because in 2001-02 the municipal resource revenue of all municipal bodies in India amounted to Rs. 1,27,480 million which formed just 3.07 percent of publicly-raised resources, the shares of the central government and all state governments combined being 57.5 percent and 39.5 percent respectively. As a percent of the combined gross domestic product (GDP), own revenues of municipalities represented 0.63 percent. As a proportion of the combined gross domestic product of states (GDP), municipal expenditures have risen gradually from 0.74 percent in 1997/98 to 0.75, 0.77 and 0.75 percent respectively in the successive years. The average per capita expenditures (daily) ranges between Rs.0.20 to Rs.2.25 and explains the extremely low availability of resources, the low level of services and consequently, the deplorable service conditions in cities and towns[7].
- Various studies have indicated that Indian Urban Sector requires investment of Rs. 4,00,000 million per annum against the present investment taking place of around Rs. 1,00,000 million only. Thus there is a shortfall of 75 percent. With JNNURM funds this shortfall is likely to come down to 50 percent.
- More than 70 percent population is dependant on rural (agriculture) sector contributing less than 25 percent to the GDP. If rural poverty and unemployment is to be addressed in sustainable terms then massive demographic transition of rural unemployed population to urban population needs

to happen, for that our cities must be able to absorb excess rural unemployed population. But our cities are absorbing lesser rural population for the last two decades. Urban population growth has shown a continuous decline trend in the last two decades. Economically productive, Efficient, Equitable and Responsive cities are not luxury but bare necessity to address issues of rural poverty and development.

- Further, no country has become economically prosperous with urban population less than 50 percent. There is a positive co-relation between economic growth and urbanisation.
- The towns will be greedy in queuing up because they have never seen so much money. In the lure for money, every scruple is likely to be compromised, paying scanty respect to constitutional impropriety.
- GOI has provided two good openings, in the form of community participation law and public disclosure law.
- The stark reality is JNNURM in its present form is highly susceptible to failure and if it fails
  a. The total investment envisaged under JNNURM of Rs. 10,00,000 million in seven years may not take place because even if central government pumps in its promised share of Rs. 5,00,000 million, state governments and local governments will not be able to put in their own share of Rs. 5,00,000 million.
  b. Even if resources get mobilised, municipal bodies of India will not be able to absorb this much capital intake as these institutions have starved for fund for ages and do not have capital absorption capacity. Unless massive capacity building efforts are undertaken simultaneously to improve their digestive (capital absorption) capacity, municipal bodies will squander the money.
  c. Reforms will not take place but still funds will have to be released by GOI to salvage infrastructure projects undertaken under JNNURM.
  d. Colossal wastage of resources will occur if right kind of projects are not selected through a process of collective visioning.
  e. Inappropriate infrastructure development might occur.
  f. Non redressal of urban poverty in direct terms and rural poverty in indirect terms.
  g. Spoiling of local bodies in all terms.
  h. No improvement in management efficiency, responsiveness and accountability

i. No formulation of collective vision, no creation of political space and leadership and no community participation.

- JNNURM even if fairly successful without civil society engagement, will only achieve, improved urban infrastructure and service level, improved management efficiency and transparency but it is not likely to achieve new urbanism consisting of, formation of collective vision.

What can civil society do in this situation? It has to do what JNNURM cannot do. It has to ensure that JNNURM along with achieving its explicit objectives (improved infrastructure, service delivery and urban governance) will more importantly achieve its implicit objective (ushering of new urbanism studded with efficient processes of collective city visioning, community participation, transparency and accountability).

For this we need to know how we (civil society) can help JNNURM in doing what it cannot do by itself.

The single most reason why JNNURM will fail is because it cannot imbibe an outcome orientation within the local body. It can get accounting reforms done, it can get e-governance reforms done or property tax and user charge reforms done. However, these are only cosmetic and enabling changes. Even these reforms are not upfront reforms. Thousands of years ago, we have had absolute rule by dictators and kings. They did not have technology and they did not have modern management systems but they had good governance in their heart and made the best use of whatever resources available to them. This is what the local bodies need to imbibe.

The second reason why JNNURM can fail is that it has no tool to change the conscience of local bodies, local polity and society. Moreover, it can fail because it cannot imbibe culture of forming and owning collective vision through real community participation. Last but not the least it can fail because it cannot create political space and leadership at local level. The odds are really unfavourable. JNNURM needs the help of the civil society to be meaningful. What can the civil society do to change the conscience of local bodies, polity and society? To answer this we need to understand what needs to change within local bodies.

- There needs to be a collective vision that is public and is accepted. That becomes a reference point to decide whether the local body is moving in the right direction.

- The leadership at the local body should be responsible for delivering the vision. There should be enough pressure to keep the leadership on track.
- The machinery of the local body should be efficient to deliver the vision. If they deviate, it should be known immediately, and shorn of its privileges.

What is the role of the civil society in this? Civil society should encourage the build up of the vision. It should insist on periodic public reviews of the course in which the local body is progressing. Most importantly, it should ensure that internal changes happen within the local body so that each department is measured and rewarded if they move towards the collective vision.

Parallelly, the civil society also needs to build a strong bridge with the central government to keep communicating its impressions and its evaluation of the performance of the local body.

Let us illustrate.
- In town A, the civil society should form a group that takes the ownership for developing the vision collectively. It should show enough maturity to include non vocal stakeholders into the discussions.
- The civil society should then link department budgets and individual rewards with outcomes. It should insist on setting up transparent systems within the local body so that progress can be monitored.
- The civil society should submit periodic reports to the Central Government and people at large containing its evaluation of reforms, where data is not available to it, where it feels the progress is only cosmetic and so on. A public report such as this will make it very difficult for the Government to keep disbursing amounts.

The civil society instead of investments should focus on the reforms and should ensure that internal changes happen within the local body so that a service conscience develops at city level.

IN SUM – THE CHALLENGES FOR THE CIVIL SOCIETY

The JNNURM in the backdrop of present day dilapidated situation of our cities, a dire need to address issues of poverty and unemployment (both

rural and urban) and of our retarded urbanisation coupled with the positive attitude of Central Government has posed several challenges to the civil society. On the one hand we (the civil society) need to maintain our ideological independence, operational freedom and neutral existence at the same time we will have to engage with Government to prevent JNNURM from failing to deliver stated and more importantly unstated objectives as it is highly susceptible to failure in its present form. For this we need to have the following approach and course of action –

- Let us give a fair chance to the government without compromising our sovereignty and neutrality.
- Civil Society should read deeper into JNNURM to go beyond JNNURM.
- Civil Society needs to understand clearly that JNNURM is not just a reform linked fund, it is not just an external condition but it is a catalyst that can provide precious resources and that can remove external hurdles.

- Needs to understand that investment, leveraging of resources and reforms are essential and only the government can provide it. Let us welcome it, without further wastage of time and energy.
- The challenge for us (civil society) is to bring about change in the conscience of local polity, society and body (bureaucracy).
- In this we need to remember that decentralisation is only the starting point, while the enlightened leadership at local level should be the result. Transforming the administration into a performing machinery which characterized by planning, commercial, performance and enforcement orientation.
- Work positively with governments and to have intense independent monitoring, galvanizing society to put positive and constructive pressure on governments for attainment of JNNURM.
- Finally even if governments do not cooperate, the entire civil society should try to attain JNNURM objectives as their own accountability.

Notes and References

[1] Mysteriously it omitted 'Gandhinagar' the capital of Gujarat State

[2] For different category of cities funding structure is slightly different.

[3] India's Municipal Sector – A Study for Twelfth Finance Commission (TFC) – O. P. Mathur with Sandeep Thakur – (September 2004) – National Institute of Public Finance and Policy – New Delhi

JNNURM: Transforming Urban Government, Governance and Citizenship

SWATI RAMANATHAN

ABSTRACT

Sixty-three cities across India are on their way to better planning, robust policies and processes, greater accountability and increased citizen participation, thanks to the JNNURM. At last there is recognition for cities as the power house of economic growth. Concurrently recognising the need to find ways to harness this potential effectively and sustainably, the Mission offers the much-needed balance of perspective for cities grappling with infrastructure deficit and financial crunch. Funds for infrastructure advancement will now be disbursed alongside a firmly entrenched discipline of reform. The advocacy for two reforms – public disclosure and citizen participation are significant victories that will transform the way cities think and work.

INTRODUCTION

It seems overly optimistic to believe that a *sarkari* (government) mission has the potential for the kind of radical impact that the title of this article suggests, but a close look at the activities of JNNURM so far, allows a small spark of hope that such a transformation is not only possible but is in the process of happening.

The importance of cities as the engines of economic growth and opportunity is today unambiguous. The notion that urbanisation may be

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controlled/controllable by creating amenities and incentives to keep rural migration in check is mistaken and ignores all data to the contrary.

Unfortunately, state and local governments have been in denial of the scale of the urban phenomenon, and the onslaught of growth – especially in the 35 cities of million plus population – has caught them completely unprepared. Hampered by legacy institutions with poor planning, policies and processes, they are grappling with a new crisis almost on a daily basis. Financially strapped local governments are unable to fund growing needs for basic infrastructure.

Effective leadership demands more than the best intent in our city and state governments, it requires robust institutional structures and governance mechanisms. In the absence of these supporting structures, fingers are held to the multiple leaks in the pike – temporarily staving the crumbling of the dam.

The introduction of JNNURM is a much-needed acknowledgement by the Union Government of the urgent need to address the challenges of increasing urbanisation that our cities face. Urban management is a complex task with the problems running a hundred miles ahead of any solutions that the state and city governments have so far provided. Hence, for the first time since Independence, the issues of a rapidly urbanising India have been allowed to share the spotlight with those of rural India.

Undoubtedly there are many aspects requiring improvement in the two missions that comprise JNNURM – and these should be addressed through advocacy and through government consultations with those involved in working on these issues. However, JNNURM could lend a significant helping hand in setting our cities on the right track.

It attempts to do this in two ways; by providing much needed funding assistance for infrastructure needs in the 63 cities it has identified under the Mission, and firmly tying this funding to institutional and governance reforms.

Many of the reforms mandated in JNNURM are entirely logical – mandatory constitution of the District Planning Committees and Metropolitan Planning Committees that were introduced in the 74th Constitutional Amendment; land reforms; providing for the urban poor; fiscal reforms; financial disclosure; institutionalising citizen participation, etc. Since these

are union funds that the union government is disbursing, it is well within its rights to attach conditions to the funds. States and cities are not coerced to accept this if they do not wish to. However, access to the Rs. 50,000 crore JNNURM fund is dependent on agreement to these reforms.

Till November 2006, sixteen cities from seven states have come with their CDPs (City Development Plans) and DPRs (Detailed Project Reports). While CDPs and DPRs presented by some state governments have passed muster, others have not (Karnataka's was rejected twice). Approved states have agreed to a detailed implementation plan for the reforms. Many reforms require changes in state policy and law. Each reform has a detailed checklist of what actions by the state and local governments the reform entails and the timeframe in which these actions must be implemented.

There are many things that can go wrong with this Mission. This is a government programme after all and the past record of such programs creates legitimate skepticism. The CDPs for example, are supposed to be prepared in consultation with citizens – in reality consultations are currently tokenistic at best.

However, there are two mandatory reforms that can set the balance right, and I would like to focus on these – public disclosure and citizen participation. These reforms were the result of relentless effort and advocacy by Janaagraha, a civil society organisation based in Bangalore.

At the time this article was being written, the Ministry of Urban Development had circulated two important documents to all the State governments, at the request of various states in order to facilitate them in incorporating the two mandatory reforms. Following the Model Municipality Disclosure Bill, and the Model Nagara Raja Bill Janaagraha presented draft bills for both and the Ministry has rigorously vetted and adapted these into a final version.

The reform on disclosure requires the municipality to present audited financial statements to the public every quarter. Such a reform enables transparency and accountability of the municipal finances while establishing a legitimate process for public disclosure and performance evaluation of public services. The reform that institutionalises citizen participation gives the urban citizen a legitimate and on-going role in the decision making process. Citizen unrest across

urban India about the state of infrastructure and governance has resulted in high decibels of agitated debate. There is now a growing belief that citizens too have a responsibility and a role to play in addressing the challenges of urban governance. As a result, citizens are clearly motivated to be part of the solution but have no visibility to the path of effective participation. Is there an existing role for citizens anywhere in India? Yes there is – for the rural citizen. The 73rd Amendment to the Constitution gives every rural registered voter a politically legitimate membership to a platform called the Gram Sabha. Hence every villager has a legitimate voice in the decision-making process on a continuing basis. The Ministry of Panchayati Raj has been hard at work, exhibiting tremendous leadership in making decentralisation work in rural India – especially in ensuring the devolution of funds to the Gram Panchayat and building capacity in the local government.

What about the urban citizen? Sadly, the 74th Amendment displayed a limited vision by not including the urban citizen in the municipal structure. It suggests a wards' committee below the elected local government. Unfortunately, the members of the wards' committee are not representatives of the people and neither do citizens have a role in any decision-making whatsoever. Hence for the urban citizen, democracy is exercised only occasionally at the ballot box.

There have been two repeated arguments against citizen participation in urban areas – the first is that the urban citizen is self-centered and doesn't really care; the second is that the sheer size of the urban population makes participation unwieldy and unrepresentative. To the first argument – the presumption of apathy cannot be a tenable reason for denying a legitimate role for the urban resident in a democracy. In fact, giving a role to the citizen demands ownership and accountability from the citizen as well. To the second argument, the "Area Sabha" articulated in JNNURM's Nagara Raj bill provides a key missing link in the 74th Amendment. Each ward is delineated into polling boundaries; the number of polling booths depends on the demographic

size of the ward. Registered voters of each polling station footprint are part of this Area Sabha. The polling footprint is the lowest political demarcation based on approximately 1000 voters, which translates to about 300 households per polling booth. Each registered voter in a city is a member of the Area Sabha and can participate every month on local issues. Every Area Sabha has its own nominated representative who is a member of the Ward Committee and will represent the collective needs of the Area Sabha members. The corporator / councilor will thus respond to and represent the collective needs of the ward through the ward committee. With the Area Sabha in place, finally there are similar structures for decentralisation and participation both in rural and urban India.

However, the work is not over just by the introduction of a law for citizen participation. As with rural decentralisation, citizen groups now need to become aware of these spaces and start learning how to engage through them. Tools for participation need to be detailed, conflict resolution mechanisms need to be devised. This is where NGOs must take significant leadership.

CONCLUSION

In the final analysis, the intent of this Mission cannot be suspect. Those who believe in democratic processes must recognise that a legitimate national government – incidentally, the very same level in the federal set-up that initiated and passed the 74th Constitutional Amendment, whose implementation is being demanded by everyone today – has promoted JNNURM. It has announced the Mission after a substantial due process of consultation with state governments – this may not be to the extent that pleases all, but there certainly has not been unbridled unilateralism in the process.

While the easier option is to stand safely at the sidelines and be intellectual critics, this Mission has a seven-year timeline and requires champions, both inside and outside government, to roll up their sleeves and own its direction and outcomes.

Notes and References

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North East

Jharkhand

Chhattisgarh

Andhra Pradesh

Tamil Nadu

Kerala

Methods & Approaches

STATES & CITIES

The Impact of JNNURM in Andhra Pradesh

VEENA ISH AND SRINIVAS CHERY VEDALA

ABSTRACT

The rapid pace of urbanisation in India has not only created opportunities for economic growth and improved quality of life, but has also led to pressures on the delivery of urban civic services and increased urban poverty. Widespread reform in the existing governance and service delivery arrangements of Indian cities is required to position them as engines of national growth and development. Systematic reform of this nature must be underpinned by fiscal and institutional changes as well as comprehensive planning.

The article summarises the achievements of the state of Andhra Pradesh in pursuing the objectives of JNNURM programme for the cities of Hyderabad, Vishakapatnam and Vijaywada.

INTRODUCTION

The JNNURM aims to provide incentives to cities to undertake the institutional, structural and fiscal reforms necessary for improving and sustaining service delivery systems, enhancing local economic performance and bringing about transparency and accountability in the functioning of the municipal governments.

The objective is to ensure improvement in urban governance so that Urban Local Bodies (ULBS) become financially sound, gain enhanced credit rating and the ability to access market capital for undertaking new programmes and expansion of services.

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The JNNURM comprises of two Sub-Missions, namely:

- *The Sub-Mission for Urban Infrastructure and Governance:* The main thrust of the Sub-Mission will be on infrastructure projects relating to water supply and sanitation, sewage, solid waste management, road network, urban transport and the redevelopment of areas of old city areas with a view to upgrading infrastructure therein, shifting industrial and commercial establishments to conforming areas, etc.
- *Sub-Mission for Basic Service to the Urban Poor:* The main thrust of the Sub-Mission will be facilitating the integrated development of slums through projects for providing shelter, basic services and other related civic amenities with a view to providing utilities to the urban poor.

The Government of India also launched a similar scheme; titled the Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme for Small and Medium Towns (UIDSSMT), it aims to improve in urban infrastructure in towns and cities in a planned manner. This scheme subsumes two existing schemes namely the Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns (IDSMT) and Accelerated Urban Water Supply Programme (AUWSP). The scheme applies to all cities and towns listed under the 2001 census except those covered under the JNNURM.

This scheme covers all urban infrastructure development projects including water supply, sewage and solid waste management drains, storm water drains, construction and upgradation of roads, parking lots with public and private partnership, development of heritage areas and preservation of water bodies. The sharing of funds under this scheme would be in the ratio of 80 : 10 between the Central Government and the State Government; the balance 10 percent would be invested by implementing agencies. This scheme will also be implemented through state level nodal agencies and the projects will be sanctioned by the state level sanctioning committee headed by the Secretary, Municipal Administration and Urban Development Department. A similar reform agenda is prescribed for the State Government, urban local bodies and para-statal agencies as required under the JNNURM.

The Integrated Housing Slum Development Programme (IHSDP) aims to combine the existing schemes of Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY) and the National Slum Development Programme (NSDP) in the new Integrated Housing Slum Development Prgoramme (IHSDP) scheme in order to create an integrated approach towards ameliorating the conditions of the urban slum-dwellers who do not have basic shelter and reside in dilapidated conditions. This scheme is applicable to all cities and towns as per 2001 census except those covered under JNNURM.

The basic objective of this scheme is the holistic development of slum areas and the healthy and enabling urban environment by providing adequate shelter and basic infrastructure facilities to the slum-dwellers of the identified urban areas. To this end, provision of shelter shall include the up-gradation and construction of new houses, community toilets as well as physical amenities like water supply, storm water drains, community bath and street lights etc. Community centers and other similar slum improvement and rehabilitation projects are also covered under this scheme. This scheme is also implemented through state level nodal agencies as in the case of JNNURM and UIDSSMT.

URBAN ANDHRA PRADESH: THREE CITIES ELIGIBLE UNDER THE MISSION

Andhra Pradesh is the eighth--most urbanised state in India with a population of 2.1 crores (27.08 percent) living in urban areas. The urban agglomerations of

Hyderabad (5.75 million), Visakhapatnam (1.32 million) and Vijayawada (1.06 million), which together account for more than 35 percent of the State's urban population have been identified as the mission cities / UAs that can access JNNURM funds. However, the inclusion of the heritage cities of the state, namely Warangal and Tirupati, in the list of mission cities is being discussed.

Currently, the cities are deficient in service delivery and trail other Indian metropolitan cities on most service delivery outcomes. The cities have the lowest rating in terms of parameters such as GDP, literacy rates, drop-out rate, child mortality rate, sewage, transportation etc. Yet there is potential for growth as these cities, especially Hyderabad, are establishing themselves as technology hubs through the initiation of various reforms.

After the launch of the Mission in December 2005, the Government of Andhra Pradesh was to designate an existing institution as a nodal agency for the implementation of the scheme; the Andhra Pradesh Urban Finance and Infrastructure Development Corporation (APUFIDC) was entrusted with this responsibility. In the capacity of State Level Nodal Agency (SLNA), the APUFIDC took the initiative of drafting the 'agenda of reforms' and mobilising the cities of Hyderabad, Visakhapatnam and Vijayawada towards preparing 'City Development Plans'(CDPs) towards the end of 2005 so that they would be able to access funds in the first year.

THE AGENDA OF REFORMS

The thrust of the JNNURM is to ensure improvement in urban governance and service delivery so that ULBs become financially sound and sustainable for undertaking new programmes. It is also envisaged that, with the charter of reforms that are followed by the State governments and ULBs, a stage will be set for public-private partnerships (PPP). To achieve this objective, State Governments, ULBs and parastatals were required to accept implementation of an 'agenda of reforms'. The proposed reforms broadly fell into two categories namely mandatory reforms and optional reforms, both at the State as well as ULB level.

MANDATORY REFORMS – STATE LEVEL

As a part of this 'reform agenda' the Government of Andhra Pradesh took the following actions in the implementation of reforms:

- *Implementation of the 74th Constitutional Amendment:* With exception of fire services and the partial transfer of a few other functions, the State Government has already incorporated the functions under 12th schedule into the State municipal acts. The State government is still to set up a Metropolitan Planning Committee. A time frame of two years has been proposed for the constitution of an MPC and the transfer of functions as per the 12th schedule.
- *Repeal of Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act:* The ULCRA has not been repealed in the state and it is under examination.
- *Reform of Rent Control Law:* State of Andhra Pradesh has already brought certain amendments to the Rent Control Act on the lines of Model Rent Control Legislation circulated by the Government of India. Few more amendments will be taken up to make it more effective.
- *Rationalisation of Stamp Duty:* As per the latest revision in 2005, the State government has already brought down the stamp duty from 13 percent to 9 percent. Subsequently, the state has proposed to bring down the stamp duty further after reviewing the impact of the reduction. In addition, the state has undertaken the reforms of computerised registration of properties and online registration facility from anywhere in the state through the CARD project in 2003.
- *The Enactment of the Public Disclosure Law:* The State Government has proposed a time frame of one year (April 2007) for the enactment of Public Disclosure Law. As a part of other reform initiatives, the Citizen Charter was launched in all ULBs in May 2001 and 'service centres' were opened as a part of the Citizen Charter to grant certain permissions / certificates within a fixed timeframe; furthermore, a compensation of Rs. 50 is paid to the applicant in case of adelay in the delivery of permissions / certificates.
- *The Community Participation Law:* It is proposed to enact a community participation law duly providing a three tiered structure in ULBs, namely council, wards committee and area sabha, to institutionalise citizen participation in the activities of ULBs.
- *Associating ULBs with city planning functions:* It is proposed to provide an organic link between parastatal agencies and ULBs in respect to city planning functions, water supply and sewage services by providing adequate representation of elected bodies of ULBs in the boards of parastatal agencies for decision making at policy level.

OPTIONAL REFORMS

- *Revision of building byelaws:* Common building rules for the Hyderabad metropolitan area had already been framed in March 2006. It is further proposed to simplify the building rules.
- *The simplification of the framework for conversion of agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes:* The Government of Andhra Pradesh has already simplified the procedure for changes of land use for certain activities like information technology, industrial uses and tourism projects. It is further proposed to reduce the timeframe to one month for change of land use from agricultural to non-agricultural purposes.
- *Earmarking at least 20 – 25 percent of developed land in all housing projects in EWS / LIG category:* In respect to government lands taken up for the development of townships, provision is being made for earmarking at least ten percent of the plots / built up area for EWS and LIG housing. Further reforms will be undertaken in this regard by March 2008 after due consultations.
- *Introduction of computerised process of registration of land and property:* This reform has already been implemented in all 387 sub-registration offices throughout the state in March 2003.
- *Revision of byelaws to make rainwater harvesting mandatory:* This reform has already been implemented from June 2000.

PREPARATION OF CITY DEVELOPMENT PLAN (CDP)

Under JNNURM, it is mandatory to prepare CDP in a consultative process as a prerequisite to access the central funds. Having the process-oriented City Development Strategy (CDS) reports already in place, the three cities had a greater advantage in understanding the process. Even prior to the launch of JNNURM in December 2005, the cities of Hyderabad, Visakhapatnam and Vijayawada had a clear idea on the entire process of formulating the City Development Plan through a consultative process.

Since the cities of Hyderabad, Visakhapatnam and Vijayawada were included in the JNNURM Mission as cities purely based on the population of their agglomerations, the existing CDS reports had to be revisited in terms of the current situation. Therefore, gap analysis for the entire urban agglomeration—instead for the city as a whole (that is where the city /

UA stands now?) as well as the visioning exercises for where the city / UA wishes to go? had to be created.

The CDS experience enabled these three cities to revisit the existing 'vision' for the city and formulate sector-specific goals and strategies accordingly, thus realising the vision for the city and its agglomeration as a whole. After a series of discussions with the stakeholders and the key officials, draft CDP were formulated by the respective cities, and were subsequently evaluated and finalised by a state-level nodal agency. The Administrative Staff College of India (ASCI) extended technical and advisory support to the nodal agency in the appraisal of CDP, with the Central Government, in drafting the tripartite Memorandum of Agreements (MoA) which is to be signed and executed by the City and State Governments. These draft CDP's, with a detailed city investment plan spread over a seven year period, were then shared with the respective city councils for approval. Subsequently, these CDPs were appraised and approved by the State-level steering committee headed by the Chief Minister.

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT (MOA) WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

The three cities /parastatals and state government of Andhra Pradesh signed the tripartite Memorandum of Agreements (MOA) with the Government of India as a prerequisite for accessing the central assistance. The state and city level reform agenda submitted by the cities as an annexure to the MOA clearly spelled out specific milestones to be achieved by the State and the City for each item of the reforms. The CDPs of respective cities were also submitted as an annexure to the MOA. The Cities submitted the MOAs on 10th March 2006 and the final, revised ,CDPs on 24th March 2006.

The desired goals and service level outcomes to realise the City's vision over a period of time was clearly articulated in the CDPs of Hyderabad, Visakhapatnam and Vijayawada. The CDPs provided a proper linkage between the current reality and the future vision of the three cities through a strategic action plan, which can be realised with sustained efforts. City Investment Plans were prepared based on the action projects / investments evolving from these strategies. The city investment plans of Hyderabad, Visakhapatnam and Vijayawada clearly articulated the cities' priorities in terms of key sectoral investments and proposals for the following seven years in a phased manner.

Subsequently, the detailed project reports were prepared for the prioritised action projects as articulated in the strategic action plan and year wise investment plan.

The CDP process of Hyderabad, Visakhapatnam and Vijayawada has undergone an extensive consultative process with its key stakeholders in order to prioritise the key sectors for investments and reform initiatives. The priorities of the National and State Governments including the international development trends and MDGs have been considered while prioritising the critical sectors. The vision statements articulated by the three cities in the CDP and priority sectors for investment are:

Hyderabad's vision is "to be an inclusive and futuristic city providing high quality services with universal access including the poor. It will be a slum- free, citizen-friendly, well-governed and environmental-friendly city."

Under the Sub-Mission for Infrastructure and Governance, projects such as the remodeling of storm water drains (Storm Water Drainage), construction of flyovers (traffic and transportation) and laying of water supply distribution pipelines (Water supply) were approved at the Ministry. The total project cost approved was Rs. 379.86 Crores; of this amount, Rs. 33.21 Crores (central share) has been released on 29th March 2006, towards the first instalment of the funding under the 'Urban Infrastructure' component of JNNURM. In addition to this, projects worth Rs. 503.13 Crores were approved by Government of India under 'Basic services for the urban poor' which includes 49,000 houses for urban poor and infrastructure facilities in urban slums. Government of India has already released the first instalment of Rs. 69 Crores.

The Vision that Greater Visakha Municipal Corporation formulated was "to become an economically vibrant, safe and inclusive city providing the best social and physical infrastructure facilities for

Priority sectors under JNNURM – Hyderabad   **(Rs. in Crores)**

Sector	GOI	GOAP	IF/IR	Total
Water Supply	1618	693	2311	4622
Sewerage	597	256	853	1706
Storm Water Drains	722	310	1032	2064
Solid Waste Management	361	155	516	1032
Traffic and Transportation	1931	828	2759	5518
Urban Poverty	2288	1144	1144	4575
Urban Renewal	175	75	250	500
Total	7692	3460	8865	20017

Priority sectors under JNNURM – Visakhapatnam   **(Rs. in Crores)**

Sector	GOI	GOAP	IF/IR	Total
Water Supply	1035	396	594	2025
Sewerage	532	208	311	1051
Traffic & Transportation (GVMC)	953	351	526	1830
Storm Water Drainage	196	70	105	371
Solid Waste Management	77	23	35	135
Basic services for the urban poor	1677	1659	0.0	3336
Total Excluding MRTS	4470	2707	1571	8742

Priority sectors under JNNURM – Vijayawada   **(Rs. in Crores)**

Sector	GOI	GOAP	IF/IR	Total
Water Supply	270	108	162	540
Sewerage	292	117	175	583
Storm Water Drains	649	259	389	1299
Sanitation	25	10	15	50
Solid Waste Management	61	24	36	122
Traffic and Transportation	570	228	342	1140
Urban Poverty	533	213	319	1066
Sub Total	2400	960	1440	4800

its residents, businesses and visitors." Under the Sub-Mission for Infrastructure and Governance, the Government of India approved projects such as the replacement of existing drinking water supply pipelines and the regularisation of storm water drains and canals. The total project cost approved was Rs.98.88 Crores. Rs.9.35 Crores (central share)from this fund has been released on 8th June 2006 towards the first instalment of the funding.

With about one-fourth of the population in Vijayawada and Mangalagiri municipality living in slums, urban poverty is a major issue confronting the VUA area. "The vision of Vijayawada is to become a city without slums by 2021." Under the Sub-Mission for Infrastructure and Governance, projects such as the provision of 'under ground drainage (UGD)' to the un-

served areas, and the provision of water supply for un-served areas were approved by the Ministry. The total project cost approved was Rs. 92.04 Crores of which, an amount of Rs. 11.51 Crores (central share) has been released on 29th March 2006 towards the first instalment of the funding.

UIDSSMT AND IHSDP IN ANDHRA PRADESH

The 126 ULBs including 11 Corporations, in Andhra Pradesh are eligible for assistance under UIDSSMT. Sectors such as water supply, storm water drains, solid waste management and under ground drainage are prioritised under this scheme. The Government of India approved projects such as 'water supply for un-served areas' in case of five ULBs — Pulivendula, Kandukur, Markapur, Miryalaguda and Adilabad.

The cost of approved projects is Rs. 118.33 Crores. Of this amount, a central share of Rs. 49.20 Crores central share has been released on 29th. March 2006 towards the first instalment of the funding. The Government of Andhra Pradesh has further sanctioned 23 projects including the provision of drinking water and under ground drainage to the un-served areas, costing Rs. 578 Crores.

The State level coordination Committee in Andhra Pradesh has forwarded the project reports for Integrated Housing and Infrastructure Development Project for slum areas in Kadapa District with an estimated cost of Rs.58.39 Crores under the scheme.

KEY LESSONS DRAWN FROM THE ANDHRA PRADESH EXPERIENCE

Identification of APUIDFC as a nodal agency prior to the initiation of preparation of CDPs in Andhra Pradesh facilitated a certain degree of uniformity, support between ULBs, and exchange of experiences. The integration with the vision for the entire state and a certain amount of appraisal and quality assurance throughout the CDP preparation process was one of the major roles played by the nodal agency in the Andhra Pradesh context.

Participatory processes were adopted in all the cities. In the case of of Andhra Pradesh, rapid assessment and feedback of the town process under "Rajiv Nagara Bata" (Visit to Cities) during 2005 also informed the preparation of CDPs.

In the case of metros, the focus has mostly been the principal city, with the total area being largely neglected. The period of the JNNURM was kept in focus while articulating the vision for the cities. This needs to be rectified in subsequent revisions to include a long term perspective. The Process of articulating the reforms was undertaken separately from the CDP process. Some cities require financial support for the preparation of CDPs and DPRs. There is a need to identify ways to provide such support for cities in order to avoid delays. An other issue that needs to be addressed is the limited technical capacity to take up the workload of preparation of detailed project reports.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The CDPs should be prepared keeping a 20-25 year period in mind while perspective taking into account the urban sprawl.

CDPs need to be reviewed and revised every one or two years based on the implementation of projects, capturing the impact of investments and the changing cityscape, and its directions of growth and development. A Project Management Unit (PMU) should be established at the state level as part of the nodal agency. The PMU should be responsible for database development on a continuous basis, support for preparation and updating of CDPs, monitoring of implementation process, quality assurance, State and city level reform agenda, and for support to cities wherever needed.

Even in the case of CDPs prepared with the help of consultants, the ownership of the CDP should rest with the local body. The content of the CDP should be discussed with consultants and with in local body before it is submitted to the State Level Nodal Agency /SLSC.

Consultations with specific groups such as NGOs, trade and industry, media, CBOs, senior citizens and vulnerable groups should be part of the consultative process.

There is a need to build public awareness regarding the JNNURM, its goals and processes in general and the city development plans, reforms and strategies in particular. This will facilitate a better awareness about the Mission and the CDP processes, thereby resulting in wider and effective participation of stakeholders. It is even desirable to outsource this activity.

Renewal of Urban North East - Issues and Imperatives

BINAYAK CHOUDHURY

ABSTRACT

Urban North Eastern India has been a new entrant of the country's urban club. Till 1971 the level of urbanisation of north eastern India was at an abysmal low of five percent. Urban north east started moving since late seventies with the bifurcation of Assam (in 1972) to create the independent states of Mizoram, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh attaining statehood in 1987. The prime factor behind the urbanisation of north east has been the proliferation of service sector across the north eastern states. Although the economy of all the seven north eastern states is predominantly agrarian, the share of service (tertiary) sector in the States' Gross Domestic Product has been rising over the years. In view of the growing service sector, the importance of the urban settlements across the north eastern states hardly needs to be highlighted. But the all important question is – are the urban settlements of north east India in a position to shoulder the growing demand of urban services? How can the growth of these urban centres be sustained? The present paper therefore tries to seek an answer to these queries by examining the scope of the flagship current initiative of the Government of India under the banner of JNNURM. It should however be noted that the state of Sikkim has been precluded from the present study since urban data on Sikkim was not readily available.

INTRODUCTION

The present paper begins with an analysis of the urbanisation pattern of the north eastern states. It is then followed by an examination of the

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level of urban services, in the states. A brief note on the urban governance system in the north eastern states comes thereafter. It is followed by a reference to the JNNURM interventions in the north east. The study concludes with the drafting of a road map for the renewal of urban north east through the implementation of JNNURM.

URBAN NORTH EAST INDIA – A PROFILE

The seed of urbanisation in north east India was sown only in early part of nineteenth century with the British Rulers setting up a few administrative centres for policing this part of their Indian colony and for exploiting its natural resources. The deliberate urbanisation of the human settlements by the British empire across the north east was however not uniform. While Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur received the attention, the rest of north east remained predominantly rural in character. While Meghalaya was the seat of British Administration, Manipur the gateway to Burma (Myanmar), Assam the land of resources, the rest of the north east could not register its importance before the British Administration in having its settlements to receive an urban status. The growth in the urbanisation level across the north eastern states could be traced back to three time periods – post independence period (1950 – 1970), post Statehood period (creation of independent states by bifurcating Assam), post liberalisation period (1990 onwards).

That urban north east started growing since 1971 could be

Table No. 1
Urbanisation Profile of NE India

Name of the State	Urbanisation Level				Rank (1991)	Rank (2001)
	1971	1981	1991	2001		
Assam	8.62	9.88	11.09	12.72	7	7
Manipur	13.19	26.42	27.52	23.88	2	2
Meghalaya	14.55	18.07	18.59	19.63	3	4
Mizoram	N.A.	24.67	46.09	49.50	1	1
Nagaland	9.95	15.52	17.21	17.74	4	5
Tripura	10.43	10.99	15.29	17.02	5	6
Arunachal Pradesh	3.70	6.56	12.79	20.41	6	3

Source : Census of India 1971 , 1981 , 1991, 2001. Rank calculated by the author

Table No.2
Growth in Number of Towns in NE States (1971 - 2001)

States	No. of Towns		No. of Class I Towns
	1971	2001	2001
Assam	71	88	6
Meghalaya	3	16 (Including Shillong Urban Agglomeration	1
Tripura	6	13(1 Munuicipality 12 Nagar Panchayats)	1
Nagaland	3	9 (8 Statutory Towns and 1 Census Town)	Nil
Mizoram	2	22	1
Arunachal Pradesh	4	17	Nil
Manipur	8	28 (9 Municipalities , 18 Nagar Panchayats and 1 NAA)	1

Table No. 3
Urban Population in NE States

States	Year 1991	2001
Assam	2487796 (56)	3389413 (57)
Meghalaya	330047 (7)	452612 (7)
Nagaland	208223 (5)	352821 (6)
Mizoram	317946 (7)	441040 (7)
Manipur	505645 (12)	575964 (10)
Tripura	421721 (10)	543094 (9)
Arunachal Pradesh	110628 (3)	223069 (4)

Source: Census of India, 1991, 2001

Table No. 4
Density of Urban Population (2001)

Assam	Meghalaya	Nagaland	Mizoram	Manipur	Tripura	Arunachal Pradesh
3004	2157	1416	644	3487	2888	N.A.

Source: Census of India, 2001

N.B. Nagaland Government has conferred township status to ten more settlement and municipal election was held in all these towns except one in 2004. In Nagaland, there are now three Municipal Councils and sixteen Town Councils
N.B. Figures in parentheses indicate percentage share in aggregate NE urban population

discerned from Table 1. It could be observed that although urban north east was growing in size, the rate of the growth has not been secular either over the decades or across the states. It is seen that except Manipur, the urbanisation level has been on a secular rise across the north eastern states. The reason behind Manipur experiencing a marginal fall in its urbanisation level during the decade of 1991 – 2001 could be the stagnating urban economy of the four hill districts of Manipur. Again the reason behind the quantum jump in the urbanisation level of Arunachal Pradesh during the decades of 1981 – 1991 and 1991 – 2001 has been its attaining the statehood in 1987.

The growth of towns across the north eastern states (Table No. 2) clearly substantiates the urbanisation pace in the north east. However the growth in the number of urban centres has been more spectacular in all the north eastern states except Assam which already had a well distributed urban space across the state. It should however be pointed out that here only the number of statutory towns has been shown.

Although Mizoram is the most urbanised state in the north east, its contribution to the urban population of the north east is as low as seven percent. If the absolute urban population of the north eastern states is analysed (Table 3), it becomes obvious that while Assam accounts for fifty seven percent of the urban population of north east, Arunachal Pradesh's share is as low as four percent.

The density pattern of urban north east (Table No.4) again reveals different picture altogether – while Manipur is having the highest urban density, that of Mizoram is the lowest. It is quite interesting to note that there are only ten Class One towns in the north east with Assam having six of them and Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh having none. It thus becomes clear that not a single north eastern state on its own could claim the top position on all the urban demographic features. The salient features of urban north east are as follows:

- Urban features not uniform across the states
- Mizoram is the most urbanised state
- Absolute urban population highest in Assam
- Urban area largest in Assam
- Decadal increase in urbanisation level highest in Arunachal Pradesh
- Density of urban population highest in Manipur and lowest in Mizoram
- Urbanisation highly concentric around the State capital

URBAN GOVERNANCE IN NORTH EAST INDIA

Urban governance assumes special significance under the execution of JNNURM programmes since programme implementation under JNNURM is contingent upon the reform agenda to be implemented by the urban government of the respective urban centres. Historically, north east India is largely inhabited by numerous tribes, each being an atomised group and is characterised by a nearly total absence of secondary intercourse with others. A major part of the region has been categorised as Scheduled Areas and is being largely administered under the special provisions of the Indian Constitution. While the Fifth Schedule of the Indian Constitution looks after the administration and control of the Scheduled Areas of Manipur, Nagaland, and Arunachal Pradesh, the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution takes care of the Schedule Areas of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram. Under the provisions of the Fifth Schedule, the executive power of the State rests with the Tribal Advisory Council which looks after the development of the area and is answerable to the Governor of the State. Under the provisions of the Sixth Schedule, the tribal areas of the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram are declared as autonomous areas and the development of the autonomous districts rests with the Autonomous District Councils. With the enactment of the Constitution's 74th Amendment Act (CAA) 1992, confusion arose as to how to make the provisions of this epoch making legislation in urban governance applicable to the Scheduled Areas of north east. In view of this, Government of India constituted a Committee of the Members of Parliament (1995) to look into the matter which suggested that the urban centres in the Scheduled Areas may be grouped under following categories:

- Transitional areas having urban and rural character to be governed by Nagar Panchayats
- Larger urban centres to be governed by Municipal Councils
- Industrial and mining townships having a special character to be treated under a special category

It further suggested that the Autonomous District Council should have an Urban Affairs Committee to coordinate the activities of local bodies at different levels for a harmonious urban development. However the implementation of the provisions under the Constitution CAA 1992 across the north eastern states has been only cosmetic by way of granting marginal

fiscal and functional autonomy to the urban local bodies. It shall be pertinent to note at this point that although all the seven north eastern states do have statutory urban centres, as many as two states, namely Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram do not have any urban local body to look after the affairs of urban governance and hence no legislation has been enacted till date for the purpose of urban governance in these two states. The development of the Urban centres in these two states are looked after by various government departments namely, Urban Development Department (framing of urban policy), Town and Country Planning Department (preparation ,execution and evaluation of urban development programmes) Public Health Engineering Department (supply of urban water), Public Works Department (roads and drainage of urban areas), Electricity Boards (street lights) and very marginally by the tribal councils. The governance of the urban centres in the other five states are however regulated under the provisions of State wise Acts as follows:

- Assam – The Assam Municipal Act 1956 (As amended). It extends to the whole of the state except the six districts under the Autonomous District Councils, and there is a separate act for Guwahati Municipal Corporation.
- Manipur – The Manipur Municipalities Act 1976 (As amended). It extends to the whole of the state except the four hill districts to which the Manipur (Hill Areas) District Council Act 1971 applies.
- Tripura – The Bengal Municipal (Tripura Amendment) Act 1972 and subsequently the Tripura Municipal Act 1994. It extends to the whole of the state except the areas under the Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous Districts.
- Meghalaya – The Meghalaya Municipal (Amendment) Act 1973. It extends to the whole of the state. However the Autonomous Councils have the power to notify a town and constitute a town committee
- Nagaland – Nagaland Municipal Act 2001. It extends to the whole of the state.

URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE

Urban infrastructure across the urban space of the north east is not only highly deficient in supply, but also poor qualitatively. There is no single agency to take care of the urban services.

Guwahati has three agencies that are involved in the provision of water supply, namely – Guwahati Municipal Corporation, Public Health Engineering Department and Assam Urban Water Supply and Sewerage Board; three agencies engaged in the construction of drainage – Guwahati Municipal Corporation, Public Works Department, Drainage Division of Town and Country Planning Directorate. It has been a sad commentary that none of the north eastern town has got a sewerage network. Intra-city mass public transport is non existent in as many as five capital towns (out of seven) of the north east. There seems to be an utter lack of coordination between the different departments and organisations involved in the provision of urban services. For example, while the Public Health Engineering department (PHED) provides water in the urban areas, the urban local body collects the water tax or charges and seldom could the urban local bodies pay the dues to PHED in time and in full. The level of urban services across the urban centers of the north eastern states as given in the fifth table,

Table No. 5
Urban Amenities in North East India (2001)

State	Location	% of Water	Household Electricity	Having Latrine
Assam	Within Premise	63	53	62
	Outside Premise	26	17	25
	Away	11	4	8
Manipur	Within Premise	25	23	24
	Outside Premise	52	41	50
	Away	23	18	21
Mizoram	Within Premise	33	33	33
	Outside Premise	47	45	46
	Away	20	17	19
Meghalaya	Within Premise	49	47	48
	Outside Premise	34	28	29
	Away	17	13	14
Nagaland	Within Premise	44	42	43
	Outside Premise	35	30	33
	Away	21	18	18
Tripura	Within Premise	58	55	58
	Outside Premise	32	25	30
	Away	10	6	9
Arunachal Pradesh	Within Premise	56	54	55
	Outside Premise	32	26	25
	Away	12	8	7

Census: Census of India, 2001 (Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Manipur, Tripura, Nagaland , Arunachal Pradesh

reveals that Assam tops the list in the provision of services on account of water, sanitation and electricity followed by Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Mizoram and Manipur.

RENEWAL OF URBAN NORTH EAST — INTERVENTIONS THROUGH JNNURM

Urban development has always been a cyclical phenomenon. With urbanisation there has been a spontaneous urban decline of the core areas because of its exploitation beyond the threshold limit. And there has been an occasional deliberate attempt to arrest this decline through urban renewal. Urban decline and urban renewal being the inevitable processes, balancing factor has been the pace of change. Urban growth infected with economic decline, physical decay, and adverse social conditions leads to physical and uneconomic deterioration of land and buildings and dilapidated services and utilities. Urban renewal is thus the revitalisation of the derelict areas of an urban settlement and consists of redevelopment or reconstruction, rehabilitation and conservation. Urban renewal therefore takes care of two issues – functionality of the urban services and optimality in the use of urban infrastructures. The road map to urban renewal includes – making an inventory of the areas needing interventions and the prioritisation of the interventions; relocating urban activities (city level functions) to ensure required density and commensurating services; changing land use to fully utilise the potential land values by introducing Tradeable Development Rights, Land Pooling and Redistribution, Accommodation Reservation, Incentive Zoning and banning non conforming use, rehabilitating the slum dwellers. Urban north east has been no exception to urban decline.

A programme like JNNURM has been the crying need for urban north east mainly because of its vast domain and its reform driven approach. JNNURM has been launched at a time when urban infrastructures across the urban centres of north east have been in the shambles and the urban governance very weak. Municipal governments and other institutions responsible for service provision neither have the capacity nor the resources to discharge their function. The impact of the Constitution's CAA 1992 has been only insignificant in this part of the country in the sense that the devolution of functional and fiscal autonomy to the urban local bodies has been marginal.

Amongst the host of issues that emerge out in the

North East
JNNURM Mission

implementation of the JNNURM programme in the north eastern states, the following issues deserve immediate attention :

- One Sub-Mission of the JNNURM programme is the provision of basic services to the urban poor in the slum areas identified by the Registrar General of India in Census 2001. As per the Census 2001 there is no slum population in any of the seven capital cities of the north east, it is apprehended that the programme under this Sub-Mission may be held back in the north east.
- One of the mandatory reforms to be undertaken by the state government in the implementation of JNNURM programme is the enactment of community participation law to institutionalise the citizens' participation and to introduce the concept of area-sabha in urban areas. Despite the provision of Ward Committees (some form of area-sabha) in the Constitution's CAA 1992 for towns having a population of 3,00,000 and beyond, none of the seven capital towns of the north east have a statutory citizen's forum to assist the urban government in plan identification, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.
- The JNNURM guidelines requires the city to have an elected urban local body in position at the time of applying assistance under JNNURM. Until now except Guwahati, Imphal, Agartala and Kohima, there is no elected urban local body in the rest three capital cities of north east.
- The mandatory reforms at the urban local body

level requires the adoption of accrual based double entry book keeping and modification of property tax following the Unit Area method. Currently, no urban local body of the capital cities of the north east (where such local body exists) follows the accrual based double entry book keeping or apply the Unit Area method in assessing the property tax.

- The mandatory reforms at the urban local body level requires that the JNNURM cities of the north east recover fifty percent by way of levying reasonable user charges. None of the seven JNNURM cities of the north east have a scientific basis in levying the user charges. Not only this, in some of these, many a urban services are offered free.

THE IMPERATIVES

The way out to resolve the aforesaid issues calls for the following imperatives to be attended earnestly:

- Since various slum improvement schemes under the banner of National Slum Development Schemes, Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums, VAMBAY have been and are being implemented in various towns of the north east , there is no reason why the programmes under the second Sub-Mission of JNNURM , namely, 'Provision of Basic Services to Urban Poor' should be held back in the north east in the pretext of there being no slum population in the north east as per 2001 Census
- Ward Committee as provided in the Constitution's SFAA 1992 should be constituted in order to institutionalise community participation in urban development in those north eastern states where urban local bodies are in existent by relaxing the population threshold of 3,00,000 (as done in West Bengal for smaller towns) since none of the capital city of the north east except Guwahati does have a population of 3,00,000 or beyond. For the rest of

the states, the tribal councils should be revived and empowered to enable them to act like ward committee

- In the states of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh that do not have the institutions of urban local body and in Meghalaya where there is no elected urban local body in position, some parastatal agencies or government department should be identified to implement the schemes under JNNURM
- Double entry accrual basis book keeping should be introduced in all the urban local bodies to make the accounts transparent. Moreover publication of Municipal Balance Sheet should be made mandatory to ensure accountability and transparency on the part of the local body. Similarly every step should be taken to revise the property tax following the Unit Area method. In the cities which are yet to administer property tax , it is high time they rise to the occasion and make the citizen feel to be part of the town by contributing towards its upkeep and development
- Levy of reasonable user charges should be seriously thought of in order to shoulder the Order and Management cost of the assets created under JNNURM (for the sustainability of the assets).

CONCLUSION

Urban development requires serious attention in its own right. However urban development ought not to be superfluous. It should enable an urban area to act as the prime mover of the whole socio-economic operational system. JNNURM appears to be the enabler. But in order to reap the fruits of JNNURM, urban north east must be courageous enough to undertake the reforms within the given time line. North east has the will; JNNURM has the way. Let these two be combined and wait for a prosperous urban north east.

JNNURM: A Hope for Urban Renewal of Jharkhand Towns

AJAY KHARE

ABSTRACT

Jharkhand, located on Chhota Nagpur plateau sprawls on an average height of 600m above mean sea level. Historically, the Chhota Nagpur plateau has been a mineral rich place and the areas around it have exploited the resources and flourished. In the twentieth century, after division of Bengal and Bihar a few steel plants were established on the foothills of the plateau and industrial towns like Bokaro, Jamshedpur and Dhanbad came up. Tardy urban development and regional imbalance were two of the important reasons for division of Bihar in the year 2000 that resulted in Jharkhand. In last five years the state has experienced around 22 percent rate of growth of urbanisation, which presents a great need for urban renewal of Jharkhand.

This article provides an urban profile of Jharkhand towns and discusses the logistical disadvantages of the state due to its positioning on the Chhota Nagpur plateau. The current condition of the towns is discussed in this article in view of the initiatives taken so far by the state government. In the JNNURM, three cities- Ranchi, Jamshedpur and Dhanbad have been selected from Jharkhand. The state government is keen to initiate the process in seven other cities to address the regional imbalance. The article describes the initiatives taken by the government on advice of an expert committee, of which the author is also a member and discusses the development outlay as suggested for these towns. Considering the infrastructure requirements of the capital city, the article also examines the salient features of the City Development Plan for Ranchi.

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Urban Scenario in Jharkhand

THE TOWNS OF JHARKHAND

Jharkhand was formed out of South Bihar in the year 2000 and has experienced since then an unprecedented rate of growth of urbanisation at about 22 percent. It is clear that urban areas of Jharkhand will continue to face a tremendous pressure in the coming years. Presently, only 23 percent of the state population lives in towns and due to their aspirations for the new state and now, a desperate hope for better life, a large part of rural population is migrating into urban areas. The sheer growth of urban population is a driving factor for restructuring of the poorly built and organically developed cities of the region and presents a great need of urban renewal in Jharkhand. To adequately appreciate the role of any urban renewal programme it is important to first understand the profile of urban Jharkhand.

Jharkhand has a total of 140 urban areas, out of which 43 urban settlements are with populations more than 10,000. There are altogether 43 Urban Local Bodies, which include one Municipal Corporation at Ranchi, 20 Municipalities and 22 Notified Area Committees.

In addition to these, there is a Regional Development Authority at Ranchi and a Mining Area Development Authority at Dhanbad. The number of million plus cities in Jharkhand (Dhanbad, Jamshedpur, Bokaro and Ranchi) has reached four in 2006 and all of them are located in the eastern part of Jharkhand. Out of the 22 district headquarters (ULBs), having only four cities with a million plus population in each and 15 of them not even crossing a population figure of 1,00,000 is an indicator towards the failure of most urban centres. Interestingly, in an overall ranking of states, Jharkhand is the second lowest[1] in per capita income whereas its urban population is way ahead in its ability to earn and spend highlighting the urban-rural disparity[2].

In the formative years of Jharkhand several ideas were mooted by the State government raising the aspirations of the people. It was expected that small and medium size towns will be developed and improved by 2002 that will act as regional growth centres thereby sustaining urban growth. Some of the initiatives as listed[3] then by the government are given below for reference:

"Master Plan will be prepared for each Divisional, District and Sub-divisional headquarter. In order to provide civic amenities for the basic requirements of urban areas, schemes for construction of community halls, market complexes, bus stand, auditorium, parks, construction of bathing ghats, pollution abatement measures, construction of crematoria, disposal of solid waste etc. will be taken up. Thrust will be given to make the Urban Local Bodies financially self sufficient so as not to depend on the State government. The slaughter houses located in residential areas are a great pollution hazard. To improve the overall environment and hygiene of settlements a scheme will be implemented in selected towns for construction of slaughter houses in non residential areas.

To make Ranchi a Model Town, a special scheme for development of the town will be taken up and a large sum was earmarked for this purpose. In addition, vast amounts were earmarked for beautification of Dumka and Dhanbad too.

Roads are life lines of modern cities and lack of good roads adversely affects the development process. It is an accepted fact that urban roads are in much dilapidated condition. Proper attention is required for widening and improvement of roads. It was decided to make all Urban Roads pucca / PCC, by year 2005.

Growth of unregulated slums in the urban areas has posed serious problems for civic amenities. For the improvement of urban slums, two Central Sector Schemes have been started i.e. (EIUS) Environment Improvement of Urban Slums and (NSDP) National Slum Development Programme. Every district as well as sub-division will be covered under the programme. Under these schemes, funds will be provided to local bodies on the basis of their urban population. Main components of these schemes include provision of basic amenities like community latrines and social amenities like pre-school non formal and adult education, maternity and child health care.

Prime Minister Swarnajayanti Sahari Swarojgar Yojana will be effectively used to alleviate urban poverty.

In view of the lofty ideas above some beginning was made by setting up the urban local bodies but nothing visible could be achieved for urban development of Jharkhand. However, it is only fair to appreciate the inherent disadvantages of the state as compared to the north part of Bihar to understand the present scenario.

Ranchi is the capital town of Jharkhand and is located at the highest point of the plateau that extends eastwards up to Purulia district in the state of West Bengal. The western part of the plateau is more undulating and extends into adjoining Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh.

Since the beginning of the Christian era the plateau has supplied raw materials- ores and minerals to Magadh Kingdom, Gupta Empire and Pala Empire in the north, and then to Bengal Sultanate and British Empire in the east. In the twentieth century after the division of Bengal and Bihar, a few steel plants were established on the foothills of the plateau and industrial towns like Bokaro, Jamshedpur and Dhanbad came up. These towns took advantage of water availability from the river Damodar and sea ports of Kolkata. Ranchi was located on the top of plateau as administrative centre and summer capital of Bihar State (when Bihar and Orissa were one state). The plateau received attention only because of Ranchi being the administrative centre and due to smaller growth centres such as Hazaribagh, Daltonganj, Simdega, Ramgarh that catered to various mining townships. But planned urbanisation of the plateau region remained largely neglected and uncared. Tardy development and regional imbalance were two of the important reasons for division of Bihar and creation of Jharkhand as discussed already.

Hence, even after having twenty two districts headquarters today in the state the growth is centred only in the eastern part. This explains the reason for discontent, frequent unrest in the populace and presence of the extremist menace in many of the districts of Jharkhand. Since the historical disparity still continues, it is no surprise that a few efforts by the state government have not changed much in the towns of Jharkhand. Following description portrays the present condition of the towns of the state.

Despite the initiation of planning process in forty two urban areas, not even one Master Plan for any area has been prepared yet. Very recently seven towns were short listed for Plan preparation and bids were invited for them only to get entangled in bureaucratic processes. In the absence of Master Plan or a vision document the growth remains haphazard and infrastructure deteriorates further. To provide civil amenities in towns as listed in 2002 government document, the state is still struggling due to lack of qualified personnel, professionals and bankruptcy of ideas[4]. Scores of proposals have been invited but

nothing has materialised for want of clearances from higher authorities.

None of the towns in Jharkhand has a sewerage system except in smaller pockets of the institutions and public sector units. Due to the undulating topography of the plateau sewerage and drainage of towns is a major challenge.

Solid waste management is being done through primitive methods and that too covering only 15-20 percent population of larger towns.

Vehicular growth in Jharkhand is to the tune of 30 percent per annum whereas no organised urban transport or any plans to develop so exist in any of the towns.

There are no elected representatives in the urban local bodies of Jharkhand and Municipal elections are yet to be notified. The existing Municipal Corporation Act is obsolete and financial capacity of the local bodies is very poor in order to take on all functions as outlined in the Twelfth Schedule.

The urban local bodies are poorly staffed with no technical expertise. In fact, for all technical advice the Municipal officers of the entire state look towards Ranchi Municipal Corporation, which is being headed by an Engineer - administrator.

The capital town project of Ranchi could have given a boost to urban development in the entire state but since the state government acquired major buildings and land of the dying Heavy Engineering Corporation, it never seriously felt the need for a capital (with Chief Minister's House and Governor's House already existing in the erstwhile summer capital). Some electrification and widening of roads took place to beautify the capital but no areas of importance were added to house many additional functions. However, there is a construction boom in the capital to house the increasing population but urban infrastructure is crumbling.

The urban structure of smaller towns is very haphazard whereas the four largest towns also suffer from a lack of a cohesive and integrated urban planning. The urban pattern is fragmented and dispersed in the housing zones of various private and public sector organisations while being over-concentrated on a mega scale in the centres of these towns. Public buildings are often isolated from the urban fabric and

commercial buildings assume a bigger status[5] which is semantically questionable.

Housing shortage is a major problem in the towns of Jharkhand, but now Housing Board is initiating steps to augment the need of dwelling units in bigger towns. For acquiring large pockets of land the State government is restricted by Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act. According to this act, the land owned by tribal population can not be sold to any individual or organisation that does not comprise of tribal people. However, the state government can acquire land after due compensation under special circumstances but in absence of an accepted rehabilitation policy, this acts as a major stumbling block in urban development of Jharkhand. This also restricts the industrial development which is very crucial for the mineral rich state, but out of 42 MoUs signed with industrial houses, Jharkhand government could not move ahead with most of them.

JNNURM has come with a great hope of urban renewal into Jharkhand. The Mission has selected capital Ranchi, industrial town Jamshedpur and coal capital of India Dhanbad. This selection has left much to be desired as these towns are in the eastern part of the state and this kind of urban development will not help in correcting the regional imbalance. But the State government has taken a few initiatives of great importance.

Realising the lack of qualified personnel in the ULBs and the state, the Government invited consultants from all over the country to take part in the urbanisation of Jharkhand. The consultants were asked to show their area of interest amongst sectors and projects eligible for JNNURM assistance such as urban renewal, urban planning, water supply, sewerage and drainage, environmental improvement, urban transport etc.

A committee of experts was setup by the Government to oversee the process of JNNURM[6] which has short listed the consultants and sent their list and details to all ULBs in the state to initiate the urban development and renewal works.

One important decision taken by the government was to include four more towns in all the state level activities of JNNURM to address the problem of regional imbalance. Hence, Hazaribagh, the town of thousand gardens located on plateau, Medini Nagar (Daltonganj) in western part of the plateau, Deoghar, a major religious and educational centre, and Bokaro

steel city were included to accelerate the urbanisation process. However as a first step for JNNURM assistance, City Development Plan of only these selected cities were prepared. By September 2006, Ranchi CDP was submitted, while Jamshedpur and Dhanbad CDPs are in final stages of preparation.

The process of master plan preparation is initiated for seven other towns as mentioned above and the bids are being examined for the purpose. These offers were invited after carefully considering the scope of work for each town consistent with its character.

To meet the challenges of providing safe drinking water and a proper sewerage system in the urban areas, the State government has planned to provide a sum of Rs. 35 crores. A sum of Rs. 6 crore will be provided as Central assistance for accelerated Water Supply Scheme for towns having population up to 1,00,000. In drought prone towns like Ranchi, Giridih, Hazaribagh, Daltonganj, Deoghar, Pakur, Rajmahal, Mahizain, Simdega, Saraikela, Chakkradharpur, Chatra, Lohardaga and Jhumari Talaiya, infrastructure up-gradation work has already started. A sum of Rs. 8 crores has been set aside for Ranchi town alone. The government has taken a positive step of forming Water Boards within urban local bodies which shows the commitment to devolve more functions as per the Twelfth Schedule.

CDP OF RANCHI

In the above scenario of mixed opportunities, the City Development Plan of Ranchi has been submitted to the government with following salient features:

In the absence of comprehensive Master Plan of Ranchi[7], the CDP has followed an appropriate approach of in-depth analysis of the existing situation. The CDP sets the appropriate issues and agenda and envisages a population of approximately 30 lakhs by year 2036 against approximately 10 lakhs in 2006. The CDP presents a vision-'towards a self sustainable city' and highlights the importance of industrial growth. It advocates the greater use of educational setup and intellectual capital of Ranchi for development of Industrial parks and zones, development of growth centres based on the potential of towns such as IT parks, Herbal industries, etc. The CDP rightly identifies the growth constraints and future growth areas but fails in identifying a specific area for the capital city. It goes on with an assumption that the capital city would be in place in near future but considering the ideas of government and its investment in the HEC campus for capital functions, this seems more unlikely.

The CDP of Ranchi is an excellent document in aspects related to Infrastructure improvement. It

identifies the future water sources and presents a complete phasing of projects up to next ten years. Its calculation for water demand by 2036 highlights the need for projects at five year intervals.

The CDP has taken a very realistic approach of sewage, sewerage and solid waste management. The identification of disposal and processing areas prepares Ranchi for submitting DPR of these infrastructure projects. Public Private Partnership approach for solid waste management is noteworthy as the town has many NGOs working in this field.
The CDP also identifies many projects for augmentation of transport network with location of a Transport City, widening of traffic corridors, and identification of new nodes.

Ranchi located on the plateau has many small hillocks and water bodies. The water bodies have become the dumping area for solid waste and drainage. The CDP identifies and suggests solutions to these problems but remains silent on the use of the river Subarnarekha for

any positive purpose. There are no concrete suggestions about improvement of urban governance, but the Plan considers that the elected body will solve many problems.

Hence it can be seen that Jharkhand government has taken many initiatives, that are catalysed by JNNURM and an important beginning is already on the way. The most important issue in urban areas of Jharkhand is the lack of urban infrastructure and with the emphasis of the City Development Plan of Ranchi, it is expected that it would like to submit DPRs for Water Supply and Sewerage schemes. Preliminary reports of the CDP of Dhanbad and Jamshedpur also suggest an emphasis on infrastructure. If this happens as planned, JNNURM would be successful in its Mission in at least eastern part of Jharkhand.

The Mission's success will also be measured by the success of other initiatives of the State government that will steer urbanisation in the western part of the plateau creating a much needed balance in growth of Jharkhand.

Notes and references

[1] *India Today*, Vol. XXXI, No. 36, p. 18.

[2] A Survey by The Hindu & CNN-IBN, State of the Nation.

[3] Jharkhand Draft Annual Plan 2002 - 2003, CHAPTER - IX, Social Services, Urban Development

[4] The state is yet to set up a town planning department and appoint a town planner.

[5] Main square of Ranchi town is known after a shopping outlet - Firayalal Chowk and most important commercial spine is called Main road.

[6] The author is part of State Level Steering Committee for JNNURM in Jharkhand.

[7] Ranchi Master Plan was prepared in 1981 and notified in 1983 but the exercise remained incomplete. The new Master Plan was due in 2001 which has not yet been initiated.

Chhattisgarh: Rejoicing in Rebirth

KHATIBULLAH SHEIKH

ABSTRACT

The present article attempts to analyse the JNNURM scheme from the perspective of its ability to change the desired urban landscape of India. The paper tries to review the efforts made in the state of Chhattisgarh under the scheme. The capital city of Raipur is the only city selected by the mission. The paper raises concerns about the process of CDP preparation in terms of public participation. The reason behind inclusive democracy and its benefits are also highlighted. The issue of functional capacity to productively digest probable amount of money flow from the central government to the municipality has also been addressed. Another area of this paper's enquiry is the JNNURM as a reform-linked mission and an evaluation of its reform agenda. For such a mammoth scheme, intervention of civil society is significant. Building on these lines the possible role of NGOs has also been discussed for effective implementation of the programme.

BACKGROUND

The current decade can be termed as a decade of cities where the Government of India has floated massive schemes for urban renewal. Various central and state government schemes have been in place earlier also but no major headway could be realised. In Sept 2001, the Central Ministry of Urban Development launched the Good Urban Governance Campaign (GUGC) in partnership with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations Center for Human Settlements (UNCHS). Subsequently, the GUGC became overshadowed

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by other urban schemes, and disappeared soon after without a trace. Similarly, numerous urban development schemes initiated during the tenure of the NDA government such as the National Urban Transport Policy, the National Slum Policy, and the National Hawkers Policy were drafted, but these were never realised.

In the wake of the current chaos in Indian cities and the poor infrastructure, the ambitious scheme of JNNURM for bigger cities and Urban Integrated Development Scheme for Small and Medium Towns (UIDSSMT) for smaller cities have been launched. The objective of the mission is to develop city's infrastructure and maintenance, to protect the historical monuments, and to provide basic services to urban poor. NURM is a reforms-driven, fast track, planned development of identified cities scheme with a focus on efficiency in urban infrastructure and services delivery, community participation, and accountability of local governments towards citizens.

JNNURM: THE AGENDA

The ambitious JNNURM aims at improving municipal performance through reforms aimed at enhancing the municipal efficiency, effectiveness and service delivery with accountability. The JNNURM reform proposals include revenue improvement, town development, operation and maintenance of critical infrastructure investment. The environmental infrastructure proposals aim to improve infrastructure in the prioritised poor settlements as per poverty and infrastructure deficiency matrices and linking the infrastructure for poor settlements. These include the rehabilitation of existing infrastructure provisions of water supply, roads, drains, sanitation and street lighting based on community prioritisation and the construction of drains to improve the living environment. The social development proposals aim to address the socio-economic needs identified and prioritised through participatory micro planning process. These proposals over issues such as health, education, livelihood, vulnerability and strengthening of SHGs, with focus on gender issues. This leads to the reduction of poverty and an improvement in the living conditions of the people in the poor settlement. However, in order to receive central assistance, the state government has to prepare a City Development Plan (CDP) in addition to signing a Memorandum of Agreement with the Central government in which the state government will have to commit to a time-bound implementation of the structural city reforms

mentioned in the scheme. The CDPs have to be prepared by public consultation and the collective visioning of the citizens. The DPRs are the obvious followers of the CDPs in that these detail out the projects to be taken up.

CHHATTISGARH: THE EXPERIENCE WITH JNNURM

Chhattisgarh is the state newly carved out from Madhya Pradesh in November 2000. Under the JNNURM scheme of urban restructuring only Raipur qualifies for receiving funds for infrastructure development by virtue of being a capital. In line with the provisions of JNNURM, Raipur Municipal Corporation has also approved projects worth Rs.1,459 crores in a Mayor-in-Council (MIC) meeting held recently. The population of Raipur is around seven lakhs only. The consultant working on CDP preparation has given the projects estimates of more than Rs.1,400 crores under different heads. The CDP has been appraised by the relevant authority and few observation, were made on the issues of public participation, sewerage and drainage system, water supply, population projection, in-depth analysis of the existing situation, the functional domain of agencies involved in provision of basic services, the status of urban poor with respect to housing, coverage and level of services and prioritisation of projects with adequate reasoning. Further explanation was sought on these issues in the CDP. More recently, the Raipur Municipal Corporation (RMC) has incorporated the gaps and sent the CDP back to the Central government. A few projects that include water supply are likely to be approved soon for an estimated cost of about Rs. 325 crores.

A synoptic view of the present status highlights a few concerns that are emerging and need to be thoroughly analysed. These emanating issues can be categorised in two streams of thoughts as is true of many cities participating under this monolithic urban renewal programme: The CDP preparation as a process has functional and operational issues.

THE CDP PROCESS: HOW PARTICIPATORY IS IT?

One of the significant aspect is the process involved in the preparation of CDPs. How much weightage is given to the public consultation which is the central theme of the whole process? In the case of Raipur, it was rightly pointed out by the appraising authority that

stakeholder consultation has not been undertaken. Surprisingly, in the modified report it has been mentioned that details of a public consultation have been incorporated and the appraisal report says that the CDP is now in accordance with the JNNURM toolkit. This raises the question of the authenticity of the public consultation process. If stakeholder consultation is a curtain raiser for the CDP process, why was the document on same not included initially? It clearly indicates that hardly any effort was made to conduct stakeholder consultation. In the modified document the details were given within a period of one month or so and it was acceptable to the appraising authority who had recommended the CDP for receiving the grant. One possibility is the document submitted was a farce and there was no consultation. The final approval given to such a CDP also raises concerns regarding how seriously the government is treating the participatory planning. The toolkit clearly indicates an inclusive planning model based on bottom-up planning but how much it is actually followed remains to be seen. The development of these CDPs began almost silently, and there is yet to be any public information, awareness or consultation regarding the plans or their preparation process. According to the NURM guidelines, these have to be prepared after conducting a wide stakeholder consultation process, and to be preceded by the identification of a planned urban perspective framework for a period of 20-25 years. But the ground reality shows that the people of the city have not been consulted. There has been no evidence regarding the involvement of the media, civil society, different citizens fora in all the process. Various interactions with the citizens revealed that the city is unaware of the CDP process. There was hardly any news in the media to intimate people about the ongoing events in terms of city planning. If such is the meaning of public participation then there is an ardent need to revisit the definition.

In the 10th five year plan released by the Planning Commission in June 2005, a section on NURM does acknowledge "that community involvement leads to effective implementation of projects, to better designing and reduction of operational costs". On the same line, the guidelines of CDP state that a CDP is both a perspective and a vision for the future development of a city involving people. It presents the current stage of the city's development – where are we now? It sets out the directions of change – where do we want to go? It identifies the thrust areas — what do we need to address on a priority basis? It also suggests

alternative routes, strategies, and interventions for bringing about change. It also makes it essential for a city to systematically think of the future, and determine how it wishes to shape that future. Now the underlying question remains, who decides where the city wants to go? Few interest groups or the general citizen? Who identifies the needs and sets the priorities? All these questions are relevant to when any CDP is being prepared. The guideline also talks of a shared vision for future development in terms of as to where the city wants to be in a medium-term perspective. It is a collective vision of the future direction expressed in terms of expectations and often even goals, such as "water for all." Thus, there should be a structured way to involve the people of the city through all processes as against earlier practices.

Why participation? Through the decades, the town plans across the country have been both imposing in character and the prerogative of few influential interest groups and the consultants, protecting the interests of people at the higher ladder of the society. In the process, the voices of larger sections of the poor

masses are neglected, thus resulting in 'selective development'. Incorporation of citizen's interests and aspirations is necessary so that people, especially the marginalised classes, can also reap the fruits of equity and equality and relate to the town. Larger public support is needed for successful implementation and to make the plan sustainable. Therefore, involvement and participation of local people is desirable.

Against the above background an innovative participatory approach has been practiced all over progressive nations of the world. Participatory development is the buzzword in contemporary development agendas across the globe. It is a 'step change' towards developing a vision for the town by involving the local communities.

By participatory planning we mean a set of processes through which diverse groups and interests engage together in order to reach a consensus on a plan and its implementation. The process is rooted in the recognition that society is pluralist and there are legitimate conflicts of interest that have to be addressed by the application of consensus-building methods. There is a strong belief among contemporary development professionals that development plans and city growth cannot be prepared by a group of planners in isolation. Ultimately, it is the people of the city who have to articulate and direct the vision. Planners, in most cases will be there to represent these aspirations through a statutory format under a formal process. The different parties need to exchange information in order to explore areas of common ground and compromise and to find ways of reducing the extent and intensity of disagreements. No party should lose out entirely.

The premise of the participatory planning rests on the belief that development needs should emerge from the lowest level of administrative boundary. The people should tentatively develop neighborhood plans that will finally be synthesised at a larger level and developed into a holistic town plan. This belief recognises the significance of local knowledge carried by the people.

The local people can better decide what they need in the foreseeable future for their betterment. Hence, it is imperative that they play a role in the decisions taken for their development. Higher participation of public in decision-making develops a sense of ownership of plans in the absence of which many development plans had to see the face of failure in the past.

FUNCTIONAL REALITIES

The chaos in the cities and their ailing infrastructure is a consequence of the power and efficiency of the urban local body. The fiscal status of the municipalities responsible for service delivery is deplorable. The majority of the municipal revenue is spent on wages and salaries. For instance, if we analyse the municipal budget of the Raipur Municipality, about 67 percent revenue expenditure goes towards salaries and wages and merely 28 percent is allocated for operation and maintenance. The annual income-expenditure of the RMC is around 50 crores; the major chunk of this goes towards establishment costs as mentioned earlier. This indicates the spending capacity of the municipalities. Even if a hefty amount gets released as funds do these corporations have capacity to spend? Out of 63 cities under the NURM there would be only a few cities in the metro category who might have the capacity to spend but most of them have to be put under scanner. Taking the example of the RMC's proposal for a water supply project for Rs. 325 crores, one may question how the municipality is going to implement such a huge project when it does not have a history of managing huge resources under any project. An analysis of the last records of development efforts reveals that under different projects; grants ranging from Rs.5 to Rs.20 crores have been sanctioned in different schemes under the municipality. The same would be the case of many mission cities.

This aspect is crucial from the perspective of existing human resources with the municipalities in terms of their number and competence. The studies on municipal function reveal an insufficiency of staff for the smooth functioning of service provision. Moreover, the capacity building process in such agencies takes a back seat. For instance, the presence of a planning wing in the municipality is an area of exploration. How many municipalities have the capacity to prepare the town development plan?

The 74th Amendment of the Indian constitution stresses on the presence of an elected body who will decide the future of the city. The Mayor-in-Council (MIC) is the decision making authority in terms of the development of the area. Each of the members heads one department out of ten different functional departments such as water and sanitation, education and health etc. In order to implement the project each committee designs the strategy. But the capacity to perform any task is a pre-requisite for better results. For this

purpose, continuous capacity building efforts have to be made, but are absent in most of the cases. Although there is a separate budget in JNNURM for capacity building, how many cities have given a proposal for capacity building with their DPR / CDP remains to be seen. In the absence of relevant competence, implementation might be a risky affair. Thus the focus should also be given to capacity building of the municipal staffs.

REFORM UNDER THE SCANNER

The significance of the scheme lies in its linkage of grants with reforms in local government. The state government has also been directed to bring certain mandatory reforms to avail the benefits of the scheme. At the local level, the municipalities have also been directed to bring reforms such as introducing double entry accounting, augmentation of tax collection, introduction of new technology etc. This strategy is likely to prove a prelude to the municipal reforms. The scheme is likely to strengthen the municipalities and fulfill the long awaited dream of evolving municipalities as nodal agencies for city development and service delivery. At the same time; however, we need to critically evaluate the reform agendas and their long-term consequences.

If we analyse the proposed reform agendas it is foreseeable that it will create increased demand for the privatisation of crucial municipal services e.g. by urging States to adopt the Model Municipal law (MML), and by amending their own Corporations and Municipalities Acts. It is claimed that the Model Municipal Law will enable urban local bodies to play their roles more effectively and efficiently. The MML focuses on specific provisions for financial management of municipalities, municipal revenue, urban environmental infrastructure and services and regulatory jurisdiction.

It appears that through the NURM the Centre is now creating an environment where it can direct and steer the administration cities in a way that it could not achieve through the 74th Amendment. It is true that cities do need substantial investment in infrastructure to improve urban quality of life indicators for its citizens. Nonetheless, linking reforms by the States and the ULBs to funding grants and loans is a highly coercive route being adopted in total contradiction to the subsidiarity principle. The route of the incentive-based reforms agenda is a risky one, because its failure would represent not only the lack of suitable development to fulfill the needs of citizens but also a foreseeable failure of governance. JNNURM aspires to change the way we get basic services like water supply systems, urban transport, roads, culverts, drains and bridges, and slum development but without the watchful input from citizens, the principle of incentive-based change might collapse under its one big contradiction; the creation of public services and spaces without consulting the people and the required space given to them.

If we look at the reform agenda, a significant observation that can be made is that the era of subsidy is subsiding. There is no more 'free lunch'. In all the projects, effort should be made to make it financially viable; levy suitable user charges to recover at least the expenditure. For instance, it has been suggested that the charges for water supply should be recovered by increasing the user charge. Accordingly the DPR of Raipur for water supply proposes a five times increase in the same. Although the move is in the right direction and in the long run it will be a catalyst for municipal financial health, we need to see how the poor would be affected. There is a provision of basic services to the poor in the reform agenda but how much emphasis has been given by the cities to ensure that? Is there any robust plan for the marginalised poor to provide them with these services at affordable cost, or will the scheme put basic facilities out of their reach?

The readiness for reforms at the state level is positive but their enactment is in abeyance. Most of the reforms agreed to by the state government have been done in haste to garner the fund from the scheme. The state government should have a clear road map for implementing those reforms and the initiative. For instance, the public disclosure law and community participation law is yet to be translated into action. Therefore, the reform agenda should be closely monitored while disbursing the funds. Measurable indicators to gauge the level of reform at the state and the city level should be put in place.

Moreover, the response of the mission cities and the rate of fund allocation have been showing a grim situation. Towards the year-end of the mission, out of the Rs. 13,235.8 million share the Government of India could release only Rs. 2,220.6 million (16.77 percent) whereas 67 DPRs have been submitted till now from across the country. Thus, there is a need to speed up the process judiciously to make things happen.

ROLE OF NGOS IN JNNURM

The NGOs have the larger role to play in order to make the JNNURM a successful plan by ensuring public participation. The promotion of inclusive democracy is the core agenda of CSOs. However, a more meaningful and effective way to influence change is by getting into the administrative structure. NGOs should try to fight the battle by getting into the system, instead of from outside. Although a Technical Advisory Group (TAG) has been formed at the national level comprising of people from civil society to provide a platform for NGOs, there is a need to form state level TAGs which can be linked to the city level TAG to ensure transparency and inclusive development.

The NURM is a good opportunity to implement the 74th Amendment where CSOs have a ground to work. The positive aspect of NURM is the fund allocation for the poor. The voices of the poor are not being heard in the consultations. They must insist that a substantial amount of the funds be used for the poor. If the legal aspects are not taken care of, the poor will not get services. Certainly, there is also a mention in the Mission that no one will get houses for free and the services will be provided at the user-charges. This clearly removes the urban poor out of the ambit of the mission.

CONCLUSION

The JNNURM is a great opportunity for reconstructing urban India by building sustainable urban infrastructure but there are major concerns in making this dream a reality. The earlier experience suggests that in spite of ambitious plans for reconstruction, whether by the Bharat Nirman Scheme with its whopping estimated investment of Rs. 1,74,000 crores for rural India, or the JNNURM or UIDSSMT scheme for cities, the success can not be guaranteed in the absence of public participation and close monitoring of the scheme. Merely, the creation of infrastructure would not suffice unless the public takes the responsibility to maintain it and make it sustainable. If their aspirations and opinions are not taken care of then any level of investment for public good would not create a wave or make a city a better place to live. Thus, the key to a successful development plan is a participatory approach and development where people matter. At this juncture we must ponder how inclusive we are going to be in upcoming schemes for reconstructing our cities. If we are not able to ensure public participation then it would be just like old wine in a new bottle. Although in JNNURM the government has made public participation mandatory, by psuedo-participation we would again deviate from the desired results.

The whole discourse on sustainable cities with the view of providing perennial service delivery and better infrastructure revolves around a participatory approach where people are involved in planning as well as the implementation of the programme. The feeling of ownership emanates from involving them in decision making. Therefore, the implementing agencies should devise some mechanism to increase people's involvement and take them along in the development process.

In spite of its few shortcomings, the JNNURM scheme is likely to rescue municipal bodies and act as a means to reconstruct the ailing cities with poor infrastructure through the provision of funds for various developmental projects. To make it successful there is a need to review the scheme yearly and new strategies could be drafted accordingly. There is an ardent need to inculcate ownership among the people as well as the polity and bureaucracy.

Local Governance and Development: The Kerala Experience

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ABSTRACT

Despite over five decades of rapid economic growth and poverty alleviation programmes, around 350 million people in India are considered to be below poverty line. The situation becomes alarming when one observes the fact that the number of people below poverty at present is much more than that of the total population at the time of Independence. Such a situation casts serious doubts on the acceptance of development theories, and particularly on the 'trickle down effect' for poverty alleviation. The current scenario calls for a closer examination of the pitfalls in the centralised planning process with regard to poverty reduction.

Further, the challenge of protecting the poorest and most vulnerable members of society from the economic shocks of globalisation is ever increasing. Surmounting the turbulence in the process of development, social protection is required urgently especially for the underprivileged and marginalised groups like tribals. At the same time, it may be noted that social protection cannot be divorced from the broad set of economic and social policies affecting the rate and distribution of economic growth and human capital formation. The objective of this note is to provide some background information to think about some alternatives for the development of poor and marginalised groups within the framework of the experience of Kerala.

KOCHI

Kerala
JNNURM Mission

THIRUVANANTHAPURAM

INTRODUCTION

The twenty-first century paradigm of development has to recognise that 'government failure' is a much more important problem than 'market failure'. Unmistakably, the role of the State is reducing. Quite interestingly, the role of local governments is increasing simultaneously; local economic development and the protection of the poor has become the responsibility of local bodies.

One has to realise that a democratic society has enormous potential for entrepreneurship, innovation and creative development. People, with their diverse and varied forms of institutions such as Neighbourhood Groups (NHGs), Community Development Societies (CDS), Gram Sabhas and Cooperatives, must be encouraged to play their role in social transformation. The State should ensure that all citizens are getting their basic entitlements of public goods and services and empower the poor so that they have equal rights (and responsibilities) with the better-off citizens.

EMERGING LOCAL GOVERNANCE: KERALA

Developing a good local governance system is one of the strategies for sustainable human development. It is generally believed that interventions, particularly for poverty alleviation, are more effective when they are initiated through local governments.

The Government of India's commitment to decentralisation became more explicit with the 73rd Amendment (for rural areas) and 74th Amendment (for urban areas) to the Constitution of India in 1992, making local government institutions constitutionally mandatory. The state governments, therefore, are to take steps towards the creation of the Panchayats and Municipalities and to endow them with "such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions of self government". Thus, Panchayats in rural areas, and Nagarapalikas (Municipalities), in urban areas, came into existence with an elected body to govern them. The Constitution stipulates that elections are to be conducted every five years, Grama Sabha / Ward Sabha has to be constituted for wider peoples' participation, one-third of the seats are to be reserved for women, and a proportional reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes / Scheduled Tribes is to be ensured.

Within this framework, the state governments are to develop the local bodies. After ten years of the Amendment, one can see significant variation among the states in strengthening the local bodies. These variations can be understood, to a greater extent, on the basis of political will and on the capacity and background for the development of it.

Kerala – the southernmost state in India – made use of the opportunity to strengthen the local governance system by legislating the Kerala Panchayati Raj Act 1994 (for local bodies in rural areas) and the Kerala Municipality Act 1994 (for the local bodies in urban areas). Powers, Functions and Finance have been transferred to these local bodies which function as institutions of self-governments. A committee system has been introduced at all levels with a view to further decentralisation within local bodies and to make more opportunities for participation. Local institutions under line departments have been transferred to the local bodies along with its functionaries. The local bodies have been virtually made responsible for planning for economic development and social justice. In general, the decentralisation process in Kerala may be better

understood by means of observing the following six principles which governed the process.

AUTONOMY

Autonomy has three dimensions: administrative, financial and functional. The administrative autonomy of local bodies is guaranteed by limiting the supervision of the State Government to the obligatory and regulatory functions and making the elected body responsible. In Kerala, the Chairperson of the elected body is the executive head. It may also be noted that unlike other states, here the various levels of local bodies are not hierarchically organised, with one unit controlling the others below. To put it differently, Panchayats at all levels are administratively independent units. However, there exists active 'cooperation, coordination, complementation, and integration' among the three tiers of Panchayats for development activities. With the objective of financial autonomy, financial resources are shared considering the functional responsibilities and whatever is shared is done as per certain pre-determined criteria. One-third of the Plan Grant-in-Aid of the State has been earmarked for the local bodies in Kerala. The Budget Document of Kerala shows the untied grant-in-aid to each local body for the current year. Functional autonomy is achieved by earmarking the functional areas for each local body very clearly by legislation.

SUBSIDIARITY

This principle governs the division of functions among different tiers of LSGIs. Subsidiarity implies what can be done best at a particular level shall be done at that level and only residual functions are given to the higher level. This principle is strictly followed while transferring the institutions under line departments to the local bodies. Thirteen departments have transferred institutions, along with it functionaries to the local bodies. The process starts from below, transferring functions and powers from the level of Grama Panchayats and goes up to District Panchayats.

COMPLEMENTARITY

Integration is perhaps the most important task in decentralised planning. The entire system has to work with unity of vision and diversity of means. While integrating the functions, there must not be any chance for overlapping and repetition. This means that the activities of the higher levels should complement those of the lower levels and the programmes implemented

by all agencies in a given local body will be consistent with local needs and priorities and will in turn, converge into an integrated local plan.

UNIFORMITY

The principle of uniformity stipulates that norms and criteria for the selection of beneficiaries, the identification of sites, the prioritisation of activities and the pattern of assistance within a given local body shall be the same for a particular programme irrespective of the agency sponsoring such programmes. This helps in formulating criteria for decision - making, which may be made open to the people so that transparency can easily be ensured.

PARTICIPATION OF PEOPLE

In decentralised governance, participation of the people is envisaged by empowering them to take their own decisions after they analyse their problems themselves. In fact, the local self- government provides an institutional framework for participatory democracy. People's participation is expected in all stages of a development programme, including in the identification of needs, formation of scheme, its implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Local self-government institutions are primarily accountable to the people and this is guaranteed by ensuring transparency in its functioning. This calls for a social audit system for examining the performance of the local bodies. The social auditing is performed by the Grama Sabhas by examining the activities of the development programme in their respective areas. Every decision taken has to be based on certain predetermined norms and criteria, which are evolved on the basis of social consensus, and the rationale behind each decision has to be made public.

Based on these principles the state of Kerala has created democratic decentralisation by means of devolving powers and functions to the local self government institutions, on the one hand and introducing decentralised planning, on the other.

PEOPLE'S PLAN (PLANNING FROM BELOW)

The most important and conspicuous part of Kerala's decentralisation is the decentralised planning system,

popularly known as People's Plan. The planning process began in a campaign mode. Extensive participation of the people, in every phase of the process, is the hallmark of the new system. All individual beneficiaries are selected by the Grama Sabha / Ward Committee. Further down from the Grama Sabha / Ward Sabha, there are Neighbourhood Groups (NHGs). The planning process starts from the lowest units in the local governance system. In 1996, the Government of Kerala had initiated the planning process by earmarking one-third of the annual Plan Grant-in-Aid to the local bodies, for their planning for economic development and social justice. Every year, the local bodies were to prepare their plans. Training and Capacity Building has been one of the important aspects of the process.

For the Tenth Plan (2002-2007), the Government of Kerala has earmarked one-third of the Plan Grant-in-Aid to the local bodies for entire period of five years. Thus, the local bodies have prepared Five Year Plan (long term plan) with Annual Break ups (Annual Plan). At present, the process of institutionalisation is taking place.

STAGES OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING

The decentralised planning in Kerala may be observed in the following five stages.

Stage I : Grama Sabha

The decentralised planning begins with a special Grama Sabha for understanding the felt needs of the people and also for identifying the potential areas of intervention. In Kerala, voters in an electoral constituency (ward) of a Panchayat / Municipality constitute a Grama Sabha / Ward Sabha. After a brief introductory session, group discussions are conducted and in the plenary sessions points are reported. All the suggestions of the Sabha are forwarded to the local body.

Stage II: Development Seminar

The second stage in the decentralised planning is a Development Seminar at the local body level. In Grama Sabha people raise their felt needs and problems and identify some opportunities for initiatives. This has to be subjected to analysis within the given resources, both in terms of men and material. Such an exercised will result in the publication of a Panchayat / Municipality Development Report. A draft

of this report is the background material for the Development Seminar. In this one-day seminar, elected representatives, officials, experts, and representatives nominated by Grama Sabha participate. The Seminar will discuss and suggest strategies and identify projects to be taken up for the development of the region. The Development Report will be published for wider dissemination of information. It is important to note that all the 1215 local bodies in Kerala have prescribed their development report.

Stage III: Preparation of Projects

At this stage, the development strategy will be transformed through in the form of projects. This will be done through Task Forces formulated for the purpose which comprises of elected representatives, officials and experts from the people. Working Groups are constituted for important sectors; generally there are ten groups: Watershed Management; Animal Husbandry; Local Economic Development; Poverty Reduction; Development of Scheduled Castes; Development of Women and Children; Health, Water Supply and Sanitation; Education; Infrastructure; and Social Security. Details of each project include specific objectives, expected cost, source resources, contribution from beneficiary, contribution from public, mode of execution, mechanism for monitoring and the time frame.

Stage IV: Preparation of Plan Document

This is the stage at which the local bodies finalise their plan document. It is not just a compilation of the projects prepared at the ward level. The projects prepared by the Working Groups are to be prioritised within the resource limit and long term perspective of the people for local level development. One can observe a clear departure from dividing the grant-in-aid wardwise (as a result of pressure from elected members) to allocation based on priorities set for the over all development of the region. The elected body democratically decides the projects (as well as their priority) to be included in the Plan Document which is also a published document.

Stage V: Plan Approval by District Planning Committee

Every Local Government's Plan has to be approved by the District Planning Committee (DPC). The DPC will examine each project of a local body with the assistance of a Technical Advisory Committee (TAC)

constituted at the Block (intermediate level) level and district level. The TAC, consisting of official and non-official experts, examines the technical viability of the projects and recommend for the approval of DPC. If there exists any technical imperfections in a project, the local body has to make changes; the TAC neither rejects nor changes the priority of the project.

Stage VI: Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation

Each project will be implemented under the supervision and control of local bodies. Projects can be implemented by the beneficiary committee, the local body, transferred institutions, accredited agencies, and by contracting. There will be a Monitoring Committee for concurrent monitoring of the progress of the work. The Grama Sabha has the right to examine the progress and other details of a project. All individual beneficiaries are selected by the Grama Sabha with the predetermined criteria given by the local body. Local bodies do not have the authority to change the priorities given by the Grama Sabha.

DEVELOPING SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Social development of a society depends, to a greater extent, on the development of social capital. Social capital is the networking that helps create linkages which in turn forge the rules, conventions and norms governing the development process. When a society undergoes change, certain institutional factors, which has a spiraling effect on deepening democracy, may gain ground if the unleashed energy of people is deliberately consolidated by the intelligentsia. In the case of Kerala, after the formation of the State in 1956, a notable development in the area of participation of the people was the people's science movement. It was basically a consciousness raising exercise of the masses; the activists worked above the interests of their political affiliation / inclination. This was followed by a total literacy movement. Apart from making the people capable of reading and writing, it was a mass movement for understandings the 'self' and the 'society' in the background of democratic principles. The ordinary people came to understand the importance of human development and, to some extent, the concept of sustainable development. With the emerging demand from below, the Government had to provide basic services like education, health, sanitation, etc. The media also played an important role by highlighting activities relating to development and also reporting the apparent failures in providing these basic services. The State Government has

allocated a substantial portion of its investment for developing social infrastructure like schools, hospitals, etc. In 1996, as noted earlier, participatory planning was introduced and the responsibility of local level development was entrusted to local bodies. Again, in 1998, for ensuring comprehensive social protection, Kudumbashree was introduced.

KUDUMBASHREE

'Kudumbashree' is the latest episode in the process of social mobilisation in Kerala. In Malayalam (the local language in Kerala), 'Kudumbashree' means prosperity for the family. It is a participatory poverty eradication programme (such programmes are legion in India) of Kerala. What makes a difference in this programme is that it is a community initiative using women's agency with legal backing, implemented as part of Panchayati Raj System (both rural and urban). Since it is structurally and functionally related to local bodies, leakages are minimised. Basically, it is a women empowerment programme but equal importance is given to delivery mechanisms. Kudumbashree has an economic base of its own which guarantees autonomy and sustainability. The project is implemented through neighbourhood groups of poor women. It is through a survey, based on nine risk factors, that the poor families are identified. It is envisaged that the service of different government and semi-government agencies are to be converged in the programme.

The mission of Kudumbashree is "to eradicate absolute poverty through concerted community action under the leadership of local governments, by facilitating organisation for the poor combining self-help with demand-led convergence of available services and resource to tackle the multiple dimensions and manifestations of poverty holistically."

A major departure from conventional poverty alleviation programmes is the process of identification of poor by means of survey based on the following nine indicators of risk factors:
- Poor quality of house
- Lack of access to drinking water
- Lack of access to sanitary latrines
- Number of illiterate adults in the family
- Single income households
- Number of individuals getting barely two meals a day or less
- Number of children below the age of five in the family
- Number of cased of alcoholism or drug addiction

in the family and

- Scheduled caste or scheduled tribe families (socially disadvantaged groups).

The households with four out of nine factors are considered as poor.

The organisational structure of Kudumbashree has a three-tier system. At the lowest level there are Neighbourhood Groups (NHGs) of 15-40 adult women, one each from the identified risk families. Area Development Societies (ADS) are formed at the middle level by federating the NHGs within a ward of a local body. At the local body level there are Community Development Societies (CDS), federating the ADS in the local body. At present, there are 1,25,735 NHGs, 13,766 ADS and 1,049 CDS functioning in the State covering 26,45,369 families below poverty line.

The Government of India, National Bank for Agricultural and Rural Development (NABARD), and UNICEF support this programme. Two bank-linked self employment programmes of Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana (SJSRY), viz., Development of Women and Children in Urban Areas (DWCUA) and Urban Self Employment Programme (USEP), provide Kudumbashree with the needed financial resources to encourage the beneficiaries of the project to set up micro-enterprises.

A major function of the organisation is to act as an informal bank for the poor. Women pool their savings at the weekly NHG meetings. The ADS is authorised to open bank accounts in banks to deposit the savings. The thrift and credit societies functioning in the NHGs have mobilised thrift to the tune of Rs.251.87 crores and an amount of Rs.392.56 crores have been disbursed as loan to the members.

Kudumbashree plays an important role in the decentralised planning process. The NHGs prepare a micro-plan based on previous surveys and discussions. The ADS puts together the micro-plans and prepare a mini plan for the ward of Panchayat / Municipality. A

Monitoring and Advisory Committee is formed under the chairmanship of the elected member of the village Panchayat or municipality representing that ward. The CDS is co-terminus with the village Panchayat or Municipality and perepares development plans at the local level by consolidating the plans prepared by the ADS.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

A human development approach to poverty alleviation considers the situation of appalling deprivation – in conditions of hunger, ill-health, homelessness, illiteracy and different forms of class, caste, and gender oppression. Among the states of India, Kerala's performance in the spheres of social development is remarkable. The literacy rate in Kerala is 90.92 percent as against the national average of 65.38 percent. Life expectancy at birth in Kerala is as high as 73.3 years while the all India average is 61.1 years. Another notable achievement is in the case in infant mortality rate; it is as low as 14 in Kerala as against 70 at the national level. It is very important to underline the fact that all these achievements are made with a relatively low per capita income. Thus the Kerala experience indicates that the well-being of the people can be improved, and social, political, and cultural conditions transformed, even at low levels of income, when there is appropriate social mobilisation and public action.

ON THINKING ABOUT MOBILISATION FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

A long term perspective has to be developed for developing and utilising the social capital for human development. To guarantee basic entitlements, societal energy has to be unleashed and new social institutions have to be emerged in such a manner as to prove the social protection to the poor and marginalised groups. It should be underlined that the process of conscientisation and mobilisation will not happen as a natural process. In fact, it requires positive intervention with massive people's participation.

The Way Forward for Urban Development in Tamil Nadu

G. DATTATRI

ABSTRACT

The article outlines the urban scenario in the state of Tamil Nadu with specific focus on the urban planning and urban development of the city of Chennai (earlier Madras). It discusses the future urban growth in various towns of Tamil Nadu, explains their potential for further expansion and provides guidelines for their urban development under the JNNURM programme. Besides addressing urban development, the article also emphasises the need for continuity of urban rural interdependence in Tamil Nadu. The article concludes with a critique of JNNURM that is the outcome of a two day workshop on JNNURM in Chennai. It states that the mission should initially aim more at capacity building as opposed to immediate release of funds for projects.

URBANISATION TRENDS

At the end of the 19th century, Tamil Nadu as presently known had 24 urban centres. Madras (now Chennai) was the chief town with a population of 400,000. Of the 23 other towns Tiruchirappalli and Madurai were among the six towns which were in the population range of 50,000 to100,000. There were four towns in the population range of 30,000 to 50,000; ten towns in the population range 10,000 to 30,000 and three towns with a population of less than 10,000. Coonoor the well known hill station in the Nilgiris had a population of just 4,778. All the towns were municipally governed and the total population was of the order of 724,000 excluding Chennai. Four were coastal towns and six were towns in the predominantly agricultural Cauvery delta.

With the expansion of the railway and road communications more urban centres emerged and according to the census of 1901, there were towns with a population of 2.7 millions in the total state population of 19.3 millions. As per 2001 census there are 6 towns with the status of Municipal Corporation and 104 municipalities including two cantonments. Besides, there were 722 smaller urban settlements without municipal status with a population of 9.6 million.

URBAN PLANNING

Till 1920 whatever urban planning was carried out was under the 1884 municipal Act. The revised Municipalities Act as well as a Town Planning Act came into being in 1920. According to the latter Act all towns were required to make a General Town Planning scheme – currently it is known as Master Plan and Detailed Development plans for developing areas. The formulation of these was the responsibility of local bodies. Although no town or city including Chennai brought out the Master Plan, detailed development plans were made in several towns. As a result planned residential neighbourhoods emerged in the larger towns of Chennai, Coimbatore, Madurai, Tiruchi and Salem. However, the pace of planned development in other centres was handicapped because of the lack of skilled human resources as well as financial resources and certain inadequacies in the Town Planning Act. A Town Planning enquiry committee was set up by the then Madras State Government 1942, which made several recommendations that remained unimplemented till 1971 when the revised Town and Country Planning Act (TCPA) came into being.

In the meantime under the thrust given by the five year plans, the Directorate of town planning was strengthened and the staff was trained in the planning of town and cities. A City Improvement Trust (CIT) had been established for Chennai as early as 1947 and it undertook to carry out land development for Housing and adding to housing stock, the demand for which was rising with the new wave of industrialisation. The CIT was later replaced by the Tamil Nadu Housing Board covering the whole state in 1961. Following this trend several parastatal agencies to deal with various sectors of urban development were set up in the state. These included:

- Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board (TNSCB) for slum clearance and improvement;
- Tamil Nadu Water and Drainage Board (TWAD) for water supply and drainage throughout the state;

- Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA) for development of Chennai;
- Metro-water for water supply and sewerage in the Chennai Metropolitan Area (CMA);
- Industries development Corporations and Transport Corporations for long distance as well as City Transport.

Most of these except the TWAD Board concentrated their developments mainly in and around Chennai.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The rapid growth of Chennai with the concomitant problems of slums, severe shortage of affordable housing, transport inadequacies and environmental degradation and financial constraints necessitated a shift in the development process. Earlier the housing programmes by Tamil Nadu Housing Board (TNHB) covered all income groups from High Income Group (HIG) to Economically Weaker Section (EWS). The slum clearance board was concentrating on rehabilitation of slum households in storeyed tenements. Both were not cost effective. Thus started the World Bank funded integrated urban development projects; first in Chennai (MUDP I and II) and later covering other urban centers Tamil Nadu Urban Development Project – TNUDP I, II and III. CMDA was the nodal agency to coordinate urban development in Chennai (MUDP I & II), the Project Management Group of the State Government (TNUDP I). These projects moved from project mode to programme mode in TNUDP II and III and the agencies involved are the urban finance intermediaries assisted by the Municipal Urban Development Fund.

DEVELOPMENTS BY CMDA (1977-91)

With the setting up of the CMDA as a statutory body in 1974 under the amended TCP Act 1971, the stage was set to carry out planning for dispersal of activities to mitigate congestion and regulate land use through the master plan.

The setting up of Maraimalainagar as a satellite town about 40 kms South of Chennai was a part of creating three satellite towns around Chennai in Tiruvellore, Gummidipoondi in addition to Maramalainagar. Manali Township development was initiated to complement housing to the Manali Petrochemical Industrial area adjoining the city on the north. These projects were implemented by TNHB as executing agency for CMDA. Projects were also initiated to shift the vegetable, flower, textile and steel markets and

development of truck terminals as a part of decongestion of the central business district. The Madras Urban Development Project – MUDP I and its successor MUDP II coordinated by MMDA developed projects mainly for affordable housing through the sites and services mode in-situ slum improvement with basic amenities and grant of tenure to occupiers. A few related infrastructure projects of road improvement, water supply and bus transport were also part of the projects I and II.

Madras: Urban Development Projects – 1977-91

Project	MUDP I	MUDP II	TNUDP* I
Sites and Services	15.20	32.59	99
Slum Improvement	5.60	22.12	20
Small scale Business			
Child welfare			
Water Supply	35.30**	33.06**	100**
Roads and Transport			
Technical Assistance			
	56.10	87.77	219

* Madras Component ** Total for the remaining sectors

MADRAS: URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS – 1977-91

The salient features of the Sites and Services Programme included designing efficient layouts to provide acceptable environment and infrastructure – Physical and Social, offering a variety of shelter options to different levels of low income households and full cost recovery using internal cross-subsidy.

The slum improvement component insisted on in-situ provision of services and amenities linked to cost recovery through grant of ownership tenure. The programmes delivered over 30,000 sites mostly for the low incomes and improved environment to 80,000 slum households with tenure in MUDP I and II alone. Housing loans were also made available for upgrading shelter. These projects clearly established the viability of cost-effective housing programmes for the poor and low income households. Another important feature of the Madras component of TNUDP was the investment to the bus system for systematic retiring of old vehicles to improve mobility to the poor as well as improving environmental quality. The TNUDP also included integrated set of projects in the major urban centers especially the secondary cities of Coimbatore, Madurai and Tiruchi. It also introduced the mechanism of lending to other urban centers for development through the Municipal Urban Development Fund (MUDF) a revolving fund created by loan recoveries and state inputs. Major water supply improvements were funded by World Bank separately to Metro-water.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT THROUGH FINANCIAL INTERMEDIARIES

The predominantly project mode of MUDP I and II and TNUDP I has been transformed into a programme mode funding local bodies to embark on development of their cities. Technical assistance in formulating Corporate and Business Plan is provided and these are carried out through professional consultants, a culture that has been nurtured during the earlier projects. The Tamil Nadu Urban Development Fund (TNUDF) is one of the chief financial intermediaries in the Government-private sector and Tamil Nadu Urban Finance and Infrastructure Development Corporation (TUFIDCO) is Government sponsored. Both these institutions have shown their capacity to provide the needed long term funding for essential and viable urban development projects. This funding approach has helped establish financial and technical discipline among local bodies, which according to the 74th Constitutional amendments have to be responsible for urban planning and development.

TNUDF is the first partnership between the State Government and three financial institutions ICICI, HDFC and IL and FS. It provides long term loan for developing civic infrastructure without Government guarantees. The objectives of TNUDF include not only financing urban development projects of local bodies but also to provide grants in addressing the problems of the disadvantaged, promote public-private partnerships in infrastructure development and improve financial management of local bodies. It has successfully implemented TNUDP II during 1999-2004 and geared to implement TNUDP III. The total outlay of the projects is Rs.1,925 crores with the World Bank assistance of US$ 300 million for the period 2005-2010. This project provides a grant to CMDA to implement traffic and transportation projects within its area. TNUDP III is also designed to provide project, financial and consultancy services to local bodies through its fund manger TNUIFSL. TUFIDCO is a state Government organisation extending financial assistance for urban infrastructure scheme. It is also the state level nodal agency for centrally sponsored schemes including JNNURM.

No. of Towns in Different Population Ranges

Population	No.	Remarks
+4 million	1	Chennai
1 million	2	Madurai, Coimbatore
+5 lakhs	2	Tiruchi, Salem
2-5 lakhs	8	Tirunelveli and Tiruppur are at the top of the list
1-2 lakhs	13	Dindigul, Vellore, Cuddalore are at the top
1 lakh	126	Several of them will top 1 lakh by the next census

Source: Census of India

Classification of Municipalities – 2006

Annual Income – Rs. in crores	No.	Grade
+5.00	13	Special
2.00-5.00	28	Selection
1.00-2.00	36	I
Below 1.00	25	II
With a population of 30,000+	50	III
Total	**152**	**-**

Source: Policy Note, Government of Tamil Nadu

FUTURE URBAN GROWTH

According to 2001 census there are in Tamil Nadu 721 statutory towns and 111 census towns. But the number of Municipal Towns as on date after the recent reclassification of several town panchayats is 152 besides the six Municipal corporations. There are 26 towns with a population ranging from 109,217 people (Pudukottai) to 1,203,905 people (Madurai) apart from Chennai which has a population of 4,343,545 people.

Tamil Nadu is on the upswing as far as urbanisation trends are concerned and the urban centres will almost all grow in population in the next 20 years in the wake of globalisation which is bringing employment opportunities in the IT sector. The population of Tamil Nadu is projected to reach 71.7 million by 2026 of which at least 40.2 million (56 percent) will reside in urban centres. Presently nearly three million out of a total urban population of 14 million in + 50 000 towns live in slums constituting 20 percent of urban population. Some of the towns have a percentage of + 40 percent and the three Corporation of Salem, Tiruchi and Chennai have more than 20 percent of their population living in slums. However there are several towns which have a low percentage of poor including Coimbatore which has reported only about seven percent as living in slums.

THE WAY FORWARD

Unlike other states Tamil Nadu has a good spatial distribution fo secondary cities in close proximity to medium and small sized (+ 30,000) urban centers. Almost all of them have access to good roads or rail links. Most of the rail links have been converted to Broad gauge and DHRW has planned to upgrade a large number of stage highways and District Roads.

The economic, environmental and social development of the urban centers from this juncture would entirely depend on how the initiative and leverage is utilised to convert the advantage including availability of large funds. To carry out this task there has to be a clear Road map not getting confused with financial availability alone. While the JNNURM funding can be accessed it should be used in conformity with the sound structure of financial discipline built assiduously through the past years. Important elements of the parameters to assist this road map are briefly enumerated:

- The most important starting point is to shift the emphasis of economic and foreign investments from the Chennai region
- Secondly to take such development to priority development centres identified which have good connectivity and shown a good growth rate in population
- Proximity to sustainable water resources
- Simultaneously normal growth should not be stilted in other centers or valuable agricultural land resources consumed for urban expansion. The most important parameter is the adoption of sound environment linked development

Tamil Nadu has acquired much knowledge in this sphere through national and international interaction. It has been exposed to the Sustainable Cities Project through the UNDP-UNHabitat Sustainable Chennai Project. The TNPCB has experience in applying Eco-city ideas to urban planning. It has knowledge of best practices in sustainable urban projects in small and big towns in Tamil Nadu as well as in other states such as Namakkal (Solid Waste Management), Hyderabad (Medical Waste Management and Greening), Bangalore (Transparency and Accountability Procedures), Kerala (Bottom up Planning), Sulabh Sanitation (instituted in Bihar), private entrepreneurship techniques of Coimbatore and Tiruppur. The little township of Auroville in Villupuram district has innovated many good practices in low cost housing and materials, water recycling and other eco-friendly practices.

These opportunities should be fully made use of for implementing a new way of urban planning and development that would meet sustainable development goals and realistic needs of the people. The principal way for achieving these objectives are:

- To give up the 'narrow-focussed project' approach to development and begin interconnected development approach;
- To cover all services in a convergent manner on an area basis;
- To protect and enhance the environmental assets in Cities and City regions;
- To establish two-way urban-rural economic linkages.

INTERLINKED SERVICE PROJECTS

Water and Sanitation services are basic to both economic developments as well as to avoid environmental degradation. Hence water supply, drainage and sanitation projects need to be linked to wastewater treatment and storm drainage projects. Such an integrated project would provide for recycling of wastewater, rainwater harvesting and aquifer recharge during monsoons and water recovery during scarcity situations and assure long time sustainability in water use.

Solid Waste Management would include waste reduction, segregation at source, vermicomposting, reuse and recycling of discarded materials and what cannot be dealt at a decentralised level only to be taken to sanitary landfill. Solid waste management should deal with all domestic wastes and construction debris.

Housing for the low and poor incomes need to be affordable and link up with employment creation, inexpensive transport to work places and acceptable levels of environmental (not just basic) services of water, sanitation, lighting, health, education and social needs.

AREA CONVERGENCE OF INTEGRATED SERVICES

While certain projects like major transport works have to be designed taking the city as a whole, most projects meant to improve the quality of life of citizens must necessarily be converged at an area level whether it is ward as a whole or a neighbourhood integrating the poor class settlements and slums within it. Even where major transport projects are designed they

should invariably be part of a project providing for proper service roads, adequate footpaths, roadside planting and good landscaping and drainage.

MANAGEMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL ASSETS

Most cities in India have very valuable environmental assets in the shape of natural rivers and streams, mounds and hillocks, coastline and beaches, estuaries and wetlands, forests and fertile agricultural land, productive aquifers and manmade assets such as water bodies and tanks, canals, heritage buildings and historic places, and recreation parks. These particularly the natural ones are irreplaceable once they deteriorate beyond a point. Examples of destruction of such value assets are the Pallikaranai wetland in Chennai, the swamps of Mumbai and Calcutta and the ridge of Delhi. There are innumerable examples of such careless degradation of environmental assets. Short sighted development of would destroy the very desirable development that is needed.

ESTABLISHING A REGIONAL FRAMEWORK OF DEVELOPMENT

The cities in Tamil Nadu or for that matter in a country like India cannot stand alone drawing resources from rural areas and using them as sinks for urban wastes. They have to give back to the rural population and environment durable development in full measures. Two-way beneficial linkages have to be established. Urban areas have all the potential do it – Intelligent manpower – Entrepreneurship – Financial strength and above all a vast Research and Development capability. The 73rd and 74th Amendments to the constitution demand it. These elements are missing in the plans and missions which are trying to find quick fix solutions to individual urban problems. Although the JNNURM and other financing modes can provide all the needed funds for urban development, none of the cities including the mega cities can hope to become real world class cities unless we change the planning techniques are changed and urban development projects are implemented in the appropriate manner.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUMMARY OF THE WORKSHOP PROCEEDINGS

The workshop on JNNURM in Chennai was jointly organised by Civil Society-Government Network consisting of Citizens Alliance for Sustainable Living (SUSTAIN), Public Expenditure Roundtable (PERT),

Centre for Urban Poverty Alleviation (CUPA), Tamil Nadu Urban Finance and Infrastructure Development Corporation (TUFIDCO), Southern India Chamber of Commerce & Industry (SICCI) and UN-HABITAT. Following are the recommendations from this:

Recommendations for the Central Government

- CDP should be evolved with the close association of Peri-urban local bodies including the municipalities, urban panchayats as well as village panchayats within the influence region of the core cities and finalized after public consultation. This should be made mandatory.
- Clear guidelines with time frame for public consultation must be developed.
- DPRs should be intersectoral and area specific wherever possible and put out for public comments before being submitted to the sanctioning agency.
- Both CDPs and DPRs should be tested and evaluated for environmental sustainability
- Training and Capacity Building: approach to be designed modules for various target groups.
- The process of funding, financial resources for operational and maintenance of assets created under the program needs to be clarified and the fund flow mechanism and process to be made simple.
- Promote livelihood opportunities through skill building and enhancement of entrepreneurship needs to be built into various schemes and programmes.
- PPP arrangements covering infrastructure development and service delivery - should provide for role clarity on deliverables of various stakeholders.
- Understand the cost and impact of providing poor basic services in the urban areas, so that efficient services can be planned.
- Provide clear guidelines for assessing investments arising out of CDP.
- Incorporate additional sectors in the CDP- to promote holistic investment framework for local governance through which additional resources can be mobilized
- Identify in MOA, areas where the state is specifically responsible for implementing the reforms.
- Devise approaches and schemes to address generation of gainful employment opportunities and environmental safeguarding adopting community centered approach.

- Provide schemes and budget for capacity building, skill development, vocational training, and flow of micro- credit.

Recommendations for State Governments/Tamil Nadu

- JNNURM/UIDSSMT has a very high grant component (up to 80 percent GOI grant) that virtually amounts to building assets without any commitment from the local body/users. This can lead to lack of ownership, financial indiscipline, inadequate maintenance and non-collection of user charges - which flies against the reform agenda. Besides, the level of grant makes no distinction between the financially strong and weak local bodies.
- In the case of states like Tamil Nadu that have pioneered urban reforms and introduced innovative and sustainable financing models like the TNUDF, schemes like the JNNURM / UIDSSMT are market distortionary and can lead to an uneven playing field, unless TNUDF is also nominated as a nodal agency for accessing the scheme funds.
- JNNURM should encourage ULBs to take recourse to market financing, with its implicit discipline of appraisal and debt repayment obligation, rather than make them dependent on the exchequer.

Recommendations for Local Governments/Tamil Nadu Local Government Bodies (particularly those cities covered under JNNURM and IHSDP)

In the case of Tamil Nadu the recommendations apply equally for all the three cities of Chennai, Coimbatore and Madurai coming under JNNURM and other cities that could access funding from TNUDF, TUFIDCO as well as those coming under IHSDP.

- CDPs and DPRs should take into account legal master plan contents and requirements and must optimize opportunities for enhancement of resources (eg. water through RWH of urban runoff and recycling of wastewater) and conservation of environmental resources (eg. conservation of water bodies and wetlands, green cover and air quality).
- Facilitate and promote participatory planning process for preparation of CDP to be introduced.
- Design and implement training and capacity building of the employees based on specific reform outcomes.

- Clarify on funding, financial resources for operational and maintenance of assets created under the program.
- In the Development and Management of urban areas, address issues relating to: Urban poverty, Water and sanitation and complexity in local economy.
- Promote livelihood opportunities through skill building and enhancement of entrepreneurship of the target group of beneficiaries carefully selected.
- Address urban issues: consolidation of the past experience through documentation and dissemination. An annual report in this regard reporting the progress could be very useful.
- Promote public private partnership arrangement covering infrastructure development and service delivery; and a system to share information in a transparent manner with the stakeholders.
- Consider the cost and impact of providing poor basic services in the urban areas, so that efficient services are provided.
- Build capacity of urban poor to afford services.
- Have clarity on the guidelines in assessing investments in relation to CDP.
- Incorporate additional sectors in the CDP- to promote holistic investment framework for local governance through which additional resources can be mobilized.
- Generate gainful employment opportunities and environmental safeguarding adopting community centered approach through a consultative process.
- Improve the governance quality through linking MIS and municipal finance and make them serve as decision making tool.
- Provide opportunities for capacity building, skill development, vocational training, and flow of micro-credit.

Citizens and Civil Society Representatives

- Support for participatory planning process for CDP and sensitization of the Citizens.
- Address urban issues: by consolidation of the past experience through documentation and dissemination.
- Integrate with cross linkages and ownership of

plans by community likely to make the city livable for everybody. The catalytic role to enhance increased participation of the communities to address the core issues.
- Establish a civil society monitoring mechanism for measuring efficiency of delivery of services particularly for the poor and measurement of livable quality on a regular basis.
- Provide comments on the Nagara Raj Bill and continuously monitor its efficacy.

CONCLUSION

The mission should make sure that the fund flow in the first two years is limited to the barest minimum and emphasis is on capacity building and equipping local bodies to undertake sustainable integrated development projects; only after which there should be major release of funds.

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Metropolitan Cities
JNNURM Mission

Delhi

Ahmedabad

Kolkata

Bangalore

Mysore

Methods & Approaches

METROPOLITAN AND MEGA CITIES

Planning and Governance in Metropolitan Cities in the Context of JNNURM

B.N. SINGH

ABSTRACT

Of the 35 metropolitan cities in the country, most are multi-municipal agglomerations comprising of several municipal jurisdictions. The multi-municipal agglomerations with their overlapping jurisdictions have aggravated the problems in implementation of plans and projects.

The wide range of economic activities, infrastructure and services required to maintain a metropolitan city have resulted in multiple organisations with multiple jurisdictions, performing multiple tasks. Sources of water, disposal of waste, drainage, traffic and transport, cut across the boundaries of each jurisdiction thus raising inter-jurisdictional problems where an urban local body is unable to address the problems by itself.

A metropolitan wide vision, planning, advocacy and action for such metropolitan agglomerations is required for this purpose. This requires an inter-governmental and inter-agency framework for metropolitan development planning and guiding the metropolitan growth.

The Article 243ZE in the 74th Constitution Amendment provides for Metropolitan Planning Committee (MPC) for bringing together the local, state and central agencies along with private sector participation for the purpose and fulfills an important need.

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URBANISATION OVERVIEW

In 2001, the urban population of India was 285 million, that is, about 28 percent of the total population of the country. This ratio is expected to rise to 40 percent by 2021. The urban sector is important in economic terms. Its contribution to the gross domestic product is about 60 percent, at present and is estimated to increase to about 65 percent by 2011. It may be significant to note that the term 'urban' covers a wide spectrum, varying from mega cities to town panchayats. Cities are emerging in all shapes and sizes, including as urban corridors in the country.

Shape and Pattern of Urban Growth

Urban growth in the country has occurred across the board. Over the years, the city-size distribution of urban population has shifted significantly in favour of large cities. About 69 percent of the country's total urban population lives in 393 Class I cities with a population of more than one lakh. Nearly 38 percent of

Table 1: Pattern of Urban Growth

Census Year	Metropolitan Cities		Class-I Cities excluding metros		Other Towns	
	Number	Population (in million)	Number	Population (in million)	Number	Population (in million)
1981	12	42 (27%)	204	52(33%)	3029	62 (40%)
1991	23	71 (33%)	277	68 (31%)	3468	79 (36%)
2001	35	108 (38%)	358	88 (31%)	3975	89 (31%)

(% in parenthesis represents the share of the metropolitan cities' population to the total urban population)

Source: Census of India

this population segment lives in 35 metropolitan cities with a population of more than one million.

METROPOLITANISATION

The growth of large cities is a striking feature of India's urbanisation. The number of metropolitan cities has increased from 12 in 1981 to 23 in 1991 and then to 35 in 2001. It is likely to further increase to 51 by 2011 and 75 by 2021. In Maharashtra, West Bengal and Gujarat, more than half the urban population lives in million-plus urban agglomerations and cities. The metropolitan cities are the engines of growth and their economies are playing an increasingly important economic role with their per capita contribution being higher than that of other urban centres in the country. The efficient performance of metropolitan cities is, therefore, crucial for the country.

The Large City Spatial Expansion:

Among the 35 metropolitan urban agglomerations spread over 15 states in the country, 18 are multi-municipal agglomerations, 14 are one municipality plus other urban settlements, and three are principally single municipal corporations. It is generally believed that each of these metropolitan cities is covered by one single municipal corporation. But this is not so. The municipal agglomerations have quickly grown beyond the traditional municipal boundaries and are not confined to the boundaries of a single municipality. The table 2 indicates the position as per 2001 census.

MULTI-MUNICIPAL URBAN AGGLOMERATIONS

The million plus cities, with the exception of a few cities, are multi-municipal agglomerations covering several municipalities and non-municipal urban areas and rural panchayats. For example, Kolkata Urban Authourity comprises of three municipal corporations, 37 municipalities and a number of non-municipal urban units. Metropolitan areas are experiencing peripheral spatial expansion in an unplanned and uncontrolled manner with varied densities and conflicting land uses. The multi-municipal situations and overlapping jurisdictions have aggravated the problems involved in implementing plans and projects in million-plus cities and are now faced with conflicts, delays and difficulties.

Multi-municipal Problems

While several of the problems of metropolitan city management are directly or indirectly administrative, these have now assumed serious proportions in multi-municipal jurisdictions. In addition to municipalities, there are a number of special purpose authorities and parastatal organisations dealing with land development, housing, water supply, transport etc., operating in the same area thus resulting in the further fragmentation of the situation. Development authorities set up by state governments in large metropolitan cities were expected to coordinate

Table-2: Metropolitan Urban Agglomerations-2001

S.N.	UAs/Cities	UA/ MC	Population (in million)	Statutory constituents MC	M/ MCI	NP	Non-statutory constituents	CB	Total
1.	Greater Mumbai	UA	16.37	5	3	0	0	0	8
2.	Kolkata	UA	13.22	3	37	0	75	1	116
3.	Delhi	UA	12.79	1	1	0	56	1	59
4.	Chennai	UA	6.42	1	8	26	17	1	53
5.	Bangalore	UA	5.69	1	7	1	38	0	47
6.	Hyderabad	UA	5.53	3	9	0	19	1	32
7.	Ahmedabad	UA	4.52	1	11	0	28	1	41
8.	Pune	UA	3.76	2	0	0	1	3	6
9.	Patna	UA	1.71	1	2	0	7	1	11
10.	Coimbatore	UA	1.45	1	0	23	3	0	27
11.	Kochi	UA	1.36	1	5	0	19	0	25
12.	Vishakhapatnam	UA	1.33	1	1	0	7	0	9
13.	Agra	UA	1.32	1	0	2	0	1	4
14.	Varanasi	UA	1.21	1	1	0	5	1	8
15.	Madurai	UA	1.20	1	0	7	4	0	12
16.	Nashik	UA	1.15	1	1	0	1	1	4
17.	Asansol	UA	1.09	1	3	0	10	0	14
18.	Vijayawada	UA	1.01	1	1	0	8	0	10
19.	Surat	UA	2.81	1	0	0	20	0	21
20.	Kanpur	UA	2.70	1	0	0	5	1	7
21.	Lucknow	UA	2.27	1	0	0	0	1	2
22.	Nagpur	UA	2.12	1	0	0	2	0	3
23.	Indore	UA	1.64	1	0	0	7	0	8
24.	Vadodara	UA	1.50	1	0	0	18	0	19
25.	Bhopal	UA	1.45	1	0	0	5	0	6
26.	Meerut	UA	1.17	1	0	0	0	1	2
27.	Jabalpur	UA	1.12	1	0	0	12	1	14
28.	Jamshedpur	UA	1.10	0	1	0	10	0	11
29.	Dhanbad	UA	1.06	0	1	0	31	0	32
30.	Allahabad	UA	1.05	1	0	0	17	1	19
31.	Amritsar	UA	1.01	1	0	0	30	0	31
32.	Rajkot	UA	1.00	1	0	0	8	0	9
33.	Jaipur	MC	2.32	1	0	0	0	0	1
34.	Ludhiana	MC	1.40	1	0	0	0	0	1
35.	Faridabad	MC	1.05	1	0	0	0	0	1

Note: UA = Urban Agglomeration, MC = Municipal Corporation, M = Municipality, MCl = Municipal Council, NP = Nagar Panchayat, CB = Cantonment Board, Non-statutory constituents comprise Census Town, Out Growth, Notified Area, Industrial Township, and Industrial Notified Area.

Source: Census of India 2001

planning and implementation of various development schemes. In course of time, these authorities have themselves become land developers or service providers giving low priority to metropolitan level planning and development.

METROS ARE INTER-GOVERNMENTAL

The wide range of economic activities, infrastructure and services required to maintain a metropolitan city have resulted in multiple organisations with multiple jurisdictions, performing multiple tasks. In essence, a metropolitan area has to be inter-governmental. The provision of a metropolitan-wide participative inter-governmental planning mechanism is therefore essential. Unfortunately metropolitan cities in India have not addressed these issues and evolved a minimum framework of governance. The Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) recognised the need for a suitable planning mechanism. The amendment suggested by JPC provides for representation of central and state government agencies as well as the municipalities in the metropolitan planning committees.

MULTIPLE TASKS IN METROPOLITAN CITIES

Improving the quality of life in metropolitan cities requires a rehauling of transport, communications, environmental management and drainage facilities involving several departments and agencies of state and central governments. Sources of water, disposal of waste, drainage, traffic, transport and air pollution are examples where a urban local body is unable to address the problems by itself. The scale of services needed in the metropolitan areas is rather huge and it is not possible for an urban local body to address all of these by itself. The provision of infrastructure and civic services and their maintenance in metropolitan areas require an inter-municipal or multi-municipal collaborative as well as coordinated arrangement between the various levels of governments, the public and private sector, and the citizenry.

Institutional Fragmentation

Municipal corporations and municipalities comprising the metropolitan urban agglomerations have been endowed with power and authority, thus enabling them to function as institutions of self-government in their respective domain. Development authorities have also been established in metropolitan cities for planning

and preparing development plans, with executive functions such as land development and housing. In addition, a number of specialised agencies have also been established for specific functions like water supply and sewerage, public transport, and housing etc., with varying degrees of autonomy and functional responsibilities. Consequent to the emergence of these parastatal agencies, the authority of municipal bodies has been diminished.

Some institutional arrangements have been made with inter-departmental, inter-municipal planning and coordination through development authorities in some metropolitan cities such as Kolkata, Chennai, Mumbai and Bangalore. While all such development authorities have been addressing the issues of strategic planning, programming and coordination, some development authorities have assumed executive functions for implementing various schemes. Such arrangements are neither adequate nor serve as the solution for the problems faced by the multi-municipal metropolitan areas.

NEED FOR PLANS FOR METROPOLITAN AREAS

The metropolitan areas encompass not only the main municipal corporation but also a number of other local bodies, both urban and rural, surrounding the main city corporation. Such metropolitan areas exert influence on the economy and functioning of the surrounding hinterland. Integrated plans are required for the orderly development of the metropolitan cities and the surrounding areas. Central and state governments and their agencies undertake investments in these cities. There is a need to coordinate such investments within the framework of development plans and as per requirements of the metropolitan cities. It is in this context that the need for metropolitan-wide vision, planning, advocacy and action becomes important. Infrastructure provision such as urban transport, water supply and sanitation, waste management, public health etc. require metropolitan level planning, implementation and coordination. It is essential that there should be an inter-governmental and inter-agency framework to plan and guide metropolitan growth. In response to the above need, Article 243ZE of the 74th Constitution Amendment provides for the formation of Metropolitan Planning Committee (MPC) for a metropolitan area. Although there are 15 states, which have metropolitan areas, so far only eight states (Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal) have

passed enabling laws. Among them, West Bengal and Maharashtra, are the only two states to make separate acts for the constitution of MPC. The MPC has actually been set up only for Kolkata in West Bengal in the year 2001 therefore making West Bengal the first state to constitute an MPC so far. The Chief Minister of the state who is also the Chairman of the Kolkata MPC and the Minister-in-charge of Municipal Affairs and Urban Development and the Mayor of Kolkata Municipal Corporation area are actively involved in Kolkata MPC. The Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority (KMDA) serves as its secretariat.

THE 74ᵀᴴ CAA AND METROPOLITAN PLANNING

As per the 74th Constitution Amendment, it is obligatory for state governments to constitute a Metropolitan Planning Committee (MPC) in every metropolitan area. The metropolitan area is defined as an "area having a population of 10 lakhs or more, comprised in one or more districts and consisting of two or more municipalities or panchayats or other contiguous areas, specified by the Governor by public notification of a metropolitan area." The multi-municipal character is therefore an essential requirement of a metropolitan area. The main task of the MPC, as per Article 243ZE of the Constitution, is the preparation of a draft development plan for the metropolitan area. The MPC is required to integrate urban and rural planning, facilitate the development of regional infrastructure and promote environmental conservation. In preparing the development plan, the MPC is required to give due regard to the following:

- The plans prepared by the municipalities and the panchayats in the metropolitan area;
- Matters of common interest between the panchayats and municipalities including spatial planning, share of water and natural resources, integrated development of infrastructure and environmental conservation;
- The overall objectives and priorities set by the central and the state government;
- The extent and nature of investments likely to be made in the metropolitan area by agencies of the central and the state government and other available resources.

As per the Constitution Amendment, the Metropolitan Planning Committee brings the whole exercise of metropolitan development planning into a

constitutional mandate and provides a platform with two-thirds of the members comprising elected representatives of the urban and rural segments of the metropolitan area and the remaining one-third as nominees of the state and central governments. the MPC provides a platform for bringing together the local, state and central government agencies along with the private sector to help formulate a metropolitan strategy. The MPC has thus been conceived as an inter-governmental, inter-organisational collaborative and participatory forum for visioning exercise for metropolitan planning. Such planning covers not merely physical planning but also other related and crucial aspects such as the formulation of metropolitan perspective, capital investment coordination, and metropolitan level advocacy etc.

FORMULATION OF CITY DEVELOPMENT PLAN (CDP) UNDER JNNURM

A City Development Plan (CDP) with a perspective of 20 years is anchored on the JNNURM; all participating cities are required to prepare a CDP indicating their vision, policies, strategies, projects and financing plans, before they can apply for central assistance. JNNURM guidelines for project preparation focus heavily on city and city-based activities. The 2001 Census throws light on the spatial pattern of metros. Out of 35 metropolitan cities, 32 are multi-municipal agglomerations and these should not be guided by a single-municipality approach leading to city-centric investment only. The present spatial growth of urbanisation, its demography, economy and infrastructure would be equally important. The guidelines also miss out on the concept of the metropolitan region. The basic services such as water supply, sewerage and sanitation and solid waste management can neither be planned nor sustained without considering the city region, as these services go beyond the traditional municipal boundaries.

Interfacing CDP with Master Plan

The traditional approach to planning has been to prepare a long-term plan known as the Master Plan, that is statutorily adopted, and made the basis for infrastructure and land use regulations and control. All the cities included under the JNNURM have an approved Master Plan. The City Development Plan (CDP) is not a design for the city but a summation of where that city is at present and where it is attempting to go. The Master Plan indicates a spatial

configuration of land for various uses along with a network of roads, identified areas to be preserved and conserved etc. The Master Plans therefore have the advantage of indicating the future spatial development which can be integrated with the investment proposals arising out of the CDPs. Such an approach will help in interfacing the legal instrument of city planning i.e., Master Plan with a project oriented city planning and development system. CDPs should therefore be interfaced with master plans. The 'Urban Development Plan Formulation and Implementation (UDPFI)

guidelines' circulated by the Ministry of Urban Development may also help in formulation of CDPs. The JNNURM aims to establish a city-wide framework for planning and governance. The mechanism suggested above may help to evolve an appropriate framework for city planning and governance in cities included in JNNURM. This needs to be reinforced by constituting MPCs, which are mandatory under the 74th Constitution Amendment. The MPC should be an integral part of the JNNURM guidelines.

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City Development Plan (CDP): How Innovative is the Concept? - A Study of Kolkata Situation

SIBABRATA HALDER

ABSTRACT

The recently undertaken JNNURM, arguably the single largest government initiative so far, for renewing basic urban infrastructure and slum rehousing in older core areas of metro cities and large cities in India, needs some serious rethinking. As an essential prerequisite for qualifying for the investment support, cities are required to prepare 'City Development Plans', which should aim at integrating both the future 'Vision' for cities as well as long range 'Perspective' for undertaking such development works in comprehensive and financially sustainable manner to provide responsive and transparent urban governance.

Even cursory examination of the very sketchy and completely opaque CDP of Kolkata reveals several vital shortcomings regarding the basic understanding of the concept of urban renewal itself, clearly underlining the perceptual problems of its makers regarding just appreciation of existing ground realities of Kolkata's city core areas – which are the traditional abode of more than three million slum dwellers. This paper attempts a critical evaluation of certain major upcoming issues regarding further rationality for the Plan and Programme, both in the context of Kolkata metropolis.

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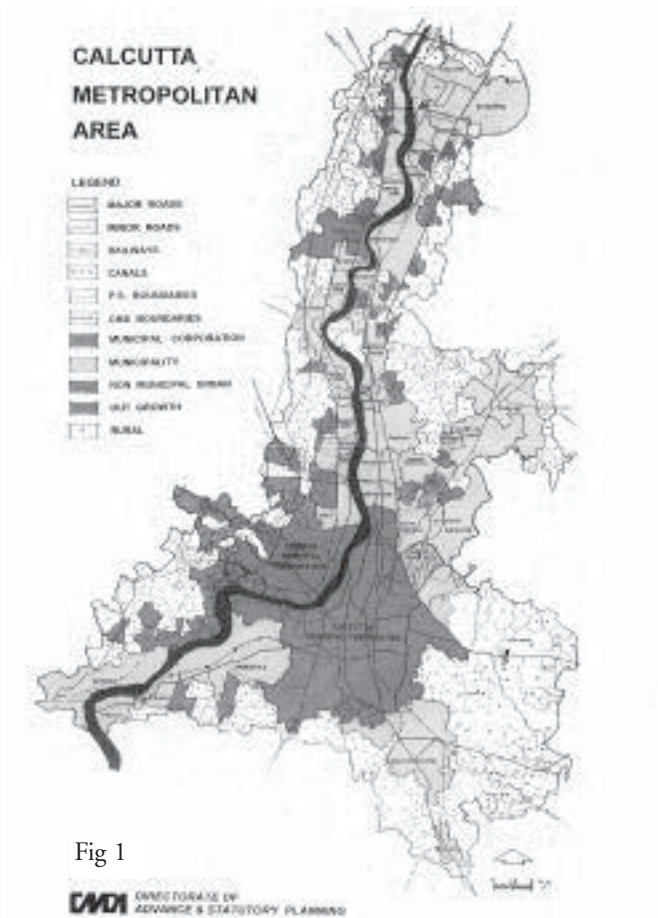
Fig 1

DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS

The magnitude and complexity of development problems in urban India, like cities of most other developing countries, has assumed serious proportions in recent decades. In spite of some sporadic efforts made by local governments, national government and international development agencies, the quality of life within the urban areas, especially in metropolitan and large cities, is worsening day by day.

There are two fundamental reasons behind this: first, the rapid pace of migration to the large cities and metropolitan centres and consequently very high rate of urbanisation, that has caught most of our city administrators and planners at best under prepared; and secondly, the acute poverty level of the urban poor leaves very little choice for the policy makers to choose appropriate intervention models of urban development.

As Cassen (1994) has rightly pointed out, "the poverty is not going down much in the third world… the

proportion of people below poverty is stagnating, possibly rising… and the numbers (of people) under poverty are certainly rising".

Indeed our larger urban areas have really become 'the cities of the poor'with considerable section of households in them living below the poverty line. The situation demands that we explore different approaches and strategies to tackle these gigantic development problems that have made our cities - a living hell.

Certain recent changes in global macro issues, like that in world's political and economic order, economic liberalisation and market reforms etc. have already put considerable strain on the national development agenda. Add to these, there is concern for massive population growth and deteriorating urban environment, rising poverty, protracted ethnic tensions and terrorism, besides the usual ones, like lack of housing, basic services, education, health and jobs. These trends nevertheless send some ominous signals regarding the existing development perceptions of the decision makers and city managers. The problems tend to challenge the efficacy of present development strategies and programmes which, so far have been considered as models for urban development. In fact, if one looks at much of the development activities that are going on around the rapidly changing cities, it is obvious that little of these development activities are planned in any systematic way. Most development taking place around the cities and towns are piecemeal in nature and often hardly sustainable in the long run. Yet, the above position is encouraged by the politicians, administrators, and planners and endorsed by professional institutions.

URBAN RENEWAL

Historically cities have always been considered rightly, as the engines for growth and driving force for economic and social development and centre for administration, commerce and industries for the country. As the cities grow bigger and bigger in population and in size, their functional magnitude and complexity expand many fold. Thus urban areas constantly change with time, in their land use, built, form and environment, as a result of market demands and societal demands. In as much as these changes affect the physical structure and fabric of urban areas, it is regarded as a process, which planners call 'Urban Renewal' (C. Couch, 1990).

The term 'urban renewal' is of American origin, which

was coined by Miles Collines in mid 1950s in the context of America's redevelopment initiatives in their older parts of towns and cities (inner-cities) including the Central Business District. In practice, however, urban renewal turned out to be primarily an exercise of removal of sub-optimal land uses, low income housing, slums and creating space for more profitable economic uses, like commerce and business, luxury residential development or provision of high technology transport facilities in exchange.

Financing pattern of the projects under the Mission would be as under:

Category of Cities/Towns/Urban Agglomerations	Grant Central	State	ULB or Para-statal Share or loan from Financial Institutions
Cities / UAs with 4 million plus population as per 2001 census	35%	15%	50%
Cities / UAs with million plus but less than 4 million population as per 2001 census	50%	20%	30%
Cities/towns / UAs in North Eastern States and Jammu & Kashmir	90%	10%	-
Cities / UAs other than those mentioned above	80%	10%	10%

The perceptions about urban renewal and re-development of cities are now fast changing. Until recently, the principal policy instrument had been concerned with physically renewing those parts of the urban fabric affected by blight and beautifying the cities. To a minor degree the policy also accepted its social and economic obligations, but never responded to larger issues, like environmental capacities of cities to accommodate changes. However, since 1980s it has been realised that it is no longer adequate to treat only the symptoms of urban decay or blight. Greater emphasis ought to be placed more on tackling the causes of city's degeneration, which are held to lie in the declining social and economic situation of the cities. Thus modern urban renewal programme and practices incorporates conscious planned intervention for economic regeneration and rehabilitation as well as its concern for environment, apart from its long standing pre-occupation with physical and infrastructural improvements.

JNNURM – AN INDIAN ANSWER TO URBAN RENEWAL PROBLEMS

As an answer to meet the long standing challenge for financing, urban renewal programme for large cities in India, JNNURM was inaugurated. On paper it aimed at encouraging reforms and fast track planned development of selected Indian cities (only 63 metropolitan and large cities of India out of 5 161 total urban units, covering about 120 million or two-fifth of the total urban population as per 2001 census) to convert them into 'world class' cities. Focus of this

mission is to achieve 'efficiency in urban infrastructure and service delivery mechanism, community participation and accountabilities of urban local bodies towards the citizen' (JNNURM Tool kit, 2005). The mission document is conspicuously silent over several other vital issues, like socio-economic regenerations of affected persons, environmental capacities and sustainability of such physical improvement measures.

The mission comprises two Sub-Missions:

- Development of infrastructure, like water supply, sewerage and sanitation, solid waste management, road network, urban mass transportation, redevelopment of old city areas, etc.
- Undertaking integrated development of slums through projects for providing shelter, basic services and civic amenities to the urban poor.

Besides the two above Sub-Missions, the JNNURM also aims at creating economically productive, efficient and responsive cities focusing on improvement.

MISSION BACKGROUND

Rapid growth of urban population has its obvious implications for the infrastructure and service needs of the cities. The rapid rate of urbanisation has not only out paced infrastructure provisions in cities but also has brought in its strength a terrible down slide in housing supply, transport, water supply and sanitation, which are most visible in proliferation of slums, increasing homelessness, growing urban poverty, congestion in streets and pollutions; resulting

irreparable ecological damage to the cities. Despite various previous attempts to make the cities shine, the progress has not been significant because of their adhoc, piecemeal and unsustainable nature.

Being fully concerned with rapid urban degeneration, in 2001 the Union Urban Development Ministry launched the Good Urban Governance Campaign (GUGC) for the cities in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations Centre for Human Settlement (UNCHS). Thereafter a number of Draft National Policies like, National Urban Transportation Policy, National Slum Policy and National Hawkers Policy were drafted but never finalised or implemented.

The next government, which came into power in 2004, modified the government's stance and initially accepted the policy of increased disbursement of credit and grants on urban issues. Under their Common Minimum Programme (CMP) the government expressed its concern on urban issues and committed to undertake 'a comprehensive programme of urban renewal and to a massive expansion of social housing in towns and cities, paying particular attention to the needs of slum dwellers' (CMP, 2004). Launching of the National Urban Renewal Mission, named after Pt. Jahawarlal Nehru, the late Prime Minister of India, is its outcome.

The programme was evolved mainly by merging some of the existing urban development schemes of Indian government and bringing them under a single umbrella. In future the cities, selected for JNNURM assistance, will receive finance from this platform provided that concerned states and local government fulfill the mandatory and optional reforms of urban governance, prescribed in the programme. The mandatory reforms included repeal of urban land ceiling laws, rent control acts and stamp duties etc., which were incidentally earlier included in the Urban Reform Incentive Fund (URIF) provision.
Basic features of the financing provision are as follows:
- Percentage of central assistance, as mentioned above, would be the maximum assistance available under JNNURM.
- In case any JNNURM project is also approved for Externally Aided Project (EAP), the funds will be treated as an extra contribution to the State Government contributed by State / ULBs / FIs and JNNURM funds can be used as GOI contribution.
- If necessary, internal resources of implementing

agencies, Member of Parliament, Local Area Development and Member of Legislative Assembly, Local Area Development funds may be substituted for institutional finance.
- In case of Urban Transport projects, the standard pattern of assistance of 35 percent will not apply. The authority, while considering any such project proposal, may decide the level of equity and / or loan to be provided by the Central Government.
- In order to prepare City Development Plan (CDP), Detailed Project Reports (DPRs), training and capacity building, community participation, Information, Education and Communication (IEC), etc. a provision of extra 5 percent of the Central Grant or the actual requirement, whichever is less, may be kept for sanction to cities / towns covered under the Mission.
- In addition, not more than 5 percent of the Central Grant or the actual requirement, whichever is less, may be used for Administrative and Other Expenses (A&OE) by the States.
- The total cumulative combined investment by Central and State Governments and urban local bodies of over Rs. 100,000 crores is proposed to be spent on this programme in the next years, i.e. 2005 to 2011. Of this Centre's share would be about Rs. 50,000 crores and the remaining Rs. 50,000 crores would be arranged by local bodies with the close co-operation of State Governments.
- Though the Centre's commitment works out to loan disbursement of average Rs. 10,000 crores annually, it is expected that in the initial years there would be a time lag in working out the preliminaries, thus the Central funding structure will be as follows:

  First Year   :   Rs. 6,000 crores
  Second Year :   Rs. 9,000 crores
  Third Year   :   Rs. 12,000 crores
  Fourth Year :   Rs. 15,000 crores
  Fifth Year   :   Rs. 8,000 crores

CDP TO GUIDE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

An important prerequisite in the process of qualifying for investment support under the JNNURM, is that each city would have to prepare a 'City Development Plan' (CDP) that shall inter alias include strategies to implement city-level improvement schemes, City Investment Plan (CIP) and financing strategies and City management reforms to address two sub-missions, i.e. Urban infrastructural needs and governance and Basic Services to the Urban poor, for

the city in a sustainable manner (Shelter, 2006). The City Development Plan is yet another new nomenclature for planning in the realm of urban development planning. According to the JNNURM text the CDP is a 'vision statement of where the city wishes to go, within a given timeframe, and it is often expressed in terms of clear expectations'. It defines the potential of the city and…all objectives, strategies; programme and projects (for the city) must be aligned with the vision of the city. Although the CDP is not a statutory document, it must be ensured that it is not inconsistent with the (City) Master Plans. At the initial phase of town planning, Master Plans were more accepted and popular terminology for such purpose. Gradually from mid 1960's a system of Structure Planning concept was evolved as an outcome from dissatisfaction with traditional Master Plans, due to their severe limitations with respect to the fast changing socio-economic context of urban areas and their implications on many aspects of plan implementations. The Structure Plan, as a flexible strategic document, was intended to provide a broad development framework for subsequent local plans.

The Urban Development Plans Formulation and Implementation (UDPFI) guidelines of the Government of India; in 1996 suggested a multi-level planning mechanism for undertaking urban development works, in accordance with the spirit of the 74th Constitution Amendment Act, 1992. These are: The Perspective Plan (for city and its immediate region), Development Plan (for the municipal area), Annual Plans (only financial break up for annual investments) and Project Plans (of individual schemes). Of these the Perspective Plan 'provides a long term (usually 20-25 years) perspective of development…covering social, economic and spatial development goals, policies and priorities relating to all those urban activities that have spatial implications (in the city)…' (UDPFI, 1996). It also covers long term policies regarding development of infrastructure and resource mobilisation that are necessary to promote these urban activities.

The CDP also attempts to integrate both future visions for the city and perspective plan for undertaking development works for the city in the long run. Theoretically the CDP is a product of four interdependent overlapping stages of planning exercise:
- Rapid Assessment of current stage of development in the first stage; which includes in-depth review and analysis of existing demographic, socio-

economic, physical, environmental, infrastructural, financial and institutional aspects of the city to identify major strength, weaknesses, opportunities and threats concerning city's future development prospects and investment scenario.
- The next stage is development of a vision for the city in future and working out long-term perspective for the city's development using the results of the former stage in a participatory planning process through multilevel consultation with all the major stakeholders and the public; who are the end users of the plan.
- The third stage involves working out detail strategies and programmes for future development – long range as well as short range, within the over all framework presented in 'the vision' and city's perspective plan. At this stage trade-off is necessary between competing demands to decide about priorities for action; which is again decided through stakeholders appropriate consultative process.
- Final stage in preparation of a 'City Investment Plan' (CIP) and financing strategies as an integral part of the development planning process. Under this stage alternative financial strategy for resource mobilisation for undertaking city's development is explored.

In short the CDP prepared under JNNURM aims at creating productive, efficient and responsive city and administration system which focuses on the development of economic and social infrastructure on a sustainable basis, which ensures a better service delivery of essential municipal services to all citizens, especially the urban poor and which aim at undertaking necessary organisational, legal and fiscal reforms for strengthening municipal governance including streamlining financial procedures and creations of an administrative structure for bringing in accountability, equity and transparency in service delivery.

THE KOLKATA CONTEXT

The Kolkata Metropolitan Area (KMA) is a giant conurbation of cities, towns and non-municipal urban units, spreading over an area of about 1,851 square kilometers, which have developed together and ultimately coalesced in a linear pattern along both the banks of the river Hoogly, which was the historical communication route for colonising foreign powers (Fig.1). Kolkata is presently the second most populous city in India, only next to Greater Mumbai. As per

census 2001, the population of KMA was 14.72 million. It is also the seventh largest mega city in the whole world. Kolkata and Howrah Municipal Corporation areas form the core of metropolitan district where about 5.59 million (42.30 percent) people live over only sixteen percent of the area and these cities together accommodate 59 percent of the city's total urban poor.

Three centuries old Kolkata, which emerged out from three native villages, namely Sutanuti, Kalikata and Gobindopur in 1690, followed a traditional course of urban development and physical growth pattern like most other contemporary colonial cities of the developing world. Barring limited exceptions within and around its 'White Town' or the European quarters, the town was never laid out on the basis of any predetermined plan or programme. Instead, the spontaneously grown up settlements expanded and coalesced through intuitive and instinctive actions of haphazard accretion and conversion, leading to 'an organic growth' of the town.

The town itself, extending over seven square miles in 1850, was basically a city of hutments, which later transformed into the great *'bustees'* of Kolkata. Traditionally the core city areas have become the main province for the urban poor. They are either engaged in city's proliferating informal sector economy or complex urban services, so characteristic to most metropolitan commercial and business centers.

A survey of the area reveals that the bulk of core city area in Kolkata suffers from age and obsolescence. There the built form is more than eighty to hundred years old. The number of buildings constructed during nineteenth century was also considerable. Physically they look old due to their age and obsolescence. Visually they look much older because of their poor state of repair and lack or maintenance. Within buildings residential and commercial functions are so mixed up that it is difficult to decipher their individual use zones. Excepting those standing abutting major streets, a number of buildings had to be approached by narrow meandering lanes or bye lanes. Standing cheek by jowl, these buildings have hardly any spaces around. Almost entire plot areas are covered up by a combination of some *pucca* and some temporary buildings without leaving any open space save passages. These buildings rarely conform to the existing legal requirements of standard constructions for light, air and ventilations. A bulk of these structures suffers from high land value and low use

value syndrome. Yet these are not official slums in Kolkata and do not invite civic body's attention. In recent years the metropolitan Kolkata, especially the core areas in Kolkata and Howrah are experiencing tremendous urban transformation in their built form and land use due to new spate of industrial development and resurgent economy that is currently prevailing in Bengal. Its manifestation is reflected in construction of new buildings and infrastructure at a rapid pace. Brushing aside cynicism of the past, this metropolis is again fast re-emerging as a showpiece of modern metropolis, brimming with new opportunities, optimism and dynamism.

In the past being caught in the vicious cycle of different pressure groups, programme for Kolkata's renewal and revitalisation has suffered too long; either from the apathy and negligence of the stakeholders or from procrastination and institutional inertia of the government or the administration. Piecemeal and symbolic approaches for development that were adopted in the past to solve complex problems of this city have always proved to be cosmetic and obviously without much significant impacts. With rapid changes in the global economic scenario and its consequent impact on inner city land uses, the pressure for urban redevelopment within older areas is likely to intensify considerably in future.

Apprehension is that unless suitable corrective actions are taken promptly and proper physical, legal and administrative base are prepared and laid out now for developments, the opportunity for urban regeneration through renewal and resultant systematic restructuring possibilities of KMA's core areas would be lost. Admittedly the task of development management within three centuries city is by no means simple often requiring multifaceted public and private intervention approaches. But an honest beginning to this effect is long overdue.

THE VISION - 2025 AND PERSPECTIVE PLAN FOR KMA

Beset with the unparallel magnitude of urban problems and challenges in the immediate post independent era Kolkata has had the pioneering experience of urban planning and development since early 1960's, mainly sponsored by the international agencies, like the Ford Foundation and the World Bank. Thereafter during last three decades, mainly prompted by the conditionality of the national and international donor agencies, some major changes have taken place in policies, strategies

and programme for developmental activities within metropolitan Kolkata. A number of plans covering different facets of urban development have been prepared under different titles for serving various purposes. Realising that only the planned intervention can bring about desired level of development, most of the older planning documents have been either updated or revised, wherever necessary. In recent year's awareness and concern about some new emerging trends for management of urban areas, like environment, slum improvement, socio-economic upliftment of the urban poor, heritage conservation, wet land protection, public participation, etc. have come into fore and recognised by the stakeholders and the city administrators alike.

A major breakthrough regarding need for holistic planning for metropolitan areas have resulted through enactment of the Metropolitan Planning Committee Act for Kolkata (1994) under the directive of 74th Constitution Amendment Act. Incidentally Kolkata was the first city to enact the legislation of such kind. Subsequently a plan document entitled 'Vision 2025: Perspective Plan of KMA' has been prepared and approved by the Kolkata Metropolitan Planning Committee in January, 2006.

The Plan is expected to provide a long-term vision and direction for future growth of settlements and economic activities in KMA, in tune with the State Development policies and strategies, keeping in view the national, regional, state and above all the sub-state / metropolitan contexts. In preparing the perspective plan, a through inventory of all infrastructure and services existing at the district, CD Block as well as municipal and panchayet level have been prepared. This document, therefore, would provide a development perspective with a new horizon for metropolitan Kolkata upto 2025. The plan also includes development strategies and sectoral action programme for development of infrastructures. The perspective plan has been drawn up with the following objectives:

- Metropolitan Kolkata to develop as the strong industrial and intellectual hub of the region.
- Utilisation of all resources efficiently for development including urban land.
- Conservation of natural reserve and heritage.
- Up-gradation of the existing major urban centers within the metropolitan region to continue to play their role in city's future development.
- Provision of essential basic civic services to all for healthy and sanitary living in future.

- Provision of social amenities, community facilities and securities to all.
- Stabilise urban growth within KMA by the time horizon of 2025 AD.
- Achieve an aesthetically pleasing cohesive urban form

THE CITY DEVELOPMENT PLAN OF KOLKATA

The perspective plan is a statement of policies framed by integrating different spatial, economic and environmental system for macro region as a whole in a comprehensive manner including drawing up of priorities, strategies for implementation, phasing and monitoring of investment decisions. To make perspective plan meaningful and implementable, smaller time bound development plans need to be evolved for sub-state or micro-regional level. The preparation of city level development plans, fills up this category; together they make the whole perspective for the metro region. In case of Kolkata the CDP has heavily drawn from the Perspective Plan. In some cases only, namely infrastructure sector, the objectives have been elaborated more precisely with physically achievable targets in time bound manner with approximate fiscal requirements and general standards of development. But in most other areas, more significantly in housing or regeneration of slum areas or in environment sectors it is remarkably sketchy, if not tentative. The principle targets of Kolkata's CDP as mentioned in the plan for next two decades are:

- Integration of different heterogeneous land uses and develop an integrated functional fabric for the metropolis.
- Identification of land to be reserved for undertaking principle activities in different hierarchical centres in future (Fig 2).
- Land unsuitable for future development for their environmental sensitivity reasons (e.g. wetlands and forests) should be protected from development. (Fig 3) River courses and natural drainage channels should not be disturbed by encroachments; they should be properly re-excavated or de-silted and should preferably be used for water transport facilities.
- Land used under existing agricultural or other primary sector activities should be preserved as far as possible.
- Evolving an integrated transportation system for the metropolis with roads, railways and water transport. Further a hierarchical road network
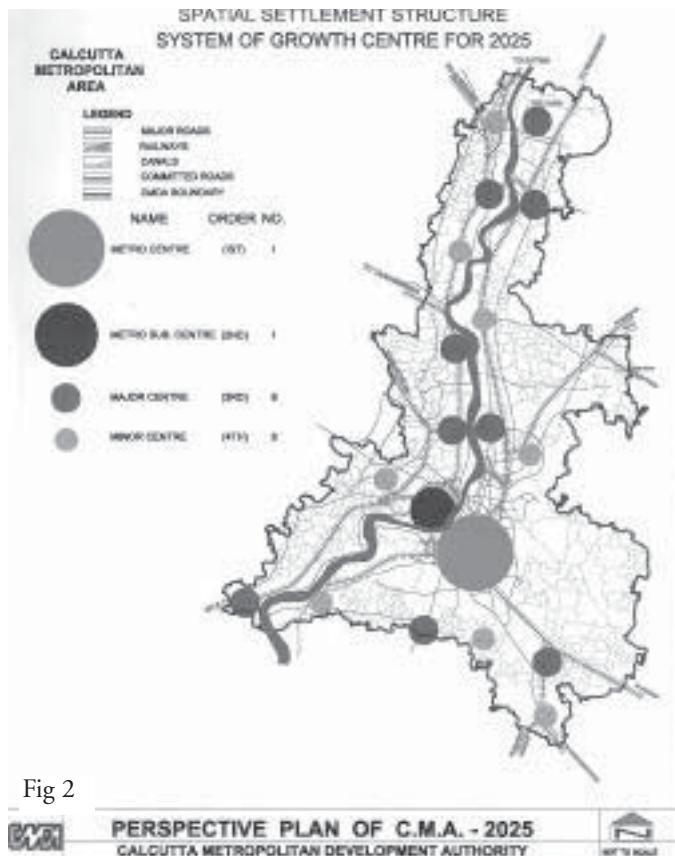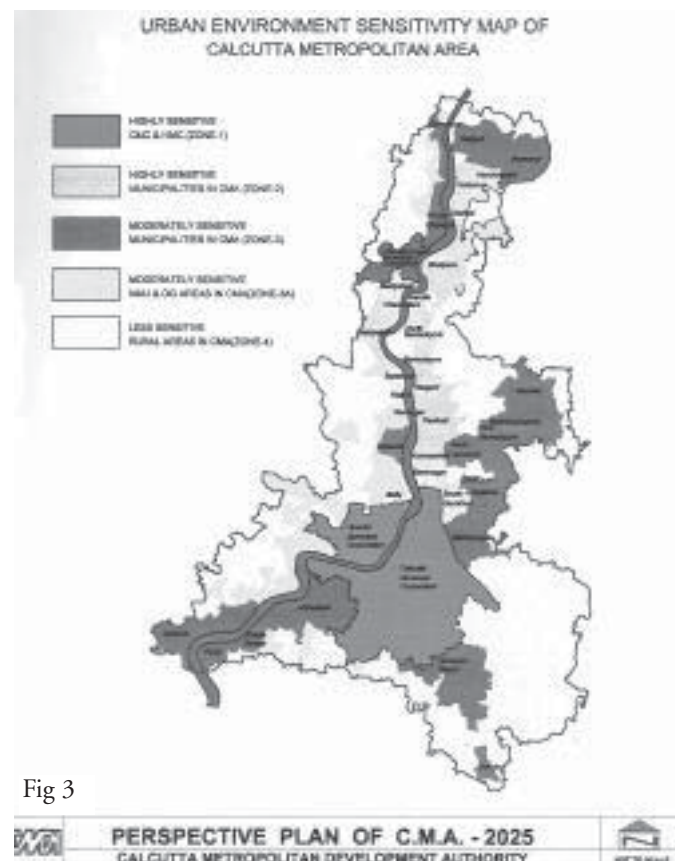
Fig 2

SPATIAL SETTLEMENT STRUCTURE
SYSTEM OF GROWTH CENTRE FOR 2025

PERSPECTIVE PLAN OF C.M.A. - 2025
CALCUTTA METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

Fig 3

URBAN ENVIRONMENT SENSITIVITY MAP OF
CALCUTTA METROPOLITAN AREA

PERSPECTIVE PLAN OF C.M.A. - 2025
CALCUTTA METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

system to be evolved to give a reasonable organised urban form for the metropolis (Fig 4).

- Development of a range of public transportation facilities option.
- Development of appropriate mechanism for parking facilities.
- Optimisation of planned infrastructure through proper traffic operation and management and traffic engineering measures.
- Augmentation and improvement of existing water supply schemes to extend piped water to entire population as far as possible.
- Sewage disposal system and sanitation situation should be improved.
- Solid waste disposal system with recycling of the wastes in a scientific, environmentally acceptable manner.
- Existing deficiencies in social amenities, especially in the field of education and health, should be eliminated.
- Historical, Cultural and Natural areas and Heritage structures and areas should be conserved and tourism development options to be explored. (The City Development Plan : Kolkata, 2005)

CDP OF KOLKATA: A CRITIQUE

Over Emphasis on infrastructure improvements
However the list of programme based on CDP for Kolkata, fail to incorporate most of the above promises. Initial project list seeking JNNURM funding included only some of the infrastructure development engineering projects; five water supply schemes and one drainage scheme. The second list includes four road development (fly-over) projects, two drainage and one area development (Kumartoli) projects. Except for last mentioned project there has been an overt emphasis on only infrastructure improvement in selected areas. It is not definite whether the list only contains top priority projects. Because most of these projects are figuring in different sets of old metropolitan development plans and dropped for the lack of finance. Incidentally Kolkata is no exception in this matter; most cities recipient of the JNNURM grant have invested on infrastructure development schemes alone.

Negligence in slum improvement and housing

It is the second major sub-mission of JNNURM to provide basic services to the urban poor. The main thrust of this sub-mission will be the integrated development of slum areas of the selected city through projects for providing shelter, basic services, other

amenities, like convergence of health, education and social security, (neither economic opportunities nor gainful employment opportunities) etc. It is almost every city administrations' knowledge that the slum areas are the main province where renewals are most urgent, especially in Kolkata where nearly one fourth of the total metropolitan population lives under slums. But the issue did not receive any priority as stated. Admittedly some slum areas in Kolkata have been receiving assistance from foreign agencies. But large majority of slum areas do not enjoy similar advantages. They need the JNNURM finance for undertaking up-grading and renewal of their settlements.

Non-slum high density settlement areas

As mentioned earlier in this paper, there are substantial areas within metropolitan core of Kolkata which are not officially declared as slum areas but the physical conditions that prevails in such areas are similar to or worse than Kolkata slums. Such areas enjoy high land values and hence development pressures are perceptible. Yet it appears that the CDP of Kolkata has no programme for such areas and it is totally left to the market forces to undertake any form of intervention measures. By undertaking large scale renewal in these prime areas significant de-congestion could have been achieved.

A major task of urban renewal is to up grade infrastructure in existing high density residential and commercial areas, where the Kolkata CDP is remarkably silent nor the city has sent any scheme for such purpose.

No public involvement in preparing CDP

It has been stated that using the results of analysis of existing situation combined with consultations with key stakeholders and the civil society, a future vision for the city would be developed regarding where the city wants to be in the long run. It should be a collective vision. In another place it has been mentioned that CDP is a far more comprehensive document and would subsume the master plan. But it is not a statutory document. It is mostly prepared by one of the enlisted consultants as in the case of Kolkata. Only a handful key officials in KMDA, have seen the CDP document and probably had the opportunity to comment on the city's future vision. Therefore, the participatory planning for preparation of CDP is clearly absent, in case of Kolkata. It is doubtful

Fig 4

PROPOSED ROAD NETWORK IN CMA

TRANSPORTATION CIRCLE - PROJECT PLANNING UNIT - CMDA

that good quality CDP can be conceived without any peoples participation which has been vouched as the very objective of this mission - In reality, it will be a plan prepared by the list of paneled consultants of the politicians and bureaucrats for the people.

Prior Master Plan for the city is a prerequisite

The JNNURM guidelines indicate 'CDP to become a far more comprehensive vision document and would subsume the master plan'. Fortunately, Kolkata does not have any master plan to be subsumed in the CDP. The CDP has been prepared as a stand alone document, albeit voluminous, but contains details of infrastructural projects and some area development projects, like Kumartoli (the potters' and image makers' colony) and others. The Vision – 2025 and Perspective Plan for KMA is already there. Therefore the purpose of preparing another document in another name is difficult to understand as it only adds to

further confusion, even to the bureaucrats who are implementing JNNURM funded projects. Traditionally the master plans have the necessary background for undertaking renewal in older parts of the cities and they are essentially 'statutory' documents.

A City Development Scheme without any land acquisition requirement

The eligibility criteria for the JNNURM projects, clearly mentions that 'land cost will not be financed except for acquisition of private land for schemes and projects in north-east states and hills of north India'. And at the same breath it refers to security of tenure as a key reform, especially to ensure the continued supply of houses at affordable (low) cost for the urban poor, slum dwellers and low income groups. In city like Kolkata, where slums and similar settlements are mostly located on privately owned land, how security of tenure could be ensured to the beneficiaries without public acquisition of such lands? It must be remembered that historically a large number of inner-city slums of Kolkata are located on prime areas where land values are very high and they are most potential areas for large scale urban renewal. It is indeed puzzling as to how urban renewal schemes for these areas can be implemented without any land acquisition.

CONCLUSION

The JNNURM has been hailed in most government publications as 'the single largest and most important initiative of the Government of India for planned

development of identified cities and metros'. It is true that the government's initiative is commendable and on paper, the objectives are great. But problems lie with the basic perception of the policy makers regarding appreciation of ground realities in our urban areas, specially in slums. The problem is really much bigger than mere allocation of large funding for infrastructure development or slum housing. (Jain, 2006) During the past two Five Years Plans, a number of such urban development policies and funding schemes, like, IDSMT, URIS, SJRY, VAMBAY, CCF, etc. have been tried out and their effectiveness in improving the living qualities in the cities and slums are not questionable. One basic reason for their very limited impact on the urban scene is that they were primarily politically driven, imposed by the Union government. They were never conceived in the light of peoples' priorities, lacked planning dimension and implemented half-heartedly by the states. That is why the need for good quality CDPs' is so very important for proper realisations of the stated objectives of the Mission. But the author is apprehensive that like many similar previous efforts the present Mission suffers from a poor understanding of the nature of problems and possibility of solutions. It appears that its' policy makers have largely been influenced by the players from large private houses, especially the national and international real estate agencies and business houses, ready with hundred percent FDI support, to capture construction industry under the umbrage of some mission or other. A predictable and highly undesirable consequence of these influences is that the convergence of interests of this group which have been reflected in the conditionality of the urban reforms agenda.

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Participatory Urban Governance – the Issue of Elite Capture into Delhi

DEBOLINA KUNDU[1]

ABSTRACT

The empowerment of civil societies to take up urban development in metropolitan cities has gained currency in recent years. Importantly, the decade of the nineties has witnessed a sea change in urban governance. The economic liberalisation initiated in the country, followed by the decentralisation measures adopted by all tiers of the government, has resulted in a gradual withdrawal of the state and increasing private sector participation. Attempts have been made to fill the institutional vacuum thus created by non-governmental organisations and community-based organisations.

Further, the limited success of the wards committees to usher in decentralised governance has led to the mushrooming of civil societies as partners in the development process. The functioning of these societies, which are concentrated mainly in the planned colonies, may have serious consequences in accentuating intra-city inequalities in the level of amenities and infrastructural facilities. Of late, these societies have received unprecedented importance in the National Capital Territory (NCT) as they have been empowered by the Master Plan to determine the land use of the colonies. One may, however, be cautioned that the very mechanism of the functioning of civil societies, which are commonly known as Resident Welfare Associations (RWAs), is likely to institutionalise disparity within the cities.

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INTRODUCTION

The past two decades in India has witnessed a slowing down of the rate of growth of the urban population. Coupled with this, the relatively slow growth of urban population in India, particularly that of metropolitan cities, as compared to the growth rate of the Less Developed Countries (LDCs) has led to the hypothesis of exclusionary urban growth *(Kundu et al, 2005)*. At the time of Independence and the beginning of the era of planned development, it was envisaged that it would be possible to regulate inmigration as well as population distribution within cities and have effective urban planning through master plans. However, these policies did not work. The elite, businessmen, industrialists and the organised middle class violated the master plan norms and this has led to the unplanned growth of cities.

During the past few decades, concern has been voiced about unplanned urban growth as it is coming in the way of attracting investment and entrepreneurship from both within and outside the country (Kundu, 2002). The government could not stop urban explosion through the administrative system. It gave titles to slum dwellers in a limited number of cases urging the community to ensure that no encroachment takes place. However, the corruption of city authorities and police resulted in the haphazard growth of cities. Further, non-governmental organisations (NGOs)

supported the poor. The court had also played a major role in stopping eviction by issuing stay orders (Kundu and Kundu, 2005).[2] Politicians who had a vested interest in the vote banks also did not allow much eviction. Given all these, a new perspective has emerged where by the community shall be responsible for restricting entry and implementing laws and bye-laws. The launching of the programmes of economic liberalisation and the enactment of the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA) in the early nineties has led to the launching of decentralised governance. The period of the nineties has seen significant measures to make a few large cities more attractive for investments both from within as well as outside the country (*Kundu et al, 1999*). It has become important to sanitize the cities, improve the quality of services, at least in select localities and improve the law and order situation to create a congenial living environment for the entrepreneurial class, businessmen, executives and multinationals (*Kundu, 2006*). Furthermore, macro-policies are helping slow down the rate of migration into large cities and pushing squatter settlements out of the city or at least from the better off areas.[3] This has accelerated the process of segmentation and accentuated intra-city disparity.

The stipulation in the 74th CAA regarding the creation of wards committees has been interpreted differently in different states. Most of the states have provided for the creation of a handful of "wards committees" in these cities by clubbing several wards. As a result of this "liberal and politically convenient interpretation" of the Act, there are only 12 Wards Committees in Delhi, the population per ward committee was about 1.25 million in Delhi in 2001 (MCD, 2002). Due to the large sizes of such constituencies, these committees do not represent the problems of the people at the grass root level and often stand in the way of ensuring proximity and accountability between the people and their elected representatives.

Since the past few years, attempts have also been made to involve the communities in the management of services within the cities. Community groups or resident welfare associations (RWAs) are being encouraged not only in the maintenance of services but also in making capital investment. The municipal responsibility of provision of services is being increasingly passed on to the RWAs.

Given the above perspective, the second section of the paper examines the operation of decentralised

governance through civil societies in the NCT of Delhi and how this is strengthening the process of sanitization and exclusionary growth of the city. The last section summarises the problems and possibilities of the participatory model of governance.

INVOLVING CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN DELHI

In metropolitan cities, involving civil societies in the management of cities has gained currency in recent years, particularly after the enactment of the 74th CAA. In many cities, e.g., in Gurgaon, Delhi and Chennai, the RWAs have formed political parties and federations to make their voices felt.

The Bhagidari Scheme was launched in January 2000 by the government of NCT of Delhi covering all the nine revenue districts of Delhi. Its basic idea was to promote Citizens-Government Partnership in governance through dialogue between the RWAs, Market and Traders Associations (MTAs), Industrial Associations, other civic agencies and public utility services (parastatals) and thereby creates a set up for participatory governance. Importantly, the RWAs participating in the Bhagidari scheme represent only the planned colonies which comprise a mere 23 percent of the population in Delhi. It is entirely funded and managed by the Delhi government.

Commencing the schemes, with only 20 RWAs, first phase developed the concept of citizen's participation with civic and government officials. In the second phase, the scheme was decentralised to the nine revenue districts. In the third phase, an attempt was made to extend it to rural areas and include education and women's empowerment. Most importantly, the active involvement of the Delhi Municipal Corporation (MCD) and the Delhi Jal Board in this scheme brought a new perspective to the concept of Bhagidari.

Presently there are over 1400 citizens groups registered with Delhi Government as their "Bhagidars". The Bhagidars get funds from the Delhi government for carrying out various activities.[4] Importantly, the nine revenue districts and the 12 MCD Zones that provide the basis for constituting WDCs are independent of each other.

INTER-INSTITUTIONAL COORDINATION

The RWAs are required to coordinate with a number of government departments as are parastatal and civic agencies. For problems related to drinking water and sanitation, they interact with Delhi Jal Board (DJB), a stakeholder in the participatory system. Despite its bureaucratic structure, the DJB responds to the RWAs by attending the joint meetings and taking immediate measures to redress the problems.[5] The RWAs, on the other hand, help DJB through collection of water bills, distribution of water through tankers, etc in their respective colonies.

Following the same model, Delhi Vidyut Board (DVB) has also established complaint cells for responding to the problems of the RWAs promptly. In several localities, electricity meter reading is being done jointly by DVB and the RWAs. More importantly, attempts are being made to involve the RWAs in decisions pertaining to revenue enhancement and its reinvestment. Of late, DVB has been unbundled into five companies as a part of power sector reforms. What is, however, important is that not only the public sector companies but even those in the private sector are participating in the Bhagidari system. Importantly, the Delhi Joint Front of RWAs has asked the Delhi Electricity Regulatory Commission (DERC) to give more powers to the RWAs that would allow them to handle local level electricity issues.

PREVENTION OF ENCROACHMENT

The RWAs are trying to sanitise their neighborhood by trying to remove encroachment and petty commercial establishments from their colonies. The Delhi Development Authority (DDA) has been brought under the participatory framework for the prevention of encroachment, maintenance of community parks and parking facilities inside the colony. The RWAs are also coordinating with Delhi Police for crime prevention and regulation of traffic in respective colonies.

The High Court has taken a strict note of the problems highlighted in a petition by a RWA against vendors, encroachments and poor sanitary conditions in the area.[6] Following a PIL, it further directed the MCD to remove the slum clusters from the colony.

INVOLVEMENT OF RWAs IN CIVIC MANAGEMENT

Some RWAs have devised their own method of tackling the problem of traffic congestion during board examinations by coordinating with the police and traffic police. Several RWAs have taken up the

responsibility of maintening streetlights, parks, roads and community halls.

RWAs FIGURE IN THE COURT PANEL TO MONITOR ILLEGAL CONSTRUCTIONS

In residential areas where mix land use is permitted, a Local Area Plan (LAP) would be formulated and implemented only after seeking the approval of RWAs.

Importantly, as per the new land use notification of DDA (2006), the provision for consulting RWAs has been reintroduced.[7] The appointment of court commissioners by the Delhi High Court to monitor illegal constructions is not new in Delhi. However, the appointment of RWA members in place of lawyers is definitely a departure from the previous organisational structure. RWAs admit that they have been successful in getting encroachments removed and shops sealed, sometimes by getting orders from the court. The Delhi Residents' Joint Front, along with the representatives of certain NGOs filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court, seeking quashing of the Delhi Laws (Special Provisions) Bill that grants one year moratorium on demolishing and sealing of properties that came up before January 1, 2006.

RWAs TAKING UP NEIGHBOURHOOD SECURITY

Neighbourhood security is being maintained by many RWAs. The MCD has framed guidelines for the installing and manning of gates in colonies by RWAs, subject to no objection from the police and the fire department and compliance with certain conditionalities. Persistent efforts by the RWA of Andrews Ganj Extension about their concerns for local security have resulted in a boundary wall being erected around the colony with three entry points to the colony. This is an example of how government agencies and RWAs are working in tandem to ensure the safety and security of the area.

RWAs VOICING PEOPLE'S CONCERNS

The hike in the power tariff after privatisation, security issues, the inaccessibility of the government and related factors have forced the RWAs into politics. The RWAs have expressed their unhappiness with the limited empowerment through Bhagidari and their desire to get actively involved to ensure better governance. Residents and Bhagidars from different parts of the city demonstrated their protest against the power tariff hike of ten percent through marches and rallies, voted against paying the hiked rates and asked for a halt to the installation of new meters. Finally, the ten percent increase in power tariffs was withdrawn after three months. The RWAs further demanded that the private power distribution companies should return the extra tariff they had charged from the consumers along with interest. The State Consumer Disputes Redressal Commission restrained these companies from charging consumers on the basis of the newly installed electronic meters on demands from the RWAs. These have been asked to recover dues based on their average bills for six months, prior to the installation of the new meters. RWAs have declared war on the water front after winning the battle against the government over the power tariff. The message from the RWAs is clear: "Give us control over distribution and we will tell you how to do the job well. And if the government does not listen, the Capital will witness another people's movement." The RWAs voiced their concerns about the ambitious 24x7 project and failed experiments in other countries.

MAINTENANCE OF CIVIC SERVICES

The Bhagidari system has encouraged RWAs to take charge of certain civic functions like sanitation services, the imposition of fines on littering, the desilting of nalahs and removal of stray and dead animals. The MCD proposes to give financial assistance, up to one hundred thousand rupees, to the RWAs who are willing to associate in this venture and undertake this responsibility. It is also proposed that the RWAs should oversee the functioning of the sanitation staff of the MCD.

Importantly, the MCD is proposing to throw open MCD parks and streets to RWAs for maintenance. The Delhi Government has also decided to hand over ten historical monuments to the RWAs for their maintenance for an annual grant of Rs.100 000. If this scheme is successful, other monuments would also be assigned to RWAs for maintenance, as per the participatory framework.

RWAs IN PLANNING AND PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING

Until recently, the resource allocation of the MCD under various heads was based on the schemes approved, without the involvement of the community. Under the new system, however, the Corporation has agreed to provide the RWAs with information about

the budget for each ward which would help the latter in prioritising their projects. This would enable the MCD to allocate funds for the projects identified through community participation within the development framework. The RWAs are thus being encouraged to be involved in the selection of projects that are to be implemented by the government departments. The government calls this participatory budgeting.

The Delhi government is making efforts to involve the RWAs in the preparation and implementation of development plans at the local level. Many of these have asked the government to strengthen the Bhagidari system through legislation by giving RWAs a legal status or by granting them control over a part of the budget so that their participation in developmental activities becomes real.

Importantly, a new fund named "My Delhi I Care" has been created for meeting the infrastructural needs of the community, which is likely to increase the role of RWAs in development planning. Initially a sum of Rs five million had been earmarked for each of the nine revenue districts of Delhi to empower citizens to supplement the infrastructural resources in the NCT without replacing the existing schemes.

PARTICIPATION IN CAPITAL PROJECTS

The Delhi government is trying to emulate the Bangalore model of participatory development by empowering RWAs to be involved in infrastructural investment. Dilshad Colony in East Delhi is first colony in Delhi to get civic projects completed by paying for it. It is important to point out that the rates charged by the DJB is about half of the normal rates, which implies that the RWAs that are able to mobilise some resources of their own could get substantial subsidy from the local government. Besides, they can get their infrastructural projects launched and completed expeditiously. Encouraged by their success, RWAs in several other colonies are also proposing capital projects like building of roads, footpaths, drainage system etc. in a similar fashion.

PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES IN THE PARTICIPATORY MODEL

The participatory framework of governance functioning through RWAs has for the first time led to the active involvement of citizens in the provision and maintenance of services. However, it is only the more

powerful RWAs who have been able to voice their concern to the exclusion of the poor. Unfortunately, under the much acclaimed Bhagidari, there is no involvement of the slums and unauthorised colonies.

Importantly, the very mechanism of the functioning of RWAs is likely to accentuate and institutionalise disparity within the cities. Within the Bhagidari system, the MCD proposes to give the responsibility of property tax collection to the RWAs, 35 percent of which will be given back to RWAs. This can then be used by the latter to improve the infrastructural facilities within their colonies. A few of the RWAs in high income areas have constructed roads with their own funds without any financial support from outside agencies. Undeniably, these would be the RWAs who would be able to take advantage of the proposed scheme as they have the awareness and affordability and can take the initiative to generate resources internally. Also, since the property taxes collected in the areas are high, the amount they would receive under the system would also be high. This process would thus help in institutionalising the mechanism that generates disparity.

The involvement of RWAs in contributing to the partial cost of the capital projects is also contributing to the accentuation of disparity within cities. It is not because of corruption but simply easier access to community funds is attracting investment from local bodies and other agencies. Those RWAs that are in a position to generate funds from among themselves, are eligible to access municipal revenues for development work in their locality.

Attempts are being made to increase the number of RWAs to cover the total area of the nine revenue districts, but understandably these this would apply to planned colonies only. The RWAs from informal settlements, particularly those representing unauthorised colonies or squatter settlements, are not Bhagidars. Although formal tenurial rights are not formal requirements for registration, the absence of that creates informal barriers.

Yet another problem in increasing the number of RWAs is the emergence of fake RWAs that are trying to make money by defrauding the community as well as the government. There is an apprehension that the "mafia" is trying to gain control of many of the RWAs. The question is how would the MCD or the Delhi government select RWAs as their partners if there are parallel associations in one colony. It is felt, quite

genuinely, that if these are not controlled or checked at this time through an appropriate institutional arrangement, these would malign the concept of Bhagidari and destroy the system in its infancy.

Importantly, several of the RWAs are being drawn into city or state politics because the existing government structure does not address local problems. A few have issued circulars for casting their vote favoring

candidates who could represent specific local needs. Some may consider this a desirable trend as it would force the authorities at higher levels to take greater interest in local issues and the provision of basic services. There is, however, a risk that higher level-decisions would be influenced by local infighting, thereby incapacitating the system to take a broader view of the issues.

Notes

[1] This paper is a revised version of a presentation at the Indo-Dutch Project at JNU, New Delhi (2006).

[2] In recent years, intervention by the judiciary has shaken the perceived security of the squatter settlements in the city.

[3] Further, the percentage of the population below poverty line has also come down sharply in the NCT as well as in other metro cities.

[4] The state government is providing Rs.1 million to each district each year for social mobilisation including conducting workshops. The state government departments like Environment and Forest, Urban Development etc. are providing financial assistance as Grant-in-Aid to NGOs for carrying out specific projects. In addition, the Government of NCT is providing financial assistance to the Bhagidars to carry out area specific development activities. Besides this, four million rupees is provided as consultancy fees and half a million rupees for documentation to the participating RWAs and MTAs. A further Rs.0.8 million is earmarked for giving awards to them for successful implementation of the Bhagidari schemes.

[5] The Delhi Jal Board's functioning came under scrutiny recently when about 260 RWAs reprimanded the government body for its sluggish working. The residents expressed their disappointment at the fact

that that no official of the DJB or the Delhi Government attended their meetings. The RWAs jointly passed a resolution to demand action from the government under the Right to Information Act.

[6] Hawkers have been restricted from entering the colony through the efforts of the Sunder Nagar RWA

[7] RWAs have decided to approach the Supreme Court to seek the nullification of the mixed land use notification.

[8] The Gurgaon Residents Party (GRP), comprising of 80 RWAs registered with the Election Commission to contest the upcoming elections in Haryana. The 100 member GRP is India's first city centric political party to contest elections. The party has been formed of RWAs in the city representing their interests. This is the first time that local self government principles have been put into action at this level of politics. GRP members have decided not to accept more than Rs.50 as contribution. All contributions are to be put on the GRP website for total transparency.

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Bangalore-Mysore Metro Region: The Possible Emerging Scenario under JNNURM

MONIDEEP CHATTOPADHYAY

BACKGROUND

In Karnataka, both Bangalore and Mysore, located about 140 kilometers apart, have been recognized as major cities in India eligible for funding support under Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) launched on 3rd December, 2005, by Prime Minister of India with the commitment of fund of Rs. 50,000 Crores for 63 selected cities all over the country. This offers a unique opportunity of formulating a City-Region Plan for Bangalore-Mysore Metro Region, which would provide a new thrust to the emerging Bangalore-Mysore development axis having the potential to be the economic powerhouse of the Nation.

SALIENT POINTS FOR BANGALORE - MYSORE METRO REGION

Bangalore became the epicentre of new revolution in India in the particular fields of Space, information and bio technology and also emerged as scientific knowledge resource base of the country. The resultant phenomenon of tremendous boosting of economy attracted skilled man power of the country to this particular city. In the process the city has earned the title of IT hub of Asia and Silicon Valley of India although the position is being gradually challenged by other cities. Bangalore pre-eminence could be expounded by the following examples (a) Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) was set up here in late sixties and in 1970 India's first satellite *Aryabhatta* was put on space (b) an IT company started in 1988 by few local enterprising young technologists became a global company with two billion dollar turn-over by 2006 (c) Bangalore retains it first position in earning of export revenue to the tune of Rs 49,000 crores in 2006 and (d) it made India to be in the race for Knowledge Superpower.

In the development process, various multi dimensional projects are being carried out or contemplated for implementation in and around Bangalore to cope with the ever increasing demand of a surging economy led by ITBT and other sectors in particular, which, in turn, impose serious strain upon the Garden city, now poised to be a Global City. One faces the particular challenge that is how to accommodate the burgeoning growth of Bangalore mega city in a sustainable manner. How the ever increasing demand on space for economic and social activities are to

be met? If the present trend of concentrating all development in one particular place that is Bangalore (or Bangalaru soon) continue unabated it is bound to burst upon the fragile green belt endangering the eco-system including the drainage outfall with resultant recurring deluge in and around the city which is being severely experienced in recent past .

It is surprising to note that both the Comprehensive Development Plan 2005, approved in 1995, and the current CDP 2015 also called Draft Master Plan-2015 for Bangalore, prepared in 2005, failed to address the particular problem of concentration of all future development within one place i.e. Bangalore. They only tried to push the limit of Green Belt a little farther to accommodate new impulse of development, thereby endangering the green belt itself. In 1995 CDP there was, at least, mention of Impact Region around Bangalore where satellite towns/growth centers were identified as (i)Tumkur, (ii)Doddaballapur, (iii)Kolar; (iv)Kanakpura, (v)Ramnagarm etc. within 70kms. radius of Bangalore. In absence of proper identification of satellite towns/cities and subsequent development activities there, the proposed Fab City failed to get land near Bangalore and has to move to Hydrabad, although Bangalore has all the initial advantages. The particular reference to this project is made because it signified a quantum leap forward towards computer chips manufacturing in India.

In due consideration of the above factors and to retain the initial advantages of Bangalore for its stride towards Global City, one cannot but infer that for the survival and continuance of the growth dynamics demonstrated here, Bangalore must embrace the Metropolitan Region inline with other great cities of the world which adopted the concept into practice long back e.g.London (around 1949 on the basis of Gieater London Plan by Prof. Abercrombie), Washington-'(in1961), New Delhi (1962), Mumbai (in1975) etc. It must address the larger Region with suitable partners to ease out the development pressure and foster a decentralised growth model with its twin city Mysore, providing the major axis of development with surrounding satellite towns, e.g. Tumkur on the north, Bangarpet on the east, and Kanakpura on the south.

Infact, there are major development initiatives that are leading to the logical formulation of Bangalore-Mysore Metropolitan Region. In this context particular reference
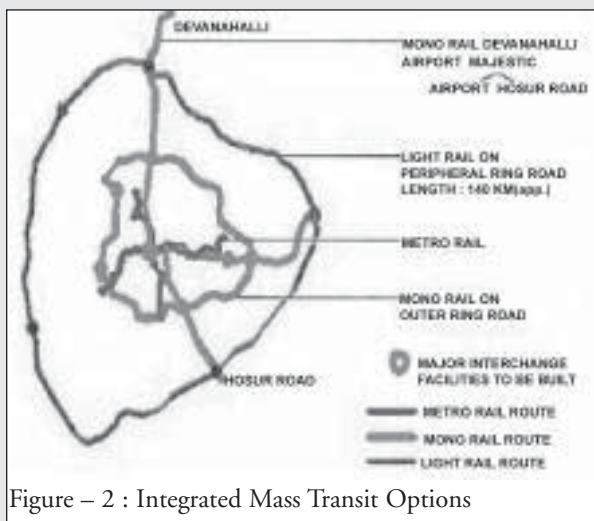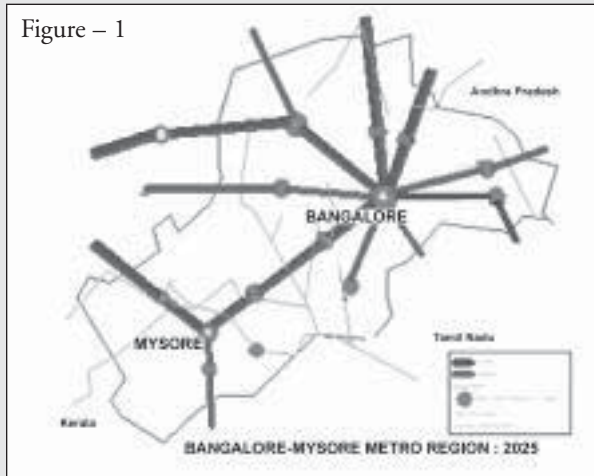
Figure – 1

Figure – 2 : Integrated Mass Transit Options

Table – 1
Composition of Bangalore – Mysore Metropolitan Region

Districts	Area (Sqkm)	Population (2001) (in 000's)
Bangalore (Urban)	2190	6537
Bangalore (Rural)	5815	1882
Tumkur (4 Taluks)	3863	1170
Kolar (8 Taluks)	6221	2083
Mandya (5 Taluks)	3634	1449
Mysore (4Taluks)	3316	1891
Total	**25039**	**15012**

could be made to the recent renewed thrust on the Bangalore-Mysore Infrastructure Corridor Project (BMICP) and the proposed doubling of the Bangalore-Mysore rail line which would provide new sinews for the Bangalore-Mysore Metro Region. Moreover, recent thrust upon Mysore as secondary IT hub and

developing new International Airport at Devenahalli on the north and upgrading Mysore Airport at the south would further strengthen Metropolitan Regional Structure.

Metropolitan Mass Transit facilities should be developed keeping in view the overall regional structure and using multi-modal transit options including broad gauge electrified rail, metro rail, monorail, light rail and of course regional bus transit facilities which could effectively serve the entire Metropolitan Region encompassing an area of 25,000 Sqkm. and containing population over 12 million by 2001(Refer Figure 1 and 2)

In the emerging regional structure, the provision of housing and its layouts would play a significant role, which has to be also addressed, since it provides most important social space of any settlement. There should be clear Public Housing Policy where emphasis could be laid on group housing to cater the aspirations of the various strata of society (e.g. HIG, MIG and LIG). It is to be realized that layout development of individual housing plots would not be consistent with the emerging metropolitan scenario where extensive provision of services in layouts would be costly proposition. Moreover, with PPP model, public housing could be made available within the reach of different segments of society with less investment but more involvement in planning from the development authorities. In this regard, successful experimentations of joint venture are being carried out in Kolkata with big players investing and developing composite housing complexes. A new planning perspective with the concept of Bangalore-Mysore Metro Region (BMMR) and the tentative delineation of the region with the following districts and *Taluks* therein have been worked out (Refer Table – 1), for adoption by the concerned authorities:

This entire effort is to support the State Government bold initiative of making Bangalore a Global City Region. It is essential to impress upon the political decision-making process to review the planning perspectives, taking into account the fast changing spatio-economic scenario of the emerging metro-region, in particular, and the State, at large.

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Envisioning the Mega city: Visions for Mega Buildings or Building the Mega Visions?

YATIN PANDYA

ABSTRACT

The article observes the present state of development affairs in the city of Ahmedabad, as representative of the mega cities and urban centres of India. It articulates the anomalies, as felt, in development vision, its framework and approaches as adopted at the present and argues the alternative directions, which may be more relevant contextually. The article then discusses some directions and approaches the urban renewal mission and the civic authorities could consider in order to evolve humane and sustainable living environments.

INTRODUCTION

Milestones are not the destinations in themselves but rather pointers of the path further ahead. They become excuses to ponder and reaffirm the course of journey. Mega city status to Ahmedabad city has potential of being such a milestone. To ponder and envision its directions.

Sustainability and imagebility are two key dictums on which cities get shaped. Both refer to contextual fit. Sustainability in terms of sustenance through prevailing resource structure, while imagebility referring to the ethos as well as aspirations of its people. Each city therefore has its own character, its own DNA. Do we need to mutate the same?

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The contrasting built forms

Let us learn from Singapore's experience. A small fisherman's Island found visitors from the globe owing to its unique character. It successfully translated this opportunity by becoming a favourite venue for trade fares, conventions and breakaways. When it reinvested its riches in building mega malls and Manhattanish skyline it found its tourism decline sharply. The reason attributed was the loss of its identity, image and character. Authorities quickly remedied the situation by conserving and promoting traditional houses, the china towns and even ethnic diversity such as little India, little Arabia etc. Singapore now markets itself as the melting pot of diverse cultures and has emerged more humane than synthetic.

Do we need to cruise through same cycle or can we learn in time from other's mistakes?
In this market driven, globalised world can we still ponder to create development alternatives, which stem from the realities as well as aspirations of the milieu it represents.

For example, Ahmedabad has traditionally been the centre of trade and finance. It found its riches on its own, rather than any dependence on the countryside or the centre. Should it strengthen its image as finance and trade centre or strive to become the industrial hub? Many industrial houses have chosen to retain their head offices in Mumbai while their production units in Gujarat. As a result Maharashtra earns handsome proportion of the revenue through their taxes while Gujarat has to provide for the infrastructure and deal with their pollution. Head offices bring in institutions as well as amenities thereby improving the quality of life for the city. What would Ahmedabad choose to become? A collage of independent megaliths or an ensemble of interdependent subsystems?

It is a popular misconception that high-rise apartments are an outcome of higher density demands. As long as FSI (Floor Space Index) is controlled to be 1.5 or 2 (which is the allowable FSI even in Mumbai) even three to four storied building can achieve the same more effectively. For example the traditional residential precincts of Ahmedabad - the *pol's* have 2.7 FSI with only three to four floor high buildings while ten storied apartments of newer peripheries have 1.5 to 1.8 FSI legally speaking. The low rise builtform makes for humane living environments with its relation to ground, street, its least dependence on mechanised services, better neighbourly interaction (children and elderly are the most adversely affected in high-rise apartments) as well as sense of belonging and lower risks against earthquake, fire and cyclone. Studies in New York have shown that, due to the sense of indifference perpetuated by the high-rise builtform, the crime rate in lower floors is significantly lower than those above ten floors. In three storied buildings one can achieve 1.5 FSI with 40 percent of plot as open space on ground and 10 percent as open to sky terraces on each subsequent upper floor to make up for the loss of contact with ground. Which is why in Ahmedabad row houses were very popular over apartments, even commercially viable for the builders, as they achieved as much densities and were more acceptable, marketable and liveable. It was an incentive artificially injected by the Municipal authorities, in the eighties, to high-rise building (50 percent extra FSI) which led developers to build higher, changing the skyline and living quality for ever. Can we rethink our directions for newer developments to create humane, socially and environmentally responsive living environments?

CITY AS NETWORK OF INTERACTIVE CIVIC NODES

Cities subsist in open spaces, which as microcosm of cosmos mirror the ethos of the milieu it represents. Contrary to popular belief Ahmedabad has lesser open space ratio than the much denser Mumbai. Certainly Delhi remains beyond compare. With city growing, its demands on open spaces increase, while through encroachments and sale, their volume decreases. This makes the imbalance even more adverse. If open spaces cannot be created at least, one has to do all that can be to maintain its status quo. Unfortunately, rather than being custodian of these resources, authorities use them as their piggy bank to cash on through the market forces. A planned manipulation works in designed pattern. First, the reserved open plot for neighbourhood gets revised to accommodate amenity

buildings such as school. Subsequently the plot gets auctioned to private enterprise to build school. Soon the private entrepreneur not only cordons it off from surrounding access through tall compound walls but litters its own parking and spills its own activities on to the street instead. The authorities are expected to do the opposite. Authorities buy off dilapidated properties to create additional open spaces for increased demands of the city. City of New York has maintained Central park and further creates Battery Park on prime waterfront rather than another commercial conglomerate. Hong Kong maintains its density of green and vegetation even though constrained by landmass.

CITY OF RIVER OR LAKES

Water scarce areas have always respected and understood the value of water. Even in a hostile climate, Udaipur gets the distinction of being the city of lakes. Was Ahmedabad ever and does it have to now become the city of river or could it very effectively and efficiently become the city of lakes with more spread out, decentralised distribution of depressed land masses all across the city. Vastrapur, Thaltej, Lakhudi, Chandola, Malav, Chandalodia, Vejalpur, Bopal, Ghuma, Shilaj, Ghodasar, Shahalam and so on to count over dozen areas in Ahmedabad are naturally contoured so as to receive storm water flow towards them as holdings pond of large catchment areas, to naturally sustain as water bodies and to also help solve the flooding of roads. Dispersed network of lakes would prove to be more eco friendly, scientific and more equitable resource than the river. Is river front development about parallel edges of water or rather perpendicular fingers making the river more and more accessible to the city?

CITY OF THE CLASS OR THE GLASS

One coca cola can (aluminium container), if recycled rather than thrown away, can save energy enough to run television for nearly 45 minutes for a family, as aluminium is 160 times more energy consuming than the sunburnt brick. PVC is 120 times, steel is 60 times and concrete is ten times energy intensive. Why is their need to clad buildings with aluminium panels? Ninety two percent of energy consumption in an office or an institute is for cooling (62 percent) and lighting (30 percent). This could be nearly eliminated with climate responsive built form without compromising the comfort conditions. Why are designers after the glazed buildings orienting to blazing sun in south and

Public Park in a Residential area, Ahmedabad

A Pol area in Ahmedabad city

west directions. Not only it cooks up its inhabitants but also radiates heat and glare around. The building byelaws in Canada ensure that buildings can not deny right to sun of the citizens on the street and therefore makes it mandatory for building design to ensure that minimum of three hours of sunshine and 50 percent of urban space remains under sun (without building shadows) for the cold climate context. Can development controls be evolved, that are performance related rather than prescriptive? Ahmedabad, revered highly until recently, as the architectural capital of the country, can it boast of the same any more?

As living organisms, cities have always grown as well as transformed. It feels that growth and change up till recently had not mutated its DNA and city evolved

A community space for gathering

New constructions in Ahmedabad

retaining its identity, image and humane qualities. Textile mills, automobile and bridges over river were no less drastic interventions, yet the city remained a big village where human bonds were not severed. 4.9 million of yesterday to five million of today cannot suddenly put compulsions threatening the fundamental values of coexistence (with man and nature and of man and man), deteriorating the qualities of life and interactive humane habitats.

JNNURM IN AHMEDABAD

Rather than investing energy in mega projects primarily for the objective of consuming the grant, can it be chanalised in the beginning in envisioning city's potentials and desired directions of its development? At the moment when National Urban Renewal Mission is getting installed and common minimum programme is being drafted one feels that certain basic differences prevail in its priorities and concepts. The whole mission comes across still very heavily loaded on: the centralised and internationally perceived common denominators of development; project driven rather than policy based priorities; physical infrastructure oriented rather than institutionalisation of decision making or development processes; and founded on financial viability rather than sustainable resource management and socio-cultural appropriateness.

Development actions need to be governed by the long term and collective vision of the development. At National level their is need to think through the development priorities and envision its growth in metros versus cities and towns, urban versus rural etc.

The need is to take stock of the basic national natural resources i.e. land, water and vegetation to determine how much of these productive resources can or should be retained for cultivable purposes and never consume for accommodating growing urban population especially the endlessly engulfing urban sprawl. The resource base of each region and urban area will differ and therefore accordingly decide its own development directions. Even what constitutes basic infrastructure may differ in priority from place to place. For example in historic / traditional urban cores creating collective open spaces to diffuse congestion may be a priority over the linkage or the service networks. Importance of land resource, thereby desired mode of transport, and thereby appropriate infrastructure network pattern and city structure may get derived. Similarly such larger visions can evolve strategies in favour of developing smaller and medium towns rather than making mega cities multi mega. Both punitive and incentive measures would then form the part of the policy evolved, consistent to the larger vision and goals.

Cities are a living organism and therefore has complex dynamics. Not all of its variables can be or even should be expected to resolve in singular way. Therefore while development vision and its sustenance base may be held as the constance, there should be enough laterality in its application and resolutions from time to time through the instruments of planning. This calls for institutionalising and democratising the process rather than the finality of the physical blue print. There is a lack of the fora as well as format for the participation of diverse group of citizens in the

visualisation and formalisation of the development directions as well as priorities. The need of the time is to install a body consisting of citizens, professionals and experts from diverse fields of development rather than the overbearing presence and the interference of the elected representatives or the bureaucrats that prevails now. Both for continuity of vision as well as truly participatory and democratic yet professional and objective development such an institution is greatly required. The primary mandate of this institution should be to create overall development framework and not the specific projects, which should emerge in consonance with the development goal and with the statement of priorities of these goals as the given development brief it should be entrusted to design and develop professionally. For example Ahmedabad has historically shown that how its citizens, the guilds (trade Mahajans) and the institutions charted the visions of its developments and realised them independent of the bureaucracy of the authorities. Ahmedabad way back in 1833 had realised the model of local self-governance where a committee of local representatives was formed for the restoration of the broken fort wall surrounding the city. The committee on its own raised resources and managed the restoration and repairs. Following its success it continued its initiatives for fifty years and realised many developments of civic welfare and public good.

Urban developments in country like ours largely imply not a clean slate development but invariably restructuring of the existing and therefore very close check on the ground realities of each local context becomes critical in guiding directions as well as limitations of its further developments. This is where the development norms and development control regulations ought to be contextual rather than universal and performance based rather than prescriptive. Here often one finds byelaws or the controls to be alien to the local milieu and a mismatch to the ethos of the place as well as the people it represents. Solely quantitative and standardised norms for the provision of open spaces, margins of buildings, radius of no development from historic resources etc. are some of the examples in case.

The other particularity of Indian cities is that they have deep rooted traditions and a long history. This fact is a matter of pride and makes every effort to retain ethnicity and identity of each place. There has to be very different approach and policies governing such historic cores. Unfortunately, progress and modernity is often confused with change and renunciating the past. At least such a misconception seems to persist with the politicians, bureaucrats and the private development patrons as so called development priorities and policies seems to deny learning from the traditional wisdom and evolving and adopting them for the contemporary times, these seem to ape the glamour and glitter from an alien context. For example, the rat race among these players to create tallest building in city outskirts or promote mega malls over market bazaars or to subsidise multiplexes to promote tourism rather than to conserve its heritage, which as such is the genuine source for tourism.

Harmony with tradition and conservation of natural resources are the two fundamental tenets on which the development framework should be based upon. With visionary development framework, with participatory decision making mechanisms, with responsible professionalism and conscientious development patrons, the nation can be rebuilt back to its humane, environmentally sensitive, socio-culturally responsive and contextually unique living environments.

Heritage Cities
JNNURM Mission

Jaipur

Varanasi

Ujjain

Pune

Panaji

Mysore

Methods & Approaches

NURM Issues in Cities with Heritage

Mysore

Two good ideas do not become too good ideas

SATHYA PRAKASH VARANASHI

JNNURM is a good idea - well conceived, good intended, timely introduced and politically correct. Would that mean a new era of urban renewal in India? Well, may be partly, simply because in Indian context, most good ideas have worked against each other - just the way the like poles of two magnets work against each other. In the past, we have seen City Corporation and Development Authority; elected representative and nominated member; 74th amendment and corporators; representative governance and right to information; ... the list may go on. Individually, all of them are laudable, but collectively they create no synergy.

On similar lines, one fears NURM may contradict other good ideas. As such, it needs to be properly positioned within the present modes of urban governance. It should

not become a political tool like the MP fund, nor be treated like Government grants for poverty alleviation programmes. To that end, it should enable a larger public participation, identify the critical needs, provide adequate time for experts comments and ensure selection of best known consultants. It has to be both a party to the existing local self governing systems and simultaneously, where needed, be not a party to it. This dual role of being with and not being with the local Government could ensure that JNNURM stays clear of politics, yet stays close to urban rejuvenation.

JNNURM and heritage concerns demand some specific references. Over the years, with a bagful of both sweet and sour memories of urban conservation, I have come to trust that heritage conservation needs to shift focus to the roots

Goa

of our culture. Cities like Bombay, Mysore and Chennai, have undoubtedly contributed to our historicity, yet the larger part of our culture has been formed at small sleepy towns where site values appear to have frozen; crumbling medieval centres that may never revive and regional sacred towns outside the developmental priorities. They face no threat of demolition paving for modern buildings, no escalation of site value forcing the old to become new or no ad-hocism of local politicians for their own ends. If they are dying its simply due to neglect or lack of affordability. The attention received by Shekhavati or Hampi are exceptions and not rules.

Urban and architectural conservation in larger cities are today bogged down by innumerable obstacles, and when the few are achieved finally, appear like a physical apology for a bygone era, now submerged in the modern urban lifestyle. Most of the heritage consultants are active in large cities, hence we prefer to work at our own backyards and urban conservation becomes the headline. Our concerns and occasional forays into small hamlets end when we board the return train, only to be furthered with the media or biodata. Just consider this - at the cost of commissioning, studying, documenting, presenting, reporting, proposing, approving, tendering, certifying, conserving and finally rejuvenating one monument at Mysore, as it is happening under NURM, a dozen regional historic settlements like Melukote can be given a rebirth. Re-energised, these traditional towns may discourage migration, retain historic fabric, encourage cultural tourism, dominate market forces and pave a new path for rediscovery of our culture. If every region can facelift its small towns, the dream of big cities may dilute, automatically reducing the urgency of urban renewals. Would JNNURM turn this possibility into a reality? At present no. The monumental cities loom over traditional towns. For all of us consultants, decision takers, stakeholders and others, the larger city realities appear immediate and the physically distant small town priorities are diffused. Besides, the degeneration is visible in urban centres, stakes are higher at larger cities and the publicity is evident in monumental tasks. The people of Chanderi and Shrungeri are either leaving the town or are crying in the forest, unheard. So, our small historic towns, where conservation is far more easier, effective and long lasting, only get a side berth in the preserving and renewing movement.

By writing this I do not intend to shoot down JNNURM. Among the various recent urban initiatives I am aware of, I rate NURM the second best after the 74th constitutional amendment. It diffuses the idea of Mega Cities, compliments similar concepts like Health Cities, advocates better quality of life and definitely advises development for people. I only wish the actions compliment the intentions and the intentions go beyond the obvious.

Sathya Prakash Varanashi studied Achitecture, Urban Design and Heritage Conservation in India and abroad. Presently he teaches, writes, networks, designs and organises related events from Bangalore.

Historic Core City Development: Musings on the Eve of JNNURM

SHARVEY DHONGDE

ABSTRACT

Heritage is not an 'object' but a cultural milieu. Conserving material heritage is therefore not an end in itself. In fact, it is a means to ensure continuity of a culture. Abrupt and unprecedented breaks in the course of a society's cultural life often lead to a sense of uprootedness, disorientation and loss of pride and sense of identity. Sudden shocks to culture evoke severe and unexpected reactions[1]. This articles an approach to urban heritage in the historic core of the Indian cities.

The Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) was launched on Dec 3, 2005 by the Ministry of Urban Development and the Ministry of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation with the broad aim to encourage and fast track development of identified cities in India. One of the objectives of the Mission is to focus on urban renewal programmes for old city areas. In his inaugural address, the Prime Minister extolled ancient Indians as great city builders and voiced his expectation that the old cities which form a part of our heritage shall be restored to their past glory.

URBAN HERITAGE

Urban heritage is the cultural identity of a city and its people. It is formed over time by its various institutions, the lifestyle of its citizens

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and the level and maturity of their art and craft sensibilities. The values practiced and cherished by its people, and moreover, their aspirations and vision of a quality civic life temper the heritage. Architecture is a physical manifestation of this heritage. It is thereby its most easily destructible aspect, but by the same virtue, one that is conservable too. Conserving architectural heritage is thus a notional attempt to conserve the broader aspects of heritage thereby ensuring an unbroken stream of development of the urban psyche. It is acknowledging the role and relevance of heritage in the city's development process. Urban conservation, therefore, is not an objectification or museumisation of a city's architecture, but rather its continuity, revitalisation and also reinterpretation in the contemporary context.

An improved built form suitable to the present times is

as essential as is its gradual evolution from its predecessors. If not, it needs to take cognisance of and be in reverence and relevance to its context at the least. The conceptualisation of the new built form and its physical realisation in a contextually rich urban setup is as much a concern of heritage conservation as is preserving a heritage structure.

Continuity is physical as well as perceptive. Perceptive continuity depends heavily on physical form. A fair amount of built form is therefore necessary to ensure perceptive continuity. "How much has to be retained?" has always been a debatable question. But it is based on the premise of a replacement model for growth. That something has to go in order for something to be created may not be always true. The question could be formulated as "How much has to be broken down?" This perspective for our core city development could

Laxmi Road: Streets are important components of a heritage cityscape. A group of buildings has a significant heritage value even though individual structures may not be architecturally unique. Restored streetscapes are a common occurrence in European countries and often contribute to a city's identity. Could we find merit in our commonest buildings too?

bring about interesting answers and open up entirely new possibilities of working with our heritage stock[2]. It is assumed that replacing old developments with new developments is a step towards improvement. Replacing old housing with new blocks of apartments, introducing commercial establishments, increasing density and buildable area, widening roads, etc. are the usual developmental works taken up under core city development. Although, per se, these are not unreasonable measures, the resultant built form and open spaces are anything but improvements in most instances. The lack of an overall action plan and the creation of several intentional or unintentional lacunae in the implementation process makes one wonder whether the intended development and improvement

was for the city or the profit of promoters. One needs to take stock of the development of core cities, not only in terms of physical improvements but also in terms of the quality of life in these areas. An audit of the costs paid, including those of intangible aspects like heritage, identity, eco-socio-cultural networking in the society and moreover, the continuity of the urban culturescape needs to be made for all core city development projects.

CITY REVITALISATION

In strict architectural terms, the quality of spaces — built and open — the climatic and overall contextual response and its sustainability, the craft of building and

Tulsibaug, Pune

Mandai Shops: Cultural, social and economic life is often found entwined in built and open spaces of the core city. Can we say the same thing about the city form of a newly commercialised core?

the aesthetic sensibilities, are expected to improve, and thereby, positively affect urban life as a result of core city revitalisation. Could an agenda be set with these as specific goals of renewal missions along with mechanisms to ensure their holistic implementation and regular assessment? That would make secondary the debate on what and how much to demolish.

Economic considerations and compulsions are the oft cited driving forces of core city development. Rising land prices, changes in land-use, commercial exploitation of resources, speculative buying and selling form a vicious loop operating in core cities; 'vicious', because if studied carefully, the result hardly yields an economically developed and sustainable city core. Commercial exploitation may well benefit the developers and few businesses in the area, but for the city, this development translates into a tremendous load on infrastructure (water, drainage, electricity, road

network, etc.), traffic, congestion, pollution, and generally creates conditions that are not conducive to a good quality of life   hence the exodus to the fringes in search of residential areas, further deteriorating the fabric of the core with an imbalanced land-use[3]. The traditional socio-eco-cultural matrix of the core is severely damaged in the name of economic compulsion.

City cores have traditional systems of economic sustainability. These are, more often than not, linked to the social and physical set-up of the city. Opportunities for employment and entrepreneurship are present, although in a more conservative form. Various traditional trades, skills, businesses and crafts form the basis of this economic network. With genuine concern and creativity, it is possible to revitalise this economic set-up to the advantage of the deteriorating core. Revitalisation, along with the introduction of contextually plausible and feasible economic activities in heritage localities, has paid rich dividends worldwide. Developing specialised shopping areas and

Shaniwarwada: Heritage conservation should go beyond briefs of physical restoration and repair of heritage structures. The Shaniwarwada project, Pune, transformed the open space in front of the heritage structure into an enclosed amphitheater, thereby creating a cultural venue for the city. A series of performances and activities have taken place here, some developing into annual festivals.

markets, encouraging banking and other service agencies, redevelopment of abandoned areas into art districts,[4] and developing tourist circuits and spots are a few successful strategies adopted by "good cities" across the globe. The revitalisation of old housing stock and refurbishing it into prime property makes more economic sense than demolishing and building afresh.[5] Infrastructure needs to be augmented, strengthened and only partly modified if the land-use and density are planned so as not to generate unreasonable demands on facilities like power, water, drainage and traffic. Such an approach to core city development automatically takes care of heritage conservation to a large extent without specifically putting it on the agenda.

Core cities are a product of a saturation process of interlinkages between social, cultural, economic, climatic, technological, and artistic aspects of a people. These are products not of any particular age, but of a process of evolution parallel to and informed by changes in society. They exist as layered entities with references to their past — physical and psychological references needed by the constituents of any society to function and develop. They act as navigators, or guides, provide clues to and anchor a city's journey into the future. They are therefore not stumbling blocks on the path of development, but opportunities for meaningful progress.

CORE CITY PARTICIPANTS

More than anything, the most important constituents of a core city and its heritage are its inhabitants   the

citizens who have been a part of this heritage, or rather, built a part of it. The development process needs to ensure their participation rather than being one imposed on them. There are various forums within the community to bring citizens together, elicit responses and articulate their views. These need to form the basis of any development process intended for them. Core city development is not just about potentially profitable real estate, but it is also about improving the quality of life of the inhabitants. A participatory process is therefore the key to the success of such projects[6].

But therein also lies a responsibility, that of educating the participants. Attitudes play a major role in decision-making. While numerous factors shape public attitude, globalisation is a major influence on the attitudes and perceptions, whether directly or indirectly. Fast food culture breeds a fast food kind of architecture — implanted, lacking in substance and harmful in the long run, but attractively packaged, aggressively marketed and perceived as inevitable. Globalisation is generally a westernisation of culture and is fraught with the creation of stereotype such as indigenous cultures being thought old and irrelevant in today's times while anything western is seen as modern and with the times. New generations disowning their native cultures or more alarmingly, being ignorant about them, is becoming a common phenomenon. In this scenario, it becomes imperative to make a conscious effort to create awareness about one's own heritage and its relevance in the broadest sense, as well as to create pride in tangible icons of heritage (read buildings). Partnerships can be formed

with the same global forces on a common minimum agenda to serve the immediate cause of heritage conservation. The power of globalisation could be put to use to effectively create public opinion, formulate guidelines, exchange expertise and generate funds for heritage projects. The ultimate goal of heritage awareness is to ingrain in society a sense of trusteeship towards its heritage, of responsibility towards its continuity and a duty towards its enrichment.

What is the utopia?

Types of Cities:
- A layered city: A city with tales to tell — a city with a past and one that proudly (and in a dignified manner) displays the marks that time and people have left on it.
- A city with an identity: A city that is unique in character and in spirit.
- A city with an indigenous culture: A city that is global and local at the same time. A city that is a

global entity but has not lost its local relevance.
- A forward looking city: A city that proactively values its past, evolving with the times yet never severing its roots. A city with a continuity and a richness of manifestations of its urban life through time. A city whose population thrives on its fertile heritage. A city that is consciously aware that heritage is created in each era and citizens are a part of that creation process. City dwellers should look at themselves as city builders, as creators of a new urbanism and not as profiteering real estate developers.

CONCLUSION

The 'Renewal Mission' could be looked at as an opportunity to renew attitudes to urban development. It may be of great significance and impact if it grows from a limited agenda of putting in place physical reforms to a broader vision of creating humane, livable and culturally rich urban centres.

Notes and References

1 Ref. *Pratiroop: An Approach towards Settlement Design for Tribal Oustees* by Sharvey Dhongde

2 The Centre for Urban Development Studies and the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, Historic Cities Program assisted government authorities to adopt viable strategies in the rehabilitation of the historic urban fabric of Samarkand, Uzbekistan (1996) and to discontinue renewal through demolition and rebuilding. The project continues with the active participation of residents, civic groups and NGOs.

3 As commercial activity increases in the core area, it invites more traffic. More and more space is required for commercial purposes and even more for storage. Increasing demand for space increases the price. Residents of these core areas, already miserable due to traffic, air and noise pollution as well as the general erosion of residential environment, move to the suburban areas after selling their properties. In the context of Pune city, the phenomenal growth of the suburban area of Kothrud in a record short time is an illustration of such a mass migration from the core of the city to its fringes. In the process, residential

properties are converted to commercial ones, further reducing the residential character of the core and sparking further migration to the fringes. The over-commercialisation of the cores causes problems such as periodic desertion of areas after working hours, loss of a sense of belonging to the area, and thereby, of general monitoring and upkeep.

4 Many North American cities have 'brown field development programmes' under which abandoned industrial or warehousing areas in or near core cities have been successfully converted to art districts or loft housing. The art district in downtown Chicago comprises of offices of successful architects and designers, studios of artists and sculptors, boutiques of fashion designers, offices of dealers of art, artefacts and designer products as well as supporting establishments like cafes, restaurants, book stores and related shopping facilities. Most of the buildings housing these establishments were once warehouses that became obsolete with time.

5 Examples abound in the UK (London, Bath), Italy, Germany, Canada (Montreal, Quebec City), USA (Rhode Island, Philadelphia) and many other countries. An empirical study by

Vineeta Deodhar conducted in Sydney's upper north shore concludes that after controlling for main property attributes, heritage listed houses were found to enjoy a premium over unlisted houses. (Ref: 'Does the Housing Market Value Heritage?: Some Empirical Evidence', Vineeta Deodhar, Macquarie University, Sydney, 2004)

6 Refer to studies on resident participatory process adopted for the Lublin Old Town rehabilitation project, Poland (1998), and the public- private partnerships with active involvement of residents in the Hafsia revitalization Project, Tunis, Tunisia (1993).The Hafsia quarter of Tunis's old medina is a successful example of including a historic city rehabilitation program in regular urban development programs, one of which was assisted by the World Bank. The program was financially profitable and restored Hafsia's livability, land and house values, and economic dynamism; it also earned the Aga Khan architectural award (1983). (Ref: 'Local Involvement in Urban Management: The experience of the city of Tunis', Semia Akrout- Yaiche, International Social Science Journal 54 (172), Pg 247-252, June 2002)

Future to Ujjain's Heritage: JNNURM Initiative

MEERA ISHWAR DASS

ABSTRACT

The Government of Madhya Pradesh in its bid to develop its cities took up the task of completing the City Development Plans of the four cities of Indore, Bhopal, Jabalpur and Ujjain with all sincerity on the announcement of JNNURM. On the basis of the revised guidelines for special status cities the CDP of Ujjain, declared as 'Religious Center' had to be taken up for revision. Subsequently, series of consultations with the stake-holders and public; the new CDP for Ujjain was developed, addressing the issues raised in the revised guidelines. Ujjain holds a special position in the growth of Hindustani culture and civilisation and is an important link in its historical, spiritual, intellectual, religious, cultural, mythical, mystical, mythological and scientific backbone. It has seen the beginning of Vedic knowledge, Buddhism, Jainism, Shaivism, Vaishnavism, Goddess worship. Bohras and comparative religion such as Theosophical have also contributed to its rich religious strength. An attempt has been made to conserve these qualities in the revised CDP.

The CDP aims to make Ujjain into an environment friendly, religious and spiritual pilgrim tourist centre with economic opportunities and prosperity that is sustainable and cultural in its manifestations. All issues are defined and executed through 18 heritage and cultural kshetras of Ujjain. The policies and regulations on the limits of acceptable change, development and conservation are based on the micro character of the Kshetra and the cultural assets it contains. This article briefly outlines the revised CDP of Ujjain as a Heritage City.

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INTRODUCTION

There are ten cities under the JNNURM that have status of the special character that the city posesses. Ujjain is one of the ten cities chosen due to its 'religious' nature. The supplement to the Toolkit issued is meant to serve two purposes:

- To suggest that the main focus of the City Development Plan (CDP) for heritage cities should be on the heritage component. There will not be any justification to support such cities under JNNURM if their CDP's do not have this orientation or focus;
- To indicate what kind of data should be collected and used for preparing the CDP for such a city.

UJJAIN A RELIGIOUS, HISTORIC AND CULTURAL TOWN

The aim of this section is to define Ujjain as a historic, religious town with significant areas within so that the following could be formulated:

- Policies that give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programmes
- To develop scientific and technical studies and research and to work out such operating methods as will make the state capable of counteracting the dangers that threaten its cultural or natural heritage
- To take the appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures necessary for identification, protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of this heritage
- To foster the establishment or development of national or regional centres for training in the protection, management, operation and maintenance of the conservation of the cultural and natural heritage and to encourage scientific research in the field.

PLANNING POLICIES

All towns and urban centres strive to provide their citizens with basic needs: adequate shelter, transport, work opportunities and a decent quality of life. Historic urban centres offer ambience with a special capacity to enrich the lives of their residents. A well-maintained historic urban centre has many advantages for its citizens.

The unique features of any historic towns can be recognised under the following:

- The historic town consists of a complex interdependent network of crafts and skills that provides livelihoods in multiple ways and is difficult to replicate in any new development. Therefore these areas should be viewed as economic opportunity and not a liability. Conservation of inner-cities and historic areas has (from the examples of countries that have adopted conservation as a deliberate policy) resulted in economic revival. In terms of Ujjain the bullion trade, handicrafts (textile printing, metal work etc.) are centred in the city core area. An in-depth survey is required to identify area specific skills and strengths and development / conservation plans need to address their needs and growth.
- The historic towns are socially and culturally more alive and have provided civilisation quality to India that is unique and exclusive giving it unity in its diversity. Having evolved over centuries it has resolved to a large extent the differences in religious, political, economic and cultural beliefs of the people. Conservation has resulted in better socially integrated individuals; leading to lessening of crimes, riots and other social ills. The generative forces in any historic town are cultural and the town is alive with intangible cultural assets. Ujjain like other historical towns has distinct social and cultural manifestations in the food, dress, recreation etc. and forms the intangible and living heritage of the place. intangible by its very nature is fragile and is dependent on both patronage and built / open spaces hence any insensitive development causes irreparable damage to it and needs to be addressed in the development plan. Building controls favouring conservation, based on detailed studies and a blueprint for action is an urgent need and should form part of the planning proposal.
- Since the historic towns consist of historic layering it gives a sense of rootedness to people resulting in more committed citizens. It also dispels anxiety in individuals leading to better recognition of differences and is less hegemonic. Integrating historic areas into the development plan is a well worked out process where UNESCO has laid down several guidelines that India could follow.
- Historic towns have greater sustainability than a new development. Low on energy consumption, the traditional town planning assured comfortable living conditions. Several studies show that older buildings have better air circulation, insulation, water preservation and its compact planning

provided sustainability even in terms of conservation of human energy. Any intervention to the existing infrastructure should precede proper documentation of the existing knowledge systems. Proper documentation and research of sewage systems, water systems, and town planning of the historic architecture of high importance and should be an integral part of the planning process. The salvage archaeology (archaeological assessment of construction excavations in identified historical areas and zones) is a norm in several countries and there is every reason to follow this example in Indian situation.

- One of the biggest regressive trends since independence has been in the field of the town and country planning. Today our towns and cities are overcrowded, polluted, chaotic, unplanned centres that are hostile to women, children, old persons and handicapped. They are anaesthetic and unappealing visually marked with either undesirable slums or harsh concrete jungles. Historic towns on the other hand are aesthetically and environmentally appealing and pleasing leading to the tourism potential of a place. A good conservation plan brings tourism benefits automatically as has been shown in several towns of Rajasthan, Goa and Kerala. Regulations for preserving the historic character of the built heritage and conservation of its architecture, policy on traffic, transport, road surface, electric wiring, sewage, surface drainage, solid waste disposal, baodies, wells, open spaces and parking in the historic area of the city must be emphasised. Regulations for new constructions, open spaces, plantation, pedestrian facilities, streetscapes, street furniture etc. is another area to be included into the planning process.

STRATEGIES

Strategies can be summed up broadly into areas mentioned below:
- Study and Documentation of the Historical / Heritage resulting in an inventory that should be published and marked in the map of the area, complete with its location, ward number, ownership, status, photographs, description, historical and heritage significance, age etc.
- Buildings of heritage / historic value;
- Drainage and Water systems, such as fountains, tanks, wells, etc.;
- Streetscapes and culturally homogenous areas;
- Crafts, skills and craftsmen of traditional crafts;

- Open spaces and gardens including type of existing trees and plants;
- Dividing the identified buildings, areas etc. and to Provide Legal Back-up with Regulations and Bye-laws to the identified buildings after dividing them into: Heritage Zone, Heritage Areas, Heritage Group of Buildings, Heritage Sites, Heritage Precincts, Heritage Monument / Building.

It is important to formulate specific projects for the conservation, restoration, preservation, reconstruction of the identified areas, zones etc. with the aim of revitalising the city centres. Demolition of historical / heritage building or buildings should be undertaken only under special conditions and law. The encroachments should be dealt with firmly. This should be executed with extensive and intensive consultation with the people and people's groups including technical, political groups, giving space for people to participate in numerous ways. The industrial houses, funding organisations, interested individual (including Non-Resident Indians) should be approached for providing partial funding for the projects.

The care and maintenance of heritage must be entrusted to the local community, for which public awareness programmes, heritage walks, workshops, educational programmes must find place in the Heritage Management Plan. A nodal agency that acts as an interface between the people, Municipal Corporation, government and technical and financial matter should be identified to implement the Management Plan. Signage, public notices, road furniture, display boards, billboards, etc. should be designed to supplement the ambience of the historic / heritage area. Promotion of traditional cultural expressions and art should be given importance and special spaces, programmes and facilities should be provided for the growth of such activities.

CRITICAL PROCESS

Restoration and conservation should be based on a clear definition of the heritage resource and its relationship to its setting. This process has four distinct steps:
- Methodical inspection, survey and documentation of the resource, its historical setting and its physical environment;
- Critical historical definition and assessment of the object and its setting to outline its significance;
- Scientific analysis and diagnosis of the material

substance and associated structural system with a view towards its conservation;

- Long term and short term programmes for conservation and management of change, including regular inspections, cyclic maintenance and environmental control.

The aim of conservation is to safeguard the quality and values of the resource, protect its material substance and ensure its integrity for future generations. Every historic area and its surroundings should be considered in their totality as a coherent whole whose balance and specific nature depend on the fusion of the parts of which it is composed and which includes human activities as much as the buildings, the spatial organisation and the surroundings. All valid elements, including human activities, however modest, thus have a significance in relation to the whole that must not be disregarded.

HERITAGE COMPONENT OF UJJAIN AS ADDRESSED IN THE CDP

Archaeological Heritage

Ujjain is one of the ancient towns of the country, unfortunately at some time in its history it was completely destroyed; currently on the ground is a 17th century town constructed on top of archaeological mounds. The JNNURM gives an opportunity to bring the issue of unearthed historical wealth into the framework of development. Archaeological wealth is mostly subterranean as it consists of things that have been destroyed by ravages of both time and man. Some archaeological remains are on the surface but large parts of these are in the form of mounds and much of it is not mapped as yet. It is therefore very important to map this heritage and to wait for a favourable time to open mounds. Excavations and new knowledge about one's past re-establishes pride and ego amongst citizens and improves self-image. It is therefore proposed that archaeological mounds be mapped and incorporated into the Geographic Information System (GIS) for further action and policy.

Pilgrim Heritage

In the light of the celestial formation and their movements this cosmologically planned city is believed to be connected to it by an axis-*mundi*, Brahma *keel*, or Vishnu lotus from *nabhi*, or an invisible column. It is here that great bridge to ford the cosmic waters of *ananta* exists, which when crossed leads to *mukti* and *nirvana*. The great Kumbha is perpetuated in the memory of this ultimate objective of life and living. The landscape is traversed several times on several occasions in the hope to bump into gods and ancestors who travel through an opening across time and space located here. It may well be remembered that great teachers and followers of god had set their foot here and have roamed the very landscape in search of *jyana* (knowledge) and truth showing people different paths to such destination and establishing faiths such as Buddhism, Jainism, Shaivism, Vaishnavism, Islam and others. It is therefore suggested that the pilgrim's movements, times, occasions, strength, purpose, routes, halts and stays be mapped in depth so as to get it incorporated into the planning processes and regulations.

Religion, Rituals Heritage

Rituals related to births, deaths, marriages, *graha* position, asceticism and celebrations of all kinds are enacted in the city at different places, at different times and require travel, congregation, sacrifices, *danam* and several other related activities. These rituals are located in space and are conducted at a certain cyclical time and hence it should not be difficult to define them in terms of areas and planning spaces. It is however important to understand those in greater depth and without going into the issue of scientific recognition. These should find place in the map of Ujjain. A mapping exercise needs to be undertaken and rituals of all communities irrespective of class or category need to be included.

Myths and Mythology Heritage

The rituals and religious practices are based on myths and mythologies perpetuated over several millennia, which are in turn result of observations and beliefs. Apart from myths related to gods and demi-gods, Ujjain is also landscape of Krishna, Sudama, Vikramaditya, Kalidas, Varahamihira, Mahakacchayan, etc. and stories of their wisdom, literary skills, scientific knowledge and spiritual insights are related to sites, spots and landscape. When the town stood destroyed, it is the presence of such legends, mythologies and myths that have kept the culture and civilisation alive. It is therefore important to include the mythological and mythical landscape in the planning process. The methodology of mapping has to be devised and verified with spots and sites.

Treatises Heritage

Mahatmayas and treatises along with canonical texts abound with references to the sacredness of the landscape. Shipra the only river that is Uttaravahini (flowing northwards towards its place of origin) is sacred all the way and is therefore home to several ghats along its banks. The sapta sagars, sacred grooves, sacred trees, sacred stones, sacred ponds and wells are all revered resources to be venerated, celebrated and perpetuated. Plotting of all that is considered sacred by way of natural or man made resources should form layer of GIS to be analysed and incorporated into the plan.

Ancient Sciences Heritage

Astronomy, Cosmological basis of planning, Karka Rekha, Observatory, Architecture, Iconography, Water systems, Medicine system and all sciences that do not find place in today's world needs to be mapped and plotted on city map. These can be explained to people, experts, tourists of foreign origins or domestic alike. Plotting them on the map and incorporating them in the development plans is essential.

Ancient Knowledge Systems

This would include Art and Architecture of the ancient, medieval and old and should include making inventories. A listing of heritage buildings with brief description of its architecture and condition is prerequisite to the entire planning process. Listing of Ujjain's built heritage was done by INTACH in 1986 and has been extensively updated by detailed surveys undertaken in 2003. The analysis of the data so collected would provide meaningful inputs for the CDP. Ancient universities, universities with history or special scholarly deposits, indigenous agricultural practices and similar knowledge should also be plotted on a map as a layer. Trading houses, areas, art and architecture related to it should find place in the planning processes.

Heritage Tourism

As against Pilgrim Heritage, tourists can be of different nature. The pattern of tourists of all types such as foreign and domestic and their interests need to be plotted on the map and proper plans to enhance their experience leading to greater inflow of tourists should find mention in the plan.

Intellectual and Living Heritage

Difficult though this may sound but mapping of the traditional knowledge that exists in the area is important. Although of the intangible type and difficult to plot on the GIS but can be part of the framework of thinking. By intellectual mapping it would mean special traditions that are part of the culture such as a certain kind of Veda chanting, or a certain *paddatti* of Sanskrit teaching etc. The resultant outcome could be setting up of a library of a certain facility type, or a gurukul with outdoor teaching facilities.

Having conducted all the above-mentioned studies and having plotted them on different layers of the city plan; a web of overlapping areas are likely to emerge. The depth of importance of each area would be reflected in the number of overlapping layers that it contains e.g. the Mahakala temple may contain seven out of eight layers mentioned above and hence has to be treated on that scale of priority. The approach of developmental ideals may be in contradiction to each other for example treatment for spaces of archaeological mounds may contradict with spaces of myths and mythology; in such cases creative new ideas may emerge that are specific to the city. The exercise provides data to work-on and would have to be translated into Action Plans. Action Plans could be of three types, one of conservation, other of reconstruction and the third of development.

CONSERVATION PLANS

After having mapped out the existing heritage wealth and its health in some depth, the following actions may be suggested

Heritage Areas / Zones may be demarcated depending on the preponderance and density of heritage assets and their conservation, preservation, reconstruction, excavation, restoration, consolidation and development policies and bye-laws may be framed in accordance with their importance and priorities. Within these areas all infrastructural development and construction and any similar intervention should be predicated on the preservation and conservation of cultural assets in that Heritage Area / Zone just as has been the policy for the preservation and conservation of the environment and forests. Roads, parking lots and other such issues, although servicing the Heritage Areas / Zones may have to be dealt with without causing any damage to the ambience and character of the zone.

Conservation, it may be emphasised is not related to just architecture but has to be viewed in its larger context. The street and lanes profile, small chowks, public sitting places and other small apparently meaningless units constitute the ambience. The spirit of the place is a fragile entity and has to be captured by careful and sensitive study. Streetscapes, pathways, surface of the paths, streetlights can all add or mar the ambience. One of the biggest damage to heritage areas has been caused by the tarring of the roads, overhead cabling and hoardings. Sensitively designed pathways and path surfacing along with underground cabling and understated bill boards would go a long way is restoring the aesthetic value of the heritage areas.

Water Bodies are the lifeline of any city and a detailed water conservation plan needs to be put in place. Particularly where the river and water bodies are part of the sacred and the mythical landscape and therefore closely related to the identity of the place. Engineering solutions may not be sufficient to revive this life providing stream running, the authorities may have to ensure proper pumping of the heart (get people's sentiments and cooperation). Kshipra is the lifeblood of this Heritage City. Most of the sacred sites are located on its banks and nearby. Any plan for ensuring adequate flows, their quantity and quality and sustainability throughout the year would require study of its catchments and measures to augment the ground water and the consequent flows into the river. Study conducted by INTACH (1993) proposes certain measures towards achieving this aim.

Reconstruction Plan

Reconstruction of ancient pathways, forest grooves attached to temples, ghats, ponds, tanks, camping grounds, sitting places even gateways or formal entries to these sacred precincts may be suggested. Architecturally lanes and streets with a particular character may be restored by reconstructing missing elements or damaged areas. Ujjain has lanes and streets of wooden building facades and much work can be done in this area to restore character to the city.

Development Plan

A carefully worked out programme to interpret the heritage to the local residents and visiting population should be put into place. Models of the ancient past can be constructed along with reconstruction of certain areas. Needless to say reconstruction on site has to be done carefully and sparingly. There is scope to provide

modern facilities like computers to the pandas who are repository of the knowledge of genealogy, training ground for new apprentices into the trade etc. should be put in place.

JNNURM AND CDP

Ujjain today is the most poorly interpreted and understood city of India. Its antiquity is nowhere to be seen, having been destroyed completed at some point in history. Independent India has not made any attempt at bringing to the fore this character of the city. JNNURM is an occasion to provide future to the past in such a way that it generates tourism, inculcates pride and brings in livelihoods and alleviates poverty.

Eradication of poverty and provision of basic minimum services are integral elements of any strategy to improve the quality of life. No developmental process can be sustainable unless it leads to visible and widespread improvement in these areas. India believes that poverty anywhere is a threat to prosperity everywhere and that concerted international action is essential to ensure global prosperity and better standards of life for all. At the focus of urban development in India today are the urban local bodies or municipal bodies. In a fast urbanising and globalising nation, there can be well managed cities and a good quality of life only when municipalities are financially healthy and stable. With the enactment of the 74th Constitution Amendment Act of the year 1992, (74th. CAA 1992) municipal bodies have been vested with more powers and provision for receiving more funds by way of devolution from the centre and the state. It is now being recognised that cities are the engines of growth at both regional and national level. To facilitate and sustain this growth, cities have to provide both a high quality of life and an efficient infrastructure for economic activities. Strategic planning is basically resource generation, resource development and resource management exercise. The efficiency of urban settlements largely depends upon how well they are planned, how economically they are developed and how efficiently they are managed. Planning inputs largely govern the efficiency level of human settlements.

Local bodies play a critical role in the delivery of social, economic and infrastructure services like public health, sanitation, primary education, water supply, and maintenance of road networks. The rapid pace of urbanisation in India over the last few decades has led to pressure increasing on urban local bodies (ULBs) to

ensure adequacy of service for a burgeoning population. According to the 2001 census, India's urban population stands at around 28 percent of the country's total population, and is estimated to have grown significantly over the last few years. Population increase apart, a number of other changes have also been taking place within the ULB domain. As stated earlier, the 74th. CAA 1992 provides, for the first time, constitutional recognition to ULBs, thereby establishing the legal framework for decentralisation to the level of local government. Simultaneously, the deteriorating fiscal health of States has limited the access of ULBs to the State budgetary support mechanism for the funding of capital projects.

The goals of a city development plan include a collective city vision and action plan aimed at improving the Infrastructure, urban governance and management and systematic and sustained reductions in urban poverty. Ultimately, it is expected that the CDP will result in strategic platform, which facilities development, decision making, investment programming, the efficient allocation of resources and in city ownership of its economic and social development process.

SELECTION OF UJJAIN CITY

Ujjain is one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus and has got a great religious and cultural importance. Considering its significant religious and cultural image it has been included in the list of selected cities under JNNURM scheme. The primary objective underlying the City Development Plan of Ujjain is protection of urban heritage, which includes its religious, sacred, historical character, and reshaping and reviving the city through heritage preservation. In view of this special aspect pertaining to Ujjain the information regarding the religious and cultural heritage has to be specially featured into the model of the methodology given above.

The city as a sacred landscape must have the following:
- City as a landscape with sacred, heritage and other values invested in not just its buildings and monuments but in all things tangible and intangible therein;
- Identification and classification of heritage both tangible and intangible into Kshetras based on the uniformity of character and non conflicting focal points;
- Governance, planning, proposal making and

development on the basis of the Kshetras and in synchronisation with the character, ambience and unique quality of the Kshetras.

Kshetras, the cultural management units

For the convenience of JNNURM Ujjain has been divided into Heritage Areas, on the basis of the following criteria:
- Unique quality omnipresent in the area
- Antiquity of the area
- Non-conflicting focus points.

UJJAIN City has been divided into following heritage areas, based on the above mentioned criteria:

Pracheen Ujjain

Provide glimpses into the historical journey of Indian towns and cities by establishing Archaeological Parks where ancient Ujjaini existed. Interpreting the ancient towns and projecting its possible reconstruction on computers is one of the areas of development. Ujjain was a fortified town in 800 BC and one of the earliest stupa exists here. It is one of the places visited by Huen Tsang.

Kshipra and its banks

The water quality and quantity of the sacred *uttaravahini* river Kshipra where Ganga ji is known to have come to cleanse herself having collected dirt by washing millions of sins of its worshippers. The sapta sagara and all the water tanks, baodies, wells etc. that seep their waters into Kshipra are also taken into account. Revival of the ghats and shamshans that accept millions of pilgrims who wish to take the onward journey after life as prescribed in the Hindu canonical texts.

Heritage Core of the City

The Heritage core of the town reflects its basic aesthetics and indigenous living style. Married with trading activity, the city core combines economy with social and religious sentiments of the people of our country in a most advanced and efficient manner. The CDP talks of its conservation and its rejuvenation. It strengthens the latent and complex economic strengths of the town by providing user-friendly environment. Streetscape of timber structures and open chowks are archetypal to the city core.

Myths, Mythologies and Oral Traditions

The Myths and Mythologies are addressed in several programmes and development schemes where the sacred grooves are recreated, sound and light programmes on Simhasana Battisee and Vikram aur Vaital are narrated in oral tradition way. Footprints of the ancient gurus are marked on the road as defined in the ancient treatises etc.

Pracheen Gyan-Vigyan

One of the major area of development has been in the field of ancient sciences where a Pracheen Gyan Vigyan centre with a world class library, labs, auditoriums and computer facility is proposed. The intention is to look through the ancient sciences through modern gadgets and appliance. Since knowledge was not divided into segments of science, art and literature at one time, it is the intention of the CDP to provide holistic approach in the centre and to combine, Sanskrit studies, Natya Shastra, Sthapathya Kala and other shastras in the same premises so that the exchange of knowledge could take place at several levels.

Trade and Commerce

A flower mart, where forward and backward linkages of flower growers can be taken care of flower trading is one of the largest growing market and Ujjain already has an established intended knowledge and developed production of the same. It is intented to expand its reach globally by providing facilities for shipment, wholesale marketing etc. The facilities can be housed in old defunct mills where conservation and revival of its premises would serve the purpose of historical layering and heritage conservation.

Tourism Development

The infrastructure and expenditure in the pilgrim facilities can be extended to other visiting tourists and tourist complexes and facilities can help augment income generation and traditional crafts etc.

CONCLUSION

The water quality and quantity of the sacred uttaravahini river Kshipra poses a serious issue. Revival of the ghats and shamshans that receive millions of pilgrims is also included on the CDP. It provides glimpses into the historical journey of Indian

The Kshetras of UJJAIN

Bhairav Kshetra	(BK)	I
Mahakal Kshetra	(MKK)	II
Gopal Kshetra	(GK)	III
Roza Kshetra	(RK)	IV
Kaliadeh Surya Kshetra	(KDSK)	V
Madhav Kshetra	(MDVK)	VI
Mill Kshetra	(MK)	VII
Jaisinghpura Kshetra	(JSPK)	VIII
Vaishya Tekri Kshetra	(VTK)	IX
Bakhal Kshetra	(BKHK)	X
Ksipra and its Banks	(KS&GH)	XI
Vikram University Kshetra	(VUK)	XII
Nagar Kot Rani Kshetra	(NKRK)	XII
Yogeshwari Tekri Kshetra	(YTK)	XIV
Kartik Kshetra	(KK)	XV
Pushkar Kshetra	(PK)	XVI
Neel Ganga Kshetra	(NGK)	XVII
Chintaman Kshetra	(CK)	XVIII

towns and cities by establishing Archaeological Parks where ancient Ujjaini existed. The heritage core of the town reflects its basic aesthetics and indigenous living style. The CDP talks of its conservation and rejuvenation. It strengthens the latent and complex economic strengths of the towns by providing user-friendly environment.

One of the major areas of development has been in the field of ancient sciences where a Pracheen Gyan Vigyan Centre with a world class library, labs, auditoriums and computer facility is proposed. CDP aims to provide holistic approach and combines, Sanskrit studies, Natya Shastra, Sthapathya kala and other shastras in the same premises to facilitate exchange of knowledge at several levels.

A flower mart is proposed where forward and backward linkages of flower growers can be taken care of. Globally, flower trading is one of the largest growing activity. The infrastructure and expenditure on the pilgrim facilities can be extended to other visiting tourists and tourist complexes; it can augment income generation and traditional crafts.

The CDP therefore aims to make Ujjain an environment friendly, religious and spiritual pilgrim tourist centre with economic opportunities and prosperity that is sustainable and in synchronisation with the cultural micro-manifestations in the Kshetras.

Urban Renewal Mission in Mysore City

GSV SURYANARAYANA MURTHY

ABSTRACT

The article presents an overview of the JNNURM and the activities initiated under the mission by the Government of Karnatka in Mysore. It aims to update and present a view of the current status of a few actions commenced under the Mission. The JNNURM initiative can be described as historical in independent India, where the 'inner' and culturally vibrant and representative cities of India would be revitalised and most importantly the character of the 'inner' in these cities would come under focus for development and change.

Development pressures both infrastructural and economic, changing priorities and lifestyles are posing a threat to the charm of the inner pockets of this once glorious city also famous as a seat of industry. The modest city has now grown to about 92 square kilometers in area, accommodating a population of nine lakhs. Certain areas of the city are also facing the pressure of infrastructure such as transportation, parking, drainage and signage. Detailed verification of the various Heritage Properties/ areas listed and maintained by private and public agencies/ owners is crucial for the management, conservation/ renewal and maintenance of these in Mysore city. A survey was taken in early 2006, to comprehensively enlist the various Heritage properties has been explained. The article also tries to put in perspective the National Heritage Workshop held in Mysore to discuss the gaps that need to be filled and bring the scope of the mission initiative to the actual desired end of enriching the heritage by conservation.

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Lalitha Mahal Palace

MYSORE, THE CITY OF PALACES

Mysore, one of the most vibrant cities in South India, evokes an image of royal palaces, temples, natural lakes, planned layouts and the more than famous Dasara festivities. The erstwhile Mysore state was a seat of learning and produced men who made a mark in the field of liberal arts. Noted civil engineer M Visweswariah, who was also the Dewan of Mysore State, famous novelist R K Narayan, his brother and famous cartoonist R K Laxman, litterateur and Jnanapith award winner KV Puttappa (famously known as Kuvempu) all hailed from Mysore besides a great number of well-known musicians and Sanskrit scholars. Recent developments such as the establishment of the Infosys campus and the setting up of new industries have put Mysore, a popular tourist destination in Karnataka, on the global map.

Development pressures both infrastructural and economic, changing priorities and lifestyles are posing a threat to the charm of the inner pockets of this once glorious city also famous as a seat of industry. The modest city has now grown to 92 sq kms in area (as per the Mysore City Corporation boundary) accommodating a population of nine lakhs (Seven to eight lakhs as per 2001 census). Certain areas of the city are also facing the pressure of infrastructure such as transportation, parking, drainage and signage.

While on one side; the city is coping with an infrastructure shortage, the old palaces, buildings and lakes that proclaim the image and identity of the city are now showing signs of neglect, abandoned condition, deterioration, modified / damaged condition and misused conditions. There is also pressure of adding new buildings in historical areas and congestion of old markets due to growing needs. Heritage components such as palaces, roads, special areas, natural lakes and buildings have become the victims of these pressures, in turn badly reflecting on their image. The new economy, changing priorities of administration and policies are also causing a change in the social fabric and cultural components such as

festivals, customs and lifestyle and, affecting the craft and skill-based industries such as sandalwood products and 'agarbathis' for which Mysore is well-known.

At present, no comprehensive database on Heritage and Heritage Components of Mysore and on its management is available. This is evident from the varied and repeated lists maintained by various agencies such as the Indian National Trust for Art Culture and Heritage (INTACH), Mysore City Corporation (MCC) and a Heritage Sub-committee appointed by Mysore administration. What this calls for is a detailed verification of the various Heritage Properties / areas listed and maintained by private and public agencies / owners. This activity is crucial for the management, conservation / renewal and maintenance of these properties / areas.

The JNNURM is one such initiative that can be described as historical in independent India, where the "inner" and culturally vibrant and representative cities of India would be revitalised and most importantly the character of the 'inner' in these cities would come under focus for development and change.

MYSORE HERITAGE MAPPING PROJECT

A step towards identification of core area in a city: A Case Study

The seat of Wadiyar dynasty, Mysore's rich cultural heritage stems from the initiatives of its Maharajas well-supported by an equally able administration under its illustrious Dewans. The structures dotting the present city of Mysore all date back to the time of the Residency and the Wadiyars, who were reinstated with power after the fall of Srirangapattana to the British in 1799.

Most of the structures were built either during the early 1800s, when the capital was shifted from Srirangapattana to Mysore and the young prince Krishnaraja Wadiyar III was crowned as the Mysore Maharaja by the British; or the early 1900s during the reign of Maharaja Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV. It was under their reigns that much of the modern township of Mysore was created. The Yelawala Residency, Wellington Lodge, Ridge House (the present official residence of the Police Commissioner) and the Government House at Nazarbad are few of the structures that date back to the early 18th century and remind one of the British Regency.

While the old markets Vani Vilasa Market and the Devaraja Market form the business districts of the Mysore city, major chunk of the recognised heritage properties lay scattered on the sides of Jhansi Lakshmi Bai Road, the University area and road leading to Lalitha Mahal from Chamarajendra Zoological gardens. Some of the other structures lay strewn near and around the city's well-known squares, the Hardinge circle, KR circle and the Chamarajendra circle.

Mysore's architectural heritage and city image has been defined and identified by the areas like: The Amba Vilasa palace complex, Palaces of Mysore, Sayyaji Rao road, Devaraja market, Devaraja Ursu road, Church precincts, Town hall and clock tower precincts, KR hospital area, University area, Kukkarahalli lake, Chamarajendra zoological gardens, Agrahara area, Chamundi hill and temples and the famous Dasara festivities

Karanji Mansion

THE MAPPING PROJECT AND SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The Mysore Heritage Mapping project was commissioned by the Commissioner, Heritage, Archaeology and Museums, the Government of Karnataka. The project is being handled by KSHETRA, an Architectural conservation firm led by GSV Suryanarayana Murthy, Conservation Architect. The plan initially envisaged was to locate, verify and prepare a comprehensive map of all heritage properties in Mysore. The initial inventory that formed the basis for the work was a list adopted by the Mysore Agenda Task Force (MATF). It included the 139 heritage properties enlisted by the Indian National Trust for Art, Culture and Heritage (INTACH). Later, during the course of survey, some more properties enlisted by the Heritage Sub-committee appointed by MATF were noticed during discussions with the Commissioner, Archaeology, Heritage and Museums. Taking into consideration the properties under maintenance by the Building Divisions I and II of PWD, and the State Archaeology Department, the actual number of heritage properties in the inventory swelled to 219. An effort was also made to include the list of heritage properties under the purview of the Mysore City Corporation and some structures that were spotted during the survey. The final inventory (added to 262 heritage properties) that was prepared took into account the work of all the various bodies earnestly seeking to conserve the architectural heritage of erstwhile Mysore state.

Though the purpose of the survey was initially clouded by the very many lists and classifications, in turn stemming from the varied nature of the heritage properties and ownership or maintenance pattern, the objective was to enlist comprehensively all the heritage properties that display the period architecture that evolved in Mysore under the Wadiyars.

The survey aimed at compiling all possible information of the listed heritage properties including their ownership besides their significance and description of character. The primary objective was to update the existing map as per the profiles of the building and plot boundaries of the heritage properties. The survey included taking inventory notes on the site, photographing the heritage property and its immediate context and, updating the information, photographs and maps based on the site visit. Visual approximation was the method adopted for assessing the size of site and plinth area. But where possible and information

was readily available, the same has been jotted down in the survey formats.

For preparation of the heritage map, the Mysore Urban Development Authority map (MUDA map showing the boundaries of connurbation, corporation and planning districts finally approved by the Government vide order No UDD 337 TTP 96 dated 16-5-1997) was used.

HERITAGE SUB-COMMITTEE

A Heritage sub-committee was constituted during January 2005 based on a note issued by the Government of Karnataka in March 2004 to identify heritage properties and enable their protection and conservation. The committee so finalised for Mysore city comprising 18 members undertook a survey in three phases. The first phase of the survey was conducted on 18th May 2005 and listed 30 heritage properties. The second phase of the survey was conducted on 25th May 2005 and listed 24 heritage properties. The third phase of the survey was undertaken during June 2005 and listed 39 heritage properties. The Heritage sub-committee had enlisted a total of 93 properties, of which 26 were already covered under the MATF list. Majority of the properties enlisted during the second phase are strewn around Vani Vilasa Mohalla and Yadavgiri. Their significance stems from their association with prominent citizens/ Railways of Mysore rather than any delineated architectural character. Of the total 93 properties listed, 26 properties including seven schools, four temples, two police stations and two hostels can be classified under the public buildings / structures type (with respect to their old use), while the remaining 67 are of residential type (with respect to their old use) and, have been in certain instances adapted for other uses.

LISTING OF HERITAGE PROPERTIES

The total number of heritage properties that have been covered in the two volumes total to 262, including 139 from the list adopted by MATF, 64 from the list prepared by the Heritage Sub-committee (the remaining 29 of the said 93 properties have already been enlisted in the list adopted by MATF), nine under the purview of Building Sub-divisions I and II (the remaining 25 of the said 34 properties have already covered under the previous lists), seven under the purview of the State Archaeology (the remaining one of the said eight properties has been covered in the

Mahishasura

MATF list), 28 by the Mysore City Corporation and 15 properties other than those that have been listed above.

NATIONAL WORKSHOP ON HERITAGE IN MYSORE

The Heritage issue was understated in the JNNURM document. Guideline documents need to stress the importance of the heritage issue again and again. To focus on heritage and discuss these issues besides giving final approval to projects submitted by ten cities including Mysore, a national workshop was held recently at Mysore. Administrators from Karnataka, experts, planners and agencies connected with the JNNURM from different parts of the country participated in the seminar for approval and discussion on the projects submitted by these cities. The seminar was jointly organised by the Government of India, Government of Karnataka, Indian National Trust for Architectural and Cultural Heritage (INTACH), Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development Finance Corporation (KUIDFC), Karnataka Tourism

Development Corporation (KSTDC) Mysore, Urban Development Authority (MUDA) and Mysore City Corporation (MCC). Mysore Mayor Bharathi informed the workshop that the JNNURM project for Mysore had identified 248 heritage structures and two heritage roads — Krishnaraja Boulevard and the road running along Karanji Lake from Nazarbad connecting Lalitha Mahal Road. Referring to the urban development projects executed during the past 20 years, it was opined that most of the cities in India received little or no attention and very insignificant funds. The projects that received funds provided only infrastructure neglecting heritage areas and heritage buildings. Experts felt that the City Development Plans (CDPs) should utilise local expertise in consultation with Central and State Governments. Opinions of few experts in the field of Conservation relating to Mysore and JNNURM varied. The South Asian Network of Young Conservation Professionals (SANEYCOP), a

network of conservation professionals though was appreciative of the fact that the JNNURM was like a wake up call to look at the renewal of old cities in India, felt that the approach to such a kind of scheme was still not comprehensive and that many issues needed to be addressed.

Pankaj Modi of Bangalore in the group's website states, "The people / authorities who are in charge of these schemes are still taking a 'monumental approach' in these cities - regarding Heritage to be only structures and not the living culture and character of the city." A G K Menon, Director, T V B School of Habitat Studies commenting on the set of 'supplementary guidelines' brought for heritage cities expressed that the document to be brought out by a committee appointed by the Urban development ministry under Charles Correa would address many of the genuine issues pertaining to heritage conservation.

Heritage Conservation in Pune: Issues and Actions

NARENDRA DENGLE

ABSTRACT

The conservation movement in India has taken strong roots over the last twenty years or so. In some cities Urban Conservation Committees were appointed by the local State Governments including Pune. Both the natural and the man made heritage of Pune calls for a varied expertise and peoples' qualified involvement for protection and implementation of conservation policies. The enormous variety in the archetypal residential architecture of the place makes it a challenging proposition for active conservationists and the bureaucrat both. It is impossible to make a uniform policy for precincts and the architecture of timber, mud, brick on one hand and stone and timber on the other.

Conservation ought to be more imaginative so far as interpretation of the past is concerned and cannot be restricted to restoration and replicating demolished structures alone. Conservation policies proposed need to be well and sensitively grafted into the proposed Development Plan. The debate on how these heritage sites can be redeveloped, where possible, calls for creative interpretations that deal with the visual aspects without fossilising the housing precincts. Changed land use, treating every region and locality differently and sensitively needs patience and perseverance on the part of the Urban Heritage Committees (UHC) as well as the City Administration. A growing city which absorbs near-by fringe villages into its city limits, like is done in Pune, must also take lead in documenting heritage data of those villages before they disappear under the force of development. The article makes an attempt to give a brief history of what the UHC attempted in Pune and its obvious shortcomings.

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HERITAGE ISSUES

Concern for heritage develops, primarily due to two reasons. Either because one is scared that there is a threat to what one believes represents one's heritage, or one believes that conservation is a tool that helps visually narrate the history of a place and its people, which is useful for posterity. Conserving heritage, which was supposed to be the job of the Archaeological Survey of India, (ASI) until twenty years ago, is currently being recognised both as a movement and a profession, to which, now even the common man is drawn. This happened because the scope of the ASI is restricted only to the most sublime and monumental sites of regional and national importance, and there obviously are more heritage sites in each region and city, which also need conservation. It is, therefore, necessary to identify and understand the issues, so that appropriate action may be initiated at all levels.

The issues include:

- Process and criteria for listing and grading
- Identification of the scope of conservation-for campuses having more than one building
- Defining the norms of redevelopment in each case, bearing in mind that no blanket rules can be formed and applied evenly to sites
- Rights of the owner, under the Indian Constitution, to redevelop his / her property.
- Re-examining the Floor Space Index (FSI) in each case-since, in most cases it is the FSI, which needs to be reduced in order to conserve the heritage site.
- Giving incentive to the owner, to conserve his / her heritage site.
- Compensation, if any to be paid in cash or kind by the Government to the owner, in case he is likely to suffer heavy financial losses to maintain / conserve /under develop his site.
- Scope of the Transferable Development Rights (TDR) in the case of a Heritage site.
- Raising resources and making financial provisions in the budget of the State Government and the Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) for listing, researching, documenting, etc required for every site. Creation of Heritage Fund for conservation of the most important sites and even taking them over, if necessary.
- Encouraging, empanelling capable, qualified conservation architects, engineers, gardeners and contractors to take up conservation work on a professional basis.

- Creating simple 'do-it-yourselves' manuals for the common man who can handle things on his own without going to the consultants, for simple and day-to-day maintenance and prevention of decay.
- Immediately taking up model projects in all categories to demonstrate the advantages of a well-conceived and executed conservation project to the owners and the city as a whole.
- Finalising the whole methodology of applying for redevelopment and its scrutiny by the owner, its approval by the PMC etc and actual execution.
- Integrating Conservation Policy in the Draft Development Plan for the PMC, including the expanded PMC limit.

CONSERVATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

It is extremely important to build confidence of the people in favor of conservation; in that, conservation must be made part of the development process rather than considering it as a hindrance to it. It is true, that at the moment the owner thinks that listing his / her site would deprive him of economic benefits that developers reap from such projects. Also, the interface between heritage and development must be so designed as to resolve the problems faced by society, in commutation and communication, without giving undue priority and importance to the automobile. It also means that the old structures, rivers, hill tops and slopes, lakes / ponds / quarries, trees farm-land etc, all come into focus, as much, or, more than the automobile. However, the latter seems to enjoy the maximum consideration from our politician, developer, entrepreneur and the automobile lobby that surrounds Pune. It is important to note that the maximum budget provision has been made for new roads in the new Draft Development Plan (DDP) being proposed presently by the PMC and widening of roads, parking lots, breaking existing roads and concreting the same etc are considered synonymous with development. Development and growth of a city is not only about building roads and chopping vegetation and copying examples of cities like Singapore, which some citizens are enamored by. It is also about creating a plan that respects the potential of the soil, existing land-use pattern, problems of the migratory poor, and, to make lives of the people more livable, enjoyable backed by a holistic vision about the city's future. It is also about recognizing both, the ills and boons of technological achievements. It certainly is not a mere arithmetic exercise in playing with numbers- population and cars and resources-which the DDP has managed to be. People need to be connected, as well as, left alone to
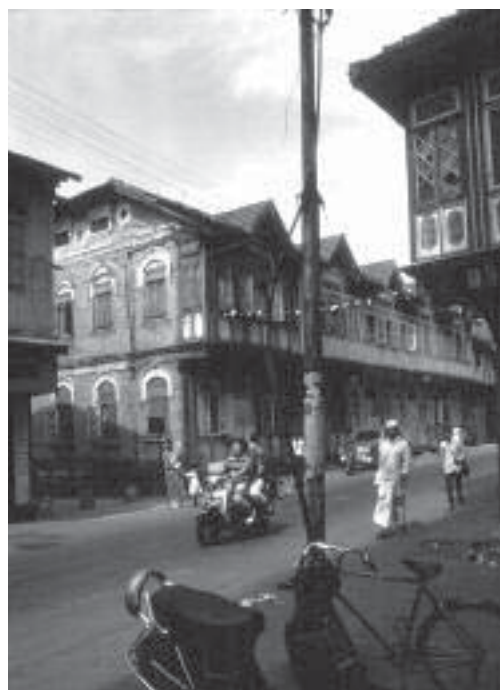
Traditional Houses in Pune - Interior and Exterior

their creative recluseness, if they so wish. Commutation and communication ought to be seen as two different problems. Both facilitate connecting people and society-physically, culturally and commercially. Loudspeakers and horns of vehicles probably break and shatter a society rather than connect it. If conservation of heritage is seen as part of such holistic development process, then it starts assuming meaning and content in our lives.

In the last ten years that one has struggled to help the cause of conservation, one has noticed some positive changes. Firstly one must recognise the fact that the PMC engineers have become aware of the heritage cause. There is a greater awareness in the colleges of architecture (Pune has ten). There are environmental groups and various ward committees who have become conscious of the heritage sites within their areas. All this has lead to an overall greater awareness-that was the goal that INTACH had set for itself when it was formed in the mid eighties. It is now very important that the citizens take the initiative and bring to book the heritage sites that are endangered. The sites, which are yet to be listed-especially in the fringe areas-must be documented and listed by the PMC immediately. In this way there would be greater participation from the society in the very process of listing. One, of course, must be cautious of the motives behind the listing especially when some people see the

listing as a pretext and cover, to hold on to a property for whatever reason-may be due to religious, ownership, family feuds etc; and each such proposal must eventually be scrutinised by the Pune Urban Heritage Committee (PUHC) before listing it. The present list being the first of its kind for Pune, it has some inherent problems. Wherever there are more buildings and objects in a campus of an institution, the institute should engage a conservation architect to carry out its own status report that informs them of the sites worthy of conservation, strategies and estimates for implementation. In many such cases, it is required to form a team of conservation experts, consisting of architect-conservationist, landscape architect, and civil-structural engineer, who together can provide a holistic approach to the problems.

No blanket norms can ever be applied to all types of sites because of the location, ownership status, structural condition and the category under which each one of these listed. Gaothan buildings would need an entirely different treatment from, for instance, buildings on the University campus. Buildings built in stone and timber would vary in conservation treatment. The most important issue of course is the legal one. The owner is entitled to develop his property and any curb imposed on it would mean infringement of his fundamental rights under the Constitution. The concept of Transferable

Contrasting Construction - New and old

Development Rights (TDR) was invented in the UK, primarily to address the cause of heritage, however in our country and especially in Pune, ironically it is given for 'road widening', and not for conservation of heritage! There is also a danger in thinking that TDR can solve 'all problems'. In fact there is a fear that it can create more problems for development and destroy systematically the traditional or contemporary urban fabric. Giving rights to develop elsewhere amounts to 'postponement of problems' and can lead to congestion in the fringe areas, burdening the city's infrastructure and destruction of natural heritage. These are the perils of adhocism in planning.

THE ECONOMICS OF CONSERVATION

The main problem being the economics of conservation, owners may not, and justifiably cannot, always bear the full cost of maintenance of the heritage structure by default, in which case, depending on the importance of the site, the PMC must be able to buy off the owner or substantially shoulder the cost of conserving the site. In order to be able to do so, the PMC needs to create a 'Heritage Fund'. Such Heritage Fund may be created by a built in tax in every transaction on any land or built property that takes place within the PMC limit. Even if the tax were worked out as a very small percentage (0.5 percent to 1 percent) of the overall cost of a property transaction, it would create a substantial corpus. In addition to creating the Heritage Fund, the PMC also needs to consider offering incentives to the owners of Heritage sites, by way of relaxation in Property Tax. It is also possible to offer special benefits to Industrial houses / donors who may like to finance conservation projects, partly or fully. The Development Plan must take into consideration the fact that in some heritage sites a

change in the land use can be an appropriate tool to help sustain the site. The DP also must incorporate the heritage sites on the map and rethink of its roads, wherever possible and feasible, so as to avoid bulldosing a heritage site or reducing it to unrecognisable bits. As far as the Government sites are concerned, the state or the Central Government can be persuaded to raise resources to conserve their buildings. Some of such sites, which have already been conserved in this manner, are the Botanical Survey of India building opposite the Blue Diamond, and the Ashley House opposite the Ruby Hall or the Accountant General's office. However the most sensitive of the lot would, perhaps be, people's housing. While a sensitive owner without anyone's help may conserve an Individual house, it is the mass housing projects that are usually disowned from the responsibility of sustained maintenance. The 'wadas' which are either rented out to or occupied by more than a family, and row / street housing consisting of several two-three storied houses, together make a historical or architectural statement in a city; they exemplify how houses were built in a given time and space, by a society and hence come under 'Precincts', needing conservation measures. Such traditional housing is built in timber, steel, brick, mud, rubble etc and needs repairs and restoration measures. Redevelopment proposals are also submitted on such sites, and have to be carefully scrutinised before sanctioning. This needs a framework of carefully worked out conceptual and visual strategies that define conservation, restoration, reconstruction and recycling of buildings. Western models cannot be applied blindly, because the people's housing in Pune, does not necessarily have a 'façade'; while it certainly has a soul-in form of the inner courtyard. The scale and visual aspect becomes extremely important and must score over the traditional construction methodology. In other words, it may not make sense to repeat the method of construction using the same material, but maintaining the overall ambiance and scale may be a more practical and better strategy. Also one must recognise the fact, that most of the traditional housing is more humane in scale; in that it is unable to accommodate the automobile within its fabric. Access for fire engine and cars may be introduced at nodal points rather than converting all lanes and gallies as motorcar roads. A clear-cut policy on precincts must be ironed out.

BUILDING TECHNICAL EXPERTISE

It is heartening to find that, now most architectural

Historic Core - Public Spaces, Pune

colleges offer courses and electives in conservation. This has opened up an avenue to observe traditional architecture and craft as the expression of a culture and look at them for ideas and signals for contemporary architecture. There are colleges in the country that now offer postgraduate courses in conservation, and Pune has more than ten-twelve practicing conservation architects graduated from these institutions. The PMC needs to empanel and actively involve the capable ones in the process of conservation. Projects that do not merit hiring conservation architects, being expensive, must be able to handle projects on a do-it-yourself basis. Manuals and instruction books need to be created for this purpose and the PMC must finance these from their Heritage Fund. Such do-it-yourself-manuals would go a long way in strengthening the cause of conservation in the city.

It is only the well executed projects, that, when brought to the notice of the citizens, will strengthen people's confidence in conservation. The PMC must identify a few sites in Grade I, II and III categories and take these up as model projects, carrying out thorough documentation of each stage of its design and implementation. There are row houses, precincts, individual sites as well as campuses, all of which need

a serious technical scrutiny to estimate the cost involved and immediate measures required. Obviously this will take some time before the experiments in construction, scale and new urban landscape can be fine-tuned. This will also give an opportunity to the conservation architects to demonstrate their expertise and commitment. A building ages and deteriorates because of a number of factors contributing to it, ranging from natural, climatic to abuse. It is the water penetration in buildings and acidic contents in the atmosphere that hasten the process of deterioration. Further adding on plumbing electrical, electronic and air-conditioning services unmindfully in an old building makes a building age even faster. Hence, how an old building can adapt itself to modern life is the key issue in prevention of its rapid deterioration. Technical skill, use of contemporary technology, as well as, traditional craft all comes into play while conserving an old building.

MAPPING HERITAGE

In Pune, the process of listing heritage sites began in the late eighties. Bombay Environmental Action Group and Indian National Trust for Art, Culture and Heritage (INTACH) Pune, has some experience of listing in other cities like Mumbai, carried out the

Heritage Bridge

Old timber structure

initial surveys and prepared their lists. The PMC had then formed a committee to prepare its own list. This committee consisted of historians, architects, archaeologists, engineers, social activists and environmentalists. On the basis of the Mumbai model, the list put the sites under three grades, based on their existing condition and local social-cultural-environmental significance. In October 1995 the Government of Maharashtra under Section 37 of the Maharashtra Regional Town Planing Act (MRTP Act) 1996, appointed an Urban Heritage Committee for Pune, thus dissolving the previous committee set up by the PMC. This committee examined the groundwork done by the previous teams and committees and prepared its own list of grade I, II and III sites. This took a long time, as the members are honorary members, who had to visit most of the locations on a number of occasions. While the list was being fine tuned by the members, it was left to the PMC to correctly locate the sites, check addresses, ensure the status quo and recommend to the State Government to publish the list in the Government Gazette. At the time when the PUHC finalised its list, Mr Ramakant Jha was the Commissioner of the PMC. Mr Jha was of the opinion that a list carrying only non-controversial sites owned by the Government, public trusts and institutions that came within the grade I, and some grade II sites only be first forwarded to the state Government. The members agreed to this, on the condition, that the list of the balance grade II and III sites would follow, as soon as possible. Accordingly, the draft first list consisting of 66 Grade I and 59 Grade II sites appeared in the gazette on 19 Nov 1988. This was done to invite objections and suggestions and hence cannot be taken as the final gazette list. The remaining list containing the Grade I, II and III sites including the natural heritage sites was approved by the PUHC and forwarded to the PMC in June 1999,

which has been gathering dust at the PMC. The General Body and the City Improvement Committee have not forwarded it to the State Government. Clearly their priorities are quite different and heritage is certainly not one of them. Since there were very few objections received by the PMC to the first list, within the given time, the State Government appointed Mr Phadtare, Town Planner, as the One Man Commission, to systematically invite owners of all listed properties for a hearing. Phadtare Commission's report is with Mr Kinhikar the Chief Town Planner, for his opinion on it. Mr Kinhikar's opinion too inevitably must take its own time. In the meanwhile, the PUHC that meets once every month has been made to look like a mockery of, by having to look into redevelopment proposals by different owners / developers and passing them with suggestions and comments. Although the list is yet to appear in the gazette the PMC officials have to be vigilant in bringing to book all redevelopment proposals on heritage sites before allowing construction to take place.

PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

Citizens on their part need to be vigilant in spotting any mischief-taking place on heritage sites and need to have copies of the list with their ward offices. In the past, the PMC has been deliberately misled by owners / developers by using various ploys. In one case, the owner himself demolished parts of his building, that was perfectly sound in structure when listed and claimed that he be granted permission to redevelop because his building was dilapidated and was falling on its own. In another case a builder put a bamboo fencing around the heritage property he intended to develop, and systematically demolished the whole heritage property without taking any permission from the PMC. In yet another case, a building that was

The Monuments in old town, Pune

listed as a grade III site was demolished openly and a new building built upon it, despite a visit by the heritage committee members to the site and warning the PMC about it. This is alarming because no demolition or, new construction could take place without the permission of the PMC. Vigilance and implementation of the provision in the law, not being the strength of the PMC, it remained helpless, if not blind, in noticing the violation of the Development Plan which provides for due protection of heritage sites. While there are parties who want to violate the law and develop the heritage structures, there are also the cases of the owners, who want to list their properties as heritage properties, but for their own ulterior motives. In some cases these motives are religious - fundamental so as to control any important site, while in the other cases the ownership tussles within the trusts, prompt owners to claim it as a heritage site (even if it actually doesn't not fit the bill) and want the same to be listed.

DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR PUNE

The last Development Plan was prepared when the listing of Heritage Sites was yet to be done. The road network planned in the last DP is therefore totally blind to the presence of Heritage Sites. It has given so much importance to the straightness of roads that in most cases they cut through old and important Heritage Sites. Pune, which is a historical city, has a number of Heritage Sites in the core city area. Narrow lanes, 'gallies', boles and 'aalis' characterise the core city area, together with two to three storied 'wadas' with inner courtyards; they create the fabric of the old city. Widening of roads is the last thing that can help the conservation of this fabric. In some European countries, the old city fabric is conserved meticulously by retaining facades of buildings, while allowing internal changes. This strategy is unworkable in the old city area, because the 'wadas' do not have self-conscious facades. Instead, they have the soul in form of inner courtyards-with plants trees and shrines. Widening roads and increasing set backs destroys this very soul. However, one is not suggesting that the old city should not cater to motor vehicles. What, perhaps, is required, is, controlling the private vehicles and their wanton thoroughfare through the old city. Parking areas need to be created at the entry and exit of the lanes thereby maintaining a pedestrian character within the traditional precinct. One would have to walk up to his / her house from the common parking lot, rather than every car reaching every house. In an emergency, collapsible bollards that separate the lanes and the parking can be handy, thus facilitating way for an

ambulance or a fire engine come closer to a building. One also must seriously examine streets like the Laxmi road, to make it entirely into a pedestrian street. It can be done if one is serious about restricting the automobile while encouraging the pedestrian / cyclist traffic. Servicing of the shops can be arranged in restricted hours when service vehicles can reach the shops. There is also a strong case for the entire zone between the Mandai, Tulshibaug, Belbaug right up to the Bajirao road on the other side, to be made into a special heritage zone. The entire area needs to be amalgamated and rationally redesigned, so as to retain some of the most important Heritage Sites. All inner courtyards can be linked by means of a pedestrian green belt. This would aim at preserving the courtyards and yet allowing contemporary development, re-housing all the present land uses and creating new saleable area and modern amenities to raise resources. One must not restrict the idea of conservation to individual structures alone but blend it well with the other objectives of the Development Plan. Considering the fact that only some 300 odd structures along with sites of Natural Heritage are listed in this sprawling city, one should be able to take a positive outlook towards conservation. Also out of these 300 odd structures the grade I sites are only 72, where no redevelopment is possible, all other structures, while redevelopment is allowed both in grade II and III structures, albeit with due regard to the heritage of the site.

Unfortunately, there is a total lack of interest on the part of the politician-bureaucracy lobby to regard Pune's heritage as something worthy of conservation. It is a misconception to regard heritage as something monumental and mighty — like the Red Fort of Delhi or the Taj Mahal of Agra, and look down upon the architecture of the people as something that is insignificant. In fact, it is the unpretentious and humble 'wada' architecture that gives Pune its character. The streets and the hierarchy of open spaces in the urban fabric of Pune are a result of compactly built residential 'wadas'. The courtyards and the scale of these 'wadas' together help create the ambience of the city core. Only listing some of the old but architecturally and socially significant streetscapes as precincts can effectively help conserve this ambience. Rules need to be framed for each precinct for its conservation and redevelopment. Most of the 'wadas'

are built in wood, mud, brick and stone. It is impossible to suggest wood as the construction material for new buildings in a precinct, for the reasons of cost and ecological conservation. But it is possible to replace wood by using steel sections, where absolutely necessary, so as to conserve the architectural character. It is important to realise that no society can be fossilised. No trade or craft can continue to repeat itself in strict adherence with the past styles. Every craft modifies or transforms depending on the changes occurring within the society. By conserving a house as a precinct one cannot expect the tradesmen to keep performing the same trade forever, hence the focus can only be conserving the ambiance of a place only. In the developed world, heritage properties go up in value, almost like antiquities. To own a heritage property hence, is a sign of prestige in Europe. In many cities heritage sites have been bought over by industrial houses, which are allowed to make internal minor modifications, without sacrificing its overall character. It won't be long before the affluent Puneites might like to own a heritage property for its rare and antique value. In fact, the efforts in conservation should demonstrate that even in a city like Pune a heritage structure is capable of generating curiosity and interest of the society - the common man as well as the tourist.

Finally, even the PUHC needs to transform itself into a more effective committee, perhaps, armed with more say in the matter and should have the resources to document, list sites on a continuous basis and devote attention to framing rules and regulations. It must be realised that the priority of the PUHC is to identify, list and create strategies for conservation, and constraints of resources should not be hindrance in the works. The PMC must apply its mind how resources can be raised in support of this cause rather than point out lack of resources as an excuse. The options pointed out in this article may also be considered seriously.

The new Draft Development Plan for the expanded areas does not even mention the word heritage while, the existing DP is still apathetic to the cause of conservation, and unless the citizens find pride and historicity in their city of Pune, the bureaucracy and the elected representatives both will continue to disregard heritage as something of a liability than an asset to this city.

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Assessment of 'JNNURM' in Goa: Case Study of Panaji

POONAM VERMA MASCARENHAS AND ASHISH K. SINAI REGE

ABSTRACT

Goa's historic past has given the state a rich treasure-trove of culinary, artistic, archaeological and architectural articles. The ever-increasing tourist traffic and the tourist services they have spawned are gradually invading the conservation areas, including the beaches. Rapid urbanisation have over-run all historic areas and precincts.

This article is an attempt to catalogue and comment on the shortfalls of current legislation for conservation; it reviews the current Regional Plan for Goa focussing on its two chapters, 'Conservation' and 'Tourism' and traces the conflicts inherent to the governing system.

JNNURM is perhaps an opportunity to address these inherent conflicts and to arrive at a desirable and acceptable policy paradigm of Urban Renewal in historic cities.

INTRODUCTION

Goa is a small state located on the West Coast of India with a history that dates back to the late upper Palaeolithic period. Its documented history can be dated to the 10th century when Goa was ruled by the kings of the Kadamba Dynasty. Goa was subsequently ruled by the Vijaynagar kings, the Islamic rulers from the Deccan, and the Portuguese. Since its liberation from the Portuguese in 1961, it has been widely promoted as a tourist destination for both foreign and domestic tourists.
Over-promotion of tourism has led to an unthinking commercialism with

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disastrous effects for the local natural environment and community life. This coupled with the process of rapid urbanisation has over-run all historic areas and precincts. Urban heritage is increasingly threatened by uncontrolled human activities, which lack commitment to humanitarian values and respect for cultural identity.

The objectives of the mission apparently offer the much-needed impetus for realising a visionary development plan for multi-faceted and heritage-rich cities. The intention of this article is to explore the feasibility of establishing a development trend primarily informed by the ecology, sustainability and existing heritage   both built and natural   favouring both the residents and the visitors in Goa. Our focus, in this article pertains to two dominant aspects: Conservation and Tourism.

REGULATORY FRAMEWORK FOR CONSERVATION

Under Fundamental Duties the Constitution of India, declares that "it shall be the duty, of every citizen of India to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture." In the case of the towns of Goa the following two contexts play an important role as far as the Conservation of Heritage is concerned.

At present, almost all indian states have their own Department of Archaeology. Land use legislation is the responsibility of the respective states. All states have framed Town and Country Planning Acts in which certain enabling clauses for the declaration of heritage conservation areas have to be provided for. Under the Urban Development Department exists the Town and Country Planning Department. The Urban Planning Department contributes to Development Plans, which are prepared for 20 years while Town and Country Planning Departments prepare long term Regional Plans. The next in this hierarchy is the Municipal Corporation, which is mainly an administrative body.

RELEVANT ACTS

The Archaeological department is an autonomous body whose work is defined by the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites Act (1958).

The Environmental (Protection) Act of India (No. 29, 1986), provides protection and improvement of the environment along the lines of UNESCO's World Heritage Trust convention of 1972, namely to foster 'preservation and restoration of outstanding cultural

and natural areas of the world' (Singh, 1997, p. 104).

Coastal Regulation Zone (CRZ) notification and Heritage Conservation (1991): The CRZ regulations offer a powerful instrument for the protection of historical heritage areas within 500 meters, of the entire coastline of India (6 000 km) and the banks of all tidal creeks, rivers or backwaters, up to the limit of tidal action.

Environment Protection Act and Environmentally / Eco-Sensitive Zone (July 2000): Declaration of areas as environmentally sensitive or eco-sensitive.

The regulations, though comprehensive, have some anomalies. The listing exercise has been only partially realised. Notification of the same and the framing of regulations are still pending. Consequently, the listed building application procedure is not formalised. Thus, one questions the functioning capacity of the Heritage Conservation Committee. Instituting an adhoc committee to monitor and maintain the Heritage Precincts without the framework seems to hint at a patronising attitude towards conservation on the part of the Planning and Development Department. Such lacunae are leading to indiscriminate destruction within the historic core while un-regulated and insensitive development continues at break neck speed.

TOURISM IN GOA

The 'flower children' discovered Goan beaches in the late 60s. By the early 70s it was an established destination on the hippy trail. In the late 70s, the Indian government successfully introduced the concept of 'Leave Travel Allowance' for government officers in order to encourage domestic tourism. Goa was a favoured destination of many who wanted to experience its westernised culture and ambience. However, visitors were then often surprised by the treasure trove of Goa's cultural heritage, especially its temples as well as the churches, though latter was more promoted. In those days, it was exotic, different and difficult to explore. Many areas were inaccessible to motor transport. With the eighties,came development-plan strategies and thence came the bridges over two of its main rivers, Mandovi and Zuari, linking the north and the south of Goa. The culture of 'Five-Star Hotels' had been well established by then and international chains of hotels joined the market. In the nineties came the chartered flights and with them the box-like apartment blocks fronting the

Almost burried heritage

beaches, allowed by a bureaucratic loophole called the rent-back facility. In the last decade, these have mushroomed all along the coastal belt; architecturally shoddy constructions, they personify the spread of environmental degradation. A Times of India News Service proclaimed that the foreign tourist business in Goa has forced a new 'acid party' culture that has become synonymous with drug abuse. The local populace says that the frequency of these drug bashes had increased and is causing alarm. Goa, which is featured among the most favoured tourist destinations of the world, has earned notoriety as a convenient place to get high in an idyllic environment. With this, the other fallouts of tourism trade are also on the increase.

Tourism was introduced into the ten yearly development plans with the proviso that it would provide social and economic development. When tourism development took off in a serious way in the late seventies, most of the investment came from the private sector, with public sector intervention on infrastructure, organisation of land and development control. The present extent and nature of government

involvement can be gauged from the present proposal in the Regional Plan for Goa 2011: (chapter 13): Tourism.

THE REGIONAL PLAN FOR GOA, CHAPTERS: CONSERVATION AND TOURISM

The conservation chapter is comprehensive and in line with international Charters in its specifications as regards to the use of conservation plans and establishment of a special conservation cell within the state department.

However, in its list of multi-disciplinary professionals, two vital players are omitted, namely the developer and the environmentalist. Being a tourist destination, private sector finances most of the development in this sector. The building sector and the tourist product sector are both involved in profit-oriented development and violate the regulations frequently. They are able to do so in the absence of strict legislative controls and in a corrupt environment. These two players must participate in the dialogue of

Church of the Immaculate Conception, Panjim

conservation. By providing an avenue for interaction within a framework, perhaps the concerns of the environmentalist can be impressed upon the major consumers of the environment. In the Indian scenario the conservation of heritage properties, cannot be considered in isolation. Heritage buildings are destined to become the next tourist product. For optimum afficiency, the development sector, the conservation sector and the tourism sector need to work together.

The prevailing trend in development is ignoring the continuous destruction of natural resources. Also, only the government is recognised as a player; 'private' companies whether representing the hotel industry or

the tour operators, adventure tourism developers or theme park developers are not being involved. They are the vital components who are participating in the evolution of the tourist industry in the state. Inviting them to participate in the discussion for the comprehensive, sustainable development is perhaps a primary step.

The regional plan of Goa 2011 reveals the lack of communication between the conservation and tourism agencies. Although their respective interests overlap, their respective recommendations are contradictory. One example is the development of old houses for paying guest accommodation. While the tourism office

Buildings galore juxtaposition with no scale

is recommended to explore the feasibility of the same, the heritage regulation decrees that in some areas, mixed uses will be banned. Both documents have one thing in common. Both ignore the residents of the state. One assumes that the local community is not aware of its heritage and needs to be educated about it while the other completely denies its existence and focuses only on the 'guest' community. The plan projects an arguably outdated and preconceived notion of a 'tourist'.

'The preservation and continuation of urban heritage is a complex issue and involves a large number of players, as well as constraints and conflicting priorities' (Orbasli 2000: p.93). The tourism planners desire a product for potential visitors. Local communities desire the protection of their heritage. Residents desire better living conditions. These desires often conflict. Perhaps a creative interpretations of the 'JNNURM' features may offer a viable opportunity to address the inherent issues and conflicts riding on the development of urban cities rich in heritage.

'JNNURM' IN THE CONTEXT OF PANAJI

Urban management encompasses planning, directing, organising (co-ordinating) and controlling roles (Page 1995). Management is defined as 'taking conscious

Church square changing scale

decisions, with an eye to the future, about ongoing operation' (Lichfield 1988:p.38). There are several issues and conflicts that exist in urban management. The main conflicts arise because development, tourism and heritage are regulated by different government sections and administered by different government departments. Further, these are controlled by different local government sections and administered by different professional fields, none of which traditionally work together. The need of the hour is to reach the delicate balance between tourism and conservation priorities within the development agenda. Success is dependent on attitude, support and investment from local governing powers, private and public initiatives and the tourism industry at large. The first requirement is cross-departmental

communication. The second would be to recognise all key players and stakeholders and creation of avenues for their positive participation.

For the projected achievement of urban conservation in Goa the main participants are:
- Central government
- State government
- Local public sector officials, local policy makers and professionals.
- Professionals and consultants
- Non-governmental organisations
- Social agencies
- The private sector
- Users (the resident community)

The national government, through legislation and subscription to international convention, 'establishes a legislative framework and is responsible for the safeguarding of law and constitution' (Orbasli 2000,pp. 1- 2).

In a large democracy like India, it is likely that certain areas receive more attention from the centre than others depending on elected party policies. Another pattern has been that the areas or states, that are backward, are forever pumped with central funds and subsidies with little or no results for decades, whereas states like Kerala and Goa, with high GDPs, contributing to the central purse are often sidelined or kept low priority as far as budget allocations decree. The current revision in budget allocations based on population or density to performance base is long over-due. The top-down approach in administration has run its course and it is now time to have local issue-based policies formulated and discussed within the local context in a transparent process to ensure developments that sustain an area's distinctiveness. Endorsement and funds from the Center for implementation can follow. Such a process may lead to a vibrant democracy where politics too becomes performance based.

Urban design is a pluralist activity involving negotiations between many parties and the general public (A.C. Hall 1997 in Orbasli 2000, p.105). 'Townscape management, conservation and development, are all-important social tasks of spatial planning' (Conzen 1981 in Orbasli,2000). Often, different professionals (architects, designers, planners or managers) and teams of professionals are appointed to different projects with few formal links to other teams within the same townscape. It is vital for sensitive development to have quality and effective management, to have committed, qualified professionals.

Professional activity, in most cases, demands a balance between valuing the knowledge of the professional and identifying the needs of the client or community. Additionally, poor administration in the public sector is a known problem, and complicated bureaucracy for the simplest action is common to most places.

To sum up, regional planners, urban designers and architects influence physical aspects of development while tourism management professionals oversee tourism development, often independently of the physical planning process and professionals.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

The role of other organisations largely depends on their size and constitution and involves funding implementation and control. They range from established international or national agencies to short term issue-based community groups. The non-governmental or charitable sector is apolitical and non profit-making with an interest in a chosen cause and community benefit. The influence of this sector is wide ranging.

In recent times, a few activists have emerged. They are, however, more concerned with the lapses of the government rather than directly involving themselves

Oh yes, past and present sure live side by side

in the conservation or tourism sector. The Indian Heritage Society Goa Chapter, INTACH Goa Chapter, Goa Heritage Action Group and People's Movement for Civic Action (PMCA) at Panaji are the few generating dialogues in the development scenario in Goa.

PRIVATE SECTOR

'Private sector' is an umbrella term for a wide range of interests and activities from multinational hotel chains to local shopkeepers. Middleton and Hawkins (1998) identify three areas of private sector involvement in tourism. The first of these is the destination based sector that provids visitor services; the second is marketing destinations and the third includes the

We were so many and now i am alone

agencies providing capital for tourism investment (Orbasli 2000, p.108).

USERS (RESIDENTS AND VISITORS)

The role of 'users' remains most ambiguous. Though the visitors belong to varied social and economical backgrounds, they are often subjected to gross generalisation. The aspirations of residents of towns and cities often are the first to be sacrificed in the commercially driven tourism, planning and conservation programmes. Historically, optimum use of resources, community participation in the decision-making process and recycling were the components of daily life in the third world social fabric. Top-down professionalism of planning and image-thecreating conservation tends to displace the residents of the city centres.

FEASIBILITY OF 'JNNURM' IN GENERATING PLANNING LEVEL SCHEMES OR PROJECTS IN PANAJI

The JNNURM objectives apparently offer the much-needed impetus for realising a visionary development plan for multifaceted and heritage rich cities. Perhaps the most tangible impact could come from the City Development (strategic) Plans (CDPs) to be prepared by the local government in NURM compliant areas. The CDP for Panjim perhaps needs to have a contextual paradigm with ecological sustainability at its core. Conservation has to be the preferred form of development. The urban planning exercises must address it-self to the following issues:

- The role of traditional and modern values, skills, materials, urban form and patterns, in other words, local culture, in determining the quality of life.

- Inter-sectoral analyses to explicate the outcome of financial and budgetary policy on the objectives of human resource development.
- The natural ecological framework.
- The objectives of social equity.

The legal framework vis-à-vis the respective Town and Country Planning Acts and the statutory Master Plans of towns and cities.

Thus emerges the 'Conservation led Development' concept, which locates the planning framework in the culture of the people and offers the opportunity of re-examining the planners' value premises and planning methodology. Conservation led development can bring together the skills of the archaeologist, ethnographer, sociologist, environmentalist, historian as well as the architect, landscape architect and engineer along with resident community, developer and builder in a conscious striving for the interdisciplinary collaboration under the leadership of the town planner. A strategy for holistic development can be guided by the following four main principles:

Conservation should be development oriented

Conservation cannot be equated with resistance to change. The study of built character and spatial organisation within the identified precincts should dictate the formulation of building byelaws in respective areas. The proposal for restoration and re-use of certain buildings and development of appropriate housing should follow. (Fig. 8)

Development should be ecologically appropriate

Development must be planned. Ecological equilibrium, the characteristic feature of traditional settlements, is now ofteninsensitively destroyed by contemporary development. The flooding of Panaji is one such example. The pattern of movement to reach the city and within the city have proved to be the basic challenge to the ecology and the environment in the current era. Mass transport system, waterways, pay-and-park zones in the vicinity of the city center and the periodic pedestrianisation of the city core need to be explored with energy efficiency and appropriate consumption of non renewable resources in mind.

Development should reduce the dependence on external factors

Dependence on materials, skills and technology

Hoardings taking over city scape

external to the area must diminish with time. Area distinctiveness of historic towns is mainly due to their creative use of the local materials in the traditional way, and the resultant harmonious character built-up area. The uniqueness of the built-heritage of Panaji is the result of a creative use of locally available materials. The use of new materials does not necessarily imply better design. A need for reviving the traditional building methods with the locally available materials is not only conducive for better conservation practices but also makes better ecological and environmental sense. Also, the use of traditional materials in new constructions increases the value of traditionally built buildings, revives traditions and thus supports conservation and helps maintain a visual harmony.

The strength of the third world lies in its reservoir of traditional wisdom, be it the art of building, planning, belief system or life-style. It needs to be revived appropriately. (Fig.9)

The process of implementation is most important

The state of Goa is extremely fortunate to be in a position where the opportunities for it to become a 'model' of a planned development that conserves and enhances the environment while benefiting from the economic prosperity brought about by planned tourism, are bountiful. The tools are in place and the appropriate know-how is available. The forward - looking policies need judicious implementation.

Broad Conclusions and Recommendations

"What we do today will be the history of tomorrow and ultimately it is by history that we are judged. Civilising the city is now a cultural question. Where there is no vision the people perish." (Bernard Fielden, 1991). We strongly believed that complex problems often need many simple solutions. The way ahead can only be through innovation, creative vision and forward planning. Thus the planning vision should

focus upon the following macro-level elements :

- Protection of the heritage and its continuity
- Planning policies for expansion and development of the area to a contemporary urban development level while keeping the values and architectural language intact
- Creating a self-sustainable city
- Creativity, in the following set of tasks

Understanding the city, planning for it, and implementing those plans. It is in the interest of the cultural heritage, both natural and built, to develop strategies where the relationship between care taking and commodification is explicitly accepted. International frameworks so as to avoid any loss of time.

Notes and References

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Jaipur Heritage Management Plan

Heritage Resources

- HERITAGE SITES
- WALLED CITY
- CULTURAL HERITAGE
- ARCHAEOLOGICAL
- ARCHIVAL
- NATURAL HERITAGE

Policy and Action Plan —————— Implementation Plan

Enforcement and on Site Work

Monitoring and Evaluation

FIVE YEAR - REVISIONS

Heritage Managers

- ASI
- STATE ARCHIVES/DEVSTHAN DEPT.
- PWD /JDA/JMC/FOREST /RTDC
- AM & DA / INTACH
- JVF /OTHER NGOs
- PRIVATE SECTOR/ COMMUNITY

Integration with CDP (NURM)
and Jaipur Master Plan

PAST HERITAGE INITIATIVES

YEAR	HERITAGE CONSRVATION ACTIVITIES	ORGANISATIONS
1971	Master Plan Proposal with Specific Heritage Dev.	JDA
1985	Study of heritage buildings	'Ford Foundation' and JDA.
1995	Conservation and Restoration works	Avas Vikas and DOT
1998	Master Plan-2011 addressing needs of the walled city	JDA
2001	Operation Pink, removal of encroachments	JMC
2001	Heritage walk in the Chowkri Modikhana	INTACH and JVF
2001	The Asian Development Bank project of infrastructure	ADB & JMC
2001	Reuse of wells and repair work in the Walled City	JMC
2002	Multi-storeyed parking options	JMC, JDA and CTP
2003	Jaipur Heritage International Festival	JVF
2004	A revitalisation proposal for Chowkri Modikhana	Asia Urbs

PRESENT MOMENTUM SINCE 2005 .....

- Conservation Projects at Panna Mian Kund, all City Gates and Lakes by RUIDP
- Initiatives to develop Heritage sites such as Amber Palace, Jaleb Chowk and Ghat Ki Guni by organisations JMC, JDA and AM&DA
- Lighting of several monuments, Night Bazaars, Jal Mahal Dev. by JAAG and DOT.
- Developing Heritage Acts and Laws and Empanelment of Conservation Architects and preparing comprehensive inventories and Master Conservation Proposals by Department of Archaeology & Museums
- Initiatives for international collaborations and visits such as Visit of Prince Charles in April 2006, endorsement by UNESCO with efforts of Jaipur Virasat Foundation
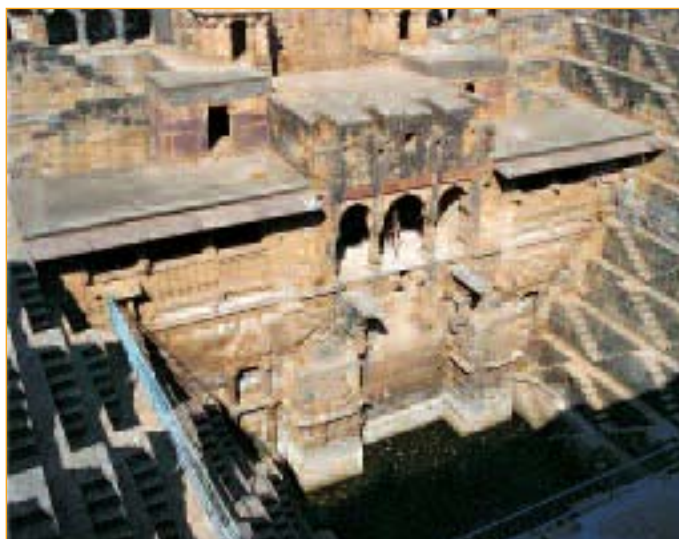
The Making of the Heritage Management Plan

The Vision: Sustainable Conservation Approach to Jaipur Heritage

JAIPUR HERITAGE STRATEGY

- Heritage Resources
- Heritage Objectives
- Heritage Managers
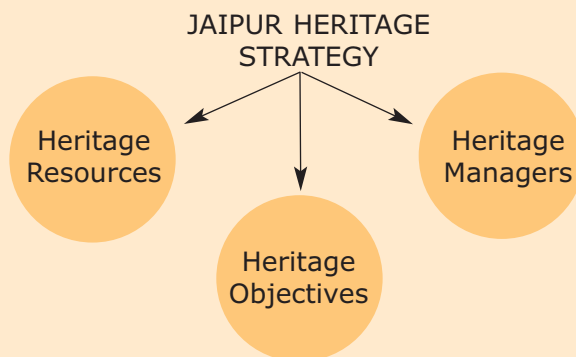
HERITAGE MANAGERS - THE GOVERNEMENT ORGANISATIONS

- Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) - **Grade A Monuments Maintenance**
- Department of Archaeology and Museums/RSSMDS - **26 Protected monuments Documentation & Construction proposal**
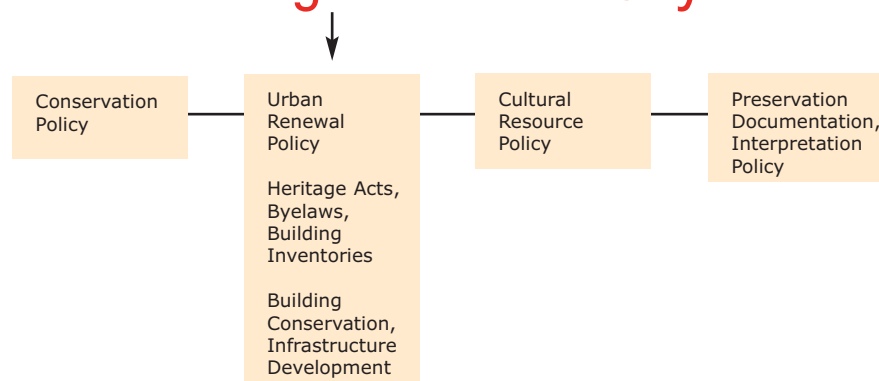- Department of Tourism - **Incentives for Heritage Proposal**
- Devsthan Department - **62 Temples – Maintenance**
- Public Works Department - **Maintenance of few Heritage Properties**
- Jaipur Nagar Nigam - **Walled City Maintenance**
- Jaipur Development Authority - **Walled City Infrastructure/ Heritage Restoration Works**
- RUIDP - **Walled City Infrastructure/ Heritage Restoration Works**
- Amber Management & Development Authority (AM & DA) - **Conservation of Amber Palace, Jaleb Chowk and Ghat Ki Guni**
- Institute for Revival of Traditional Building Arts - **Promotion of Building Crafts**
- RICCULP - **On Site Restoration Work**

HERITAGE MANAGERS - NON GOVERNEMENT AND PRIVATE ORGANISATIONS

- Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural - Heritage (INTACH) - **Heritage Awareness Programmes, Restoration works done with RUIDP**
- Jaipur Virasat Foundation (JVF) - **Jaipur Virasat Festival, Promotion of Heritage Walk, Restoration of Kasliwalon ka Raasta**
- Hindustan Charitable Trust - **Supported by Birlas, it takes up restoration of heritage buildings**
- Confederation of Indian Industries (CII) - **Potential Funding Organisation for Heritage Conservation**
- Private Organizations - **Private enterpreurs/industrialists, owners of Heritage Hotels etc.**
- Asia Urbs, Ford Foundation, UNESCO - **International Support and Funding Organisations**

Built Heritage – Walled City - Management

- Conservation Policy
- Urban Renewal Policy

  Heritage Acts, Byelaws, Building Inventories

  Building Conservation, Infrastructure Development
- Cultural Resource Policy
- Preservation Documentation, Interpretation Policy

Urban Renewal Policy for the Walled City to be based on Local heritage management strategies:
- Building institutional capacity and strong regional links;
- Involving communities affected by urban renewal
- Encouraging innovative means of sustainability

Jaipur Heritage Management Plan

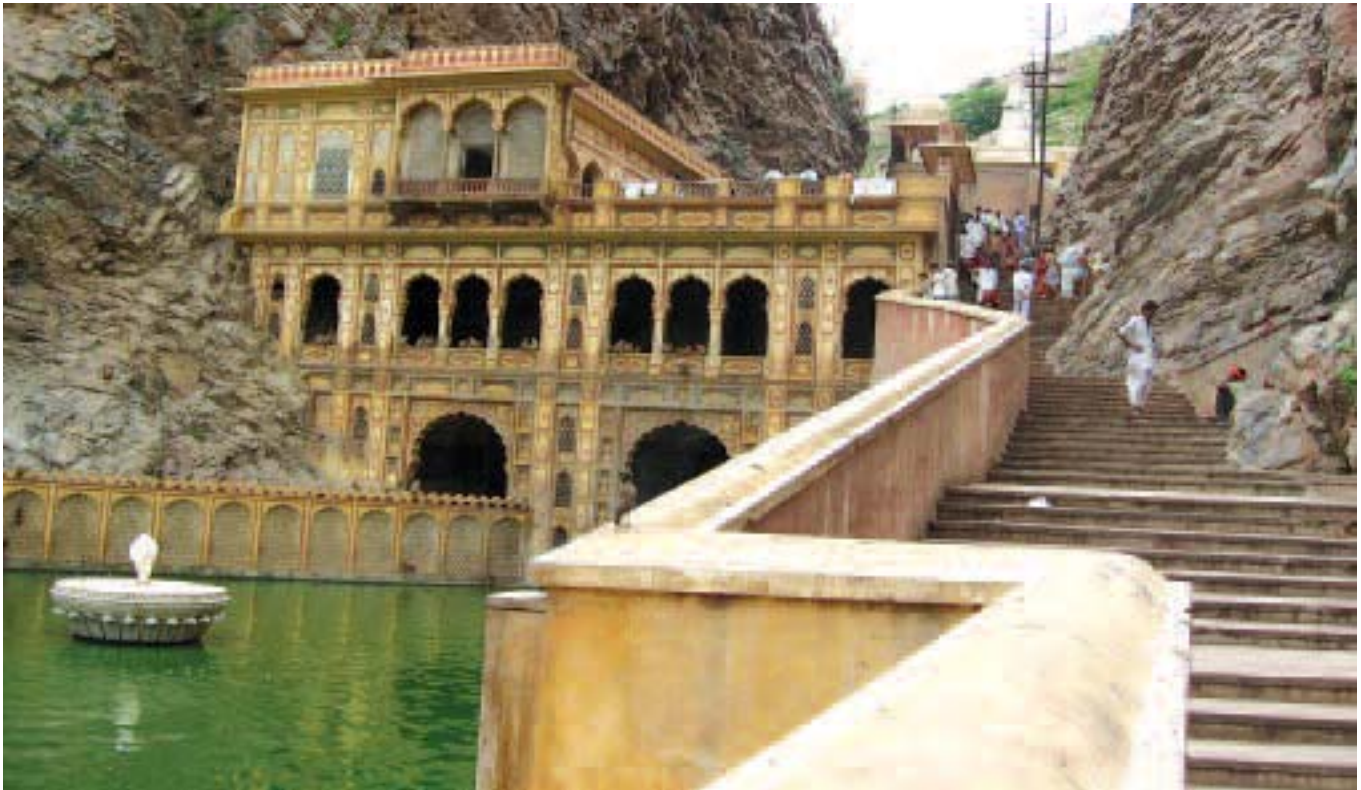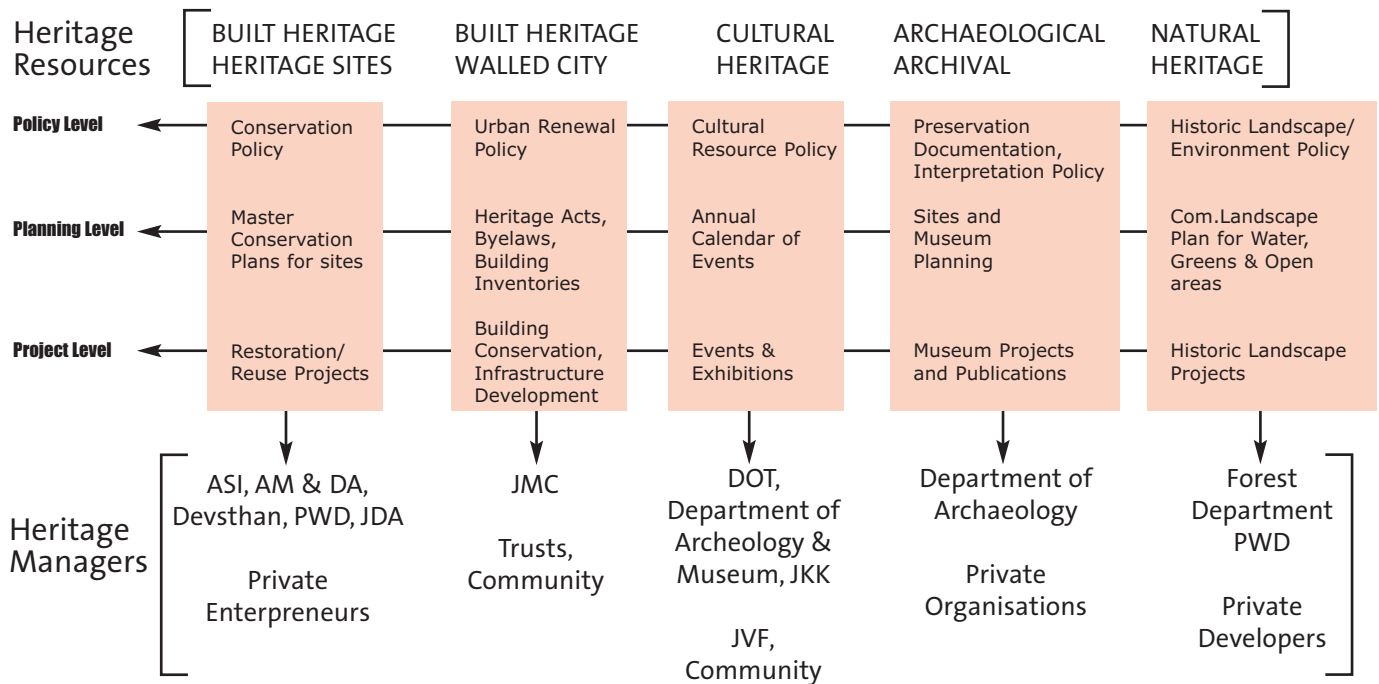| Heritage Resources	BUILT HERITAGE HERITAGE SITES	BUILT HERITAGE WALLED CITY	CULTURAL HERITAGE	ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARCHIVAL	NATURAL HERITAGE
Policy Level	Conservation Policy	Urban Renewal Policy	Cultural Resource Policy	Preservation Documentation, Interpretation Policy	Historic Landscape/ Environment Policy
Planning Level	Master Conservation Plans for sites	Heritage Acts, Byelaws, Building Inventories	Annual Calendar of Events	Sites and Museum Planning	Com.Landscape Plan for Water, Greens & Open areas
Project Level	Restoration/ Reuse Projects	Building Conservation, Infrastructure Development	Events & Exhibitions	Museum Projects and Publications	Historic Landscape Projects
Heritage Managers	ASI, AM & DA, Devsthan, PWD, JDA Private Enterpreneurs	JMC Trusts, Community	DOT, Department of Archeology & Museum, JKK JVF, Community	Department of Archaeology Private Organisations	Forest Department PWD Private Developers

This is a preview of the Heritage Management Plan Framework for Jaipur prepared by DRONAH with Jaipur Virasat Foundation (JVF) for the Jaipur Heritage Committee (JHERICO), Government of Rajasthan

City Development Plan: A Case of Varanasi

NAVNEET RAMAN

ABSTRACT

Varanasi is one of the 63 cities under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). It is also a group of ten cities where the issue of heritage degradation is of primary concern. JNNURM calls for a City Development Plan (CDP) from the local authorities for the development of the cities. Varanasi's local administration prepared the CDP, in which there was neither any participation by the local community nor any consultation. The mission seems to have overlooked the ground realities of the urban centres. Large infrastructure projects have been pushed under the disguise of urban renewal projects. Because of this there is a large portion of the population that is not addressed. It is in the larger interest of any efforts towards the urban renewal of Varanasi to have a proper extensive plan that is sensitive to the heritage. The plan should be based on many layers of information and discussions with active participation of the citizens, professionals, scholars, academicians, experts, NGO's, national and international agencies and all those concerned with preserving one of the living treasures of the world.

INTRODUCTION

Varanasi, a city known for its silk weaving, narrow lanes, *ghats*, educational institutions and spirituality, is one of the 63 cities under the JNNURM. It is also a group of ten cities where the issue of heritage degradation is of primary concern. For a long time, Varanasi has been the cultural capital of India. JNNURM calls for a City Development

Navneet Raman is the convenor of INTACH Varanasi Chapter. He is associated with Friends of Vrindavan, an NGO concerned with urban renewal. He targets school children of Varanasi, to make them conscious of environment and heritage. Currently, he is the curator of Kriti Gallery in Varanasi.

The ghats of Varanasi

Plan (CDP) from the local authorities for the development of the cities. Varanasi's local administration (as instructed under the Mission) went ahead and prepared the CDP in collaboration with the New Delhi-based Consultancy Feedback Turnkey Engineers Private Limited.

Preparation of a CDP for a city like Varanasi is a very difficult task to start with and when one additionally addresses the heritage concerns it only makes it more complex. Further, if there is a rush to have the CDP prepared in two months to meet a deadline, it makes it impossible for the CDP to address adequately the concerns of the Mission as well as the city. This is exactly what has happened in Varanasi. The fear of a large amount of money being put into infrastructure projects in the name of development may come true if one goes by the CDP of Varanasi. It was prepared in just two months by consultants who had little or no information on the culture, history and life of the city. There was neither any participation by the local community; nor any consultation with it. Only a small 'workshop' was advertised in the classified columns of *Dainik Jagran* newspaper. Ironically, what was discussed during the workshop was the final draft of the CDP. One could clearly see the policy of 'Temples of New India' come to the forefront in a disguised manner.

Urban regeneration is surely different from urban development. Renewal of a heritage city like Varanasi for sure is miles apart from an urban development project. The mission seems to have overlooked the ground realities of the urban centres. Large infrastructure projects have been pushed under the disguise of the urban renewal projects, and because of this there is a large portion of the population that is not addressed.

A CRITIQUE OF THE CDP

Varanasi's CDP has a few points that one needs to scrutinise carefully. There has been intentional avoidance of past studies and reports on the various aspects of the city. One can very clearly observe that the local people, their needs and knowledge have been ignored, from the proposed projects in the CDP as mentioned below:

Construction of permanent jetties along the ghats for the boats

This project would completely ruin the 600 year old cultural and heritage fabric of the river front which is primarily used for pilgrimage, bathing and boating. This also does not take into account the variance of the level of water in the Ganga.

There is complete ignorance of the visual impact of this infrastructure development. Reason cited for this was the unorganised system of parking of the boats. Anyone who has visited the city and has experienced the boat ride would appreciate the current system in place.

Construction sites of the 5 flyovers proposed

In a heritage city like Varanasi having flyovers in the old town and also in the area (Rathyatra) that already has a crossing which is 30 metres wide and all four approach roads to the crossing being at least 15 metres in width does not make sense. It is one thing to look at flyovers as concepts of development and totally another for it to be a functional need of the city. The roads in the old city are flanked on both sides by heritage buildings, shops and residences.

Construction of the Ring Road

The concept and its success are very much appreciated but the actual execution with regard to the city of Varanasi is a big question. The city has a very important pilgrimage route around the city called 'Panch Kosi'. For the devotees of Shiva this route is as important as the route around Mount Goverdhan in the Braj Area. Any roads that change or destroy this should be reconsidered and avoided to maintain the importance of this sacred route.

The construction of a new area for Dying and Polishing of fabrics

This sounds to be a proposal of planners who do not have any understanding of the textile industry of Varanasi. The various regions of weaving have their own dying and polishing industry that caters to the hand-woven textiles, which are a benchmark in the world. These self-sufficient areas are like a group of cottage industries working together in harmony.

Currently these units are conveniently located in various weaving areas and give the much-needed efficiency as compared to the plans of the CDP whereby a centralised area for this is to be allotted and the units to be established there. This would firstly act as a forced migration and also ruin the centuries old methods, lifestyle, cultural atmosphere, and create an industrial area for these local crafts.

Mass Public transport system

Proposed buses for public transport system, to be set up on the old city roads that are only 10-14 metres wide; seems unrealistic. Objection has also been raised to the current cycle rickshaw (ecofriendly) and auto rickshaw (can be made eco-friendly with the introduction of compressed natural gas). This idea reflects the views of the modern town planners who would like to widen the roads and have a modern city in place of the culturally vibrant and historically important city like Varanasi which is full of heritage sites and has no green cover or parks to handle the pollution in the air.

The major stress on the heritage component was on the lighting of the heritage sites

In a city that does not get more than 14-16 hours of electricity this seems a suggestion out of the textbooks on urban development with no understanding of the ground situation. Unfortunately we have not learnt from the British how to manage our heritage, have lost our traditional heritage management knowledge and are perfectly happy to copy in bits and pieces of what is being done in the west today. This is all happening on the whims and fancies of the consultants, most of whom are from engineering or academic backgrounds with little experience of the living and vibrant heritage.

These few points give a very clear idea of the whole approach towards the CDP preparation methodology. We have to look at Varanasi in particular, as a very special place.

THE URBAN ISSUES

Varanasi is the only city in India that could be called the visual encyclopaedia of the architectural styles present in India. Varanasi was a thriving metropolitan city when cities like Jaipur, Agra, Fathepur Sikiri, Delhi were being conceived. The city in its intangible form has existed now for about 5 000 years with the exact descriptions in various religious texts. There is a very distinct culture and way of life in Varanasi irrespective of the religion one belongs to, the customs change with religion but one can definitely see the uniformity that we here call "*Banarsi*".

Varanasi as a city has its infrastructure, ecological requirements. It has only three percent green cover. The suspended particles in the air are as high as it has ever been in Chandni Chowk, Delhi. The city is

roughly 27 sq. km with a population of 1.2 million and a daily floating population of 0.6 million. The city caters to the medical requirements of a region that extends in the east from Gaya to Faizabad in the west and Gorakhpur in the North to Chitrakut in the South. The city also is the centre for education for the same region. Varanasi has the wholesale market for fruits for eastern UP. It also houses the wholesale market of grains, spices, footwear, clothes, etc. According to some estimates, Varanasi was the most visited foreign tourist destination during the previous year; ending in March 2006. Roughly 400,000 foreign tourists visited the city.

There is no project or plans to make the city greener. The part of the city to the east of the river the extended flood plane area is mostly agricultural and has greenery and is now being encroached with small settlements coming up. This also means that in future bridges would be constructed in these parts, an issue addressed in the CDP. This would then mean that the river Ganga in Varanasi would soon be looked at as a hurdle to cross like the Yamuna in Delhi. It is beyond anyone's imagination how people can have their pilgrimage bath while the traffic is crossing and watching them. The government's open land in the city is being sold to the builders for malls and multiplexes. In the heritage area the local administration has allowed one multiplex to come up with glass building front in complete contrast to the local architecture and feel of the place. Another much bigger mall and multiplex has been allowed and is under construction in the heart of the old city which is going to change the currently precariously balanced stress on the land use. It will also lead to more traffic problems.

There has been no effort on the part of the administration to spread the city out to satellite towns. Residential buildings of seven floors are being permitted in this already congested city. The land tax rules in the state of Uttar Pradesh are being reworked in such a way so as to discourage people to have open spaces and build as much as possible on it. It seems the complete anti-thesis of what is required.

The living conditions in the city of Varanasi are at a point where the government should actually give incentive to people to keep one of the oldest inhabited cities in the world populated. The roads are non-existent. It takes over 30 minutes to travel six kilometres within the city, that too when one is not commuting to the city centre. The solution to this problem is 'Speed Interceptor Vehicles' equipped with

A scene at Varanasi Ghat

speeding guns and cameras to stop speeding in a city where the maximum speed can barely get to 30 kmph. Rupees 4,000,000 are spent on each vehicle to portray the city as a developed and modern city.

One starts the day in Varanasi with a power cut. As one gets to office by 9:30 hrs. you are welcomed by the power supply being switched off and it only comes back around 15:00 hrs. when the day's work is over. This has a major impact on the air quality of the city during a period when it is hot and people need to travel for work. All businesses and residences run generators and the air smells of diesel and kerosene but the local administration does not blink its eye.

All these problems would discourage any person to come for a visit to the city. But it still draws roughly 400,000 foreign tourists and 2,000,000 domestic tourists and pilgrims. So what does that mean? Firstly there is something in the city that cannot be seen but felt. The intangible supersedes the tangible and draws 2.5 million people annually to it. A very silent problem that will surface in the times to come is that of drinking water. 400,000 foreign tourists mean roughly three bottles of water per tourist and even if we consider the stay to be for only two days we will end up with 2.4 million empty water bottles in a year. This city does not even have regular garbage collection and how it will address the issue of 2.4 million empty plastic bottles is beyond imagination. The other garbage that is generated out of such a large tourist influx has not yet been addressed.

Cities around the world look towards the Mayor of the city for possible solutions to problems and the local

administration to back the solution with action. We live in a state where the seat of the Mayor for various political reasons is reserved for the backward classes. A heritage city of the national and international importance is being politically exploited and neglected by both the government bodies of the country and various international agencies.

India needs to wake-up and do something to protect the city that symbolises its vast cultural heritage, built heritage, confluence of religions, and the intangible heritage. The government needs to re-look at its policies and methodologies of administration and the international agencies need to apply the pressure and support efforts of NGO's. More importantly the international agencies need to rework the methodologies of collaborating with the government in the light of the current political willingness and encourage private initiatives and NGO's to take up the social responsibility.

We have given Mohan Das Karamchand Gandhi a place as the father of the nation but have forgotten all that he stood for and encouraged. We have taken him out of the hearts and streets of India and put him on walls, podiums and textbooks. In a 100 year cycle this man and his ideas gave birth to new nation and then the degeneration of all that went into the birth of the new nation.

Urban Renewal Mission being named after the founder of 'Temples of New India" and not Mahatma says volumes of the direction this country is heading towards. Small self sustaining villages and towns around the cities was a vision given to the country by the father of the nation, but in our futile effort to match-up with the west we need to make more Gurgaons and Noidas. We need to pause and re-look at our policies and direction before it is too late.

THE WAY AHEAD

The only way to help Varanasi and its people is to reduce this burden on them by developing satellite towns like Mugalsarai, Ramnagar, Bhadhoi, Gopiganj, Aurai, Balia, etc. These towns need to become self-sufficient and then we need to address the future needs of Varanasi. Daily migration will throw all our figures of the mark if we do not curb it by giving them opportunities locally.

There needs to be proper time and participation of various 'stakeholders' in the preparation of the CDP for Varanasi. It is in the larger interest of any efforts towards the urban renewal of Varanasi to have a proper extensive plan that is sensitive to the heritage, both tangible and intangible. The plan should be based on many layers of information and discussions with active participation of the citizens, professionals, scholars, academicians, experts, NGO's, national and international agencies and all those concerned with preserving one of the living treasures of the world.

This should really become a role model for the people and government of this country to show to the world our understanding of our heritage and how we want to preserve it. We should most definitely focus on the education of children and public awareness on these issues if we are to have sustainable efforts towards urban renewal.

Varanasi, for centuries has given new ideas and thoughts and has been the City of Light and we can derive some strength from this fact. Hope the city will once again throw new light on the progress of this country and its direction.

Sustainable Solutions

JNNURM: Addressing Sustainability through Good Governance

P. ANURADHA AND VIVEK MISRA

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Vivek Misra is MSc from London School of Economics and Political Science and MBA from Xavier Institute of Management. He is currently leading the Governance and Monitoring Resource Group and the Rural Management Resource Group at the Centre of Good Governance, Hyderabad.

ABSTRACT

Sustainability is increasingly important in every aspect of development today. The historical measures justify the process measures of decentralised Urban Governance in India. Unfortunately the emphasis appears to be on the legislative amendments instead of implementation and outcome measures. To address these shortcomings, this paper reflects on some general literature on decentralised Urban Governance and outlines an approach with respect to the JNNURM programme. This paper highlights the factors important for Good Governance, Enablement and Capacity Building in contributing to the successful implementation of the reform programme and also apply transparency and accountability as tools of sustainability, through an effective results based Monitoring and Evaluation system.

INTRODUCTION

The world is passing through a remarkable period of transformation in recorded history. Globalisation is sweeping across nations. New challenges and opportunities for development are emerging from rapid flows of goods, services, capital, technology, ideas, information and people across borders; increased financial integration of the world economy and rise of knowledge as a key driver of economic growth. Innovations in transportation, information and communication technologies (ICT) are leading to unprecedented levels of integration

between the separated parts of the globe. The spread of ICT and the Internet are among the most distinguishable features of the new globalising world. The world is shifting from a manufacturing-based industrial economy to a service-dominated and network-based knowledge economy. Economic activity is now structured on the 'international' and 'national' plains rather than 'local'. Cities are emerging as the hubs of the new economic activities fueled by globalisation, ICT revolution and surge of the service economy.

CITIES AS GENERATORS OF RESOURCES

One important aspect, which is not adequately highlighted in earlier empirical researches, is the phenomenal contribution of cities to public exchequers of States and the Centre. Cities are the reservoirs of tax resources, Income Tax, Corporation Tax, Service Tax, Customs Duty, Excise Taxes, Value Added Tax, Stamp Duty and Registration Fees, Entertainment Tax, Professional Tax, Motor Vehicles Tax etc.

A study by the Centre for Good Governance (2005) shows that Hyderabad and Ranga Reddy Urban Districts of Andhra Pradesh, containing Hyderabad Municipal Corporation and ten surrounding Municipalities, had only 9.5 percent share in the State's population in 2001. However, the combined shares of these two districts in the total collection of key State taxes in 2001-02, namely Commercial Tax, Excise, Stamp Duty and Registration, and Motor Vehicles Tax were 72.9 per cent, 63.0 per cent, 36.2 per cent, and 27.8 per cent respectively. Evidence indicates that the buoyancy of urban areas also lead to the buoyancy of public financial resources (Table 1).

Table 1
Share of Hyderabad and Ranga Reddy Districts Combined in Collection of Major Taxes in Andhra Pradesh (Per Cent Share in State Collection)

Taxes	1997-98	1998-99	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02
Commercial	58.37	68.73	69.84	72.04	72.85
Prohibition & Excise	53.34	53.53	59.20	56.84	63.03
Registration and Stamps	32.75	33.96	34.88	35.45	36.18
Transport and Motor Vehicles	27.00	26.80	27.93	28.27	27.80

Source: Centre for Good Governance (compiled from Census of India, 2001, Series 29, Andhra Pradesh, and data from Finance Department, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh)

The above picture indicates that urban areas are the generators of resources for development. Thus, the state of finances of Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) having critical implications for both the Central and the State Government finances are a perfect highlight of the unsustainable implementation of the landmark urban legislation i.e.74th Constitution Amendment Act (CAA). The finances essentially translate into civic infrastructure and services, which are keys to the health of city economies and their contribution to National and State Domestic Products and Treasuries. Moreover, the local government finance system in India should form an integral part of the State government finance system. The latter is intricately connected with Central government finance. Thus, in essence, the local, state and national public finance systems need to be closely inter-linked.

FRAMEWORK FOR URBAN POLICY

Discussions in the above sections underscore the importance of urban policy in enabling cities to contribute to national development. Urban policy, however, cannot be viewed in isolation from broader economic and social policies for national or state development. The physical and financial linkages and inter-dependence between national, state and local economies suggest that a holistic framework is needed to understand the spatial implications of key sectoral policies of Central and State Governments. The latter policies lead to unintended spatial consequences which may sometimes be far more profound than those intended or envisaged originally. Much of urban policy, as Brian Berry observes, is actually, "unconscious, partial, uncoordinated and negative. It is unconscious in the sense that those who effect it are largely unaware of its proportions and features. It is partial in the sense that a few of the points at which governments might act to manage urbanisation and affect its course are in fact utilised. It is uncoordinated in that national planning tends to be economic and urban planning tends to be physical, and the disjunction often produces competing policies. It is negative in that the ideological perspective of the planners leads them to try to divert, retard or stop urban growth, and in particular to inhibit the expansion of metropolitan and primate cities" (Mohan, 1996).

Cities are subject to spatial and non-spatial externalities arising from the broad range of national and state policies. Thus, effective urban development and management would require an approach that takes

into account the impacts of multiple policies simultaneously. Recognising the urban policy challenges in the country, JNNURM was launched to encourage cities to initiate steps to bring about improvement in the existing service levels in a financially sustainable manner.

THE APPROACH

Given the plethora of reforms needed, a key question is how to initiate and sustain the reforms. The approach to reforms could be 'wholesale' comprising of the three components of:

- Good Governance: through sustainable, environmentally friendly, decentralized approaches, creating space for civic engagement and delivering equitable, efficient and transparent solutions to urban problems.
- Enablement: through the creation of legal and institutional framework that empowers local authorities to improve productivity and standards of living
- Capacity building: the development of human resources and the creation of the institutional and legal frameworks required allowing diverse stakeholders to participate in public policy making and be informed of its outcomes.

In the recent era, it has been increasingly proven that good governance is an essential precondition for sustainable implementation of urban reforms. Thus, the approach to effective implementation of the reforms outlines the following objectives of; equity in the way in which resources are allocated; efficiency in the way in which the services are delivered and managed; transparent and accountable decision-making processes; and sustainability through capacity building and security over adverse effects.

MORPHOLOGY OF DECENTRALISED URBAN GOVERNANCE: THE INDIAN CONTEXT

India owes the federal structure with unitary spirit amongst its constituent's i.e. union government, state and local governments. The Constitution of India provides general guidelines for the structure of local governments but relies on the individual states to work out the details in compliance with the specific constitutional provisions. The Article 40 expresses the commitment towards the organisation of village panchayats. It states "the state shall take steps to organise village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable

them to function as units of self-government." It has not clearly spelt out constitutional provisions for urban local government. However, the fifth item of List II (State list) of the Seventh schedule recognises the ULBs, its constitution and powers: "Local government, that is to say, the constitution and powers of municipal corporations, improvement trusts, district boards, mining settlement authorities and other local authorities for the purpose of local self-government or village administration."

Thus, the Constitution makes a distinction between urban and rural local governments. It specifies panchayats as the institution of local governments in rural areas, and municipalities in the urban areas. With the 73rd and the 74th Constitution Amendment opportunities and space has been created for common people to participate and contribute in governance process. However, the increasing pace of urbanisation and the consequent growth of urban centers have made urban governance more complex. The democratic decentralisation has created political awareness and resulted in mounting pressure on local government to make basic services available to all. The issues of urban governance through the genesis of urban local-self government are analysed.

Pre 1882 Imperial Period

The East India Company first introduced modern form of municipal administration in India by the formation of Madras City Corporation in 1688. The Corporation was designed on the pattern of English Borough. It was empowered to levy taxes for construction of jail and school buildings and for taking necessary measures for protection of the residents, and taking responsibility for the payment of salaries to its employees. However, there was widespread opposition to the idea of taxation and the Charter of 1726, which introduced the concept of Mayor and Aldermen, replaced the earlier system. The Charter Act of 1793 led to the establishment of municipal administration in the three Presidency towns of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. Under the Act, the Governor General was empowered to levy taxes on lands and houses and to provide for the maintenance of roads, scavenging and policing. The Bengal Act of 1842 gave powers to the district towns for setting up Town Committees for xsanitary purposes upon application by two-thirds of the householders in the town. As the Act empowered the Town Committees to impose direct taxes, the citizens were unwilling to propose for the formation of Town Committee. In 1850, this Act was extended to

all parts of the country but no town came forward voluntarily. The main purpose of the British during this phase was to relieve the central exchequer of the burden of finances and to ensure sanitary conditions for their army posted in these towns. To retain their own control, the local bodies were packed with nominated members to toe the local government line.

Period from 1882 to 1919

The second phase of evolution of urban governance began with Viceroy Lord Ripon who pioneered the promotion of local self-government in India. His resolution stated that the local bodies should be elected and should have non-governmental members. In addition, the control over local bodies should be decreased and these bodies should have the right to levy taxes and local government personnel should work under local authority. The Royal Commission on Decentralisation in 1909 recommended classification of municipalities on the basis of population, devolution of more power to the bodies for taxation and budget; direct election of Councillors. The Montague-Chelmsford Report, 1918 suggested that, as far as possible, there should be complete popular control in the local bodies. The report resulted in enactment of the Government of India Act, 1919.

From 1919 to 1935

The Government of India Act 1919 provided for clear demarcation of powers of the ULBs. The practice of having an official as the Chairman of a local body was replaced by instituting the process of election of Chairman, the right to vote was liberalised, and local bodies were given more powers in financial and executive matters. Simon Commission that led to enactment of the Government of India Act, 1935, reviewed the functioning of the local bodies.

From 1935 to 1950

The Government of India Act, 1935 led to the formation of provincial governments. The Act paved the path for democratic decentralisation in the ULBs. Nomination of members in local bodies was abolished and attempts were made to give executive functions to ULBs. There were no major changes in the structure of the municipal administration except the constitution of more municipalities, reclassification of grades and constitution of certain Township committees and Municipal Corporations.

1950 to 1992

In 1950, the constitution of India became the fundamental and the basic law in the country. In addition to defining the federal structure for governance in the country, it also laid down form, authority, and responsibility of the Indian polity. All institutions, whether formal or informal, after independence owe their allegiance to and derive their legitimacy from the Constitution. The Constitution visualises India as a 'Union of States' with a two-tier federal structure: Union Government and State Governments. It provides a detailed framework for sharing political, legislative, administrative and financial powers between the Union and the State Governments. The 7th Schedule of the Constitution gives three separate lists: Union List, State List and Concurrent List. The Union List specifies areas where the Parliament has exclusive powers to make laws, whereas, State List confers power to the State legislature for making laws. The Concurrent List lays down the areas where both the State and the Union Governments have power to make laws, and in case of any disagreement between the two laws, the law made by the Parliament will be applicable. Local government appears in the State List (Entry 5) and is consequently governed by legislation enacted by respective state legislatures.

In 1952, Community Development Programme provided a framework for a three-tier structure of governance at the local level. This was seen as an opportunity to strengthen political pluralism at the grassroots and to enable the local leadership to deal with local problems. This process of decentralised local government was formalised through the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee report (1956). A number of state governments adopted recommendations of the Committee and enacted State Acts for local government in rural areas. However, the Constitution of India had made no mention about urban local governance. Beside this, the Constitution had specified provisions about the Central and the State Governments, but Local Government did not have any Constitutional status. The response of the state leadership, in providing political spaces to local governments for their effective functioning, was contrary to their popular political stance. On the one hand, they advocated a decentralised local government, and, on the other, they restrained decentralisation, as they were afraid of losing their own power and patronage. As a result, 1970s witnesses renewed debate with central focus on devolution of

effective powers and functions, autonomy and authority to the local bodies. Ashok Mehta Committee (1978), Singhavi Committee (1986) and Sarkaria Commission (1988) were constituted to find ways of strengthening local governments and deepening democracy by providing an effective institutional framework at the local level. The Sarkaria Commission was categorical in its assertion that there is a need to enact a model bill based on consensus in the inter-state council followed by enactment by the states that would provide constitutional status to the local bodies in rural and urban areas.

In 1989, the then Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi organised a series of Panchayat Raj and Nagara Palika Sammelans. On the basis of feedback received in these Sammelans, the GoI introduced the 64th Constitutional Amendment Bill in the Lok Sabha on May 15th 1989. In a similar initiative for ULB, the 65th Amendment Bill labeled as Nagar Palika Amendment Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 7th August, 1989 with focus on District Planning. However, during the debate in the Lok Sabha it was pointed out that government had ignored the recommendation made by the Ashok Mehta Committee and the Sarkaria Commission. The argument put forth by the opposition was that these Bills, if enacted would dilute the autonomy of the constitutionally created state governments. The 64th and the 65th Constitutional Amendment Bills were ultimately defeated on the floor on 16th October, 1989. On 6th September 1991, the 72nd and 73rd Amendment on 20th April 1993 were introduced. These Amendment Bills pertained to providing constitutional status to local governments in rural and urban areas, respectively. These Bills were passed by Parliament on 22nd December 1992 and were ratified by half of the states in the country. After ratification the amendment Acts were renumbered as the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts (CAA) and they received the assent of the President of Indian Republic on 20th April 1993. The Gazette Notification for the implementation of these amendments was issued on 24th April 1993.

Post 1992

The salient features of the 74th CAA can be summarised as follows:

- The tenure of ULBs has been fixed for a period of five years.
- Seats are to be reserved for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Women.
- Reservation for OBC was left to the discretion of the states.
- To create space for people's participation, constitution of Wards Committees is mandatory for cities with a population of more then three lakhs.
- Respective State Governments to decide on the manner of elections for the position of Mayors and Municipal Presidents and their removal.
- Constitution of State Election Commission to conduct the local body's elections.
- Preparation of draft development plan for districts and the metropolitan areas as a whole
- A new clause to amend Article 280 of the Constitution was added. Thus it became necessary for the states and SFCs to take note of the needs of the rural and urban local bodies and to reflect the same in their own submissions.
- States to establish DPCs, which would consolidate the plans of urban and rural areas as Draft Development Plan of the district.

Despite the position described above and the mandates of the Constitution (74th Amendment) Act, 1992 requiring the local bodies to prepare and implement plans for economic development and social justice, the plans of urban local bodies are yet to form part of the State and Central plans.
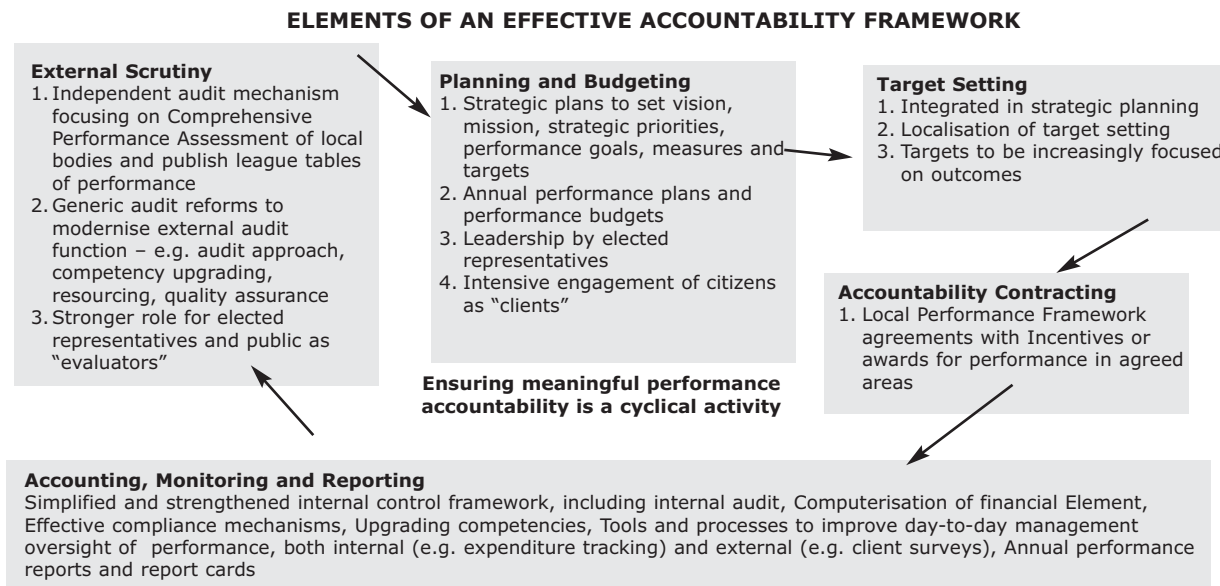
ENABLEMENT: OPTIONS FOR REFORMS

The challenge for urban finance and Governance in India is a classic example of incomplete decentralisation. Responsibility doesn't match financing; accountability and capacity are weak, and local autonomy and state control are not balanced in ways that create incentives to improve performance. Indeed, these problems are not unique to ULBs in India. Limited expenditure discretion; overlapping responsibilities; weak revenue effort and low collection rates; complicated, non-transparent and non-equalising transfer systems; outdated budgeting and accounting systems; and inadequate information and monitoring systems are common to all economies.

As a result of this incomplete decentralisation, lacklustre ULB performance impedes services delivery, discourages investment, and stifles the economic potential of cities. Improving cities' access to financing is necessary, but not sufficient to overcome these challenges. Nor it is possible to fix the intergovernmental system all at once. A systematic approach is needed over the medium to long-term to improve ULB performance, including State and Local actions to enhance fiscal sustainability, and strengthen institutional arrangements to promote accountability

ENHANCING ACCOUNTABILITY OF URBAN LOCAL BODIES

A fundamental area of reform is to enable greater performance accountability of ULBs. A suggested accountability framework is presented below. It involves five key components, as depicted in the flow chart:

ELEMENTS OF AN EFFECTIVE ACCOUNTABILITY FRAMEWORK

External Scrutiny
1. Independent audit mechanism focusing on Comprehensive Performance Assessment of local bodies and publish league tables of performance
2. Generic audit reforms to modernise external audit function – e.g. audit approach, competency upgrading, resourcing, quality assurance
3. Stronger role for elected representatives and public as "evaluators"

Planning and Budgeting
1. Strategic plans to set vision, mission, strategic priorities, performance goals, measures and targets
2. Annual performance plans and performance budgets
3. Leadership by elected representatives
4. Intensive engagement of citizens as "clients"

Ensuring meaningful performance accountability is a cyclical activity

Target Setting
1. Integrated in strategic planning
2. Localisation of target setting
3. Targets to be increasingly focused on outcomes

Accountability Contracting
1. Local Performance Framework agreements with Incentives or awards for performance in agreed areas

Accounting, Monitoring and Reporting
Simplified and strengthened internal control framework, including internal audit, Computerisation of financial Element, Effective compliance mechanisms, Upgrading competencies, Tools and processes to improve day-to-day management oversight of performance, both internal (e.g. expenditure tracking) and external (e.g. client surveys), Annual performance reports and report cards

and performance. Such an approach could lay the foundation for transforming Indian cities into dynamic engines of growth, that could improve overall economic growth and development. Notably, other reforms in the overall fiscal system-especially fixing the problem of significant and growing state deficits are needed to unleash the potential of Indian cities.

Enhancing Fiscal Sustainability

Enhancing fiscal sustainability would require various actions, including: reigning in the growth in local expenditures; enhancing local revenue mobilisation by expanding and deepening property tax reforms, improving cost recovery of charges and fees, and linking the payment of taxes and fees with the delivery of services; building State credibility to ensure timely, and predictable payment of intergovernmental transfers, and enhancing the equalising effect of such transfers; and stopping state bailouts and instead promoting responsible local borrowing.

Restrain Growth in Spending

For fiscal sustainability, the rapid growth in ULB spending must be brought more in line with the growth in ULB revenues. Local wages account for 20-40 percent of ULB expenditures, and it is commonly believed that many ULBs are overstaffed. While ULBs have little control over their wage rates or employee mix, opportunities for gradually outsourcing staff-specially lower grade employees or selected administrative functions-abound. Approximately 10 percent of larger ULBs in Karnataka (e.g. Bangalore) are outsourcing many of the functions originally performed by Grade D officials such as park cleaning and garbage collection. Bangalore's approach to outsourcing generally specifies the number of posts to be outsourced rather than outsourcing of complete tasks. Unbundling of local services horizontally and vertically is a necessary first step to improve service efficiencies and competition. ULBs have begun unbundling services in SWM, and in introducing PSP in the water sector. In concert, with BATF, and feedback from the CRC, Bangalore's departments identified spending programmes that could be managed more carefully, and these changes were reflected both in its performance budget and the satisfaction ratings of citizens.

CAPACITY BUILDING

Effective management of information and simplification of business procedures is an essential ingredient for the efficient provision and maintenance of infrastructure. The CGG, one of India's best resource centre on e-Governance has developed the Online Grievance Redressal Tracking System (OGRTS), Integrated Novel Development in Rural

Table 2- **Enablement of legal and institutional framework: Recommended components under Reforms**

Legislation / Policy	Issues	Recommended Reforms
Urban Land Ceiling Act	The Act artificially creates a shortage of developable land, with consequent increases in land prices, land fragmentation, and urban sprawl, and also contributes to time-consuming and costly litigation.	Proposed amendments should include restricting the Act's application to million-plus cities, revising the ceiling limits according to the city size, increasing compensation levels for excess vacant lands, and creating a shelter and urban development fund financed by taxes on vacant lands.
74th Constitutional Amendment	While the legislative framework to devolve greater powers and autonomy from the states to municipalities is in place, significant work remains to make the 74th CA's provisions operational.	States must take the lead in assisting municipalities improve their financial management systems, procedures, and capacities; and enable municipalities to develop their own source revenues.
State Rent Control Acts	Rent control negatively impacts housing supply by discouraging investment in new developments as well as in operation and maintenance for existing stock; owners are reluctant to rent, creating high vacancy rates.	Rent control acts should be revised to provide market-based rental increases, exempt newer properties in an effort to promote construction, and improve evaluation assessments to increase local tax revenues.
Land Acquisition Act	The Act creates significant delays in the land acquisition process and prohibits Government acquisition and assemblage of properties to be developed by private developers when such development has a clear public purpose.	Amendments should streamline the land acquisition process and empower government bodies to acquire and assemble properties for real estate development land infrastructure projects to be undertaken by private developers.
The Indian Stamp Act	Stamp duties and property transactions are, in most cases, unreasonably high; this inhibits transparency and the development of a secondary mortgage market	Stamp duties should be rationalised to encourage greater transparency in real estate transactions and to facilitate the creation of a secondary mortgage market.
Development Regulations	Relatively low and uniform floor space indexes (FSIs) have distorted urban land markets by promoting sprawl, increasing transportation and infrastructure costs, and discouraging reinvestment activity in central cities.	The FSIs should be rationalised to permit higher density development in central cities and areas with adequate infrastructure and transportation capacities, both existing and future; windfall gains in property values can be recouped for infrastructure development.
Property Tax Policies	India's property valuations system is not market-based, reassessments are irregular, and collection practices are poor and inefficient, resulting in significant revenue losses.	The property tax system requires a complete overhaul to establish market-based valuation procedure, to regularize reassessments, and to improve collection procedures and efficiencies.

Areas and Model Municipal Areas: 'Model Town Information System' (INDIRAMMA) and the Performance Tracking System which are perhaps, the best initiatives of its kind in India and have played an integral role for an accountable, responsive or citizen-friendly administration. However, the most fundamental is to address the capacity building requirements in e-Governance and GIS sector (i.e. institutional capacity and individual personnel capacity). A critical step towards this is to diagnose the HRM strategy of the local government and to strengthen it effectively. Improving transparency and monitoring throughout the course of JNNURM, as well as among the authorities is necessary to strengthen the accountability and improve performance. Improved monitoring and information at National, sub-national and local levels would provide better sense of what needs to be managed or what areas are most promising for the reforms and how the resources are actually flowing among levels and across ULBs. The M and E system implies tuning the processes within time-lines and system which nurture the accountability in service delivery, create space for functioning (roles, responsibilities and powers) and provide jurisdiction of delegation.

In addition to its central role in promoting Governance, it is acknowledged that these reforms will not achieve its potential efficiencies unless accountability mechanisms are in place. Political representation, community voice and participation, and transparency can be instruments to promote accountability. In addition, clarifying who is responsible for what, and mechanisms for monitoring performance are critical for promoting accountability in decentralised context. The following illustrative indicators outline the impact and outcome of the ambitious JNNURM programme.

Table 3

Reform Component	Outcome	JNNURM Reform Outcomes and Indicators	
Universal Access to Basic Services	All urban residents obtain access to a basic level of urban services	**ULB** Mandatory Reforms 1. Policy on pro-poor subsidies adopted, with full costs reflected on budget of individual service providers / ULBs and annual fiscal review on subsidy performance conducted 2. Specified targets for connection of poor households to infrastructure services 3. Management Information System for monitoring all functions and services to be designed and introduced in conjunction with quarterly financial information Optional Reforms 4. Professionalisation of service provider agencies through granting of adequate operational autonomy over human resource management, procurement, revenue and expenditure functions, within prescribed regulatory frameworks1 5. Bye-laws revised by specified date to: a) Make rain water harvesting mandatory in all buildings to come up in future and for Adoption of water conservation measures b) Regulate the reuse of reclaimed water	**State Govt.** Mandatory Reforms Extent and credibility of measures taken by state government, within specified time frame, to: a) Establish credible mechanisms to monitor and evaluate the performance of ULB / service provider functions with respect to the price and quality of services delivered b) Establish credible mechanisms to regulate the performance of ULB service delivery functions2 c) Design and introduce transparent framework for financing connection and operating subsidies to service providers to ensure access to basic services by the poor Optional Reforms d) Professionalise service provider agencies through granting of adequate operational autonomy over human resource management, procurement, revenue and expenditure functions, within prescribed regulatory frameworks e)Encourage and regulate public private partnerships through development of appropriate legal frameworks

Table 4

Reform Component	Outcome	JNNURM Reform Outcomes and Indicators	
Financial Management	Modern, transparent budgeting, accounting, financial management systems designed and adopted for all urban services and governance functions	**ULB** Mandatory Reforms 1. Modern, accrual-based double entry system of accounting implemented by specified date 2. Unqualified quarterly audit report published, within 4-6 weeks of the end of each quarter, within 2 years 3. Transparent, multi-year (3 year) budgeting rules implemented by specified date 4. Procurement regulations implemented by specified date	**State Govt.** Mandatory Reforms 1. Modern, accrual-based double-entry accounting standards for all urban civic service providers and ULBs designed and promulgated by specified date, which include mandatory requirements for: a) Financial ring fencing of all services and functions through the introduction of activity-based costing b) Reporting of subsidies between user groups for each service c) The development and maintenance of asset registers and an approach to the valuation and depreciation of assets 2. Transparent, multi-year (3 year) budget systems for all urban civic service providers and ULBs designed and promulgated by specified date, which include mandatory requirements for: a) Ring fenced budgeting for each service or function / activity b) Multi-year budgeting c) Clear statements of all liabilities of an entity, whether contingent or otherwise d) Transparent provisions for all subsidies between user groups, to earmark and target expenditures for the poor 3. Modern procurement regulations designed and promulgated for all urban civic service providers and ULBs

Table 5

Reform Component	Outcome	JNNURM Reform Outcomes and Indicators	
Revenue Enhancement	Financially self-sustaining agencies for urban governance and service delivery established, through reforms to major revenue instruments	**ULB** Mandatory Reforms 1.Revenue administration systems designed and introduced where relevant, and associated with: a) Improved collection ratio (in the case of weak administration) b) Improved cost recovery ratio (in the case of low rate relative to full cost of service provision) c) Reduced grant dependence (in the case of weak rate and base) d) Reduced size of budget deficit 2.GIS and MIS systems introduced to underpin revenue operating systems, and associated with: a)Reduced unit cost of production b)Increased speed of service delivery / turnaround time	**State Govt.** Mandatory Reforms 1. Regulatory framework for major ULB / service provider revenue sources that: a) Devolves authority for the management of the base, rate and administration of each revenue instrument to the relevant agency responsible for associated expenditure b) Devolves authority to grant property tax exemptions to ULBs, within a prescribed regulatory framework 2.Regulations guiding the transfer by state governments or state level entities of assets or funds from the state government to service providers and ULBs that: a) Requires publication of the value of such a transfer within 30 days of the start of the financial year in which the transfer will be made, and the projected value of transfers for the following two financial years b) Requires all such transfers, and the agency or ULB that will benefit from such a transfer, to be clearly reflected in the budget statement and accounts of the disbursing department c) Prevents transfers in the last quarter of the financial year from exceeding 25% of the total transfers made to an agency or ULB for the entire financial year

Table 6

Reform Component	Outcome	JNNURM Reform Outcomes and Indicators	
Integrated City Planning and Governance	City-wide framework for planning and governance established and operational	**ULB** Mandatory Reforms 1. Extent and credibility of measures taken to introduce city-wide strategic city planning and management practices, including: a) stakeholder consultation b) credibility of vision, relative to strategic issues facing city c) credibility of interventions relative to vision d) assignment of roles and responsibilities for implementation between key agencies Optional Reforms 2. Reduce staff establishment costs of agencies through VRS and hiring freezes where appropriate, including indicators for: a) Staff costs to total expenditure of each agency b) Number of staff per 1000 users of specified services	**State Govt.** Mandatory Reforms 1. Extent and credibility of measures taken by state government, within specified time frame, to: a) Devolve functions, on the principle of subsidiarity, to ULBs as per the requirements of the 74th Constitution Amendment Act, b) Eliminate geographical fragmentation in assignment of functions for urban governance and service delivery activities across functional urban areas through redemarcation of ULB or service provider boundaries c) Eliminate overlap between roles and responsibilities of agencies responsible for policy making, regulation and service provision 2. Assignment or association of elected ULBs with the "city planning function" through the Metropolitan Planning Committee envisaged in the Constitution, by specified date 3. State-level service providers to establish accountability relationship with Area Sabhas and Ward Committees

Table 7

Reform Component	Outcome	JNNURM Reform Outcomes and Indicators	
Urban land management	Development of a well-functioning, efficient and equitable urban land market	**ULB** Mandatory Reforms 1.Professionalisation of property management functions of ULBs, with standardised policy framework on asset management and Joint Venture Agreements, approved by all stakeholders Optional Reforms 2.Simplification of legal and procedural frameworks for conversion of agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes 3.Introduction of computerized process of registration of land and property titles 4. Revision of bye-laws to streamline the approval process for construction of building, development of sites, etc 5. Earmarking at least 20-25% of developed land in all housing projects (both public and private agencies) for EWS/LIG category with a system of cross-subsidization	**State Govt.** Mandatory Reforms 1.Repeal of the Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act 2.Reform of Rent Control Laws so as to stimulate private investment in rental housing schemes 3.Rationalization of Stamp Duty to bring it down to no more that 5% within the next 5 years 4.Devolution of zoning, land and local civic service property administration functions to ULBs 5.Real decrease in the average annual increase in the unit cost of land (where price begins to reflect real demand and supply of land)

Table 8

Reform Component	Outcome	JNNURM Reform Outcomes and Indicators	
Citizen accountability	Local services and governance conducted in a manner that is transparent and accountable to citizens	**ULB** Mandatory Reforms Introduction of: a) Area Sabhas and Ward Committees in urban areas with specified consultative roles in land-use and city planning, zoning decisions and annual budget hearings, as outlined in model legislation* b) Audited quarterly performance reports published within 4 - 6 weeks of the each of each quarter c) Annual service scorecards introduced and published d) Service quality monitoring and grievance procedures	**State Govt.** Mandatory Reforms 1.Passage of public disclosure law to ensure preparation of medium term fiscal plan of ULBs and release of quarterly performance information to all stakeholders 2.Promulgation and implementation of community participation laws to institutionalise citizen participation as outlined in model legislation* 3.Citizen participation in various aspects of land-use, zoning, urban planning exercises through the Area Sabha and Ward Committees
E-governance	E-governance applications introduced in core functions of ULBs resulting in reduced cost and time of service delivery processes	As outlined above in terms of: - Financial Management - Integrated City Planning and Governance - Universal access to basic services - Revenue Enhancement - Urban Land Management - Citizen Accountability	As outlined above in terms of: - Financial Management - Integrated City Planning and Governance - Universal access to basic services - Revenue Enhancement - Urban Land Management - Citizen Accountability

Whose Sacred Heritage

AMITA BAIG

ABSTRACT

Today the conservation profession requires to expand its sphere of intervention given the fact that we all recognize that faith, society and culture is implicit in Indian culture. We must build consensus towards recognising the centrality of the broader dimensions of culture in our approach to conservation. As conservationists have over the last few decades built awareness for the need to protect historic sites and cities from burgeoning growth and destruction; today we need a paradigm shift in the manner in which we address cultural protection so that we are in fact inclusive, that we engage multiple stakeholders in the decision making process and most importantly mediate a role for conservation in dynamic contemporary cultures.

The sacred heritage is the bulwark of India; it is cherished cultural roots in a period of extreme change. Our capacity to address the imperatives of change while securing our sacred heritage is the challenge ahead. Government has for decades abdicated its ability to negotiate the future; it is far easier for them to perpetuate archaic colonial systems of exclusivity. The preservation of buildings is slim takings when much more complex cultural issues threaten the very future of our living heritage.

INTRODUCTION

One of the beliefs one nurtures in India is that our cultural heritage is sacrosanct and across religions and communities Our profession, individually and collectively, brings an unimpeachable level of ethic to their work. It was however a telling moment just after the 2002 riots in

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Fig.1: Id prayers at Ferozshah Kotla

Gujarat when a reader at Oxford University mailed out a list of more than 200 religious structures destroyed during the riots. Even though the majority of these were contemporary there was no conservation professional or cultural advocacy group in India making these assessments or lobbying for their survival; and even premiere NGO's were conspicuous by their silence. For me as an independent consultant it was a reality check that perhaps we too are part of the growing disconnect between culture and the heritage, polarizing form and function, a concept alien to Indian culture.

B.K. Thapar, the first Member Secretary of Indian National Trust for Art, Culture and Heritage INTACH, mothership of the conservation movement in the country; held that culture and heritage are indivisible. While culture represents spirit and belief and is continuous, heritage is a physical manifestation of that which is handed down through the generations. Today more than ever before we must acknowledge society and culture in Asia are indivisible and that we must build consensus towards recognising the centrality of this in our cultural strategies. Equally the monument is not an inanimate spectacle of architecture but someone's sacred space. Indian, indeed Asian philosophies are inextricably wrought into every day life and do not distinguish between the sacred and the secular. The spiritual and material are woven as one. Socio culturally the newly built Akshardham complex

has as much sanctity as the thirteenth century Lingaraj Temple.

The disconnect of the citizen from his heritage and thus his culture, maybe a colonial legacy but we must also be aware that in the last 50 odd years it is a policy which successive governments have found easier to perpetuate than to renegotiate. In today's climate of rapid globalisation and simultaneous affirmation of cultural identity, integrating the contemporary cultural environment is as central as preserving the past. More often than not we are on the back foot as political expediency vitiates or worse distorts the cultural fabric of the nation.

The conservation profession was also silent when the demolition earlier this year of the so called illegal dargah in Vadodra brought the wrath of the Supreme Court down on the Government and once again the state was on the back foot defending itself. Even as media sought clarity as this was broadcast live, on what a dargah is there were no professional voices that could be heard defending our cultural heritage.

The inconvenience of a dargah in the centre of the road, along with the demolition of a couple of illegal temples made headlines as road expansion seemed to justify defiling our past. For us as a profession what seems to have be at risk is our own concepts of authenticity, Indians are a deeply religious, god-fearing

people with a profound respect for our heritage, whatever the denomination. Therefore a shrine of any faith is revered in India, made yesterday or 300 years ago it has sanctity for the people who built it, consecrate and worship it.

While the Supreme Court must be lauded for its role in securing the heritage of the country we must, as professionals and as citizens of India, understand that fiats of courts or government are not the driving force of heritage value; the cultural heritage does not require to be validated by state mechanisms. The courts today have become the last resort of hope often used by public-spirited citizens euphemistically called activists to call government to account after damage is done.

The devaluation by us as conservators because the historic fabric has not been preserved 'authentically' is part of the problem of our own disconnect from our culture. The fact that the Vadodra dargah was renewed, perhaps beyond recognition, appearing to all intents and purposes to be new structure is a celebration of the survival and flourishing of faith. That it did not fit the textbook perception of a historic structure is perhaps our inability to incorporate this larger and more relevant facet of our cultural heritage into the way we address conservation.

Bound as we are by post war European paradigms for preservation, Venice Charters and not least an inherited colonial administration, it is critical to develop a strategy that is more contextual and has the capacity to be more inclusive. As a profession we have all tended to secure the past in a sanitised environment, interpreted, conserved and restored by a scientific community based on these norms. The reality is that in this region our heritage is largely sacred, whether it is a heritage of palaces or forts, almost every historic site has a sacred core which must become central to the conservation and management framework.

Today the protection of the sacred heritage in India is not only a scientific endeavor to restore the material heritage …it is in fact an intervention at many levels; social, political and inevitably philosophical. We need to recognize that it is the continuous living tradition in contemporary culture which will validate our efforts to preserve the past not as an artifact but as an integral component of today.

Equally one is profoundly aware that mediating the past and the present is fraught with contentious issues and driven largely by more base factors like land

value. Multiple stakeholders', issues of corruption or land mafia dominate urban development and culture is so far off the discourse that it has, in this context, been reduced to mere tokenism. For most of us as individuals the stakes are too high, much too complex as poverty, exploitation, adhocism and greed compete for limited resources, while political expediency has become the driving force which has become so exploitative that it is far outside the scope of the average citizen.

This has resulted in our seceding the right to intervene constructively and therefore political exploitation has high jacked the entire process of decision making, taking culture out of context, destroying its essence, distorting its truth, compromising its form. The physical manifestation of culture in monuments, art or other forms is in fact the cultural capital of the nation which we valorize and protect. However in today's socio cultural reality the manner in which we deal with culture is increasingly out of context.

Cultural policies therefore, must build systems to protect and manage the challenges and opportunities and ensure that they are reflective of the aspirations of contemporary culture. The cultural heritage of India can no longer be managed by outdated structures of government in a Jurassic Park of regulations and mechanisms designed to obfuscate. Today's pace of change has rendered many of our systems redundant, even while organisations like UNESCO have evolved to address the dynamic and ever changing facets of culture. Several years of research and analysis of the systems for protection in the Asian region spearheaded by the Tokyo National Institute for Research on Cultural Properties resulted in recognition that we in our own countries seem to have abdicated decision making on cultural heritage to administrations whose understanding of culture as a social force is non existant.

For many of us the magnitude of issues to be dealt with, from inept administration to public cynicism, the challenge of engaging in these potentially volatile situations is risky and often result in consultative processes become mere tokenism. Consultative processes will inevitably throw up hugely contentious issues of contemporary cultural aspirations, vigorous renewal challenges and perhaps scant interest in that which we seek to preserve. Today it is imperative for the conservation profession to engage in this.

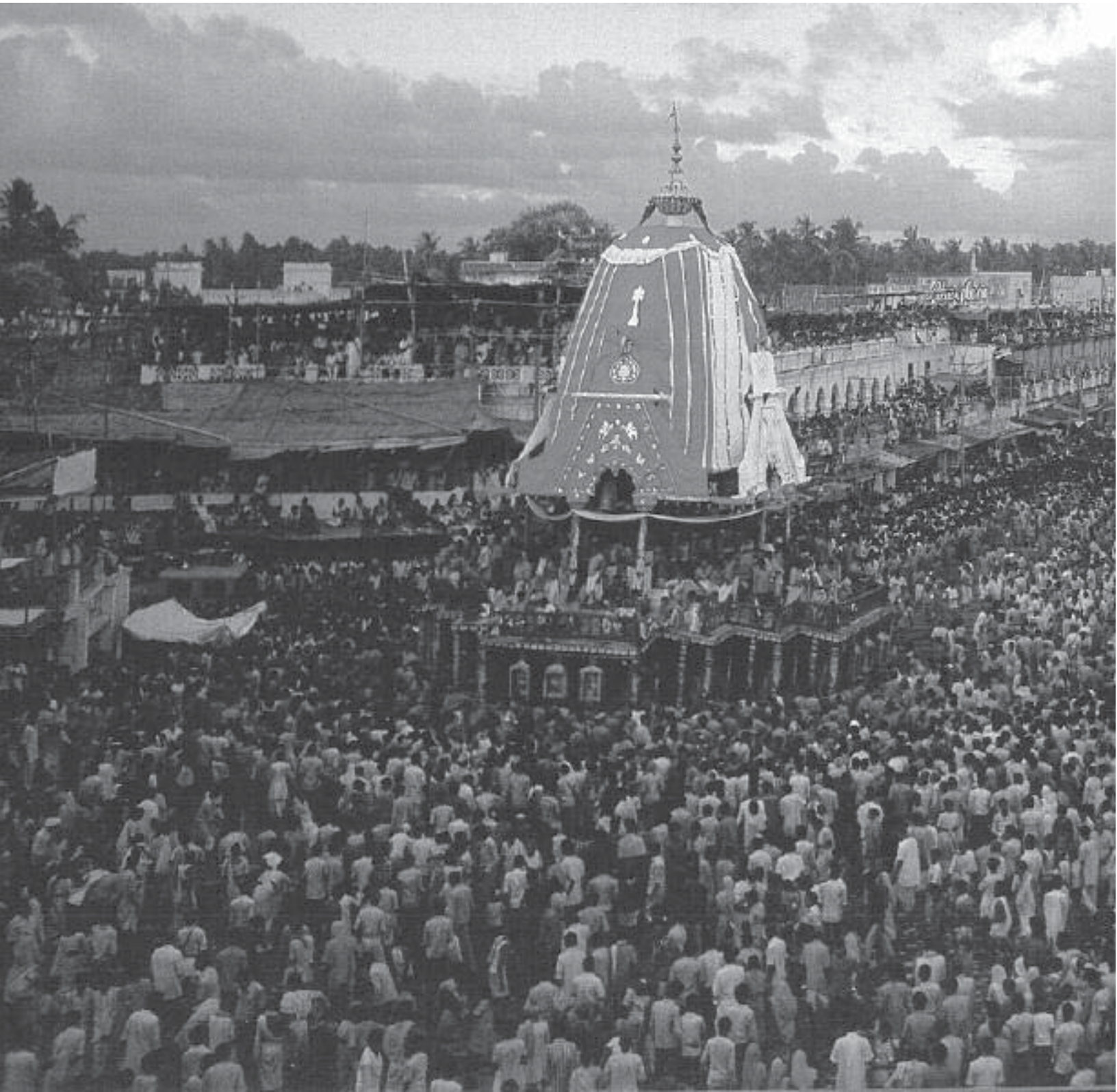Equally we need to rethink how we will address

Fig.3: The Jagannath Yatra, Puri. Images of India Photograph by Rupinder Khullar (text Champak Basu)

marrying the perspectives of conservation with the compulsions of cultural dynamism. As yet the conservation profession is unwilling to concede to this aspect of contemporary culture and are becoming polarised with authenticity in restoration supported by the scientific research and skills on one side, and the need for contemporary culture on the other. Is a meticulously conserved Buddha statue acceptable to the public or do they want a new, or absolutely

undamaged Buddha statue. How do we negotiate the space for *'kar sewa'* and *'jirno dhar'* or other systems implicit in the faith but not necessarily in accordance with our perceptions of preservation of authenticity?

There is ample research and knowledge about traditional systems of management of sacred spaces. There are clearly stated the guidelines for 'repair' of sacred structures but we in India still veer towards and

are more comfortable with the western paradigm for restoration, diminishing our own knowledge systems or not really engaged sufficiently in this aspect of research and application. Effectively we need to integrate the systems and processes that sustained these sites and when management was also local enterprise. Ultimately it is the cultural value the host community ascribes to the sacred space that is relevant and will require the maximum skill in negotiating.

The Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) is fettered with draconian laws from maintaining status quo in a religious site to no construction within 100 meters of a monument. Laws such as this become a travesty when they have no reference to ground reality of the aspirations of society. Hemis Monastery has refused access to the ASI into their Monastery, while the devasthanam of the Virupaksha Temple has filed a stay in the Karnataka High Court against protection. In Jaisalmer there is complicity between the protection agencies and the trade to ensure no effective regulation can be sustained. Many of the losses of 'authentic fabric' in sacred sites is because conservation and restoration has not kept pace with change and cultural development. Similarly almost no dialogue has been made possible in most of the protected sites often leading to anger and distrust. While the ASI has been exemplary in maintaining status quo, it has no capacity to leverage public support, and certainly no will to negotiate its role with communities.

The fragility of our sites especially our sacred sites is because of our inability to balance extremely sophisticated traditional systems of management with the rules and principles which govern conservation practice today. This is not a sentimental throw back to past practices for we also know that many early systems were exploitative and exclusive, it is a recognition of reality, unless we begin to restore these partnerships we are not really investing in effective and sustainable futures.

In Sri Lanka the State has acted progressively to train local stakeholders including monks to become partners in the protection and preservation process. In Laos, UNESCO runs a training program for Monks so that they renew their temples according to traditional practices and skills. These programs are expanding across South Asia at a rapid pace. Often private practitioners in India bring these strategies to a project but until there is a long-term stake it cannot be sustained. As the ASI safely fences the bulk of our

Fig.2: Monks meditate inside Likir Gompa...Photo Rajesh Bedi Ladakh by Rajesh Bedi (text Ramesh Bedi) 1986 Publsihed by Brijbasi Printers Pvt Ltd

premiere sacred heritage and I believe that we have lost something very fundamental in our values by perpetuating this chasm. It is outdated, archaic and completely irrelevant.

The need of the hour is structural reform and affirmative action we can no longer be secure in sound technical understanding of how best a building is repaired. Without a new and culturally relevant framework for cultural heritage preservation, we will not be able to secure our past in the context of our own contemporary culture. Traditional systems for the management of the heritage must be studied and applied, while public consultation should become the basis for intervention. Public custodianship is the only way to guarantee the survival of our past not so much as an atrophied heritage, but as a vibrant contemporary value.

The complexity of forging people's aspirations, in as charged an atmosphere as exists today; will require enormous political will and of course a strong government. As we institute Right to Information Systems and secure Panchayati Raj we have not shifted cultural decision making into this forum. The contemporary cultural fabric is as significant as the past and in India we must graduate to a genuine system of inclusiveness. The past and the present co exist in the reality of our culture, how we address it can no longer just be a scientific process; it is a profoundly humane endeavor. Cultural property is the bedrock of the community and if it is a sacred cultural property, then custodianship of the devout is implicit. Rituals, festivals and other activities bind the communities in a common space, and thus by implication is protected.

Today the sacred is at the forefront of almost every political agenda and cynicism has begun to corrode what should be a flourishing cultural fabric. As sacred sites are misused for political exploitation, the issues become more complex therefore it is imperative to restore balance. We must recognise that in India we have not addressed the sacred heritage with any sense of partnership and continued alienation of the community and their heritage almost constitutes loss of cultural liberty. The conservation profession requires to step up its efforts and be heard, driving the structural reform so urgently needed to keep pace. We need to bridge this gulf and this work must be driven by civil society. The conservation profession needs to play a proactive role to build these connectors.

We must build an environment in which cultures will evolve, develop and flourish in a continuous process as they have done over thousands of years. The need to build upon the collective memory of mankind, recognizing that it is this, which validates our present and our actions that will be judged by future generations. The custodianship of each generation has its own responsibilities and today, in the so-called civilised world, we must position conservation in the contemporary cultural context.

Notes and References

● Baig, Amita (Oct. 2003) "Managing Cultural Significance. *Seminar 530*

● Baig, Amita: Society and Systems for the Conservation of Cultural Heritage: Beliefs, Peoples and Economy" : *Sacred Heritage and Society.*

Events

January, 03-05 2007

7th International Conference on Urban Planning and Environment (UPE7)

The Event: World Class Cities - Environmental Impacts and Planning Opportunities
Location: Bangkok Thailand
Organisers: Kasetsart University
Contact: upebangkok@ku.ac.th
website:
http://www.upebangkok.org/

January 08-10, 2007

Winter workshop: Legal issues for city-to-city co-operation: a framework for local government international action.
Location: Seville, Spain
Contact: Diana A. Lopez Caramazana
Tel. +34.954.48.02.23
Fax: +34.954.48.02.22
E-mail: diana.lopez@unhabitat.org

January 12-15, 2007

International Conference on New Architecture and Urbanism Development of Indian Traditions

The conference aims to bring together strong voices from all corners of the country and the world, in an effort to retain and reinforce the belief in the strength and vitality of traditional building and urbanism, and for its promotion and usage in the development of mainstream architecture and urban design. In the endeavor, the conference would look at what defines traditional methods, their relevance to the contemporary context and would examine important case stuies.
Location: New Delhi, India
Organisers: International Network for Traditional Building, Architecture and Urbanism (INTBAU)
Contact: Deependra Prashad
Tel: +91 11 26961119
Email: contact@intbau.in

June, 26-29, 2007

8th International Cities, Town Centres & Communities Society Conference

The Event: The theme of the 2007 conference will be "Cities on the Edge". The program content put together by the ICTC Society brings together an agenda that focuses on real issues and concepts affecting urban development in the twenty-first century. High profile speakers will lead delegates through a range of presentations, discussions and field trips covering urban design, planning, project management, development and sustainability.
Location: Auckland, New Zealand
Organisers: ICTC Society
Tel: +61 7 3371 0333
Contact: ictc@ictcsociety.org
Website:http://www.ictcsociety.org

Glossary

A

ADS - Area Development Society
AM&DA - Amber Management & Development Authority
APUFIDC - Andhra Pradesh Urban Finance and Infrastructure Development Corporation
ASCI - Administrative Staff College of India
ASI - Archaeological Survey of India

B

BATF
BMICP - Bangalore Mysore Infrastructure Corridor Project
BMMR - Bangalore Mysore Metro Region
BMTPC - Building Material Technology Promotion Council

C

CAA - Constitutional Amendment Act
CBO - Community Based Organisation
CDP - City Development Plan
CDS - City Development Strategy
CGG - Centre for Good Governance

CIT - City Improvement Trust
CMA - Chennai Metropolitan Area
CMDA - Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority
CRC
CRZ - Coastal Regulation Zone

D

DDA - Delhi Development Authority
DDP - Draft Development Plan
DOT - Department of Tourism
DPC - District Planning Committee
DPRs - Detailed Project Reports
DWCUA - Development of Women and Children in Urban Areas

E

EWS - Economically Weaker Section

F

FSI - Floor Space Index
FYP - Five Year Plan

G

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

GIS - Geographic Information System

GOI - Government of India

GSS - Global Shelter Strategy

H

HUDCO - Housing and Urban Development Corporation

I

ICT - Information & Communication Technologies

IDSMT - Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns

IHSDP - Integrated Housing Slum Development Programme

INDIRAMMA - Integrated Novel Development in Rural Areas and Model Municipal Areas

INTACH - Indian National Trust for Art, Culture and Heritage

ISRO - Indian Space Research Organisation

IT - Information Technology

J

JDA - Jaipur Development Authority

JNNURM - Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission

JMC - Jaipur Municipal Corporation

JVF - Jaipur Virasat Foundation

JPC - Joint Parliamentary Committee

K

KMDA - Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority

L

LB - Local Body

LIG - Low Income Group

M

MATF - Mysore Agenda Task Force

MIS - Management Information System

MOA - Memorandum of Association

MPC - Metropolitan Planning Committee

MRTP - Maharashtra Regional Town Planning

N

NABARD - National Bank for Agricultural and Rural Development

NBO - National Building Organisation

NCMP - National Common Minimum Programme

NCT - National Capital Territory

NGO - Non-Government Organisation

NHAI - National Highways Authority of India

NHGs - Neighbourhood Groups

NHP - National Housing Policy

NRY - Nehru Rojgar Yojana

NSDP - National Slum Development Programme

NSS - National Service Scheme

O

OGRTS - Online Grievance Redressal Tracking System

P

PCC - Plain Cement Concrete

PHED - Public Health Engineering Department

PMC - Pune Municipal Corporation

PMU _ Project Management Unit

PPP - Public Private Partnership

PUHC - Pune Urban Heritage Committee

R

RWA - Resident Welfare Association

S

SANEYCOP - South Asian Network of Young Conservation Professionals

SAARC - South Asian Association for Regional Corporation

SFAA - Society for Applied Anthropology

SJSRY - Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rojgar Yojana

SLNA - State Level Nodal Agency

SWM - Solid Waste Management

SWOT - Strength, Weakness, Opportunity and Threat

T

TAC - Technical Advisory Committee

TDR - Transferable Development Rights

TNHB - Tamil Nadu Housing Board

TNSCB - Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board

TNUDF - Tamil Nadu Urban Development Fund

TNUDP - Tamil Nadu Urban Development Project

TUFIDCO - Tamil Nadu Urban Finance and Infrastructure Development Corporation

TWAD - Tamil Nadu Water and Drainage

U

UAs - Urban Agglomerations

UBSP - Urban Basic Services for the Poor

UDPFI - Urban Development Plan Formulation and Implementation

UGD - Under Ground Drainage

UHC - Urban Heritage Committees

UIDSSMT - Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme for Small and Medium Towns ULBs - Urban Local Bodies

ULCRA - Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act

UNESCO - United Nation Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNICEF - United Nations Children's Fund

USEP - Urban Self Employment Programme

V

VAMBAY - Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojna

1 crore = 10 Million

DRONAH is an all encompassing, interdisciplinary organisation that involves highly motivated professionals from various disciplines. We share a vision for a better quality of life for present and future generations - without foregoing the links from the past. In this pursuit, it is our aim to actively promote conservation and traditional practices in lieu of modern technology for sustainable development. We recognise the need for knowledge sharing and mutual interaction for this purpose. The idea of the organisation is to understand and document the complex matrix of our environment including traditions, art and architecture and people. The organsation aims for conservation and development in Built Heritage, Ecology and Environment, Community Participation, Arts, Crafts and Education.