ISSN-0971-8400

YOJANA

SEPTEMBER 2014 A DEVELOPMENT MONTHLY ₹10

URBAN PLANNING

Urban Policies and Programmes in India: Retrospect and Prospect
R. B. Bhagat

A Perspective for Slum Free India
Amitabh Kundu

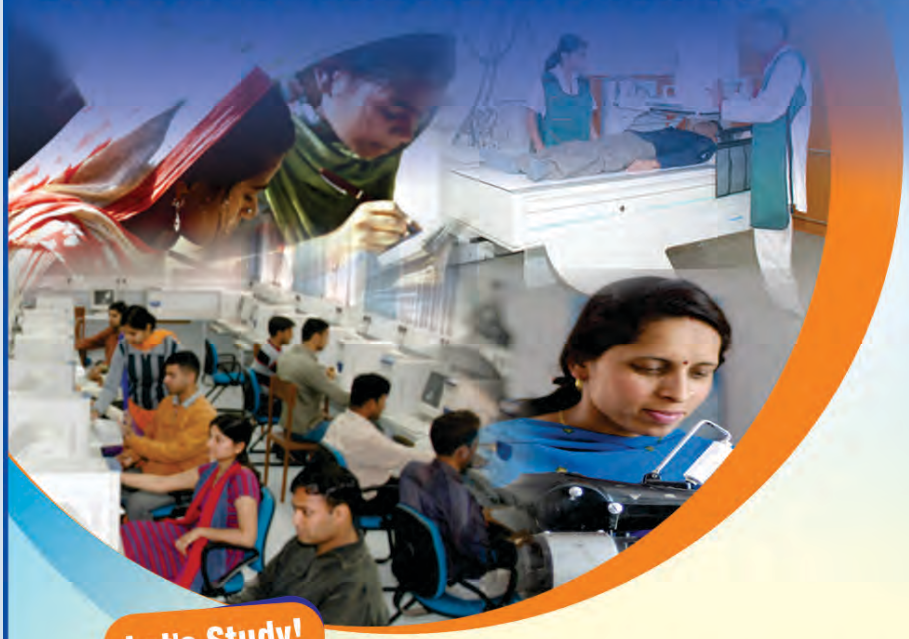
Addressing the Rural in Indian Cities
Narendar Pani

Planning for Smart Cities: Where to Start?
S. Chandrasekhar & Niharika Venkatesh

Special Article
Ensuring Environmental Water Flows in the River Ganga
H S Sen & Dipankar Ghorai

Open School - That Touches & Changes the Life

विद्याधनम् सर्वधनं प्रधानम्



Let's Study!

Continue Your Education
Adopt Open Schooling

Courses	Admission Fee (without Late Fee)			Dates for Admission
	Male	Female	Exempted Category	
• Open Basic Education (Class III, Class V & Class VIII)	-	-	-	30th June (every year)
• Secondary (Class X)				Block -1 : 16th March - 31st July (without late fee)
(i)For 05 subjects	₹ 1350	₹ 1100	₹ 900	1st August - 15th Sept. (with late fees)
(ii)For each Additional Subject	₹ 200	₹ 200	₹ 200	Block -2 : 16th Sept. - 31st Jan. (without late fee)
				1st Feb. - 15th March (with late fees)
• Senior Secondary(Class XII)				Block -1 : 16th March - 31st July (without late fee)
(i)For 05 subjects	₹ 1500	₹ 1250	₹ 975	1st August - 15th Sept. (with late fees)
(ii)For each Additional Subject	₹ 230	₹ 230	₹ 230	Block -2 : 16th Sept. - 31st Jan. (without late fee)
				1st Feb. - 15th March (with late fees)
• Vocational Education Programmes (6 months to 2 years duration)	Based on Course & Duration			1st Session : 30th June (every year) 2nd Session : 31st Dec. (every year)

Contact your nearest Study Centre or Concerned Regional Centre for Admission
For detailed information of Late Fee, Study Centres, Regional Centres etc.
please log on to NIOS Website : www.nios.ac.in

National Institute of Open Schooling

(An Autonomous Institution under Ministry of Human Resource Development, Govt. of India)

A - 24/25, Institutional Area, Sector - 62, NOIDA, Gautam Budh Nagar (Uttar Pradesh)

Toll Free No.1800-180-9393; email: lsc@nios.ac.in website: www.nios.ac.in

The Largest Open Schooling System in the World

September 2014

Vol 58

YOJANA

Chief Editor : Rajesh K. Jha
Senior Editor : Shyamala M. Iyer
Sub Editor : Vatica Chandra

Joint Director (Production) : V.K. Meena
Cover Design : Gajanan P. Dhope
E-mail (Editorial) : yojanace@gmail.com
(Circulation) : pdjucir@gmail.com
Website : www.yojana.gov.in
https://www.facebook.com/pages/Yojana-Journal

Let noble thoughts come to us from all sides
Rig Veda

CONTENTS

URBAN POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES IN INDIA: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT
R B Bhagat 4

PLANNING FOR SMART CITIES: WHERE TO START?
S Chandrasekhar, Niharika Venkatesh 10

SPECIAL ARTICLE

ENSURING ENVIRONMENTAL WATER FLOWS IN THE RIVER GANGA
H S Sen, Dipankar Ghorai 14

ADDRESSING THE RURAL IN INDIAN CITIES
Narendar Pani....21

DO YOU KNOW? 24

WHY INDIA SHOULD OR SHOULD NOT RATIFY THE TFA?
Nilabja Ghosh 26

J&K WINDOW 30

URBAN PLANNING : THE NEED FOR A NEW PARADIGM
Lalitha Kamath....32

INCLUSIVE GROWTH THROUGH EFFICIENT URBAN PLANNING
Rakesh Ranjan 40

SUSTAINABLE FINANCING FOR INDIAN CITIES
Anand Sahasranaman, Vishnu Prasad....47

A PERSPECTIVE FOR SLUM FREE INDIA
Amitabh Kundu....52

IS INDIA READY TO PLAN A 'SMART' URBAN FUTURE?
Rolee Aranya, Chetan Vaidya 57

CONTINUITY AMIDST CHANGE: LEARNING FROM RAJIV AWAS YOJANA
Gautam Bhan 64

Our Representatives : Ahmedabad: Amita Maru, Bangalore: B.S. Meenakshi, Chennai: A. Elangovan, Guwahati: Anupoma Das, Hyderabad: Vijayakumar Vedagiri, Kolkata: Antara Ghosh, Mumbai: Bhavana Gokhale, Thiruvananthapuram: Neetu Sona.

YOJANA seeks to provide a vibrant platform for discussion on problems of social and economic development of the country through in-depth analysis of these issues in the wider context of government policies. Although **published by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting**, Yojana is not restricted to expressing the official point of view. Yojana is published in Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu.

EDITORIAL OFFICE : Yojana Bhavan, Sansad Marg, New Delhi-110001 Tel.: 23096738, 23042511.
Business Manager (Hqs.) : Ph :24367260, 24365609, 24365610

For new subscriptions, renewals, enquiries please contact : Business Manager (Circulation & Advt.), Publications Division, Min. of I&B, East Block-IV, Level-VII, R.K. Puram, New Delhi-110066, Tel.: 26100207;] Sales Emporia : Publications Division: *Soochna Bhavan, CGO Complex, Lodhi Road, New Delhi -110003 (Ph 24365610) *Hall No.196, Old Secretariat, Delhi 110054(Ph 23890205) * 701, B Wing, 7th Floor, Kendriya Sadan, Belapur, Navi Mumbai 400614 (Ph 27570686)*8, Esplanade East, Kolkata-700069 (Ph 22488030) *'A' Wing, Rajaji Bhawan, Basant Nagar, Chennai-600090 (Ph 24917673) *Press road, Near Govt. Press, Thiruvananthapuram-695001 (Ph 2330650) *Block No.4, 1st Floor, Gruhakalpa Complex, M G Road, Nampally, Hyderabad-500001 (Ph 24605383) *1st Floor, 'F' Wing, Kendriya Sadan, Koramangala, Bangalore-560034 (Ph 25537244) *Bihar State Co-operative Bank Building, Ashoka Rajpath, Patna-800004 (Ph 2683407) *Hall No 1, 2nd floor, Kendriya Bhawan, Sector-H, Aliganj, Lucknow-226024(Ph 2225455) *Ambica Complex, 1st Floor, above UCO Bank, Paldi, Ahmedabad-380007 (Ph 26588669) *KKB Road, New Colony, House No.7, Chenikuthi, Guwahati 781003 (Ph 2665090)

SUBSCRIPTION : 1 year ₹ 100, 2 years ₹ 180, 3 years ₹ 250. For SAARC countries by Air Mail ₹ 530 yearly; for European and other countries ₹ 730 yearly.
No. of Pages : 72

Disclaimer :

- **The views expressed in various articles are those of the authors' and not necessarily of the government.**
- **The views expressed in the articles are of the author and they don't represent the views of their organisation.**
- **The readers are requested to verify the claims made in the advertisements regarding career guidance books/institutions. Yojana does not own responsibility regarding the contents of the advertisements.**

M. PURI'S IAS

Secure your Success

GS-II PLUS

Paper-II (Full Syllabus)

+ Selected Topics of GS-III & GS-IV

Why join Puri Sir's Classes

1. Complete coverage of syllabus (Reality not merely Rhetoric)
2. New pattern demands specialized focus & Approach.
3. Understanding of trends & issues and not merely events & facts.
4. Governance specific vocabulary building.
5. Art of opinion building/ shaping as opposed to merely plagiarising opinions of others.
6. Art of writing Answers with precision & brevity.
7. Course covers nearly ⅓rd of GS Syllabus.

"NEARLY 91% OF OUR MAINS (2013) STUDENTS ACHIEVED 88+ SCORES IN GS-II"

PUBLIC ADMN.
Regular Batch

Also Available Exclusive

PUB. AD. PAPER-II
(Specialization Batch)

By M. Puri

GENERAL STUDIES
TEST SERIES
(All Four Papers)
MAINS - 2014

PUBLIC ADMN.
TEST SERIES
MAINS - 2014

MOST COMPREHENSIVE TEST SERIES IN THE COUNTRY

Admission Open

11A/22, Top Floor, Old Rajendra Nagar Market (Near Bikaner Sweet), New Delhi110060
Ph. : 011-45633700 E-mail : m.puriias@gmail.com
Mob. : 8130153699, 9899154622, 9910448405

YE-144/2014

Chief Editor's Desk

A Tale of Two Cities

Imagine yourself walking through the neatly aligned streets of Kalibangan, the historic city of the Harappan civilisation on the banks of Ghaggar river. You are impressed by the cleanliness, well laid out drainage system and the bustling civic and commercial life of the city. The town planning of this pre-historic city never fails to amaze the observer. Fast forward a couple of thousand years in time to Kashi on the banks of holy Ganga and Shahjahanabad overlooking the majestic Yamuna. Still closer in time the Silicon valley of New York, World Financial Centre of Shanghai or the Cybercity of India- Bengaluru inspire a sense of awe and admiration. Indeed, cities have always marked the pinnacle of the material achievement of the human civilisation. Unfortunately, they also hide in their womb the maladies of the unequal access, segregation, filth and squalor, alienation and dispossession which are typical of a modern urban habitat. In the shadow of a skyscraper lurks the slum. Behind the glitzy exteriors of a modern office cum commercial complex in a city, lies the open footpath which magically transforms into a large community bedroom in the night. Its poor occupants brave heat and cold, rain and fog and sleep with a prayer on their lips lest they become a news item in the morning newspaper for being run over by a luxury car. *The Maximum City* is not just Mumbai, it is a metaphor for all modern cities that embody an outlet for maximum aspiration and opportunity and yet a site of struggle for water, air, space, intimacy.....

There can be no dispute that urbanization is the future. History of economic development in the world shows that growth of cities is not just natural and unavoidable, but it is desirable too. Urbanization creates efficiencies by compressing spaces and bringing together the productive forces which helps in the growth process. However, careful planning is required if the cities have to become centres of productive enterprise, hub of creativity and spaces of shared abundance. Planning does not necessarily have to be an external imposition. In fact, exploring the possibilities of the organic growth of a city and integrating it with the vision of a modern urban habitat could provide us the blueprint for cities of the future.

The energy guzzling, all glass, multi-storey buildings that define our cities today are the outcome of a flawed model of urbanization. Increasingly, town planners have been looking at the old cities which have survived centuries and thrive even today. They have started to delve into the dynamics of the organically growing cities to understand how they provide shelter, employment, warmth and intimacy to the people without leaving a dark and deep environmental footprint. Beyond economic prosperity, it is the number of suicides, murders, accidents, violent crimes, incidents of road rage, respiratory and heart diseases, uncared elderly population, homeless and pavement dweller, even divorces and disoriented families which should be the touchstone for judging the success or otherwise of a well planned city.

Whether it is the 'green-field' cities or the lived, organic cities, there is a growing realisation among urban planners to involve the vast majority of the silent and marginalised population of the city who constitute its core in the process of plan formulation and implementation. The informal sector constitutes close to 75 percent of the total workforce in the cities. Ignoring this large and numerically dominant section and their 'lived reality' will mean the failure of any planning that we might do for our future cities. We need to recognize that each slum cluster that springs up on the periphery of a planned, gated enclave in a city actually subsidises the cosy living of the elite and well-off by providing a cheap source of labour for all kinds of work from maids to plumbers and electricians to private security guards. Each city has another city permeating its interstices, breathing heavy in suffocation, deprivation and inequity. This *Tale of Two Cities* is ugly and must change. The worst of times must give way to best of times before it is too late. Sooner the better. ❑

Urban Policies and Programmes in India: Retrospect and Prospect

R B Bhagat

Planning in real sense should involve the urban dwellers to accommodate their needs and concerns; it should be participatory and decentralized. There is also a need to democratise and empower ULBs as per the provisions of 74th Amendment to the Constitution. Mayor of the city should be made responsible both in terms of power and functions. Many global cities have addressed the problems of governing large cities through the elected local government headed by Mayor. The Mayor of London and New York for example are directly accountable for strategic governance of their respective cities and have substantial resources and political power at their disposal

THE IMPORTANCE of cities and urban centres has been growing in India's economic development during the post liberalization phase. For example, the contribution of urban areas to India's GDP has increased from 29 per cent in 1950-51 to 47 per cent in 1980–81, to 62 to 63 per cent by 2007, and is expected to increase to 75 per cent by 2021 (Planning Commission 2008: 394). It is also being emphasized that 9 to 10 per cent of growth in GDP depends fundamentally on making Indian cities more livable and inclusive (Planning Commission, Govt. of India 2008: 394).

One of the important features of urbanization influencing politics and policies is that it undermines old forms of political mobilization based on caste and religious identities and favors local issues to be resolved through right based approach to development. Therefore, a new form of empowerment of the people is emerging with specific entitlement ensured to them through legislation. The new policy changes and the strategies of governance are essentially urban in nature. The increasing rural and urban divide is also unable to sustain primordial identities as rural folks are equally concerned about access to economic and social resources and hold government responsible for their fate.

One of the startling facts of India's urban history is that most of the cities and towns have grown on their own. Policy and programmes to some extent affected the big urban centres, but the small cities and towns and non-metropolitan areas have largely been remained unaffected by urban policy and programmes (Shaw 1996: 224). This paper critically presents a synoptic view of urban policy, planning and programmes and suggests a way forward.

Urban Programmes and Planning in Five Year Plans

During the first two Five Year Plan periods, various institutions and organizations were created and set up. For example, the Government set up the Town and Country Planning Organization, the National Building Organisation and Delhi Development Authority during this period. Effort has been made to prepare Delhi Master Plan which served as a model for city planning in other states (Shaw 1996: 225). During this period, states were advised for the enactment of town and country planning legislation to enable the drawing up of master plans for the closer regulation of urban land (Ramachandran 1989: 570).

The Third Five Year Plan (1961-66) was a turning point in India's history of urban development and planning. It

The author is currently working as Professor and Head, Department of Migration and Urban Studies, International Institute for Population Sciences , Mumbai. Professor Bhagat has earlier worked at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences. He has been a resource person with UNESCO-UNICEF India Migration Initiative. He has also been on a number of committees of government to advise it on policy issues. He has published a large number of research papers and books in the field of urbanisation, migration, health, environment and development.

recognized the importance of cities and towns in balanced regional development and advised that urban planning adopt a regional approach. It emphasized the need for urban land regulation, checking of urban land prices and also preparation of master plan for the big cities. It made clear that the preparation of master plan is the responsibility of state and local governments. It also underscored the need that as far as possible, new industries should be established away from large and congested cities, and the municipal administration needs to be strengthened *(http://planningcommission.gov.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index6.html)*. During this period, majority of the states introduced town planning

The Third Five Year Plan (1961-66) was a turning point in India's history of urban development and planning. It recognized the importance of cities and towns in balanced regional development and advised that urban planning adopt a regional approach. It emphasized the need for urban land regulation, checking of urban land prices and also preparation of master plan for the big cities.

legislation modeled on the pattern of British town planning designs and practices. In fact, Third Plan can be regarded as a critical one for urban policy making in the country (Shaw 1996; 226). The Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74) continued to emphasize the regional and urban development initiatives in the Third Plan, and development plans for 72 urban centres were undertaken. Regional studies in respect of metropolitan regions around Delhi, Greater Bombay and Calcutta were initiated. *(http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/4th/4planch19.html)*. The development of new state capitals like Chandigarh, Gandhinagar, Bhopal and Bhubaneswar were speeded up through special grants by the central government. It also stressed on improving urban legislations and advised state governments to review statutes hindering urban development. The Urban Land (Ceiling and Regulation) Act 1976 was passed during Fifth Five Year Plan period. It also advised the state governments to create metropolitan planning regions to take care of the growing areas outside administrative city limits. In a very significant development during this plan period, the Government of Maharashtra passed the Mumbai Metropolitan Development Act in 1974 and the Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority (MMRDA) was established in accordance on 26th January, 1975. Also during this period, Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) was established to fund projects of the urban local bodies, housing boards and other organizations. One of the special features of Fourth Plan was that metropolitan cities and cities of national importance got special financial commitment which continued in Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79) as well. It made allocation for Kolkata, Mumbai and Chennai especially under integrated urban development programme and some more cities of national importance *(http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/welcome.html*). There was an apparent favour to the big cities until Fifth Plan, although rhetoric of urban and industrial decentralization was repeated plan after plan (Shaw 1996: 227).

The Sixth Five Year Plan (1978-83) stressed the need to develop small and medium size towns (less than 1 lakh). A scheme of Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns (IDSMT) was launched in 1979 by the Central Government. The IDSMT scheme was allocated Rs.96 crore- a paltry amount that aimed to benefit about 200 small and medium towns *(http://planningcommission.gov.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index6.html)*.

There were some important institutional developments during Seventh Plan period which shaped the urban development policy and planning in India. The National Commission on Urbanisation submitted its report in August 1988 and a bill known as 65th Constitution Amendment was introduced in Lok Sabha in 1989 incorporating the suggestions of the Commission. The bill was the first attempt to grant constitutional status to urban local bodies with an aim to create a three tier federal structure with centre at the top, states at the intermediate level and local bodies at the bottom. The bill however failed to be passed in Rajya Sabha as it was understood to be an interference in the autonomy of the states. The bill was again introduced after some revisions as 74th Constitution Amendment Bill 1992 which was passed by both Houses of Parliament and came into force in March 1993.

The role of the small and medium towns was envisaged as developing growth centres for the betterment of rural hinterland. Similar to the Master Plan of big cities, it was suggested that regional plan could serve for small and medium towns. It was noted that scarcity of funds is a limiting factor and sources of funding should be explored beyond budgetary and institutional provisions

During Eighth Plan, the Mega City Scheme was introduced in 1993-94 covering five megacities of Mumbai, Calcutta, Chennai, Bangalore and Hyderabad. Also, the IDSMT scheme was revamped to dovetail its activities of infrastructure development programmes for boosting employment generation for diverting migration from the big cities to the small and medium towns. The role of the small and medium towns was envisaged as developing growth centres for the betterment of rural hinterland. Similar to the Master Plan of big cities, it was suggested that regional plan could serve for small and medium towns. It was noted that scarcity of funds is a limiting factor and sources of funding should be explored beyond budgetary

and institutional provisions *(http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/8th/vol2/8v2ch13.htm)*.

The Ninth Plan (1997-2002) sought that state urbanisation strategy should be prepared for establishing synergy among various urban development programmes. Although, most of the programmes undertaken in the Eighth Plan continued in Ninth Plan, the emphasis was placed more on decentralization and financial autonomy of the urban local bodies with an aim to promote competitiveness and efficiency through market based interventions. Earlier programmes like NRY, UBSP and PMIUPEP were merged to form a new programme called the Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana (SJSRY) with effect from 1st December 1997. This programme had two sub-schemes, namely, (i) Urban Self-Employment Programme and (ii) Urban Wage Employment Programme. The self-employment and wage employment components of the existing NRY and PMIUPEP were reorganised under this single programme. Further, the shelter upgradation components of both NRY and PMIUPEP were merged and a new programme named the National Slum Development Programme (NSDP) started in 1997 *(http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/9th/vol2/v2c2-2.htm)*. The programme however, was discontinued from the financial year 2005-06. It is also extremely ironical to note that funding for small and medium towns was too low. For example, the IDSMT scheme covered 904 towns upto the end of the Eighth Plan and the central assistance released was so far was just Rs. 283.96 crore *(http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/9th/vol2/v2c3-7.htm)*. As per 2001 Census, there were about 4500 urban centres, which could qualify under the category of small and medium towns (less than 3 lakh), but the allocation was not only very low but also covered only one-fifth of the small and medium towns. In such circumstances, it is not possible for these towns to act as growth centres and spread urbanization and promote regional development in the country.

As per 2001 Census there were about 4500 urban centres, which could qualify under the category of small and medium towns (less than 3 lakh), but the allocation was not only very low but also covered only one-fifth of the small and medium towns. In such circumstances, it is not possible for these towns to act as growth centres and spread urbanization and promote regional development in the country.

The Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-2007) recognized the fact that urbanization played a key role in accelerating economic growth in the 1980s and 1990s as a result of economic liberalisation. It also noted that programmes such as the Mega City project for five selected cities, the Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns (IDSMT), and the Accelerated Urban Water Supply Programme (AUWSP) have shown limited success. It also noted that the coverage and the amount of central assistance in the past have been uneven and inadequate, both because of procedural issues as well as limited budgetary allocations. The existing schemes for assistance for infrastructure such as the IDSMT and the Mega City Project leave a significant number of cities between them without any central support. The Tenth Plan also noted that the performance of NSDP has not been satisfactory mainly because of the delays at the state level in releasing the funds to implementing agencies. A programme called Valmiki-Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY) was also initiated in 2001-2002 for provision of shelter and upgrading the existing shelter of the people below poverty line. A subsidy in the range of Rs. 20 to 30 thousand was provided per unit depending upon the size of the city. It also accepted the fact that parastatal agencies and bodies such as development authorities need to play a supportive role and even partnership with Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) rather than taking over functions which properly belong to the ULBs. Overall, the Tenth Plan stressed that without strengthening the democratic structure and institutional building of the ULBs, the goal of urban development could not be achieved *(http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/10th/volume2/v2_ch6_1.pdf)*.

The Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-12) introduced some innovative changes in the urban policy and programmes. The key urban development strategies were as follows:

It also accepted the fact that parastatal agencies and bodies such as development authorities need to play a supportive role and even partnership with Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) rather than taking over functions which properly belong to the ULBs. Overall, the Tenth Plan stressed that without strengthening the democratic structure and institutional building of the ULBs, the goal of urban development could not be achieved

i. Strengthening urban local bodies through capacity building and better financial management.
ii. Increasing the efficiency and productivity of cities by deregulation and development of land.
iii. Dismantling public sector monopoly over urban infrastructure and creating conducive atmosphere for the private sector to invest.
iv. Establishing autonomous regulatory framework to oversee the functioning of the public and private sector.
v. Reducing incidence of poverty.
vi. Using technology and innovation in a big way.

In order to revitalize the urban development strategies, the Central Government launched a major initiative named as Jawaharlal Nehru National

Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), in December 2005**,** to give a focused attention to integrated development of urban infrastructure and services initially in select 63 mission cities. Its emphasis was on provision of basic services to the urban poor, including housing, water supply, sanitation, road network, urban transport, the development of inner/old city areas, etc. and the earlier programmes like Mega City, IDSMT, NSDP and VAMBAY were merged with it.

The midterm evaluation of the Eleventh Plan admitted that urban development and urban renewal requires huge funds under JNNURM. The required funds were staggering that is fixed at around Rs. 3-4 lakh crore whereas under JNNURM only 66, 000 crore were allocated for the seven year period of JNNURM (2005-2012).

JNNURM was divided into two broad parts namely (i) the Sub-Mission on Urban Infrastructure and Governance and (UIG) (ii) the Sub-Mission on Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP) covering initially 63 mission cities. The non-Mission cities and towns were covered under the scheme Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme for Small and Medium Towns (UIDSSMT) and Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme (IHSDP). The Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MoHUPA) was the nodal ministry for BSUP and IHSDP programmes which catered to housing and basic amenities to urban poor, especially slum dwellers. These schemes also catered to other basic services such as sanitation, water supply, sewerage, solid waste disposal, etc. On the other hand, Ministry of Urban Development (MoUD) looked after the UIG and UIDSSMT schemes under JNNURM.

Under JNNURM, it was made mandatory for each city to formulate its City Development Plan (CDP), and bring out a long term vision for the city and its course of development. It also put several conditionalities of urban reforms like repealment of Land Ceiling Act 1976, empowerment of ULBs, capacity building and improvement in municipal accounting. It also aimed to leverage private sector in the development and financing of projects through Public Private Partnership (PPP). The employment generation and poverty alleviation under SJSRY was reemphasized in Eleventh Plan with major emphasis on skill development, self help groups and micro finance for self employment. The approach of the 'Kudumbshree' model of Kerala and other best practices in different parts of the country were advised to be adopted for suitable application under SJSRY (Planning Commission 2008).

The midterm evaluation of the Eleventh Plan admitted that urban development and urban renewal requires huge funds under JNNURM. The required funds were staggering that is fixed at around Rs. 3-4 lakh crore whereas under JNNURM only Rs. 66, 000 crore were allocated for the seven year period of JNNURM (2005-2012). *(http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/mta/11th_mta/chapterwise/chap18_urban.pdf)*.

The Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-2017) proposed to consolidate the JNNURM and envisaged its wider role in urban reforms. The JNNURM during Twelfth Plan has following components.

1. Urban Infrastructure and Governance (UIG)
2. Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY)
3. Slum rehabilitation in cities not covered under RAY
4. Capacity building

It noted that there were several barriers to the implementation of the programme. Notably among them is the failure to mainstream urban planning, incomplete reforms and slow progress in project implementation. Delay in securing land for projects and obtaining approval from various regulatory authorities were other reasons for its slow progress. It was found that in many cities, urban planning is yet to be started and needs to be strengthened and made participatory in many. Invariably peri–urban areas outside the city limits are left by the very nature of planning narrowing down to city development plan.

The Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) was launched on 2 June 2011 with the vision of creating a slum free India as a pilot project for a period of two years. The Central Government finally approved the RAY on 3rd September 2013 for a period 2013-2022. This scheme specifically aimed to support state and city governments to upgrade slums and assign title to their residents and to plan to accommodate the envisaged growth as India's rapid urbanization continues, so that more slums are not formed. The scheme was applicable to all slums within a city, whether notified

Although urban development is a state subject, there is little that states could think about an integrated urban development strategy and planning. State Planning Commissions/Boards have hardly come out with state urban development programmes and are mostly dependent on what Planning Commission of India suggested as a think tank.

or non-notified (including identified and recognised), whether on lands belonging to Central Government or its Undertakings, Autonomous bodies created under the Act of Parliament, State Government or its Undertakings, ULBs or any other public agency and private sector. It was also applicable to urbanized villages inside the planning area of the city, urban homeless and pavement dwellers *(http://mhupa.gov.in/ray/ray_index.htm)*. The urban poverty reduction and employment generation programme under SJSRY was proposed to be revamped under the National Urban Livelihood Mission during Twelfth Plan. Its basic thrust would be to build capacities and

skills in sectors that have growing employment opportunities with an aim to benefit the urban poor.

It was noted by the experts that the implementation of 74th Amendment to the Constitution remains half hearted as state governments have not fully empowered the ULBs to carry out the tasks as per constitutional provisions. On the other hand various programmes were not much successful as urban areas do not fall under single control and ownership, and also there is a lack of convergence of programmes at the local level (HPEC 2011:23).

India's planning process has been centralized, top down and sector based. This is also true for urban development planning which focused mainly on urban housing, water supply, sanitation, slum improvement, urban infrastructure, mega city and small and medium towns etc. Although urban development is a state subject, there is little that states could think about an integrated urban development strategy and planning. State Planning Commissions/Boards have hardly come out with state urban development programmes and are mostly dependent on what Planning Commission of India suggested as a think tank. On the other hand, urban development is a matter of utmost importance as urban areas are constantly stressed for civic amenities like access to electricity, drinking water, sanitation and LPG etc. Road congestion, traffic, air and water pollution, municipal waste disposal and law and order are other issues of concerns for urban governance. Urban planning has to be done by the urban local bodies which comprise municipal corporations, municipalities and nagar panchayats, commonly known as ULBs supported by the state government. Urban Local Bodies need to be empowered with clear delegation of functions, financial resources and autonomy. There is also a need to enhance the administrative, managerial and technical capacity of the ULBs. It must be clearly recognized that urban planning cannot be divorced from urban governance. For large urban agglomerations, which are spread over across several municipal bodies and interspersed with villages, planning should be taken care by the Metropolitan Planning Committee as per the provisions of 74th Amendment to the Constitution. There is serious lacking of effective urban planning in India for most of the cities. For many big cities, plans which have been prepared are outdated and do not reflect the concerns of the urban dwellers in general and urban poor in particular. Even where plans are updated or newly prepared, it is prepared by consultants and technical experts. Planning in real sense should involve the urban dwellers to accommodate their needs and concerns; it should be participatory and decentralized. There is also a need to democratise and empower ULBs as per the provisions of 74th Amendment to the Constitution. Mayor of the city should be made responsible both in terms of power and functions. Many global cities have addressed the problems of governing large cities through the elected local government headed by Mayor. The Mayor of London and New York for example are directly accountable for strategic governance of their respective cities and have substantial resources and political power at their disposal. As urban bodies lack power and resources, parastatal bodies like Urban Development Authority have virtually taken over the city promoting real estate and infrastructure. On the other hand, basic services like water, sanitation, education, health care and shelter etc. are neglected. As urban development is a state subject, the state governments must realise the role of the city and initiate urban reforms to empower local bodies both administratively and fiscally. We must envision cities as engines human development rather than capital accumulation by the few.

Urban planning has to be done by the urban local bodies which comprise municipal corporations, municipalities and nagar panchayats, commonly known as ULBs supported by the state government. Urban Local Bodies need to be empowered with clear delegation of functions, financial resources and autonomy. There is also a need to enhance the administrative, managerial and technical capacity of the ULBs. It must be clearly recognized that urban planning cannot be divorced from urban governance.

Readings

Bose, Ashish (1980) *India's Urbanization 1901-2001*, Second Revised Edition, Tata McGraw Hill Publishing Company Limited, New Delhi.

Bhagat, R.B. and Mohanty, S. (2009) Emerging Pattern of Urbanization and the Contribution of Migration in Urban Growth in India" *Asian Population Studies*, Vol.5, No. 1, 2009, pp. 5-20.

Planning Commission, Govt. of India (2008) *Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012), Vol III: Agriculture, Rural Development, Industry, Services and Physical Infrastructure*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi: 394-422.

Planning Commission, Govt. of India (2013) *Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-2017), Vol II: Economic Sectors,* Sage Publication India Pvt Ltd, New Delhi: 318-361.

Planning Commission, Govt. of India (2010) Reference Material 2010, Notes on the Functioning of Various Divisions, Planning Commission, Govt. of India, New Delhi.

HPEC (High Powered Expert Committee) (2011) *Report on Indian Urban Infrastructure and Services*, Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India.

Ramachandran, R. (1989) *Urbanisation and Urban Systems in India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi.

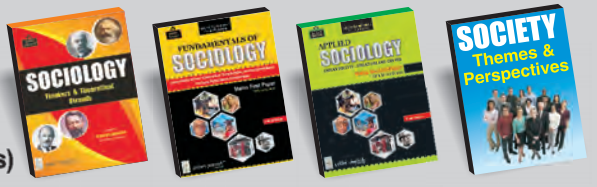
Shaw, Annapurna (1996) "Urban Policy in Post-Independent India: An Appraisal", *Economic and Political Weekly*, January 27, pp. 224-228. ❑

(E-mail: rbbhagat@iips.net)

SOCIOLOGY

by VIKASH RANJAN

(Author, "Fundamentals of Sociology", "Applied Sociology", "Sociology - Thinkers & Theoretical Strands" & Society - Themes & Perspectives)



WHY SOCIOLOGY OPTIONAL?

- Sociology is the Best performing optional in the changed scenario with Predictability in Question Pattern.
- One can score 60 to 70 percent of 750 Marks (Sociology+ Essay) with basic understanding of sociology.
- The Syllabus of Sociology is relatively Short- Only 13 Units in Both the Papers.
- Relatively Short Syllabus, predictability in Question Pattern, Makes it the most suitable subject for Students with science (Engineering and Medicine) and Commerce Background.
- Every Year there are two Essays related with Sociology Syllabus. Sociology Powers you for GS & Interview.

Test Series (AWST) : Mains-14

- Total No. of Tests 12 (8 Sectional-Revision Tests & 4 Comprehensive Mock-UPSC Tests)
- Test Objective-To Learn How to use "Theory", "Facts", "Sociological Perspectives" and "Personal Observation" of Current Socio Economic, Political, and Environmental Issues in answer.
- Personal Counseling-cum-Guidancesessions to fulfill specific competitive needs of individual students.

Test Series (AWST) will start next week after PT 14.

Rgestration Open: SMS "AWST14" on 07840888102

NOTE : Students Enrolled in any Institute Can Write one "Diagnostic Test" to Understand "How to apply Sociological theories in Indian Context" & "How to Exemplify Theories in Current Context"

"75 Days"

"Crash Course Like Full Course" - Mains 2014
(Revision for Old & Preparation for New Students)

- 70 Days class Lecture-cum-Discussion Sessions & 5 Days AWST Sessions.
- Concise, Well Researched and Exam Ready Study Material on Each Topic.
- Completion of Syllabus in time bound manner.

Class will start After 7 Days of PT-14.
Registration Open : SMS "CRCO14" on 07840888102

"120 Days"

"Foundation in Optional-Mains 2015-16"
(Basic to Advance Prep)

- It is 240 hour Lecture based classroom programme.
- Concept building through "Facilitative Style of Teaching" & "Exam Focus Approach"
- Daily H.W. Assignments +Revision Tests conducted on Weekly Basis.
- Concise, Well Researched and Exam Ready Study Material.
- Wholesome Preparation For Optional, Essay, Society-Social Issues & Interview.

For Expert Counceling SMS "SOCO15" on 8586861046

Shasanka Ala
(B.Tech, IIT Madras)
IAS - 2013

I Thanks Vikash Sir for his Guidance in "SOCIOLOGY", "Essay" & "Interview". When I met Vikash Sir, I was confused regarding my Preparation, particularly writing Skill. His "Exam Focus Approach" & "Facilitative Style of Teaching" helped me gain confidence. I focused heavily on "Writing Practice" and finally got a Rank in CSE 13 to Join IAS. Knowledge & Understanding of Indian Society helped me perform better in "Essay and Interview". I mostly relied on Class Discussions and Printed Materials of Vikash Sir. I supplemented it with NCERT Books, "Fundamentals of Sociology" For Paper I and "Applied Sociology" for Paper II, and IGNOU Notes.

Dr. Kona Vamsi Krishna
IAS - 2013

I express my sincerest gratitude for the kind help provided by Vikash Ranjan Sir. I had a very positive and enriching experience with him. His Guidance played a very crucial role in my success, especially with regards to my Optional & Interview. He offers a pre-planned fixed routine and usually stays true to the original schedule and maintains Dynamism. I felt a personal touch to the guidance process.

Anshul Gupta
(B.Tech, IIT BHU)
CSE-2012
IAS - 2012

VIKASH RANJAN SIR is a versatile genius in the studies and analysis of Sociology. Knowledge and Experience gained from writing books and teaching for Civil Service Examinations makes him a versatile genius. His Sociology Notes are Excellent and exam ready. He has guided many students to achieve their mission of civil service. In the Civil Service Exam 2012 his guidance has helped me to reserve my dream space in the final list.

Anurag Vats
(B.Tech, DCE, DELHI)
CSE-2012
IPS - 2012

"Coming from ENGINEERING background, I didn't had academic knowledge about society and its problems. So, I was curious and interested to know about society in general, where Sociology could help me in. Sociology further helped in Essay Paper, GS and Interview. So effort in one subject can be used very efficiently to score marks in others. For Guidance in SOCIOLOGY I met Vikash Ranjan Sir. I Found "Facilitative Style of Teaching" and "EXAM FOCUS APPROACH" of Vikash Sir very beneficial for Preparation of Sociology Optional. His Focus on each & every aspect of Syllabus linked with Current Social Structure and Change helped me crack this exam in very FIRST ATTEMP. His Guidance in ANSWER WRITING and Prediction about Questions in CSE Examination is really excellent".

Raju
(M.Sc. Agri., Pusha)
CSE-2012
IRtS - 2012

SOCIOLOGY as an optional demands Exam Centric Approach. I Opted sociology as my subject after prelim. Thanks to Vikash Sir for his guidance and quality Notes which helped me to get a Rank in CSE 12 Rankers List. His notes are to the point and updated with current Studies, Theories, Views and examples. His AWST-Test Series made me confident and exam ready.

Congratulations to Succesful Candidates 2013 With Sociology.....

CSE - 2013
SAUMYA MISHRA
RANK 201

CSE - 2013
BHAVNA GUPTA
RANK 207

CSE - 2013
MRIDUL CHOWDHARY
RANK - 272

CSE - 2013
SUDEEP DABAS
RANK 338

CSE - 2013
SUNEEL ANCHIPAKA
RANK 426

CSE - 2013
Kumbhar Ajit Balaso
RANK 588

CSE - 2013
SATYA PRAKASH
RANK 845

CSE - 2013
UMESH RATHOD
RANK 939

CSE - 2013
MIHIR DEV
Rank 1037

CSE - 2013
Kumar Priyatam A.
Rank 1044

CHRONICLE IAS ACADEMY
Old Rajender Ngr & Mukherjee Nagar
07840888102
www.facebook.com/sociologyforias

YE-141/2014

Planning for Smart Cities: Where to Start?

S Chandrasekhar
Niharika Venkatesh

The real challenge is to build an inclusive smart city for all its residents, irrespective of whether they are rich or poor. It is reasonable to state that in a country like India, the process of making a city smart should be people centric. The indubitable idea is to make cities work for the people. Hence, instead of offering an operational definition of what a smart city is, this article outlines a road map in this regard

ONE OF the ingredients in the new government's development model is the idea of smart cities. In the budget presented on July 10, 2014, the Union Finance Minister made a budgetary allocation of Rs 7060 crore for 100 smart cities. The minister spoke of the "vision of developing 'one hundred Smart Cities', as satellite towns of larger cities and modernizing the existing mid-sized cities".

It would have been ideal if the budget had provided an overall estimate and the time frame so that one could have evaluated whether adequate resources have been allocated. The reason for this lacuna could be the absence of clarity on investments required to make a city smart.

Before we get too far ahead into the story, it should be noted that despite the worldwide buzz over building smart cities, there exists no clear definition of a smart city. The fact is that there are many interrelated notions that have been floated in the context of cities. These include creative, cyber, digital, e-governed, entrepreneurial, intelligent, knowledge, wired etc. These notions are not necessarily mutually exclusive since harnessing the power of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) is integral to each of them. The notion of using ICT for development is also articulated in the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). In fact, one of the targets for tracking progress in the eighth MDG relates to cooperating with the private sector and making available the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communication technologies. As per the Government of India's assessment, the country is on the track to achieve this target.

Defining what a smart city means for people is undoubtedly debatable. However, the features of a smart central business district like the Gujarat International Fin-Tec City are easier to grasp, quantify and understand. The real challenge is to build an inclusive smart city for all its residents, irrespective of whether they are rich or poor.It is reasonable to state that in a country like India, the process of making a city smart should be people centric. The indubitable idea is to make cities work for the people. Hence, instead of offering an operational definition of what a smart city is, this article outlines a road map in this regard.

The notion of smart cities or habitations is a process rather than a goal and it is this feature that has

S Chandrasekhar is Associate Professor at Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research, Mumbai. His research interest spans areas in Urban Poverty, Migration and Urbanization, Rural-Urban Linkages and Labour Markets in India. He also coordinates a series of capacity building workshops on Poverty, Hunger, Food Security and Nutrition. NiharikaVenkatesh has completed Integrated M.Sc. in Economics from IIT Kanpur. She is currently working at IGIDR on the research initiative *Tackling Agriculture -Nutrition Disconnect in India*.

ensured that there is no single accepted definition of what a smart city is. So a smart city would be e-governed, aim for continuous improvements in design and management, plan for climate oriented development and mass transit oriented development, ride on benefits of automation and develop applications for its residents.

To begin with, making a city smart would require it to develop people centric technological applications. The notion of harnessing the power of ICT for development and in particular

The notion of smart cities or habitations is a process rather than a goal and it is this feature that has ensured that there is no single accepted definition of what a smart city is. So a smart city would be e-governed, aim for continuous improvements in design and management, plan for climate oriented development and mass transit oriented development, ride on benefits of automation and develop applications for its residents.

for improving transparency and governance is not new in India and this idea predates the idea of building smart cities. The vision of India's National e-Governance Plan is to "make all Government services accessible to the common man in his locality, through common service delivery outlets, and ensure efficiency, transparency, and reliability of such services at affordable costs to realise the basic needs of the common man". The effective roll out of this plan across the 4041 Statutory Towns, 3894 Census Towns, 475 Urban Agglomerations, 981 Out Growths, and 238,617 gram panchayats responsible for 6,40,867 villages will ensure that every administrative unit will be e-governed. In order to achieve this, a prerequisite is rural internet connectivity and the budget has allocated Rs 500 crore for the 'Digital India' initiative. In short, e-governance, an initiative that the government is already committed to, is the first milestone that needs to be achieved in the direction towards smart habitations.

Since e-governance is being rolled out nationwide, it would be more pertinent to work towards making every habitation smart rather than focusing only on 100 smart cities. As a beginning, the 4862 villages with over 10,000 residents could be made smart villages. This would cover 8.6 per cent of India's rural population. Following this, the government could focus on the villages with a population between 5000 and 9999 in the vicinity of the cities. Overtime, this would cover an additional 13.2 per cent of the rural population. This strategy makes sense since a majority of large villages and those close to the towns will become urban in time. So planning ahead is a smart idea. Initiatives to make these villages smart from a perspective of governance and service delivery can be brought within the ambit of the e-panchayat project of the Ministry of Rural Development. This project addresses all aspects of the functioning of the panchayat including planning, monitoring, implementation, budgeting, accounting, social audit and delivery of citizen services like issue of certificates, licenses etc. The e-panchayat project should be used with the objective of planning for smart urbanization. The central government has sought to use advances in ICT to develop models of m-health and e-learning. These initiatives should be used with a focus on villages. There also has to be a dovetailing with important projects like the Delhi Mumbai Industrial Corridor.

What is being suggested is that it should be about achieving convergence of various initiatives to ensure that every rural habitation, future town is becomes smarter. This approach can be thought of as bottom up planning for future urbanization, a preemptive strategy aimed at planning for growth rather than a reactive strategy in the face of urban sprawl. Today, most measures taken by the government are reactive than proactive.

Delivering the Yusuf Meherally Memorial Lecture in September 2011 Vice President M. Hamid Ansari spoke of the challenges in improving urban governance and service delivery. Two issues raised by him are relevant in this context. The first point made by the Hon'ble Vice President is that "The scale of investments and choice of projects to direct them have been subject to political pulls and economic pressures. While some critics speak of "elite capture" of our urban spaces and indeed of all 'urban commons', others bemoan that 'exclusionary' urbanization is benefitting certain social groups to the detriment of others and directing resources to large metropolises depriving small and medium towns of funds needed for infrastructure and essential services". Secondly, he mentioned that "Our urban spaces and governance mechanisms

What is being suggested is that it should be about achieving convergence of various initiatives to ensure that every rural habitation, future town is becoming smarter. This approach can be thought of as bottom up planning for future urbanization, a preemptive strategy aimed at planning for growth rather than a reactive strategy in the face of urban sprawl. Today, most measures taken by the government are reactive than proactive.

have become the theatres for political conflicts and economic struggles. Our urban spaces have also been used for promoting reforms as well as for contesting such reform measures. Some seek privatization of municipal services including through Public-Private Partnerships with governments merely functioning as regulators or facilitators; others say that this would institutionalize social and economic disparities". So the government has to articulate how it will ensure that basic services are available to all residents of

these cities. Not only does the government need to address the lack of basic services for the current residents, the planning also needs to factor in future population growth. In fact, the city development plans prepared as part of the Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission do not have reliable estimates of the future population growth of cities. This brings us to the next component of a smart habitation and this relates to the built up environment and ensuring access to basic services.

As per the numbers from Census of India 2011, a total of 13.75 million households live in the slums, i.e. 17 per cent of India's urban households lived in slums. This percentage would be higher if one was to generate estimates of urban households living in slum like conditions. In 2011, 63 per cent of the 4,041 statutory towns reported having slums. The idea of a smart town or a city with gated communities and overcrowded informal settlements seems incongruous. Twenty six per cent of households in urban India use dirty or unclean fuel like firewood/crop residue, cow dung cake/coal etc. This is not a smart energy choice since use of dirty fuel contributes to indoor air pollution. Any city or town aspiring to be smart needs to work on ensuring that the basic physical infrastructure is in place. It is only after that can technology help in stemming leakages and facilitate differential pricing. So in the context of urban India, it would require smart thinking to improve the access to water, sanitation and other dwelling characteristics. Hence the question is how would one improve the quality of municipal services.

In terms of smart decision making, the database on different functional aspects of Indian cities is woefully inadequate to run any smart algorithms on dynamic pricing of services or routing of traffic. Such algorithms are more feasible to run in the context of cities in developed countries. But this is not to suggest that smart decision making and empowering of citizens is not feasible. Some state governments like Chhattisgarh have tried to improve the functioning of the Public Distribution system by developing the necessary management information systems. In Raipur, individuals are given the choice of the fair price shop of his or her liking, flexibility of buying in smaller quantities rather than in only on transaction etc. Portability of the ration card across the shops helped improve customer satisfaction. If every city in India were to follow the Raipur example then it will help to improve the functioning of the much maligned Public Distribution System. A logical extension would be to allow portability of cards for intra-state migrants and migrant workers. If one were to look around, there are many other initiatives that have been tried. The challenge is to make these sustainable and scalable to cover the entire population. In this process, even an un-smart and dysfunctional city can become smart, efficient and productive. ❑

(E-mail: chandra@igidr.ac.in
niharikavk@gmail.com)

Dr. Vijay Agrawal's book

"Aap IAS Kaise Banenge"

A must read for all IAS aspirants

Available at all leading bookstores

Free guidance for IAS Exam by Dr. Vijay Agrawal on his website:-

www.afeias.com

Here you will find -

- **Daily Audio Guidance**
- **Newspaper Analysis**
- **Exam related Articles**
- **AIR News**
- **Videos**
- **Knowledge Centre**
- **Important Newspaper Clippings**

Listen to Dr. Vijay Agrawal's Daily Lecture

Logon to: www.afeias.com

YE-164/2014

I.A.S. PATANJALI : A Specialized Institute for Administrative Studies I.A.S.

PHILOSOPHY

- **Helpful in G.S. (Paper-IV) & Essay Paper**
- *Concise Syllabus* ● *Logical in Nature* ● *High success ratio*
- *Meticulously designed Complete Study Materials* ● *Manageable in 72 days*
- *No need of academic background of the subject*

Emphasis on Quality and Timely coverage of the entire syllabus

Batches Begin

Mukherjee Nagar ENG. MED. — **1 Sept.** — 202, 3rd Floor, Bhandari House, Mukherjee Nagar — **11:45 am**

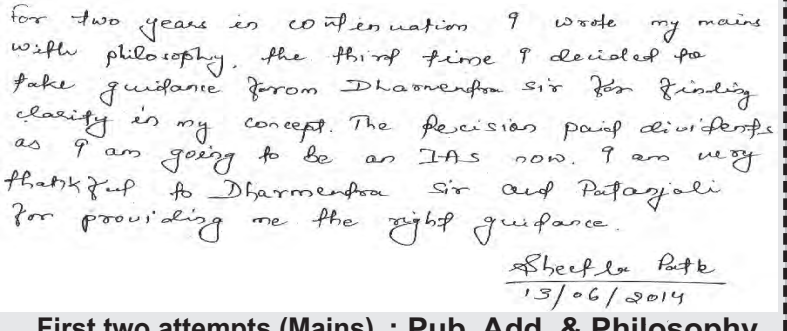
Old Rajinder Nagar ENG. MED. — **3 Sept.** — 104, 1st Floor, above OBC Bank, Old Rajinder Nagar — Batch Timing **5:45 pm**

NO.1 IN PHILOSOPHY

A Tradition of Excellent Results — **TOP 500 RANK** — Incredible Performance Year after Year

Except a couple of students all selected students with Philosophy Optional (Eng. or Hindi Med.) are trained by 'PATANJALI'

Sheetla Patle IAS



Rank **22** (B.Sc)

First two attempts (Mains) : Pub. Add. & Philosophy

Last attempt (Mains): Philosophy (262 Marks)

Rank **40** — IAS (2013) — Gaurang Rathi (B. Tech, IIT Delhi)

Rank **71** — IAS (2013) — Manuj Goyal (B. Tech)

Deepak Pareek (Master of Engg.) Rank 131 | Abhinandan (B. Tech) Rank 144 | Sachin Sharma (Nautical Science) Rank 148 | Raja Banthia Rank 149

Mohal Agrawal Rank 257

Ravinder Singh Rank 333

Pingale Nikhil Nandakumar Rank 353

Dileep kr Yadav Rank 368

Ravi Singh Rank 369

Jitesh kr Jain (B. Tech) Rank 370

Payal Gupta Rank 388

Dinesh Bishnoi (B. Tech) Rank 481

Money Jain Rank 521

Gopal Krishna Rank 593

PATANJALI

HEAD OFF.: 202, IIIrd Floor, Bhandari House (Above Post Office) Dr. Mukherjee Nagar. Delhi-09
Ph.: 011-32966281, 011-43557558, Mob: 9810172345
BRANCH OFF.: 104, 1st Floor, above OBC Bank, Old Rajinder Nagar, Delhi-60
Ph.: 011-45615758, Mob.: 9811583851, 9555043146
Visit us : www.patanjaliias.in, E-mail : iaspatanjali@gmail.com

YE-146/2014

SPECIAL ARTICLE

Ensuring Environmental Water Flows in the River Ganga

H S Sen
Dipankar Ghorai

"Nowhere is the problem of cooperation between riparian neighbours as critical as in the Ganges-Brahmaputra basin in South Asia. Nowhere are the benefits of cooperation as spectacular for the futures of the countries involved, and nowhere is the penalty for non-cooperation as devastating."- Jagan Mehta

There are 57 rivers and their tributaries criss-crossing Bangladesh, and out of this 57, Ganga being the mightiest of all, comes via India, and only 3 from Myanmar. India has a major responsibility to maintain E-flows for sustained livelihood of the inhabitants of our neighbours, where water plays a crucial role

THERE IS fast deterioration of environmental (E)-flows of both Hooghly-Bhagirathi and Ganga/Padma-Brahmaputra river systems in the entire lower Ganges delta across India and Bangladesh. To ensure sustainable ecology in the delta of the sub-continent, there is a need for close introspection and appropriate action in a holistic manner to restore the E-flows of the river system. Appropriate interventions are needed at the earliest to resuscitate the Ganga to arrest the adverse trend of hydrology considered to be possibly the most important component of E-flows and in due course, reverse it for sustainable ecology and thereby for improved livelihood (Sen, 2010, Sen *et al*., 2012). Other important components of E-flows may be socio-cultural, geomorphological, water quality and biodiversity (Kaushal, 2014), depending upon how the respective river is looked at in terms of its uses in the region, which together constitutes the Integrated Water Resources Development and Management, conceived by the Central Water Commission of the government of India (CWC, 2008). The E-flows especially in the upstream of the river Ganga in India are factored mainly by hydro-power development and irrigation projects. Norms on drawing of quantum of water with respect to the flow rate have been so far arbitrarily decided during planning and without provision for sound assessment of the impacts, although some attempts have been made lately for such assessment, noteworthy of which has been by WWF-India (Kaushal, 2014), all along the route. Detailed account of various uses of the river Ganga has been comprehensively dealt with, stating Ganga as one of the world's top ten rivers at risk due to over-extraction and pollution of water (Sanghi and Kaushal, 2014) quoting the data of WWF-International, Gland, Switzerland. India's role as sharing entirely the upstream flow of water passing through a number of states before reaching the Farakka Barrage in West Bengal is therefore crucial in studying the impact of alleged wrong-doings both in public and private sectors in South Bengal (India) and a major part of Bangladesh. This necessitates a holistic plan to be taken up by the governments of both countries through mutual agreements.

H.S. Sen is the former Director, Central Research Institute for Jute and Allied Fibres (ICAR), Barrackpore, West Bengal. He is an expert in water management & soil salinity research in coastal ecosystem. Dipankar Ghorai is the Subject Matter Specialist, Krishi Vigyan Kendra, Central Research Institute for Jute & Allied Fibres, ICAR, Burdwan, West Bengal, India.

Farakka Barrage and the India-Bangladesh Treaty

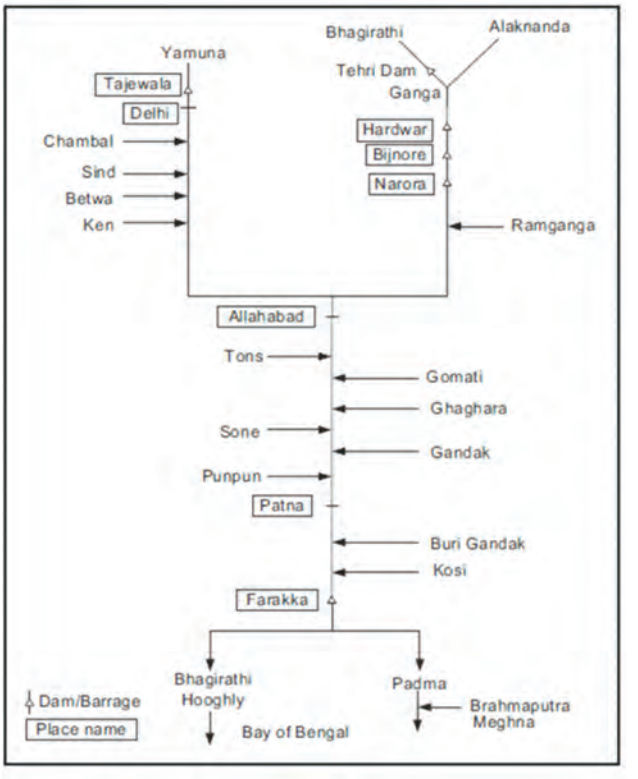
The construction of a Barrage across the Ganga and diversion of water towards the Bhagirathi was first suggested by Sir Arthur Cotton in 1853, and named after Farakka in West Bengal 17 km upstream of the diversion of the river into Hooghly-Bhagirathi flowing through India and Padma-Brahmaputra-Meghna and their tributaries into Bangladesh - all finally terminating into the Bay of Bengal. The hypothesis of arithmetic hydrology worked out in favour of the Barrage was subsequently proved too inadequate to bring about any positive impact either to flush out sediment load increase as a navigational prospect for the Kolkata Port or to share dry season flow between the two countries for their mutual benefits, the very purposes for which it was conceived.

Immediately after independence of Bangladesh in 1971, realizing the problem due to reduced water flow through the Padma-Brahmaputra-Meghna river system in the country, there were a few short-term agreements between the two countries, first in 1974 for three years, then in 1977, and two more in eighties, all of which failed to bear the fruits. The Indo-Bangladesh agreement (1996), now valid for 30 years, over the sharing of Ganga water was based on the average discharge of the river during preceding last four decades (1949-1988). There was little compatibility between computed flow in 1977 and the actually available flow at Farakka after that, owing to large and continual diversion of the river water at the upstream by a long list of hydro-power and irrigation projects in the later decades.

Hydro-Power Development & Irrigation Projects and Water Quality

A very large number of hydro-power and irrigation projects along with their capacities in the Bhagirathi and Alaknanda Basins of river Ganga have been documented (Sanghi and Kaushal, 2014, *South Asia Network on Dams, Rivers and People*). A line diagram on the Ganga water flow along with the distribution of a large number of projects already commissioned, many more are still in the pipe line (South Asia Network on Dams, Rivers and People, National River Conservation Directorate, 2009), are shown in Figures 1 and 2. The affected lengths of Alaknanda and Bhagirathi rivers and their tributaries (Table 1) show massive amount of Ganga water sources being utilized for hydro-power stations in Uttrakhand itself (Wildlife Institute of India, 2012), being an example. Besides, various point and non-point sources of pollution in the upstream have also been documented (Sanghi and Kaushal, 2014), and this may be of more importance contributing to E-flows in certain situations. The poor quality of water in the Ganga throughout its length (Trivedi) is shown in Figures 3 and 4; the data further suggest that various actions taken by GoI (GAP–I in 1985, GAP-II, 1993, National River Conservation Plan in 1996) have been of mixed success and deserve pointed and much more elaborate actions in future (Sanghi and Kaushal, 2014, National River Conservation Directorate, 2009). On the top of these, climate change has a phenomenal influence through all the components on E-flows on temporal scale. It is now well established that glaciers around the world and especially in the Hindu Kush Himalayas are retreating due to global warming, as a result, the predicted water flow based on Kathmandu-based study of the International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD), from the glaciers to the basins would reduce by 25-50 per cent by the end of this century.

Figure 1. Line diagram of the Ganga with its tributaries along with water management structures (Source: National River Conservation Directorate (2009), free access permitted)



According to the National River Conservation Directorate (2009), however, despite the problems of operation and maintenance, river water quality has shown discernible improvement (in terms of DO and BOD) over the pre-GAP period. This has to be seen in the background of a steep increase in population with concomitant increase in organic pollution load. The water quality of the river is likely to improve when all the ongoing works are completed and the entire waste water being generated is tackled. A comparison of pre-GAP and post-GAP values of the three critical parameters namely, DO, BOD and Coliforms throughout the stretch however still reveals far from satisfactory results. Dwindling water

Table 1. Affected lengths of Alakananda and Bhagirahi rivers and their tributaries due to allotted Hydro-Power Development Projects in Uttarakhand

Sl. No.	River	Total river stretch (m)	River stretch diverted (m)	River stretch submerged (m)	Affected length (m)	per cent of river length diverted	per cent of river length submerged	per cent of river length affected
Bhagirathi basin								
1	Bhagirathi	217000	68031	85400	153431	31	39	70.71
2	Asiganga	20500	10945	0	10945	53	0	53.39
3	Bhilangana	109000	20369	19000	39369	19	17	36.12
4	Bal ganga	37000	14721	0	14721	40	0	39.79
5	Small tributaries	73000	16401	0	16401	22	0	22.47
Alakananda basin								
6	Aalakananda	224000	60412	47100	107512	27	21	48.00
7	Dhauliganga	50000	46794	0	46794	94	0	93.59
8	Rishiganga	38500	10426	600	11026	27	2	28.64
9	Birahi ganga	29500	21926	0	21926	74	0	74.32
10	Nandakini	44500	15507	0	15507	35	0	34.85
11	Mandakini	81000	34875	500	35375	43	1	43.67
12	Pindar	114000	24974	10000	34974	22	9	30.68

(Source: Wildlife Institute of India, 2012,; Upper reaches of river have not been accounted for)

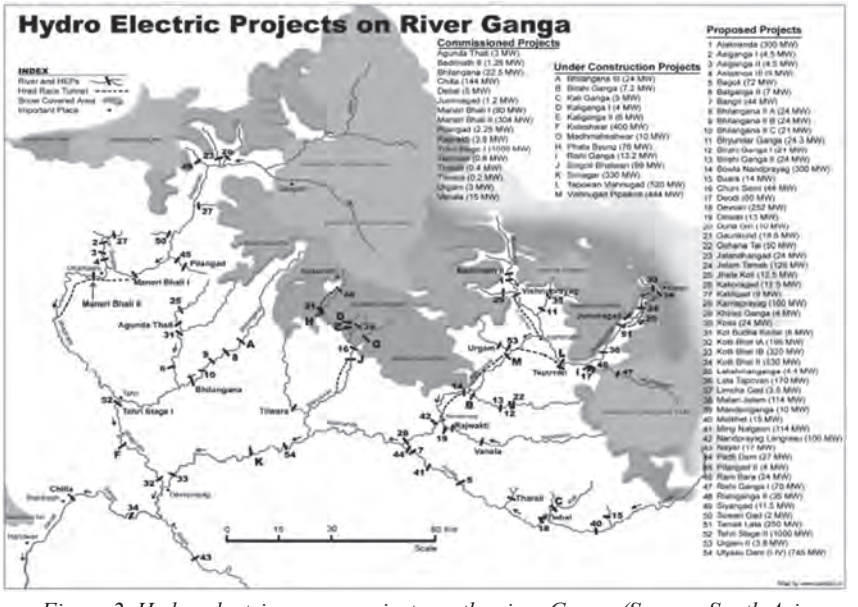


Figure 2. Hydro-electric power projects on the river Ganga (Source: South Asia Network on Dams, Rivers and People, reproduced with permission of the authority)

flow and deteriorating water quality in the downstream have affected drastically the livelihood in many ways say, in case of bamboo post-harvesting, as an example (Ghorai and Sen, 2014).

Adverse impact on the Ecology of lower Ganga

Hydrology and Sedimentation Load

It is true that there are interferences of the Ganga's regime in India due to construction of Farraka Barrage giving rise to problems and disadvantages – changes with water level, discharge, sediment movement, bed slope, etc. caused by aggradations and degradation of the bed, and the entire reach from Rajmahal to Farakka in the upstream and from Farakka to quite a distance downstream. Alluvial fans are formed on the right side and the deep channel is shifted to the left above the Barrage. Bank erosion got worse and was usually highest during August and September. There were direct and indirect effects of sedimentation pattern of the Ganga-Padma in Bangladesh as well, which would eventually increase siltation and erosion of the river beds and banks, ultimately affecting the channel and causing other morphological changes (Parua, 2009).

Owing to temporal shift of the river course at a number of points along the river course between Farakka and Rajmahal (53 km upstream in Jharkhand) and the consequent changes in morphometric parameters, a detailed study leading to river bank erosion and flooding was conducted spanning over the period 1955 to 2005 from LANDSAT and Indian Remote Sensing Satellite (IRS) images along the stretch (Thakur, 2014). It was reported that the bank failure was mainly due to soil stratification of the

The complacency of the administration to arrange roadways through silted up river beds in the Indian Sundarbans at the expense of drying up of the rivers is an antithesis to development blunderingly ignoring the ecology in the area.

Figure 3. Fecal coliforms in water at different monitoring places on Ganga (Source: R.C.Trivedi, http://www.old.cseindia.org/misc/ganga/state_pollution.pdf, reproduced with permission of the author

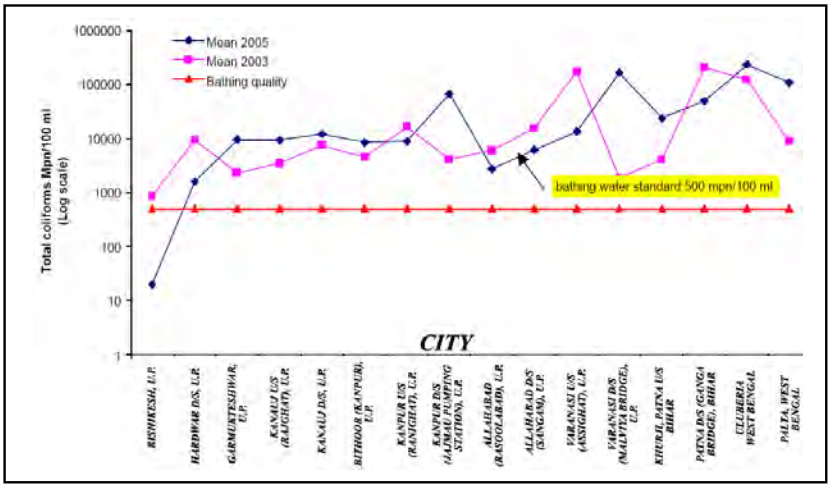
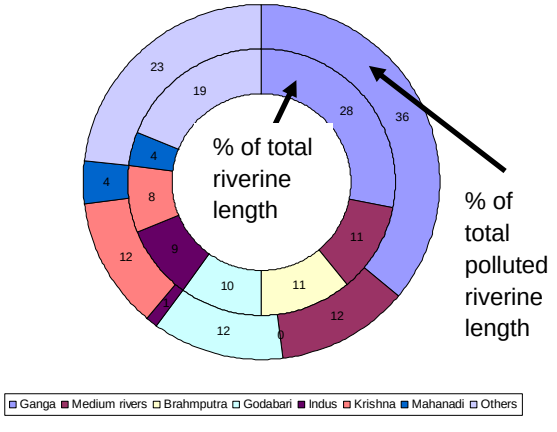


Figure 4. Pollution in Indian rivers (drawn based on the data source with permission of the author: R.C.Trivedi, http://www.old.cseindia.org/misc/ganga/state_pollution.pdf



river bank, presence of hard rocky area (Rajmahal), high load of sediment and difficulty of dredging and construction of Farakka Barrage itself as an obstruction to the natural river flow. The victims are mostly Manikchak and Kaliachak-II, Kaliachak-III and Ratua-I blocks of Malda district, with a loss of around 1,670 ha agricultural land since 1977 in these blocks alone (Thakur, 2014) as well as in several other areas in Murshidabad district resulting in high and frequent incidence of bank erosion, flooding of land, and consequently population migration from the villages (Banerjee, 1999, Rudra, 2004) leading to colossal losses of wealth in the Indian part as a ritual annually.

In Bangladesh, similar reports on sedimentation load and the very high rate of denudation in the drainage basins and in the river channel beds in coastal areas in Bangladesh have been reported by Islam *et al*. (1999), causing increasing flood occurrence in the country.

Loss of Biodiversity

Questions are often raised about the trend in the change of biodiversity due to reducing amount of flow over time in the lower delta, especially in Sundarbans spread over both countries. Now the ecosystem is changing rapidly and biodiversity is depleting fast with the extinction of some species of the forest. It however still provides ideal habitats for a variety of unique plants and animals.

A number of factors have been identified for the loss of biodiversity over time in the whole delta. Though it is not possible to attribute quantitatively the loss to different factors, most of them are directly and indirectly linked with reduced water flow in conjunction with anthropogenic factors.

Discharge of Water and Intrusion of Salinity in Bangladesh: A Critical Analysis

The affected lower Ganga delta in Bangladesh is much larger in area and possibly requires critical attention. Discharge data of the Ganga river for the period of 1970 to 2011 shows that dry season (November–May) flow has decreased up to 82 per cent after the construction of Farakka Barrage (Afroz and Rahman, 2013).

Future Policy Issues

The lower Ganga delta of both India (south of Farakka) and Bangladesh (south-west) share the same ecology and face threats due to dwindling water diversion via Farakka Barrage and deteriorating water quality of the river in the upstream at different places in India. This being a matter of common concern to both countries, there is need for a holistic and focused attention for which the following suggestions are made with

Most of the data generated and shown by Bangladesh on different components and their effects on the ecology of the country due to diversion of water via Farakka appear to be over-estimated, since they were not always based on scientific analyses. On the other hand, India's assessment due to Farakka withdrawal were based on certain assumptions held in pre-Farakka days, and therefore the analyses appear to be under-estimated.

immediate effect to seek for a lasting solution.

- There appears to be a need for revisiting the design of the Farakka Barrage, as well as the discharge and distribution norms of water in the interest of the two countries, keeping in view of the predicted flow of upstream Ganga water in long term perspectives, and if necessary, fresh norms to be decided.
- Predicted flow of water through Ganga-Brahmaputra, both originating in Tibet, river system on account of retreat of glaciers and other parametric uncertainties due to climate change needs to be studied and refined with appropriate climate models in deciding the future norms for distribution of water via Farakka Barrage with as much precision as possible in different time scales.
- Need for fresh installation of hydro-electric power and irrigation projects in India must be given extremely careful consideration with stringent norms for discharge of river water in the upstream, along with impact analysis as a mandatory requirement, so that ecology of the area is not disturbed.
- Past hydro-electric power and irrigation projects in the upstream already in commission also need to be reviewed in terms of the norms for discharge of water, and if necessary, to be revised.
- Strict administrative vigilance to be maintained to stop acts on unscrupulous diversion of water forthwith by private agencies in India.
- Location specific integrated water development and management schemes at strategic points over the entire flow length in different time scales to be prepared and their methods of implementation be worked out with adequate participation and vigilance from the local inhabitants to ensure maintaining prescribed water quality throughout the year in India.
- In India, in particular, impacts of the water flow at different strategic points into lower delta in respect of salinity in soil & water, flow rate, tidal amplitude and fluctuations, sedimentation/ hydrological parameters, navigation through rivers and in Kolkata Port, ground water table depths and qualities, important components of biodiversity and any other related parameters should be taken up and monitored with a holistic plan, over a minimum five year phases, through a central task force comprising of scientists, NGOs, government officials, local inhabitants and the same placed in public domain. Similar programmes should be simultaneously planned and taken up by Bangladesh. A core team consisting of key members drawn from both countries should interact and monitor the progress once in each year and suggest for improvement with respect to targets fixed.

It has to be remembered that the concerned lower Ganga delta of the two countries is largely coastal and therefore, fragile in nature subject to the increasing vagaries due to climatic disasters beyond possibly anybody's control to prevent. Additional factors originating from the deteriorating E-flows of the Ganga river network water contribute further to the woes of the inhabitants of the area. We believe, in conclusion, that there may be no short-cuts to improve the ecology for sustained livelihood of the inhabitants in this area across the two countries other than ensuring E-flows via Farakka Barrage, for which careful considerations may be given to the suggestions made above.

Acknowledgement

The authors are grateful to Sk. Golam Rasul, Program Assistant (Computer), KVK, Burdwan for his help towards data compilation and preparation of graphics.

Readings

Afroz, Raunak and Rahman, Ataur Md. (2013). Transboundary river water for Ganges and Teesta rivers in Bangladesh: an assessment, *Global Sci. Tech. J.*,Vol. l, No.1, July Issue, 100-111, http://www.gstjpapers.com/static/documents/July/2013/12. Rounak. pdf (accessed on 1 July, 2014).

Banerjee, M. (1999). A report on the impact of Farrakka Barrage on the human fabric, on behalf of South Asian Network on Dams, Rivers and People (SANDRP), http:www.sandrp.in/dams/impact_frka_wed.pdf (accessed on 8 Aug, 2008).

Banglapedia, http://www.banglapedia.org/HT/F_0114.htm (accessed on 5 July, 2014).

Central Water Commission (2008). Theme paper – Integrated water resources development and management. Ministry of Water Resources, Government of India, p.23, www.cwc.nic.in/main/downloads/WWD-2008.doc (accessed on 5 June, 2009).

Ghorai, Dipankar and Sen, H.S. (2014). Living out of Ganga: a traditional yet imperiled livelihood on bamboo post harvest processing and emerging problems of Ganga, pp. 323-338, In Our National River Ganga: Lifeline of Millions, Rashmi Sanghi (ed.), Springer International Publishing Switzerland, 415p.

Islam, Mohammad Rezwanul, Begum Syeda Fahliza, Yamaguchi Yasushi and Ogawa Katsuro (1999). The Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers in Bangladesh: basin denudation and sedimentation. *Hydrol. Process*. Vol.13, 2907-2923.

Islam, S.N. and Gnauck, A. (2008). Mangrove wetland ecosystems in Ganges – Brahmaputra delta in Bangladesh, *International Journal of Frontier Earth Science China*, Vol. 2, No. 4, Springer-Verlag, pp.439–448.

Kaushal, Nitin (2014). Environmental flows for river Ganga, pp. 223-236, In *Our National River Ganga: Lifeline of Millions*, Rashmi Sanghi (ed.), Springer International Publishing Switzerland, 415p.

National River Conservation Directorate (2009). Status paper on river Ganga - State of environment and water quality, prepared by Alternate Hydro-

Energy Centre, Indian Institute of Technology, Roorkee, Ministry of Environment and Forests, http://moef.nic.in/downloads/public-information/Status per cent 20Paper per cent20-Ganga.pdf (accessed on 1 July, 2014).

Parua, Pranab Kumar (2009). In *The Ganga: Water Use in the Indian Subcontinent,* Water Science and Technology Library, Vol. 64, Springer Science+Business Media B.V., 391p.

Rahman, M.R. and Asaduzzaman, M. (2010). Ecology of Sundarban, Bangladesh. *J. Sci. Foundation*, Vol. 8, Nos.1&2, 35-47.

Rudra, K. (2004). The encroaching Ganga and social conflicts: the case of West Bengal, India, Independent Broadcasting Associates, Littleton, MA, 40p., http:www.ibaradioorg/India/ganga/extra/resource/rudra.pdf (accessed on 15 Feb, 2011)

Sanghi, Rashmi and Kaushal, Nitin (2014). Introduction to our national river Ganga via cmaps, pp. 3-43, In *Our National River Ganga: Lifeline of Millions*, Rashmi Sanghi (ed.), Springer International Publishing Switzerland, 415p.

Sen, H.S. (2010). Drying up of river Ganga: an issue of common concern to both India and Bangladesh, *Curr. Sci.*, Vol. 99, No. 6, 25 Sept, 725-727.

Sen,H.S., Burman, D. and Mandal, Subhasis (2012). In *Improving the Rural Livelihoods in the Ganges Delta through Integrated, Diversified Cropping and Aquaculture, and through Better Use of Flood or Salt Affected Areas*, Lap Lambert Academic Publishing, GmbH & Co. KG, Germany, 61p.

South Asia Network on Dams, Rivers and People, http://sandrp.in/ (accessed on 2 July, 2014)

Thakur Praven, K. (2014). River bank erosion hazard study of river Ganga, upstream of Farakka Barrage using remote sensing and GIS, pp. 261-282, In *Our National River Ganga: Lifeline of Millions*, Rashmi Sanghi (ed.), Springer International Publishing Switzerland, 415p.

thethirdpeople.net. Glacier melt will reduce crucial water supplies for people living in the Himalayas, http://www.thethirdpole.net/glacier-melt-will-reduce-crucial-water-supplies-for-people-living-in-the-himalayas/ (accessed on 3 July, 2014).

Trivedi, R.C. CPCB, http://www.old.cseindia.org/misc/ganga/state_pollution.pdf (accessed on 12 Jan, 2012).

Wildlife Institute of India (2012). Assessment of cumulative impacts of hydro-electric projects on aquatic and terrestrial biodiversity in Aalakananda and Bgagirathi basins, Uttarakhand, Technical Report, http://moef.nic.in/sites/default/files/ngrba/Assessment per cent20of per cent20Cumulative per cent20Impacts per cent20of per cent20Hydroelectric per cent20Projects per cent20on per cent20Aquatic per cent20.pdf (accessed on 29 June, 2014). ❑

(E-mail: hssen.india@gmail.com
dipankarghoraikvk@gmail.com)

Highway Projects worth Rs 40,000 crore cleared

The Ministry of Road, Transport and Highways has approved highway projects worth over Rs 40,000 crores. To be implemented in the two years, these projects are in Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand and North-eastern region. This allocation includes Rs 20,000 crores for Jammu & Kashmir which will go towards 2-laning and 4-laning of National Highways in the state and some road projects in Leh and Ladakh. Uttarakhand, which faced massive devastation due to floods last year will also get an investment of Rs 6,000 crore for a new highway network.

Geog./भूगोल
by
Alok Ranjan

OUR RESULTS 2010 Ranks - 18, 21, 26, 31 ..... 100 more. 2011 Ranks - 4, 20, 27, 35, 36..... 100 (approx)

2012 : - RESULTS
• Total results with geography 300+ (could be more...).
• 12* students in top 100 (based on received phone calls & thanksfullness) & total result more than 100... including 2, 4, 12, 27, 36, 40, 50, 52, 53, 54 ... more than 100.
हिन्दी माध्यम में भी शानदार सफलता–Ranks - 36, 40, 50, 52, 53, 54, 93 ...

2013 RESULTS : More than 100 results (Ranks- 7, 21, 24 .....)

Why Geography is the best optional ?
• Highest avg. score. Highest Marks were - 425, 423, 407 etc.
• Total Successful candidates 300 Approx out of 3000 candidates appeared for mains
• 30 to 40 questions in Prelims Exam.
• 250 Marks Essay.
• G.S. Paper - I (50% of syllabus) + Paper - II (20%) + Paper - III (60%) thus total marks covered by Geography in G.S.(mains) will be surely 300 to 400.

105 DAYS COURSE PROGRAMME

New Batches Start :
Batch - I Karol Bagh* (English)
Batch - II Mukherjee Nagar (हिन्दी)
Batch - III Mukherjee Nagar (English)
} 1st Sep.

Admission Open : ...

Corporate office : - A-18, Top Floor, Young Chamber, Behind Batra Cinema, Mukherjee Nagar, Delhi-09. Ph: 45045836, 9311958008, 009
DIGMANI EDUCATIONS
Branch office : - 17-A/20, IIIrd Floor, Near Titan Showroom, Ajmal Khan Road, Karol Bagh, (Near Old Rajendra Nagar), Delhi-05. Ph: 28756008, 9311958007, 008, 009

YE-145/2014

PM's Vision for India

Insurance Cover for Poor

The Prime Minister has announced the launching of a scheme to connect the poorest citizens of the country with the facility of bank accounts. Under the Pradhanmantri Jan-Dhan Yojana, an account holder will be given a debit card with an insurance of Rs. one lakh guaranteed with it for each family. This will benefit poor families in case of crises.

MPs Model Village Scheme Announced

The Prime Minister announced the launch of the Saansad Adarsh Gram Yojana. Members of Parliament would select any one of the villages having population of three to five thousand in their constituency according to parameters of time, space and situation of that locality. It will include the conditions of health, cleanliness, atmosphere, greenery, cordiality etc. On the basis of those parameters, each MP would be required to make one village of his or her constituency a Model Village by 2016. Two more villages would have to selected after 2016 and after 2019, each Member of Parliament, during his/her tenure of 5 years must establish at-least five model villages in his/her area. Members of Parliament from urban areas as also Members from Rajya Sabha could also adopt one of the villages. The complete blueprint of "Saānsad Adarsh Grām Yojana" (Members of Parliament Model Village Scheme) would be presented before all Members of Parliament and State Governments, on 11th October, the occasion of birth anniversary of Jai Prakash Narayan.

Brand India

The Prime Minister appealed for making India a manufacturing hub. He said that only by promoting the manufacturing sector could we create more employment for our youth as also develop a balance between imports and exports. This way the education and capability of youth could also be put to use. He appealed that all over the world brand India should be an accepted name - "Come, make in India", "Come, manufacture in India." He called to youth to help manufacture at least one such item specially in the micro or small industry sector so such items need not imported in the future. We should even advance to a situation where we are able to export such items, he said. If each one of our millions of youngsters resolves to manufacture atleast one such item, India can become a net exporter of goods, he added. He urged that Indian manufacturers should never compromise on two counts-zero defect and zero effect. Goods should be manufactured in such a way that they carry zero defect, that exported goods are not rejected and also not have a negative impact on the environment.

Swachh Bharat

Stressing on the need for cleanliness, the Prime Minister announced his Government`s resolve for "Swachh Bharat" – a vision which will be launched on October 2nd this year, to be accomplished by 2019, on the 150th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. In a related initiative, the Prime Minister said the first step towards "Swachh Bharat" begins with immediate effect, through a commitment to build toilets in all schools, including separate toilets for girls, within one year. To achieve this goal, he called upon MPs to use their MPLAD funds. He also called on corporate sector to give priority to the provision of toilets in schools under Corporate Social Responsibility. On the next 15th August, we should be in a firm position to announce that there is no school in India without separate toilets for boys and girls, he said.

Daughters an Asset

The Prime Minister called on the nation to consider the very disturbing issue of the imbalanced sex ratio where 940 girls are born against per thousand boys. He appealed to doctors not to encourage female foeticide; families to not sacrifice their daughters in the hope of having a son. He pointed out that in the recent Commonwealth Games, out of 64 medals won by sportspersons, 29 were girls. He urged the nation to feel proud of its daughters and take them along shoulder to shoulder.

Addressing the Rural in Indian Cities

Narendar Pani

The influence of the rural in Bengaluru, and arguably most Indian cities, is thus multidimensional. The influence can emerge in locations that are within the geographical limits of the city as well as in villages some distance away. An effective urban policy must then be willing to address all issues that affect Indian cities even if they arise in remote rural areas

THE POLICY discourse in India has tended to follow a sharp demarcation between the urban and the rural. In the 1970s Indian policy makers were accused of an urban bias (Lipton, 1977) just as more recent work accuses them of having been preoccupied with the rural (Sivaramakrishnan, 2011). But if we borrow some of the discussion on boundaries inspired by globalization, it is not difficult to see that such an unrelenting demarcation may not be entirely justified. Saskia Sassen takes the view that boundaries, broadly speaking, take two forms. "One is that the border is embedded in the product, the person, and the instrument: a mobile agent endogenizes critical features of the border. The other is that there are multiple locations for the border, whether inside firms or in long transnational domains" (Sassen, 2006 p. 416). Both these forms of boundaries exist between the urban and the rural as is evident in the more rapidly growing Indian cities. People who seek employment in urban centres while retaining strong links with their villages often carry with them strong elements of the rural even as they live in an urban ethos. In the process, they carry the boundaries of the rural with them, often bringing it deep into the city. Multiple locations of the border between the rural and the urban are also created when Indian cities expand horizontally, absorbing villages as they grow. The core village areas can retain a sense of the rural for decades after being absorbed into urban centres. The rural is then deeply embedded in Indian cities so much so that we cannot claim to understand Indian cities without some clarity on the role of the rural in them.

The influence of the rural in Indian cities then involves the negotiation of two quite different boundaries, one a rather permanent one between the village that has been absorbed into the city and the urban development around it and even within it; and the other the boundary between the city and villages some distance away, a boundary that is embedded in individuals that enter the city and the products they bring with them. Even a brief exploration of these negotiations, such as the one made in this paper, makes it clear that urban situations can be influenced by happenings in rural areas. An effective Urban Policy cannot then ignore the rural. For the sake of brevity, this paper will focus on the experience of a single Indian city, Bengaluru.

Villages within Cities

It would be too much to expect the dynamics of the absorption of villages to be identical across all Indian cities. There could be differences within cities as well, with villages that are absorbed to create an information technology park facing a very different future

The author is Professor, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore. A reputed economist, he has published a number of academic articles in India and abroad. He has contributed in making Gandhian methods an effective tool to understand contemporary policy making.

from those that are absorbed to create relatively lower end manufacturing units. But it is useful to take a closer look at one example of such a process to gain insights that could be empirically tested in other situations and cities. The absorption of Bengaluru's villages in the context of the growth of its garment export industry provides an example of these dynamics. A striking feature of the predominantly female garment workers in Bengaluru is the very substantial difference between their working conditions and their living conditions. The condition of the homes of women workers in Bengaluru's garment export industry provides a stark contrast to conditions within their factory as well as to the global image of Bengaluru. A survey carried out in 2009 by the National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore,(NIAS) provided an overview of the conditions these women faced. Table 1 tells us the story of the women workers and their homes. The women workers earned an income that placed them above the poverty line, but not by all that much. The families of a vast majority of the women workers did not own a home and could only afford to rent one. The high attrition rates in the industry resulted in the workers shifting factories fairly frequently. The high cost of public transportation in Bengaluru also ensured that most of the workers had to walk to work. This in turn implied that they often had to change homes when they changed jobs in order to continue being within walking distance of their place of work. The homes that most of the workers could afford to rent were also the cheaper sheet-roofed ones. These cheaper accommodations, more often than not, did not have a water tap within them and shared a toilet with other homes. These ill-equipped sheet-roofed homes were also cramped with more than four-fifths of them having an average of more than two persons per room, and 31 per cent having more than three persons per room.

The availability of such relatively low cost homes in the midst of the city's spiralling real estate values was itself the result of Bengaluru's often chaotic absorption of villages into the city. As was noted in an official evaluation of land acquisition in the 1970s and 1980s, this process gained an impetus through at least two legislations – the Karnataka Industrial Areas Development Act, 1966 and the Bangalore Development Authority Act, 1976 – that created the institutions used to acquire lands (Ravindra, et al., 1989). The creation of the Karnataka Industrial Areas Development Board made it easier to take over agricultural land and hand it over to private industry. The Bangalore Development Authority acquired land to create residential layouts that were then sold for prices much above what they were acquired for in the first instance, and for even higher values in secondary transactions. The takeover of agricultural land immediately transformed the economic character of the village that had been absorbed into Bengaluru. At one stroke, agricultural operations came to a halt.

It is important to explicitly recognise that everyone in these villages did not face the same challenges. The conditions faced by the landless were clearly different from that of the landed. The change in profession demanded of the landless was largely the movement from agricultural labour to more urban forms of work. And they did not have the benefit of compensation that was offered to landowners. As Goldman has argued, "Reducing rural life to two cut-and-dried categories of landowners and non-owners, with only the former worthy of compensation arising from land acquisition for big urban projects, is to further undermine the social and cultural complexity and livelihood strategies of the rural" (Goldman, 2011 p. 568).

Table 1: Profile of households of women workers in Bengaluru's Garment Export Industry

Proportion of households that are rented accommodation	87.5
Proportion of households with roofs of sheet or other inferior material	64.8
Proportion of households within two kilometers of the place of work	78.2
Proportion of households with two or more persons per room (including kitchen)	81.5
Proportion of households with three or more persons per room (including kitchen)	31.4
Proportion of households with no toilets within them	76.1
Proportion of households with no water source within them	73.0

Source: NIAS survey of garment workers, 2009

Note: All figures in per cent.

Given the nature of peasant agriculture in the villages surrounding Bengaluru, the landless were typically not the largest group (Pani, 1983). The peasant agriculture of the region was characterised by a large number of small landowners with a few dominant peasants. Given the extent of the dominance of peasants, the landowners who were compensated were quite a significant number if not the majority of the households of the village that was absorbed into the city. Thus, for most of those in the villages absorbed into Bengaluru the challenge was that of suddenly losing their agricultural land and having to find non-agricultural occupations.

In most cases, those who once owned the agricultural land were left trying to invest their limited compensation in activities that were consistent with the emerging urban economy around them ranging from learning to become a driver of a vehicle to expanding their traditional dairy operations. The non-agricultural land that was left with the village too became an important, if limited, resource. This land typically followed regulations set for villages and not those for the city around them. It allowed the owners of this non-agricultural land to construct cheaper and more congested housing that met the requirements of the poor. And this process was not always within the realms of legality. As Lakshmi Srinivas noted in 1991, "In Bangalore city about half the land is not accounted for in the corporation's tax records" (Srinivas, 1991 p. 2484).

In this often complicated process of transition of villages into being a part of urban Bengaluru, it is difficult to miss the rural influence that remains

even after this transformation. It is the old landed groups in the village that have the land and the influence to benefit from the coming of private layouts. The same groups also have an advantage in the construction of housing of low quality for the poor. The need for permissions, or the need for officials to look the other way when these permissions do not exist, also provide the basis for a close link between these groups and the emerging political class.

The Village Outside the City

The precise way in which products and people negotiate the boundaries between the relatively distant villages and the city can take a variety of forms. Sometimes the families of the women workers continue to receive food grains from the husband's share of the family land in the village. The dress the women workers wear too can reflect the continuous interaction between their rural and urban identities, even if some of their urban garments, particularly the nightgown they sometimes wear for long periods of the day in the city, could not always be used in the rural environment. The magnitude of the urban influence on the village and rural influence on the city through the individual would depend on the extent of this interaction. It has been argued that the urban household can play the role of an initial base for migration from the village to the city. These households quite often include persons from the village who are seeking a foothold in the city. The term 'collective households' has been used to refer to those households that had persons in them who were not a part of the nuclear family (Pani, et al., 2010). And around 40 per cent of the households of women workers in Bengaluru's garment industry met this norm. These 'collective households' included not just members of the immediate family of the husband and wife, such as their fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, but also more distant relatives and sometimes just persons from their village.

While the collective household does point to the link between the rural and the urban, the intensity of this link may be better captured by relationships that go beyond being a conduit to migration. A much closer personal link between the village and the city is provided by cases where working mothers in the city leave their child back in the village. The 2009 NIAS survey revealed that more than a fifth, in fact 22.5 per cent, of the children of women workers in Bengaluru's garment industry who were 15 years old or younger did not live with the mother, typically being left to be taken care of in the village. In such cases, the woman worker necessarily negotiated the border between the urban and the rural very frequently. Indeed, we could use the child living away from the mother as a proxy of the depth and intensity of the relationship between the urban and the rural for the individual worker.

In understanding the phenomenon of women leaving their children back in their villages, the factors that don't seem to influence it can be as revealing as those that do. In order to check the importance of a factor, we grouped children or their mothers on the basis of that factor and then used an analysis of variance to estimate the significance of the influence of that factor. As Table 2 tells us, several factors that would have been expected to influence this phenomenon, such as the economic and educational status of the worker in the city, are not the main factors determining the decision to leave the child in the village. The education and income levels of the mothers were not statistically significant determinants of the decision to leave the child in the village.

What did seem to have a more decisive impact on the decision was the age of both the child and the mother. Thirty-four per cent of the children five years old or younger did not live with the mother. This proportion dropped to 14 per cent in the age group of 11 to 15. In the case of mothers too, 40 per cent of the children of mothers who were 20 or younger were staying away from their mothers. This proportion declined proportionately with older mothers, accounting for just four per cent of the mothers over 40. This pattern does suggest that younger mothers were helped in facing the uncertainties of urban life in Bengaluru by the family in the village.

The data also suggests that at least some of the uncertainties could be traced to the difficulties of moving from a rural to an urban environment. The number of years they have spent in Bengaluru, the length of their stay had a statistically significant influence on the decision to leave the child in the village. Fifty per cent of the children of mothers who had been in Bengaluru for a year or less did not stay with their mothers. This percentage dropped quite sharply to 16 per cent for those who had been in the city for more than five

Table 2: Analysis of variance of residence of children of women workers in Bangalore's Garment Export Industry by various factors

Factor	F ratio	Significant at 5 per cent
Education of mother	0.78605	No
Income of mother	2.77847	No
Roof type	0.75084	No
Water	0.94756	No
Age of child	9.90545	Yes
Age of mother	5.44606	Yes
Years of mother in Bangalore	23.84444	Yes
Distance from workplace	4.14329	Yes
Toilet	8.66739	Yes
Religion	8.50309	Yes
Caste group	5.01136	Yes
Mother tongue	6.72962	Yes

Source: NIAS survey of garment workers, 2009

years and up to 10 years. The longer the women stayed in Bengaluru, the lesser they felt the need to leave their children in their village.

Not all the difficulties of life in Bengaluru seemed to have the same effect on the woman's decision to leave the child away from her home. Having a water tap inside their homes did not provide a statistically significant explanation of the decision to leave the child away from her home. This could be because of the fact that this facility may not have been available to her in the village either. The availability of a toilet within the premises however did seem to have been an influence. There was a statistically significant relationship between the availability of a toilet inside the home and the decision to keep the child away from the mother. It is possible that the need for the woman to take the child out to a shared toilet at odd hours of the night may have had a role in this decision.

The ability to use the family home in the village as a support system for a worker who was a mother did not extend equally to all social groups. It was used more widely among the Hindus than other religious groups. And even among the Hindus, it varied quite substantially. The fact that the Scheduled Castes may have less of an infrastructure in the village to be able to keep their children till such time as the mother was settled in the city is an example of rural caste hierarchies influencing the living patterns in urban Bengaluru.

The influence of the rural in Bengaluru, and arguably most Indian cities, is thus multidimensional. The influence can emerge in locations that are within the geographical limits of the city as well as in villages some distance away. An effective urban policy must then be willing to address all issues that affect Indian cities even if they arise in remote rural areas.

Readings

Goldman, Michael Speculative Urbanism and the Making of the Next World City *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. - May (2011). - 3 : Vol. 35. - pp. 555–581.

Lipton, Michael *Why People Stay Poor: A Study of Urban Bias in World Development*, London : Temple Smith, (1977).

Pani, Narendar and Singh Nikky The Collective Family and Migration Capital: Women Workers in Bengaluru's Garment Industry. *Sociological Bulletin.* - (2010). - 3 : Vol. 59. - pp. 367-391.

Pani, Narendar *Reforms to Pre-empt Change*. - New Delhi : Concept, (1983).

Ravindra ,A and Tewari VK Urban Land Policy for an Indian Metropolitan City. dspace.vidyanidhi.org. - (1989). - December 30, 2011. < http://dspace.vidyanidhi.org.in:8080/dspace/bitstream/2009/2473/9/UOM-1989-1295-8.pdf>.

Sassen, Saskia *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages*. - Princeton : Princeton University Press, (2006).

Sivaramakrishnan, KC *Re-visioning Indian Cities: The Urban Renewal Mission*. - New Delhi : Sage, (2011).

Srinivas, Lakshmi Land and Politics in India: Working of Urban Land Ceiling Act, 1976 *Economic and Political Weekly*. - October 26, 1991. - 43 : Vol. 26. - pp. 2482-2484. ❑

(E-mail: narendar.pani@gmail.com)

DO YOU KNOW?

New Development Bank (NDB)

The **BRICS Development Bank or the New Development Bank (NDB)** is a multilateral development bank that will be operated by the five most important emerging nations of the world called the BRICS nations (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). This new bank is primarily set up to fund the infrastructure projects in the developing countries, something that reflects their prominence in the global economy. This bank will have an initial capital of $ 50 billion that would be divided equally among the five countries with US$ 10 billion in cash to be put in over seven years and the other US$40 billion in the form of guarantees. These countries also announced launching of a Contingency Reserve Arrangement (CRA) that was approved in 2013 to receive a fund of $100 billion that would play a role of safety net in the times of financial crises and will have a long term goal of providing emergency cash funding to BRICS nations facing short term credit crisis or problems relating to balance of payments. The bank will be based in Shanghai, China and will start lending in the year 2016. Its presidency will be rotated to reflect equality. India will preside over its functions for the first six years, which wo uld be followed by five- year terms for Brazil and later by Russia with China not having a turn until 2021. The inaugural Chairman of the Board of directors will be from Brazil and the inaugural chairman of the Board of Governors will come from Russia that is in contrast to international monetary institutions like World Bank and International Monetary Fund that usually have a US citizen or a European member as their head respectively. The CRA will be a replacement for monetary institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as the provider of resources for BRICS countries as well as other poor economies when there are difficulties in balance of payment.The New Development Bank will act as a platform for the underdeveloped nations and will expand its membership to counties other than the BRICS hence posing a great challenge to hegemony of World Bank in the prevailing scenario of international financial system. The BRICS leaders are also considering to establish a BRICS Exchange Alliance to challenge the opaque derivatives market of the Wall Stre et dominance and also an energy alliance to challenge the speculative activities of the Intercontinental Exchange (ICE). These four institutions namely, the New Development Bank, the Contingency Reserve Arrangement, the BRICS Exchange Alliance and the BRICS Energy Alliance, when become operational, will bring about a tremendous directional change towards creating a New International Economic Order. ❑

(Compiled by Vatica Chandra, Sub Editor)
(E-mail: vchandra.iis2014@gmail.com)

INSPIRATION
IAS ACADEMY

Under the Guidance of

SUNIL GUPTA

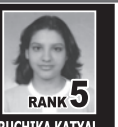
Announces more than **600 SELECTIONS** in Civil Services Examination including

1st Rank

SHUBHRA SAXENA
CSE-2008

Topper Among Male Candidate

RANK 3
R.V. VARUN KR.
CSE-08


RANK 5
RUCHIKA KATYAL
CSE-12

RANK 6
RAVI DHAWAN
CSE-08

RANK 7
TARUN PITHODE
CSE-08

RANK 13
NAMIT MEHTA
CSE-11

RANK 16
CHINMAYEE GOPAL
CSE-13

RANK 18
SUNIL KR. POMMALA
CSE-08

RANK 20
DURGA NAGPAL
CSE-09

RANK 25
SHILPA GORI SARIA
CSE-08

RANK 26
V.S.C. KOLASANI
CSE-10

RANK 29
SAJJAN S. CHAVAN
CSE-07

RANK 31
M. GOVINDA RAO
CSE-10

RANK 34
S. VISHWANATHAN
CSE-07

RANK 35
ANUPAM SAHA
CSE-11

RANK 37
D. DIVYA
CSE-09

RANK 40
PARDHI S. Z.
CSE-10

RANK 42
ARINDAM CHAUDHARY
CSE-13

RANK 43
VINOD KALVE
CSE-07

The New Pattern of Civil Services Examination established

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

as the BEST OPTIONAL SUBJECT

BECAUSE IT CONTRIBUTES

1. 70% of General Studies Paper - II (Constitutional & Administrative aspects of Indian Administration)
2. 40% of General Studies Paper - III (Disaster Management & Law and order Administration)
3. 70% of General Studies Paper - IV (Moral and Ethical Dimension of Public Administration for Good Governance)
4. 100% of General Essay (One of Topics in the Essay Paper is asked from Administrative Orientation of Public Governance)

INSPIRATION Invites Dedicated & Committed IAS Aspirants for

1. IAS Integrated Foundation Programme (1 Year / 3 Years)
2. General Studies Foundation Programme (Mains/Pre-cum-Mains)
3. General Studies Main Test Series Programme
4. General Studies Modules Programme
5. Public Administration (Regular Classroom Programme)
6. Public Administration (Main Test Series Programme)

Visit Our Website : **WWW.INSPIRATIONIAS.COM** for

- Programme Structure • Registration Process for Admission
- Fee Details of Programme
- Time-bound Implementation of Programme
- Date of Commencement of Batches & Timings

Online Registration Open
Strictly on first come ... first serve basis because seats are limited

CORRESPONDENCE COURSES — **Distant Interactive Programme**

Meticulously Designed Correspondence Courses are available in :
- Pub. Administration (Main)
- Pub. Administration (Main Test Series)
- General Studies (Pre cum Mains)
- General Studies (Main Test Series)I

Administrative Off. : 56/3, Bada Bazaar Marg, Old Rajendra Nagar, Delhi-110060 | Website : www.inspirationias.com

E-mail : inspirationiasacademy@gmail.com | **Contact : 09818449954, 011-47592037, 09868421375**

YE-163/2014

Why India should or should not Ratify the TFA?

Nilabja Ghosh

Poverty, small and unviable farms, low returns from agriculture, monsoonal vagaries and the lack of income, employment and transport facilities are old refrains. In modernizing India, poised on a growth path, new issues can be evoked to reconsider India's approach to WTO

INDIA IS no doubt a responsible nation in the global community and her membership in the WTO bears testimony to that. However balancing the external commitments with domestic obligations is no easy task for any democratic government. Challenges and difficult choices are usual in the globalization process.

The Trade Facilitation Agreement (TFA) arising out of the Bali declaration made after the WTO's Ninth Ministerial Conference in December 2013 focuses on food as an item of trade and awaits ratification (WTO, website). While agreeing to sign the TFA itself is about maintaining transparent and easy procedures of trade with which India does not seem to have much problem, the decision has become associated with a more sensitive pledge of restraining subsidies on procurement that in turn impinges upon stockpiling of 'traditional staple food crops'. This is the Ministerial Decision on Public Stockholding for Food Security purposes. Such stock piling, attributed recently (September 2013, regular meeting) also to Thailand and Indonesia[1], is perceived to be a threat to the food security of importing nations in poor years and a disincentive to their farmers later when the same stocks are disposed off at cheap prices. It is feared that signing the treaty may turn out to be politically costly for India.

The Conundrum: Time for a Rethink on Food Policy

When India joined the WTO, the commitments required for the Agreement on Agriculture (AOA) did not seem difficult. The aggregate measure of support (AMS) was safely under the stipulated maximum limit, there were concessions on grounds of India's balance of payment problem and differential treatments, received as a developing country, came as a comfort. The contradiction with grain stocking policy nevertheless was a potential hazard in the horizon.

Subsidies required for holding food security reserves could in principle be supported by the AOA under the non-trade distorting Green Box (GB) exemption allowance but unlike other items in this Box, conditions attached in the calculation of this subsidy would over time turn this subsidy untenable making public procurement difficult. A proposal from a so called G33 group of developing countries was recently vocal in seeking special treatment but the same members differed in their preference for setting the time line in finding a solution. Excluding purchases from poor farmers was a proposal that could translate to a re-defining of the GB. While all members accepted the importance of food security, solution was elusive. India, perhaps for good reasons, has problems with the method of calculation and wants the TFA to wait until a 'permanent solution' is worked out.

The author is an economist working as Associate Professor, Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi with research experience in food, agriculture, environment and other developmental issues.

In India about half of the workforce is engaged in farming and about 37 per cent of the cropped area is under the two cereals rice and wheat, the two crops in context. These crops are intensely produced in a policy driven climate. India's food policy for several decades now is based on public procurement at minimum support prices (MSP), public stocking often in excess of the buffer requirements and distribution through the public distribution system (PDS). Recently India also enacted a Food Security Act which essentially promises universal access to food.

When economic reforms commenced, both the MSP and the PDS were strongly critiqued within the country for ideological, political and practical reasons but even the responses by way of modifications hardly satisfied the skeptics. The twin pillars of India's food policy remained regular instruments for addressing the poverty and the food insecurity of the poorer voters of the electorate.

The stand taken against the TFA nearly bringing negotiations to a halt is justified by domestic demands and commitments to people who are poor. Bargaining on failures and ploys of other nations, indignation about the encroachment on policy sovereignty and balancing internal compulsions with external poise apart, there is a need for introspection on the domestic utility of persisting doggedly with the four decade long practices.

This article is meant to deliberate and reflect on the domestic usefulness of the strategies which have generated the problem now encountered and to assess the significance of the multilateral level dilemma against the backdrop of India's own food security needs.

Argument for India's Hard Stand

The genesis of India's food policy was the post-independence shortage of food leading to severe food insecurity of the citizens. Fortuitously, the food policy also went with the development of a new agrarian technology that could enhance production of the two food crops in question several times provided farmers had the incentive to invest on the technology. Even today, India's intransigence towards going with a dominant section of the WTO community has one and possible only one compelling ground which is again food security. While the Commerce Minister has spoken of the need for protecting the interest of the farmers by guaranteeing some 'minimum returns' to 'poor' farmers, the implications actually converge on food security of the nation and the poor consumers. Many of the consumers are urban residents, vocal and recipients of media attention. With this critical deprivation the reluctance is not just an electoral appeal but also an economic compulsion.

The stand taken against the TFA nearly bringing negotiations to a halt is justified by domestic demands and commitments to people who are poor. Bargaining on failures and ploys of other nations, indignation about the encroachment on policy sovereignty and balancing internal compulsions with external poise apart, there is a need for introspection on the domestic utility of persisting doggedly with the four decade long practices.

There is very little to refute the argument. Food security today is not merely about national food sufficiency. There are issues of household and member level food-security as well and sufficiency at the national level cannot be an answer (Ghosh and Guhakhasnobis, 2008). The difficulty of distributing food across a vast country with unequal capacities for production and the low purchasing power of large sections of consumers impair household access. Considerable State planning is required for organizing the large scale distribution, but even if hypothetically the private trade is ready for taking up the same task for a reasonable profit, there is little confidence that the market generated price that takes account of the costs of production, distribution and acceptable margins, is affordable to all.

Intra-household constraints to access can be addressed through education, awareness, gender sensitization, sanitation[2] and empowerment but the State has also been directly addressing the issue by physical food distribution in a targeted manner often in consonance with other objectives such as through the Mid Day Meal Scheme (MDMS), Integrated Child Development Service (ICDS), and Annapurna. The targeted programmmes including the targeted PDS also aimed to lighten the budgetary burden and prevent leakage through illegal means while protecting the food security of the weakest. The success of effected revisions in eliminating corruption and preventing new forms of wrong doing was questionable. While food is suspected to be leaking out in the name of feeding the poor, with the rigid specifications, not all placed above the so called poverty line, which in itself failed to gain universal credibility, are entitled to the basic need. The National Food Security Act (NFSA) completes the circle by once again universalizing distribution, now. in fact legally binding on the government.

The enactment of the NFSA was rather turbulent politically and economically although the importance of the entitlement cannot be contested (Dreze and Sen, 1989). To make the legislation practicable, more specific targets and the intensity of their deprivation needed to be identified which again created problems similar to the TPDS (EPW, 2011, EPW,2013_b). Defining food insecurity in compliance with AOA's requirement needed a poverty line to be specified which apparently is a complex process and yet to be resolved. The most daunting challenge was to make the legislation compatible with the AOA's curbs on subsidies (EPW, 2013_a). The law as promulgated in September 2013 envisages a priority group and a poorest (Antodaya) group of beneficiaries with the highest entitlement, for meeting which the State requires access to food reserves.

Finally and not of less importance, even the objective of national level sufficiency of food cannot yet be disregarded. True, the green revolution

has gifted the nation with phenomenal increases in production of foodgrains resulting in huge surpluses, nearly eliminating imports and giving rise to food exports. Indeed India has managed to export 10 million tonnes of rice and 6 million tonnes of wheat in the year 2012-13. However, it is important to keep in mind that this achievement has been possible under the existing minimum support policy that gives farmers an insurance against prices falling below break-even levels. Many of the farmers are poor and as a result also risk averse, necessitating subsidies to be placed on inputs. Trials with crop yield insurance, farm income insurance, weather insurance, futures trading have been on for some time but producing no conclusive results. With no viable and dependable replacement in hand, lifting the presently followed public procurement mechanism can be hazardous.

Then there is the fear of weather failure. While nature has been more benign to the nation in the last decades, past experience fails to rule out the improbable but possible apprehension of consecutive poor monsoons. Climate change, by its much foreboded implications for Asian monsoon, can hurt agriculture with adverse rainfall not only in quantum but also in in-season distribution. While one can argue that food security is not just sufficiency when imports are possible, if other producing nations too encounter similar predicament, trade can be of little help.

Given that currently India as a nation is hardly a single market, traders have their commercial interests, many consumers lack purchasing power and transportation across states is far less effective than its potential, the importance of State supported distribution cannot be dismissed totally. All these imperatives justify stocking and distribution of grains calling for procurement. Food security deserves to be treated as a social good and cannot be relegated fully to market forces. The use of social resources for the purpose can be justified regardless of WTO's strictures.

Reasons why Government may Consider Softening

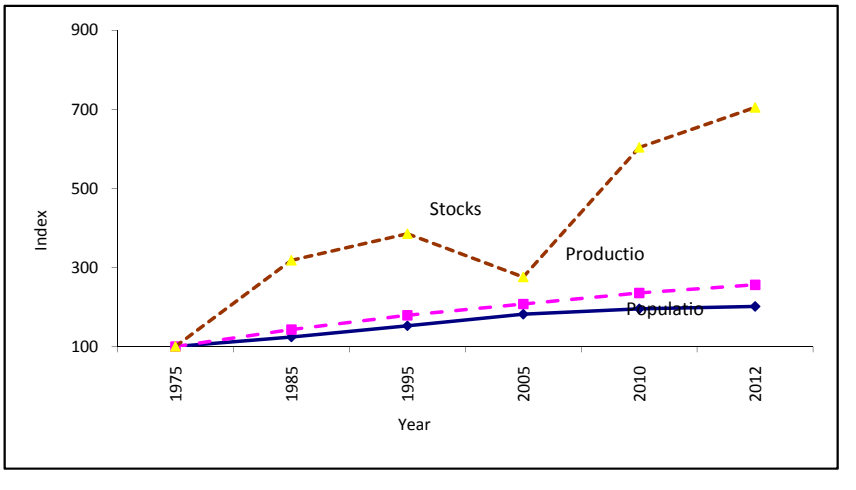
The above set of arguments supporting the government's negative stand is hardly anything new. Poverty, small and unviable farms, low returns from agriculture, monsoonal vagaries and the lack of income, employment and transport facilities are old refrains. In modernizing India, poised on a growth path, new issues can be evoked to reconsider India's approach to WTO. Some of the recent developments may actually help to question the practical meaningfulness of the justifications cited above.

The archaic specification of food in the term food security is the first reservation that comes to mind. When food related diseases of infectious, deficiency and life-style characters are in central attention, the concept of food needs to be broadened beyond the calorie generating cereals to fruits, vegetables, pulses, milk, animal products. A new and meaningful definition of food has to take care of the significance of other nutrients and safety in food consumption. The primacy of the specific cereals in Indian diet was no less due to the success of a certain technology, the discriminative minimum support policy[3] and the non-commercialized character of horticultural production than national culture which itself was impacted by the public interventions (Baviskar, 2010, Swaminathan, 1997). Consumption data clearly shows that dietary preferences are changing (Radhakrishna and Ravi, 1992) away from the two major cereals on which the food policy rests. In this background the meaningfulness of the ruckus around stock piling of two particular products on grounds of a food security concern certainly seems specious.

Another argument against unchecked procurement is the loss of valuable resources. Although the profit driven traders distributing grains deserve their fair share of skepticism, it is fair to admit that the government has not displayed a very high order of competence either. Between 1995-96 and 2012-13 stocks of rice and wheat in January grew by 3.2 per cent and 4.2 per cent per annum much faster than population. That much of the production found its way to public storage is also seen in figure 1. Although the foodgrain reserves remained low in the years 2003-04 to 2008-09 following the forced disposal from a 60 million tones stocks in 2002-03 which was also a drought year, stocks picked up from 2009-10 to reach 67 million tonnes in 2013-14. The stocks also tended to exceed the buffer norm and, in the process of waiting for a lean year or reaching out to deficit areas, considerable grains are spoilt. The loss in turn reflects on the degradation of natural resources such as water, forests, pastures, soil quality, fossil fuel and sedimentation of rivers. India needs to question if such expenses regularly incurred on storage are warranted.

Third, credibility of justification

Figure 1: Population, Production and Stocks in India: Rice and Wheat



that the errant subsidy is devoted necessarily in support of the poor or the small farmers can be doubted. While farm input subsidies do reach small farmers, constituting over 80 per cent of the farm households, procurement which is conducted in an open-ended way at the MSP fixed in reference to cost, is rather intensely incident in some states rather than others. Although on the positive side, some non-traditional states like Odisha and West Bengal have emerged as contributors to the food grain pools, Punjab, Haryana, Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh still have a strong share (Table 1). The privilege of assured purchase is related more to the geographical advantages and initial endowments than to poverty or farm size.

Interestingly, some of the contributing states also have the natural advantage to produce other products, some of them anticipated to gain consumer preference and generate nutrition in coming times. While the transition is marked by uncertainty, that the farmers are drawn towards the two privileged crops actually hurting their own interests, is a distinct possibility. Punjab's attraction towards rice despite a natural disadvantage in water endowments and the contrariness of local food habits is a commonly cited example. Many believe that with the present policy in place, the shift towards alternate agricultural activities consistent with natural advantages will not be fully realized. Also, the rising horticultural product prices will begin to hurt.

Seeking a Balance

With arguments possible both in favour of and against the procurement policy in place, indisputably the government faces a daunting choice. Even with nearly seven decades of planned development after independence and nearly two decades after signing the WTO accord, India's way to a globalised and free market is made bumpy by age-old obstacles.

The new government has little scope to be generous at this point because the cost can be unacceptably high while a possibility of noncompliance is undignified and avoidable. A major source of apprehension is the NFSA to which the government has already committed. While there is indication but no surety that its implementation would not demand larger procurement than is done already, the procurement being already 72 million tones which is nearly 36 per cent of production, unless the formula for calculating the subsidy is revised, the de-minimis bar to subsidies may be breached (Narayanan, 2013). Besides the WTO, meeting the MDG[4] of food security is another international obligation for India. Above all, changing a country's policy is desirably a graduated and well deliberated process and sharp turnarounds synchronous with electoral reversals can send a wrong message to the world.

Weighing both sides of the balance, a phased strategy for withdrawing from the shell the country created under certain exigencies is a very useful opportunity at this point. Facilitating internal free trade based on federal cooperation and improved infrastructure could help in joining the international community without qualms. Building up resilience to weather vagaries is not a fantasy any more given the remarkable progress already made on the technological front and the visibly emergent awareness about early warning and disaster management. Above all, farming has to be remunerative which only efficient markets and rational product choice can enable. Besides, with the open ended policy, the procurement and the stocks are likely to increase crating a serious management crisis domestically.

A minimalist intervention however remains because the fear of sequential poor monsoon, global production shocks, geopolitical calamities, failure of free trading and many other adverse possibilities cannot be ruled out. In an economy now clearly in transition, it is time however that food security is equated with nutrition security based on balanced diets and free choices. This would, in principle, require the stock-pile to be diverse and not just staple cereals but given that the other food-products are perishable, one can visualize juices, purees, concentrates and milk powder in that stock when necessary technologies build up.

Table 1: Procurement from Major states and the Farm profile (2010-11)

Source States	Poverty line	Average farm size	Small farmers	Irrigation	Rice	Wheat	Total
	per cent	Hectare	per cent	per cent Net Sown Area	Procurement in Million Tonnes		
Punjab	8.30	3.77	34.09	97.88	8.6	10.21	18.8
Haryana	11.20	2.25	67.59	82.06	1.7	6.35	8.0
Madhya Pradesh	31.7	1.78	71.46	47.23	4.3	3.54	7.8
Uttar Pradesh	29.4	0.76	92.46	80.67	3.0	1.73	4.7
Andhra Pradesh	9.2	1.08	86.09	45.00	9.6	0.00	9.6
Odisha	32.6	1.04	91.86	27.42	2.5	0.00	2.5
West Bengal	20.0	0.77	95.93	59.21	1.3	0.00	1.3
Tamilnadu	11.3	0.80	91.75	58.78	1.5	0.00	1.5
India	21.9	1.05	85.01	44.92	34.2	22.51	56.7

Source: MOA (various), MOA (website), MOA (2013).

While the GB is copiously used by the western nations to defend their farm subsidies, the argument of holding stocks on the same ground is becoming increasingly weak. Justifying subsidized procurement would not only require revisiting the formula in the short term but also shifting the coverage towards the really resource poor farmers who need to be identified scientifically. For the present, moving procurement operations towards eastern region may be the right strategy going by the average farm size (Table 1) while allowing the others to bring out the best of their potentials in food production. At a certain juncture, the State will ideally confine itself to facilitate and regulate the market for national 'food security' to provide people access to 'adequate' and 'culturally acceptable' food 'at all times' and directly engage only as emergency and safety-net support. Taking up the vacated place private traders will have the obligatory social commitment and accountability for fair pricing and transparent reporting of transactions and stocks. (2972)

Endnotes

1 Similar blame also went to China albeit for a non-food crop cotton.

2 The ability of the human body to absorb food depends on other environmental factors including the quality of water consumed.

3 Even the coarse cereals, also known as 'nutritious' cereals eased out of the diet due to the food policy.

4 Millennium Development Goal

Readings

Baviskar, Amita. (2010): "Food, Agraian Environments and Eating Practices", The Cambridge Companion to Modern Indian Culture.

Drèze, Jean and Sen, Amartya Kumar (1989). Hunger and Public Action. Clarendon Press, United Kingdom.

Ecomomic & Political Weekly (2011). Food Security Bill: Simpler the Better. Editorial, *Economic & Political Weeky* Vol XLVIII No. 51, December 24: PP: 8.

Ecomomic & Political Weekly (2013_a). Food Security Uncertainties after Bali. Editorial, *Economic & Political Weeky* Vol XLVIII No. 51, December 21: PP: 8.

Ecomomic & Political Weekly (2013_b). The WTO's Bali Ministerial and Food Security Need for Equity and Justice in the Rules on Agricultural Subsidies. Editorial Document, *Economic & Political Weeky* Vol XLVIII No. 49, December 7: PP: 70-72.

Ghosh, Nilabja and B. Guha, Khasnobis (2008) "Measuring the Efficacy of Targeted Public Programmes: Public Works Programmes in India". *Food Security Indicators, Measurement, and the Impact of Trade Openness*, edited by Guha Khasnobis, Acharya and Davis (by ICSSR, UNU-WIDER and FAO), Oxford University Press.

Ministry of Agriculture (2013). *Pocket Book on Agricultural Statistics*, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Department of Agriculture and Cooperation, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India.

Ministry of Agriculture (various). *Agriculture Statistics at a Glance*, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Department of Agriculture and Cooperation, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India.

Ministry of Agriculture,(website). http://eands.dacnet.nic.in/. Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Department of Agriculture and Cooperation, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Department of Agriculture and Cooperation, , Government of India.

Narayan, Sudha (2012). The National Food Security Act vis-à-vis the WTO Agreement on Agriculture. *Economic & Political Weeky*, Vol. XLIX No. 5 February 1: PP: 40-46.

Radhakrishna, R. and C. Ravi (1992). Effects of Growth, Relative Prices and Preference on Food and Nutrition. *Indian Economic Review 27*, Special Number: PP: 303-323.

Swaminathan, M. S. (1997). Indian Agriculture: Looking Back and Forward, *Yojana*, January.

World Trade Organization (WTO) (website). http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/minist_e/mc9_e/brief_e.htm ❑

(E-mail: nila@iegindia)

J&K WINDOW

PM INAUGURATES POWER PROJECTS IN LEH-LADAKH

Prime Minister Narendra Modi inaugurated the 45 MW Nimoo-Bazgo hydroelectric power project and 44 MW Chutak hydroelectric Project in Leh and Kargil respectively in Jammu & Kashmir on 11th August 2014. The two power projects will provide an impetus to the hydro based electricity in the country. The 45 MW Nimoo-Bazgo Hydro electric Project is a Run of the River scheme to harness the potential of river Indus in Leh district of Ladakh in Jammu & Kashmir. The project will generate 239 Mega Units of energy. The Nimoo-Bazgo power station will be located on river Indus in Leh district of Ladakh region of Jammu & Kashmir with an installed capacity of 45 MW (3 x 15 MW). The initial approval for the project was given in 2006 by centre at an estimated amount of Rs. 611 crore but the project cost is revised to Rs 985 crore. The Composite tariff of Nimoo-Bazgo power station is Rs. 6.33 per unit for year 2013-14. All the units were commissioned at available load in June 2013, commencing commercial operation in October 2013 and Jammu & Kashmir would be getting the whole share of the benefit.

The second hydro power project is the 44 MW Chutak hydroelectric Project in Kargil District of Jammu & Kashmir. This project is a run-off-river scheme on the river Suru and will produce 216 Mega Units with an installed capacity of 44 MW (4 x 11 MW). Chutak Project will have construction of 15M high and 47.5M long barrage near village Sarzhe and an underground power house on river Suru. This project was given a nod in 2006 by the Centre costing Rs. 621 crore which is revised to Rs. 894 crore. The power generated through this Project would be distributed to Kargil District of Ladakh region of J&K. The Prime Minister also laid the foundation for 375 km long Leh-Kargil-Srinagar Transmission System which includes a transmission line at 220 kv voltage level in Alistong , Srinagar to Leh via Kargil with four 220/33kV Sub-stations located at Drass, Kargil, Leh and Khalsti. This transmission system will provide about 100-150 MW power in the Ladakh region. The Leh-Srinagar transmission line will link Ladakh region with the country's northern grid and will help to tackle the electricity shortages. ❑

TEST SERIES-2014

Want to be the TOPPER!
Must prepare through TEST SERIES!!
When it comes to TEST SERIES
It is SYNERGY!!!
(Only institute in India been Associated with Rank-1 for last three consequetive years)

Gaurav Agrawal (Rank-1) 2013-14

Haritha V. Kumar (Rank-1) 2012-13

Shena Aggarwal (Rank-1) 2011-12

Why SYNERGY TEST SERIES been so coveted?

- We do not merely focus on tests but on preparation.
- We do not merely focus on number of tests rather on the quality of questions, explanations and on the overall process of preparation.
- Gives an opportunity to the students to evaluate themselves in actual exam condition.
- Enables the student to assess itself among thousands of aspirants appearing for the exam.

No more outstation students would be deprived of SYNERGY TEST SERIES

SYNERGY TEST SERIES goes ONLINE

Admission Open

(English & Hindi Medium)

SYNERGY- the New Reality in GENERAL STUDIES

Choose the one who IS the best rather who HAD BEEN.

G.S Main Special Course

Starting immediately after Prelims
(Duration: two & half months)

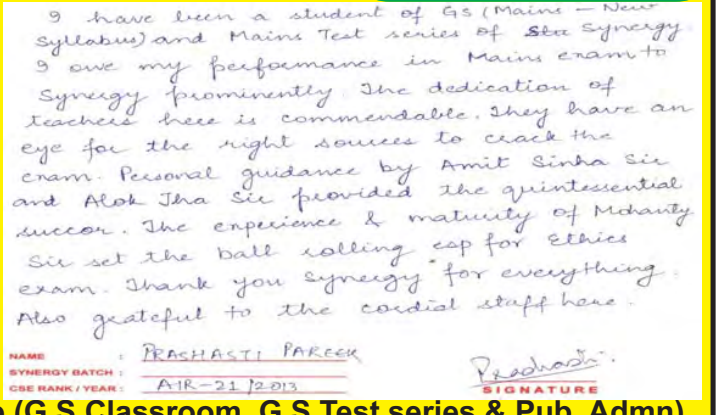
Major components of the programme:

Paper I:
- Indian Heritage & Culture
- Post independence consolidation
- World History
- Communalism, regionalism & secularism
- Distribution of key natural resources

Paper III:
- Development Economics- inclusive growth, government budgeting, effects of liberalization, investment models etc
- Achivements of Indians in science & technology, Indigenization of technology.
- Internal security related issues- Challenges, role of social networking sites , cyber security, Border Management, Money-laundering etc

Paper II:
- Issues on Indian Polity- election related issues, decentralisation & participative democracy- It's challenges, pressure group etc
- Important aspects of Governance-transparancy, e-governance, social audit, SHG, NGOs, Civil Service etc
- Statutory, regulatory and various quasi-judicaial bodies.
- Social justice related issues- development & social welfare polices & programmes
- Dynamic portions of International relation

Paper IV:
- Ethics, Integrity & Aptitude (entire paper)


I have been a student of GS (Mains — New Syllabus) and Mains Test series of the Synergy. I owe my performance in Mains exam to Synergy prominently. The dedication of teachers here is commendable. They have an eye for the right sources to crack the exam. Personal guidance by Amit Sinha Sir and Alok Jha Sir provided the quintessential succor. The experience & maturity of Mohanty Sir set the ball rolling esp for Ethics exam. Thank you Synergy for everything. Also grateful to the cordial staff here.

NAME : PRASHASTI PAREEK
SYNERGY BATCH :
CSE RANK / YEAR : AIR-21 / 2013
SIGNATURE

Selected students of the institute (G.S Classroom, G.S Test series & Pub. Admn)

& more than 100 other selections.

SYNERGY
AN INSTITUTE FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION

Mukh. Ngr- 102, First Floor, Manushree Building, Delhi-9
Karol Bagh- 16-A/2,First Floor, Ajmal Khan Road, W.E.A., (Near Metro Station), Delhi-5

www.synergy.edu.in
011-27654518, 27653494, 25744391, 45871256

YE-147/2014

Urban Planning : The Need for A New Paradigm

Lalitha Kamath

The DP and its process should not be used to reify boundaries between legality and illegality as interpretations of what is legal and illegal are subject to change and are unduly influenced by certain groups. Rather, it should focus on enhancing the functionality of the city. An important strategy for operationalizing this is to promote the viability of the informal sector

NEW AND better ways of urban planning are increasingly being identified as a solution to the challenges of urbanization going forward. Planning solutions are viewed as a strategy for building new cities and as a means for upgrading existing cities. Little clarity, however, exists about the constituents of possible new paradigms of urban planning. This paper has two objectives. The first is to draw some conclusions from past experience on building new cities and upgrading existing ones. Questions addressed include: Has building new cities in India resulted in better planned cities? What kind of impact has traditional city planning initiatives (such as the Development Plan) as well as newer initiatives (such as the City Development Plan)had on our cities? Will more such planning result in more livable cities? The second objective is to build on these conclusions to argue for a new paradigm of planning. This involves re-thinking what is planning and how it is practiced in the Indian city context, a process that will help make plans that are more appropriate to lived realities and that are more functional places for both living and working.

Building New Cities: A Mixed Picture

The term 'greenfield' is usually understood to mean constructing on unused land where there is no need to remodel or demolish existing structures[1]. More than 100 greenfield towns (company towns like Jamshedpur and administrative towns like Chandigarh) were built in the three decades post independence when the state was at the commanding heights of the economy. Their contribution has been quite limited in comparison with organically developing towns. Criticism has been wide-ranging emphasising the fact that planned cities ignored lived realities particularly of poorer sections (e.g. locating their housing close to their places of work) and that engineering complex inter-connected systems comprising city economies is extremely difficult.

New planned settlements adjoining metro cities, such as Mumbai and Delhi, have fared much better although being somewhat unrecognizable today as planned cities. For, in these locations, it is the everyday practices of people that have prevailed over the plan. Despite the best efforts of CIDCO, the planning

The author is an Associate Professor in the School of Habitat Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), Mumbai. She is an urbanist whose research interests focus on the political- economic, social, planning and governance dimensions of urbanization. She has recently co-edited volume titled *Participolis: Consent and Contention in Neoliberal Urban Governance* (2013) published by Routledge Cities and the Urban Imperative Series.

authority for Navi Mumbai, illegal constructions and 'encroachments' abound and basic service delivery is uneven although growth is rapid. Gurgaon, on the other hand, represents a highly privatized and marketized form of planning with households and buildings purchasing services such as sanitation, solid waste management and street lighting from the market. Widely successful from the point of attracting investments, industries and people, Gurgaon's model has very high environmental and social costs. Growth in both places is characterised by booming land markets and a dynamism that renders the Development Plans (DPs) for the area subject to ongoing adjustments. While the DP is considered a top-down, comprehensive plan by experts that fixes allocations of land and resources over a 20-year period, plans in both places seem to be evolving, with many land owners developers, architects, contractors and state agencies acting to shape the plan as they want it (Shettyet al 2012).Since land values have risen dramatically, the plan, which regulates the development potential of land, becomes an important document for a range of groups who wish to influence it.

...plans that were supposed to bring in orderly development are contested, modified and appropriated over time through local practices and politics resulting in a messy, albeit functional, reality. This raises the question of whether complex city-systems shaped by numerous forces and actors can ever be reduced to the singular logic of a DP built with top-down 'expert' knowledge.

Thus, plans that were supposed to bring in orderly development are contested, modified and appropriated over time through local practices and politics resulting in a messy, albeit functional, reality. This raises the question of whether complex city-systems shaped by numerous forces and actors can ever be reduced to the singular logic of a DP built with top-down 'expert' knowledge.

Development Plan: Relevance to the 'lived' City

The Development Plan, inherited from the British, constitutes the traditional vehicle for forecasting and managing cities' growth. While the British went on to amend their planning practice to make it more relevant to their needs, our Planning Acts have seen little fundamental change. This accounts for the considerable mismatch between the DP and the 'lived' city.

Typically, the DP covers only a limited proportion of the city it purportedly plans for. The area under slums, for instance is not included, as slums are considered illegal. In fact what is usually labeled the informal sector is not included within the plan. This is a fundamental flaw in the planning process because the informal sector provides a majority of jobs and contributes substantially to the city's GDP. Far from being peripheral to the city, engaging in low productivity trading and low demand services, it sits at the centre of the city's economy and is inextricably linked to the formal economy (Mukhopadhyay 2011).A third of the workforce in Indian cities engaged in economic activity in places that are not traditionally considered as workplaces - the home or the street (NSS Report 519 2004-05), and 75 per cent of the workforce is informal (NSSO 2005). If such large numbers of people find no place in the plan, how do they access land and services within the city? They get infrastructure upgraded through local municipal or councilor/MLA/MP funds, especially at the time of elections. This form of city building that is incremental, mixed use, and connected to everyday politics is the dominant urbanism (Benjamin 2010). The dominant urbanism is one that doesn't work through the DP but in opposition to it, clearly establishing the DP's limited relevance for the 'lived' city.

Planning acts typically require only the final draft plan to be published for suggestions and objections. Having little space to intervene during the making of the plan, challenges to the DP by citizens and political networks, therefore, manifest in a long-drawn out and conflicted process of planning that arises after the plan has been prepared. Sundaresan (2014) reports on how a group of citizens filed a Public Interest Litigation in the High Court of Karnataka questioning the rationale of the environmental plans, land use zoning strategy and traffic plans made by the Bangalore Master Plan(2005-15) for their neighbourhood. In 2012, the court cancelled the mixed land use strategy proposed by the Plan. Numerous such changes were made between the time of submission of the final draft of the Plan to the planning authority, the Bangalore Development Authority and its final approval two years later. On the other hand, the Corporation, that was responsible for plan implementation, selectively exploited greater construction rights granted by the new Plan without formulating appropriate building regulations that would ensure enforcement and regulation of this new construction (Mohan and Rajagopal 2010). The end result was greater construction, congestion and burden on infrastructure, problems that the new Plan was supposed to have addressed.

Arguably, the planning process with all its modifications can be seen as peoples' efforts to make the plan developed in an alien context more relevant to lived realities. This system is by no means a just one –it is shaped by and benefits economic and political elites disproportionately.

(contd. on page 36)

सत्यमेव जयते
Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
Government of India

Sabka Saat

68th In
15

Ek Bharat Shresht

th- Sabka Vikas

dependence Day
August 2014

सशक्त भारत की ओर
सशक्त कदम

h Bharat

davp 22202/13/0020/1415

(contd. from page 33)

Arguably, the planning process with all its modifications can be seen as peoples' efforts to make the plan developed in an alien context more relevant to lived realities. This system is by no means a just one –it is shaped by and benefits economic and political elites disproportionately.

Failure in Plan Implementation or Planning by Deregulation?

Most of the frustrations about the poor quality of life of Indian cities are seen to arise from planning violations. Slums populated by urban poor groups are seen to perpetrate such illegalities but they are not the only ones to benefit from illegalities. Globally, informal urbanization benefits middle and upper class urbanites and suburbanites much more than slum dwellers especially in the urban peripheries through informal plotting and sale of layouts (Roy 2009). Informality is thus, not synonymous with poverty (ibid).

Globally, informal urbanization benefits middle and upper class urbanites and suburbanites much more than slum dwellers especially in the urban peripheries through informal plotting and sale of layouts (Roy 2009). Informality is thus, not synonymous with poverty

Scholars writing on cities in India (Sarin on Chandigarh, Baviskar on Delhi, Benjamin and Nair on Bangalore) emphasise that the existence and growth of slums and illegalities of the middle and upper classes need to be understood not as 'failures of planning' but as an essential part of the planning process. Roy (2009) argues that rather than being about forecasting and managing growth, urban planning in India is about the management of land resources through ever-shifting processes of informality. She argues that India's planning regime is marked by deregulation (Roy 2009). Deregulation, as opposed to unregulation, indicates a "calculated informality", where the state deliberately withdraws regulatory power and this ambiguity shapes processes of urban development.

Kamath and Deekshit (2014) describe the case of reservations in Solapur, a town of nine lakhs in Maharashtra, to better understand how planning by deregulation actually works. In the Maharashtra Town and Country Planning Act, reservations represent an instrument whereby the planning authority can reserve certain lands for public amenities like schools or gardens and acquire the land in the public interest. If lands are reserved in the plan, then building permissions cannot be given for another use nor can the building be regularized if construction has been done. While in practice, the City Corporation rarely acquires or develops reserved lands as intended in the plan (usually citing lack of funds), politicians use the threat of putting reservations on land as a political strategy for winning support. The flexible use of reservations for political gain rather than the planning purpose of orderly development has meant that reserving, and in turn, de-reserving or cancelling the reservation become negotiable processes. This power enables control of the land market. On the ground meanwhile almost all reservations have been informally developed as slums or layouts with only 6-9 per cent being acquired by the Corporation. This informal development has been facilitated by matching needs: (poor) communities need land for housing, land owners/ developers want to earn money off reserved land that they cannot legally develop, and planners/officials profit from turning a blind eye to such development. The entire process reveals local actors' sophisticated understanding of land dynamics and their cognition of planning instruments as a resource over which negotiations take place.

A characteristic feature of the informalised nature of planning is the shifting relationship between legality and illegality. This is exemplified in the manner in which the state wields its power to decide that what is illegal today can be regularized and made legal tomorrow. It makes a distinction however between illegalities of the rich and those of the poor. The Akshardham temple on the banks of the Yamuna, has been regularized and celebrated despite numerous planning violations, while Yamuna Pushta, a large slum on the very same riverbank, was demolished citing plan violations.

A characteristic feature of the informalised nature of planning is the shifting relationship between legality and illegality. This is exemplified in the manner in which the state wields its power to decide that what is illegal today can be regularized and made legal tomorrow. It makes a distinction however between illegalities of the rich and those of the poor.

Such an understanding of the regime of planning in India strongly suggests that more such planning cannot solve the problems of Indian cities as planning itself is implicated in the production of such cities and their problems.

Planning through Projects: Becoming World-Class Cities?

Growing disillusionment with the ability of DPs to create orderly cities has led to experimentation with a new mode of planning: strategic project-based plans. Planning through (mega) economic and infrastructure projects aims at leveraging the potential of cities as growth engines and it is hoped, will lead to the formation of world- class cities. The Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), a central programme launched in 2005 for 65 selected cities in the country, epitomized such a trend. The Mission

required the preparation of numerous plans and the rollout of 23 governance reforms in return for getting finances for infrastructure projects. Needing funds but being hard pressed to prepare a City Investment Plan (CIP), City Development Plan (CDP), City Sanitation Plan (CSP), City Mobility Plan (CMP) to name a few, already weak urban local bodies (ULBs) have outsourced plan preparation to external consultants. While the CDP is supposed to represent a holistic vision for the city outlining strategic areas for priority and investment, it has ended up being a collection of individual projects that has little buy-in because it was not prepared with the involvement of the ULB or people themselves (Hazards Centre 2008). All the Mission plans constitute parallel planning processes that have no relation with the DP or each other and have no legal backing. They remain an exercise to get funds rather than to plan holistically for the needs of the city.

No attempt was made to understand the prevailing governance system and political realities of differently sized, capacitated and historicized cities so as to match the Mission to the needs of different stakeholders. In turn, states and cities have responded tactically to the Mission revealing resistance, subversion, negotiation and compliance where it suited their political and financial interests. Rather than a failure of implementation, these responses have to be understood as a political strategy by local and state level actors that have appropriated a mission planning process that gave them no role and was unsuited to their reality.

While provision of affordable housing and basic services to the urban poor was one of the major objectives of the mission, citizen groups and scholars criticize the JNNURM for not achieving this objective. Large infrastructure projects serving the better-off have received more funding than basic services that are exclusively targeted towards the poor (Mahadevia 2011). In many cities, infrastructure projects have led to eviction and displacement of slum dwellers and forced resettlement in the outskirts (Citizen Groups 2009;Mahadevia 2011).Similar to the DP, most CDPs do not plan for the informal sector.

Overall, the Mission has fared poorly in addressing its goals of providing infrastructure and reforming urban governance (Kamath and Zachariah 2013). The evidence suggests that this was because the Missions theory of change for Indian cities has been 'one-size- fits-all' in its imagination of what infrastructure and governance reforms are needed by different towns and cities and how they are to be provided to different urban dwellers. No attempt was made to understand the prevailing governance system and political realities of differently sized, capacitated and historicized cities so as to match the Mission to the needs of different stakeholders. In turn, states and cities have responded tactically to the Mission revealing resistance, subversion, negotiation and compliance where it suited their political and financial interests. Rather than a failure of implementation, these responses have to be understood as a political strategy by local and state level actors that have appropriated a mission planning process that gave them no role and was unsuited to their reality.

Conclusion

Clearly, new town planning, master planning, and more recent project-based planning have not automatically led to better planned or more livable cities. The striking commonality in these expert-driven planning approaches is the stark divide between the plan and the lived realities of those being planned for and the resultant challenging and modification of the plans. So how do we expand the outdated planning process to make it more amenable to existing structures of governance and political realities while achieving certain normative goals?

First, we need to rethink our understanding of planning based on actual practice. This involves conceptualising planning as a dialectic between technocratic and political dimensions: the static plan document prepared via a formal legal process and the dynamic and informalized process of planning constituted by back-room negotiations and outright challenges over allocation of development rights. This requires a dialogue between formal and informalised processes, not a sequential performance as happens now. It also calls for people and not just experts to be centrally involved in plan-making.

Currently the planning authority of ULBs, although mandated by the 74thConstitutional Amendment Act, has been usurped by parastatals that operate without public accountability. Elected representatives have no official role in the preparation of the plan (which is typically the domain of experts) while they are key players in the informalized planning process, negotiating exemptions and practicing deregulation. The lack of a formal role with executive authority gives them license to intervene without being held accountable and incentivizes individual action (whether problem-solving or rent-seeking) rather than seeking more enduring institutional solutions to urban problems through the ULB.

Second, we need to reverse efforts at planning that have been marked by centralization and depoliticization. We need to enhance the scope for decentralized, negotiated rule and broader and deeper public participation in the planning and land allocation process at the local level. Currently the planning authority of ULBs, although mandated by the 74thConstitutional Amendment Act, has been usurped by parastatals that operate without public accountability. Elected representatives have no official role in the preparation of the plan (which is typically the domain of experts) while they are key players in the informalized planning process, negotiating exemptions and practicing deregulation. The lack of a formal role with executive authority gives them license to intervene without being held accountable and incentivizes individual action (whether problem-solving or rent-seeking) rather than seeking more enduring institutional solutions to urban problems through the ULB. Planning is not a purely technocratic exercise but requires political involvement at multiple scales, from neighbourhood to pan-state, in order to address contemporary global realities.

Finally, we need to acknowledge that much of the city develops outside or prior to the DP and the DP cannot be the sole document that defines it. The DP and its process should not be used to reify boundaries between legality and illegality as interpretations of what is legal and illegal are subject to change and are unduly influenced by certain groups. Rather, it should focus on enhancing the functionality of the city. An important strategy for operationalizing this is to promote the viability of the informal sector. This will enhance the quality of life of many people as well as the growth of the formal economy to which the informal sector is closely linked.

Endontes

1 While applying this term to a highly populated country like India where there is little land that is not occupied/used by some group or other is a misnomer, this will not be dealt with in this paper.

Readings

Benjamin, S. (2010). "The aesthetics of the 'ground-up' city," in *Seminar*< http://www.india-seminar.com/2010/612/612_solomon_benjamin.htm >Accessed July 5, 2014.

Citizens Groups. (2009). "Half Time or Time Out: Citizen's Review- Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission- A Collective View from Below", Hazards Centre, New Delhi.

Eger, J. (2003). "Smart communities: becoming smart is not so much about developing technology as about engaging the body politic to reinvent governance in the digital age," in *Urban Land* 60:1, pg. 50-55.

Graham, S. and Marvin, S. (2001). *Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructures, Technological Mobilities and the Urban condition*. London: Rouledge.

Graham, S. (2002). "Bridging urban digital divides: urban polarization and information and communication technologies," in *Urban Studies* 39:1, pg. 33-56.

Greenfield, A. Oct 23 (2013). "Against the Smart city" <http://urbanomnibus.net/201310/against-the-smart-city/ >Accessed Jun 25, 2014.

Hazards Centre. (2008). "Challenge to Mission" Report of National Seminar on JNNURM, 21-22 Jun, Delhi.

Holland, Robert G. (2008). "Will the real smart city please stand up?" in *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action* 12:3, pg 303-320.

Kamath, L. and P. Deekshit. May 31 (2014). "Planning as Practice? Governing Conjunctures and Informal Urbanisation in Solapur Town," in *Economic and Political Weekly Review of Urban Affairs*, XLIX: 22, pg. 72-81.

Kamath, L. and Y. Zachariah. (2013). "How have the JNNURM and UIDSSMT programmes affected infrastructure and governancne outcomes in cities and towns in India? Reviewing the state of knowledge," Working Paper, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai.

Mahadevia, Darshini. (2011). "Branded and Renewed? Policies, Politics and Processes of Urban Development in the Reform Era", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol XLVI: 31, pg. 56-64.

Mohan, A. and C. Rajagopal. (2010). "Outsourcing Governance? Revising the Master Plan of Bangalore" Paper presented at the 46th ISOCARP Congress, 19-23 Sept, Nairobi.

Mukhopadhyay, P. (2011). "Formality and Functionality in Indian Cities," in *Seminar*<http://www.india-seminar.com/2011/617/617_partha_mukhopadhyay.htm >Accessed July 3, 2014.

National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector

Roy, A. (2009). "Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informality, insurgency, and the Idiom of Urbanisation," in Planning Theory, 8:1, pg. 76-87.

Shetty, P., Rupali Gupte and P. Khanolkar. Oct 28, (2012). "Gurgaon Glossaries" <*http://kafila.org/2012/10/28/gurgaon-glossaries-prasad-shetty-rupali-gupte-prasad-khandolkar/* >Accessed July 1, 2014.

Siemens Corporation. "Sustainable Buildings — Networked Technologies: Smart Homes and Cities," Pictures *of the Future*, Fall (2008). foryoutou.se/siemenstotal

Sundaresan, J. 11 June, (2014). "Who plans and who lives? Urban planning lessons from Bangalore – Part Two," *in <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/indiaatlse/2014/06/11/who-plans-and-who-lives-urban-planning-lessons-from-bangalore-part-two/* >Accessed Jun 21, 2014. ❑

(E-mail: elkamath@gmail.com)

Admission Notice — IAS/PCS 2014-15

GAURAV AGARWAL

RANK-17 — FAIZ AQ A. MUMTAZ

RANK-18 — ROMAN SAINI

RANK-19 — KOMAL MITTAL

RANK-31 — D. PADMAKUMAR

RANK-39 — NALINI ATUL

RANK-99 — KRISHNA ADITYA

RANK-107 — SANTOSH K. ROY

RANK-150 — SACHIN GUPTA

IAS-2012 — RANK-05 — RUCHIKA KATYAL

IAS-2012 — RANK-10 — ASHISH GUPTA

IAS-2012 — RANK-32 — RAJENDRA K.V.

IAS-2012 — RANK-94 — HIMANSHU SHUKLA

IAS-2011 — RANK-05 — GOPALA SUNDRARAJ

IAS-2011 — RANK-13 — NAMIT MEHTA

IAS-2011 — RANK-97 — NEHA ARORA

IAS-2011 — RANK-132 — JEYSUNDHAR D.

More than 140 Confirmed Selections in IAS 2013

GEN. STUDIES
(Mains & Pre-cum-Mains)
Foundation Course beginning from NCERT Level
Regular Tests & Personal Attention

HIS. & CULTURE
(Module for G.S. Paper-I)
Covers more than 175 Marks in Mains Exam
& More than 50 Marks in Prelims Exam

HISTORY (Optional)
■ SAFEST & THE MOST RELEVANT OPTIONAL IN NEW PATTERN. ■ ANALYTICAL, SIMPLE & PRECISE SYLLABUS.
More than 70% of History Optional has to be prepared compulsorily for GS Paper-I.

"Not just coaching, but complete preparation"

Under the Personal Guidance of

S. BALIYAN

NEW BATCHES COMMENCE 1st Sept., 2014 | *SEATS ARE LIMITED Admission on *first com e ... first serve* basis | Weekend Batches Available

DISTANCE LEARNING PROGRAMME
• Gen. Studies • CSAT • History • Geography • Sociology • Pub. Admn. • Psycho. • Philosophy • Pol. Science • Anthropology
• 6 Months Prog. • 1 Year Prog. • 2 Years Prog. • 3 Years Prog.

INSIGHT IAS ACADEMY
India's Best Institute for Civil Services Prep.

CENTRAL DELHI
102-103, Above UCO Bank,
Old Rajinder Nagar, New Delhi - 110060

NORTH DELHI
B-18, Above Axis Bank ATM, Satija House
Dr. Mukherjee Nagar, Delhi-110009

E-MAIL : insightiasacademydelhi@gmail.com
WEBSITE : www.insightiasacademy.com

011-45090051
09818333201
09871216382

YE-140/2014

Inclusive Growth through Efficient Urban Planning

Rakesh Ranjan

India can hope to realize its dream of a slum free India only if she rationalises its land use and goes a step forward: reserves land for affordable housing and allow higher FSI

A TEAM OF Indian urban planners were interacting with their counterparts in Paris. The planners in Paris were sharing their experience of building a multi-purpose community wellness - centre on a plot where a defunct railways yard was located. Our team members asked as to what was the statutory land use of the plot in their 'master plan' and how did city officials manage to change it. For quite sometime, our hosts could not understand the question- *Land use would be what the Mayor (an elected representative) decides in consultation with community*- was all that they kept on repeating. Now it was our turn to get surprised. How come their planning experts do not ordain a land use pattern? Isn't planning a rather technical exercise?

On another occasion, in Singapore while getting a briefing on their famous public housing programme which houses *more* than 80 per cent of their population – an Indian planner wanted to know as to how authorities in Singapore handle unauthorized squatting by people on public land. For our hapless hosts, this question was quite incomprehensible. *Success of our Public housing programme lies in the fact that it serves the need of its occupants as well as the overall requirement of the city. We take care of all segment of our population so why should someone squat on public land?*- was their reply.

I have used two extreme examples: choosing two cities, managed by relying on contrasting ethos, but nonetheless considered the best run cities in the world. Singapore respects its 'experts' who are well grounded to listen to the need of their citizens. Paris places lot of value on opinion of its citizenry and its experts decide the 'how' part of the management of the city leaving 'what' part to the community based decision.

India is increasingly talking about 'smart cities'. Irrespective of the meaning one attaches to this expression, it is clear that sheer scale of India's urbanisation is overwhelming, both in terms of challenges that it poses and opportunities that it offers. This paper argues that more than anything else, a starting point of our response to meet the challenges of urbanisation is to improve the way we plan our cities - specifically in two directions: Firstly, Indian planners need to listen to the communities and secondly, like any other socio-economic enterprise, India needs to take into account the signal given by market forces while planning land use pattern in cities.

Hereafter, the paper is divided as follows: Section one takes the

The author is Adviser, Housing and Urban Affairs and Plan Coordination in Planning Commission. He has contributed significantly in drafting the policies and programs for urbanisation for the 12th plan period including structuring and financing of urban transport projects like Metro Rail. He has been member of the Committee to suggest architecture of Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission and convener of Steering Committee for capacity building and urban planning. His another area of interest is promotion of affordable housing.

position that if India has to regain a high trajectory of inclusive growth, it is imperative that India plans for an efficient urbanisation and also strengthens the rural – urban economic linkages which includes investment in peri-urban areas. Section two explains why land use planning holds the key of efficient urbanisation particularly for promoting affordable housing and urban public transport. Finally Section three briefly points out the direction we may take.

Strengthening Rural Urban Linkage

Currently, in percent terms, around 31 per cent of Indian live in urban location which is low compared to many similarly placed countries: 45 per cent in China, 54 per cent in Indonesia, 78 percent in Mexico and 87 per cent in Brazil.[1] Many believe that India would be catching up fast and is set to urbanise at an accelerated pace.[2] There are projections[3] that by 2031, about 600 million Indians would live in cities.

This projected high urban population has many implications for Indian growth strategy but first, let us settle an important question. Should we welcome the accelerating urbanisation including rural urban migration or see it as a failure of policy which needs to be corrected? As observed by Dr. Isher Ahluwalia in HPEC report, correlation between urbanisation and growth is quite straightforward and has been amply documented as near universal international experience. Densification of habitation and economic activity generates efficiencies by exploiting economy of agglomeration. This allows for faster creation of wealth. If nurtured properly through appropriate policies and incentives so that *costs imposed by congestion do not nullify the gains of agglomeration,* poor may become partner to such wealth creation leading to inclusionary growth.

In a sense the increasing attention to urbanisation is a pointer to the unfinished agenda of the Indian growth story. Way back in 1954, when Arthur W. Lewis first published his "Lewis model[4]' of economic growth, at the risk of oversimplification, it may be said that the Indian quest for transition from a poor and subsistence economy to a rich and modern one in the period of a few five year plans got translated into two sub-goals: to substantially raise the rate of Gross Fixed Capital Formation (GFCF) to ensure expansion of the modern sector and to ensure transition of its surplus labour from subsistence sector to this fast expanding modern sector.

In a sense the increasing attention to urbanisation is a pointer to the unfinished agenda of the Indian growth story. Way back in 1954, when Arthur W. Lewis first published his "Lewis model[4]" of economic growth, at the risk of oversimplification, it may be said that the Indian quest for transition from a poor and subsistence economy to a rich and modern one in the period of a few five year plans got translated into two sub-goals: to substantially raise the rate of Gross Fixed Capital Formation (GFCF) to ensure expansion of the modern sector and to ensure transition of its surplus labour from subsistence sector to this fast expanding modern sector.

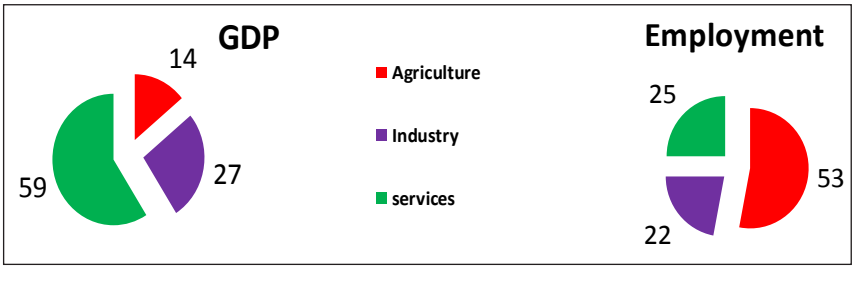
By 2014, India significantly raised its rate of capital formation. However, the pace of shift of its labour force from rural sector to Manufacturing and Service sector has lagged behind. As seen in the diagram below, while agriculture produces around 13-14 per cent of GDP, it provides employment to more than half of Indian labour force.

In spatial terms, while more than 60 per cent of GDP is estimated to be originating from the urban sector, 69 per cent of India's population still remained in the rural sector. There are a few straightforward implications of these imbalances:

a) The overall annual growth rate of Agriculture in 11th Plan was 4.1 per cent which is arguably one of its success stories. The 12th Pan targets for 4 per cent growth in agriculture. In contrast, the sectoral target annual growth rate for Industry and services sector for the 12th plan period is 7.6 per cent and 9 per cent. If poor in India wants to march towards prosperity, they should better take a fast moving train. While this seems quite obvious and a straightforward logic , even in fairly informed circles, migration away from agriculture is considered a failure of policy which needs to be "corrected".

b) Whether this transition away from agriculture means a rural urban migration or is there a scope of retention of this labour in high growth non-agriculture sector in rural area itself? This is difficult to answer. India is witnessing diversification of occupational structure in its rural areas as well. This also explains emergence of a large number of new census towns in the last decade.: these towns whose number increased by 2,532 between 2001-2011 (as compared to increase in number of statutory towns by only 242) have all the attributes of an urban area but are still not statutorily declared as town and have a rural governance structure.

c) Even though not all persons who shift away from agriculture become a migrant to city, many



of them do migrate. However, contrary to popular perception, so far rural urban migration accounts for roughly 20 per cent of increase in urban population: a relatively insignificant proportion. However, irrespective of position one takes regarding desirability of rural urban migration, a strengthening of this trend, especially due to shift by younger rural population seems inevitable. Hence Indian cities should be prepared for providing basic amenities to this rising population.

Secondly, the areas around cities, called 'peri-urban areas' which is likely to receive many such persons would also require major investments to create urban amenities. Thirdly, India would also require to build new cities, especially around growth nodes which would attract these migrants.

This also lead us to an important conclusion: a shift away from agriculture would require major initiative in ensuring that jobs are created in urban areas at a faster rate and migrating population are adequately skilled. This would also make it imperative to foster the rural urban linkages[5] rather than operating on rural versus urban framework. Failure on these counts would simply mean transformation of rural poor into urban poor and a rise in dissension among people in our cities.

To say that Indian cities deserve more investment and a better governance structure is nothing new. However, hitherto, the prime argument has been the dismal level of service delivery in Indian cities. While validity of such assertion is not questioned here, the preceding discussion *shows that case for efficient urbanisation is much more stronger from the point of view of achieving a faster and inclusive growth. In short, cities need to emerge as 'engine of inclusive economic growth'.*

Land Use Planning

What are the implications for urban land use if we have to ensure that fruit of our development is shared by the people nearing bottom percentile of our populations in terms of income? Before we examine these issues, it is perhaps essential to understand as to who these people are!

A simple answer is that we should concern ourselves largely with urban poor, enumerated on the basis of a poverty line. However, determination of any poverty is mired into controversy forcing Governments of the day to resort to easy option of de-linking target groups in a development scheme from officially determined poverty line. Fortunately, for an urban planner, there are easier options. All that she has to do is to note the attributes of relatively poorer household and attempt to mitigate their difficulties by ensuring that they have access to basic urban amenities.

...a shift away from agriculture would require major initiative in ensuring that jobs are created in urban areas at a faster rate and migrating population are adequately skilled. This would also make it imperative to foster the rural urban linkages[5] rather than operating on rural versus urban framework. Failure on these counts would simply mean transformation of rural poor into urban poor and a rise in dissension among people in our cities.

While opinion on what constitute an irreducible basic services may differ, in this paper, it is assumed that affordable housing, access to electricity, basic health and education, water supply, sanitation and reliable public urban transport largely determine the quality of life and ease of livelihood. Of these, rationalization of land use pattern is most critical for affordable housing and creation of an efficient urban public transport. This section concentrates on these two issues.

Affordable housing: A Technical Committee[6] headed by Prof. Amitabh Kundu estimated shortage of about 18.78 million dwelling units in urban India in 2012. 80 per cent of this shortfall is on account of 'congestion factor' i.e. households in which married couples do not have separate rooms. To address housing needs of relatively poor urban India, India has to rehabilitate its slum dwellers and take measures to augment supply of and demand for affordable housing. In both these tasks, a key factor for success of any strategy is to have an appropriate urban land use policy.

It is easy to understand why. A house is not simply a structure of brick and mortar. Seen from the eyes of the citizenry, this is a place from where they go for earning their livelihood, where their children return after school and where they look forward to realize their dream. Hence, while it is quite correct to emphasize that when India builds pucca houses for all by 2022, such houses would have electricity, water supply, sanitation and broadband, emphasis on location of such affordable house in a city is a matter of equal importance. Hence any strategy that ignores the organic relationship between livelihood and shelter is bound to give sub-optimal result.

This has many implications for urban planning. A slum rehabilitation strategy that disrupts livelihood by locating the slums on the outskirt of cities would fail. As long as land prices are absurdly high in urban India or the city Governments are unable to reserve land for affordable housing, no matter what we do, India would continue to face massive shortage in affordable housing segment.

Urban Public Transport

A quick search on internet would yield countless photographs of choked roads in Indian cities. In case you are not among the select few, chances are that your commute time eats up your most productive time. Alain Bertaud, a famous urban planner once rightly remarked that proletariat of today are those who have long commute time. The challenges in urban transport sector are well known. However,

(continued on page 44)

CL's hall of fame

Civil Services Prelims '13 cutoff - 241 (general category)

You can score as much as 190 out of 241 in GS-II (CSAT) itself

Many CL students did just that!

Only CL will get you to your Goal

CL id	Student Name	UPSC Roll No	CSAT Score	CSAT %age (200)	CSAT Score as a %age of CSP '13 Cutoff (241)
1988094	Abhishek Anand	225650	194.18	97.1	80.6
2699229	Raj Kamal Ranjan	220538	190.83	95.4	79.2
5619304	Srujith Velumula	044017	190	95.0	78.8
5619556	Sheikh Rahman	181495	190	95.0	78.8
5619239	Prashant Jain	322447	190	95.0	78.8
5619441	Ravinder singh	327293	190	95.0	78.8
494563	Sarat Thota	083223	190	95.0	78.8
5293707	Ashish Sangwan	011764	188.33	94.2	78.1
5597674	Ranadheer Allu	136150	187.5	93.8	77.8
2387378	Srikanth Reddy	188130	187.5	93.8	77.8
5619612	Garud Sumit Sunil	361061	187.5	93.8	77.8
2387056	Prateek Vamsee Gurram	164567	187.5	93.8	77.8
5597676	Muralidhar Kommisetty	033471	187.5	93.8	77.8
5597844	Arpit Sharma	103316	187.5	93.8	77.8
3013398	Vineet Kumar	241717	187.5	93.8	77.8
5293702	Ratendra Singh	006643	186.68	93.3	77.5
5099681	Pankaj Mittal	153106	186.68	93.3	77.5
3012296	Anudeep durishetty	123528	186.68	93.3	77.5
2387152	Prem Akula	539516	185.83	92.9	77.1
5597689	Akansh Dubey	020889	185	92.5	76.8
2387786	Narasimha Palasani	109847	185	92.5	76.8
3013337	Gowrisankar D	404474	185	92.5	76.8

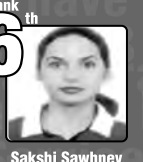
and many more...

Join CL for CSAT '15 and ensure your success

6 out of 10 top ranks in Civil Services '13

Rank 1st
Gaurav Agrawal
CL id: 3540934
(CL MBA prep student)

Rank 3rd
Rachit Raj
CL id: 1035692


Rank 6th
Sakshi Sawhney
CL id: 5293711

Rank 8th
Johny T. Varghese
CL id: 5293829

Rank 9th
Divyanshu Jha
CL id: 4088566

Rank 10th
Medha Roopam
CL id: 10017630

and many more...

80+* CL Students

have secured All India Ranks in Civil Services 2013

*result undergoing internal audit

Admissions open for
GS & CSAT '15 batches

/CLRocks

CL | Civil Services Test Prep

www.careerlauncher.com/civils

Contact your nearest CL's Civil Services centre for new batches.

Old Rajendra Nagar: 18/1,1st Floor, opp. Agarwal Sweet Corner, Ph- 42375128/29

Mukherjee Nagar: 204/216, 2nd Floor, Virat Bhawan/MTNL Building, opp. Post Office, Ph- 41415241/46

Ber Sarai: 61B, opp. Old JNU Campus, behind Jawahar Book Depot, Ph- 26566616/17

Ghaziabad: C-27, 2nd Floor, RDC Market, Raj Nagar (opp. Bikaner Sweets), Ph: 0120-4380996

Ahmedabad: 9879111881 | **Allahabad:** 9956130010 | **Bengaluru:** 41505590 | **Bhopal:** 4093447 | **Bhubaneswar:** 2542322 | **Chandigarh:** 4000666 | **Chennai:** 28154725 | **Hyderabad:** 66254100 | **Indore:** 4244300 | **Jaipur:** 4054623 | **Lucknow:** 4107009 | **Nagpur:** 6464666 | **Patna:** 2678155 | **Pune:** 32502168

YE-162/2014

while finding solutions, the attention is generally confined to investment, whereas a large part of problem is due to our urban planning.

The picture is from Delhi, accessed from internet. Our first impression is the sheer number of cars though public buses - purchased largely from Central grant under Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) are also seen. An investment based solution, very popular with many of our urban planners is to make a fly - over or broaden the road wherever possible. While such measures have their own usefulness, change in urban land use policy as a tool for solving India's traffic problem is often lost sight of.

Let us see this picture again and compare it with an important road in any smart city in the world. The density, measured in terms of allowable limit of construction, (ie Floor Surface Index –FSI in short, defined as ratio of built area to the plot area) along any important transport network in India is very low. Low FSI in general and lack of densification along major transport arterials affects efficiency in our cities in many ways:

Firstly, if population of a city rises, it expands horizontally. A 50 km drive to meet your relative or to go to work in a city like Delhi is quite common. A large city, besides diverting fertile land away from agriculture, *ceteris paribus*, implies a longer commute time.

Secondly, if cities are not compact, ridership of public transport decreases. Thirdly, disperse population means absence of last mile connectivity to a public transport. While in policy discourse, quite often, car owners are criticized for appropriating scarce road space, it is seldom realized that driving a car through choked street is no longer fun. People use cars because they have to. Hence failure of Delhi Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system is not because rich car owners supposed propensity to use personalized vehicles or because of narrow roads but due to

A quick search on internet would yield countless photographs of choked roads in Indian cities. In case you are not among the select few, chances are that your commute time eats up your most productive time. Alain Bertaud, a famous urban planner once rightly remarked that proletariat of today are those who have long commute time.

failure of urban planning. FSI, along the influence zone of BRT in Delhi is low and a majority of commuter needs to travel 2-3 km to use BRT.

Directional Points

All along section two, it has been asserted that a large part of problem in our approach to affordable housing and urban transport lies in urban planning. There are many ways in which urban planning can be improved. This paper recognizes two major flaws in our approach to urban planning so far: firstly, a systemic neglect of market signals while planning land use and secondly failure to engage with community.

A few caveats are in order. This paper does not question the technical competence of Indian planners. Neither does it makes any attempt to trivialize the technical nature of urban planning by suggesting that every land use pattern has to be determined on the basis of market signals or as per the desire of the community. Readers, would also immediately realize that a land use dictated by market forces may be quite different from what the community wants. This paper however, takes the position that while both market signals and feedback from community are valuable inputs in urban planning, in majority of the cases no attempt is being made to ascertain them.

What do market signals tell us? It is a common knowledge that if metro rail network passes through an area, the real estate prices shoot up. The price signal indicates that society places a higher value on properties connected by metro rail network. A relative increase in the value of land would dictate that land is more intensively used which in turn would dictate a higher FSI. While it is nobody's case that a society has to necessarily raise FSI along its metro network (there may be many reasons to not to raise FSI, for instance - aesthetics, environmental or security consideration), it does mean that failure to do so would lead to in-efficiency in urban land use pattern. It would also incentivise violation of building regulations and would raise the cost of monitoring and preventing them. A direct corollary of ignoring market signals would be a spatial mismatch between supply and demand of urban service. Another is a failure to integrate land use pattern with urban transport planning.

It is also important to emphasize that a careful reading of market signal also enables the city governments to generate resources. In Vadodara, until recently, the old bus stand was a dilapidated building located in the centre of the town. As the city grew, the land prices adjoining the bus stand became very high. However, local regulation mandated a low FSI and also a ceiling of 10 per cent of the land to be used for commercial purpose. Clearly the regulations were out of tune with the market.

An intelligent change in land use changed everything. Restriction of low FSI and ceiling of 10 per cent of plot area for commercial utilizations were removed. Without using any public fund, a new bus station with modern services was constructed which was financed by leasing out shop floors in the additional construction allowed over the bus station. The example clearly indicates that by using the market signal, city governments can devise land based financial instruments for innovating funding of urban amenities.

The upshot is that Indian urban planners neednot always remain in denial of the market realities. Rather, wherever possible, unless there is clear cut evidence of market being distorted or biased, efficient urbanisation is most likely the outcome, if we learn to work with the markets rather than opposing them through regulations. We need to change our mindset about slums. They are not examples of deviant behaviour of an urban poor, but an expression of rational response to market realities by slum households who, as per a recently conducted study[7] contribute no less than 7 per cent of GDP of a city. India can hope to realize its dream of a slum free India only if she rationalises its land use and goes a step forward: reserves land for affordable housing and allow higher FSI.

We now turn to the issue of public participation in urban planning and its management. After all, it does make sense to consult people for whom the cities are planned and schemes are launched. However, one can legitimately argue that planning urban amenities is a technical exercise, better left to technocrats. Absence of any effective mechanism for engaging community is another challenge. Further, it's a common knowledge that there is nothing like homogenous communities where we can get a clear cut answer. While there is some merit in all these assertions, none of them constitute a valid case for not consulting the community altogether.

Indian urban planners neednot always remain in denial of the market realities. Rather, wherever possible, unless there is clear cut evidence of market being distorted or biased, efficient urbanisation is most likely the outcome, if we learn to work with the markets rather than opposing them through regulations.

Under JNNURM, States were mandated to enact a suitable legislation for community participation. Further, cities were to draw a City Development Plan (CDP) through a participatory process. The idea was that this would automatically reveal the preference of the citizens and would ensure basic services to urban poor. However, barring a few exception, this is not what unfolded in reality. Penchant for quick technical solution among many urban planners led to preparation of CDPs without any worthwhile consultation with community. What is worse, in many cases, citing lack of requisite capacity, urban local bodies were not involved in this exercise. There is no wonder then that an ordinary citizen today considers 'master plan' of a city as a tool for regulation and control rather than a blue print for making a smart city consistent with their aspirations.

An improvement in urban planning in general and land use planning in particular along the indicated directions are pre-requisite for creating smart cities and maintain fast and inclusive growth. This would also allow us to prepare our cities to welcome the migrants so that we can reap the 'demographic dividends' which the providence has bestowed upon us.

Notes and References

1. Report of the High Power Expert Committee for Estimation of Investment Requirement of Urban Infrastructure chaired by Dr. Isher Judge Ahluwalia, March 2011.
2. The pace of urbanisation is a matter of intense debate. Firstly, since definition of what is urban differ across countries. On this count, many feel that India's urbanisation is understated. Many also point out that shift away from agriculture based occupation is taking place within rural areas as well and increasingly they are acquiring characteristics of urban areas despite being classified as rural. Kundu (2011) has demonstrated that, core of larger Indian cities are showing exclusionary traits and contrary to popular perception do not receive flow of migrants to the scale to which such engine of growths other wise would have done.
3. 12th Five Year Plan, Government of India, chapter 18, page 658.
4. Validity of assumption in Lewis Model that market signal do not work in traditional sector has been criticized. However, the sub-goals mentioned here are valid.
5. This also explains partly the emphasis of the present Government on what is being termed as 'rurbanisation'
6. Technical Group on the Estimation of Housing shortage, Ministry of Housing and urban Poverty alleviation (2012)
7. National Consultation on economic Contribution of Urban Poor: Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA),New Delhi, October 15. 2013. ❑

(E-mail:ranjanrakesh100@gmail.com)

Join No. 1 Institute for

INDIAN ECONOMIC SERVICE

WEEKEND BATCH : 17th Aug., 6 PM

REGULAR BATCH : 1st Sept., 6.30 PM

MAINS OPTIONAL ECONOMICS

REGULAR BATCH : 1st Sept.,11 AM

RBI Gr.-B (Mains)

WEEKEND BATCH : 23rd Aug., 6 PM

REGULAR BATCH : 25th Aug., 7 AM

GS : ECONOMY

• Pre-cum-Mains Economy • Basic + G.S. Paper-III

REGULAR BATCH : 2nd Sept., 3.30 PM

TEST SERIES & CORRESPONDENCE COURSE

IES RESULT - 2013

11 Selections out of 20

Rank 1st

Aparajita Singh

IES RESULT - 2012

09 Selections out of 31

Rank 1st &

AIR - 20 in IAS-2013

Saket Malviya

IAS RESULT - 2013

Rank 16th

Chinmayee Gopal

IAS RESULT - 2012

Rank 16th

K. Shashanka

IAS RESULT - 2011

Rank 8th

Harshika Singh

TRUST THE LEADER KALINGA IAS THE ECONOMIST

KALINGA IAS

77, Old Rajender Nagar Market, New Delhi - 110060

0-9211445520

0-9313684458

www.kalingaias.com

YE-143/2014

Sustainable Financing for Indian Cities

Anand Sahasranaman
Vishnu Prasad

...the failure to sustainably finance the provision of basic levels of infrastructure and service delivery in our cities will significantly hamper the nation'sability to reap the benefits of urbanisation and economic growth. Indian cities will, therefore, need to increasingly generate higher levels of own source revenue and efficiently use market based financing mechanisms to ensure minimum levels of service delivery

MUNICIPAL FINANCES in India are characterised by the constant tension between funds and functions of local governments. Cities in India have insufficient revenue tools to meet their expenditure requirements. While the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA) devolved a great deal of functional autonomy to local governments, a commensurate devolution of financial autonomy was absent. Out of the 18 functions to be performed by municipal bodies under the 74th CAA, less than half have a corresponding source of financing. Furthermore, most local governments cannot set tax rates or change the bases of collection without the explicit concurrence of state governments. The high degree of influence that state governments wield in circumscribing the financial autonomy of local governments is evident from the fact that some state governments have, at times, abolished important sources of own revenue for municipalities without providing adequate substitute sources of revenue such as when Rajasthan and Haryana abolished property taxes without consulting urban local governments, or when Punjab, again with no consultation, raised the threshold for property taxes so high that almost two-thirds of the properties were exempt from taxation. However, not all problems of municipal financing in India are attributable to the upper tiers of governments. Local governments have failed to utilise adequately even those tax and fee powers that they have been vested with, in particular by failing to put forth an adequate collection effort. For instance, the Thirteenth Finance Commission estimated that the collection efficiency for property taxes for India stood at 37 per cent, an abysmally low number. The very low levels of own revenue generation in Indian cities have precluded them from providing even the most basic public services to their citizens. For instance, 40 per cent of Hyderabad's population lacks access to direct water supply connections and 50 per cent of households in Bangalore do not have sewerage connections. While the thrust of Urban Policy in India has been on the metropolitan centres, the current state of public infrastructure and service delivery in India's small and medium cities is, if anything, even more alarming than that in the larger ones. For instance, in the small city of Srirangapatna in Karnataka, we find that close to 39 per cent have no access to garbage collection services and the road network backlog is close to 51 per cent.

Anand Sahasranaman is the Executive Director of the IFMR Finance Foundation, a policy research institution focused on issues of financial system design such as customer protection, institutional design of the financial system and sustainable financing for cities. His writing has been published in reputed academic journals and he has contributed chapters to books on banking in India, mobilising capital in emerging markets, and urbanisation. Vishnu Prasad works with the IFMR Finance Foundation and has been involved in shaping the policy research agenda on urban finance and customer protection.

The central question that therefore confronts us, in the context of cities both big and small, is that how can cities sustainably finance the development of public infrastructure to ensure service delivery that conforms to the laid-out benchmarks for all citizens in the next fifteen years?

Sources of Financing for Cities

There are two sources of municipal revenue, namely municipal own revenues and assigned or devolved revenues. Municipal own revenues are revenues generated by municipalities through taxes and fees levied by them, such as property taxes and water charges. Assigned revenues are those revenues assigned to local governments by higher tiers of government, such as the State Finance Commission recommended funding assignments. Local governments can also get funding for the execution of programmes situated at the central or state level such as the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGA) or state level housing schemes.

The central question that therefore confronts us, in the context of cities both big and small, is that how can cities sustainably finance the development of public infrastructure to ensure service delivery that conforms to the laid-out benchmarks for all citizens in the next fifteen years?

India's current urban infrastructure investment mandate encompasses two distinct requirements: first, to ensure that the current backlogs in infrastructure provision and service delivery are met sufficiently in the next fifteen years; and second, to meet all additional infrastructure requirements on account of growth in population and economic activity over this time. The Report on Indian Urban Infrastructure and Services (2011) estimates that Indian cities need to invest Rs. 40 lakh crore (at 2009-10 prices) on urban infrastructure over the 20-year period from 2012 to 2031. Bankrolling cities through grants and programs like the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) exerts considerable fiscal burden on upper tiers of governments. Considering the scale of investment that is required and the fiscal situation of both the central and state governments, this overwhelming fiscal dependence that local governments have developed on state and central governments is unsustainable. In this scenario, Indian cities will necessarily need to generate higher levels of own revenue through local taxes and fees, and supplement this with borrowing from the capital market.

Internal Revenue Generation

Any discussion of the financing options available to a municipality will have to begin with an understanding of the finances that it generates internally. This is because, at a fundamental level, the internal revenue generation of a municipality is a reflection of the quality of its governance, and the transparency and accountability of its administration. An assessment of the internal financing capability of a municipality is, therefore, a judgement on its governance standards. A better governed municipality implies better information availability, better assessment capability and better collection efficiencies that are then reflected in the quantum of revenues generated through internal funding levers.

The Twelfth Finance Commission indicates that total revenue of the Indian municipal sector in 2001-02 was merely 0.67 per cent of GDP, of which municipalities' own revenues constituted only 0.38 per cent. Not only are these small numbers by normative standards, they are also well below that of other emerging economies like Brazil which, for example, has municipal revenues at 7.4 per cent of GDP and own revenues at 2.6 per cent of GDP. Furthermore, there is a worrying trend of the declining ratio of own revenue to cities' total revenue from 63.5 per cent in 2002-03 to 52.9 per cent in 2007-08.

Property Taxes

Property taxes are the most important individual revenue source for municipalities. The Thirteenth Finance Commission estimates that property taxes collected constitute between 0.16 per cent and 0.24 per cent of the GDP. The issues they highlight include poor assessment rate of properties at 56 per cent, poor collection efficiency at 37 per cent and more fundamentally, the property valuation methodologies used.

The central question that therefore confronts us, in the context of cities both big and small, is that how can cities sustainably finance the development of public infrastructure to ensure service delivery that conforms to the laid-out benchmarks for all citizens in the next fifteen years?

A good property tax system is predicated on five pillars- identification, inventory management, assessment, collection, and enforcement mechanisms. The implementation of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to map all the properties in a city can have a huge impact on the assessment rate of properties as it provides the municipal administration a visual, spatial tool pinpointing the location of properties that are not in the tax net. GIS implementation by cities in India has been slow to take off, but cities such as Ahmedabad, Bangalore and Hyderabad now have GIS maps that are beginning to be used for property tax assessment. In fact, the Thirteenth Finance Commission also estimates that if all-India property assessment rates and collection efficiencies were both at 85 per cent, the revenues generated by property taxes would be 0.68 per cent of GDP, three to four times their current levels.

As far as assessment methodology is concerned, there has been some progress in reforming the system

in recent years with the advent of JNNURM, requiring reform of rent control laws. Therefore, some states have amended their rent control acts and redesigned their property tax regimes to a quasi-market Area-based system, which bases the value of the property on the location and usage characteristics of the property, away from the older Rental Value based mechanisms. It is essential that all cities in India are incentivised to move towards such Area-based systems, and ultimately towards a Capital Value based system, so that increments in land value can be better captured. This can make property taxes a buoyant source of revenue. The Thirteenth Finance Commission indicates that property taxes in OECD countries are at around 2 per cent of GDP, while those in developing and transitional economies are at 0.65 per cent. India, with property taxes at 0.20 per cent of GDP, has to move towards these benchmarks. Even at 0.50 per cent GDP, the property tax collection in India would be at a very substantial Rs. 20,000 crore as compared to the Rs. 8,000 crore currently. At OECD levels, this amount could approach Rs. 1 lakh crore.

It is essential that all cities in India are incentivised to move towards such Area-based systems, and ultimately towards a Capital Value based system, so that increments in land value can be better captured. This can make property taxes a buoyant source of revenue.

Another important aspect of the property tax regime in India is that property rates are, to a large extent, set by the state government and not by the city. This is not in keeping with the principle of decentralisation and effectively takes out the prime funding lever available to a municipality. Without property taxes, a city is essentially left with a heavy load of responsibilities to fulfil without any significant funding lever. In this context, it is instructive to look at the property tax regimes in similar developing countries such as South Africa that have mandated that the Capital Value System be used to value properties in all municipalities, and have also specified that all properties be valued every 5 years. This clear centrally mandated legislation has helped ensure that property tax rates and collections are controlled by cities, but within reasonable limits in order to prevent distortionary rates.

User Charges

A second major funding handle available to municipalities is that of user charges for public services such as water supply, sewerage and garbage disposal. These are goods that have a private characteristic, in that the benefits of these services can be said to be 'private' at the level of the household. Since there are no public 'spill-over' effects to contend with, levying user charges on these services is eminently feasible. However, revenues generated from user charges are abysmally low in India, as evidenced by the statistic that non-tax revenues from all ULBs amounted to 0.18 per cent of the GDP. In the absence of a user charge regime, cities are severely handicapped in their ability to provide even the basic minimum services.

For sustainable delivery of a basic minimum quality of a service, it is essential to charge user levies that cover for the on-going Operating &Maintenance (O&M) costs. Despite the fact that this has received considerable focus under the JNNURM, less than 10 cities have achieved full cost recovery for water supply and sewerage services, while less than five cities have achieved full cost recovery in solid waste services.It is pertinent to add here that, in most cases, cities have to get the approval of state governments for levying user charges and this hampers their ability to set user fee rates that they consider appropriate. Like in the case of property taxes, the power to levy charges must be in the hands of the city in order to incentivise improved service provision.

Periodic revisions in user charges are also required in order to recover the expenses incurred in service provision. But increase in user charges must also be accompanied by perceptible improvements in service delivery, in order to ensure that the fee increase is palatable to the paying public. Experiences in India and around the world have demonstrated that households are willing to pay for the availability of reliable and continuous services. Cities should be able to charge appropriate user levies and ensure that any cross-subsidisation be planned in such a manner that the overall O&M cost is recovered, even if equity considerations require that different segments of the population are charged differently.

Unless cities are able to generate much higher levels of revenue through property taxes and user charges, it is difficult to see how the mandate for higher quality public service delivery in India can be achieved. For instance, if Indian cities managed to attain the internal revenue generation benchmarks established in comparison to countries like Brazil, internal revenues generated would be seven times the amount today. Such an increase in the own revenues base would also mean that the relationship between own revenues and assigned/devolved revenues can be fundamentally altered by an order of magnitude: from a ratio of 1.3 currently to potentially 9 or 10. This, in many ways, represents the immense potential for growth of own source of revenue in Indian cities.

...households are willing to pay for the availability of reliable and continuous services. Cities should be able to charge appropriate user levies and ensure that any cross-subsidisation be planned in such a manner that the overall O&M cost is recovered, even if equity considerations require that different segments of the population are charged differently.

Leveraging Markets for Financing

Once the own revenue levers of a city are in working order, it opens up the possibility of raising funding from

debt capital markets. Internal revenue sources like the property tax and user charges are the most critical funding levers available to a municipality because without effective, predictable generation of internal revenues, it will be a tremendous challenge to attract new, external sources of funding. External sources, whether in the form of bank loans, bonds or other capital market instruments, will be available to municipalities only on the basis of the internal revenues they generate now and are expected to generate in the future. This is because, any debt is just an upfront source of fund which is predicated on predictable, regular repayments from revenue that the municipality is reasonably expected to generate in the future and therefore, cannot be thought of as an additional source of funding. Debt therefore, provides for maturity transformation, enabling longer term planning by cities. A municipality will need to demonstrate that it is capable of generating this stable stock of funds on an on-going basis before it can expect to attract external debt. Therefore, the internal sources of funding of a municipality need to be in good order prior to contemplating leverage by external, commercial debt.

It is important to realise that there is nothing inherently desirable about accessing capital markets for funds; if the central or state governments were able to guarantee low cost funding for all of a city's needs then naturally that would be the most attractive option for the city. However, given the reality of fiscal constraints on the centre and the states and the magnitude of financing required for cities, raising funding from the capital market becomes imperative.

Municipal Bonds

The idea of municipal bonds is not new to India. The 1998 bond issue by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation to finance water supply infrastructure marked the beginning of municipal bond market development in India. Subsequently, municipal bonds have been issued by Hyderabad, Chennai, Nagpur, Indore, Madurai, Ludhiana and Vishakapatnam among others. The introduction of tax-free municipal bonds in 2000 led to a slew of tax-free bond issues; more than Rs. 900 crore of tax-free municipal bonds were issued. The municipal bond market seemed poised for a substantial increase in issuance volumes, but this has not materialised, and part of the reason for this could be attributed to the JNNURM. Out of the overall sanctioned investment of Rs. 1.15 lakh crore under JNNURM, about 53 per cent came in the form of assistance from the Central Government, which while undoubtedly demonstrating increased investment in urban infrastructure, also illustrated the disincentive for cities to attract funding from the market. This rightly sparked concerns regarding the 'crowding out' of commercial funds by government money, as evidenced by lower levels of municipal bond issuances after the advent of the JNNURM. Programs such as JNNURM or the newly proposed 100 smart cities project need to explicitly require that grant funds be leveraged with debt from the capital markets, thus ensuring that scarce government resources are spread across many more critical public projects than would be possible if each project were to be financed completely or substantially using these grants.

The municipal bond market has also seen some very valuable innovation in the form of the pooled bond mechanism to enable small and medium sized cities that lack the requisite creditworthiness and expertise to access the capital market on their own. Pooled Financing enables a number of cities to come together and borrow under one umbrella and avail the benefits of economies of scale and credit enhancement, thereby allowing them access to the capital markets at a lower cost than if they had each attempted to access the markets on their own. Pooled Financing, as a concept, has been proven with successful bond issues in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. This concept has tremendous benefits in terms of helping smaller cities build capacities, improve the quality of their processes and systems and become stronger, more creditworthy entities. State Pooled Financing Entities (SPFEs) have been set up in a number of states to promote Pooled Finance issues, but most SPFEs are yet to be operationalised. There needs to be a greater thrust in ensuring that this market is active and smaller municipalities have the opportunity to access the debt capital markets.

There is also one piece of critical market infrastructure that is currently missing in the Indian context. A market making institution that provides guarantees and credit enhancements for municipal debt issuances. This institution could catalyse activity in the municipal bond market by adopting strategies such as: (i) providing guarantees on municipal debt to entice commercial banks to lend to municipalities, (ii) investing in lower rated tranches of municipal bond issuances, thereby incentivising private investors to invest in the higher rated portions of the capital structure, (iii) underwriting specific pooled bond issues and (iv) providing subordinate debt to a pool of projects raising bond finance. In South Africa, for instance, the Development Bank of South Africa plays this market making role using instruments such as credit guarantees. In the Indian context, an institution like HUDCO could become a market maker by reorienting its focus away from being a subsidised lender to large power and gas projects and closer to its original mandate of financing urban infrastructure. HUDCO can thus, on one hand, expose municipalities' true creditworthiness to the market and thus incentivising them to address their governance and service delivery issues, and on the other hand, can help attract commercial funds into investing in credit enhanced municipal debt as well as allowing lower rated municipalities to access the debt market.

In conclusion, the failure to sustainably finance the provision of basic levels of infrastructure and service delivery in our cities will significantly hamper the nation's ability to reap the benefits of urbanisation and economic growth. Indian cities will, therefore, need to increasingly generate higher levels of own source revenue and efficiently use market based financing mechanisms to ensure minimum levels of service delivery. ❑

(E-mail: Anand.S@ifmr.co.in
vishnu.prasad@ifmr.co.in)

ECONOMICS AT ITS BEST
IAS / IES / UGC

Score in Economics Option : Axiom IAS Pass-outs

Shaweta Dhankhad	392/600	(65.33%)
Neeraj Kumar Singh	379/600	(63.17%)
Arulanandan	363/600	(60.50%)
Ashima Jain	361/600	(60.17%)
Gaurav Agrawal	296/500	(59.20%)
Narendra Kumar	351/600	(58.50%)

IAS BATCH : 24th Sept., 2014
7 days a week
3.30 - 5.30 pm

Highest Score in IES Written Exam-2014

Nitika Pant 464/1000 (46.4%)

CIVIL SERVICES RANKERS

Gaurav Agrawal	IAS	2014	1st Rank
Ashima Jain	IAS	2007	7th Rank
Neeraj Kumar	IAS	2011	11th Rank
Debasweta Banik	IAS	2014	14th Rank
Chinmayee Gopal	IAS	2014	16th Rank
Tanvi Hooda	IAS	2014	33rd Rank
Surabhi Malik	IAS	2011	51st Rank
Nitin Singhania	IAS	2011	51st Rank
Rajan Vishal	IAS	2007	60th Rank
Kumar Amit	IAS	2007	75th Rank
Shaveta Dhankhad	IPS	2006	109th Rank
Narender	IPS	2007	155th Rank
Neeju Gupta	IRS	2008	221st Rank
Aishwarya Rastogi	IAS	2012	222nd Rank
Sanyam Joshi	IAS	2012	228th Rank
Nandessh Shukla	IRS	2006	238th Rank
Neha Sahay	IAS	2012	245th Rank
Swani Dikshit	IAS	2012	273rd Rank
Meenakshi	IRS	2006	319th Rank
Nandini R Nair	IAS	2012	389th Rank

and many more.....

IES Rankers

Bishakha Chakroborty	Rank 1	2010
Nikhila Menon	Rank 1	2004
Tulsi Priya	Rank 2	2014
Lipi Parija	Rank 2	2005
Nitika Pant	Rank 3	2014
Preeti	Rank 4	2014
Jaipal	Rank 5	2009
Sukhdeep Singh	Rank 6	2011
Divya Sharma	Rank 6	2012
Nidhi Sharma	Rank 7	2011
Sawni Dikshit	Rank 8	2010
Aarthy	Rank 8	2013
Shamin Ara	Rank11	2014
Rakesh Kumar	Rank 14	2014
Patiyush Kumar	Rank 14	2011
Abhishek Anand	Rank 15	2014
Bikram Nath	Rank 17	2014
Dinesh Kumar	Rank 17	2011
Vijith Krishnan	Rank 17	2013
Kirti	Rank 18	2014
Khayi Lalshingram	Rank 19	2014
Rahul Kumar	Rank 21	2011

and many more.....

IES/UGC BATCH : 24th Sept., 2014
7 days a week
12.00 - 2.00 pm

UGC JRF Pass-outs

Shaloo Choudhary | Dinesh Kumar | Pravin Saini | Chitra Verma | Renu Bala | Shridhar Satykam | Fiyanshoo Sindhwani | Sudhir | Vijith | Suraj Gupta

UGC NET Pass-outs

Nishtha | Mansi | Satinder | Kriti | Vikas Yadav | Dushyant | Ram Avatar | Priyanka Jhulka | Akshay | Harsimran Singh | Nitika Lal | Jitender Bhandhari | Jaipal | Dinesh Kumar | Neelam Garg | Shayequa | Praveena Dikshit | Nilotpal Bal | Nidhi Sharma | Swati Saklani | Kaushiki | Sanjit | Rohit Sehrawat | Aashirwad Parida | Vandana Kapoor | Krittika Tiwari | Bobhocha Singh | Rahul Sharma | Sumit Dua | Preeti Chauhan | Deepa Rani | Bipasha Kalita

axiom
a professor's academy for IAS

5/46, Old Rajendra Nagar, Shankar Road, Above Lotto Showroom,
Near Cafe Coffee Day, New Delhi 110060 Nearest Metro Station : Rajendra Place
Mobile: 09811881399, 011-28534042 E-mail: maheshlalwani@rediffmail.com,

Test Series
Every Monday
DIRECTLY UNDER
DR. LALWANI

Axiom's Postal Course in Economics (26 Capsules) Fee for revised postal course is Rs.15000/- Send Demand Draft, payable New Delhi.

Visit us at: www.axiomias.in

WEEKEND BATCH ALSO AVAILABLE

YE-139/2014

A Perspective for Slum Free India

Amitabh Kundu

It would be important to examine the framework of RAY in the context of land availability in the cities for the Mission, tenability of slums, eligibility of slum dwellers and their affordability (Kundu 2012). All these four issues have a direct bearing on the demographic growth in the JNNURM/RAY cities and the share of the poor in that, which would be a reflection of ``economic inclusivity and efficiency" of the cities

THERE IS A significant gap between conceptualisation and operationalization under Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY), a major programme of the central government designed with the vision of making urban India slum free. This had raised expectations in different quarters in different ways. The poor and the homeless, who had been harboring a dream of having some kind of a shelter since Independence, now hoped that RAY would turn this into reality. The real estate lobby, which had feared over more than half a decade that the housing bubble was about to burst, saw great concessions and incentives coming into this sector. Similarly, the banking sector saw a growth potential for their advances through benefits envisaged for housing loans. The most fascinated with the vision of slum free India was understandably the urban middle class and the elites. They were relieved that *their cities* would be free from the problems of law and order, unsanitary hygienic conditions etc., which are generally associated with slum dwellers and were not concerned whether this would happen through evictions or *in-situ* upgradation of slums.

RAY : Operationalisation & Framework

The content and stipulations of RAY need to be examined in the context of the pattern of exclusionary urbanization that has been ongoing in the country for at least the last three decades. The Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), serves as an effective reference point, in fact, the real starting point for RAY. The conceptualisation of the latter needs to be evaluated in the context of the demand to make the cities 'smart' and globally competitive. More specifically, it would be important to examine the framework of RAY in the context of land availability in the cities for the Mission, tenability of slums, eligibility of slum dwellers and their affordability (Kundu 2012). All these four issues have a direct bearing on the demographic growth in the JNNURM/ RAY cities and the share of the poor in that, which would be a reflection of ``economic inclusivity and efficiency" of the cities, as discussed below.

Land Availability and Tenability

The most critical issue in RAY is the need to make land available free of cost by the implementing agency. If any state or city cannot provide land free for the Mission, it cannot ask for

The author is Professor of Economics at the University of Wuerzburg, Germany and Senior Fellow at Delhi Policy Group, India and earlier a Professor at the Centre for the Study of Regional Development at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He has been a Visiting Professor at the University of Amsterdam, Sciences Po and Maison des Sciences de L'homme in Paris and University of Kaiserslautern. Currently, he is chairing a Committee for Housing Start Ups at the Reserve Bank of India, on Housing Shortages at the Ministry of Housing and Poverty Alleviation and on Post Sachar Evaluation at the Ministry of Minority Affairs.

funds from the central government. The point, therefore, is how a local body can obtain and provide land at no cost. One may speculate that since the slum-dwellers, constituting around 18 to 20 per cent of urban population, occupy only 3 to 4 per cent of urban land, getting this bit of land will not be very difficult. It would be important to point out that most of the slums are located in the central areas of the cities where land values are very high and there are strong vested interests to grab this land.

...when in the city Master Plan, the usage of certain land has not been defined and if there is no owner of the plot, it has been considered tenable. Many of the cities, trying to attract global and national capital, look at the issue of tenability from the viewpoint of profitability. They decide tenability by considering the value of land and declare only the low valued land within the city or its periphery as tenable

The allied question is tenability of land. Now, the guideline document for RAY mentions that the land in case of 75 per cent of the slums should be considered tenable and only in case of non-tenable slums, that should not exceed 25 per cent, the households will have to be relocated somewhere else. If indeed 70 to 75 per cent of the slum land is considered tenable, there should be no problem in finding land for the others since *in-situ* development would be the major mode of slum improvement. It would not be difficult to find land for the remaining 25 per cent of the slum dwellers since a large majority of them can be accommodated in the land of the 75 per cent slums that would be tenable.

The ground reality, however, is very different. At the city or the state level, no agency, whose land has been encroached upon, allows their land to be declared as tenable. They would like to reclaim it from slum dwellers for their own use or for fund generation. In practice, therefore, when in the city Master Plan, the usage of certain land has not been defined and if there is no owner of the plot, it has been considered tenable. Many of the cities, trying to attract global and national capital, look at the issue of tenability from the viewpoint of profitability. They decide tenability by considering the value of land and declare only the low valued land within the city or its periphery as tenable (Kundu 2012).

Lack of land availability and differences in the perceptions and definitions of tenability have made RAY a non-starter in several cities. This was the case with JNNURM as well. In majority of cases, the local institutions including resident associations pressurised the government not to acquire their land for the mission, citing the clause of non-tenability. In most cases, the implementing agency or the district level authority are incapable of resolving the issues regarding tenability due to strong vested interests at the ground level. The National Advisory Committee had advised that the District Collector should be in charge of resolving the matters regarding tenability. It would be impossible for the Collector to do that unless there are clear-cut guidelines from the central and state government, stating the criteria and specifications for tenability.

Statistics on slums available from the NSS can help in classifying them based on their characteristics. In fact, it should be possible to include a few distinguishing features of tenable slums in the forthcoming surveys of NSS so that their identification can be done on a more objective basis. Based on these data, it should be possible to argue that certain states, say Maharashtra, should on an average have 70 per cent slums as tenable. It would then be somewhat binding on the cities in Maharashtra not to declare less than the stipulated number of slums as tenable under RAY. The figure can be 65 per cent in some cities but would be 75 to 80 per cent in others. Since such norms have not been specified at national or state level, it has been possible for the local authorities to get away by declaring only 25 to 30 per cent slums as tenable. Unless the central and state governments specify a clear definition for tenability through the guidelines, this issue cannot be resolved at local levels and is bound to face legal hurdles. However, when it is resolved that 75 per cent slums in a state must be declared tenable, not much land can be usurped by the local authorities for generating resources. Furthermore, it should be made clear that these tenable areas cannot be given to private builders for their business.

Identification of Eligible Households

The questions of land availability and tenability refer to supply side problems while on the demand side, there are issues of determining eligibility of the households and their affordability. Indeed, eligibility for subsidised housing is a major point of contestation in operationalizing RAY.

Unless the central and state governments specify a clear definition for tenability through the guidelines, this issue cannot be resolved at local levels and is bound to face legal hurdles. However, when it is resolved that 75 per cent slums in a state must be declared tenable, not much land can be usurped by the local authorities for generating resources. Furthermore, it should be made clear that these tenable areas cannot be given to private builders for their business.

In a slum area, how does one decide who is eligible to get land title and a house. Many civil society organizations argue that one should do away with any criterion and anybody "present" in the slum should be considered eligible. It is well known that powerful land mafia operates in the slums and that it can put up non- genuine people to claim the slum land. It would, therefore, be important to specify the criteria to identify the eligible households. If the task is given to a government agency,

it will inevitably specify documents like voter identity cards, ration cards, Aadhaar etc. as essential requirements which will defeat the purpose of the Mission since many slum dwellers, despite being there for decades, have failed in obtaining these documents.

A commendable work was done in this regard by Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC) in the late 1990s, in collaboration with the state government of Maharashtra and Mumbai Municipal Corporation.

For operationalization of the survey, a cut-off date for the arrival of the slum dweller in the city would have to be determined, although this need not be fixed once for all. Such a survey process needs to be formal but participatory with some amount of flexibility with regard to the requirements of documents and procedures. More importantly, there has to be some kind of legal backing for such surveys through the involvement of concerned departments of the state and local government. The involvement of the local community would be equally important.

They had jointly prepared a list of 16-17 documents, to include items such as a letter received at an address, some land transfer papers, medical bills with an address etc. as worthy of consideration. In the absence of any of these, even 20 households identifying in a group meeting that a person has been living at a given place for a specific period was considered as admissible evidence. All this was done through a survey wherein, the officials from the municipal body, state government officials, civil society organizations and community participated. The representatives of the four agencies collectively signed the certificate, awarding the title to the land to eligible households.

For operationalization of the survey, a cut-off date for the arrival of the slum dweller in the city would have to be determined, although this need not be fixed once for all. Such a survey process needs to be formal but participatory with some amount of flexibility with regard to the requirements of documents and procedures. More importantly, there has to be some kind of legal backing for such surveys through the involvement of concerned departments of the state and local government. The involvement of the local community would be equally important. Unfortunately, massive amount of money has been spent on conducting slum surveys under JNNURM/RAY. Meetings were held to formalize the questionnaire for the survey and determine the list of documents that are to be considered admissible. Unfortunately, surveys were undertaken in several cities, for political and administrative reasons, without any finalisation of the list of documents or procedures.

Housing Affordability

Bankability of the Mission has been an important concern in the context of adopting an eligibility criterion. The Deepak Parekh Committee (Committee for Affordable Housing, Ministry for Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, 2004) defined affordable housing in a very open ended manner. It decided that a household should pay a monthly instalment, which at current prices, will now be about Rs.3000 towards repayment of the loan. If we take the much maligned poverty line of Rs.32 per day and update by a consumer price-index, the monthly income for a household of average size at poverty line would work out to be about Rs. 6,500, if we use city specific price-index for Delhi. For smaller towns, the figure would be around Rs. 5800 to Rs.6000. It is not a decent income but twenty per cent of urban households live under this precarious condition even today. These are the households that need immediate attention of the Mission and not those who have the loan repayment capacity of Rs 3000 per month.

Doing a backward calculation, it is evident that the genuinely poor households simply cannot pay this monthly instalment for the bottom 30 per cent of the urban population, Based on the 2009-10 data on consumption-expenditures of NSS, one can argue that the maximum monthly loan repayment capacity of the bottom 30 per cent of urban households could not be more than Rs.850 which is equal to almost their total non-food expenditure. At current prices, the figure would be revised to Rs. 1000. It is clear that requiring Rs.2800 to Rs.3000 as monthly payment would imply exclusion of the neediest. Undoubtedly, a monthly installment of Rs. 1000 would not give a reasonable dwelling unit in large cities, even when the cost of the land is taken by public authorities. If bankability of the mission is a major concern, the size of the covered area for the slum houses under RAY will have to be brought down to 120 square feet. In order to give the minimum acceptable area of 180 square feet, there has to be additional interest and cash subsidy.

...a monthly instalment of Rs. 1000 would not give a reasonable dwelling unit in large cities, even when the cost of the land is taken by public authorities. If bankability of the mission is a major concern, the size of the covered area for the slum houses under RAY will have to be brought down to 120 square feet. In order to give the minimum acceptable area of 180 square feet, there has to be additional interest and cash subsidy.

Exclusionary Urbanisation in JNNURM Cities

Considering the 65 big cities where the JNNURM was implemented, one would note that (a) there has been a slowing down in the growth rate of population and, more importantly, (b) the share of slum population in urban areas has gone down dramatically, as one would infer from the data of the Population Census 2011 and National Sample Survey (NSS) 69th Round. The fact of the reduction in the percentage of slum population needs to be seen in

the light of an increased 'sanitization of cities', which includes the eviction of slums and pushing these into the city peripheries. The demolition of slums that were in bad conditions and did not have the basic services would understandably improve the average quality of living in the slums and result in an increase in the percentage of persons having access to basic amenities. Also, greater access to civic amenities would be possible through relocation and peripheralization of the slums.

JNNURM, by all demographic indicators, has proved to be exclusionary for the 65 mission cities. Here, there has been a distinct decline in the growth rate of population as also in poverty. The rapid reduction in demographic growth of most of the JNNURM cities cannot be attributed to the declining trends in fertility or mortality. Part of the explanation lies in a reduction in the rate of absorption of the migrants in these cities. Further, one has reasonably reliable evidence from NSS that the percentage of poor has gone down significantly in the million-plus JNNURM cities.

Perspective for Operationalization

There is a growing recognition among planners and administrators that small and medium towns have more serious infrastructural deficiency and record much higher percentage of population without basic amenities than the larger cities. This should compel the policy makers towards addressing the deficiencies of electricity, water, sanitation facilities in these towns. The present thrust of JNNURM and RAY on the big cities must change. There is an urgent need to launch a Mission similar to JNNURM to strengthen the provisioning of basic amenities in small and medium towns. The 2011 Census has identified 2800 new towns, many among which have shown growth of non-agricultural activities and the potential for diversification of their economy. Unless some kind of infrastructural support is provided in these towns, they will not be able to compete with other cities and emerge as growth centres in future years and may even disappear from the urban scene. Providing infrastructural support to a large number of small and medium towns exhibiting growth potential, should be a major component of strategy for ensuring balanced spatial development in the country.

Given that conceptualisation and operationalization under RAY are going in different directions, there appears to be a serious communication gap between the planners at national and at city level. The land owning agencies at local level ruled out *in situ* upgradation almost totally. All land owning agencies in and around the cities declared their land under slum as non-tenable for one reason or another. The slum dwellers, on the other hand, did not want, and for good reasons, to get relocated outside the city. Given such ground realities, the national dream of slum-free India has become impossible to achieve. And yet, it is well known that if 60 to 70 per cent of the land can be declared tenable, two to three times the total population living currently in the slums can be accommodated by building 2-3 story apartments and better designing of the settlements.

There is an urgent need to launch a Mission similar to JNNURM to strengthen the provisioning of basic amenities in small and medium towns. The 2011 Census has identified 2800 new towns, many among which have shown growth of non-agricultural activities and the potential for diversification of their economy.

This Mission must operate within a participatory framework. The houses must be built through active involvement of the slum dwellers, as per their needs and affordability, backed up by government subsidies, although the role of private builders cannot be ruled out, particularly in large cities, where land is scarce. The latter, however, must not be allowed to build multi-storeyed apartments in the name of the poor and put that into market for sale. RAY has two basic components: one, housing, and two infrastructure and basic amenities. Unfortunately, under JNNURM, the balance between the two was not maintained and the programme for Basic Services for the Poor got transformed into multi-storeyed housing scheme. Understandably, these houses mostly were beyond the affordability of the poor and more importantly, such schemes could not be upscaled to cover the whole city due to limitation of resources.

If we believe that a serious attempt must be made to provide houses to the slum dwellers, free land must be made available to the Mission, the cost of housing must be subsidised up to fifty per cent and, above all, the size of the built up area must be realistically determined between 180 and 200 square feet so that loan repayment for the households becomes feasible.

Readings

Deepak Parikh Taskforce (2008): Report of the High Level Task Force: Affordable Housing for All, Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, Government of India, New Delhi.

Kundu, Amitabh, (2012): `` The challenges of making Indian cities slum-free``, *India at LSE,* The London School of Economics and Political Science, London, October.

Ministry of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation, *Rajiv Awas Yojana, Guidelines for Slum-Free City Planning*, Government of India, New Delhi. ❑

(E-mail: akundu.jnu@gmail.com)

Nine Transmission Projects Cleared

Nine new transmission projects at an aggregate cost of over Rs 12,500 crore have been cleared to fast track building of high capacity inter-State power transmission lines to benefit Harayana, Chhattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra by enabling high capacity lines carrying upto 2100 MW power each, apart from construction of new transmission substations. Approx. 28000 MW of inter-regional transmission capacity will be added in the next three years so that total capacity is enhanced to more than 66,000 MW by 2017.

IAS Mains 2014

ADMISSION OPEN

Selective Learning Programme

THE COUNCIL
GS SCORE

An initiative by:
S. K. Mishra, IAS (Retd.)
& Manoj K. Jha

Call us for more information
9953607114
9953595114

Ethics Integrity & Aptitude

- 30 Days Comprehensive Course
- 100 Case Studies
- Complete Coverage of Syllabus
- 4 Tests
- Comprehensive Study Material

Governance & Internal Security

- 25 Days Comprehensive Class

by **S. K. Mishra**, IAS (Retd.)

G. S. Mains Test Series

Programme includes GS Test, Essay, Answer Writing and Current Affairs

with **Manoj K. Jha**, **S. K. Mishra**, IAS (Retd.) & Team

- ☑ 20 Tests
- ☑ 4 Essay Tests
- ☑ 4 Full Tests
- ☑ Model Answer Hints
- ☑ Detailed Discussion
- ☑ Separate Module for Current Affairs
- ☑ Copy Correction strictly by faculties

Download Test Series Schedule: iasscore.in

Batch starts immediately after prelim examination

GS SCORE

Head Off: **Rajender Nagar**
Off. No. - 06, 1st Floor, Apsara Arcade,
Karol Bagh, New Delhi-110005

North Campus
870, 1st Floor, Dr. Mukherjee Nagar,
(Infront of Batra Cinema) Delhi-110009

www.facebook.com/iasscore

www.iasscore.in

YE-142/2014

Is India Ready to Plan a 'SMART' Urban Future?

Rolee Aranya
Chetan Vaidya

Landuse, infrastructure, environmental sustainability, social inclusion, risk reduction, economic productivity and financial diversity are only some of the aspects that need to be integrated for realistic and future proof urban planning. Planning education should take the lead in modifying practice in the profession, thereby facilitating long term institutional change

'THE GROWTH of India shall be written on the canvas of planned urban development' is the mission statement on the website of the Ministry of Urban Development, GOI. The recent Union Budget and the policies of the new government have once again established planned and well serviced urbanization as the chosen path to rapid economic development for India. Infrastructure, technology and 'smart' urban development has been put high on the agenda of growth. At the same time, the budget aims to tackle the issues of housing and housing finance for economically weaker groups in urban areas. All legitimate priorities, but the key question to be raised is whether the country has the kind of planners who can envisage and facilitate an urban growth encompassing both the need for modernization and the abject urban poverty that is evident in our cities.

The 'failure' of urban planning in India is an often repeated subject of discussion round board room and living room tables alike. The everyday experience of overcrowded, chaotic and polluted cities with failing infrastructure and inaccessible governance institutions makes urban planners a natural scapegoat for blame. The solution then lies in better 'future proofing' or making plans that cater to real projections of growth and with an equitable and fair planning for all. Future proofing in this context means plans that reflect the needs of the future in a realistic and reliable manner, while being representative of the challenges of the present. A tall order for planners considering the challenges facing them.

The Challenge of Large Numbers

According to the Census of 2011, 65 million urban dwellers live in slums or substandard housing which is not fit for human habitation. Which means every one in five urban resident is deprived of basic infrastructure and a decent standard of living. The Census of 2011 also reports that for the first time since independence, the growth rate of urban areas in India has been higher than in rural areas – 32 per cent (377 million people) of India now lives in urban centers and the number is growing at a decadal growth rate of 31-32 per cent since 1991. The slum population on the other hand, had a decadal growth rate of 37 per cent since 2001.

A recent report on Indian urban infrastructure and services (HPEC Report, March 2011) finds that there is a backlog of 50 – 80 per cent in investment on urban infrastructure in most cities in India. The estimated investment required in urban infrastructure is of the tune of Rs. 39.2 lakh crores in the period 2012 – 31. This accounts for increasing the spending on urban infrastructure from 0.7 per cent in 2011 -12 to 1.1 per cent by 2031-32. The report goes on to say

Rolee Aranya is Associate Professor of Globalisation and Urban Development, Department of Urban Design and Planning, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway. Chetan Vaidya is Director, School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi.

that the backlog of investment is not only in terms of physical infrastructure but the need for upgrading governance and service delivery in urban areas.

Informality and Inequity

The Indian economy, not least the urban Indian economy is predominantly 'informal'. Definitional differences aside, the now dissolved National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS) estimated in 2009 that 86 per cent of the employment in the nation was in the unorganized/informal sector in 2004-05. With such a large share of urban employment in the informal and unorganized sectors, most urban development takes place outside the domains of the formal and planned city. Informal land markets, construction and unregulated spatial development are the order of the day. The divisions between the formal and the informal are further intensified by the income inequalities and the lack of entitlements that comes with formal employment. The UN Habitat reports that urban inequality in India rose from 34 to 38 per cent (Gini Index based on consumption) in the period 1995 to 2005 (UN Habitat, 2010).

Climate Change and Disasters

Inequality and poverty makes urban Indians even more vulnerable to the risks posed by the increasing occurrence of man-made and natural disaster. A World Bank report on Cities and Climate Change (World Bank, 2010) estimated that India has the second highest population (30 million) living in Low Elevation and Coastal Zones (LECZ) that will be at risk as sea levels rise due to climate change. The highest population at risk is in China with almost 80 million people living in LECZ. It is estimated that 70 per cent of India's population is at risk to floods and 60 percent susceptible to earthquake, making it the most disaster prone country in the world (UNDP, 2014). The risk levels are higher in urban areas owing to density and overcrowding.

Legacy of Physical Planning

Three recent and significant reports on the status and expected growth of cities in India viz. Mc Kinsey Global Institute's India's urban awakening 2010, HPEC Report on Indian Urban Infrastructure and Services 2011 and the Ministry of Urban Development's National Mission on Sustainable Habitat Report (NMSH), 2010 concur on the key institutional challenges for urban planning in India. All three reports conclude that urban planning in India is plagued with fragmentation, centralization and an outdated focus on land-use planning. The fragmentation starts with the separation of the Ministries dealing with Urban Development, Housing and Poverty Alleviation. Despite the intentions of the 74th Constitutional Amendment, 1992 the function of making plans has still not been decentralized to ULBs, making planning a technical exercise conducted by State planning authorities and departments. Integration of the siloed and mainly physical Master Plans with other infrastructure plans, especially transport is rudimentary. Implementing line agencies of the State have little or no input to the land use plans being made. Social development goals such as housing for the poor, health, education etc. are planned by the respective Departments, not coordinated within the Master plans. The Government's initiatives through programmes such as the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) is a step in the right direction but still a long way to go for achieving decentralized and integrated planning by ULBs.

It is important to stress here that a 'SMART CITY' model for India cannot be limited to the high tech avatar being implemented in Europe and South East Asia. A 'smart' urban future for India would have to be technologically advanced, socially inclusive and economically diverse.

What kind of planner is needed for planning sustainable and prosperous cities?

As the new government envisions a 'smart' urban future for India, it is perhaps the right juncture in time to reflect on the challenges we start with and the capacity needed for future proofing our cities. It is important to stress here that a 'SMART CITY' model for India cannot be limited to the high tech avatar being implemented in Europe and South East Asia. A 'smart' urban future for India would have to be technologically advanced, socially inclusive and economically diverse.

Generalists vs. Specialists

But the key question is what kind of planners do we need for such a complex task and what kind of plans should be made? While the latter is an important discussion, we concentrate on the first issue in this article. Planning education in India, which has its origins in the British and American Town and Country Planning education, has always struggled with the conundrum of the Generalist versus the Specialist. After independence, when the first Town Planning Acts were enacted, the role of planners was confined to State and City level Planning Authorities for the preparation of primarily land-use plans called Master Plans, at city level, and Zonal Plans at sub city level. The planner was seen as a technocratic expert who would be trained in the preparation of these plans with an ability to understand and incorporate inputs from multisectoral actors from the implementing line agencies. We define this role as that of 'Generalist Landuse Planner'. Until liberalization of the economy in 1991, the function of urban planning was mainly the domain of State agencies. However, retraction of public functions especially from sectors such as housing and land development after liberalization opened up the field for a wide and diverse range of actors. Private property developers, public private partnerships, international real estate players, professional consultancies, single window industrial development agencies, private service and infrastructure providers and civil society actors such as NGOs and INGOs are just some of the stakeholders in urban development – all of which employ and work with planners. While all these stakeholders influence the course of urban development, public planning agencies still make 5 – 10 year Master Plans. This form

of landuse planning has long been abandoned in most parts of the world and liberalized nations such as the UK and Netherlands have completely abandoned the practice. Instead, strategic and multisectoral plans are made that guide physical development. Physical planning is done by private landowners/developers, negotiated with ULBs on a project basis. The only city level planning that takes place is integrated landuse and infrastructure planning that determines landuse and urban structure at a very large scale. The planner in such a multi sectoral and interdisciplinary system takes on varied roles from the 'Strategic Planner' to the 'Technical Professional Planner', 'Project Planner' to the 'Urban Manager' and the 'Advocacy Planner' who represents the interests of the weakest in society.

State, Market and Civil Society Planners

The 74th Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 (CAA) aims at decentralizing the function of urban planning form the State to the lowest level of ULBs also known as the 'third tier'. The 74th CAA only 'recommended' the decentralization of functions listed in the 12th Schedule of the Constitution – of which urban planning is one. As a result, the CAA has only been partially implemented by State Governments and almost no financial devolution has taken place. The JNNURM and other programs for capacity building of ULBs have been a step in the right direction, but the majority of ULBs still lack the human resources for undertaking planning on full scale. Public Private Partnerships have been explored as an option for boosting capacity of ULBs but weak revenue sources and no real financial devolution makes it unviable for market actors. As recommended by the three key reports mentioned earlier, there is an immediate need for restructuring the institutional structure for planning and bringing the responsibility of planning down to the lowest level of elected government.

According to the Census of 2011, there are 7000 certified towns, 626 districts and 6,00,000 villages. If the 73rd CAA (dealing with decentralization of functions to Village Panchayats) and the 74th CAA would be implemented in its entirety, then planners would be needed at each ULB in addition to the higher tiers of Government. At present, even State planning departments and national planning institutions suffer from the lack of qualified planning professionals. According to the Institute of Town Planners of India (ITPI), an institution that accredits professional planners in India had 2,899 Associate Members in 2013. It is estimated that the total number of planners may be about 5,000. Using the latter figure, there are only 1.32 planners per 100,000 urban dwellers. This low figure is comparable to the poorest countries in Africa such as Uganda, Mali and Tanzania (UN Habitat, 2013). Developed countries such as the United Kingdom have 37.63 planners for every 100,000 population (ibid, 2013). As is evident, there is a huge shortfall of planners in the nation at various levels of the State institutional structure.

Another key aspect for the efficient running of cities is that of implementation and monitoring of the implementation of plans. This aspect of the 'management' has been highlighted by the HPEC Report which calls for the training of Urban Management specialists through the setting up of four national level schools of urban management. The key role of urban managers would be to focus on the coordination and collaboration between service delivery agencies, private infrastructure providers and civil society organizations. The role of urban managers would become even more critical in the 'Smart Cities' envisaged with a high level of technological infrastructure to be integrated physically and institutionally in existing cities.

However, planners are not just employed in public institutions; on the contrary, the most attractive working environments have been in the private sector. With Public Private Partnerships and the active involvement of private actors in urban planning and development, especially in real estate and infrastructure, planning professionals have become invaluable to the market and public sector alike. With an ever increasing demand from the private sector, cash constrained ULBs would have a tough job competing for scarce human resources within this field. This has two implications – one in terms of the number of planners that need to be educated but more importantly the kind of planners.

There is an immediate need to see the professional role of planners beyond the traditional one of landuse and physical planning. The focus on integrated land-use and infrastructure planning, capability of working with a project based approach as opposed to the long term and large scale planning, knowledge and skills for inter organizational coordination as well as awareness of financial and management aspects of plan implementation are critical for planners, irrespective of their chosen sector of employment. An emerging area of priority for public planning and an investment opportunity for the market is that within affordable housing. As highlighted by the MGI report, this is likely to require both professional and financial resources, if the large housing gap in the country has to be addressed.

In an emerging economy with large inequalities and limited resources, the role of civil society organizations is critical. The 'third sector' as it is called, fills a gap in the delivery of services to those outside of the formal networks of governance as well as a representative of the interests of the marginalized in these formal networks. The Right to Information Act and the Public Interest Litigations are two instruments that have been used extensively by Civil Society organizations for the protection of interests of specific groups as well as the demand for transparency from the State. Planners working in such organizations function as 'advocacy planners' – taking moral and value based positions in society and upholding the rights and interests of those that are marginalized/disenfranchised by the formal institutions. However, given the scale of informality and inequality in our cities, inclusive planning with an active involvement of both the market and civil society will be essential for a sustainable and 'smart' urban future.

Status of Planning Education in India

Town Planning Education in India started in mid 1950s. This was Master's or equivalent mainly for architects, engineers and later for Post Graduates in Geography, Economics and Sociology. Bachelor of Planning (B. Plan) course was initiated about 25 years ago. At present, 18 institutions offer Master of Planning and another eight institutions offer B. Plan courses - 200 B Plan seats and 500 seats for Master of Planning are available at these 18 institutions. Specialization are offered in Master of Planning levels such as urban and regional, transport, housing, infrastructure and environmental planning. At present, India has 5,000 planners and it needs 1,60,000 planners by 2031 (Committee of Experts in Town Planning and Architecture for Policy on Education, Chaired by Mr. E.F.N. Riberio, 2011). Thus on an average, India needs 8,000 planners every year over next 20 years.

The Institute of Town Planners of India has prepared model curriculums for Bachelor and Masters level degree programs in Planning. The Bachelor of Planning is a four year program that covers an impressive range of 40 interdisciplinary subjects that are intended to educate planners that can function in diverse environments. Yet the practical component of the program is still geared towards mainly physical planning, training students to prepare landuse plans at various geographical scales – Site Plans, Zonal Plans, Master Plans etc. The specialized Masters/ MTech curriculum takes graduates from various disciplines and offers a two year specialization in a chosen field of Planning.

Another aspect worth highlighting is the theory – skill balance in the programs. Although both the Bachelor and Master programs are designed with a Problem Based Learning approach and learning by working with real life projects as the Studio exercises, the core teaching is mainly oriented towards theoretical knowledge of a wide range of subjects. There is a need to reexamine the skill dimension of planning education, especially with the large anticipated demand of public planners that will be dealing with practical planning tasks within ULBs.

It can also be questioned if University level education in planning is the only way of increasing the human resources in the profession. Vocational education and continuing education programs for professionals already working in planning institutions could be a more resource efficient manner to increase capacity. In Norway for example, planning education is offered both at university level but also in what are called 'tertiary vocational schools' which are the equivalent of the technical polytechnics in India.

Way Forward

In conclusion, we identify the following key ideas that should guide planning education in India:

At present India has 5,000 planners and it needs 1,60,000 planners by 2031 (Committee of Experts in Town Planning and Architecture for Policy on Education, Chaired by Mr. E.F.N. Riberio, 2011). Thus on an average, India needs 8,000 planners every year over next 20 years.

1. More urban planners – The volume of planners being produced in our education institutions have to be increased to keep up with the demand. These educational institutions may be public or private but a strict quality control of education is necessary.
2. Planners for the State, Market and Civil Society – There is need for recognition of the three sectors and the variation in roles planners are employed in. Planning education needs to be diversified accordingly.
3. Educate planners at all levels of ULBs – Decentralization of the functions of planning according to the 74th CAA is inevitable and planning education will have to respond with training planners for a varied level of skills required within the three tier system envisaged.
4. Balance Generalist and Specialist planners – Planning education and curriculums would have to reevaluate the mix of knowledge being imparted to train both Generalist and Specialist planners. The critical discussion of the theoretical versus skill based training is also necessary in this regard.
5. More urban managers – With the importance of infrastructure and the multiplicity of actors involved in urban development, the management aspect of planning is essential for efficient and effective urban governance. Specialized urban managers need to be educated to take on these roles.
6. Expand the scope of planners from physical to integrated planning – Landuse, infrastructure, environmental sustainability, social inclusion, risk reduction, economic productivity and financial diversity are only some of the aspects that need to be integrated for realistic and future proof urban planning. Planning education should take the lead in modifying practice in the profession, thereby facilitating long term institutional change.

The profession of planning is entrusted with upholding the 'common good' of society. While the academic community debates extensively on what this common good entails in these post liberal times, the value laden and moral responsibility of planning is undeniable. In the coming years, planning education in India has the responsibility to train professionals that carry with them the ethos of the common good and can enable the realization of a 'smart' urban future for all rather that 'smart cities' for the few.

Readings

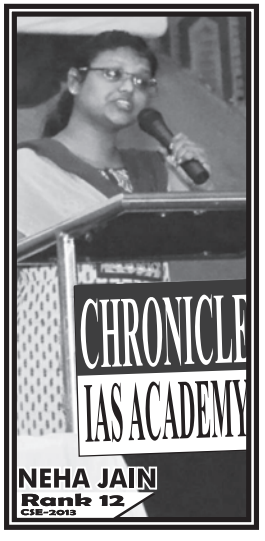
Census of India (2011a) Rural Urban Distribution of Population, Provisional Population Totals, 2011

Census of India (2011b) Housing Stock, Amenities and Assets in Slums, 2011

HPEC (2011) Report on Indian Urban Infrastructure and Services, High Powered Expert Committee for Estimating the Investment requirements for Urban

(continued on page 62)

125+ Selections this year from CHRONICLE IAS ACADEMY



From G.S. Classroom Programme

One of The Highest Scorer in G.S. – 400 Marks

Cracked IAS in First Attempt

Chronicle guided me to my Success

I express my sincerest gratitude for the kind help provided by Chronicle in GS Preparation. I had a very positive and enriching experience at Chronicle, and I found its classes and faculty to be very helpful during my preparation. Chronicle played a very crucial role in my success, especially with regards to my GS preparation. It offers a pro-planned fixed routine and usually stays true to the original schedule. As a member there, I felt a personal touch to the guidance process.

.....Neha Jain
Rank 12, CSE-2013

GS Mains'14

Exclusive Programme for 1000 Marks

- Customized Specially for Mains Aspirants • Catering to all 4 papers of GS (Mains)
- Designed as per the latest UPSC trends and pattern • Regular testing evaluation
- Supplemented with comprehensive study material • Limited Batch Size

Starts 1 Sept.

Mains Test Series

- Total No. of Tests 16 (8 Sectional-Revision Tests & 8 Comprehensive Mock-UPSC Tests)
- Test plan facilitates 'Demand based supply' to cover whole syllabus according to the dynamic pattern of Mains Examination • All Test will be based on Changing Nature and Pattern of questions being asked by UPSC and will be conducted under examination setting on weekly basis at the institutional venues
- Discussion session for in-depth explanation of answer of every question by Subject Experts supplemented by Chronicle Research Team

Admission Open

Essay for IAS

Approach: Write to Learn, Learn to Write

Objective: Inculcating Writing Competency in Essay for IAS, which is different from English Essays of School & Colleges

Features: Essay - Write to Learn(Tests) Sessions- 10 Essay- Learn to Write(Test Discussion)

Sessions: 10 Personal One to one Interaction session to fulfil specific competitive needs of the students

Under Guidance by Vikash Ranjan

Hostel/P.G. Facility Assisted

Call: 9953120676 • 9582948819 • 8800495544

SMS: "CAMPUS YE" to 56677

Visit : www.chronicleias.com

Rajinder Nagar • North Campus • Noida

24 Years of Guiding Success
CHRONICLE IAS ACADEMY
A Civil Services Chronicle Initiative

YE-138/2014

(continued from page 60)

Infrastructure Services, Minstry of Urban Development, GOI

McKinsey Global Institute (2010) India's urban awakening: Building inclusive cities, sustaining economic growth, Mc Kinsey and Company, India

NCEUS (2008) Contribution of the Unorganised sector to GDP Report of the Sub Committee of a NCEUS Task Force, National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector, New Delhi

NMSH (2010) Report of the National Mission on Sustainable Habitat, Minstry of Urban Development, Government of India.

UN Habitat (2010) State of the World's Cities Report: Cities for All: Bridging the Urban Divide State of the World's Cities, UN Habitat, Nairobi

UNCHS (2003) Global Report on Human Settlements: The Challenge of Slums, UN Habitat, Nairobi.

UNDP (2014) Disaster Risk Reducction, Web Site, UNDP India Accessed at http://www.in.undp.org/content/india/en/home/ourwork/crisispreventionandrecovery/overview.html on 08.08.2014

World Bank (2010) Cities and Climate Change: An urgent agenda, Urban Development Series, Knowledge Papers, Washington DC. ❑

(E-mail: rolee.aranya@ntnu.no c.vaidya@spa.ac.in)

FTS TO BE LAUNCHED IN ALL STATES

The Ministry of Rural Development will be installing a File Tracking System in all states to track files which hold requests for various proposals. Under the new system, a node and a password would be given to all the rural development secretaries who would be able to log into the FTS and see the status of their files. A state can see only its own request and not that of any other state. A number of welfare schemes like NREGA and National Rural Livelihood Mission involve heavy funding with a large number of beneficiaries, which have to be cleared by the Rural Development Ministry. The procedural delays often result in problems for the state governments and the beneficiares. This facility is expected to solve the problem of procedural delays, especially with relation to such schemes. ❑

WORLD'S TALLEST BRIDGE IN MANIPUR

The world's tallest bridge is coming up in Noney in the north eastern state of Manipur. The 141 meter tall bridge will be built by the NF Railway Construction Organisation. This bridge will be higher than the presently tallest bridge Mala-Rijeka viaduct on Belgrade-Bar railway line in Europe at 139 metres. This proposed bridge in Manipur is part of the 111 Km long Jiribam–Tupul–Imphal railway line linking the capital of Manipur with the Broad Gauge network of the country. This railway line will pass through steep rolling hills of Patkai region and eastern trail of the Himalayas. Jiribam, a small town of Manipur near Assam –Manipur border, is situated at 37m above the Mean Sea Level and the capital city Imphal is situated at 780m above MSL. The bridge will also pass through the deep gorges and over many rivers flowing at low ground levels. For this, 46 tunnels measuring a total of 54.5 Km in length and tall bridges are to be constructed to maintain a suitable gradient for efficient operation of railway. The length of the longest tunnel will be 4.9 Km between Jiribam–Tupul and 10.75 Km between Tupul–Imphal section. The high mountains are to be joined by constructing tunnels and the deep river gorges between the mountain ridges will be connected by tall bridges. The bridge near Noney, about 700metre long will be the tallest traversing though the gorge. The first phase of this project starting from Jiribam to Tupul (covering a distance of 84 Kms including this bridge) will be completed by March 2016. ❑

YOJANA

Forthcoming Issues

October 2014 & November 2014

October

Informal Sector (Special Issue)

November

Technology, Innovation & Knowledge Economy

Geography IAS 2014 MAIN

Neetu Singh

For the **9th,** Consecutive year our institute has maintained the set trends of **Highest Marks** & **Highest Result** attainment in UPSC examination.

2013 UPSC Final Result, includes **5th** , **7th** , **21st** **(Rank Highest Rank in Geography)**
7th, (2013) **6th**, (2012) **5th**, (2011) **5th**, (2010) **4th**, (2009) Tops Ranks Optional
Highest Marks in Geography past years 2008 (411) 2009 (397) 2010 (369) 2011 (423) 2012 (384)

TSP Geography Test Series Admission Open

No of Test	Geography (Topic)	Schedule
001	Geomorophology	7th, September
002	Geomorophology & Climatology	14th, September
003	Geom. , Climatology & Oceanography	21st, September
004	Complete Physical Geography	28th, September
005	Perspective in development of Geography Population and Settlement	5th, October
006	Economic Geography, Regional Planning and Models Theories	12th, October
007	Physical Setting and Resources (Paper -II)	19th, October
008	Cultural Setting and Settlement Geography	2nd, November
009	Agriculture, Industries , Trade and Transport	9th, November
010	Regional, Political and Contemporary Issues	16th, November
011	Final Test - 1 (Paper - I)	23rd, November
012	Final Test - 2 (Paper -II)	30th, November

Test Series Details

- 3 Hrs. Test on UPSC Examination pattern
- Immediate feed back , 1 Hours Discussion on test
- Test series can be opted without regular class enrolment.
- Postal test series is also available
- Study Material (Last 39 Year Solved) Map Paper and Model Answer
- Evaluated answer script is given back in the subsequent test
- Fee is Not refundable or nor adjustable under any circumstances
- All paper- II tests will include map question
- Test Series Fee : 9500/-

Other Courses

* **Geography Optional (Main)**
* Geography (GS) Main Topic II & IV
* Geography (Pre-Cum-Main)
* **General Studies (Prelims) Modules**
  - Physical Geography
  - Socio-Economic-Development
  - Environment & Ecology

More details login
www.directionias.com

Ultimate Learning Experience (P) Ltd. ®

DIRECTION
INSTITUTE FOR IAS EXAMINATION

Contact

Hari Bhawan : 14A/103, W.E.A, **Karol Bagh**
New Delhi - 110005
Ph : 011 - 25719872 , 25719862, 25752444
(M) : 09810382305 **mail :** info@directionias.com
Visit Us at **www.directionias.com**

YE-136/2014

VIEWPOINT

Continuity amidst Change: Learning from Rajiv Awas Yojana

Gautam Bhan

RAY has by no means been a "success" yet learning from what worked as well as what didn't is a key debate that must be had in a wide range of circles in order to move forward with the benefits of reflection and hindsight

MOMENTS OF change are opportunities for reflection. As a new government takes power at the centre, the fate of an erstwhile regime's policies remains in limbo as one watches what will stand and what will fall by the wayside. The focus of this essay is to use this moment of transition to assess one such policy: the Rajiv AwasYojana (RAY). In it, I ask: what lessons does RAY leave behind for the new government's mission of "Housing for All by 2020"?

RAY was the flagship programme of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation and alongside the Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP) function of the JNNURM, represented the major thrust of the earlier government's approach to universalizing access to adequate and decent housing in our cities. In its ethos, RAY was bold. It sought "slum-free" cities and gave us the closest articulation we have to a right to shelter. It included notified and non-notified slums and all residents within each. In other words, all settlements in the city and all residents within them. It began with acknowledging the right of all, whether income poor or not, to come to and be in the city as well as have shelter within it. Finally, it acknowledged the failure of the state in keeping its own commitments to housing income poor residents as well as not enabling the market to reach them.

In this, RAY was a welcome articulation of the right to the city. It set aside the "cut-off date" that required urban residents to provide formal proof of years of residence before they would be eligible for rights, services and entitlements. Any program that seeks to build inclusive cities must begin from this premise – all citizens have a right to migrate to and work and live in our cities, be they income poor or not. The job of the state is to ensure – whether through direct provision or indirect regulation – not just their right to do so, but the possibility of doing it with the dignity of basic social and physical infrastructure. This commitment is not just one to what is called "poverty alleviation" but is in fact a sound investment in improving the overall economic and social fabric of our cities, laying strong foundations for inclusive and more equitable growth and allowing the possibility of a generation to meaningfully move out of poverty.

How did RAY intend to achieve this goal? An ambitious technological project of city-wide mapping and information collection was to meet an agreement on a property rights regime, a focus on in-situ upgrading rather than resettlement and deepened community participation. The central government would fund between 50 and 80 per cent of project costs

The author teaches at the Indian Institute for Human Settlements, Bangalore. His research focuses on the politics of poverty and inequality in Indian cities, most recently on housing, evictions and displacement. He is the co-author of *Swept off the Map: Surviving Eviction and Resettlement in Delhi* (Yoda Press) and the forthcoming *In the Public's Interest: Eviction, Citizenship and Inequality in Contemporary Delhi* (Orient Blackswan). He has obtained his PhD from University of California, Berkeley.

depending on the size of the city and state governments, Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) and households themselves would contribute the remaining costs. Each of these facets deserves a detailed assessment. Given the limitations of space, however, I use this essay to point just three key reflections from RAY: (a) the framing of a "property right"; (b) the emphasis on redevelopment and resettlement rather than upgrading; and (c) the ineffective inclusion of communities.

What is a "Property Right"?

One of the key formulations of RAY and of any affordable housing scheme is giving security of tenure to households. In RAY, the term used was "property rights." We must ask then: What is a "property right"? Is it ownership? A right to sell and buy? A title? Is it the right to use? The right not to be evicted? Is the right necessarily individual? Can be it communal, co-operative, or common? How are "property rights" related to security of tenure – the ability (in many ways as important to the income poor as ownership) of being able to stay in place?

In policy, property rights have often been understood in one particular form following the influential work of economist Hernando de Soto: individual, household titles. While individual titles are certainly one form of giving secure tenure, it is important to remember that this form is only one among many. If the goal of programmes like RAY is the empowerment and development of people living in "slums" [as opposed to the value of the land they sit on], individual titles are not an obviously better form of giving secure tenure. The Mumbai Slum Rehabilitation model (SRM) is just one of multiple global experiences that have shown that individual property titles that "unlock" trapped land inevitably also displace the poor. After nearly 100,000 new units being built under SRM schemes and despite falling migration rates to the city, Mumbai's slum population has barely shifted in the past decade.

Why is this so? When new household units are built with title, they enter into what is a deeply skewed land and housing market. Rising rental and land values simply ensures that the newly commodified land will allow the market to take its course. Bulldozers are no longer required. This is not necessarily a bad thing for poor households – they have an asset they can sell. The difficulty is that given the skewed land market with very high costs of entry for access to legal housing, what households get is rarely enough to re-enter the housing market elsewhere. So, once sold, households often re-enter the illegal housing market elsewhere. The end result of a programme on inclusionary housing is the creating of new housing stock that once again excludes the income poor.

What else could be done? One way to think about this is to broaden our notion of "property rights." If our focus shifts to security of tenure, then individual property rights as titles become *just one* of the ways we can reach there and even these have to be qualified. So what could be the others? Even within titles, there are different configurations possible. Individual property titles could come with restrictions of sale – blocking them for a period of time, allowing sale only to other families of similar income levels. These could be attached to a critical protection that keeps low-income housing truly affordable: enforced restrictions on buying multiple units, combining them, or modifying them to make them more appealing to richer buyers. Other ways to think about property rights could be on co-operative or communal titling options, typically thought of in terms of long-term leaseholds, which reduce the pressure from developers on individual families to sell. Collective titles also offer better enforcement and monitoring mechanisms, especially to prevent the combination of multiple units. Venezuela's Favela Barrio program is a successful example of community titling as a form of upgradation that doesn't displace the poor as is Thailand's Baan Mankong programme – both large scale initiatives that have reduced housing poverty in their countries to large extents. Table 1 shows that in Baan Mankong, a majority of property rights are given communally (for more on the programme, see Boonyabancha, 2005).

Table 1:

Status of Land Tenure	House-holds	per cent of Total
Cooperative Titling	32153	34.78 per cent
Long-term Lease	40292	43.58 per cent
Short-term Lease (<5 yrs)	7594	8.21 per cent
Permission to Use Land	12419	13.43 per cent
TOTAL	92458	100.00 per cent

Source: Community Organisations Development Institute (CODI). See http://www.codi.or.th/housing/results.html.

There is a tension here that we must note. Restrictions of titles or exchanges are also artificial constraints on the market that will create distortions of their own. They can also be seen as "second-class" treatment to lower income households who face restrictions on what to do with their properties that middle class households don't. My intention here is not to trap income poor households in the same housing stock – it is to point out that while existing markets in informal settlements and slums must be both recognized and protected, the terms on how this market is structured must be a debate within housing policy. There are possible middle grounds: the co-operative housing model through which much of Mumbai is settled shows how markets can be developed but within certain conditions that allow exchange but also retain housing stock at a certain income level.

Finally, there is one of the least explored possibilities of creating a legal housing stock at the bottom of the market-Rentals. Rentals were allowed as part of RAY only in the last year and remain unexplored as possible, dynamic and market-facing solutions for income poor urban residents. Moving forward, as the MHUPA committee on rental housing has also suggested (Government of India, 2013), rental housing must play a much stronger role in affordable housing policies.

If you Build it, will They Come?

Under RAY, nodal agencies can approach a settlement three ways: in-situ upgradation, in-situ redevelopment, and resettlement. Table 2 summarizes these three developmental pathways.

Now let us diagnose from the symptoms we see. Within nodal agencies tasked with implementing BSUP and RAY schemes across states, a common refrain can be heard: occupancy rates for built housing are as low as 20 per cent in many projects. The issue at hand is this: households who get houses in peripheral resettlement sites either do not take or do not occupy allocated housing units even if they are *pucca* units with decent infrastructure that represent significant improvements to their housing stock.

Often this is seen as "ingratitude" on behalf of these households. This is an incorrect diagnosis of the symptom. Refusing occupancy is a rational decision for these households because of a key fact: urban residents choose housing location and its resulting trade-offs on quality largely on the basis of employment, not the quality of the built unit. Peripheral resettlement colonies may represent improved housing stock but they make it impossible to sustain livelihoods at low incomes, access mobility or retain social networks that are key to surviving in cities (Menon-Sen & Bhan, 2008).

RAY, like many other policies, insists that in-situ upgradation should be the first priority, followed by in-situ redevelopment. Relocation should act as only a last resort. However, in practice in the larger cities, most RAY and BSUP, projects have been ones of relocation. So how does one enforce a priority for in-situ upgradation? It is here that RAY and BSUP faced a significant challenge. The absence of mechanisms through which to extend tenure in-situ has led to a key failure of the policy – to allow income poor residents to remain near sites of transport and employment. Upgradation was suggested but there are no monitoring mechanisms or disincentives structures that would make nodal agencies explain why they chose resettlement over redevelopment and upgradation. This is a key loophole in the policy that future frameworks must correct.

A more transparent metric that would help decide which developmental pathway to choose for which settlement will have to take on two clear shortcomings in the current policy frame. The first is to be much clearer about the category of "tenable" and "un-tenable" settlements. Tenability has been used by many to deny in-situ upgradation and opt for resettlement. While there is no doubt that a certain percentage of settlements are indeed untenable, anecdotal evidence suggests that the category of tenability and its imprecise measures have allowed it to be used as a means to avoid in-situ upgradation in valuable central city locations. Let us take an example. If a settlement is near an open drain that puts it in danger of flooding, a set of questions arises. One, how has the settlement coped with flooding before that has allowed them to remain? Two, can the risk and consequences of flooding be mitigated by, for example, the construction of a simple embankment? Three, how do we measure the cost-benefit matrix of bearing this risk versus the risk of losing employment in a "safer" but more distant location?

The second change necessary is to take seriously changes in planning and law law, rules, and procedures that will enable both land-owning agencies as well as nodal agencies to be able to ensure that in-situ upgradation is connected to secure tenure. Currently, the RAY is incomplete precisely because it does not take into account the institutional networks that need to come into play together to ensure upgradation – nodal agencies alone are necessary but not sufficient actors. This reflects a larger bias in the formulation of most housing policies – a focus on the built housing unit rather than its legal, economic, social functions and aspects.

Finally, piloting a renewed emphasis on in-situ upgradation should begin where it is already occurring and more feasible: in small and medium urban centers. One of the key failings in RAY is that it continues to focus on and be judged by its performance in metropolitan cities. Here, aggressive and multiple stakeholders meet very dynamic land markets that make several policy maneuvers difficult. Yet small and medium size cities have the possibilities of much greater flexibility in experimenting with design, in undertaking in-situ development, in planning mobility and access better even when there is resettlement. One small metric shows that this is already happening. Let us take the example of Gulbarga in Karnataka. Under RAY and BSUP,a total of 37 settlements have been identified. Of these, 11are being upgraded, 19 redeveloped in-situ and only 7 relocated.[1] Yolking the challenges of working in megacities together with the very different contexts

Table 2: Development Pathways

UPGRADATION	• All development happens on site with relatively minor redesign or reblocking • Typically, only services and infrastructure are upgraded, households improve their own housing units • At times, minor improvements (particularly the installation of a in-house toilet) to housing units is included
REDEVELOPMENT	• Currently existing housing stock is destroyed and re-built on the same site as new units • Redevelopment can be on site (using either part of or the whole area of the original site), or can be at a proximate location (same block, in a nearby site) • Redevelopment upgrades infrastructure but creates new housing units
RESETTLEMENT	• Currently existing housing stock is demolished, and eligible households are allocated plots in a new site • Resettlement/relocation sites are typically peripheral, at vast distances from original settlement locations

of small and medium-size urban centres maybe a mistake for several reasons. Is a new policy paradigm a ripe moment to develop a free-standing housing policy for small and medium size urban centres that can be combined with much stronger linkages with land development and medium-term planning?

Why do Communities still Follow, not Lead?

Implicit in the critiques above and partly a causal factor in the problems they address, is the very limited role that communities continue to play in the implementation of housing policy. Housing policy has seen a growing acknowledgment of the role of communities in tackling housing shortage. This acknowledgment comes from very different points of origin – a recognition of rights and vulnerabilities on one end and a fear of blockaded and stalled projects on another. Regardless, for our concern in this essay, housing policy now explicitly acknowledges and includes community participation in guidelines, requirements, toolkits, modules and workshops at several stages in any significant housing policy. A wealth of literature has recently shown how participation is often thinly veiled "co-option" (Coelho, Kamath, & Vijayabaskar, 2013) and there is strong reason to be suspicious. Yet, the existence of institutionalized structures always offers the possibility of a reclaiming of more effective participation – at times to move projects forward or even, at times, to at least be able to stall those with significant exclusionary consequences.

In this section, I suggest just one of many possible ways to re-imagine community participation: allowing community-led Detailed Project Reports (DPRs). DPRs are the foundation of approved projects under most housing policies, including JNNURM and RAY. Whether specific policies like RAY remain or transform across governments, the DPR is likely to remain the basic unit of function and implementation for housing policy for some time to come. The DPR is particularly suited as a site for instantiations of community agency for two key reasons. First, the DPR is scaled appropriately for intensive community involvement. It is made for a particular "slum," for a set of proximate, inter-connected settlements, or for a single resettlement site. Second, it involves a decision on the development pathway which, determines the approach to be taken in intervening into a settlement. Therefore, it holds within it the most crucial decision that affects a community's fate.

Much is often made by practitioners, consultants and public officials about the technical complexities of DPRs and how communities will be unable to produce them so they meet the lengthy specifications of chapters, inputs, surveys, writing, and production. This objection is often dismissed by many large, federated community organizations. How does one read this debate on "capacity"? It is undeniable that there are cities and settlements in which community agency is (as yet) not possible, yet there are also undeniably many where such associations are amply evident.

One of the key failings in RAY is that it continues to focus on and be judged by its performance in metropolitan cities. Here, aggressive and multiple stakeholders meet very dynamic land markets that make several policy maneuvers difficult.

Two possibilities are immediately available for increasing community agency and involvement in the preparation of DPRs. The first is to broaden the notion of the "consultant" usually hired by state nodal agencies to prepare DPRs. Even if communities want to bid for open tenders to prepare DPRs, few will have the institutional legibility to be able to qualify, let alone succeed, in such bids. Community actors bidding for DPR preparation must be given a separate set of eligibility criteria. Second, such actors must then be given a set of supports through the building, for example, of a coalition or through directed technical and academic expertise.

The second possibility is to require all consultants preparing DPRs to do so in partnership with a representative federation of community residents and associations. This will, no doubt, require a different form of investment in both time and resources by both the consultant and the community but it represents an institutional process necessary for effective community involvement and, could, as argued earlier, overall represent significant gains for both time and cost savings as well as the sustainability and effectiveness of the project itself. It is important to recognize that this is participation in the preparation of a project – not a consultation on an already prepared idea that is the norm.

Conclusion

Given the limitations of space, this essay has sought to highlight three of many key lessons that RAY has to offer new housing policies. Yet a history of discontinuity in policy interventions has been one of the key reasons for our failures in addressing housing exclusions. RAY has by no means been a "success" yet learning from what worked as well as what didn't is a key debate that must be had in a wide range of circles in order to move forward with the benefits of reflection and hindsight.

References

Boonyabancha, S. (2005). Baan Mankong: Going to scale with "slum" and squatter upgrading in Thailand. *Environment and Urbanization, 17*(1), 21-46.

Coelho, K., Kamath, L., & Vijayabaskar, M. (2013). *Participolis: Consent and Contention in Neoliberal Urban India*: Routledge.

Government of India. (2013). *Report on Policy and Interventions to Spur Growth of Rental Housing in India*. New Delhi: GOI.

Menon-Sen, K., & Bhan, G. (2008). *Swept off the map: surviving eviction and resettlement in Delhi*: Yoda Press.

Endnotes

[1]These numbers are from submitted project proposals under RAY by Director, Karnataka Housing Board. Personal Communication. ❑

(E-mail: gbhan@berkeley.edu)

DELHI

VISIONIAS

www.visionias.in

INSPIRING INNOVATION

JAIPUR

Under the Guidance of **Ajay Kumar Singh** *(B.Tech. IIT Roorkee)*

Jaipur Centre: Under the Guidance of **Anoop Kumar Singh**

Hearty Congratulations to Our Toppers (7 in Top 10... 200+ Selections)

Gaurav Agrawal, Rank-1

Akshay Tripathi (4)

Bharti Dixit, (Rank-5)

Sakshi Sawhney (6)

Johny Varghese (8)

To download toppers answer booklets & complete list of selections at: www.visionias.in

INNOVATIVE CLASSROOM PROGRAM

GENERAL STUDIES

FOUNDATION COURSE 2015	10 Aug.
WEEKEND COURSE 2015	9 Aug.
ADVANCE COURSE 2014	4 Sept.
VIDEO CONFERENCING CLASS	JAIPUR

Classroom Online

ALL INDIA IAS TEST SERIES 2014 & 2015

All India Rank, Micro & Macro: Performance Analysis, Cyclic, Flexible & Expert Discussion

G. S. MAINS, G. S. PRE., APTITUDE TEST Hindi/Eng.

Philosophy, Sociology, Public Admn., Psycho., Geography, Essay

Rajinder Nagar Test Centre: 75, 1st Floor, Old Rajinder Nagar Market, Near Axis Bank, Delhi-60

JAIPUR CENTRE

G.S. 2014 & 2015, CSAT, PHILOSOPHY

Anoop Kr. Singh & Team Vision IAS

Ground Floor, Apex Mall, Jaipur

9001949244, 9799974032

Head Office

1/8-B, 2nd Floor, Apsara Arcade, Near Gate 6, Karol Bagh Metro, New Delhi-110005

103, 1st Floor B/1-2, Ansal Building, Behind UCO Bank, Dr. Mukherjee Nagar, Delhi-09

09650617807
09968029039
09717162595

YE-148/2014

Development Roadmap

e-portal for Participatory Governance

A new initiative towards participatory governance has been launched recently. Called MyGov, the portal aims at giving citizens an opportunity to 'discuss' as well as' do'. The platform, to be managed by the National Informatics Centre of the Department of Electronics and Information Technology (DeitY), has been divided into various groups like Clean Ganga, Girl Child Education, Clean India, Skilled India, Digital India, Job Creation, etc. Each group will consist of online and on-ground tasks that can be taken up by contributors which would aid in bringing about a qualitative change in that sphere through people's participation. There would also be multiple theme based discussions where people from all walks of life could share their thoughts and ideas. Any idea shared by a contributor would be discussed on these forums, enabling constructive feedback and interaction. MyGov also offers avenues for citizens to volunteer for various tasks and submit their entries which would be reviewed by other members and experts.

Protection of Cow Breeds

A National mission to enhance productivity and conservation of indigenous cattle breed was announced recently. 'The Rashtriya Gokul Mission, launched with an allocation of Rs 500 crore, proposes to conserve 37 indigenous cattle breeds, including ' Krishna Valley' breed in Karnataka, 'Vechur' in Kerala and ' Punganur' in Andhra Pradesh'. The mission would work on improving their genetic make up to increase stock and enhance milk production. Funds would also be earmarked for several conservation and productivity schemes, including setting up indigenous cattle centres (ICCs) or'Gokul Gram' and breeders' society or 'Gopalan Sangh'.

The Gokul Grams would be set up in the native breeding tracts and near metropolitan cities for housing rural cattle. It would be self sustaining and generate economic resources from sale of A2 milk, organic manure, vermi-compositing, urine distillates and production of electricity from biogas and sale of animal products. Under the Gokul Gram scheme, farmers who maintain the best centres would be eligible for 'Gopal Ratna' awards. Each cow would have a unique identity number, to be fed into a national database. The scheme would also focus on upkeep of cattle after they are past the milk producing phase, when they can be utilised for meat.

The Gopalan Sanghs would be organised as breeding facilities for varieties of high genetic pedigrees, since it was felt that local varieties are better adapted to the country's climate and are heat-resistant.

North East Diary

Centre Allocates Fund for Roads in North-East

The Centre has earmarked a fund of Rs 122.58 crore for revamping the roads in the north eastern states under the Non–Lapsable Central Pool of Resources (NLCPR) for funding the infrastructure development in the north eastern region. A scheme named 'Enhancing Skill Development Infrastructure in North Eastern States' has also been started by the Ministry of Labour and Employment to upgrade the existing infrastructure of 20 Industrial Training Institutes (ITIs) and remove the inadequacies in the infrastructure of 28 ITIs through building new hostels, boundary walls and adjuncting the old and outdated tools and other equipments. The scheme was planned in 2011 with an allocation of Rs. 57.39 crore. The scheme will be operated till 31st March 2017 with the new element of building of 14 new ITIs in the seven north eastern States. ❑

North East to Get Priority

The Centre will give special stress to supervise the status of the infrastructure projects for their time–bound completion in the wake of the delay in the completion and implementation of many national projects in the north eastern States. North Eastern Council (NEC) that undertakes inter–state road connectivity to strengthen regional integration and facilitates inter–state border connectivity will be given a sum of Rs 6108 crore during the Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012–17).

The fundings for the projects that have been identified will be given special priority. The environmental and forest clearance for the projects will also be expedited for identified Hydro–power projects in NER. This is intended to cut down the losses to the State Power companies and timely execution of transmission line projects. As envisaged under the 12 th plan, the emphasis will be given upon the rapid development of rails, roads, airways and the inland waterway connectivities.

The identified projects include the ongoing and strategically significant major road connectivity projects such as the East West Corridor, all stretches of SARDP–NE that links the State capitals and districts, trans Arunachal Highways and the major bridges. Emphasis will also be given on investment in teachers' training, reforms in vocational education, development and operationalization of Public Private Partnership (PPP) models in education and building new medical colleges, nursing colleges and other health & technical institutes for imparting professional education. ❑

Published on 23 August 2014
Posted on 25-26 August 2014

Regd. No. RNI 949/57
Licenced U (DN)- 56/2012-14 to post without
pre-payment at RMS, Delhi (Delhi Post
Postal Regd. No. DL(S)-05/3230/2012-14

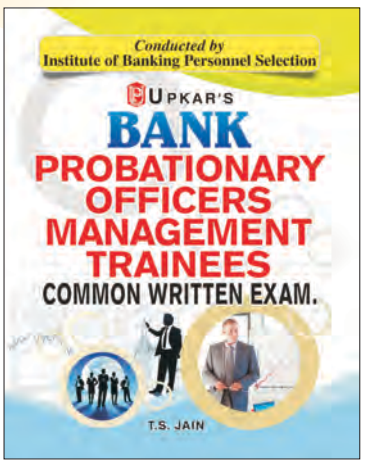
JUST RELEASED

Conducted by ***Institute of Banking Personnel Selection***

BANK PROBATIONARY OFFICERS MANAGEMENT TRAINEES COMMON WRITTEN EXAM.

UPKAR'S Useful Books (Including Previous Years' Solved Papers)

English Edition



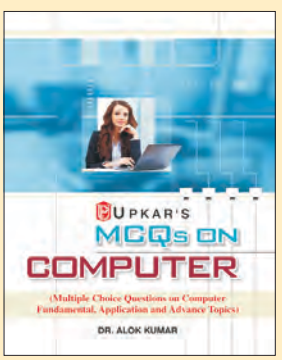
Code 325 ₹ 415/-

Hindi Edition

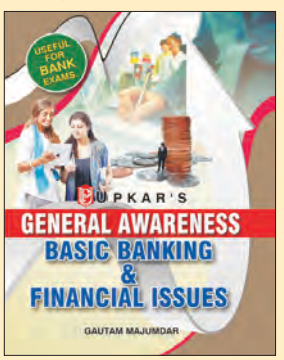
Code 1168 ₹ 375/-

Code 1152 ₹ 440/-

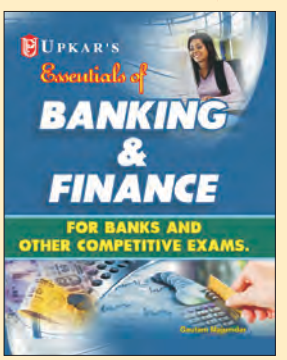
Other Useful Books



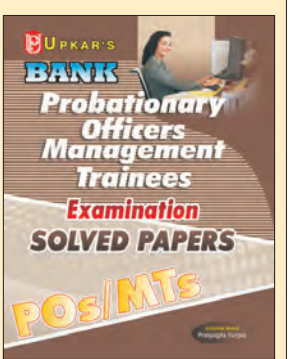
Code 1664 ₹ 95/-



Code 1734 ₹ 85/-



Code 1776 ₹ 80/-



Code 1721 ₹ 340/-

UPKAR PRAKASHAN

2/11 A, Swadeshi Bima Nagar, AGRA-282 002 **Ph. :** 4053333, 2530966, 2531101; **Fax :** (0562) 4053330
• **E-mail :** care@upkar.in • **Website :** www.upkar.in
Branch Offices : • New Delhi Ph. : (011) 23251844/66 • Hyderabad Ph. : (040) 66753330 • Patna Ph. : (0612) 2673340 • Kolkata Ph. :(033) 25551510

Printed & Published by Ira Joshi, Additional Director General and Head on behalf of Publications Division, Soochna Bhawan, C.G.O. Complex, Lodhi Road, New Delhi-110 003. Printed at Chandu Press, D-97, Shakarpur, Delhi-110 092 Phone: 22424396, 22526936.