

Local Government Quarterly

January - March 2016

A Journal of the All India Institute of Local Self-Government

Brought out by its
International Academy of Urban Dynamics



- ★ Understanding Local Governance in the Context of Globalisation
- **★** Local Governance During Global Change-Aligning Development and Climate Co-benefits
- ★ Problems Confronting Women Teachers Working in Rural Areas: Voices from the Field
- ★ Role of Village Education Committee (VEC) in Achieving Universalisation of Elementary Education
- ★ Local Institutions of Governance of the Nagas: The Village Council, its Role and Function in Nagaland
- Men and Women in PRI: a Comparative Study of Elected PRI Members of Upper Two Tiers of Rohtak District of Haryana in India
- ★ Historical Analysis of Urban Dynamics of a Traditional Indian City: A Case Study of Walled CityAmritsar

About All India Institute of Local Self-Government (AIILSG)

All India Institute of Local Self-Government (AIILSG), established in 1926 has been actively working in the field of urban development management and is a diligent partner in promoting the cause of local governance in India and overseas.

The Institute has been the steadfast friend, philosopher and guide to Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) across the Country. For more than eight decades it has contributed to the principles and practice of urban governance, education, research and capacity building. It has designed and developed a vast array of training literature and courses and trained more than 1.5 million stakeholders in diverse areas of urban governance and urban services delivery.

These activities of the AILSG are practiced through 30 regional centres located in different regions of the Country. The Institute anchors the Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies (RCUES) of the Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India for Western India region. This Centre is actively involved in building capabilities of municipal officials, staff and elected members from the States of Goa, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and the Union Territories of Diu, Daman, and Dadra & Nagar Haveli by upgrading their knowledge and skills required for effective administration and implementation of various urban development programmes.

With a view to cater to the growing requirement of ULBs in regard to services, the AIILSG runs specialized capacity building institutions such as the National Fire Academy, the Nrupur Institute of Nursing Science and Research and the Centre for Environment & Disaster Management at Vadodara, PRUDA at Ahmedabad, National Resource Centre for Urban Poverty, International Centre of EQUI-T, the Disaster Management Cell and the Centre of GIS at Pune. It runs the Solid Waste Management Cell of the Government of Maharashtra. In recent years, AIILSG has ventured into rural and tribal capacity building and hand holding of rural institutions of self-governance.

In addition to the domestic activities, the Institute organises several tailor-made capacity building programmes for various countries in South Asia, viz, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka and in other regions, including South Africa, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Malaysia, China, etc. The Institute has linkages with renowned international organizations including UNCHS (Habitat), UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA, WHO, DFID, CITYNET, CLGF, US-AEP and the Ford Foundation. It is the anchor institution for Urban Management Programme (UMP-UNCHS-Habitat) for South Asia.

About International Academy of Urban Dynamics (IAUD)

International Academy of Urban Dynamics (IAUD) has been conceptualized and set up at the AIILSG with a view to support countries and cities and their stakeholders in their decisions towards a bright urban future.

The Academy offers strategic contribution to urban vision, policy and planning across countries and cities through multi-level research, documentation, debate, advocacy and capacity-building. It aids the crafting of innovative solutions to urban challenges through sharing, networking, dissemination and advisory services.

The Organization has embraced certain values including a pervading quest for excellence, perpetual learning, and the sharing and interpretation of knowledge that is grounded in ethics and truth. IAUD would undertake non-partisan analysis and evaluation of situations, facts and figures and render advice that is non-adversarial in intent and positive in content with a view towards better alternatives.

Vol : LXXXVI, No. 1

January-March, 2016

•	Editorial	3	Contents
•	Understanding Local Governance in the context of Globalisation Sanhita Joshi	6	
•	Local Governance During Global Change - Aligning Development and Climate Co-benefits Mahendra Sethi, Subhakanta Mohapatra	15	nt nt
•	Problems Confronting Women Teachers Working in Rural Areas: Voices from the Field Anita Nuna	35	Quarterly If-Governmen
•	Role of Village Education Committee (VEC) in Achieving Universalisation of Elementary Education N. Nagarajan	46	t Qu
•	Local Institutions of Governance of the Nagas: The Village Council, its Role and Function in Nagaland H. John Sema, Neizhanuo Golmei	53	Local Government Published by the All India Institute of Local
•	Men and Women in PRI: a comparative study of elected PRI members of upper two tiers of Rohtak district of Haryana in India Anupama Kaushik	67	Local
•	Historical Analysis of Urban Dynamics of a Traditional Indian City: A Case Study of Walled City Amritsar Sarbjot Singh Behl, Rawal Singh Aulakh	77	
•	Book Review	102	
•	Our Contributors	109	



All India Institute of Local Self-Government

M. N. Roy Human Development Campus, Plot No.6, 'F' Block, TPS Road No.12, Bandra (E), Mumbai – 400051.

Tel: +91-22-2657 17 13 / 2657 17 14 / 2657 17 15 Fax: +91-22-2657 21 15 E-mail: dg@aiilsg.org Website: www.aiilsg.org

Ranjit S. Chavan *President*

Capt. Anant Modi Director General

Local Government Quarterly

Editorial Board

Chief Editor Capt. Anant Modi

Members

Sneha Palnitkar Mukesh Kanaskar
V. Vijaykumar Vijay Kulkarni
Shweta Gupta Shriniwas Indapurkar

Khatibullah Sheikh Usha Verghese

The views expressed in the articles are the personal opinions of the contributors and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the All India Institute of Local Self-Government. Articles, letters to the editor, views and reviews are welcome. They may be addressed to the Chief Editor, or sent by e-mail to aiilsgquarterlyjournal@gmail.com

Printed by Capt. Anant Modi, The Director General, All India Institute of Local Self-Government, at Copytronics, Bandra (E), Mumbai - 400 051 and published by him at the All India Institute of Local Self-Government, 11, Horniman Circle, Mumbai - 400 023.

Editorial

Climate Change: Challenges and some hopes

In a surprising but welcome development in March, the International Energy Agency (IEA) reported that there has been virtually no increase in energy related CO2 emissions in 2015 compared to the previous year. Importantly this has happened for the second straight year. While sceptics would be tempted to dismiss this as natural in view of economic weakness, it is not really the case. During the two years 2014 and 2015, when emissions fell year on year, the world economy actually grew over 3% each year. In the words of IEA Executive Director Fatih Birol, "Coming just a few months after the landmark COP21 agreement in Paris, this is yet another boost to the global fight against climate change".

This signifies possibly for the first time the decoupling of economic growth from increased Greenhouse Gas emissions. Previous instances of falling energy related greenhouse emissions were accompanied by economic weakness. The world has long been used to the argument that higher emissions and the resulting environmental degradation is the price we must pay for increased economic growth and prosperity. This seems to be no more the case. We can indeed choose an environmentally benign path towards greater economic activity.

There are a host of factors that have contributed to this salutary development. Most significant among them is the heightened focus on renewable energy all over the world. Rapid technological advances have enabled shatter cost barriers to adoption of renewable energy more notably wind and solar. A dramatic piece of statistic provided by the IEA states that ninety percent of all new energy generation in 2015 came from renewables. Half of this was from wind alone. With heightened awareness, more viable technologies and increasing peer pressure, it is no more an issue of the 'cost of adopting renewables', rather 'the cost of not adopting renewables' that is driving the change. Consumption of renewable energy in the top countries doubled between 2010 and 2014 to about 320 million tonnes of oil

equivalent. Of this, the maximum is in the USA at about 65 million tonnes, about 22% of the world total. China, known as an oil guzzler accounting for large amount of emissions comes right behind at 53 million. India has made good progress too with about 14 million tonnes of oil equivalent coming from renewables. With depleting natural resources like coal accompanied by increasing costs of extraction and environment concerns related to mining activity, renewables will gain further momentum in the coming years. Some concerns have been expressed that the current low oil prices may pose a threat to increasing use of gas and renewables. However, the thrust on renewable seems to have gained substantial traction to be threatened by low oil prices, which could be more transient than sustained in nature.

While the supply side of energy requirement is being defined by the rapid growth in renewables share of the total energy basket, the demand side is undergoing significant changes too. China, in 2015 produced nearly 23 million cars, trucks and buses; more than any other country in the world. It manufactures and ships out almost every smart phone sold anywhere on this planet. All this requires large factories humming with activity and presumably consuming loads of electricity. Yet as per some records, China's electricity consumption in 2015 grew at 0%. Some other reports put the growth at 0.5%, which is next to zero. This trend is note-worthy.

Developing countries around the world are rapidly rolling out electricity distribution networks to bring power to the poor and marginalized populations. Energy demand is expected to rise sharply as the governments' poverty alleviation programmes pull millions out of poverty and propel them upwards. Households particularly in the tier-II and tier-III cities, are seeing home appliances and gadgets multiply. Every family across all economic strata is seeing larger numbers of smart phones plugged into wall sockets. This coupled with increasing urbanization could result in higher energy demand because life in an urban setting is more energy-intensive than in the village.

Therefore it appears that in a scenario of rapid urbanisation, poverty alleviation, industrialization and access to power supply for the poor, developing countries are bound to witness higher demand for energy and the resulting environmental damage. However, policy interventions can make a big difference. Measures such as the choice of fuels (natural gas over diesel), encouragement for energy efficient equipment such as the subsidized distribution of LED lamps will

surely help. Some policy actions such as Direct Benefit Transfer may enable better targeting of subsidies and lead to more efficient use of electricity & fuels and result in precious savings in GHG emissions. DBT, if implemented in power supply for the farm sector, for example. This is currently an example of distortion arising out of flawed subsidy allocation. This also prevents use of solar powered agricultural pumps as there is no incentive for their use. DBT in the area of LPG supply currently under way can result in less burning of firewood as cooking fuel and prevent the particulate emissions leading to health and environmental hazards.

Another heartening fact is that as in the case of India, energy intensity of GDP tends to be negative. In other words, economies need less incremental energy to produce every additional unit of economic output. This results out of ever increasing efficiencies of equipment (like the air-conditioners in our homes) and processes in factories that use lower and lower amounts of energy. There might be temporary halts to this advance when the cost of the technology is greater than the benefit arising out of it, till such time that the cost of the technology falls further.

Cities which already house 50% of the global population, generate 80% of the economic output and account for 70% of the greenhouse gas emissions will naturally play a pivotal role in the move towards a greener yet more prosperous planet. Compact and efficient city structures which enable less commute limiting the burning of fossil fuels, substantially enhanced use of low-carbon public transport and green buildings will be among the foremost levers to bring about sustainable economic growth. Technological innovations which transform energy use and conservation are already playing out in our cities. Breakthrough advancements which enable us to 'do more with less' will visit our lives with increasing frequency.

The Global Commission on the Economy and Climate, another influential body, refutes the claim that we must choose between fighting climate change and growing the world economy. The Report of the Commission comprising 24 leaders from government, business and other spheres in 19 countries believes strongly that we can choose a low carbon footprint strategy to achieve industrial growth, create jobs and boost productivity in a way that is environmentally benign. Consistent government policies, technological innovations, appropriate financing models and the subtle force of entrepreneurship will all go towards building the framework of a new paradigm which can ensure steady economic growth with a safer climate.

Understanding Local Governance in the context of Globalisation

Sanhita Joshi

Introduction

Globalisation and decentralisation are the twin ubiquitous ideas which have generated bewildering interest among people, academia, governments and policy makers during the last two decades. On the one hand, globalisation, through global commerce is exacerbating income inequalities and trying to dictate terms on the developing nations. On the other it also gives immense opportunities to these developing countries especially for economic growth and development. It has opened new vistas for change through information and technological advancements. Yet another important phenomenon which is simultaneously taking shape across the globe is that, many countries in the developed west and developing east representing different types of regimes are devolving powers to their units of local governance. It is done with the objective of achieving developmental goals in a swift and just manner. Concurrently, the idea of decentralisation is also being promoted by international funding institutions, academicians and non-profit organizations. The reasons for promoting decentralisation are multifarious. With the change in the philosophy of the state, objectives of the government, values and demands of the humankind especially in a rapidly globalising world, governance is being considered a significant agent of change, not only from above but also progressively more from below. The conflict today is seen between the archaic forms of public governance manifested in the form of bureaucratic administration or commandist administration (Manor, 1999) and the modern day forms of democratic, flexible, efficient, transparent and decentralized governance. Values like efficiency and economy today have gained accelerated momentum. Osborne and Gaibler's book "Reinventing Government" published in 1992 explains well this critical importance of decentralized governance in the context of a market-oriented ecology.

The idea of governance has undergone a complete overhaul because of rising public awareness, mounting people's expectations, Information Technology revolution, better connectivity and rapid integration of the world owing to globalising economies. Efficiency, economy, accountability and responsibility are the paradigm indices to evaluate the performance of institutions of governance. The discourse on development also demands that, governments must shed a commandist, centralized approach and adopt a more democratic, decentralized disposition. It is argued that efficient decision-making can be facilitated by decentralization and delegation of powers. Decentralization has been looked at as a singularly useful mode of governance to deliver the public services from convenient local centers close to the client's locality. Bringing governance to the doorstep of the citizens and forging a direct relationship between the client and the government have been the driving force behind the process of decentralization worldwide. Decentralization is expected to release local energies and enlist local support for carrying out development oriented activities. The spread of democracy especially after World War II has created a sturdy foundation for decentralization. It is said that, "Democracy is fundamentally a decentralized system." A centralized administration however efficient it may be can never excel the basic idea of democracy, i.e. government by the people (M.P. Dubey and MunniPadalia, 2002).

Understanding the theoretical framework

India suffered the massive economic crisis of the early 1990s which eventually compelled her to embark upon the path of liberalization, privatization and globalisation. The 'New Industrial Policy' was introduced in India in 1991 which significantly transformed the Indian economy. It was obvious that it would have some impact on the polity as well. It is fascinating to note that in the following year two historic constitutional amendments were passed by the Indian parliament. The 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments formally created the third tier of governance. Its significance lies in the fact that the Act gave these local bodies a constitutional status. In a way, globalisation and decentralisation happened simultaneously in India. Therefore it is very important to study these two events together and examine whether one has any impact on the other or not. There was a fear looming large that as the state shrinks in size and withdraws itself from various social sector responsibilities, problems and concerns of the people will increasingly will go unheard and will be poorly represented. However, studies have indicated that the role of the state does not diminish with globalisation, rather its criticality increases (Sathe, 2009). The World Commission on Social Dimension of Globalisation recognises the opportunities for a better life that globalisation presents. It is believed that people's hopes are realizable,

but only if globalization is subjected to better governance at all levels (World Commission on Social Dimension of Globalization, 2006). The whole discourse on development and governance has today come to encapsulate the significance of decentralisation.

The world is fast becoming a place without borders. Borders of ideas, civilizations, cultures, economies are being eroded. The geo-political borders are also only to maintain fast diminishing national identities in an integrated world. There has been a progressive international economic integration of the world since the 1950s. Phenomenal growth has been reported in international trade, investment and finance. This has led to a greater economic openness resulting in free flow of not only trade, investment and finance but also service, technology, information and ideas across national boundaries (Nayyar, 2002). Shrinking distances are forcing us to think about the world as a unit, which may lead to nurturing a tendency to homogenize. Many critics of globalization argue that globalization is another form of international capitalism. However, the current wave of globalization offers each one a chance, an opportunity to dominate the international market due to the kind of openness it provides. Nonetheless, it cannot be disputed that it has led to uneven development. Hegemonic circles are created in different parts of the world, creating an environment of "Loss of Choice" at the regional, domestic and local levels. Transnational companies are playing "Intrusive politics". This has led to the "Problem of Exclusion". Fruits of development are being cornered by selected few and not going unto the last. Therefore it is a necessary responsibility on the part of the Government to intervene. Welfare politics targets to achieve symmetrical development in which governments are responsible to provide and cater to the needs of the people. For this they are also held responsible at regular intervals through elections. But in a globalised world, this responsibility is difficult to demand. This actually is accentuating the process of exclusion.

In this context the role of the State (Government) becomes even more important in spite of the fact that globalization is intruding also into the political periphery of the State. Many argue that globalization is rendering the Westphalian model of the State obsolete. However, looking at this from a different perspective, it also suggests a transition in the entire role, range and reach of the State. The failure of the centralized State, both in economic and political governance has swung the pendulum in favour of decentralized system across the globe in recent years. (Rao Govinda, 2005)

An immediate effect of globalization has been the impact of the world capital market on centralised and decentralized governance especially in respect of making vital decisions that affect the lives of the people (Kothari, 1989). As

globalization encroaches upon a nationstate's economic sovereignty, it is compelled to create local democratic structures to further its political sovereignty and retain its legitimacy (Tremblay, 2001). Today for a state with multiple level governments, the process of decentralization, which is the transfer of authority or responsibility to local governments, is often seen as an important condition for economic development. Decentralization, which is a countervailing trend to globalization, ensures that the growth process is pro-poor, pro-women, pro-nature and pro-jobs. In a sense, there is double movement- globalization on the one hand and devolution, decentralization and localization on the other (Ash, 1994), which has been termed as Glocalisation. "Globalization is like a giant wave that can either capsize nations or carry them forward. Successful localization creates a situation where local entities and other groups in society 'the crew of the boat if you will' are free to exercise individual autonomy but also have incentives to work together".

Globalization has created complexities of social, economic and even political nature. When we think about a globalised world, every nation is a unit of this entity and has to fight these complexities and find answers to erupting questions of modern polities. The self-regarding actions of an individual makes him think about only profit maximization which is the goal of everyone in this materialist world be it an individual, a

family, a society, a state or the world at large. So there are conflicting interests in today's pluralist societies which creates many challenges to be faced especially by the governments which have to find solutions to these challenges. Furthermore in this globalised and competitive world today, individual is at the centre of discussion. It is important to develop his capacities to fight and counter the challenges. The role of any government would be to enhance the capability sets (a concept mooted by Amartya Sen) of citizens being governed. This leads to enhancements of their personal security and freedom to make choices for their welfare. Therefore there is a need to identify a fundamental shift in the purpose and methods of government (H. George, 2008).

Globalisation, in its primary sense, means expansion of economic transactions and the organization of economic activities across the political boundaries of nation-states. So it is not only pertaining to market economy but also to political democracy (Nayyar, 2002). Globalization usually implies increase in trade, investment, technology and labour flows between economies. It was expected by some that as globalization occurs, the state would wither away. "... Many participants in the globalization debate seem to agree about the decreasing economic, political, and cultural importance of (nation) state. From above the central role of state is being hollowed out by international

political organization and from below by the growing phenomenon of local government, which seems to have become the example of what good governance should be about" (Schuurman, 2001). Similarly Lieten (2003) has argued that "The agenda of decentralization fits another agenda, namely the agenda of globalization and the rolling back of the State. Globalization actually sucks the local into a centralizing process of the free market. Nation-States are somewhat receding and ceding sovereign power to market forces". "The impact of globalisation will be felt at the grassroots and especially by the marginalized, weaker and the poor segments of the society. It has to be to be mitigated trough micro actions in the field and macro actions through policies and decisions."(Palanithurai, 2008, as cited in Sathe, 2009). It is generally accepted that the State has a very crucial role to play in the provision of basic, public services especially to the marginalized sections as they cannot access the market for these services. In a village in India, it is the responsibility of the locally-elected body, i.e. the Gram Panchayat to provide these basic, public services. While decentralisation has undoubtedly gained popularity within the last two decades, it is not a new concept. The term attracted attention long ago when British and French colonial administrations prepared colonies for independence by devolving responsibilities for certain programmes to local authorities. In the 1980s decentralization came to the forefront of the development agenda alongside the renewed global emphasis on governance and human-centered approaches to development. Today both developed and developing countries are pursing decentralisation policies.

There is a world-wide effort now going on, especially in the developing countries to craft institutions and administrative processes that would successfully deliver developmental goals with people's own active engagement, ensuring authenticity, inclusiveness, transparency and social justice. The World Development Report focused on the globalization and localization and saw localization as revitalizing the local realm by raising levels of participation and involvement and providing people with a greater ability to shape their own lives. The world development report 1999 recognizes the importance of the locals for raising levels of participation and providing people with greater ability to shape the context of their lives. It is here that the vertical structure of power get decentralized, horizontalised and democratized and is rooted locally in the political, social and economic organizations of the people and themselves. Any democratic polity, in order to ensure good governance, should provide citizens with what Habermass describes as the public sphere. With Habitat II or the City Summit in 1996, the general assembly of the United Nations officially recognized the vitality of local politics and importance of local variations

in the era of globalization. Globalization is rendering the public sphere competitive and people need to be provided with an enabling environment to fight inequalities created by it.

Globalisation is also identified as one of the reasons for the growth in the era of local governance. It is also called The Age of Local Governance (Dentres, 2005). According to Dentres and Lawrence following trends have led to decentralization. Their study is primarily focused upon European and Western countries. However some of the factors do have resonance for developing nations as well.

Micro Trends:

- Modernization of the individual citizen.
- 2) Citizen orientation towards governments has changed. Government's legitimacy is dependent on its performance.
- Increase in skills of the citizens due to the rise of new channels of participation, increased education.

Macro trends:

- 1) Urbanization, globalization (Social Exclusion & Environmental concerns)
- a) European Integration
 - a) Funds for Local governments
 - b) Changed balance of power

Entire bundle of literature available on this topic today focuses on the nexus between globalisation and Local Governance or Decentralisation. Various models and methods are being developed to counter the problems posed by globalisation. Local governance units are also seen as a panacea for this phenomenon. In this context, panchayats as people's institutions of self-governance have a critical role to play. One of the ill effects of globalisation is believed to be erosion or dilution of the state authority. In the process, the state is devoid of its legitimacy or at least it becomes vulnerable. In the opinion of many scholars, decentralisation of powers and authority towards the grassroots units is considered as a positive step to maintain this diminishing legitimacy (Palanithurai, 2008). The idea of an Indian rural area or a village is also changing fast. It is in a state of flux. However one cannot ignore the discourses on caste and gender while looking at politics taking shape in rural India. The Indian government, immediately after independence, embarked on the project of rural development. The central government created its own administrative hierarchy for rural development with a plethora of special programmes that all bypassed the so called Panchayati Raj Institutions. In the next six decades after independence, India remained committed to strengthening the roots of decentralised governance. Many committees and commissions were appointed which have made recommendations that crystalise its

role and functions in the present setup. Nevertheless the mere decentralisation of powers is meaningleas and an empty idea in the absence of literate, aware, informed and skilled citizens, for they are the true bearers of power. This also needs be contextualised in fast globalising India to understand the impact of both on each other. Those who are at the helm of affairs at the grassroots are to be trained in the craft of governance to deal with changes introduced by globalization. Leaders at the grassroots level who manage the local affairs have to be made aware of the implications of globalisation and hence they have to be sensitized (Palanithurai, 2008). Today the idea of decentralization is associated with 'good governance' (Lieten, 2003). There was an increasing feeling that "These people, however poor and illiterate, however much repressed by gender, caste and class, have a richness of thought that needs to be tapped much more than has been done so far" (Lieten, 2003). Why India is an important case of study is the fact that, she has been able to create a wide democratic base today. The expansion of the Panchayati Raj Institutions in their new form is a very significant movement as, earlier, Lok Sabha, Rajva Sabha and 25 State assemblies and 2 Union Territories used to elect only 4,963 members. Today every five years, 30 lakh representatives are elected out of which 10 lakh (i.e. 33 %) are women and 22.5% seats are reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Institute of Social Sciences, 2000: 10).

Panchayati Raj Institutions: Central Processing Units of Democracy:

The Panchayati Raj Institutions are to be seen as the Central Processing Unit of Indian democracy. These grassroots level units are the schools of our democracy. If they are fed with appropriate inputs then it will be easier to earn outputs that will strengthen democracy as a whole in our country. Hence, while focusing on Panchayati Raj Institutions in India researcher has meticulously tried to look at issues of empowerment of people, delivery and availability of public services, issues pertaining to capacity building (Social Capital) and social audit. It is well recognized that local bodies have an important role to play in the democratic process and in meeting the basic requirements of the people. The old adage, "for every citizen, most government is local government" still holds good. However ground level analysis of Panchayati Raj Institutions reveals that they have not been honestly vested with the powers, functions and financial resources and necessary autonomy. In fact, it still remains a rubber stamp 3rd tier of Indian federalism (Tremblay, 2001). Financial constraint is the biggest problem faced by Panchayati Raj Institutions. And if, Panchayati Raj Institutions are to work as the prime mechanism of development, then they have to be given proper financial resources especially in a global world. Local governments throughout the world (Western Industrialized world) played a

major role in the delivery of fundamental collective public and quasi-public goods. Local governments have begun to develop a leadership role in some of the broader challenges of community governance especially in the current context of globalization. The present century has to fight many global challenges with local initiatives and local efforts. Some of the common global challenges are poverty, hunger, elementary education and empowerment of the weaker section of society, "the Have-nots" as Marx called them.

References:

- Crook C. Richard and Manor James, Democracy and Decentralisation in South Asia and West Africa: Participation, Accountability& Performance, the Press Syndicate of University of Cambridge, 1998 Denters Bas & Rose Lawrence E, Comparing LocalGovernance-Trends & Development, Palgrave MacMilan, 2005
- Dubey M.P. & Padalia Munni, Democratic Decentralization and Panchayati Raj Institutions, (Eds.), Anamika Publishers and Distributors, 2002
- Harriss, John, Antinomies of Empowerment: Observations on Civil Society, Politics and Urban Governance, Economic and Political Weekly, 42(26),pp2716-2724, 2007

- Institute of Social Sciences, Status of Panchayati Raj inthe States and Union Territories of India, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co., 2000
- Jean Dreze & Sen Amartya, India: Development and Participation, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002
- Kothari Rajani, "Decentralization: The Real Issue", Seminar, 360, pp14-19, 1989
- Lieten G.K., Power, Politics and Rural Development: Essays on India, New Delhi: Manohar, 2003
- Manor James, The Political Economy of Democratic Decentralisation, Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1999
- Nayyar Deepak, 'Governing Globalization: Issues and Institutions, Oxford University Press, 2002
- Palanithurai G & Ramesh R, Globalisation: Issues at the Grassroots, Concept publishing company, 2008
- Rao Govinda M & Singh Nirvikar, Political Economy of Federalism in India, Oxford University Press, 2005
- 12. Sathe Dhanmajiri, Does Governance Improve with Globalisation? A Case Study of Village Level Institutions in

- Maharashtra, India, Institute of Management Bangalore, 2009
- 13. Schuurman Frans J (Eds.), Globalization and Development Studies: Challenges for the 21st Century, New Delhi, Vistaar Publications, 2001
- 14. Sen Amartya, Development as freedom, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000
- 15. Tremblay Reeta C., Globalisation

- and Indian Federalism, IJPA, Vol: XLVII, No: 2, April-June, 2001
- World Bank, Governance and Development, Washington D.C.:World Bank, 1992
- 17. World Commission on Social Dimension of Globalization, A Fair Globalization: Creating Opportunities for All, New Delhi: Academic Foundation, 2006

An Invitation

The Local Government Quarterly invites contributions in the form of articles and research papers from its readers and well-wishers.

Contributions may be e-mailed to us in digital form as a Word file.

Articles could normally be between 3000 and 4000 words, though we do not wish to limit the size. As we print in black and white, tables, charts, graphs, images, etc. need to be compatible.

Contributors may mail their articles to the Chief Editor, Local Government Quarterly.

All India Institute of Local Self-Government

M. N. Roy Human Development Campus, Plot No.6, 'F' Block, TPS Road No.12, Bandra (E), Mumbai – 400051, India.
Tel: +91-22-2657 17 13 / 2657 17 14 / 2657 17 15
E-mail: aiilsgquarterlyjournal@gmail.com
Fax: +91-22-2657 21 15

Tax. 131-22-2031 21 10

Local Governance During Global Change - Aligning Development and Climate Co-benefits

Mahendra Sethi, Subhakanta Mohapatra

1. Introduction

Urban societies are facing rapid global changes, be it degradation of air and water quality, depleting natural landcover and desertification, diminishing bio-diversity or the onslaught of global warming. Cities contribute to climate change (CC) and cities are affected by CC (IPCC, 2007; UN-Habitat, 2011; IPCC, 2014). While the discourse on the former focuses on the study of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions and is integral to define mitigation strategies, the latter part of the inter-relation attains greater understanding in the realm of CC adaptation. A noteworthy research on the subject (World Bank, 2010), estimates the magnitude of this relation by underscoring the urban stakes of anthropogenic consumption and emissions. It states that the 50 largest world cities combined, rank 3rd in both population & GHG emissions, and 2nd in GDP when compared with the largest and wealthiest countries. Cities meet approximately 72 per cent of their total energy demand from coal, oil, natural gas-the main contributors to GHGs. People living in cities across the globe are expected to double by 2050, while the built-up area is expected to triple during the same period (Angel et al, 2005). Concurrently, over the last century, emissions from fossil fuel burning, that forms the biggest bunch of GHG basket, have mounted seven folds from about 1000 mt CO2e in 1920s to over 6500 mt CO2e in 2000. As the United Nations points out, in their review of linkages between CC and urbanization, the two pose to be the greatest challenges currently facing humanity in the 21st Century, and whose effects are converging in dangerous ways. (UN-Habitat, 2011).

Under such rapid global changes, co-benefits approach helps us to align interventions that are at the crossroads of climate action, development needs and improvement of local environment. The urban

climate co-benefits approach (refer Figure 1 for conceptual understanding) refers to the implementation of initiatives (policies, projects, etc.) that simultaneously contribute to reducing the contribution to man-made global CC while solving local environmental problems in cities, and in turn potentially having other positive developmental impacts, such as improvements in citizen health, energy security, income generation, etc. (UNU-IAS, 2013).

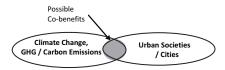


Figure 1: Conceptual diagram showing research of co-benefits in the inter-disciplines of Climate Change and Cities

The aim of this paper is to pursue theoretical and empirical understanding in this inter-disciplinary area that could have implications on local governance, with India as the case in point. Accordingly the paper posits the research in the Indian context capturing rapid changes of urbanization and CC in Section 2. This is followed by Section 3 that reviews the normative role of urban local bodies in India by reviewing the current state of the affairs. Section 4 attempts to theoretically and empirically determine the potential of climate co-benefits while attaining development objectives. This leads to an elaborate discussion on co-benefit inclusive urban governance in section 5. Lastly, section 6 concludes with summarizing major findings, to steer future research and policy.

2. Rapid Changes in India: The case of urbanization and climate change

Like many developing nations, India too is experiencing rapid global changes like urbanization and climate change. For the first time since its independence in 1947, the absolute increase in population in urban areas is more than in rural areas (Census of India, 2011). With a total urban population of 377 million in India, urbanization increased from 27.81 per cent in 2001 to 31.16 per cent in 2011 (MoUD, 2011). It took nearly 40 years (1971-2011) for India's urban population to rise 270 million, but in future it may take half the time to add the same number. As per various estimates, by 2030, India's urban population will be 590 million (Mckinsey, 2010) to 600 million (MoUD, 2011), that is about 40 per cent of the total and it would break-even with the rural population by 2039. Beyond this phenomenal increase of urbanites, Indian population stands against a huge risk of climate variability. The Government of India has brought out CC impact assessment report on India titled "Climate Change Assessment and India: A 4x4 Assessment" focusing on a sectoral and

regional analysis for 2030. The key findings of the Report (MoEF, 2010a) with regard to CC impact by 2030 in India, among others are rise in annual mean surface air temperature from 1.7 to 2.0 degree centigrade, intensifying of extreme daily maximum and minimum temperatures, small increase in annual precipitation, increase in diseases due to rise in temperature, extreme rainfall and flooding; rise in sea level along the Indian coast at the rate of about 1.3 mm per year on an average, reduction in forest vegetation and decrease in water availability.

Meanwhile the most recent emission assessment of the Ministry of Environment & Forests (MoEF), Government of India, through its Indian Network of Climate Change Assessment (INCCA) accounts India's GHG emissions at 1.72 bt CO2e in 2007 and ranks it 5th in the world, behind USA, China, EU and Russia (MoEF, 2010b). Recent assessments from CAIT 2.0 position India at fourth place with 2.35 bt CO2e (including landuse change and forestry) thus overtaking Russia. Interestingly, the amount of emissions of USA and China are almost four times that of India. Another study supported by the Indian Government (MoEF, 2009) predicts the emissions over the next two decades, which on an average of 4 models presented, is bound to become three folds, from 1.72 bt CO2e (2007) to 5.22 bt CO2e (2030-31) while per capita emissions will also become two and half times from 1.5 t CO2e (2007) to 5.6 t CO2e (2030-31). A superimposed time-series of urban population and GHG emissions, a scenario spanning over 80 years is plotted in Figure 2. It clearly indicates that akin to the globally evident phenomenon, rapidly and dangerously escalating economic growth and urbanization point to an immediacy to limit global warming, a situation where cities play a pivotal role in dealing with CC. The above scientific evidence at the global level provides an essential base- it is how cities choose to plan and manage their local development and environment will determine the pace of global warming. In this context, the approach of generating and estimating climate co-benefit in urban India could be highly potential sum for its sustainable and low-carbon future.



Figure 2: Scenarios of India's urbanization and GHG emissions

Source: The time series analysis is generated by the authors based on the following data sources:

 Urban Population data from TCPO (2012), 'Data Highlights (Urban) based on Census of India', Town & Country Planning

- Organisation, Government of India, New Delhi. Projections for 2039 from MoUD 2011, 'India's Urban Demographic Transition'.
- GHG emissions data (1994 & 2007) from MoEF (2010b): 'India: Greenhouse Gas Emissions 2007', Indian Network for Climate Change Assessment, MoEF, India and forecasts for 2030/2031 averaged from five models from MoEF (2009) :' India's GHG Emissions Profile', Climate Modelling Forum, MoEF. India

The State of Urban Governance in India

A sea change in local administration occurred in 1993 when, in order to decentralise power, the government conferred constitutional authority to the ULBs through the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA), making them pillars for Tier-III governance, below the tier of the centre and the states. As per the the Central Finance Commission (CFC), out of 7.935 census towns in India there are 3,842 ULBs in the form of municipal corporations, municipalities, municipal councils, municipal boards, nagar panchayats, town councils and notified area councils exercising authority, powers and functions delegated by the state (CFC, 2010). The 74th CAA added Article 243 W (the 12th Schedule) defining 18 functions. As is evident, most of the provisions have a considerable influence on the mitigating capacities of a city. But without actual functions, jurisdictions and so on devolved to them by line departments, parastatal authorities, boards or trusts already functioning in urban areas, the 74th CAA remains on paper, as only ten states have transferred mandated functions (Jha and Vaidya, 2011). The Act also provides for the constitution of the State Finance Commissions, every five years, to review financial administration by local governments and to suggest further transfers. However, as observed by the 13th CFC, there are long delays in the constitution and delivery of final reports of the respective state finance commissions.

CC finds a narrow reference in the national environmental policy framework (MoEF, 2006). Most of the document clarifies India's position in the international CC debate rather than to offering a nationwide integrated approach on the subject. This is followed by the national-level climate plan adopted by central government, which identifies eight missions: National Solar Mission, National Mission for Enhanced Energy Efficiency, National Mission on Sustainable Habitat, National Water Mission, National Mission for Sustaining the Himalayan Ecosystem, National Mission for a Green India. National Mission for Sustainable Agriculture and National Mission on

Strategic Knowledge for Climate Change (MoEF, 2008). Themes bearing strong potential to influence urban India are the national missions on sustainable habitat, energy efficiency, solar mission, green India and strategic knowledge for CC. There are two major concerns where the policy confines its outlook. First, it does not follow an integrated view but a squarely sectoral approach to containing GHG emissions. Second, it is limited to the identification of the institutional and procedural mechanisms that will enable the action plan to function, as such it is virtually a vision paper.

Meanwhile Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), another major urban initiative was introduced by national government in 2005 to invest more than Rs.1,00,000 crore in 65 cities for upgrading physical infrastructure, urban transport, housing for the urban poor and good governance. The funding was based on a strategic planning document called 'The City Development Plan'. It is striking that any aspect pertaining to CC mitigation or adaptation was not a prerequisite for this strategic vision. As in June 2012, 554 projects at a total cost of Rs 62,253 crore have been sanctioned under the head of Urban Infrastructure and Governance (Press Information Bureau, 2012). It is gradually being understood that the mission has fallen short of building substantial technical

and managerial capacities of ULBs. As noted by the Second Administrative Reforms Commission (SARC), capacity-building measures should not be confined to the selected towns but should be available for all cities/towns (SARC, 2007).

Most of the urban bodies are weak and encounter immense operation and management pressure, staff shortages, a lack of sufficient capacities, equipment and technologies, and overlapping jurisdiction to deal with elementary urban issues (Jha and Vaidya, 2011; Siwach, 2011; Singh, 2011; Sethi, 2011). Expenditure on salaries and wages accounts for 54.2 per cent of the total municipal expenditure. In several states, however, it is as high as 80.4 per cent (India Infrastructure Report, 2006). In addition, there are external challenges such as the growing population, horizontal coordination, political allegiance and transparency, thus putting the mitigation of CC on the backburner. Without any formidable financial powers of the ULBs, the current situation in India is bound to remain unchanged. The problem is acute in states where octroi has been abolished with no significant initiatives taken to expand the resource base (SARC, 2007; Thakur, 2011). This indicates limited leeway to push market-oriented mitigation mechanisms. Along similar lines to property tax reforms, the union government and the SFCs have

examined the issue of user charges also and recommended that appropriate rates should be charged for the services provided by the municipal bodies. The union government has made it mandatory for ULBs in the JNNURM to levy reasonable user charges with the objective that the full cost of operation and maintenance is collected within the next five years (SARC, 2007). Thus any additional user charges on account of pushing GHG-mitigating technology and practices within cities also need to be levied directly on users. This enforces the principle of 'polluter pays', but for transparent management, any additional carbon tax, cess or levy should be deposited in a separate 'escrow' account or a 'fund' and be used to generate cobenefit projects or capacity-building.

There is also a growing demand to use land banks, floor area ratio (FAR), transferable development rights (TDR) and accommodation reservation as resources to make ULBs independent (SARC, 2007; Chotani, 2011). There are voices emanating internationally and from within the country that seek changes to the traditional role of ULBs - from provider to facilitator (SARC, 2007; Mckinsey, 2010; Jain, 2011; Siwach, 2011). It is gradually being realised that separation of the functions of policy, regulation and operations is necessary, and policy and regulatory functions can be with the government, and the delivery functions can be assigned to the private sector.

4. Aligning Development and Climate Co-benefits in Cities

CC is caused by complex anthropogenic activities and requires multiple strategies for mitigation and adaptation. The co-benefits approach in CC has surfaced as a means to achieve more than one outcome with a single policy (IPCC, 2007; IPCC, 2014). Climate co-benefits have been identified by various organizations as win-win opportunities to tackle CC with other positive outcomes (OECD, 2003; MOEJ, 2008; Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, 2009). The distinct feature about generating co-benefits is that it pro-actively envisages for positive externalities in climate friendly projects, cutting through multi-sectoral and multi-level challenges. It is generally accepted now that by linking policies in CC within various development sectors like energy, buildings, transportation, landuse and waste; coordinated efforts at the local level can be fostered as an effective intervention for pursuing co-benefits. At the same instance, these actions are crucial to attain national and international goals of sustainable development. As per the most widely understood definition, urban climate co-benefits approach refers to the implementation of initiatives (policies, projects, etc.) that simultaneously contribute to reducing the contribution to man-made global CC while solving

local environmental problems in cities, and in turn potentially having other positive developmental impacts, such as improvements in citizen health, energy security, income generation, etc. (UNU-IAS, 2013). Though many actions meant to combat CC, inadvertently have other local benefits, but the co-benefits approach seeks to purposefully multiply and mainstream climate co-benefits into the development process.

The co-benefits theory is constantly being tried and tested in urban areas across the world. It has been argued that if CC policies are to be implemented, they must match the local priorities of countries and cities (Puppim de Oliveira, 2009). When it comes to cities in developing countries there is limited research and action, whatever exists is dominated by adaptation paradigm (Adger et al., 2003; Revi, 2008), because those cities were polluting less and had less capacity to adapt to climatic change. However, in recent years, cities in developing countries have increased their emissions enormously, through growth in both urbanization and income. For example consider the World's biggest urbanized nations -China and India. In China, the largest 35 cities contribute 40 per cent of the country's CO2 emissions, though they have only 18 per cent of the population (Dhakal, 2009). Similarly, urban India which is home to about one-third of national population reportedly contributed to about two-thirds of its GHG emissions (Sethi & Mohapatra 2013). Hence it could be argued with little uncertainty that co-benefits approach is highly relevant to transforming societies burgeoning in the developing countries, which have to address several challenges simultaneously with limited technical know-how, financial resources and managerial capacities. Their cities particularly face an uphill task to become sustainable. They are stressed with explosive population and the growing need for basic services. This natural increase in demand of resources is simultaneous with degradation of local environment, insanitary conditions, air, water and noise pollution and overlooking of best practices.

Environmental issues are least prioritized in cities of developing countries, where provision of basic services, roads, shelter and jobs for the urban population takes centre stage. These cities are engines of growth, propelled by carbon spewing energy, manufacturing sector or services sector that thrive on high consumptive behavour. In both the cases, GHG footprints of urban settlements extend well beyond their administrative boundaries. On the top of this, these cities have little resilience to impacts of global warming, heat waves, floods,

storm surges, landslides, heat islands, etc. They also host large population of poor people living in the most environmentally vulnerable locations (Satterthwaite, 2009). Responding to local environmental problems and the test of CC simultaneously, cities are in the right position to effectively assess multiple challenges and their trade-offs associated with rapid growth, sustainable development, mitigating excessive emissions and adapting to CC. The co-benefit approach tries to address this challenge, with integration of mitigation and adaptation agendas, vertical and horizontal coordination between sectors and scales of intervention. It attempts to internalize the global change policy within prevailing development, environmental portfolios, policy instruments, research discourse and governance mechanisms, through innovative strategies and actions. It also helps accure benefits from possible locked in emissions. A well determined application of cobenefit approach is still at an incipient stage in India. Though the Government duly acknowledges it within its national climate policy i.e. National Action Plan for Climate Change, there seems limited understanding to analyze potential climate co-benefits in urban area.

Potential climate co-benefits across various sectors in an urban area could be assessed/gauged by disaggregation of actual emissions.

One such detailed study of emissions from India's urban sphere (Sethi & Mohapatra 2013), reports potentially huge contributions from sectors of energy (59.26 per cent), iron & steel (9.66 per cent), cement (10.70 per cent) and transport (5.85 per cent), refer Table 1. It further emphasizes that there is an urgent need to internalize climate strategies within the prevailing urban governance, which is only viable through rational and systematic estimation of climate co-benefits in urban areas.

5. Co-benefits Incusive Urban Goverannce

Co-benefits in a city is relevant to many of activities and governance matters, such as public health, transport, land use, development controls, local taxes, waste management and public parks, which the local bodies are already committed to. In order to explore co-benefits inclusive urban governance, the most extensively mandated framework globally by UN Habitat and the OECD is followed. This reviews different modes of governance that is, through self-governance, provision, regulation and enabling across various sectors, as discussed in detail below and recommends suitable policy mechanisms therein.

5.1 Electricity generation

Electricity generation from fossil fuels is largely under the control of the

Table 1: Estimation of potential urban contributions to national GHG emissions

S.N o.	Sector	GHG Emissions Mt CO2e 2007	Justifications	Potential urban contributions Mt CO2e 2007	Urban India sectoral emission (%)	Sectoral component of total Urban India emission (%)
1	Electricity	719.3	Predominantly urban	719.3	100	59.26
2	Transport	142	87% is road based, 57.44% of total motor vehicles in the country owned in urban households	70.98	50.0	5.85
3	Residential *	137.8	Urban households form 33.29% of the total indian households	45.88	33.3	3.78
4	Other Energy+	100.9	Petroleum refining is a peri-urban phenomenon.	33.85	33.6	2.79
5	Cement	129.9	Predominantly urban	129.92	100.0	10.70
6	Iron & Steel	117.3	Predominantly urban	117.32	100.0	9.66
7	Other Industry^	165.3	Other metal and chemical is urban	38.92	23.5	3.21
8	Agriculture	334.4	Non-urban	0	0.0	0.00
9	Waste	57.73	Urban emissions considered in the assessment by INCAA	57.73	100.0	4.76
10	LULUCF	-177		0	0.0	0.00
TOTAL		1728		1213.9	70.3	100.00

Source: Sethi & Mohapatra 2013 based on data from 'India: Greenhouse Gas Emissions 2007', Indian Network for Climate Change Assessment, MoEF 2010b and similar frameworks in Cities & Climate (UN Habitat 2011) derived from Barker et al 2007 and Satterthwaite 2008

National Thermal Power Corporation, and transmitted and regulated through the Power Grid Corporation and Central Electricity Agency, respectively, all being centralised public entities. The complete system is subject to centre-state negotiations with minimal representation of the ULBs. Other than limited mandate and finances on power, owing to direct carbon emissions and nuisance value, municipal governments find it difficult to even secure lands to install WTE plants within their jurisdiction, as seen in the case of Delhi Jindal Plant (Down to Earth, 2012). India has plans to enhance its thermal power-plant capacity significantly to produce 75,785 MW in the base-case scenario by 2017 (Government of India, 2012). Smart grids, power reforms to reduce generation, and transmission losses can prove to be good governance mechanisms. A reduction in fossil-fuel subsidies, taxes or carbon charges on fossil fuels, renewable energy obligations and loans on renewable energy production are some

^{*} Residential emissions also include Commercial sector

^{*}Restlement emissions also include commercial sector

+Other energy includes Petroleum Refining and Solid Fuel Manufacturing, Agriculture & Fisheries, Fugitive Emissions

^Other industries comprising of pulp/paper, leather, textiles, food processing, mining and quarrying, and non specific industries comprising of rubber, plastic, watches, clocks, transport equipment, furniture etc.

international best practices (World Bank, 2009). An additional consideration of 18,500 MW kept in the base-case scenario for 2017 through renewable sources will be a major thrust to reduce emissions. The devolution of distribution functions to ULBs or regulatory powers can strengthen their position. The cap and trade mechanism between states where ULBs also have a stake will trigger low-carbon technologies and practices, and complete the demand and supply side of the sector.

5.2 Transport

Urban local bodies play a significant role in the mitigation of carbon emissions arising from motor transport. In many Indian cities there are sector-specific parastatal agencies such as the transport corporation/undertaking to manage city traffic and bus services. Analysis of selected Indian cities suggests that as the municipal area expands from 40 sq. km to 550 sq. km, the overall city emissions rise from 1 million tons of CO2 to over 7 million tons of CO2, thereby, showing a strong correlation between city size and fuel emissions (ICLEI, 2009). The case of the capital city has seen a reduction in direct CO2 emissions from public transport after the fuel switch to natural gas, and as the Central Road Research Institute study showed, Delhi Metro saved 16,60,000 vehicle km and 2275 tons of GHG

emissions by 2007 (SARC, 2007). Many metropolitans, such as Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Kolkata, Mumbai, Kochi, Jaipur and Pimpri-Chinchwad, are gradually shifting to mass-transit metros, bus-rapid transit, light rail systems and so on. Further emphasis is needed on mandatory fuel economy, biofuel blending and CO2 standards for road transport, taxes on vehicle purchase, registration, motor fuels or roads, parking pricing, and investment in public and land-use integrated transport (World Bank, 2009; Ahmed and Choi, 2010). Integrated land-use planning with transit corridors by assigning development hubs and allocating incentive zoning as executed in Sau Paulo, Hong Kong and Shanghai can result in a positive shift towards public transport and, thereby, reducing carbon emissions, as against indiscriminately permitting mixed land-use along the entire corridor as proposed in the Master Plan of Delhi. The national guidelines on this issue recommend setting up Urban Transport Authorities/Unified Metropolitan Transport Authorities in million-plus cities in India (MoUD, 2006). At present, such authorities have been constituted in a couple of metropolitans only, and their effectiveness has to be critically reviewed vis-à-vis the cost of jeopardising the authority of the ULBs.

5.3 Residential and commercial

Emissions in this sector are

representative of the built habitat an urban society lives in, and also how cities choose to plan and govern themselves. Indian cities during 2001-11 have grown by 44 per cent from natural population growth, and 56 per cent from rural-urban migration and changes in boundary definitions (TCPO, 2012). In the absence of any policy or regulatory mechanism to permit or limit the movement of people across state or local jurisdictions, the municipal bodies in India have no power to control migration. As the density increases there is a concentration of services, and people use more public and non-motorised forms of transport, reducing the transportation energy use per capita. Good land-use policies can encourage this trend. European cities tend to be more compact with greater reliance on public transport (Dodman, 2009). The adjacency of residential and commercial areas and mixed land-use development are central to this theme. Analysis of ICLEI data for 41 Indian cities shows that as city density increases from 2,500 to 25,000 per sq. km, carbon emissions rise from 1 to 7.5 million tons of CO2 while per capita carbon emissions decline from 1 to 0.75 tons of CO2, thus showing benefits on account of agglomeration and the sharing of infrastructure. Paradoxically, density is hardly exercised as a planning tool by authorities in India to shape cohesive and compact habitations. Even JNNURM, essentially an urban renewal programme, has hardly contributed to brownfield development. Allocating higher FAR and tradable development rights, and moderating property tax in inner areas can result in counter sprawl.

As reported recently, 10.73 per cent of houses in India are either vacant or locked, and most of this is under the fresh housing stock created in India during the last decade (Ministry of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation, 2012). The local authority needs invigorate schemes for rental housing, industrial housing, studio apartments and transient housing across the socioeconomic spectrum. The urgent need to regulate the real-estate sector has been recommended time and again (SARC, 2007; Revi, 2008) and will go a long way in achieving low-carbon habitations. International discourse mandates appliance standards and labelling, building codes and certification, demand-side management programmes, public-sector leadership programmes including e-procurement, and incentives for energy service companies (World Bank, 2009). Further, municipal building bylaws should incorporate power-conservation measures. In this regard, mandatory application of the Energy Conservation Building Code (ECBC) all over India is still pending. The Green Rating for Integrated Habitat Assessment (GRIHA), developed jointly by the Energy and Resources Institute and the

Ministry of New and Renewable Energy of the Government of India, is a green building 'design evaluation system' and is suitable for all kinds of building in different climatic zones of the country. According to GRIHA it is estimated that the average green building reduces energy use by more than 30 per cent, consumes less water and limits the waste sent to landfill sites (GRIHA, 2012).

5.4 Industry

With the emergence of the tertiary (services) sector in the last few decades. a reverse trend of disagglomeration of industries to the periphery or outside the city limits has started. In the large metropolitan cities, local government is under constant pressure of judiciary, citizen groups, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and so on to provide a clean and green environment for the growing middle-income majority, which is educated, environment conscious and earns from the service industries. As such, the ground reality of the sector from a governance and policy perspective is quite complex and confusing. Many cities housing 'heavy industry', such as iron and steel plants, locomotives and cement, such as Bhilai, Tatanagar and Rourkela, are governed by the industrial authorities themselves. Lately, Special Economic Zones have also been empowered for planning, provisioning infrastructure and maintenance, but not with monitoring ambient air quality or carbon emissions, because environmental functions are still with the respective state pollution-control boards. This reflects a limited and fragmented hold of the government, and calls for complete devolution of managerial powers upon ULBs.

Global best practices recommend provision of benchmark information, performance standards, subsidies, tax credits, tradable permits and voluntary agreements (World Bank, 2009). The first ever Emission Trading System was initiated in Tokyo in 2010 (PADECO report cited in UN Habitat, 2011) with a target to reduce CO2 emissions by 25 per cent below 2000 levels by 2020. Like power generation, it is high time that industries in urban areas are regulated by a cap and trade market mechanism with the government and citizen groups collectively acting as watchdogs. Measurement and monitoring by the ULBs will be a fundamental step in this direction.

5.5 Waste

Urban local bodies worldwide and in India have been constituted to provide basic services of sanitation. The very municipal act bestows the onus of managing city sewers, water logging and garbage on these authorities. In India, this has been strengthened by the Municipal Solid Waste Rules 2000

under the Environmental Protection Act 1986, by which the responsibility to manage solid waste by scientific planning and management, and the setting up of landfill sites and treatment plants, is delegated to the municipal bodies. However, as far as capacities are concerned, the municipal authorities have limited human, material and financial resources to scientifically manage waste. It is surprising to note that many local bodies lack the basic knowledge and equipment to measure and handle waste. Though the generation of waste is increasing, it is difficult to agree that mitigation capacities are developing at the same pace.

Global think tanks suggest financial incentives for improved waste and waste-water management, renewable energy incentives or obligations, and waste-management regulations (World Bank, 2009). Effective waste management is dependent on how well cities garner alliances between diverse stakeholders who are active in the field, such as private entrepreneurs, NGOs, citizen groups and the municipal government itself. The carbon reclaimed in the WTE practices, though small, will give fourfold benefits by halving the GHG emissions from waste while doubling energy production from the present levels, so this promises significant opportunities in the future. The SARC recommendations for solid waste

management issues in local governance mandates that (i) in all towns and cities with a population above 0.1 million the possibility of taking up public-private partnership (PPP) projects for the collection and disposal of garbage may be explored; after (ii) creating suitable capacities to manage contracts; (iii) municipal bylaws/rules should provide for the segregation of waste into definite categories based on its manner of final disposal; and (iv) special solidwaste management charges should be levied on units generating large amounts of solid waste. Thus a balanced, enabling and regulatory approach seems most appropriate for the Indian case.

5.6 Land use, land-use change and forestry

The sector has been understood for urban forestry and agriculture, though many cities have intermittent vet significant open lands available. The local governance is generally not supportive to actually enhance tree cover or promote rooftop agriculture/gardening as seen in many European settlements. Yet vast potential exists: as per the recent figures, green cover in Delhi has increased from 26 sq. km in 1997 to about 296,20 sq. km in 2009 (Forest Survey of India, 2011) as a result of an eco joint force being set up. This again offers significant cobenefits as it enhances the mitigation capacities of the urban system, reduces the heatisland effect and thereby limits the use of air-conditioning in buildings and vehicles, and also diminishes transportation emissions resulting from the haulage of food into cities from villages. The augmentation of the assimilative capacities to local carbon emissions creates additional benefits.

Statutory bodies involved in plan preparation have been indulgent in acquiring cheaply available lands for the long-term planning process and have thereby driven suburbanisation, horizontal sprawls and change in land use and land cover. There is no incentive to citizens to save their land for environmental provisions and to go vertical, to reduce unnecessary travel time and to enjoy a better lifestyle. As Indian cities grow from 100, 500, 1,000, 2,000 to 3,000 sq. km, the average trip length increases from 3, 6.5, 7, 10 to 12 km, respectively (MoUD, 2008). Depending upon city size, the policy for any new planned development seeks 12–25 per cent under recreation (Urban Development Plan and Formulation Guidelines India, 1996), and many planned cities do have sufficient recreation areas with a multitier hierarchy of open spaces. As such, there is much potential through green management to mitigate carbon emissions if tackled earnestly.

Lower cobenefits exist in cities where the planning authorities were unable to meet the development pace, and have let squatter settlements, slums and unplanned colonies to come up, with no local parks and gardens. ULBs already under acute urbanization pressure to save precious vacant plots for municipal and sociocultural functions find urban greenery a liability rather than an opportunity. Recently, metropolitan cities like Delhi have shown the way and devolved municipal functions to maintain city parks to local wards and welfare associations. However, this is more to reduce the responsibility of the government than to empower grassroots institutions. Additionally, all such functions need to be made financially sustainable by integrating them with taxes or market mechanisms that are needed in the power and industry sectors. Thus there is a far greater role to be played by ULBs in this sector through regulation and facilitation, specifically in active land-use planning.

Conclusion

The research underscores the fact that in the light of economic development, growing urbanisation and GHG emissions, the relevance of cities and local governance cannot be undermined. There are definite drawbacks in prevailing governance mechanisms and ill-preparedness to mitigate CC. While urban areas contribute to almost two-thirds of national GDP and 70.3 per cent of national GHG emissions, they have

limited resources – merely 1.59 per cent of GDP as total expenditure on urban infrastructure. Further, the capacities of ULBs are deeply imperilled on account of the inadequate devolution of powers. While electricity generation from thermal power plants is the chief contributor of emissions (about 60 per cent), followed by the cement, and iron and steel industries (about 10 per cent each), the ULBs have no or restricted mandate over these subjects. In spite of the clear directions of the 74th CAA and recommendations made by various commissions, the states have done little to provide local autonomy to the ULBs to deal with sources or activities that contribute to GHG emissions and hence influence CC. The government's policy on the subject lacks sectoral integration, financing and marketbased instruments to control GHG emissions. Mitigation of CC was also absent in the biggest government investment and reforms scheme in the urban sector - the JNNURM. Nonetheless, mitigation of CC provides a good opportunity for cities to revisit their energy needs, regulations, provisions and enabling mechanisms, and also to review waste-management and land-use/land-cover management practices. It is also imperative to further research on urban-associated GHG emissions from the perspective of the consumption pattern.

Application of co-benefit approach to urban governance in India

indicates that the steps to be taken vary drastically across sectors. Most interventions need to be market oriented with trading systems, where the government acts as the regulator only, as in the case of industry, power and LULUCF. A mix of authoritative and provision based measures (along with the private sector and civil society organisations), as in case of the transport and waste sector, or a blend of restricting and enabling mechanisms are required to control indiscriminate urban sprawl. Yet one aspect is common; that all sectors require equally strong communication, participation and incentives to stakeholders to move forward on low-carbon pathways. The research, which is the first of its kind, presents the baseline case for assessing potential climate co-beenfits in an increasingly urbanising India, placing a strong emphasis on estimating and managing the GHG burden for appropriate urban governance. The future of urban GHG emissions in India depends hugely on how well various levels of the federal system - centre, states and local bodies - respond to the call on CC, and exercise powers and share collective responsibilities among themselves. It is an appropriate time for the ULBs to stand up for innovative regulatory and market-based governance, while the states devolve larger city-planning and management functions to these constitutional bodies, and the national-level government responds to a sharpening of policy,

mustering international support and financial commitments for local-level action.

References

- Adger, W.N., Huq, S., Brown, K., Conway, D., Hulme, M., (2003). Adaptation to climate change in the developing world. Progress in Development Studies 3 (3), 179e195.
- 2. Ahmed, S. and Choi, M.J. (2010), Urban India and Climate Change Mitigation Strategies towards Inclusive Growth, Theoretical and Empirical Research in Urban management, 6, 15, 60–73
- 3. Angel, Shlomo et al (2005), The Dynamics of Global Urban Expansion; World Bank, Washington D.C.
- Barker T., I. Bashmakov, L. Bernstein, J. E. Bogner, P. R. Bosch, R. Dave, O. R. Davidson, B. S. Fisher, S. Gupta, K. Halsnæs, G. J. Heij, S. Kahn Ribeiro, S. Kobayashi, M. D. Levine, D. L. Martino, O. Masera, B. Metz, L. A. Meyer, G.-J. Nabuurs, A. Najam, N. Nakicenovic, H.-H. Rogner, J. Roy, J. Sathaye, R. Schock, P. Shukla, R. E. H. Sims, P. Smith, D. A. Tirpak, D. Urge-Vorsatz and D. Zhou (2007) 'Technical summary', in B. Metz, O. R. Davidson, P. R. Bosch, R. Dave and L. A. Meyer

- (eds) Climate Change 2007: Mitigation, Contribution of Working Group III to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press) 25–93, http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessmentreport/ar4/wg3/ar4_wg3_full_report.pdf, last accessed October 7, 2012.
- Census of India (2011), Provisional Population Totals -2011, Paper–II, Vol– II, (New Delhi: Census of India), p.1
- CFC (2010), Local Governance' in Report of Thirteenth Central Finance Commission (New Delhi: Government of India), pp. 149–185.
- 7. Chotani, M.L., (2011), Managing Urban Land: Legislative and Planning Measures in Listed papers of 59th National Town and Country Planning Congress, Panchkula, Haryana on Land as Resource for Urban Development, pp. 294–302.
- Dhakal, S., 2009. Urban energy use and carbon emissions from cities in China and policy implications. Energy Policy 37 (11), 4208e4219
- Dodman, D (2009), Urban Form, Greenhouse Gas Emissions and

- Climate Vulnerability in: Population Dynamics and Climate Change, edited by J.M.Guzmán, G. Martine, G. McGranahan, D. Schensul and C. Tacoli. New York: United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA); London: IIED, Pp 64-79
- 10. Down to Earth (2012) Homepage (New Delhi: Centre for Science and Environment).
- 11. Envision Tomorrow (2014); doi:10.1016/j.enpol.2009.05.020
 Forest Survey of India (2011) India Report (New Delhi: Ministry of Environment and Forests), pp. 118–121
- 12. Government of India (2012) Report of The Working Group on Power for Twelfth Plan 2012–17 (New Delhi: Ministry of Power), p. 14.
- 13. GRIHA (2012) Green Rating for Integrated Habitat Assessment, http://www.grihaindia.org/, date accessed on September 18, 2012.
- 14. ICLEI (2009) Energy and Carbon Emissions Profiles of 54 South Asian Cities (New Delhi: International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives).
- India Infrastructure Report (2006)
 'Urban Infrastructure' in India Infrastructure Report (New Delhi:

- Indian Development & Finance Corporation
- IPCC (2007), Climate Change: Synthesis Report 4h Assessment Report. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom and New York, NY, USA.
- 17. IPCC, 2014: Climate Change 2014: Mitigation of Climate Change. Contribution of Working Group III to the Fifth Assessment Report . Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom and New York, NY, USA.
- Jain, A.K. (2011), Urban challenges for India and Revisiting Urban Planning, Nagarlok, XLIII, 3, 39–50.
- 19. Jha, G. and Vaidya, C. (2011) Role of Urban Local Bodies in Service Provision and Urban Economic Development: Issues in Strengthening their Institutional Capabilities, Nagarlok, XLIII, 3, 1–38.
- 20. Mckinsey (2010) India's Urban Awakening: Building Inclusive Cities Sustaining Economic Growth (New Delhi: Mckinsey Global Institute), 13-35
- 21. Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (2012) Report

- of the Technical Group on Urban Housing Shortage (TG-12), 2012–17 (New Delhi: Government of India), p. 14.
- 22. MoEF (2006) National Environment Policy (New Delhi: Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India), pp. 41–43.
- 23. MoEF (2008) National Action Plan for Climate Change (New Delhi: Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India), pp. 4–7
- 24. MoEF (2009) India's GHG Emissions Profile (New Delhi: Climate Modeling Forum), p. 9
- MoEF (2010a), Climate Change and India: A 4X4 Assessment – A Sectoral and Regional Analysis for 2030s, (New Delhi: Indian Network for Climate Change Assessment, Ministry of Environment & Forests), 129-140.
- MoEF (2010b), India: Greenhouse Gas Emissions 2007 (New Delhi: Indian Network for Climate Change Assessment, Ministry of Environment & Forests), 1-54
- MOEJ, Ministry of the Environment, Japan, (2008). The Co-benefits Approach for GHG Emission Reduction Projects. MOEJ, Tokyo.

- 28. MoUD (2008), Study on Traffic and Transportation Policies and Strategies in Urban Areas in India (New Delhi: Ministry of Urban Development), p. 67.
- 29. MoUD (2006), National Urban Transportation Policy (New Delhi: Ministry of Urban Development)
- MoUD (2011) India's Urban Demographic Transition: The 2011 Census Results-Provisional (New Delhi: JNNURM Directorate and National Institute of Urban Affairs), 2-4
- Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, (2009). Cobenefits of Climate Policy. Bilthoven, Netherlands. Report.
- 32. OECD, (2003). The Forgotten Benefits of Climate Change Mitigation: Innovation, Technological Leapfrogging, Employment, and Sustainable Development. OECD, Paris
- 33. Press Information Bureau (2012)
 'JNNURM Triggers Investments
 in Urban Infrastructure Sector',
 http://pib.nic.in released on
 October 11, 2012, date accessed
 on October 15, 2012.
- Puppim de Oliveira, J.A., 2009. The implementation of climate change related policies at the subnational

- level: an analysis of three countries. Habitat International 33 (3), 253e259.
- 35. Revi, A. (2008), Climate Change Risk: An Adaptation and Mitigation Agenda for Indian Cities, Environment and Urbanisation, 20, 1,207–229
- 36. SARC (2007) 6th Report: Local Governance (New Delhi: Government of India), pp. 198–309.
- 37. Satterthwaite D (2008) Cities' Contribution to Global Warming: Notes on the Allocation of Greenhouse Gas Emissions, Environment & Urbanization. Vol 20 (2), 539-549.
- Satterthwaite D., (2009) The implications of population growth and urbanization for climate change, Environment and Urbanization October 2009 Vol. 21(2), 545-567.
- 39. Sethi M. and Mohapatra S., Governance framework to mitigate climate change: challenges in urbanising India. in governance approaches to mitigation of and adaptation to climate change in Asia (ed. Huong, H. and Dhakal, T.N.), Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire, UK, (2013), pp. 200-230.
- Sethi, M. (2011) Alternative Perspective for Land Planning in Today's Context- Minimising

- Compensation Issues, Indian Valuer, XLIII, 4, 443–448.
- 41. Singh, S. (2011) Urban Governance and the Role of Citizen Participation- A Case of Small and Medium Towns of India, Urban India, 31, 1, 138–153.
- 42. Siwach, R. (2011) Capacity Building of Urban local Bodies for Urban Development: Some Emerging Areas for NGO Intervention, Urban India, 31, 1, 15–31
- 43. TCPO (2012) Data Highlights (Urban) based on Census of India, (New Delhi: Town & Country Planning Organisation), 1-19
- 44. Thakur, S. (2011) Evaluating the Financial Performance of Indian Cities: A Diagnostic Report, Urban India, 31, 2, 90–110.
- 45. UNHabitat (2011), Cities and Climate Change: Global Report on Human Settlements, UNCHS Publication; Earthscan; London, Washington D.C.
- 46. UNU-IAS (2013), Urban
 Development with Climate CoBenefits: Aligning Climate,
 Environmental and Other
 Development Goals in Cities.
 Yokohama: United Nations
 University Institute of Advanced
 Studies

- 47. Urban Development Plan and Formulation Guidelines India (1996) (New Delhi: Ministry of Urban Development & Poverty Alleviation), p. 147.
- 48. World Bank (2009) Climate Resilient Cities – A Primer on
- Reducing Vulnerabilities to Disasters (Washington D.C.: World Bank), p. 18.
- 49. World Bank (2010), Cities And Climate Change: An Urgent Agenda, New York

Problems Confronting Women Teachers Working in Rural Areas: Voices from the Field

Anita Nuna

Introduction

It is generally agreed by policy makers, planners and researchers that women teachers are instrumental not only in increasing enrolment of girl students but also in leaving a positive influence on their retention, performance and personality development. Scholars like Kirk are particularly enthusiastic about such views. Kirk believes that the presence of women teachers in schools is increasingly important as they perform an instrumental role in facilitating girls' education. She further adds that availability of women teachers has particular relevance in the South Asian context where the gender gap in school enrolment and retention remains significant (Kirk, 2008:4). Some literature tends to suggest that women teachers are positive role models as well as important motivating factors for patriarchal communities and parents to enroll girls in schools (Ashraf, 2008: 34). Both parents and girls feel safe and comfortable when women teachers are present in schools. The chances of girls' dropping out of school decrease with women teachers' presence in school (Bista, 2008: 87).

The lack of women teachers in schools, particularly in remote rural locations has been a major issue of concern for a long time before educational planners and policy makers. Each national development plan expressed concern about increasing the number of women teachers in schools. Almost every committee and commission set up by the government of India after Independence invariably considered the recruitment of women teachers as a powerful strategy for improving girls' education. The National Committee on Women's Education (1959) while analyzing the problems in educational development of girls and women clearly noted a major obstacle in the way of promoting girls' education is lack of women teachers. Hence, it strongly stressed on the need to initiate special measures that motivate women

from urban areas to accept posts of teachers in rural schools. It aspired to make provisions of special allowances, residential quarters for women teachers serving in rural areas near the school and reforming recruitment rules such as relaxation in the upper age limit at least up to 40 or 45 years for women candidates for their entry as school teachers. Another Committee set up by the government of India in 1963 to look into the causes of lack of public support particularly in rural areas, for girl's education and to enlist public cooperation, emphasized the need to provide residential accommodation to women teachers near the school premises. The report of the Education Commission (1964-66) emphasized that there should be a rule to have at least one woman teacher on the school staff and where the number of girls is large, at least one woman teacher for every 30 girls. Further, it recommended that opportunity be given to women teachers for part-time employment; residential accommodation be given particularly in rural areas and special allowances for women teachers for working in rural areas. It also suggested that the basis of recruitment of women teachers needs to be widened and their working conditions should be made more attractive. Moreover, women teachers, as far as possible, should be posted in or near their own villages (GOI, 1966).

Clearly, the entire discourse on girls' education is focused on increasing

the presence of women teachers, especially in rural areas. These recommendations are invariably considered in the country's five year development plans. In the First Five-Year Plan (1951-56) improvements in teachers' pay scale and conditions of service were provided for. In the Second Plan, states were given assistance to provide free accommodation for women teachers in rural areas, stipends for training of women teachers, construction of hostels in secondary schools for girls, and stipends for high school students to take up teaching. The Sixth and the Seventh Five-Year Plans particularly stressed on appointment of women teachers in rural areas to encourage girls' education.

The 1980s marked the beginning of more positive efforts geared towards increasing the number of women teachers in the country. Policy makers' attention was drawn towards the need to recruit more and more women teachers in schools for achieving the goal of Universal Elementary Education (UEE). The National Policy on Education (NPE) 1986, as revised in 1992 and its Programme of Action (POA) recommended that at least 50 percent of seats be reserved for women candidates in the recruitment policy of school teachers. This belief is also reflected in other programmes launched to achieve the goal of UEE. For instance, Operation Blackboard scheme, launched as a centrally sponsored scheme, laid

emphasis on the principle that every school must have at least two teachers and one of them should be a woman. The Lok Jumbish project in Rajasthan too emphasized on ensuring greater involvement of women teachers in rural schools by providing relaxation in the upper age limit and essential qualification required for women candidates, for entry into service as school teachers. Despite all these initiatives, schools in the rural and remote locations continue to face acute shortage of women teachers in many states. For instance, the analysis of Eighth All India School Education Survey, 2012 data with regard to women teachers' strength in rural schools shows that the percentage of women teachers to total teachers in rural areas at the primary stage, is as high as 83.34% in Goa; 72.46% in Daman and Diu; 44.31% in Gujarat; 44.38% in Dadra & Nagar Haveli and as low as 29.39% in Madhya Pradesh and 28.13 % in Rajasthan. Their strength decreases at successive school stages across states in the region (Table 1). Analysis of data also indicates that there was only a marginal increase in the proportion of women teachers in rural area schools during 2002-2009.

Table 1: School category wise percentage of women teachers (including para-teachers) in rural area schools (All Communities) in September 2002 and September 2009

	India/States/UTs	Primary Schools		Upper Primary Schools		Secondary Schools		Higher Schools	Secondary
		2002	2009	2002	2009	2002	2009	2002	2009
1	Goa	73.41	83.34	65.48	70.61	56.50	62.36	50.41	55.35
2	Gujarat	43.29	44.31	43.60	46.62	14.77	22.06	20.45	25.69
3	Madhya Pradesh	22.20	29.39	22.59	31.92	22.27	35.02	20.60	31.32
4	Maharashtra	32.27	34.99	31.55	37.04	16.05	20.71	16.03	18.92
5	Rajasthan	26.07	28.13	20.81	27.11	14.44	19.20	12.22	17.56
6	D. & N. Haveli	33.95	44.38	44.70	52.30	37.37	46.06	36.73	45.28
7	Daman & Diu	60.90	72.46	39.08	56.25	34.51	41.94	42.22	42.73

Source: Eighth All India School Education Survey, Flash Statistics, NCERT, New Delhi, 2012.

Main Thrust of the Previous Studies

Some scholars argued that teachers working in rural areas have to work under difficult and pitiable conditions which de-motivates them. Kapoor (1983) studied provisions and utilization of available facilities in primary schools of Gwalior district of Madhya Pradesh. He found that the basic facilities like drinking water and sanitation were inadequate in schools. Studies conducted by other scholars like Matto and Shekhar (1992) and Mazumdar (1985) also confirmed that primary schools lacked even minimum essential facilities. Chalam (1992) also found that rural schools have inadequate physical facilities as compared to urban schools. Lack of infrastructure facilities in schools de-motivates teachers and discourages them from working in rural areas. Arora and Chopra (1999) conducted a study on working conditions of primary school teachers in Madhya Pradesh. They found that a majority of teachers have to travel up to 3 km. and even more to reach their schools due to lack of transport facility in rural areas. A study on women teachers in rural India supported by INC, MHRD and UNESCO (2001) reveals that there are large inter - state variations in the share of women teachers in general and in rural areas in particular. The recruitment policy of states in terms of qualifications required, reservation of seats for women candidates and the selection criteria/process is one of the most critical factors affecting the number of women teachers in most places. Transport facilities, security, lack of toilet facilities are some of the other major issues affecting the shortage of women teachers in rural areas.

The Present Study

The presence of women teachers in schools is seen as one of the most crucial factors in promoting girls' education. It is equally important that women teachers have a congenial environment and their problems, if any, receive due attention and resolution so that they can perform their roles effectively. With this perspective in view, a study was undertaken by the author. In this study, central focus was laid on analyzing the problems confronted by women teachers while working in upper primary schools located in rural areas across the country as perceived by them and on action points to be considered to address these problems. The findings of the study cannot be generalized to the general population of women teachers across levels and regions, but they do provide some insights into the problems faced by women teachers especially in rural areas that require attention.

Research Questions

The study focuses on two questions: (i) Whether women teachers confront any problem while working in rural area schools? If yes, what are these problems and how do they act as demotivating factors for the women teachers. (ii) What actions women teachers perceive are required to be taken to address these problems?

Methodology

This paper is based on an analysis of quantitative as well as qualitative empirical evidences collected under the research project entitled 'A Study of Perceptions of Women Teachers Working in Rural Areas on Problems Confronting Them'. Data was collected mainly through a semi-structured questionnaire which was administered on a sample of 6700 upper primary rural school women teachers randomly selected from all the states and UTs falling in the Western region of the country. Of these only 1070 teachers responded. Later, qualitative responses were also collected through a face-toface interaction with a group of 55 women teachers selected out of those who had sent in their responses to the questionnaire, in a three day seminar organized for this specific purpose.

Variables Studied

Through the questionnaire, the information was collected on such parameters as distance to be traveled by teachers; mode of transport used; money spent in commuting; transport facilities; residential accommodation; childcare facilities; gender discrimination; infrastructure facilities in schools; recruitment, posting, transfer and promotional policies for women teachers

as existing in states and union territories of the Western region; special incentives to work in rural areas; and discrimination / difficulties faced, if any, for being a woman teacher while working in rural areas.

Sample of the Study

The study initially included 6700 randomly selected teachers which is around 10 percent of the total women teachers working in rural area upper primary schools in the entire Western region as shown in the Seventh All India School Education Survey (2005). Out of these teachers only 1070 returned the completed questionnaires. As five questionnaires were incomplete the final analysis has been done based on 1065 questionnaires which were received from Goa, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Dadra & Nagar Haveli & Daman and Diu. These women teachers were working in government rural schools handling classes VI-VIII/V-VII. The study covered women teachers teaching upper primary classes based on the assumption that at the primary school stage the parents may not have very strong reservation to send their girl child to a school having no women teachers, as at that stage children are considered to be kids. However, as the girls grow up, parents become very apprehensive about sending their girl child to upper primary or higher level schools if the school has only male

teachers. The women teachers involved in this study were teaching in schools which were only for girls, only for boys and also co-educational.

Collection of Data

A structured questionnaire was developed and the copies of the questionnaire were sent to the Education Departments of all the states in the Western region for distribution among women teachers working in rural areas handling classes VI-VIII. A total of 1,070 filled-in questionnaires were directly received from women teachers from states and union territories in the western region. 1065 of these filled up questionnaires were analyzed State-wise. After having received the responses from women teachers, a three-day seminar was organized for face-to-face interaction with 55 teachers selected on the basis of the scrutiny of responses. Selection of teachers for participation in the seminar was done on the basis of the quality of their responses. During the three day seminar, further discussion took place on the identified problems and actions to be taken to tackle these problems. Problems/difficulties confronting women teachers while working in rural areas are arranged according to their weightage (percentages). Data are analyzed state wise, but findings are interpreted and discussed collectively for the entire region.

Analysis and Discussion

The analysis begins with a brief introduction to the basic information about the women teachers whose voices have been included in the analysis. Out of the total 1,065 teacher respondents, majority (47%) were in the age group 40-50; followed by 33% in age group 30-40; and 20% in age group 20-30. Similarly, a large proportion of teachers (52%) were holding senior secondary school certificate with teacher training certificate, followed by 30% who were graduates with B.Ed qualification. 18% had post graduate qualification with B.Ed. A total of 157 (14.7%) teachers were working in schools only for girls; 91(8.54%) in only boys schools; and 817 (76.7%) in co-education schools. Out of the total 1,065 respondents, 724 (67.98%) reported that their head teachers were male and 341(32.02%) had female heads in their schools.

Problems faced by Women Teachers

Based on experiences of women teachers, the analysis found that lack of transportation facilities except in the union territory of Daman & Diu; and infrastructure facilities such as toilets, staff rooms, drinking water, boundary walls and security in schools are common major problems confronting women teachers working in rural areas. Women teachers working in rural areas confront transportation problems

mainly due to the fact that bus timings do not match with the school timings.

The second set of problems that emerged in the course of analysis is: lack of incentives (e.g. rural allowance) for working in rural areas; child care and educational facilities for children; and non-availability of residential accommodation in rural areas; that demotivate women teachers from serving in rural areas. However, a small number of respondents mentioned that they enjoy the facility of residential accommodation in rural areas that have been constructed by the Jan Sahyog, for example in Panghar block of district Dewas, Madhya Pradesh and by the administration of Daman & Diu. It also emerged that none of the states in the region has made provisions of any special rural allowance for teachers serving in rural areas.

Besides these problems, nonimplementation of 50% reservation / quota policy for women candidates; absence of special weight age either in terms of quota or relaxation in percentages of marks to rural educational background of girls during recruitment as teachers; no relaxation in the age limit; and insensitive posting and transfer policies of teachers are also affecting adversely the availability of women teachers in rural areas. None of the states in the region has reserved 50% quota for women candidates in the recruitment policy of upper primary school teachers. However, some states in the region for instance, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan have reserved 30% whereas Maharashtra has reserved 33% quota for women candidates. With the exception of Goa, none of the states in the Western region has made a policy of providing special weight age either in terms of marks or quota for those girls having rural academic background at the time of entry as a teacher in schools. Goa is the only state in the region that has made provisions of 12½ % weight age in percentages of marks to the girls with rural academic background. Similarly, none of the states in the region has made a policy of relaxation in the upper age limit for women candidates in the general category with exception of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, which have a provision of relaxation of 10 years and 5 years in age limit for employment, respectively. Gujarat has given 5 years of relaxation in the upper age limit only to women in difficult circumstances (widows, divorced, separated).

One of the most significant problems perceived by women teachers is related to posting and transfer policies adopted by states in the region for school teachers. Respondents feel that posting and transfer polices of teachers do not favour women teachers in the region. Upper primary school teachers are recruited district wise in all states of the Western region except in Goa where teachers are recruited zone wise where the entire state is divided into 6 zones.

The general policy in all states / union territories is that in the case of district—wise recruitment system, no transfer is given to teachers from one revenue district to another except in the union territory of Daman & Diu and Dadra & Nagar Haveli. Where girls enter into the teaching profession before marriage, they cannot apply for inter—district transfers in case their husbands are living / posted in another district. Teachers lose their seniority in case of inter-district transfers. This policy affects women teachers the most as perceived by the respondents.

The policy of posting husband and wife at the same place, though existing in all states with the exception of Goa and Maharashtra, is not followed strictly. It is mandatory for every teacher to serve in a rural area school for a prescribed period except in Goa and in the Union Territory of Daman & Diu. But the duration varies from state to state in the region. For instance this duration is 5 years in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Dadra & Nagar Haveli and 3 years in Maharashtra. It has emerged from the analysis of data that women teachers generally do not get chance to serve in urban areas even after completing fixed tenure of service in rural areas.

Actions to be taken as identified by women teachers

 Appointment of more female heads in co-educational institutions is

- needed. Respondents were of the view that female heads are required as they feel that they can handle problems concerning girls and even women teachers from a woman's perspective, which will help in developing more confidence among girls and women teachers.
- States need to initiate special efforts to ensure that the transport department provides frequent bus services during schools hours for rural areas from nearby towns/cities. There should be a reservation of 4-6 seats for women teachers in buses that go to rural areas. Private transportation can be explored by issuing licenses for light vehicles such as tempo and auto-rickshaw to local people so that they can help women teachers to reach to the main roads. Findings of the analysis also indicate that women teachers wish that they be given interest free loans to buy two-wheelers. There is also a need to sensitize the community to arrange some conveyance for women teachers upto the main road if the distance between school and the main road is more than 2 kms and there is no public transport available.
- The situation of infrastructure in rural schools is indeed alarming. The regulatory mechanisms, developed to ensure quality, have

- miserably failed. There is a strong need to ensure availability of separate toilet facilities with water and separate staff rooms for women teachers as well as provision of proper boundary walls and posting of a watchman in all rural schools to ensure security of women teachers.
- Academic institutions must be run with academic zeal. The need is felt to appoint clerks in schools to look after all the non-academic work and to deliver official papers to the administration. This would save women teachers from making frequent visits to offices of the education departments. This would also help in preventing their harassment by office staff. Otherwise, there should be a provision of sending official papers through couriers.
- Rural area schools need to be equipped with child care facilities so that teachers can leave their children in nearby schools with such facility and handle emergency situation immediately without any rush.
- Residential accommodation is required for women teachers at the sub district levels as many teachers (38 %) desired to live in rural areas, if accommodation is provided by the government.

- Special forums headed by women should be established at the block level to address the complaints/grievances of women teachers. Any complaint should be decided within a period of two months. At least 50% of the members of this forum should be women. The state government should also organize orientation programmes to create awareness among women teachers about their rights and also of existing provisions of safeguarding their rights against any injustice and harassment at work place. There is a strong need to organize gender sensitization programmes for the community in rural areas.
- States should provide rural allowance to women teachers for working in rural areas. Additional increment should be given to those women teachers who serve continuously for 10 years in rural/remote areas. Provision of special medical allowance should be made for women teachers working in rural areas.
- Policies of recruitment, posting and transfers of teachers need to be revisited. The state governments should reserve at least 50 % seats for women candidates at all levels in the recruitment of school teachers. There should be a relaxation in the upper age limit at

entry level for women candidates as school teachers (at least 45 years). It is also suggested that special weightage (upto 10%) should be given either in terms of quota or relaxation in percentages of marks to rural educational background of girls at the time of recruitment of upper primary school teachers. The state government should also consider the request of women teachers for inter-district transfers at least twice in the entire service period without losing seniority.

 Policy of serving in rural areas for every teacher remains only on paper. It has to be energized and activated. It should be mandatory for every teacher to serve in rural areas for a prescribed period of 3 years and this policy should be followed in letter and spirit.

Conclusion

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that women teachers in upper primary schools (the first level where parents would want their girl child to be taught by a woman teacher) in rural areas, face several problems, some which are faced on a day-to-day basis as well as some which have a long term implication on their performance as teachers, job satisfaction and career development. Among them, the issue of transportation is one of the most

significant causes of stress for women teachers working in rural areas in the states and UTs of the Western region. The policies to promote presence of women teachers in rural areas are either non-existent or have not been implemented at all. Where they have been implemented, it is in ways which have done nothing to strengthen women teachers' strategic position as potential agents for gender equality in schools.

References

- Ashraf, Dilshad (2008). Schools are Like Our Homes: Women in Teaching and School Leadership in Northern Pakistan in Kirk, Jackie (ed.) 2008, Women Teaching in South Asia. SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd: New Delhi.
- Bista, Min. Bhaadur (2008). Policies and Realities for Women Teachers in Nepal in Kirk, Jackie (ed.) 2008, Women Teaching in South Asia. SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd: New Delhi.
- Chalam, K.S. (1992). Rural Urban Contrasts in Primary Education: A Study of Selected Mandals in Visakhapatnam District of A.P.. Dissertation DEPA, NIEPA, New Delhi.
- Government of India (GOI) (1992). National Policy on Education and Programme of

- Action. Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development: New Delhi.
- GOI (1959). The National Committee on Women's Education. Ministry of Education: New Delhi.
- GOI (1966). Education and Development, Report of the Education Commission (1964-66). Ministry of Education: New Delhi.
- GOI (1974). Towards Equality, Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India. Department of Social Welfare, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare: New Delhi.
- Indian National Commission MHRD and UNESCO (2001). Women Teachers in Rural India: New Delhi.

- Kirk, Jackie (2008). Women Teaching in South Asia. SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd: New Delhi.
- 10. Kapoor, R.C, (1983). A Study of Precision and Utilization of Available Facilities in Primary Schools of District Gwalior, M.P. Dissertation DEPA, NIEPA, New Delhi.
- 11. Mattoo, B.K. and Chand Shekhar (1992). Identification of Problem of Teachers in Single - Teacher / Two Teachers Primary Schools. Independent Study (unpublished), NCERT.
- 12. NCERT, (2005). Seventh All India School Education Survey: New Delhi.
- 13. NCERT. (2012). Eighth All India School Education Survey, Flash Statistics: New Delhi



Role of Village Education Committee (VEC) in Achieving Universalisation of Elementary Education.

N. Nagarajan

Introduction

Education is a powerful tool for reducing poverty and unemployment, improving health and nutritional standards, and achieving a sustained human development led growth (World Bank, 2004). Within the purview of overall education, primary education is recognized as a basic human right, vital both to the development of individuals and societies (UNESCO, 2008). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948 by 58member states of the United Nations General Assembly, recognizes basic education as a human right and calls for primary education everywhere to be both compulsory and free (Article 26i). The gains from universal elementary education can hardly be overstated. It has important advantages for the individual and the nation. It expands the realm of choices available to the individual in almost every instance. The benefits in terms of key demographic variables such as infant mortality rate and fertility rate are substantial (The World Bank, 1997). Equally, it is important for the effective functioning of democratic institutions, the malfunctioning of which impinge on virtually every economic and social outcome. Elementary education covers the primary (6-11 years) and upper primary (11-14years) age group. In most Indian states, this translates into the successful completion of prescribed educational requirements till Class VIII. The essence of the goal is for every year old to have acquired foundation skills such as the ability to read and write with fluency, numeracy, comprehension, analysis, reasoning and social skills such as teamwork. Equally, elementary education should instil in children courage, confidence, curiosity, independence, resourcefulness, resilience, patience and understanding (Holt, 1967). The story of India's educational achievements is one of mixed success. On the down side, India has 22per cent of the world's population but 46 per cent of theworld's illiterates, and is home to a high proportion of theworld's out of school children and youth. On the positive side, it

has made encouraging recent progress in raising schooling participation.

People's participation has great importance for the successful implementation of Elementary Education. This involvement should be at the grass root level which will as a result bring about participation of local bodies and social activities.

Public Participation towards EFA

A key strategy for accelerating progress towards the goal of Education for All has been the planning and implementation of elementary education, secondary education and literacy/adult education programmes in a mission mode with specific goals/targets and time-bound implementation plans. The major programmes being implemented in Missionmode include the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, Rashtriya Madhyamic Shiksha Abhiyan and Saakshar Bharat. The Mission mode has contributed to the acceleration of efforts towards EFA goals through the implementation of planned programmatic interventions in a time bound manner.

Facilitating community involvement in both elementary and adult education programmes has been an important strategy for accelerating progress towards Education for All goals. With the enactment of the 73rd and74th Constitutional Amendments, community participation in planning and management of education programmes has been

institutionalized. The amendment has placed a very large responsibility of overall development of the villages in the hands of PRIs. This is one of the biggest democracies in the world where village level democratic structures are functioning for their development.

The SSA envisages a participatory and bottom-up approach to planning, right from the habitation/village level. Participation of the community is sought through a series of school-based activities. The RTE Act, 2009 envisages decentralized planning and management of elementary education programmes. The Act, under Section 21, has mandated formation of School Management Committee (SMC). These initiatives have contributed to increased community involvement in the planning and monitoring of school activities and participation of Panchayati Raj institutions (local self-government bodies in rural areas) and urban local bodies in planning and management of elementary and adult education programmes.

Village Education Committee is visualized as part of the decentralized management structures envisaged under SSA. Its role is to establish a link between the school and the community. The role of VEC has become very vital in promoting enrolment, retention, achievement and school effectiveness. Although VECs have been constituted in almost all schools, their effectiveness is to be ensured. Of course some VECs

have proved very effective and their role in the promotion of UEE is noteworthy. So the paper reviewed the studies carried out in the area of the decentralization role of VECs and their participation to achieve universalisation of elementary education at the grassroot level.

Objectives of the Study

- To explore the kind of research undertaken and available in the field of universalisation of elementary education.
- To highlight the gaps existing in the current programme and emphasize upon important and interesting areas of research herein.

Methodology

The study is conducted by using secondary data listed in different databases – both print and online.

Review of Research Studies

Research studies focusing attention on different aspects of the functioning of VEC may throw light on the ways and means of its organising and functioning in schools effectively. The review of literature helps to know the research studies done in that particular area and these studies have been presented below. The clear picture or the uncovered aspects of the area will pave better insight into the problem to be investigated.

A major thrust under SSA is to mobilize the community to promote education, to help in development of educational facilities and to oversee the functioning of schools in village/ward. Community institutions /groups such as Village Education Committees/School Management and Development Committees/Parent Teacher Associations were set up at village/school level in most of the states.

In Tamil Nadu, a study on the role and functions of Village Education Committee pointed out that proficiency in English, better infrastructure and sufficient staffing were the attractions due to which VEC members sent their children to other schools. (Natarajan & Sasikala, 2003)

A study on capacity of VEC and SMC to manage SSA programs Uttarakhandsuggested the need for intensive and wide publicity about the role of VEC/SMC through multi-media; selection of suitable members who can devote time and take interest in educational development; better and focused training programmes; and better coordination among VEC, SMC and Mahila Samooh. It stressed the need of two way linkage between the VECs and the district authorities in respect of need assessment and the strategies. Capacity building in the area of micro-planning for developing educational plan of the village and supervision of the construction activities need attention.

(J.P.S Associates, 2006)

Kanwer, S. & Sarmah, J.S. (2009) carried out a study on involvement of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) in school support system. The major findings of the study showed that the involvement of PRIs in school support system was low. The linkage between community and school was weak. It is suggested that there is need for decentralized management and greater investment on developing skills among teachers and community leaders for effective management of schools. Adequate administrative and financial guidelines should be developed by state governments for Panchyats to work towards the cause of universalisation of elementary education.

Sharma, S.K. (2004) has conducted a study on the role of Village Education Committee (VEC) in Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan in selected districts of Haryana state. The main findings showed that most of the VECs have been constituted as per the norms set by the state government with adequate representation of various groups. Out of the total 217 members, 25% members were illiterate, 42% had education up to secondary level, 10% members were graduates and 4% were post graduates. More than two thirds (74%) members stated that they participated in the VEC meetings. Close to two thirds (63%) of VEC members were of the opinion that school improvement grant was utilized by the head-teachers and VEC; a few (15%) stated that it was utilized by the headteacher alone and around 18% members had no knowledge of it. Most VEC members were not fully aware of the role of VEC. Its roles were described as looking after cleanliness of the school (36%), checking teachers' attendance (13%), education of students (47%), education of weak students (24%) and results of the school (15%). Nearly 13 % of the members did not respond. More than 81% members had not received any training; the need for training about the role and responsibilities of VEC was expressed by almost all (97%) members. A few VECs were found taking initiative on their own to generate resources from the village community by way of donations to meet demands of infrastructure e.g. class rooms, boundary wall, etc. for the school.

Director, Institution of Media Studies, Bhubaneswar, Orissa (2007) has conducted a study on involvement of VECs in the quality aspects of elementary education. The findings revealed that the VECs were constituted in the year 2005 in all schools, with due representation to parents of students of different categories. BRCCs & CRCCs visited the schools. VEC meetings were held regularly every month. VEC members stated that they participate in preparation of plan of action (90%), resolution in VEC meetings (80%), planning for increasing the fund (80%), getting approval of Income and

Expenditure Budget in PTA meetings (70%) in both the blocks. Supervising officers (60%) also stated that VECs participate in preparation of Annual plan of action and Annual budget.

All VECs were involved in children's enrolment, ensuring regular attendance of students and teachers in school, facilitating smooth conduct of teaching, organizing co-curricular activities, school development work and mid-day meal. VECs supervised construction of school building (70%), toilets (40%-60%), organization of school health programmes (30%-40%) and supply of water (70%-90%). Nearly half of the VECs were involved in organization of cultural activities, surveys, supply of textbooks & reading materials, multi-grade teaching and promotion of girls education and VECs interaction with Panchyat Raj Institutions.

Vinayak, V. (2004) has studied the role of Village Education Committee in school management in districts under DPEP in Uttaranchal. The major findings revealed that the VEC was functional in all villages and nearly three fourth (72%) of them organized meetings every month. Members were aware of their roles and responsibilities. Parents and the VEC members recognized the role of VEC in organizing environment building campaigns leading to considerable increase in demand for education, creation of school infrastructure, increase in enrolment, and retention and attendance level of children. VECs participated in the area of creating school infrastructure and facilities, improving enrolment, retention and attendance level of children, management of mid-day meal and ECCE and EGS centers, improving teaching-learning practices by appointment of para-teachers and mobilizing resources for creation of additional facilities. It is suggested that the VECs need further strengthening in the area of micro planning, school mapping and house hold survey. Specific roles and responsibilities of Village Education Committees & School Management Committees should be defined.

In summary, it is evident from the works refereed to above that VECs are important in the effective and efficient functioning of elementary schools with full enrolment and retention and in providing quality education.

Conclusion

The role of VECs is very essential and important for the improvement of primary education. The success stories of different VECs would certainly act as examples for the weaker VECs so as to improve their working style for improvement of management system and effective participation. To achieve universalisation of elementary education, the role of the community is quite significant. Education is the primary need of human being. Each person has basic

fundamental rights to get compulsory primary education. To universalize the elementary education, the role of the community is proved to be effective in all kinds of activities in the school in relation to care and management, enrolment, teaching-learning process, organizing different cultural activities, maintaining a clean school environment, preparation of teaching learning materials and sustenance of financial support to school.

There are enough portents to suggest that PRI engagement in improving key development indicators will become a reality. However in order to expedite the process and to make it more effective, consideration of key issues related to empowerment of panchayats through funds, human resources and capacity are critical. PRI engagement is perhaps the only existing mechanism to achieve large-scale community participation and reach the most vulnerable sections of population, i.e., women, children, and the poor.

References

- Charchi, B. (2007) Mother Teacher Associations (MTA) for promotion of girls' education at primary level in Ganjam district DIET, Ganjam, Khallikote, Orissa.
- Das, M. (2007) Participation of Mother -Teacher Association (MTA) for promotion of girls'

- education at primary level in district Nuapada District Institute of Education and Training Kalahandi, Bhawanipatna, Orissa.
- Dei,G. (2002) Village Education Committee initiatives in primary school management: A study in Dhenkanal district DIET, Dhenkanal, Orissa.
- Director, IMS (2007) Involvement of VECs in the quality aspects of elementary education Institution of Media Studies, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.
- Hussain, T. A. & Hazarika, R. (2008) Functioning and effectiveness of involvement of members of various Peoples Committees in SSA activities North East Social Trust (NEST), Golaghat, Assam.
- J.P.S Associates Pvt. Ltd. (2006)
 Assessing capacity of VEC and
 SMC to manage SSA programs
 with special reference to ECCE,
 MDM and financial management
 J.P.S Associates Pvt. Ltd., New
 Delhi.
- Kackar, R. K. & Sharma, V. (2006)
 Assessment of community mobilization interventions under DPEP Skill Development Institute, Lucknow.
- 8. Kanwer, S. & Sarmah, J.S. (2009) Involvement of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) in school

- support system Deptt. of Political Science, Gauhati University, Guwahati.
- Mahajan, A., Goyal, V. P. and Abhigyan, R. (2008) A study on community motivation & mobilization strategies with reference to their bearing upon the active participation of the community in achieving the goals of SSA Aide-et-Action, Jaipur.
- Mishra, G.S. (2003) Village Education Committee initiatives in primary school management: A status study in Kalahandi district DIET, Kalahandi, Orissa.
- 11. Natrajan, K. and Sasikala, A. R. (2003) The role and functions of Village Education Committee District Institute of Education and Training, Kanchipuram, Kaliyampoondi, Tamilnadu.
- 12. Patel, P. K. (2003) Village Education Committee initiatives in primary school Omanagement: A status study in Sambalpur district DIET, Sambalpur
- 13. Rath, A. (2002) Role of VEC and community in infra structural development of school as a DPEP intervention in Kandhamala district DIET Tikabali, Kandhamala.
- 14. Sharma , S. K. (2004) Study on the role of Village Education Committee(VEC) in Sarva Shiksha

- Abhiyan SIEMAT, Bhiwani
- 15. Singh, M. (2003) A study of the role and effect of School Management Committee in civil constructions in the area of Panchyat Samitti Chirawaunder DPEP District Project Office, Jhunjhunu.
- UNESCO, (2007), www.unesco. org/education/GMR/2007/Full_re port.Education for All Global Monitoring Report At UNESCO,
- 17. Vaijayanthi K, Aradhya, N. et al. (2004) A study to evaluate the functioning of School Development and Monitoring Committee in Karnataka Policy planning Unit, DSERT, Bangalore.
- 18. Vanlalthlanga S. (2007) Role and effectiveness of community participation in the implementation of SSA Zoram Research Foundation, Mizoram.
- 19. Vinayak, V. (2004) Evaluation of the role of Village Education Committee in school management in districts under DPEP in Uttaranchal Society forAction, Vision and Enterprise, Lucknow.
- 20. World Bank, (1997) The World Bank annual report 1997 The report is devoted to the role and effectiveness of the state. worldbank.org/.../01/695043/worl d-bank-annual-report-1997.

Local Institutions of Governance of the Nagas: The Village Council, its Role and Function in Nagaland

H. John Sema, Neizhanuo Golmei

Introduction

Nagaland is one of the eight sister states which constitute the North-East Region of India. It was carved out in 1957 from the Naga hill district of Assam and unadministered areas of Tuesang, part of the then North Eastern Frontier Agency. In December 1963, it was created as the sixteenth state of the Indian Union with Kohima as the capital. It is the third smallest state in the country with an area of 16,579 sq kms. It lies between 25°60° and 27°40° latitude North of the equator and between the longitudinal lines 93°20' E and 95°15'E. The state is bordered by Arunachal Pradesh in the North, Myanmar in the East, Manipur in the south and Assam in the West. As per 2011 census, the total population of Nagaland is 19,80,602 of which males constitute 10,25,707 and females 9,54,895. The state consists of eleven administrative districts; Kohima, Phek, Mokokchung, Wokha, Zunheboto, Tuensang, Mon, Dimapur, Peren, Longleng and Kiphire which are inhabited by 17 major tribes along with other sub-tribes.

Nagas are distributed in the four states of North-East India, namely Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Manipur. Ethnically they belong to the Mongoloid group and linguistically they come under the Tibeto-Burman family of languages. In Assam, there are three Naga communities namely Zeme in North Cachar Hills district, Kabui in Cachar district and Semas in Dibrugarh district. There are two cognate groups of the Nagas namely the Nocte and the Wancho in Arunachal Pradesh. Manipur is inhabited by the seven major Naga groups such as Tangkhul, Kabui including Puimei, Mao, Kacha, Anal, Maram and Monsang. The largest Naga population is found in Nagaland state. The state is predominantly inhabited by the indigenous tribal people who constitute 90% of the population. These are Ao,

Angami, Chakhesang, Chang, Khiamnuingam, Konyak, Lotha, Phom, Rengma, Sangtam, Pochury, Sumi, Yimchunger, Zeliang, Rongmei, Kukis and Kacharis.

Nagaland in contrast to other states in the Union, enjoys special safeguards for the protection of the religious practices, customary laws and the economic interest of its people. The Constitution of India gave due recognition to the distinctive identity of the Nagas through the Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962. The State of Nagaland Bill, 1962 states that no Act of Parliament in respect of

- Religious or social practices of the Nagas,
- Naga customary law and procedure.
- Administration of civil and criminal justice involving decisions according to Naga customary law,
- 4) Ownership and transfer of land and its resources,

shall apply to the new state unless the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland by a resolution so decides.

Naga Village Polity

Nagas are entirely woven to their own land, village, khel, clan and their families. The village system plays a significant role in the Naga society. Before the advent of the British in the Naga territory, the Nagas were head hunters which made inter-tribe and inter-village warfare a common affair in the lives of the Nagas. Since every Naga village aspired for strength and power, it became imperative to have a leader or a chief in the village bestowing on the village chief a very important role.

The chief is the head of the village administration and he summons as well as presides over the meetings at the village level and also the council meetings. By tradition, the village chief is the nominal owner of the village territory, land and forests. But in practice, the land and forest belongs to the whole village community. The different Naga tribes have their own village chiefs but with differences in their powers and functions. Among the Konyak Nagas, the powerful village chief is called the Angh who is the final and the highest personification of political, economic and religious authority. The chief is the richest man in the village in terms of wealth and property. For all purposes of policy, rule and administration of the village, it is the chief who formulates the policies and decides the issues assisted by a council called "neingbos" who are the morung leaders in each ward. The chief can be overthrown or removed only in one instance; the commitment of incest, which is a taboo to all as he is the law maker, the adjudicator and religious head.

The hereditary chieftainship of the Sumi tribe differentiates it from other Naga tribes. In the traditional political system like the Sumis, the chief (Akukau) occupies the unique position in the village. The chief is the guardian of law and the owner of the village. Many villages are named after the chief who founded them like Chishilimi, Hebolimi, Sukhalu, and Vihokhu. Unlike the Konyak Nagas there is no ranking of the chiefs among the Sumis. Anybody who becomes a chief of a new village is not inferior to the old chief irrespective of his clan. After setting up the village and demarcating the boundaries, the chief reserves for himself the greater part of the land. He may allocate a certain amount of land to prominent persons and warriors and may also assign some lands to the poor. There are no prescribed specific qualifications to become a chief. However, it is expected that the chief should be capable, rich, intelligent and also a good orator, warrior and a courageous person who should be able to command respect and obedience from his followers. Over and above that, he should also be conversant with the customary laws and practices of the tribe. He should also be generous and ready to help the villagers in times of need and difficulties. He should be married so that the wife will also be able to share in the responsibility to look after the welfare of the villagers. The process of succession to the chiefship among the Sumis is hereditary. As observed by Hutton, the chieftainship goes down from father to the son, the elder sons becoming chiefs in their own villages during the father's lifetime, provided the sons are able to find separate villages. Where the elder sons are not able to find their own, the eldest son succeeds his father. Land in sumi villages gets divided and subdivided if they are unable to make their own settlement/colony.

In case of the Aos, it is the rule of gerontocracy. The traditional system of rule and power in an Ao village is vested in the Putu Menden (Council of elders). This council is responsible for the village administration and other matters of importance affecting the whole village community. This system of rule among the Aos is described as democratic as all the different clans are given representation and every man's voice and grievance is channeled to the council through their representative. Members of the council of elders are accorded a special respect and also certain special privileges.

The Angamis also have a chief but his authority is nominal merely reflecting the general will and dictates of the village population. The chief is appointed mainly on the basis of bravery, martial power and oratory. The chief enjoys no extra privileges whatsoever, except a slight measure of influence over warrior colleagues to curry favours. An informal council of village elders, representing the various khel and clans operate particularly for the adjudication over disputes and offences. Thus in case of the Angamis, it is direct democracy where all the male adults are members of the Village Council. The oldest man in the village initiates the discussion for the meeting and the rest of the members participate in the meeting, deliberating on issues and matters relating to the village affairs. For the Angamis the leader is only in the warpath and once the war is over he becomes like any other ordinary member in the community.

Local Governance

Even before statehood was granted to the Nagas, Nagas had traditional institutions whose functions were like that of the village panchayats. The traditional institutions looked after the administration of the village and also the enforcement of the customary laws. As per the special status granted to the Nagas under article 371-A of the Constitution of India, the Constitution 73rd Amendment Act is not applicable in the state and so the village administrative practices of the Nagas have been left untouched by this act.

Village Council

Instead of the typical three tier of Panchayati Raj system, Nagas follow the age old Village Council system for decentralized administration. This local self-governing institution was given a formal shape by the enactment of the Nagaland Village and Area Councils Act, 1978. Every recognized village in the state is required to have a Village Council (VC) with members who are chosen by the villagers in accordance with the prevailing customary practices and usages and as approved by the State government. Thus each village in the state has an administrative body called Village Council. The village councils are reconstituted once every 5 years and the council meets once every three months or more frequently if requisitioned by one-third of the members.

In regard to the membership of the village council, it comprises of village elders and representatives/Gaonburas (GBs) from possibly all the clans in a village. These members are selected on the basis of the nomination by the villagers and the village elders. However, every tribe has their own specifications and criteria in regard to the membership in the council. The chairman of the council is then chosen by the members from among themselves. The members also appoint a secretary who may or may not be a member of the Council. In case the secretary is not a member of the Council then he does not enjoy any voting rights. Each village council consists of two or more khels, which are clusters of households having hereditary lineages. Each khel has a

khel council which administers the household under it. Hereditary village chiefs, Anghs and Goanburas (GB) as per usage and customary practices of the community are to be ex-officio members with voting rights of the village councils.

Powers of the Council

The village council plays a very important role in the day to day lives of the people. It is responsible for maintaining law and order in the community. It also acts as a court of justice adjudicating on civil matters such as dispute over land, marriage, divorce and other criminal cases as well like theft and physical harm according to customary practices facilitating speedy justice without spending much money. In case of disputes between two villages or more, the village councils of the concerned village or the parties involved can settle the dispute in a joint session. The council also decides disputes of two kinds: public and private. Private disputes are those disputes that take place between two or more persons. For instance, issue regarding payment of compensation to the injured or the settlement of boundary disputes between two or more persons. Public disputes are those wherein the whole village is involved, for instance, breach of customs and taboos or gennas which affects the whole community, damaging of trees in public places or houses or encroachment on the village boundaries by other villages. While in theory, the chief has the authority to settle the disputes but in actual practice it is the elders who settle the complicated cases. Necessary actions are taken against the person or party to the crime or dispute that does not follow the decision of the council. Anyone who is guilty of breaking the long time honoured law of the land is punished and in extreme cases the guilty are banished from the village once and for all.

The village council also looks after the maintenance of village drinking water and footpaths, construction of bridges, sanitation and cleaning of jungles surrounding the village. The village councils are entrusted with the responsibility of formulation of village development schemes, supervision and implementation of all such schemes on their own initiatives and also of those sanctioned by the government. The council also has the authority to stand as surety for any permanent resident of the village who is in need of financial assistance from the government or any financial institution.

Land Administration and the role of the Village Council

Land is considered the most important asset among the Nagas. As per the constitutional provision enumerated in article 371A, land in Nagaland belongs to the people and not the government. The state government owns only about 2% of the land, the rest is held by the villagers either individually or collectively. Since land belongs to the people, almost every individual in the village owns a piece of land which is well defined and demarcated. For those few landless families, they are provided with land for cultivation by the well-to-do landlords in the village with nominal tax. This is done to ensure that the ownership is retained by the landlord.

Land within the Naga tribes is usually put into the following categories: Common village land,; Khel land, Clan land, and Individual land.

Common Village Land

The common village land comprises of the land that is allotted for the village council, playing ground, site for educational institutions or any common public body. These lands are managed by the village authority or by the village council or elders. Here, every bonafide household is free to use such land for agricultural purposes and domestic consumption. They also have the right to use and occupy the land without paying any land revenue to the village authority. Land under the common ownership is not the subject matter of mortgage or sale.

Khel land or group land

A Naga village is divided into a number of khels (wards/sector/hamlets) according to the size of the village. Khel land is the common property of each khel and the rights towards the land rests only with the respective khel members. It usually consists of sites for assembly/platform hall for the khel people. It is also used for village gate, jhum land, meadow, terrace field, forest plantation, ritual ground and especially for the morungs or boys dormitory. Since the ownership is held in common, it cannot be the subject of mortgage or sale by an individual or group of individuals.

Clan land

The village organisation in Nagaland is primarily based on the institution of clan. Most villages are formed by two or more clans (group of families). Clan land vests with the clan members of the village in perpetuity. The ownership of the land passes from generation to generation and the land is held in common by the clan as a whole. This land includes jhum land as well as terrace field, forest land, meadows, etc. Allotment is made by the clan leaders themselves after clearing the jungles on a cooperative basis.

Individual land

All Nagas have their individual land of various kinds irrespective of the

tribe they belong to. In a village, every Naga, on an average owns a residential site with space for kitchen garden and compound. Title to the individual land goes to the head of the family. He holds the right of possession in perpetuity. In case of the Ao Nagas, in the event of death of the head/father, the eldest son inherits the parental house whereas in the case of the Angami's and the Sema's, the youngest son inherits the parental house. But overall charge of the property especially the cultivable land is in the hands of the eldest son who takes charge in his capacity as head of the family.

The village council enjoys enormous powers in terms of land administration. Since land is the most important source of livelihood and income for the Nagas, selling of land without the consent of the clan or family is restricted. In the Naga society, while individual land ownership is transferable from one individual to another, general land ownership is not transferable as it is inherited ownership. If due to some circumstances, one is compelled to sell his inherited land, he is required to consult the other members of the family as well as the clan members to see if there is anyone able to buy and retain it within the agnatic kindred. Only if there is no such capable person within the family or the clan, then the land can be sold off to people outside the clan.

However, land is not supposed to be sold to an outsider who may be from another tribe or community. Anybody who goes against the customary law and sells off his land to an outsider is fined by the village council.

In terms of disputes regarding land, it is usually limited to disputes between families or individuals or between communities. In regard to dispute between families/individuals, the village council is responsible to settle the dispute. The village council functions like a court by examining the matter thoroughly before taking a decision to solve the crisis. The decision of the council is taken as the final decision and any individual or family that fails to follow the decision is made to surrender the disputed land to the court. The land thus surrendered is then reserved for the community. Disputes between two communities are discussed between them by presenting their respective historical background of the disputed land. Here, help from other community as the third party is also taken to comment on the dispute. The party that is held guilty is made to surrender the land. However in most instances, efforts are made to settle the matter by the clan elders themselves. Failing this, the matter is referred to the village council.

The village council therefore decides on disputes over land rights, hereditary transfer of land, ancestral property issues, common property and community resources. Any requirement of land by the state government has to go through the village council. One cannot attempt to sell, transfer land without the consent of the village council. Thus the village council becomes the final and the supreme authority in matters of land in the village.

Village Development Board (VDB)

The Nagaland Village and Area Council Act 1978 also made the idea of grassroots level planning and development a reality in the state. With this act, Village Development Boards were constituted in all the recognized villages of the state. As per the Nagaland Village and Area Council Act, 1978 each village has to constitute a Village Development Board (VDB) to undertake rural development through resource mobilization and decentralized planning with the involvement of the local community in preparation and execution of model schemes.

The origin of the institution of VDB with the concept of decentralized grassroots level planning in Nagaland was first set up in December, 1976 in Ketsapomi village in Phek District on experimental basis. The village development programme which began as an experiment in one district in the late seventies, developed into a full-

fledged programme covering the whole state during the early eighties. The VDB functions under the guidance of the village council and is ultimately accountable to the village council which audits the accounts of the VDBs every year. The village council acts as an advisory body to the VDB during planning and implementation of developmental projects. It is also involved in electing the VDB secretaries and nominating VDB members.

In regard to the membership in the VDB, the Deputy Commissioner functions as Chairman of the Village Development Boards in the district providing overall guidance and control. There is a Management Committee of the Village Development Board in every village out of which twenty five percent of the members or 5 members are to be women from the village. It is mandatory for the VDBs to have atleast one woman member. Even the youth in the village are given due representation in the committee. The VDB members are also nominated by the village council to be the members of the Village Education Committee and the Village Health Committee and it oversees the functioning of the Public Health Centres (PHC) and the government educational institutions.

The VDB formulates plans for the socio-economic development of the village and also includes beneficiaries

under various rural development programmes like IAY and SGSY programmes and for preparing the BPL list. It is also directly involved in the implementation of all rural development programmes, whether under the state sector or under centrally sponsored schemes. They are also empowered to withhold salaries of personnel, ensure their attendance, provide infra structural facilities, etc. The board takes decision on the areas of development whereby the resolutions and proposals passed are sent to concerned department through the district administration for funds. VDBs are wholly dependent on the government for their financial resources without any mechanism for internal resource mobilization.

The insistence upon membership of women in VDBs has not only helped in bringing development closer to the people but it has empowered Naga women in many ways. Women are being able to use the platform to spread awareness among other women about their rights as well as run government schemes. They have also been able to set up some Self Help Groups (SHGs) for women in the villages. However VDBs being a male dominated body, it becomes difficult for women members to raise concerns or to put across their agendas. In most occasions, the concerns and objections of women members are not given the kind of importance they deserve and their voices are overshadowed by the majority menfolk members of the council.

Communitisation

Communitisation is a unique programme which was conceptualized and implemented under the leadership of Mr. R.S Pandey during 2002-2004, when he was the Chief Secretary to the Government of Nagaland. The concept of communitisation was introduced by the Government of Nagaland through an Act called the 'Nagaland Communitisation of Public Institutions and Services Act 2002'. This programme bagged a United Nations Public Service Award for its contribution towards improving the effectiveness, efficiency and quality of public service.

Communitisaton is a system where the community shares ownership and responsibility of management with the government. It includes decentralization of authority, delegation of responsibility, empowerment of the community and building of a synergistic relationship between the government and the community to spur growth and development of institutions. The purpose is to make the community connected in matters of management of local utilities, public services and in the functions of the state government like education, water supply, roads, power, sanitation, health and promotion of other welfare and development schemes. This programme has brought about a significant improvement in the delivery of basic services mainly in the area of elementary education, public health and power utilities. The state at present has started the process of communitisation in the field of education, electricity management, water supply, tourism and rural roads.

Education

Education was brought under the Communitisation programme with the aim of improving the quality of education. In a communitised school, the management of the school rests with the community. The community gets directly involved in the educational system management. The aim is to ensure quality education through the participation and a sense of ownership from the community. This programme ensures investments of community's social capital for the betterment of the schools and improvement of education at the grassroots level of education. It empowers the village community to own and develop the Government Elementary School(s) in the village as their own. The role of the government under this programme is to supervise, support and supplement the activities of the community

Under Communitisation, the Village Education Committee (VEC) is the legal local authority that manages

Elementary Education in the village. It is empowered with enormous responsibilities for the effective implementation of the programme. The VEC has to manage, direct, supervise and control the school(s) ensuring administrative, academic and financial discipline. It also has to ensure participation of the community and create a sense of belongingness and ownership in the people.

The VEC enjoys enormous powers in regard to the management of schools. Since it is responsible for ensuring discipline and regular attendance of teachers in the school, it has the power to take appropriate action for misconduct of teachers. It can take any of the following action; withhold pay, apply the principle of "No work, No Pay", or report to higher authorities recommending any disciplinary action. In case of long term vacancy, it can select or recommend appointments of substitute teachers. It is also responsible for ensuring enrolment and retention of all children upto the age of 14 years.

VEC has been formulated in almost all the villages in the state for the effective implementation of the program. In terms of its composition, it includes all sections of the village community- members from the Village council, Village Development Board, representatives from the parents, women representatives, retired teachers

and one teacher representative from each school of the village.

Through this programme, the VECs acting as the overseers and owners of the schools have contributed immensely in improving the quality of education in the state. Absenteeism which had become a major impediment in improving the education has been controlled through the efforts of the VECs. It has also brought an increase in terms of contribution in cash, kind or labour from the community as a result of making them owners of the system. Participation of the community through Communitisation has been largely responsible for the success of Universalisation of Elementary Education (Sarva Shikha Abhiyan (SSA)) in the state.

Health

Health institutions have also been communitised in the state to provide quality health services to the community. Under Communitisation, the village community sets up its own Village Health Committee (VHC) to manage, coordinate and monitor the functioning of its health services. Like the VEC, its membership also consists of members representing the main stakeholder groups such as the Village Council, the Village Development Board and others. This has helped in bringing an improvement in the availability of medical supplies at the

health centres. In districts where communitisation of health services has been fully implemented there has been an improvement in attendance of health care providers, better utilization of services, availability of essential medicines, regular submission of health reports, timely disbursement of staff salaries and a renewed focus on public health issues. Communitisation of health has given the communities a better understanding of health issues and the need for participation and collaborative efforts to promote health.

Electricity

Along with education and health, electricity has also been communitised in the state. This was done as management of electricity and revenue collection especially in rural areas has been a challenge to the Department of Power. In order to solve the problem of poor billing and non-payment, the Government introduced the idea of a Single Point Metering (SPM) at the Distribution Transformer point. This idea was also conceptualized during 2002-03 under the Nagaland Communitisation of Public Institutions and Services Act 2002.

The main objective of the Single Point Metering (SPM) is to empower the villagers to wholly manage the revenue collections, and thereby, mitigate their billing problems and at the same time improve the revenue collection of the department. With the positive outcome of the SPM experiment initiated in 158 villages during 2002-03 and 2003-04, the programme has been extended to other villages as well. Under this scheme, the Village Electricity Management Board (VEMB) deducts 20% incentive from the collected amount and deposits the balance to the department's account as government revenue. Out of the 20% incentive, the VEMB can generate self-employment for serving and collection of bills and create amenities like street lightings.

Conclusion

The traditional institutions of governance existing in the state have been recognized and protected under the constitution. The state of Nagaland has been exempted from the 73rd Amendment of the Constitution due to the existence of the local self government through the Village Councils and the VDBs. The Nagas, thus, have their own unique system of local governance with the Village Council as the most powerful body. It establishes a linkage between the local people and the government and translates the policies of the government into action. It enjoys full power in dealing with the internal administration of the village. The village councils are closely involved in the planning and implementation of the rural development programmes through the VDBs.

However, though the Village Council plays a very important role in the village administration, it does not enjoy financial independence. While the Village Council can apply for and receive grant-in-aid, donations, subsidies from the government, all such monetary transactions are to be conducted through a scheduled bank or the Nagaland State Co-operative Bank. They are wholly dependent on the government for their financial resources and there is not much scope in terms of internal source mobilization which hampers their proper functioning. In order to make the administration at the village level much more effective and efficient, the local bodies also need to be provided with technical knowledge. Along with these, certain mechanisms should be introduced to ensure sufficient representation to the women in the villages to make it truly representative. Since the village administration of the Nagas revolves around the Village Council, it has become important for the authorities to take cognizance of its role and formulate a mechanism to empower it further. The state needs to endow the village councils with such powers and authority which will enable them to function as units of selfgovernment.

References

 Aier I.L. 2006. Contemporary Naga Social Formations and

- Ethnic Identity. Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi.
- 2. Bag Gunanidhi. 2001. Rural Transformation in Tribal Areas: A study. Akansha Publishing House. New Delhi.
- Das.N.K & C.L Imchen. 1994. People of India- Nagaland, Volume XXXIV, Anthropological Survey of India, Seagull Books. Calcutta.
- Furer, Heimendorf Christopher Von. 1962. Naked Nagas, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi.
- Furer, Heimendorf Christopher Von. 1976. Return of the Naked Nagas: An Anthropologist View of Nagaland 1936-1970, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi.
- 6. Hutton, J.H. 1961. The Angami Nagas, Oxford University Press, London
- Hutton, J.H. 1968. The Sema Nagas, Oxford University Press, London.
- 8. Kumar.B.B . 2005. Naga Identity. Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi.
- Lanunungsang A. & Athungo Ovung. 2012. Nagaland-The Land

- of Festivals. Publication series of NEZCC, Dimapur, Nagaland in commemoration of Silver Jubilee celebration.(1986-2012)
- Materials on Rural Development Programmes in Nagaland, Rural Development Department, Government of Nagaland.
- 11. Mills, J.P. 1973. The Ao Nagas. Oxford University Press, London. (2nd Edition).
- 12. Mills, J.P., 1980. The Lotha Nagas, Directorate of the Art & Culture, Government of Nagaland, Kohima. (2nd Edition).
- 13. Mills, J.P. 1980. The Rengma Nagas, Directorate of Arts & Culture, Government of Nagaland, Kohima. (2nd Edition).
- Nagaland Basic Facts 2014, The Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Kohima, Nagaland.
- 15. Nagaland 1963-2013, Fifty Years On, The Coffee Table Book Publication Committee, 50 Years of Statehood on behalf of the Government of Nagaland.
- 16. Nshoga A. 2009. Traditional Naga Village System and Its Transformation. Anshah Publishing House, Delhi.

- Rizvi ,S.H.M & Shibani Roy.
 Naga Tribes of North East India. B.R Publishing, New Delhi
- 18. Sema, John. H., "Managing Customary laws of the land in Nagaland: Issues, Problems and Challenges". Paper submitted to Lal Bahadur Shastri Academy of Administration and Rural Development.
- 19. Sema, John. H. 2012. "Political and Social Institutions and their Impact on the Economic Development in North East India with special reference to Nagaland". Local Government Quarterly, April-June.

- 20. Sema. John.H. 2013. Traditional and Modern Political Institutions of the Nagas. Mittal Publication.
- 21. Sema. John.H & Neizhanuo Golmei. 2014. "Tourism Industry in Nagaland- Exploring Potentials for Cultural Tourism", Tourism Innovations (A Journal of Indian Tourism Congress), Volume 3.No1, March 2014.
- Shimray U.M. 2007. Naga Population and Integration Movement. Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

Men and Women in PRI: a comparative study of elected PRI members of upper two tiers of Rohtak district of Haryana in India

Anupama Kaushik

Introduction

The modern age is the age of democracy and successful functioning of democracy pre-supposes active participation of both men and women in the political process. In India, common men and women entered the political process in the early decades of the twentieth century. In 1905 when the British partitioned the province of Bengal, women joined men in protesting this decision by boycotting foreign goods and buying swadeshi goods. In 1907 under the Montague-Chelmsford reforms some women obtained voting rights. Radha Bai Subharya, Renuka Roy, Annu Swaminathan were the earliest women who got into the central legislature. Rasthtriya Stri Sabha -Bombay 1920, Mahila Rashtriya Sangh –Bangal 1928 and Nari Satyagraha Samiti - Calcutta 1929 mobilized women for political work. The mass movement led by Mahatma Gandhi drew men and women into the vertex of the freedom struggle. The participation of men and women in these movements was not limited to the urban, educated, elite men and women but included thousands of ordinary, poor, rural men and women. Some women political leaders like Sarojini Naidu, Durgabai Deshmukh, Renuka Roy and Hansa Mehta were very articulate and aware and became members of the Constituent Assembly.

The Constitution of free India gave women equal rights to participate in politics such as the right to vote and the right to get elected. This enabled some Indian women to reach up to the highest position of legislators, ministers, CM, party chiefs, governors, ambassadors, PM and President. However, in comparison to men, the participation and representation of women in law making and law implementing bodies has been very poor. Moreover, women's movement in India has been struggling with their demands for reservation in parliament

and state legislatures since many decades. The failure of successive governments in getting the women reservation in parliament and state legislatures bill passed is self-explanatory. This is why April 23, 1993 was called a 'red letter day' for Indian women, when the 73rd Constitutional Amendment gave statutory status to panchayats and provided 33 percent reservation of seats to women at every tier of grassroots political institutions.

Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRI)

Panchayats have been in existence in India since time immemorial. They find mention in Manusmiriti as well as in Arthasastra of Kautilya in 400 BC. These panchayats were responsible for overall judicial, legislative and revenue work of the area. In the midst of conquest and rise and fall of empires, the village panchayat continued to survive and provide continuity. It was with the coming of Mughals that these panchayats went through a phase of downfall. The British rule following the Mughal rule further centralized power. It was during their reign that administrative and legal powers of these institutions were taken away leading to severe unrest among the masses. Probably this and the shock of the mutiny of 1857 led the British to form a Royal Commission on decentralization. The report recommended that the judicial

and development functions be again rested in the panchayats. The acceptance of Montague-Chelmsford reforms resulted in a stream of legislation relating to village panchayats practically all over the country.

Meanwhile, Gandhiji mooted the idea of Gram Swaraj with people at the centre. He had hoped that his philosophy of Panchayati Raj could be the framework of the political order of free India. However, Nehru did not see any special virtue in villages. Instead he underlined the advantages of science and technology and appreciated urban culture. Moreover, Ambedkar roundly condemned the village as sink of localism, den of ignorance, narrow mindedness and communalism. As a result, Panchayati Raj could find place only in the Directive Principles of State Policy in the form of Article 40. Later at the initiative of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, most of the states adopted the Panchayati Raj Acts in their respective states. Towards the end of the first five year plan there were 1,52,237 panchayats in the country. But they lacked power in actual terms. The government constituted the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee, which suggested a three tier Panchayati Raj system at the village, block and district level. However the Panchavati Rai institutions still did not function properly due to lack of trained

personnel and dominance of wealthy and high caste people. The Ashok Mehta Committee of 1978 probed dilapidated economic conditions of these panchayats and concluded that government interference must be removed from these institutions. The C.V.K.Rao Committee appointed by the planning commission strongly recommended the revival of the PRIs all over the country, highlighting the need to transfer power of the state to democratic bodies at the local level. The L.M.Singhvi Committee recommended that to be effective, the PRIs should be constitutionally recognized and protected by the inclusion of a new chapter in the constitution. It also suggested a constitutional provision to ensure regular, free and fair elections for the PRIs. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi made repeated efforts in this direction. However, it was the Narsimha Rao government which succeeded in getting the 73rd Constitutional Amendment passed in April 1993.

Women and PRIs

When Panchayati Raj was introduced in free India very few women contested or got elected. The Balwant Rai Mehta Committee had recommended that there should be two women at Panchayat Samiti as coopted members 'who are interested in work among women and children'. A similar provision was suggested with

regard to Village Panchayat. Following this, a few states did make provisions for women's representation, for example, the Maharashtra Zila Parishad and Panchayat Samiti Act of 1961, provided for nomination of one or two women to each of the three bodies, in case no woman was elected. In many other parts of India too women were recruited by cooption rather than election. However, some states resorted to reservation in the Panchayati Raj. In Andhra Pradesh since 1986, reservation of two to four seats was provided for women in Gram Panchayat, with two women to be coopted in Panchayat Samitis, in addition to elected women members. In Karnataka by the Act of 1985, in the Mandal Praja Parishad, 25 percent of the total number was reserved for women: out of these one seat was reserved for women from scheduled castes/tribes.

Meanwhile, the committee on status of women in its report in 1976 suggested the establishment of statutory 'all women' panchayats at the village level, with autonomy and resources of their own for the management and administration of welfare and development programs for women and children as a transitional measure. There were nine 'all women' panchayats in Maharashtra in 1993.

The demand for reservation for women in adequate proportion at local

self government level was strongly felt due to the fact that women are unequipped because of patriarchy, traditions and a conservative social pattern in which women lack education, economic resources, access to information and media and do not have exposure to the outside world. It was also felt that to make it more meaningful, a guarantee is needed for women's emergence as Sarpanch and Zila Pramukh. In Andhra Pradesh the 1986 Act provided for 9 percent reservation for women for the office of chairperson of Zila Praja Parishad. The national perspective plan for women 1988, recommended 33 percent reservation for women in the three-tier system of PRI. It also recommended that 30 percent of the executive positions from village to district level should be reserved for women. However the year 1993 achieved a milestone with the acceptance of 73rd Constitutional Amendment. The article 243(3) of this Act reads, 'Not less than one third (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes) of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every panchayat shall be reserved for women and seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a panchayat'. And the clause (4) of the Act has the following provision: '.....not less than one third of the total number of offices of chairperson in the panchayats at each level shall be reserved for women. Provided also that the number of offices reserved under the clause shall be allotted by rotation to different panchayats at each level. This provision enabled more than seven hundred thousand women to participate in PRIs.

Haryana and Rohtak

The state of Haryana was carved out of the state of Punjab on November 1, 1966. It has just 1.37 percent of the total geographical area and less than two percent of India's population. Total area of the state is 44,212 sq km. The state has provided electricity, metaled roads and potable drinking water to all its villages. Haryana is among the most prosperous states in India, having one of the highest percapita incomes. It has 21 districts. It shares its capital Chandigarh with Punjab. Three fourths of the population of Haryana lives in villages. The state legislature of Haryana has 90 members. Haryana sends 10 members of parliament to the Lok Sabha and five to the Rajva Sabha. From its creation as a State in 1966, till date only 5 women have ever entered the Lok Sabha from Haryana. These were Ms Chandrawati (6th Lok Sabha), Ms.Shelja Kumari (10th and 11th Lok Sabha), Prof Kailasho Devi (12th and 13th Lok Sabha) and Shruti Choudhry, and Kumari Selja (15th Lok Sabha). In the present 16th Lok Sabha all members coming from Haryana are men. In the

present Rajya Sabha there is only one woman member from Haryana and rest four are men. In the present 13th Vidhan Sabha out of 90 members, only 13 members are female. The incumbent government is led by BJP's Harbans Lal as Chief Minister. BJP has a strength of 47, INLD-19, INC-15, independents -5, Haryana Janhit party-2, BSP-1 and Shiromani Akali Dal-1member in the present Vidhan Sabha. In the 17 member ministry of Haryana at present there are only two women. In the High Court of Punjab and Haryana presently there are eight women out of a total of 52 judges. The sex ratio as per census 2011 in Haryana is 877 females per 1000 males and sex ratio in 0-6 age group is 830 girls per 1000 boys. As per census 2011 total literacy rate is 76.64 percent but male literacy rate is 85.38 percent and female literacy rate is 66.77 percent in Haryana. Apart from female feticide, abandonment of girl child, neglect of health and education of girls and women, dowry, bigamy, desertion of wives, lack of sanitation, violence at home and outside, Seedi Pratha (bonded labour and sexual harassment of women) are also prevalent.

District Rohtak with its 146 village and five blocks has geographical area of 1,66,847 hectares (1668 sq kms). Rohtak district has 151 Gram Panchayats. It is 78 kms from Delhi. As per census 2011the literacy rate of the district is 80.4 percent. Male

literacy rate is 88.4 and women 71.2 percent. The total population of district is 10,58,683. There are 868 women per 1000 men in Rohtak as per 2011 census. The ratio in 0-6 age group is 807 girls for 1000 boys.

The sex ratio in Rohtak as well as Haryana is very low despite material and physical development. Female feticide is endemic and Haryanvi women are unequal and marginalized yet valorized. There is a strong son preference in Haryana. Every family wants to have sons and hardly anyone wants more than one daughter. This factor holds true regardless of wealth and education. Reports suggest that in Haryana the new entrants to the political scene through the PRI are merely rubber stamps or proxy candidates for their husbands and other men folk. Nor do women fare any better in decision-making in the private sphere as a majority of women have to seek permission for even minor matters such as going to the market or visiting friends and relatives.

Case Study

A case study was conducted in June 2011 employing questionnaire, interview and observation methods to examine if reservation of 33 percent seats in local self governing bodies has resulted in empowerment of women and also to find out the level of awareness and political participation

of men and women elected to the upper two tiers of Panchayati Raj Institutions in Rohtak district of Haryana i.e. in Panchayat Samiti (block committee) and Zila Parishad (district council) level. All 107 members of block committee and 14 members of district council were included in the study. Thus the total number of respondents was 121.

The personal profile of the 121 members shows that 46 were women and 75 were men. This shows that women have nearly 38 percent seats, i.e. more than the 33 percent seats officially reserved for them. Women and men both were mostly in 20-50 age-group, general category, Hindu and married. Women were mostly literate and educated but in comparison, men were more educated. Women mostly came from middle class joint families while men belonged to upper or middle class joint families. In comparison, men were more educated and wealthy with more income and agricultural land than women. Women joined politics mostly due to reservation and family pressure or encouragement, while men joined politics because they wanted to. For women, it was their first experience in PRI bur some men had previous experience as well. Some women did not wish to get elected again although they agreed that their status in society had increased after getting elected. Most women as well as men were in favour of reservation for women and said that men and women are equal. They were aware of the three tiers of the PRI. Most women as well as men were not satisfied with the functioning of PRI. Some men as well as women had difficulty in understanding budget and rules. They wanted government training for the same. All men and women were aware of the problems in their area. They all wanted more economic aid to the PRI. They were not associated with any social organization. Only a few men and women were aware of 73rd Constitutional Amendment. Men attend more meetings than women and also contribute more in the discussions than women. Men raise more issues than women. This is because in patriarchal rural setup young women must observe purdah. They must be accompanied by some male family member to the PRI meetings, etc. In comparison to men, women were less aware of political leaders and only 40 percent women read newspaper whereas all men did.

Thus the study shows that elected women members of zonal committee and districts council of Rohtak district are literate young women occupying five percent more seats then are reserved for them. Women lag behind men in education and wealth and had to observe purdah and are also dependent on their male relatives in a traditional patriarchal setup and they have entered

political arena for the first time in their lives and contribute less than men in the activities of PRI but their presence in the PRI has uplifted their status in society. Women acknowledged that reservation has led to improvement in women's condition and that it has given them a chance to participate in community programs. Their awareness of local problems was at par with men and so was their difficulty relating to budget and rules.

The Problem

Indian society, especially the rural society has a clear bias against women. Female feticide, female infanticide, female infant mortality, adverse female sex ratio, low female literacy, low female paid workforce participation rate, child marriages, purdah, dowry, wife-battering, bride burning, etc. are clear symbols of secondary status of women. Women are subordinated in the family which in turn extends their subordination in the wider society, economy and polity, for it leaves then without means to get their inequalities and subordination removed and grievances redressed. At times, the subordination may be so subtle and ingrained that women are not even aware of it.

Moreover the traditional Indian social norms have clearly marked 'male' and 'female' areas. Women's behavior is restricted by the private-

female and public-male dichotomy. The division of labour is such that household chores, child care, care of other family members, etc. are considered to be women's work. These unpaid and unrecognized full-time activities leave little available time and energy for outside interests.

Besides, politics is regarded as a male prerogative and as a least suitable vocation for women. Women are seen as too soft, emotional, ignorant, unskilled, illiterate, inarticulate and traditional to be successful in politics. If women participate actively in politics, they are seen as depriving men of their chances. Women who are 'allowed' to enter politics by their male relatives are mostly obedient, uninformed, and inarticulate. As a result, such women enter politics with a patriarchal whip and behave under the command and guidance of the males as proxies or rubber stamps. Capable women are seen as a 'threat' and discouraged from contesting elections by categorizing politics as dirty, corrupt and unsuitable for women. Even those who enter politics are expected to confine themselves to acting as 'women's representatives' and relate themselves to issues specially oriented to women and children. They are expected to leave other issues at the disposal of men. This results in marginalization of women and restricts their operation and exercise of power. Seasoned

politicians like L K Advani have acknowledged that reservation for women is justified because women face many difficulties in participating in public affairs. He accepts that it is twice as difficult for a woman to play a role in public life as it is for a man. Despite all the above, in this case study, women were not far behind men in shouldering responsibilities of PRI.

To top it all is the fact that in India 'implementation' is a major problem. In most cases, rules and laws exist but they lack in effective implementation. Ineffectiveness combined with corruption results in doom for all the good policies and programs. In our study also, women complained that the main problem which they encounter is lack of information and understanding about budget and rules.

The Prospect

Women's effective participation in the Panchayati Raj or the latter's usefulness for women's rights and development will become a reality only if Panchayat system itself operates in a principled, democratic and meaningful way. Hence, the need of the hour is to strengthen the system and ensure greater people's participation. Otherwise one-third representation of women as members or the chairpersons will have little or no relevance. In other words, the relationship between PRI leaders and

the local level bureaucrats needs to be relooked at so that the information regarding plans, rules, budget, etc. reaches PRI members automatically and smoothly.

Moreover, there is need for reservation to be increased to 50 percent in every state in India and also women to be politically mobilized for contesting elections and even campaigning and questioning the candidates. For women who are already in the PRIs, literacy and political education programs are needed. Here political education means information about their powers, rights and functions; acquaintance with the rules, plans, procedures and systems as well as basic knowledge about the concept and relevance of Panchayati Raj; the nature of Indian democracy and constitution; policies and programs for women and other weaker sections, etc. In order to avoid distortions, proper curriculum development must be undertaken. Training has to be sustained and frequent. For this, resource centers must be created with full-time social activists. Such centres need to provide facilities for information dissemination, discussions, counseling and problem solving. The political action groups, the social works departments, the NSS and the women's studies centers in the universities and colleges all over India could be mobilized to play the vital role of catalysts in this regard. NGOs working in the area can also be utilized provided they have the inclination and correct approach.

The bright side of this picture is that women themselves have a very positive and enlightened view on women's capacities. They are all first timers in PRI and lack experience in dealing with officials and rules but they are not far behind men and they also believe that reservation has brought positive changes in the status of women. However, they need guidance and support services. In the absence of institutional guidance and support services, they depend upon their families. They need to be made independent economically and through capacity building.

Sensitization of officials and men in general is also very crucial so that they can understand their role as facilitators for empowerment of women and PRIs.

The task is an enormous one and will take some time to show results. Till training and economic empowerment takes place, a certain compromise on the quality of participation has to be made, i.e. low level of participation needs to be tolerated and critics need to become less critical and demanding. Moreover during most of history, men had been controlling PRIs as well as other political positions in India and they do

not have much positive work to show either.

References

- Kamesswarmma, K. 1987. 'Women and Political Awakening'. Roshni, July-September, p 8.
- Forbes, C. 1998. Women in Modern India: The New Cambridge History of India. Cambridge University Press: New Delhi, p 130.
- 3. Sinha, Niroj. 2000. Women in Indian Politics. Gyan Publishing House: New Delhi, p 21-23.
- Singh, Raj. 2000 'Panchayati Raj and Peoples Empowerment' in Raj Singh (ed), New Panchayati Raj: A Functional Analysis. Anmol Publication: New Delhi, p 126.
- Mudgal, Gauri and Sushil. 2000. 'Capacity Building in Panchayati Raj Institutions' in Raj Singh (ed), New Panchayati Raj: A Functional Analysis.anmol Publication: New Delhi, p 50-52.
- 6. Kaushik, Susheela. 1993. Women and Panchayati Raj. Har anand Publication: New Delhi, p 15
- Mathew, George. 2000. 'Will Reservation Ensure Participation' in Raj Singh (ed), New Panchayati Raj: A Functional Analysis. Anmol Publication: New Delhi., p 40-41.

- 8. Government of Haryana, http://haryana.gov.in/knowharyan a/knowharyana.html, Accessed on 6.10.2015.
- Gender Profile Haryana, http://ncw.nic.in/pdfReports/Gend er_Profile_Haryana.pdf, Accessed on 6.10.2015.
- 10. Not a single woman representative from Haryana in Lok Sabha' The Economic Times, http://articles.economictimes.india times.com/2014-05-19/news/49949291_1_women-candidates-congress-mps-lok-sabha, Accessed on 9.10.2015.
- 11. Haryana Vidhan Sabha http://haryanaassembly.gov.in/Sea rchParliamentMembers.aspx? House=LokSabha, Accessed on 6.10.2015.
- 12. Haryana Vidhan Sabha, http://haryanaassembly.gov.in/Sea rchParliamentMembers.aspx?Hou se=RajyaSabha, Accessed on 6.10.2015.
- 13. Haryana Vidhan Sabha, http://haryanaassembly.gov.in/Sear chMLAInformation.aspx, Accessed on 6.10.2015.
- 14. Council of Ministers, http://haryanaassembly.gov.in/Writ eReadData/ExtraLinksInformation /Council_Ministers.htm, Accessed on 6.10.2015.

- 15. High Court of Punjab and Haryana, http://highcourtchd.gov.in/?trs=chief, Accessed on 6.10.2015.
- 16. Haryana Census 2011, http://censusindia.gov.in/2011prov-results/data_files/haryana/1-Figures%20at%20a%20Glance.pd f, Accessed on 6.10.2015.
- 17. Gender Profile Haryana, http://ncw.nic.in/pdfReports/Gend er_Profile_Haryana.pdf, Accessed on 6.10.2015.
- 18. District Rohtak, http://rohtak.nic.in/history.htm, Accessed on 6.10.2015.
- 19. Haryana Census 2011, http://censusindia.gov.in/2011prov-results/prov_data_ products _haryana.html, Accessed on 6.10.2015.
- 20. Gender Profile Haryana, http://ncw.nic.in/pdfReports/Gend er_Profile_Haryana.pdf, Accessed on 6.10.2015.
- 21. Adwani, L. K. 2008, My Country My Life, Rupa and Co, New Delhi, p869.

Historical Analysis of Urban Dynamics of a Traditional Indian City: A Case Study of Walled City Amritsar

Sarbjot Singh Behl, Rawal Singh Aulakh

1.0 Introduction

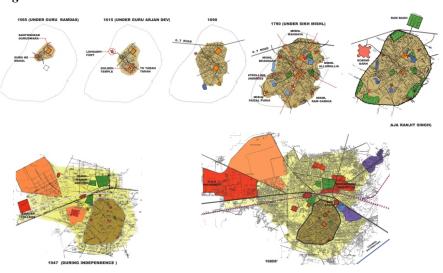
Cities exist in time as well as in space. Their shape and appearance are derived from their past history as well as their present function and to some extent also from their projected future development. Every city, to a certain extent carries the evidence of its growth and history on its face. The Indian traditional city has undergone a gamut of evolutionary changes, upheavals and disruptions by virtue of being subjected to extreme variations of socio-politicocultural & economic conditions over the ages. It is evident that in the medieval period, a relatively stable organic urban form of the traditional Indian city was shaped and was preserved for a considerable period of time until the 19th century. This overall stability of urban form in old cities began to cease by the onset of industrial age. From this period onwards, the Indian traditional cities were exposed to a new type of development, different on size, scale and momentum, upsetting the critical equilibrium of the city organism. As a result, the traditional Indian city turned out to be a discontinuous and fragmented space with lack of urban coherence & cultural identity that destroyed the image of the historic city. Modern urbanism, with its stereotyped & depersonalized solutions, has failed to address the aforementioned complexity of the Indian historic city.

Amritsar- the city of the Golden Temple and the holiest place of Sikhs founded in the 16th century and situated along the India-Pakistan border serves as an apt example of such a city (figure-1). The aim of this investigation is to establish the historical complexity, meaning and role of the time function in constituting city space through an analysis of morphological models and the social context, and to establish critical points in the time-space relation in the process of the genesis, growth, transformation and future guidelines for ensuring and establishing dynamic continuity between historic areas and their surroundings, thereby connecting and harmonizing old and new, past and present, seed and growth (figure-2).

2.0 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CITY- AMRITSAR

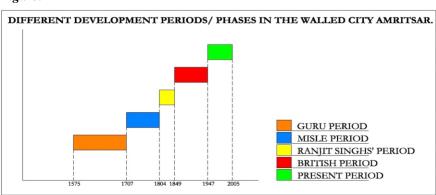
2.1 Genesis and Growth: (Historical Perspective)

Figure: 1



Source: Documented records of Guru Ramdass School of Planning

Figure: 2



Source: M. Tech. Thesis, Aulakh.

2.2 From 1575 to 1804 AD

Worship of Natural Features: The process of historic development is clearly visible from the print of generic form of the city's spatial structure. The first seed of the city was the ceremonial meeting place—Amrit Sarovar (pool of nectar) that also became the site for Harmandar (The Abode of God) that would become the central nucleus and dominate the historic city for all times to come (figure-3).

Centroidal Form of Sanctum Sanctorum: During the reign of the fifth Guru of Sikhs, Guru Arjan Dev, the holy tank was enlarged and a place of worship (dharamsal) was erected in the middle of this holy tank, thus establishing sanctum sanctorum. With this, the prototype of the present Harmandir Sahib, popularly known as The Golden Temple, was complete as the integrated complex.

Multiplication Of Peripheral Functions: In the last quarter of the 16th century, around the holy tank (Amrit Sarovar), came up a small township consisting of commercial precinct at the present site of Guru Bazaar and residential settlement inhabited by goldsmiths, nomads and other craftsmen (figure-3). This small township was appropriately called Ramdaspur

CHOWK PASSIAN

GURTALA

TUNG

SANTOKHSAR

GURU BAZAR

AKAL TARHAT

RAMDAS SAROVAR

GURU KE BAGH

KAULSAR

Figure: 3

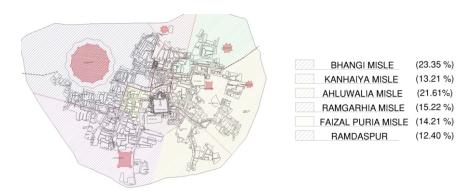
Source: M. Tech. Thesis, Aulakh.

2.3 Emergence of Precincts

The city of Amritsar was subjected to various invasions during the 18th century, which periodically inflicted the damage on the city and Harmandar Sahib. In order to protect the city and the holy shrine, various Sikh leaders of those times established their residences (havelis, bungas) and residential districts (katras) around the Golden Temple (Figure1) and encouraged traders and craftsmen to reside in them (figure-4). The principle of equality and unity, which Sikhism espoused, was at work in the reconstruction of Ramdaspur. The Harmandar was

constructed through a collective effort of all the Sikh leaders. A few of them, presumably the most prominent, established their own forts in the town: the Bhangi Sardar Hari Singh in the south-west of the Harmandar, Jassa Singh Ramgariah in the south-east, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia in the east and Jai Singh Kanhiya in the north. The core was partly reconstructed and became more thickly populated. But a whole range of forts with palaces, residential districts with their own markets and houses with spacious gardens sprang up on all the sides of the town founded by Guru Ram Das.

Figure: 4



Source: M. Tech. Thesis, Aulakh.

2.4 Consolidation: Ranjit Singh Period

At the beginning of the 19th century, the city of Amritsar was taken over by the ruler Maharaja Ranjit Singh, thus bringing the city of Amritsar under a single administration. Double wall was constructed with moats around the city to improve its fortification with twelve gates, having bridges on the moats. In 1809, a fort called Gobindgarh in the south-west of the city was constructed and in the north-east a palace in the heart of Rambagh gardens based on Chaar Bagh concept were laid down. The structure of Baba Atal, with its beautiful frescoes was another gift of Ranjit Singh. The city was more populous than ever before, with new residential districts (katras), and

markets (bazaars) increasing by the 19th century. Outside the GuruDwara, the most widespread representative of the corporate life became the guild or Katrathe two bases for fellowship, common work and a common faith, that were united in the medieval town.

Following the example of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, other nobles of his court also laid down their gardens all around the walled city of Amritsar. Thus by the middle of the 19th century, the city of Amritsar was a well formed entity with a strong historic core in the heart of the city and on the outskirts surrounded by a green belt of gardens that acted as an interface between the city and the country side (Figure 5 & Figure 5 a).

Figure: 5

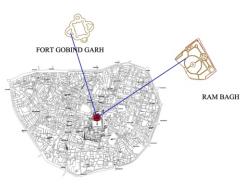
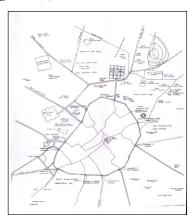


Figure: 5(a)



Source: M. Tech. Thesis, Aulakh.

Source: Gauba, Anand.

2.5 Socio-Physical, Structural and Morphological Attributes of Stable Medieval City Form:

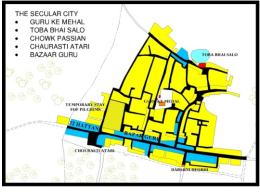
The urban pattern of old Amritsar was qualified by a strong centre-periphery relationship. The centre remained fixed while the periphery shifted in space and time to accommodate the changing concepts. The basic form of the city had the capacity to grow, modify and change both vertically and horizontally while retaining the original character. The spatial, typological and structural attributes of the city's medieval form reflect the above pattern

2.6 Socio-Physical:

The ideas and institutions of medieval civilization concern us here only as they affected the urban pattern. To understand the plan one must take into account the mass and profile of its dominant structures (figure 6). The key structure in the plan of Amritsar is Harmandar by virtue of its geographic location and being the starting point in the growth of the city. The Golden Temple was a many sided institution. Outside the temple, the most wide spread representative of the corporate life become the guild or Katra (The neighbourhood unit and the functional precinct-in a sense); the two bases for fellowship, common work and common faith, that were united in the medieval town.

The medieval city was a congeries of little cities, each with a certain degree of autonomy and self-sufficiency, each formed so naturally out of common needs and purposes that it only enriched and supplemented the whole. The division of the town into quarters, each with a sub religious centre, often with a

Figure: 6



Source: Thesis, Aulakh.

Figure: 7



Source: Thesis, Aulakh.

local provision market, always with its own local water supply, a well or a fountain was a characteristic feature; but as the town grew, the quarters might have become sixths, or even smaller fractions or the whole, without dissolving into the mass. But it was in the central core around Golden Temple that all individual autonomies got subjected to the greatest autonomy of the faith and as a result the development in this vicinity was complimentary in all respects to the central feature. The medieval city, despite its manifold developments and its ambivalent results, may be described a collective structure whose main purpose was the living of a religious life.

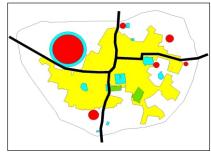
These precincts were the first translation of the spatial qualities of the sacred precinct of the original city and the very existence of the city is today threatened by the overexpansion of wheeled traffic, the tradition of the medieval precinct, realised form the street and the major traffic artery, comes back as a new form at a higher point in the spiral of development (figure 7). In the main, the temple being central to the town, and since it drew to itself the largest crowds, it needed a forecourt to provide for the entrance and exit of the worshippers. As with the original growth of the city, the market settled close to the Harmandar because it is there that the inhabitants most frequently came together. This decentralisation of the essential social functions of the city not merely

prevented institutional overcrowding and needless circulation: it kept the whole town in scale- small structures, small numbers and intimate relations.

2.7 Structural:

The source of the organic curves in Amritsar was the emphasis on its central core (figure 8). The essential fact of medieval urbanism was the constitution of the city in such a fashion that all the lines converge towards the centre and that contour is usually circular (figure 9). Apart from the linear movement to the centre, a circumambulatory movement in the form of a series of rings around the central core serves the purpose of enclosing and protecting it, while the devious and meandering passages approach more close to it. Two opposing forces of attraction and protection generate the resulting plan: the public buildings and open spaces find security behind a labyrinth of streets; through which the knowing foot nevertheless penetrates (Figure 10).

Figure: 8



Source: Thesis, Aulakh.

CHOWK PASSIAN

SANTOKHSAR

GURU BAZAR

AKAL TAKHAT

RAMDAS SAROVAR

GURU KE BAGH

Figure: 11 Figure: 12

Source: Records of GRSP.



Source: Thesis, Aulakh.

Source: Records of GRSP. Source: Thesis, Aulakh.

2.8 Morphological:

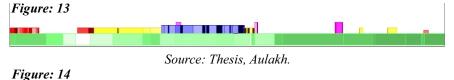
The archetypal concept of centre is revealed in its built form also (figure 13). The Centroidal form of Harmandar had the inherent potential to dominate the space around, and also by virtue of its central location from where the city expanded outwards. But since the ideology of Sikh faith was not to inspire awe but take everyone in its fold with humility, the dominance inherent in the Centroidal form was played down by locating the shrine at the lowest point in city's topography and the axis mundi (the vertical axis) is also kept low (figure 14)

Spatial contrast and formal coherence qualify the centre-periphery relationship induced by inherent typology (figure 15). A pattern of spatial contrast exists between the sacred space and its environs to create an image of order being wrested from the chaos of surroundings (figure 16).

And ordered space in contrast to a labyrinthine or maze pattern of space surrounding it was the key feature of the historic core of Amritsar.

Also the principle of formal coherence symbolizing wholeness in the whole of urban sequence was a unifying element in historic core. The method of growth by accumulation of massive, self contained units of buildings (figure 17), each cheek by jowl with each other held firmly in place by the powerful force of compression. These were held together by rhythm of unifying elements like arcades, chajjas, projecting windows and columns.

In short the plan of Amritsar was no static design (figure 18), embodying the needs of single generation, arbitrarily ruling out the possibilities of growth, re-adaptation, and change; rather here was continuity in change, a unity emerging from a complex order.



Source: Thesis, Aulakh

Historical Analysis of Urban Dynamics of a Traditional Indian City: A Case Study of Walled City Amritsar 85

Figure: 15

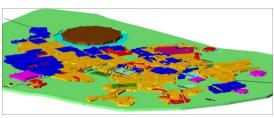
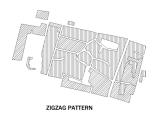


Figure: 16



Source: Thesis, Aulakh

Source: Thesis, Aulakh.

Figure: 17

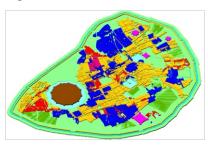
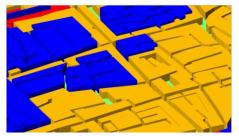


Figure: 18



Source: Thesis, Figure: 18

Source: Thesis, Aulakh.

3. Transformations: (Historical Perspective)

The 19th century idea of increasing change and progress raised the problem of stabilisation and equilibrium. There was a problem for both the central institution and the city, but neither could solve it without transcending its inherited limitations (figure 19). This rich indigenously developed medieval city core of Amritsar was later subjected to the colonial transplant and unleashing of the fury of contemporary urbanism.

3.1 Colonial transplant:

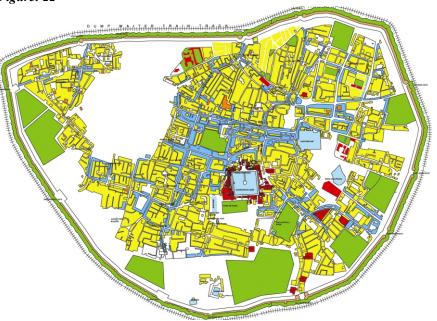
One of the early measures of the British administrators of Amritsar was to remove its fortifications. All the bastions and all the walls were demolished. A new wall only a few feet thick was constructed, leaving only a few gates intact. However, till the end of the 19th century, only a few hundred persons were living outside the city wall, and they were almost exclusively European (figure 20).

Morphological development was closely connected with demographic growth. Within the religious core, the most important landmark of British sprang as a clock tower after demolishing the Bunga Sarkar or Bunga Shukarchakiya (the rest house of confederacy of Maharaja Ranjit Singh) (Figure-21). Some new areas within the wall were brought into use in the late 19th century. The old inhibition of residing within the walls was no longer there. In 1911, there were over 10,000 persons living outside the walled city. By 1941 their number rose to 94,000. The municipal area in 1938 came to

have a perimeter of 16 miles, nearly four times the perimeter of the city walls (figure 22). Much of the increase in population was due to industrial and commercial activities. The maximum industrial growth in Amritsar took place in the second quarter of the present century, synchronising with the maximum increase in population.

During British period the location of urban, commercial and transport modes just next to the outskirts of the old city became newly created magnet for the urban development outside the walled city. This tension caused conflicts in movement, activity and built form

Figure: 22



Source: Thesis Aulakh.

within the realm of religious centre. As a result of the major movement line instead of emanating from the religious centre cuts across it to join the new transport or commercial mode and hence shifting the original emphasis from the centre, this new movement line brings in more vehicular traffic and commercial activity with an increasing gradient towards the religious centre. Gradually the eripheral area around religious centre transforms into CBD of the region. As per the historic records, there used to run a Dump-Trailer train on narrow gauge which used to collect garbage from within the walled city and throw it over near Khazana Gate.

Most of this growth took place on the other side of the railway tracks that divided the civil lines and walled city of Amritsar. The bridge over railway tracks connecting these two settlements touched wall city at a point where Hall Gate (now Gandhi Gate) was established. The road from Gandhi Gate to Golden Temple became the most important road as it connected the new transport nodes and ever-expanding City to the Golden Temple. The area around this road and its branches got commercialised over a period of time and is called Hall Bazaar. As a result of the increased accessibility and consumer pressure the core of the city became CBD of the surrounding region.

Except Town Hall and Government school building, the major thrust of the development during British period was on the other side of the railway tracks that acted as a strong barrier and between the walled city of natives and the civil lines of the civilised and thus initiating the process of fragmentation. The advantage of central geographic location of Harmandar was shifted to Railway Station, which became a new centre of the sprawling city (figure 7).

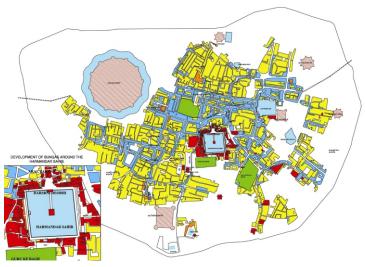
3.2 Invasion of commerce and traffic:

By virtue of an important junction enroute the railway and road map of undivided India, the invasion of commerce and later industrial growth altered the land use pattern of the walled city drastically. Following the law of least resistance, the commercial activity invaded the thickly populated walled city and as a result the old holy city of Amritsar was converted into CBD of the region (figure 24).

The concentration of commercial activity was naturally followed by the invasion of the motor car. The horizontal penetration by the vehicular traffic and vertical punctuation by high rise in the built form of the traditional city adversely affected the character, appearance and scale of the city in an irrecoverable manner (Figure 23 a).

The functions that came up by virtue of religious and historic functions eventually replaced the same.

Figure: 23



Source: Thesis, Aulakh.

SIZE OF THE CITY:

| SIZE OF THE CITY: | SAME ACT | SAM

Source: Thesis, Aulakh.

Historical Analysis of Urban Dynamics of a Traditional Indian City: A Case Study of Walled City Amritsar 89

3.3 Socio-political disruption:

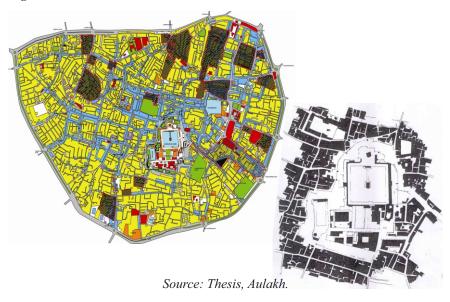
While the previous transformations took place over a period of time, there were some abrupt upheavals as a result of sudden and unforeseen socio-political developments, which affected the city and its historic core in a dramatic way.

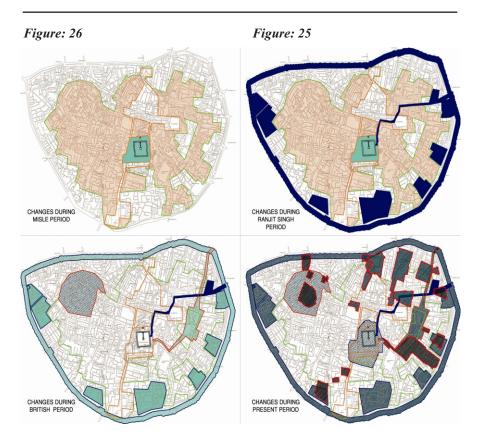
The first blow to the urban life of the city came during the 1947 riots at the time of partition, in which large-scale loss of life and property took place. In response to this situation, a special provision in the form of "Damaged Area Act" (figure 24) was constituted to deal with the crisis of redevelopment and rehabilitation of the damaged areas in the riots

(figure 10). The second blow came as an aftermath of "Operation Blue Star" and "Operation Black Thunder". Driven by the security concerns exclusively In 1989 Government acquired 30 mts of area around the complex and for the sake of maintaining law and order demolished all the structures falling with in the range of this zone. This act left a gaping hole in the heart of the historic core of Amritsar and thus draining life out of the city.

As a result of this demolition drive certain drastic changes took place in the built form, open spaces and movement which contrasted strongly with the pre-existing structures around Golden Temple (figure 25).

Figure: 24





Source: Documented Records of GRSP Source: Documented Records of GRSP

Socio-Physical, Structural and Morphological Attributes of Unstable Present City Form:

3.4 Change In Built Form

3.4.1. Loss of Enclosure:

By creating an indiscriminate open space uniformly on all the sides of Harmandar it detracts from the structure itself, for its potential effect cannot be concentrated but scattered evenly around its circumference. A

pattern of Spatial Contrast between the centre and periphery essential to achieve the qualitative difference between the formally ordered sacred space and its informal organic environs was lost.

Every organic relationship between open space and its enclosure is made impossible, as all perspective effects require sufficient vistas. Putting a void around the building has prevented it from farming with its environs, various diverse scenes. A uniform and monotonous expanse of space all around Golden Temple has also destroyed the hierarchy of public spaces that surrounded the central shrine. The main public square—the Ghantaghar Chowk in front of the main entrance has now merged with the indiscriminate open space all around, there by destroying the sense of arrival at the Abode of God.

3.4.2. Loss of Cohesion

- 1. The principle of formal coherence symbolising wholeness was characteristic of the historic core. This concept was applicable to the buildings as part of large urban sequences. A coherent group of visual features comprised on coherent whole by adopting a common architectural vocabulary of Sikh architecture. The modular unity of this kind of architectural expression has been lost as a result of tearing down of the rich architectural heritage built form in the vicinity of Golden Temple. The monotonous side faces without any architectural chara.
- 2. The spatial void and vacuum of vision: The 30 mt. corridor around Golden Temple provided very tempting opportunity for the over enthusiastic planners and architects and was dealt with superficial approach. What to do with the void

after creating it was the next question. The first option was to have a corridor around the Golden Temple complex. (The project was earlier called project corridor), which was later replaced by the second option of creating landscaped area all around. The second option was considered an improvement over the first one and readily grabbed for execution.

3. The road widening approach: The proposal was first made by INTACH & later the project was handed over to landscape Architect Ravinder Bhan. Improved public walks and gardens are unquestionably of great hygienic values. Indisputable is also the changing result of rustic beauty into the heart of city, where nature's work and man's architecture can be taken into account, but we must give some thought to where and how the great open areas should be located.

An attempt to harmonise the vast landscaped expanse with monumental architecture would inevitably result in a disagreeable conflicting style in a medieval setting. The location of idyllic parks next to the city's principal public space has resulted in clash between nature & stylistic monumentality. Whereas as a baroque garden and a mughal charbagh enhance the beauty of the monument they address by creating vistas following the principle of axial geometry, the idyllic meandering park all around a formally ordered space and monument cancel out each other.

Moreover the choice of plants & trees, paving patterns, use of water bodies and choice of material does not follow any physical & historic context of the existing pattern in Golden Temple Complex.

3.5 Approach towards restructuring historic part of Amritsar:

In today's scenario, the conventional approach of urban planning to physically and visually structure the city has to give way to innovative solutions to deal with complex social and environmental issues. As is evident from above, the failure of current planning guidelines to regulate the process of change in historic urban core, results in a need to evolve a comprehensive and sustainable process of conserving the traditional urban form based on three spheres of understanding:

First it becomes important to redefine and re-establish the status of historic core in contemporary city of Amritsar (figures 27 & 28). Figure 27 Source: Thesis, Aulakh

Second is to evolve a comprehensive development project with clearly defined objectives, goals and range of activities. This requires a detailed urban design of the historic core area and its possible extensions in the immediate periphery so that each situation has clearly defined physical solutions within the framework of larger planning/ conservation strategies of the area.

Figure 28

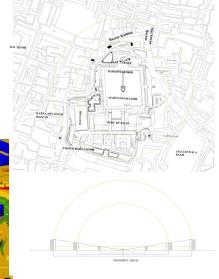
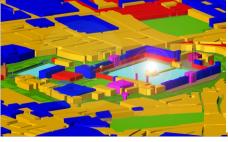


Figure 27



Source: Thesis, Aulakh Source: Thesis, Aulakh

Third, the development programme must be self-sustainable by promoting financial systems such as investment from private sector and tourism industry.

There are two basic approaches in the modern practice of urban planning:

- The scientific approach: in the domain of spatial and urban planning, this is based on empirical quality of development, applied to the organic nature of the city system.
- Urban design approach: that in less spatial design and functional composition with all other aspects of the city's structure.

While the scientific approach confers greater importance to exact indicators (economic, demographic, technological) in the development of an entity, valuating them and designing them into the future, the urban design approach sets urban shape, architecture of the city and morphological characteristics of the city in general as its priority goal. The differences between the two approaches do not present an obstacle to their communication, and should be practised in the planning process combined.

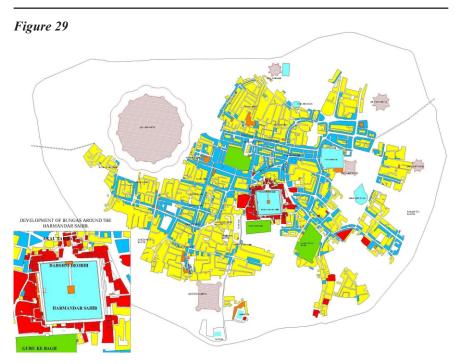
The synthesis of the above mentioned two approaches was manifested for the first time in Patrick Geddes' philosophy of 'Conservative Surgery' which took a sensitive account of human factors that go into making of the old historic areas of the city instead of indiscriminately subjecting them to economic and technical forces.

4.0 Guidelines:

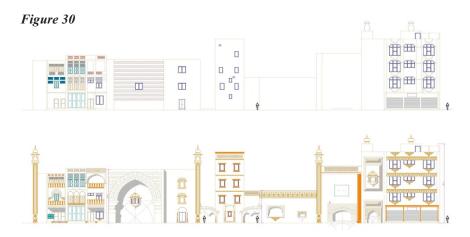
The approach of conservative surgery has to be essentially preceded by a detailed diagnosis of existing conditions of built form, activities, and movement patterns. A survey with respect to the following factors can be adopted as a basis of restructuring historic core (figure 29). In case of present day historic core, the task is to give shape and coherence to the illdesigned core or to carve out a core from formless expanse. The raw material we have to use includes not only plot of ground but existing buildings in which the history and therefore the personality of the place are embodied. In revitalising a historic core the dominating elements are historic buildings of all kinds and periods which should be analysed. The total effect of the core depends on the way the old threads are woven into the new fabric.

4.1 Delineation of historic core as heritage zone:

A concept of heritage conservation zone defined as an area of special architectural, historical and cultural interest should be integrated into the master plan of the city. The built form, open spaces, road network and



Source- Thesis, Aulakh.



Source- Documentation by Dept. of Architecture

Historical Analysis of Urban Dynamics of a Traditional Indian City: A Case Study of Walled City Amritsar 95

infrastructure in this zone should be guided by a strong concern and drive for preservation of the heritage value of the area (figure 30).

4.2 Raw material for restructuring the historic core:

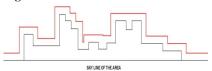
4.2.1. Age and conditions of buildings:

To establish historic continuity: The chronological analysis establishes a historical time segment of various layers of development over a period of time and the new intervention could benefit from this data to achieve continuity and unity. The data also would help in locally treating the problem areas and check the spread of visual blight and establish safe and visually enriched environment.

4.2.2 Height of Buildings:

To establish spatial/visual relationships: The data should be visually supported by street sectors and vista views. The height-width relationship in approaching streets and surrounding space is critical to the sequential visual experience as well as sense of enclosure around the religious monument (figure 31).

Figure 31



Source- Documentation by Dept. of Architecture

4.2.3 Morphological Survey of Built Form:

To establish the principle of spatial contrast between the surrounding fabric and central monument, any new intervention should follow the traditional typology.

4.2.4 Activity Pattern: Figure 32

Source- Documentation by Dept. of Architecture Land use survey to establish the activities complimentary to the main religious function of the historic core. In case of historic core of Amritsar, the trade based on traditional craft (wooden carving, metal embossing, engraving on dressed stones), jewellery-artificial as well as carat, punjabi jutti, home industry (condiments, papad wadian, murrabbas, pickles, pulses), souvenir shops (kadas, kirpans, cassettes, photographs, rumalas), small publishing units or printing press (books, stationary), eateries flourished in the immediate vicinity of Golden Temple (figure 32). The vertical land use pattern shows that all this ground commercial activity was an extension of just few floors residential settlement. This type of arrangement curbed the vertical development of commercial activity in this area, restraining the vehicular penetration.

Figure 32



Source- Documentation by Dept. of Architecture

A part from this the small shrines surrounding the Golden Temple Complex like Akharaas, road side shrines should be integrated in the over all composition to encourage the religious fervour of the place.

4.2.5 Movement Patterns: to establish a balance between accessibility and activity.

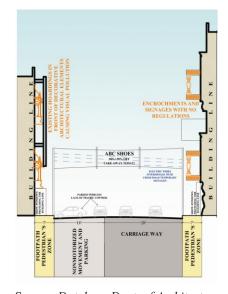
A combination of circumambulatory corridor with parking points on its periphery and converging levels of pedestrian movement towards the central point. Locating informal sector strategically along the pedestrian paths should encourage the movement as a part of activity.

A clear hierarchy of approach roads with varying widths and gradients should be established to highlight primary and secondary entry points to the Golden Temple (figure 32 a)

4.2.6 Visual Survey of Built Form:

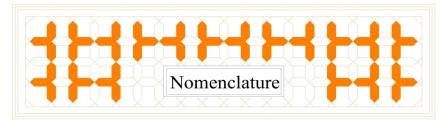
To establish the principle of visual coherence between the central feature and peripheral facades. Architectural façade control should be evolved by using traditional architectural features and motifs like chajjas, projecting windows and balconies, arcades, chabutras (platforms abutting streets), chhatris, and cupolas (figure 33).

Figure 32 a



Source- Database Dept. of Architecture

Figure 33



Source- Documentation by Dept. of Architecture

4.3 Public Participation:

Initial forms of spatial structures are built with a view to developing the city, while transformations are most often the result of their utilisation. For this reason, the degree of co ordination between the primary constructed form of the structure and the user's needs is of pre-eminent importance for the number and nature of transformations.

Greater the agreement between the initial form and the user's culture, the transformations will continuously build into and develop the primary form, thereby attaining gradual genesis of the structure.

Therefore, a flexible and adaptable spatial structure should be evolved, for the reason that the nature of the transformations does not change its primary form much, as structure that coincides with the needs and the culture of users undergo minimal adaptations.

To encourage public participation an attractive people's involvement

program based on certain incentives (social and financial) should be evolved. For example, interest free construction loans for incorporating the designed architectural controls, rewarding the best street or bazaars, prizes for best processional avenues and temporary gateways erected during gurpurabs, etc.

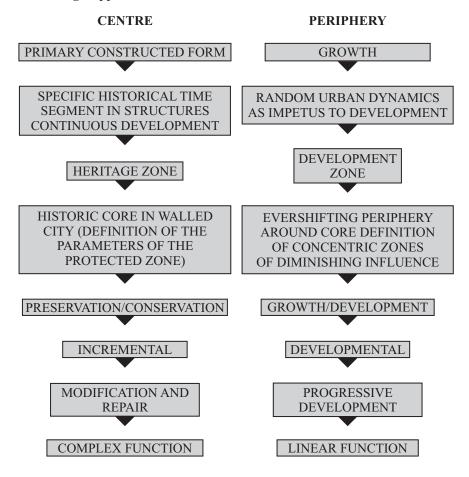
4.4 Institutional Participation:

Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandhak Committee (SGPC) that looks after the Golden Temple complex and other religious shrines in the historic core of city of Amritsar should also be given a role (financial and administrative) in the vicinity of religious monuments. A close co-ordination between the local bodies and SGPC would ensure a harmonious regulation of the environment of the religious buildings and their surroundings.

4.5 Financial Viability:

The concept of heritage tourism to sustain the traditional resources should be encouraged. The development of tourist enclaves, the heritage walks can provide financial sustainability. The present scenario provides an opportunity for the design and development on above pattern. Tourism is an industry of great potential which remains unexploited in the historic core of Amritsar. Along with pilgrimage tourism, the city of Amritsar being on international map can attract enough foreign tourists.

5.0 Design Approach:



References

Books

- 1. Amole, S.S. Amritsar. Patiala: Bhasha Vibhag. 1974
- Arthur, Korn. History Builds the Town. First edition. London and Bradford: Lund Humpries. 1953.
- 3. Blumenfeld, Hans. The modern metropolis its origins, growth, characteristics, and planning. Selected essays. (Ed. Paul. D. Spreiregen). U.S.A.: M.I.T. press. 1967.
- 4. Bor, Walter. The Making of Cities. London: Leonard Hill. 1972.
- Carter, Harold. An Introduction to Urban Historical Geography. Baltimore, Maryland: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd. 1983.
- Gauba, Anand. Amritsar- A study in urban history (1840-1947). First edition. Jalandhar: ABS Publications, 1988.
- 7. Guru Arjandev. Sri Guru Granth Sahib. Amritsar. 1604.
- 8. Padam, Piara Singh. Punjab Roushan. Amritsar: Singh Brothers. 1995.
- 9. Saarinen, Eliel. The City its Growth, Its Decay, Its Future. Calcutta: Scientific Book Agency. 1971.

- Singh, Bhagat. A History of Sikh Misals. Patiala: Punjabi Unversity. 1993.
- Singh, Giani Gian. Gurdham Sangreh. Chandigarh: Kendri Singh Sabha Academy.
- Singh, Giani Gian. Twarikh Sri Amritsar. Amritsar: Kendri Singh Sabha Committee. 1978.

Articles

- 1. Fonseca, Rory. "The walled city of Old Delhi." Ekistics 182 (1971): 72-80
- Noe, Samuel V. "Old Lahore and Old Delhi: variations on a Mughal theme." Ekistics 295 (1982): 301-19
- 3. Strange, Ian. "Planning for change, conserving the past: towards sustainable development policy in historic cities." Cities, vol. 14, No.4, (1997): 227-33
- 4. Smith, Peter F. "Esthetics in cities." Ekistics 265 (1997): 301-07
- Jain, Rajesh Kumar. "Conservation of built heritage in India: initiatives and approaches." Spatio-Economic Development Record, Vol.9, No.4, (2002): 32-34
- 6. Hakim Besim S. "Urban Form in traditional Islamic cultures: further studies needed for formulating theory." Cities, Vol.16, No.1, (1998): 51-55

7. Ford, Larry R. "lynch Revisited, new urbanism and theories of good city form." Cities, Vol.16, No.4, (!999): 247-57

Historical Archives

- Archives of Guru Ramdas School of Planning, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar
- 2. Archives of Department of Architecture, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.
- 3. Archives from Department of History, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.

Book Review

Development Issues in Contemporary India

Edited by Dr. M.R. Biju Concept Publishing Company Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi Pages xxxiv plus 606.

Traditionally, the term 'development' has been associated with economic development. The western countries, Europe and the North America (the U.S.A. and Canada) were first to achieve development. Being in the north hemisphere they had soil moisture and abundance of water. Scientific discoveries and inventions, development of sciences, application of new technologies and mechanization in agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry and dairying brought a boom of food production and abundance of milk, butter and cheese that ensure nutrition for population. Industrial revolution started in 1750 in England. The second industrial revolution (1850) gave a push and spread in the western world. Having no worry of food security, the industrially and economically advanced European countries developed ambition and had resources to colonize other countries, which were not so fortunate in these material terms and were easy to be conquered. This made for expansion of their empires and made available natural resources for their industrial requirements. This is the stuff of the history of the 19th century. The spirit of nationalism in Europe and political ambitions were a recipe for wars among the nations and Europe was devastated by the two World Wars. The colonized countries awakened to realize their exploitation and to have their own destiny. The history of the second half of the 20th century is the history of these countries gaining freedom and embarking on the path of development. For these countries development has not been as easy as it was for the west. For the countries which chose democracy as the way of governance had to adopt broader dimensions of development, because they had to satisfy the aspirations of the people with a wider perspective, with equity and social justice. The development story of India falls in this category.

The development narrative of India begins with a bright Constitution, which makes India a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic. It aims to secure for all its citizens, Justice social, economic and political; Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and opportunity; and to promote among them all Fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation.

Thus, the framework of our governance and development strategy is well defined and determined. Each of the

above mentioned statements of the Preamble of the Constitution has a distinct dimension and meaning.

Establishment of parliamentary democracy, guaranteeing certain freedom and Fundamental Rights, and assuring dignity to every class of citizens were primary goals, coupled with the endeavour of development in all spheres to give a decent standard of life to the teeming millions. Vast resources of the country had to be marshalled to achieve these ends. And thus the need to ensure economic development that would provide food security, make for spread of education, ensure health services, create jobs for the millions, facilitate industrial production, and provide right conditions for development of services. This necessitated an overarching body, namely the Planning Commission that would take stock of the resources, decide priorities, recommend allocation of resources and funds and evaluate the progress periodically. In many respects and in many areas, development started after Independence from scratch. Development needs of the country have been (and still are) massive; hence the Administration in India or for that matter administration of any developing economy is essentially a Development Administration.

India has an institutional approach to governance and development through plan and policy formulation at national and state levels. There is a huge implementation hierarchy. Documentation

is an essential part of the process. Universities, institutes of national importance and some dedicated magazines are playing a commendable role in recording, commenting upon and documenting the performance through journals. It must be admitted that some publication houses are supplementing this task admirably, by bringing out publications on governance and development issues. Concept Publishing Company is one such publisher that continuously brings out seminal books on a wide range of subjects, with remarkable regularity. One such recent publication-'Development Issues in Contemporary India', edited by Dr. M.R. Biju, is an addition to this corpus, which is under review. The book contains in all, 29 wellresearched articles by renowned academics and scholars in the respective fields, classified in five sections and accommodated in 606 pages of print.

Section I with the title Development Projects, Action Plans and Good Governance contains nine articles. The section begins with the article by PrasenjitMaiti on Key Concepts of Impact Assessment and Resettlement Action for Infrastructure Development Projects. She has presented case studies in the context of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, National Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation 2003 and the World Bank Policy Guidelines, and concludes that infrastructure projects to upgrade/widen roads, laying down road networks, etc. is a development pre-requisite. She rightly

asserts they should be implemented with comprehensive mitigation measures to reduce pain of displacement and the consequential loss to the owners and the tenants in terms of residence and livelihood needs to be handled in a more sensitive manner.

Jayant Sinha and Amrita Pal, in their article Economics of the Sustainable Environment- A Review, show how the newly emerged discipline of environmental economics though primarily concerned with the proficient utilization of resources generally expressed in monetary terms, has given rise to a new economic theory in contradicting the old theory. According to the authors, the new theory is much more holistic and organismic in nature and follows the principles of quantum theory. It proceeds on the premise that a sustainable human society has to conserve, recycle, and salvage materials and energy and advocates that the earth's carrying capacity depends on much of our efficiency in nurturing and using living systems to capture and store solar energy and go for renewable resources. Next article Administrative and Organizational Aspects of Environment Policy Making by duo authors Manuka Khanna and Poornima Tripathi makes a case for standardization and uniformity in implementation of international laws and national laws. This, according to them, would also lead to a partial harmonization or approximation of existing environmental laws, consequently eliminating a substantial number of transnational legal disputes. Swami Prakash Srivastava in his Chapter on Special Economic Zones (SEZ) makes a strong case for SEZs, as according to him, SEZ is a trade capacity development tool, with the goal to promote rapid economic growth by using tax and business incentives to attract foreign investment and technology. While suggesting a low tax regime to attract foreign capital he states that SEZs ensure better investment climate and have advantages in the form of provision of fiscal incentives, infrastructure facilities and hassle free governance. Chapter 5, by author trio Pranab K. Dan, Kousik Guhathakurta and Shatadru Gupta, is also on another aspect of SEZ, i.e. Modeling for Land Acquisition for SEZ and elaborates on the issue of SEZ projects facing intense protests from the farming community, accusing the government of forcibly snatching fertile land from them at heavily discounted prices as against the prevailing prices in the commercial real estate industry. The sixth Chapter written by RituNarangon Health Care System in Rural India: Need for Public-Private Partnership (PPP), makes a case for fostering the health care system in India by involving PPP which has shown promising results in various other fields of banking, telecommunication, insurance, etc. The booming IT sector has given rise to

stress for women. R. Sunita has analyzed this occupational hazard in her article Stress Management of Women in IT Sector, which has a practical piece of advice to the companies stating that employees need a genial work environment to keep them free from stress. According to her, this is the key to increasing productivity. In Chapter 8 Arjun Sharma dwells on Good Governance and E-Governance-Prospects for Rural Bihar. The Gangetic plain of rural Bihar, a region of khetkhalian holds good prospects for application of ICT tools for governance by giving people there access to Facilitation Centres, IT tools, communication skills and RTI. He believes that e-Governance is equally suitable for rural Bihar, as it is for the cities. E-commerce, which makes business easy and fast, and has emerged as challenge to the brick-mortar commerce, has its own challenges. This is the topic of Chapter, with the title Security Challenges in E-commerce by Sayed Raza Mousavizadeh and H. Rajshekhar. The author duo point out that though this mode of doing business makes great success possible, there are both legitimate opportunists as well as criminal elements finding their way in it. They emphasizeon creating more awareness and a security culture for the benefits of both, the business side and the consumers.

The Constitution of India gives primacy to Fundamental Rights and

other rights of individuals and of the disadvantaged sections of the society. Yet instances of violations of some or the other rights keep happening, bringing up the noble issue of Human Rights and their protection. Section II covers seven articles grouped together, dwelling upon very relevant topics. This Section begins with Chapter 10, contributed by the Editor of the book Dr. M.R. Biju, on Human Rights and Social Justice under Decentralization. His analysis is right when he says that the notion of social justice has emerged out of a process of evolution of societal norms, order, law and morality and that the core element of social justice is the social equity. He advocates development of democracy at grass root level so that democratic decentralization will contribute to vibrant local governance. Mass media plays a vital role in keeping the society informed of the happenings and if handled carefully, has an immense educative potential including the rights of the people. Amita Agarwal in her paper Human Rights and Mass Mediacritically examines the link between human rights and mass media. Considering the speed of electronic media and the way it catches people's interest, she believes that impact of mass media is more popular, lasting and far-reaching than all the government agencies put together. Conventional wars may have subsided but the civil wars and ethnic clashes in many countries of the world force a large

number of people to run for security. Chunnu Prasad in his article Refugees and Human Rights-Comparative Studies between Chakmas in India and Biharis in Bangladeshgoes into the plight of refugees and asylum seekers. He makes a good case for following the directions of the United Nations Human Rights Commission for Refugees in solving the refugee problem of Chakmas and Bihars in a time-bound manner. Right to Information Act, is a sunshine law that has brought about transparency in governance and has strengthened democratic participation of the citizens. Writer trio S.P. Guru, JohaniXaxa and Bibhuti Kalyan Mahakulin their paper Right to Information and the Democratic Political System: the Indian Experiencevery convincingly establish that the greater the access of the citizens to information the greater the responsiveness of government to community needs. According to them this Act is a tool to empowering the people and combating corruption. It took centuries of thinking to recognize human rights. Sujan Singh in his paper Education for Human Rights: An Analysis has rightly elaborated how education is undoubtedly the single most potent remedy for making human rights a reality. He says that the torch of human rights should be kept burning and lighted by education on human rights. Chapter 15 is on Equal Opportunities for Deprived Groups-Need for Fresh Thinking by N.R. Madhava Menon. He pointedly says that it is a Constitutional mandate which firstly prohibits discrimination and positively prescribes measures for educational advancement of the disadvantaged section of the society through reservations, towards fulfilment of the equal opportunity guaranteed in the Constitution. Last in the series of articles in this Section, we come to another advocacy article by Ashutosh Pandey in Chapter 16 on Judicial Activism and Protection of Human Rights. According to him, it is the inadequacy of the established system to give due rights and justice to those suffering from various plights that the Public Interest Litigation, a legal innovation has come to the rescue of tortured prisoners, helpless women, voiceless tribals, etc.

The Editor has nicely categorized the papers according to themes. We now come to Section III which has four wellchosen and equally well-researched articles. At the beginning of the Sectionwe have the paper Achieving Basic Education for All in India-Progress and Pitfall of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan by Amal Mandal. It is a critical reflection on a few crucial operational aspects of the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan. In spite of initial pitfalls in its progress, the writer is assertive that success of SSA will determine when and whether India will attain the cherished goal of satisfactory level of basic education. Chapter 18 contains an article on

Deprivation and its Role in Universalization of Elementary Education by Deepa Awasthi and U.C. Vashishtha. The author duo make a case for balanced education that would enable the learner to discover and use his potential and lay emphasis on development of sound values, good habits and self-discipline. A hard fact is that the schism between rural and urban areas is widening. Ira Das takes this trend to develop the paper Rural-Urban Divide in Education Sector in Assam-An Undeveloped State in India. The study reflects on the rural-urban disparity in educational attainment still prevailing in Assam, below the national average. According to her, direct private sector investment in education in rural areas is needed to bridge the disparity. Reena Agarwal in her paper Psychological Basis of Value Education in Chapter 20, findsthat crime, violence, cruelty, greed, indifference to human sufferings, etc. show that there is a big value crisis and suggests a value based approach to education.

Section IV with the caption Development of the Marginalized takes us to a set of five articles forming Chapters 21 to 25. The research paper by A.N. Panda on Political Participation of Tribal Leaders is a case study of Kuchinda Scheduled Area focusing on the positional leaders of different Panchayati Raj institutions. He finds that they are politically active and

playing dynamic roles. Chapter 22 is a paper Political Communication and the Mass-media- A Conceptual Analysis by T.N. Pati, who has critically examined the interrelationship between political communication and mass-media, and concludes that political communication may play a vital role in the survival, stability, growth and development of the political system. In Chapter 23, we have an article Role of Panchayats in Alleviating Rural Poverty: A Case Study of West Bengal by Niranjan Mandal and Asit Kumar Banerjee. The author duo selected some sample villages for their study. Based on the study they conclude that Gram Panchayats could play synergetic role in Poverty Alleviation Programmes through the process of planning, execution, monitoring and evaluation. Milk cooperatives have a good potential to supplement the income of farmers and contribute to rural development. RanjitKarmarkarand BholaNath Ghosh in their paperMilk Cooperatives and Rural Development in West Bengalfind that cooperative milk business in their research area is still dependent upon the donation of the EEC and technology imported from the foreign countries. SWOT Analysis is a conventional method to look at a scheme. Vishnu Bhagwan has used it to examine National Rural Employment Guarantee Act and shows a salutary feature of the scheme is that Gram Sabhas decide types of works, approve the plans and supervise the works.

A remarkable feature of the book is the wide range of development issues it covers. Section V has four articles, beginning with Chapter 26-Manufacturing of Spaces: The 'Others' in ZO/Mizo Politics. A.S. Chakraborty finds that though The Peace Accord apparently seems to have ended in success, the fact remains that ethnic identities are further mushrooming and minorities including women in Mizoram today are raising their voices against the domination of the majority, i.e. the Zos/Mizos and the Church and the State. Bhupinder Singh in his paper Coalition Politics in India: A Study of Punjab Politics in Chapter 27finds that coalition politics has worked well in Punjab, contributing to the cooperative federalism in the country. Role of the Asom Gana Parishad in Assam Politics and the Future of Regionalism is the subject of the paper contributed by Jogendra Kumar Das and Haren Ch. Kalita. According to the writer duo, the decline of the AGP clearly shows that scope of regionalism in isolation of a larger nation-wide democratic movement in a federal democracy like India is not bright. The book ends with

the Chapter on Krishna Water Dispute: A Historical Background by Midatala Rani. She finds that the dispute in the Krishna basin between Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh has brought into sharp focus the issue of scarcity and struggles with regard to water resources and other important issues like water politics, displacement of people by raising the dams and large scale farmer suicides in the States.

Development Studies have taken centre stage as a distinct discipline of study and research, whose horizons are expanding by the day. India is on a path of development in right earnestness. One has to admit that the process is bringing to the fore many issues and they are being addressed in an institutional approach, in the right democratic spirit. Articles in the bookare written with good analysis and presented statistics bear out the contentions of the scholars. This edited volume is a very valuable addition to the corpus of development literature for researchers, students and for anyone interested in knowing about developments taking place in India.

F.B. Khan

Our Contributors Sanhita Joshi Dr. Sanhita Joshi is Assistant Professor, Department of Civics and Politics, University of Mumbai. S. Mohapatra Dr. Subhakanta Mohapatra is Associate Professor in Geography, School of Sciences, Indira Gandhi National Open University, New Delhi. Mahendra Sethi Mr. Mahendra Sethi is Editor, National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi. **Anita Nuna** Dr. Anita Nuna is Associate Professor, Department of Gender Studies, NCERT, New Delhi. N. Nagarajan Dr. N. Nagarajan is Professor and Head, Department of Lifelong Learning, University of Madras, Chennai. H. John Sema Prof. H.John Sema is Professor, Department of Political Science, Nagaland University.

Contd...

N. Golmei Ms. Neizhanuo Golmei is Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Nagaland University.
Anupama Kaushik Dr. Anupama Kaushik, is Associate Professor and Head, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Dr Harisingh Gour University, Sagar.
Manju Samariya Dr Manju Samariya is with Banasthali University, Rajasthan.
Sarbjot Singh Behl Prof. Sarbjot Singh Behl is Professor and Dean, Department of Architecture, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.
Rawal Singh Aulakh Mr. Rawal Singh Aulakh is Assistant Professor, Department of Architecture, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.
F. B. Khan Mr. F. B. Khan is Advisor (Legal and Urban Services and Publications), All India Institute of Local Self-Government, Mumbai.

OBJECTIVES

The main emphasis of the Institute's work is to see that the local bodies can contribute more effectively to the development process and provide the citizens with better living conditions by meeting their aspirations in terms of required amenities, infrastructure and better environmental conditions, thus contributing to social and economic development of the society as a whole by better management of the human settlements. While these are the long-term objectives, the immediate ones are:

- To advance knowledge of the principles and practices of Local Government by conducting research and by organising training courses and programmes at various centres in India for officials and elected representatives in the local bodies.
- To strengthen and improve Local Government Institutions by improving their performance through education, orientation and bringing them together for common endeavor by organising specialised conferences, conventions and seminars.
- To make available a platform for members of local bodies and officials for exchange of views and ideas related to urban development and administration.
- To represent the views of local authorities supported by research work to the concerned higher authorities from time to time.
- To publish bibliographies, articles, books and other literature on matters of interest to local bodies.
- To publish journals, bulletins and other literature on different aspects of Local Government and on the working of Local bodies in different states.
- To undertake research studies in public administration, problems of local bodies and also in related topics of urban and environmental factors and arrange for their publication etc.
- To establish and maintain an information-cum-documentation service for local bodies.
- To undertake consultancy assignments in various areas of urban development and problems of local bodies with a view to improve and develop organisational, managerial and operational efficiency.

In view of the above, the Institute has been collaborating with the relevant government departments, Central and State, Universities, Organisations and Research Institutions. The work of the Institute covers several aspects involving a multi-disciplinary teamwork.

All India Institute of Local Self-Government

M. N. Roy Human Development Campus, Plot No.6, 'F' Block, TPS Road No.12, Bandra (E), Mumbai – 400051.
Tel: +91-22-26571713 / 4 / 5 Fax: +91-22-26572115
E-mail: aiilsgquarterlyjournal@gmail.com Website: www.aiilsg.org