



# Local Government Quarterly

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

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*International Academy of Urban Dynamics*



- ★ A Scenario of Population Ageing and Demographic Transition in India, Karnataka and Mysuru District: A Comparative Analysis
- ★ Demography of Senior Citizens in old age homes in Pune City: A Concern and Challenge for Maintenance Laws
- ★ Challenges to Local Government as a developmental paradigm in Nigeria
- ★ The Changing World of Local Government: Theories and Values
- ★ Spatial and Social Structure of Indian Cities in Historical Context
- ★ Assessment of Gender Aspects in Disaster Recovery and Reconstruction – A Case Study of Andhra Pradesh
- ★ 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act and Gram Panchayats Administration in Maharashtra

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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.

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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.

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## *Editorial*

### **Care for the Aged, so that we leave no one behind**

'Every second, two people in the world turn 60', said Help Age International in its Global Age Watch Index 2015 Insight Report, quoting United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) Population Division figures. Ageing societies is an accelerating trend in the demography of the world. It is a common phenomenon across regions and countries, though varying in degree. This has come about due to falling fertility rates and longer life span of people, aided by advances in medical science, quoted by some as evidence of human achievement. However, while celebrating the remarkable strides in medical science which have enabled longer, more healthy and enjoyable lives, there is need to recall the duties of society to ensure that such older citizens live the later years of their lives in dignity, comfort and security.

The phenomenon of rapid ageing, i.e., the increase in proportion of persons aged 60 and more in the population, though earlier limited to the developed world has now reached the developing countries as well. As per data for the year 2015, Japan had the largest percentage of the aged at 33 percent of the population. Italy (29 percent) and Germany (28 percent) followed. Several European nations are well high on the list. India had 9 percent of its population over 60 behind China which had 15 percent. Globally, the number of persons aged 60 and above is likely to grow to 1.4 billion (16.5 percent of population) by 2030 and further to reach 2.1 billion (22 percent of population) in 2050 up from about 840 million or 12 percent of the population in 2013.

Growing even faster is the number of 'oldest-old' or persons aged 80 years and above. Their number is expected to reach 434 million in 2050, more than triple the number in 2015, 125 million.

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## **Older Women**

Women go through significant grind in daily life though often confined in their homes. They go through several hardships performing unpaid work – domestic chores and caring for other family members, for example – generally without 'weekly off' breaks or 'medical leave' benefits. Combined with this is the tendency to sacrifice in favour of other family members - children, elders and the husband. The homemaker sometimes tolerates minor illness forgoing medical treatment in view of economic consideration. Added to all this is the scourge of domestic abuse they are sometimes subjected to in several patriarchal societies. In spite of all this rough and tumble of daily life, women outlive men in most societies. In 2015, of all the persons over 60 years of age, 54 percent were women; and they accounted for over 61 percent of the oldest-old, i.e., over 80 years.

Given the relatively weaker socio-economic environment that women encounter, the fact that women live longer makes them greatly vulnerable in their old age. Many women who were just care givers and housewives during their active years, or even those who worked in the formal job market, given their lower earnings (women earn less and career advancement is slow even in the developed world), makes them economically dependent on family members and are thus at their mercy. Given their greater longevity, women are likely in their sunset years, to be left without their husbands, thus amplifying vulnerability. In India, for example, 72 percent of women over 60 are fully dependent on others (HelpAge International).

## **Economic conditions of the aged**

In many countries, especially in the developing world, the economic condition of the older persons is fragile. Given that the bulk of the population is engaged in non-formal economic activity including small business, they lack access to a formal pension system. Such persons of older age are dependent on the earnings from their savings or are fully dependent on children and other family members. In such developing world countries there is additionally the lack of a well-functioning public healthcare system. Thus in their old age, when they need medical facilities the most, the elderly are left to meet these expenses out of pocket. Those with adequate own insurance or as dependents of their children are better off.

The UN World Ageing Report 2015 states “in many low-income countries where older persons are less well off than adults in other age groups, public transfers finance less than 15 per cent of total old-age consumption, compared to the 30 per cent or more of older persons' consumption that is financed by public transfers in

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many high income countries, where older persons tend to be better off....”. Thus inadequate public funding support affects well-being of the aged in low-income countries.

### **Proactive interventions**

National governments can now anticipate that in coming years each country, almost without exception, will host older and older populations. Trends indicate that fertility rates will keep falling, longevity will keep inching up, and thus the ratio of older population. It is time that policy makers take care to build the needs of the aged into all policy initiatives and national development programmes. Appropriate legislation is called for which protects the interests of the aged while promoting their active participation.

Among the most urgent are measures to build financial security for the aged. State supported pension will have a limited or marginal role, particularly in low-income economies due to the limited means available with governments; also because a large part of the working age population will be outside the ambit of formal employment. There is need for a strong contributory pension scheme on the lines of the NPS in India which can cover the entire gamut of working age population as well as the self-employed. The government support will be limited to design of suitable architecture of the scheme and providing appropriate tax breaks. The NPS in India enables efficient management of the long term savings by professional fund managers. The Indian government and other institutions already have in place several measures-concessional travel, higher interest rates on deposits, etc. for persons above 60 years of age.

Health is a major concern for the aged. As age advances, so does infirmity and need for constant monitoring, care and treatment. With increased incidence of chronic non-communicable diseases, and the prohibitive costs of medical care, there is great scope for involvement of the voluntary sector in addressing the needs of the elderly. The government support could be in the form of providing physical infrastructure like buildings and equipment, management being left to voluntary organisations.

Local governments could push for more age-friendly city design by addressing the built environment through appropriate building regulations. Barrier free design of public buildings, user-friendly public transport and road furniture for example, should enable seniors to move around and travel without restriction.

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Other needs of the aged could be met by ensuring provision of medical and nursing facilities, catering meals when needed, domestic help, caregiving, leisure activities, etc. These are of course, better provisioned in gated enclaves akin to old-age homes. Care should however be taken to ensure that such facilities do not work to exclude the aged from normal city life and impede access to other facilities. Security, another important need of the aged, particularly considering that they are soft targets for crime, is best ensured in such enclaves.

Above all these, there is need for sensitizing society in general about the special needs of the age and the respect and consideration they deserve especially on roads and in public spaces. School curriculums could provide space for the subject so that we are able to strengthen inter-generational bonding.

Governments and policy makers would realise that caring for the aged will no more be a sympathetic consideration but a hard-nosed strategy for they already comprise a sizeable population with a voice and a vote.

We need to constantly device measures and take actions for the welfare of the aged to make sure *'we leave no one behind'*.

In this issue of Local Government Quarterly, we carry two papers on this subject.



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## **A Scenario of Population Ageing and Demographic Transition in India, Karnataka and Mysuru District: A Comparative Analysis**

**Sowmyashree K. L & B. N. Shivalingappa**

### **1.0 Introduction**

The present paper attempts to give a bird's eye view of comparison of the scenario of population ageing through the stage of demographic transition at different levels, i.e. national level (India), state level (Karnataka) and district level (Mysuru district). India is experiencing a higher intensity of the process of population ageing than ever before and this intensity of the process of population ageing is not uniform all over the country. In the recent past, many scholars have analyzed the issue of population ageing at the national and state levels.

Most of the studies have aimed at focusing on the demographic determinants of population ageing i.e. birth and death rate. They have concentrated on gender disparities in the distribution of aged population. But studies regarding the other facets of population ageing like demographic transition and population ageing at

different levels are very few. Keeping in view this perspective, a study relating to the comparative analysis of the process of population ageing with demographic transition is being undertaken at macro, meso and micro levels taking India, Karnataka and Mysuru district as a case study.

This paper is presented in three sections. Section one deals with the growth of aged population; section two discusses the demographic determinants of aging population and the third section is devoted to a comparative analysis of the process of population ageing and demographic transition in India, Karnataka and Mysuru district.

### **2.0 Data Base and Methodology**

The present study is mainly based on secondary data collected from Mysuru District Statistics at a glance and Census of India. Simple statistical techniques like percentage, average,

correlation and demographic transition model are used for the study. Tables, graphs are also used for data analysis.

### 3.0 Study Area

Mysuru (Mysore) district lies in the Southern Maidan (Southern Plateau) and it is in the southernmost part of Karnataka State. Mysuru district forms a distinct land unit, besides being a cultural entity lying between 11°30' N to 12°50' N latitudes and 75°45' E to 77°45' E longitudes.

Mysuru district covers an area of 6269 sq. km. that is, 3.29 per cent of the state's total geographical area. According to 2011 census the district

has population of 29,94,744 (male-15,11,206 and female – 14,83,538) and sex ratio is 982.

### 4.0 Scenario of Population Ageing in India, Karnataka and Mysuru District: An Analysis

#### 4.1 Growth of Old Age Population in India

The major source of information on ageing population in India has been the report of the Census Department of India. The data available from the census up to 2011 clearly depicts that population in India has been increasing with increases in the proportion of old age population and same can be seen in the table no.1.0.

**Table: 1.0 - Growth of old age population, 1971-2011**

Census Year	Population in Millions			Population in %		Decadal Growth Rate		
	All Ages	0-59 Age	60+Age	0-59 Age	60+Age	All Ages	0-59 Age	60+Age
INDIA								
1971	548.16	515.47	32.69	94	6	24.80	-	-
1981	683.32	643.16	43.16	93.6	6.4	24.66	24.7	32.0
1991	838.30	781.62	56.68	93.2	6.8	23.87	21.5	31.3
2001	1028.61	951.99	76.62	92.6	7.4	21.54	21.8	35.1
2011	1210.19	1110.54	102.80	91.4	8.0	17.64	16.7	36.0

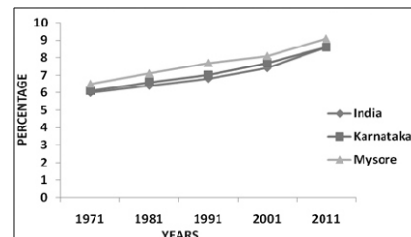
Census Year	Population in Millions			Population in %		Decadal Growth Rate		
	All Ages	0-59 Age	60+Age	0-59 Age	60+Age	All Ages	0-59 Age	60+Age
KARNATAKA								
1971	29.29	27.59	1.78	93.9	6.1	24.22	-	-
1981	37.13	34.73	2.45	93.4	6.6	26.75	25.8	33.3
1991	44.97	41.87	3.14	93	7	21.12	20.5	28.1
2001	52.85	48.75	4.06	92.3	7.7	17.51	16.4	29.3
2011	61.13	55.83	5.30	91.2	8.6	15.67	14.5	30.5
MYSURU DISTRICT								
1971	1.46	1.31	0.09	93.5	6.5	28.40	-	-
1981	1.82	1.70	0.12	92.9	7.1	25.12	29.77	33.33
1991	2.28	2.11	0.17	92.3	7.7	23.50	24.11	41.66
2001	2.63	2.42	0.21	91.9	8.1	15.75	14.69	23.52
2011	3.00	2.73	0.38	89.9	9.1	13.39	12.80	38.57

**Source:** Computed by the author based on Census Data,

The total population of the country increased from 548.16 million in 1971 to 1210.19 million in 2011. Correspondingly the old age population increased from 32.69 million to 102.84 million during the same period. It is evident from the table 1.0 that, the decadal growth rate of the 60+ population has been higher than the general population during every stage of the census period. In Karnataka the elderly population increased four times from over 1.78million to 5.30 million. This is much higher than the decadal growth rate of all ages, which was 24.22 percent in 1971 and 15.67 percent in 2011. In Mysuru district the proportion of the aged population also showed rapid increases during every stage of

census period. Total population of the district increased from 1.46 million in 1971 to 3 million in 2011. The elderly population increased from 0.09 million to 0.27 million during the same period. The decadal growth rate of the elderly population in the district has been higher than the all the ages.

**Graph 1.0 - The share of old age population, 1971-2011**



The significant point in table 1.0 is that the population of India is demographically young, which is characterized by a large proportion of 0-59 ages and less proportion of aged population and the same picture is seen in Karnataka as well as in Mysuru district. But the proportion of 0-59 ages (0-14: children & 15-59: productive population) has declined between 1971 and 2011, from 94 percent to 91.4 percent in India, 93.9 percent to 91.2 percent in Karnataka and 93.5 to 89.9 percent in Mysuru district (Graph.1.0).

In contrast the old age population of India has increased from 6 percent to 8.4 percent in 2011, 6.1% to 8.6% in Karnataka and 6.5% to 9.1% in Mysuru district respectively due to decline in fertility and mortality and increasing life expectancy. On the other hand, the proportion of old age population has been gradually increasing during all the periods in India, Karnataka and Mysuru district. But, the proportion of elderly population is growing faster in Mysore district than in India and in Karnataka state.

**Table 1.2 - The share (%) of aged population by sex and residence, 1971-2011**

Years	Areas	India			Karnataka			Mysuru		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1971	Total	6.0	5.9	5.9	6.1	6.2	5.9	6.5	6.7	6.3
	Rural	6.2	6.2	6.1	6.4	6.5	6.3	6.8	7.0	6.6
	Urban	4.9	4.7	5.2	5.1	4.8	5.3	6.2	6.1	6.3
1981	Total	6.4	6.4	6.5	6.6	6.4	6.8	7.0	7	7
	Rural	6.8	6.8	6.8	7.0	6.9	7.1	7.1	7.1	7.1
	Urban	5.3	5.1	5.7	5.6	5.3	6.0	6.4	6.3	6.5
1991	Total	6.8	6.7	6.7	7.0	6.8	7.2	7.9	7.7	7.8
	Rural	7.1	7.1	7.1	7.5	7.3	7.6	7.2	7.2	7.6
	Urban	5.7	5.7	6.0	5.8	5.5	6.1	6.9	6.9	7.2
2001	Total	7.4	7.1	7.8	7.7	7.1	8.2	8.1	7.8	8.5
	Rural	7.7	7.4	8.1	8.3	7.7	8.7	8.2	8	8.8
	Urban	6.7	6.2	7.2	6.5	6.1	7.0	7.3	7.1	7.5
2011	Total	8.0	7.7	8.4	8.4	7.9	8.9	9.4	9.6	10.4
	Rural	8.1	7.8	8.4	8.9	8.3	9.5	10.6	10.3	11.4
	Urban	7.9	7.6	8.2	7.5	7.2	7.9	8.8	8.6	9.1

**Source:** Census of India

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Table 1.2 shows the, swiftly increasing magnitude of elders by gender in the country, state and the district over the decades since 1971.

During the last four decades, the proportion of elder female population had always been higher than that of males in Karnataka and India. The share of males in rural areas of both the state and the country has been increased 1.2% between 1971 and 2001. In India the increase was from 6.2% to 7.4% and in Karnataka it was from 6.5% to 7.7%. The proportion of urban male aged population shot up 1.5% in India and 1.3% in Karnataka. In India the increases was from 4.7% to 6.2% from 1971 to 2001 and in Karnataka it increased from 4.8% to 6.1% in the same period.

It may be observed that the share of female population has drastically increased and the increase was perhaps due to the life expectancy. In rural areas of Karnataka, it rose from 6.3% in 1971 to 8.9% in 2001 and in India it increased from 6.1% to 8.1% in the same period. The female aged population in urban areas of Karnataka went up from 5.3% to 7% and in India it increased from 4.7% to 6.2%. This shows the level of improvement in the share of old age female population distribution both in the country and the district.

In Mysuru district, the share of aged male population was more compared to female population both in rural and

urban areas between 1971 and 1981. In the next decade the trend was reversed, with aged male population lesser than female population. As per the 2001 census the district's aged population was 8.1% (7.7% male and 8.5% female) It was 8.5% in rural areas and 7.3% in urban areas.

The proportion of female aged population has been increasing drastically when compared to the male aged population more in rural areas as compare to urban areas. The share of female aged population in rural areas grew from 6.6% in 1971 to 8.8% in 2001 and the proportion of male aged population also increased from 7.2% to 8% during the same period. On the contrary, during the same period the proportion of urban male old age population also gone up from 5.5% to 7.1%. This indicates that, in the near future, the share of old age population will be more in rural areas.

In 2011 the country, state and the district has 8, 8.4 and 9.1 percentage of aged population respectively.

Further the elder population has been gradually increasing in the subsequent decades because as the district advances in the demographic transition phase, the intensity of the process of population ageing will also increase along with the transition. Thus the district has reached the final stage of demographic transition earlier than

the country and the state as a whole, because the demographic development is in the advance stage in the district.

#### 4.2 Demographic Determinants of Population Ageing in India, Karnataka and Mysuru District

This section discusses the demographic determinants of population ageing like crude birth rate, crude death rate, and life expectancy. The status of these indicators in India, Karnataka and Mysuru district are shown in table 1.3.

**Table 1.3 - Demographic Determinants in India, Karnataka and Mysore district**

Years	India			Karnataka			Mysuru		
	CBR	CDR	S.A.P	CBR	CDR	S.A.P	CBR	CDR	S.A.P
1971	36.9	14.9	5.9	39.4	15.9	6.1	37.1	15.8	6.5
1981	33.9	12.5	6.2	28.3	9.1	6.6	32.1	12.0	7
1991	29.5	9.8	6.6	26.9	9.0	7.5	29	10.3	7.7
2001	25.4	8.4	7.4	22.2	7.6	7.7	18.1	6.4	8.1
2011	22.1	7.2	8.6	19.2	7.0	8.8	-	-	9.1

**Source:** Family welfare statistics in India 2011

CDR – Crude Death Rate, CBR- Crude Birth Rate, SAP – Share Of Aged Population

The crude birth rate declined from 36.9 births (per thousand births) in 1971 to 22.1 in 2011 in India, from 39.4 to 19.2 in Karnataka during the same period and from 37.1 in 1971 to 18.1 in 2001 in Mysuru district. CBR steadily declined in all these regions. The Government of India launched a massive family planning programme during 1971-81, which drastically reduced the birth rate all over India. This resulted in decrease in the growth rate of population in India.

The crude death rate has always shown declining trend in the country, the state and the district also. This is

generally considered an important factor in population ageing. The drop in the death rate from 14.9 in 1971 to 7.2 in 2011 in India, whereas it declined from 15.9 deaths per thousand deaths in 1971 to 7.0 in 2011 in Karnataka. In Mysuru district CDR drastically declined than in India and Karnataka. The decline in the district from 15.8 in 1971 to 6.4 was 2001.

The share of old age population in the country, the state and the district always shows increasing trend along with decreasing of CBR and CDR. As compared to CBR, the intensity of declining rate is higher in the CDR.

Table 1.3 clearly depicts that, the role of CDR in population ageing in country is greater than the CBR.

#### 4.2.1 Life Expectancy

Another important determinant of population ageing is life expectancy, which depends on the development of health facilities as well as nutrition level of the people. The life expectancy at birth in India, Karnataka and Mysuru district have increased significantly. In India, life expectancy for male was

increased from 50.5 years in 1971-75 to 67.3 years in 2011-15 and for female expectancy of life has increased from 49 years to 69.6 years in the same periods.

In the state of Karnataka, expectancy of life at birth is much higher than the country for all the years. On gender basis both males and females in Karnataka state enjoy higher life expectancy than their counter-parts in the country.

**Table 1.4: Life Expectancy in India, Karnataka and Mysuru district:**

Years	India			Karnataka			Mysuru		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1971-75	49.7	50.5	49.0	50.6	50.9	50.1	-	-	-
1981-86	55.5	55.4	55.7	60.7	60.2	61.1	-	-	-
1991-96	60.7	60.1	61.4	64.7	64.2	65.3	64.8	-	-
2001-05	64.2	63.8	66.1	66.2	64.5	69.6	-	-	-
2011-15	68.8	67.3	69.6	71.6	68.0	72.3	74	-	-

*Source: Family welfare statistics in India 2011 and HDR Karnataka 2005*

The notable point is that, the expectation of life at birth was in favour of males up to 1980s. Thereafter females life expectancy at birth is higher than the males in India and Karnataka after 1980. Mysuru district is also shown increasing trend of life expectancy from 1991 to 2011.

#### 4.3 Relationship between Demographic Determinants and the Share of Aged Population

In this section, it is attempted to find out the relationship between demographic determinants and the share of aged population with the help of correlation technique.

**Table 1.5 - Correlation between Share of Old Age Population and Demographic Determinants**

Demographic Determinants	The share of Aged Population		
	India	Karnataka	Mysuru
CBR	-0.95	-0.91	-0.93
CDR	-0.90	-0.80	-0.97
LIFE EXPECTANCY	0.93	0.94	1.0

*Source: Compiled by the author*

Table.1.5 clearly shows that, there is a very high negative relationship between the crude birth and death rates with the share of old age population in India, Karnataka and Mysuru district. In case of CBR and the share of aged population is high negatively correlated in India (-0.95), Karnataka (-0.91) and also Mysuru (-0.93). The relationship between CDR and the share of elder population is in Mysuru district is -0.97, for India is -0.90 and for Karnataka is -0.80.

Hence, the share of aged population and life expectancy shows very positive relationship among all the regions, especially Mysuru district in which a perfect relationship exists between them. However, finally the study reveals that, the intensity of the process of population ageing is associated with the level of CDR, CBR and life expectancy of the region.

#### **4.4 Demographic Transition in context of Mysuru District**

The number of the aged is increasing at a tremendous pace which may be due to the advancement in demographic transition, as a result of improvement in medical facilities, healthcare, better nutrition, etc. It leads to increase in the levels of life expectancy, reduced death and birth rates. Therefore, population ageing is one of the by-products of demographic transition and varies from one part to another part and within the region also.

The theory of demographic transition is concerned with the evolutionary changes in more birth and death rate to less birth and death rate. As a result, as the region advances in demographic development, it leads to increasing trend of old age population. The conventional form of this theory assumes the phases of demographic transition into the following different stages in the course of modern demographic growth.



In the initial stage, a region experiences a stable population growth because of more or less equal birth and death rates. The early expanding stage starts as demographic development growth begins in which death rates fall due to improvement in health, technology and innovation in modern medicine. But the birth rate remains high, in this stage called as the youthful demographic stage of the demographic transition in which the old age population is less. In the late expanding stage, birth rate starts to decrease at a faster rate; it leads to increase in the process of population ageing. The final stage includes greater stability with less birth and death rate and a high share old age population to the total population.

The late expanding stage is where birth rate begins to decline at a faster rate than the death rate leading towards low rate of natural population growth. It leads to high intensity of the process of population ageing in a region.

In the case of a very advanced country, a low stationary stage or a declining stage may be observed where the region experiences low death rates, lower birth rates, with death exceeding birth, and in which more than 20% of the population is aged. It is quite evident that the time required for moving from one stage to another has been found to vary from one population to another. However in this section, an attempt is made to analyse the demographic transition and the trend of aged population in India, Karnataka and Mysuru district in the framework of the demographic transition model of comparison analysis.

According to the tables 1.6 and 1.7, the state, the country and the district have relatively similar characteristics of CBR, CDR and old age population distribution, but compared to the country and the state, Mysuru district has a slight change in the demographic framework.

**Table 1.6 - Demographic Framework**

Framework	CBR	CDR	Life Expectancy
Very high	35 above	Above 15	Above 70 years
High	30 – 35	12 - 15	65 – 70
Moderate	25 - 30	10 – 12	60 – 65
Less	25 – 20	10 – 08	50 – 60
Very less	Below 20	Below 08	Below 50

*Source: Compiled by the authors*

In the early 60's and 70's the country, the state and Mysuru district have experienced the transformation from pre-growth to modern development growth that leads to a rise in income, improves the standard of living and the physical quality of life. Mortality starts to fall due to improvement in medical facilities, better nourishment and availability of nutritious food. All this accentuates the life expectancy of the people.

At the second stage the fall in the birth rate lags far behind the fall in the death rate. It means, India, Karnataka and Mysuru district have entered into the early second stage of demographic transition after 1971 up to 1991. After 1991 there was drastic decline in both birth and death rate; thus the regions have moved to the late second state and had remained at this stage till now. The tremendous increase in the aged

population growth went hand in hand with the decreasing of CBR and CDR. (Graph 1.2).

After 1971 the CBR is steadily decreasing in India, Karnataka and Mysuru district. The reasons are due to more number of governmental and non-governmental medical institutions which were, developed both in rural and urban areas during the recent decades. It helped to control some human diseases and gave basic knowledge about the small family norm. This was also due to increase in marriage age from 15 to 18 by the government for girls. Further from 1981 to 2001 the state, the country and the district economic condition was also good. Roads and electricity reached most of the rural areas and family planning programmes also had reached rural areas.

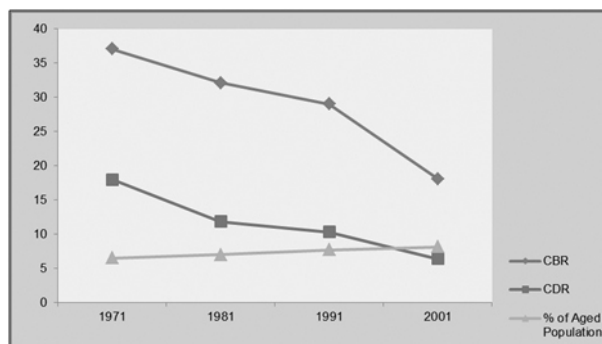
**Table 1.7 - Demographic Transition in India, Karnataka and Mysuru District**

Census Year	CBR	CDR	Life Expectancy	Natural Increase	Transition Stage
<b>INDIA</b>					
1971	Very high	High	Very low	22	I stage
1981	Very high	High	Low	21.4	} II stage
1991	Moderate	Less	Low	19.7	
2001	Moderate	Less	Moderate	17	} III stage
2011	Low	Very less	Moderate	14.9	

Census Year	CBR	CDR	Life Expectency	Natural Increase	Transition Stage
KARNATAKA					
1971	Very high	Very high	Low	23.5	I stage
1981	High	Less	Moderate	19.2	} II stage
1991	Moderate	Less	Moderate	17.9	
2001	Low	Very less	High	14.6	} III stage
2011	Very low	Very less	Very high	12.2	
MYSURU DISTRICT					
1971	Very high	Very high	-	21.3	I stage
1981	Very high	High	-	20.1	} II stage
1991	Moderate	Moderate	High	18.7	
2001	Low	Very low	Very high	11.7	} III stage
2011	-	-	-	-	

*Source: Compiled by the author*

**Graph.1.2 - Trend of CDR, CBR & the share of Old Age Population in Mysuru district (Demographic Transition Model)**



The CBR in India declined from 41.2 per thousand in 1971 to 25.1 in 2001, whereas in Karnataka the fall was from 39.4 to 22.3 per thousand and Mysuru district declined from 37 to 18 per thousand in the same period.

The CDR also decreased at a faster rate from 1971 to 2001. India the CDR decreased from 18.9 to 8, in Karnataka declined from 15.9 to 7.7 and in Mysuru district from 18 to 6.37. The declining CDR may be due to the

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improvement in life expectancy, healthcare, medical facilities and progressive technology. Therefore, as a result of these the share of old age population has been increasing.

At present we are moving towards the final stage of demographic transition with development in the process of industrialization accompanied by modernization and urbanization and education in general with women's education in particular becoming widespread. Hence the increase in the share of old age population. On the basis of recent trend of CDR, CBR, etc. the district will mostly be the first to enter the final stage of demographic transition by end of next decade much earlier than the state and the country.

The foregoing analysis explains the scenario of aged population of India, Karnataka and Mysuru district since 1971 along with the demographic transition.

#### **4.5 Demographic transition in Mysuru**

Table 1.6 and 1.7 are useful for describing the pattern of change registered in the evolution of the population of Mysuru district. The demographic transition (graph 1.2), as explained below, has occurred in various phases in the district.

#### **1. Phase – I (up to 1970: Early Transition)**

Phase I experienced very high CBR and CDR which resulted in a very high natural growth rate, causing an increase in the total population. For instance, for the period 1971 the CBR was 37.1 while the CDR was 15.8 per thousand. As a result of these, the natural growth was 21.3, a very high growth compared to other decades. The level of socio-economic (literacy rate was only 28%) and demographic developments were low (backward) and the main economy was agriculture. There was a lack of information on family planning and healthcare system.

#### **2. Phase II (Transition Stage - 1971 to 1991)**

In this period, the CBR was moderate and slightly declined from 32.1 in 1981 to 29 per thousand births in 1991. The district also experienced a moderate but rapidly falling CDR reaching 12 to 10.3 in the same period respectively. It resulted into a declining growth of natural increase in the district. On the other hand, during this period, the literacy rate (50%) and progress in transportation and industries, led to average level development.

#### **3. Phase III (1991 – Till Present)**

In this period, the district experienced a moderate to low CBR

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and moderate to very low CDR. CDR declined from 29 to 12 per thousand deaths in 1991 to 2001, similarly CBR also steeply fell from 10.3 to 6.4, which led to declining natural growth from 18.7 to 11.7 during the same period.

Another important point can be observed from table no.4.6 and chart 4.5 is that the fertility rates started decreasing quite rapidly because of improvement in literacy (63% in 2001 and 73% in 2011), especially female literacy rate (55.8%), sex ratio (965 in 2001 and 985 in 2011) and female working participation (35% in 2001) in the district. As a result, there were fewer children among the couples and the trend towards birth spacing is remarkable. Many parents preferred to send their daughters to schools and getting them married at a later age. During the earlier decades, girls had to stay at home after finishing primary schools and marriage at an early age was very common resulting in many women bearing children at relatively young age.

#### **Conclusion and Suggestion:**

Finally, the study reveals that the district first enters the final stage of demographic transition with high share

of old age population much earlier than the state and the country as a whole. Therefore government and non-government organization have to make policies and implement programmes to improve the status of elders in the district.

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## **Demography of senior citizens in old age homes in Pune city: A concern and challenge for maintenance laws**

**Swati R. Chiney & Hema V. Menon**

### **Introduction**

A community is known by the way it treats the helpless sections of the society.<sup>1</sup> The types of laws existing in a state reflect the nature of the society.

Indian tradition and culture favours a joint family system which believes in respecting and caring for elderly members of the family. The earning members of the family providing maintenance and necessities of life to the dependents, in the family, is looked upon as moral obligation. Those who are supposed to take care of dependents, if do not take care of them, then they are left to the mercy of the society at large. Thus, the family problem becomes a social problem and the dependents are then forced to take assistance of the society and the government at large.

Industrialization, urbanisation, migration and westernisation have severely affected our value systems.

The erstwhile joint family – the natural support system – is crumbling.<sup>2</sup> In search of better education and better employment opportunities, young people are migrating from village to city, one city to another city or abroad, leaving behind the elderly population at their native place.<sup>3</sup> Due to a changing lifestyle, there is a gradual shift from joint family system towards a nuclear family system in India. As a result, many elderly persons are now forced to spend or at times they willingly spend their twilight years all alone, away from their children. Considering their age and dependency on others, senior citizens become one of the vulnerable sections of the society. Family responsibility of providing help, maintenance and livelihood to senior citizens has thus become a social issue of concern. Therefore the government and laws have to interfere to provide solution to the problem of maintenance of senior citizens and parents.

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## Objectives

With the increased life expectancy as compared to yester years, the modern society is having increasing number of elderly population. As a result of the current ageing scenario, there is a need for all aspects of care for the senior citizens namely, socio-economic, financial, health and shelter.<sup>4</sup> Problems in any of the above areas have an impact on the quality of life of senior citizens. The objective of this research is to think about the issue of maintenance of senior citizens and its correlation with the legal provisions.

This research has discussed the various laws of maintenance with respect to senior citizens and parents. The objective of this study is to know from the senior citizens staying in old age homes, their reasons for so staying. So a survey has been conducted in Pune city addressing the senior citizens who stay in old age homes about various questions pertaining to the issue of their maintenance. This research tries to correlate the laws of maintenance on one side and the perspective of senior citizens about their maintenance on the other.

The aim of this study in a nutshell is

1. To study the laws of maintenance and livelihood with respect to parents and senior citizens.

2. To study the demographic conditions with respect to maintenance of senior citizens staying in old age homes in Pune city, in order to understand the causes of staying in old age homes.
3. To make observations, draw conclusions from the research study and make suggestions if any.

## Important Definitions

Definitions of some important words used herein are given below for better understanding of this research paper. The following words have been defined under. Section 2 of the Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act, 2007 as follows -

1. **'Maintenance'** includes provision of food, clothing, residence and medical attendance and treatment.<sup>5</sup>
2. **'Senior citizen'** means any person being a citizen of India, who has attained the age of sixty years and above.<sup>6</sup>
3. **'Parent'** means father or mother whether biological, adoptive or step father or step mother, as the case may be, whether or not the father or the mother is a senior citizen.<sup>7</sup>
4. **'Children'** includes son, daughter, grandson and grand-daughter but does not include a minor.<sup>8</sup>

5. **'Relative'** means any legal heir of the childless senior citizen who is not a minor and is in possession of or would inherit his property after his death.<sup>9</sup>

cared for when they are too weak or ill to take care of themselves.<sup>12</sup>

### Changing Demography of Senior Citizens Population

6. **'Welfare'** means provision for food, health care, recreation centres and other amenities necessary for the senior citizens.<sup>10</sup>

According to Population Census 2011, there are nearly 104 million elderly persons in India; 53 million females and 51 million males.<sup>13</sup> In 2012, the number of elder persons in the World was 810 million, which is projected to reach 1 billion by 2020 and 2 billion by 2050.<sup>14</sup> This means, 1/8th of the World's Elderly Population lives in India.<sup>15</sup>

7. **'Human Rights'** (as per the Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993) means the rights relating to life, liberty, equality and dignity of the individual guaranteed by the Constitution or embodied in the International Covenants and enforced by Courts in India.<sup>11</sup>

Increase in life expectancy due to family planning, improved medical facilities, healthy food, health awareness, etc. has increased the senior citizens population.<sup>16</sup>

8. **'Old age home'** –A place where old people can live together and be

Year	Life Expectancy in India			World Rank
	Male	Female	Average	
1960	43.2	41.3	42.3	135
2015	66.9	69.9	68.3	123

**Source:** World Health Organisation Survey Report<sup>17</sup>

As can be seen from the table above, according to the latest WHO data of 2015, the world rank of India in life expectancy has gone up from 135 in 1960 to 123 in 2015.<sup>18</sup> In 1947, the average life expectancy in India was 31 years and by 2005 it rose to 64 years.<sup>19</sup> This means, the average life expectancy has doubled since independence till today and presently the life expectancy

of a female is 3 years more than a male. The elderly population has thus become the fastest growing section of the society in India.

### Right to Maintenance

If one looks at the definition of the term 'maintenance', it includes the basic necessities of livelihood of a



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person such as food, clothing, residence and medical attendance and treatment. It is primarily the moral responsibility of the family members to provide these necessities of life to the elderly members. But what happens if the children do not maintain their old parents? Or what happens if a person does not have children? Or what if a person remains unmarried and so does not have any child to look after him? The Law gives solution to all such problems by recognising maintenance as a legal right. The moment it is a legal right, there would be a legal remedy for its violation. This means that the parents enjoy a right to maintenance against their children.

Maintenance is not merely a legal right. It is a part and parcel of basic human right. Humanity is the core value of human rights.<sup>20</sup> By virtue of being humans, every person possesses certain basic and inalienable rights known as human rights. Human rights are recognised by the International Laws and guaranteed by the National Laws.

Basic necessities such as food, shelter and clothing are a must for human survival. Maintenance as such is an assistance to help one in need, to assure him the right to life. The right to life is a basic Fundamental Right guaranteed by the Indian Constitution.<sup>21</sup> 'Human rights of senior citizens' are an important issue of the

contemporary world community.<sup>22</sup> The legal provisions for maintenance of senior citizens and parents, in a nutshell are as under

### **Indian Laws of Maintenance for Parents and Senior Citizens**

The welfare of the senior citizens has been mandated in the Constitution of India, 1950, through the chapter on Directive Principles of State Policy.<sup>23</sup> The Directive Principles merely act like a guiding light in making laws. They depict the philosophy of the State in the governance of the country. The Courts however cannot enforce a Directive Principle as it does not create any justifiable right in favour of any individual.<sup>24</sup>

Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis have their own Personal Laws which recognise the moral duty of children to maintain their parents especially in their old age. However, the scope and extent of such liability varies from community to community.<sup>25</sup>

- The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956 recognises the duty of the children to maintain their aged parents and the right of the parents to claim maintenance. This Act is the first Personal Law statute in India, which imposes an obligation on the children to maintain their parents.<sup>26</sup>

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- The Muslim law imposes a duty on every Muslim to maintain his wife, children and aged parents. This duty is more moral than legal.
  - The Christian and Parsi Laws, though having no such legal obligation in their personal laws, do favour the custom and tradition of taking care of their parents and elderly persons in family.<sup>27</sup>
  - The right of maintenance is provided under Section 125 of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1973, (Hereinafter referred to as 'CrPC'). Dependent parents can claim maintenance from their children; sons as well as daughters, natural as well as adopted children. The ethos of Article 21 of the Constitution of India is reinforced by section 125 of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1973.<sup>28</sup> The non-compliance of this provision imparts penalty. CrPC is a secular law and this section is applicable to persons of all religions.
  - Another secular law, the Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act, 2007 (Hereinafter referred to as the MWAct) is a progressive step towards ensuring better human rights status for parents and senior citizens.<sup>29</sup> Earlier laws provided for maintenance to parents only. As a result, unmarried senior citizens and childless senior citizens were not covered. But the MWAct has overcome this problem. It recognises the right to maintenance of parents against their 'children' and of unmarried & childless senior citizens against their 'relatives'. The Act has made several appreciable provisions for senior citizens like providing for separate Maintenance Tribunals, Maintenance Officers, Old Age Homes, medical care of senior citizens, protection of life and property of senior citizens, orientation of police and judiciary, penalty for abandonment of parents and senior citizens and penalty for any non-compliance of the Act.
  - The Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993 and the Human Rights Commissions established thereunder also try to safeguard the interests of the senior citizens whose human rights have been violated.
  - Besides these laws, the Central Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment is a nodal Ministry for the welfare of senior citizens in India. It has introduced various important policies and schemes such as National Policy for Older Persons, 1999 (NPOP), National Council for Older

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Persons (NCOP) and Integrated Programme for Older Persons (IPOP). Besides this Ministry, the other Ministries also provide a number of concessions and facilities for senior citizens.<sup>30</sup>

- For Maharashtra State, the Department of Social Justice and Special Assistance is the nodal agency for welfare of senior citizens in the state. One can find various schemes for senior citizens on the website of this Department of the Government viz. [www.sjsa.maharashtra.gov.in/seniorcitizens](http://www.sjsa.maharashtra.gov.in/seniorcitizens).
- Besides the National level initiatives, there are a number of International level initiatives undertaken by United Nations and other Bodies for the elderly people. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the World Assembly on Ageing (WAA) and Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing, 2002, (MIPAA), are some important initiatives at the International level.<sup>30</sup>

### Old Age Homes

With the increasing number of dependent and indigent senior citizens, there is an increasing number of old age homes in India to maintain and take care of them. There are 728 old age homes in India today.<sup>31</sup>

For the first time a legal enactment for establishing and maintaining old age homes was made through Section 19 of the Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior citizens Act, 2007, which states that the State Government may establish and maintain such number of old age homes at accessible places, as it may deem necessary, in a phased manner, beginning with at least one in each district. Such old age homes may accommodate a minimum of 150 senior citizens who are indigent. 'Indigent' means any senior citizen who is not having sufficient means, as determined by the State Government, from time to time, to maintain himself. The State Government is supposed to prescribe a scheme for management of old age homes, including the standards and various types of services to be provided by them which are necessary for medical care and means of entertainment to the inhabitants of such homes.<sup>32</sup>

In order to provide facilities to needy senior citizens, the scheme of 'Matoshree Vrudhashram' was started by the Maharashtra State Government from 1995. Under this scheme, 24 Matoshree - old age homes are operating on a non-subsidized basis, on nominal charges or no charges basis for poor senior citizens, in 24 districts.<sup>33</sup> The Matoshree Vrudhashram in Karvenagar, Pune is run under this Scheme.<sup>34</sup> Besides, there are 33 old age

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homes in the State run by NGOs getting subsidy government grants. In Pune city, there are 4 such old age homes run under this scheme. Besides these, there are many other old age homes run in Pune by private organisations.

### **Research Methodology and Sample Design**

This research is based on both, doctrinal and empirical methods of research. The doctrinal research is based on the secondary data available through books, journals, articles, reports and ample online data. The empirical research has been done through primary method of data collection through questionnaires and experts interviews.

Pune city is selected for survey of senior citizens with respect to their maintenance, since Pune city is popularly known as 'Pensioners' paradise' in Maharashtra, The population frame is senior citizens who stay in old age homes in Pune city. A list of old age homes was obtained from the Lokmanya Seva Sangh, Parle Tilak Mandir, Vile Parle, Mumbai, who maintain such list and have recently updated and published the list of old age homes in Maharashtra on 1-10-2016. Total of 31 old age homes are enlisted therein as from Pune city. Out of these, 21 old age homes were visited, of which 15 responded and data was collected from 100 senior

citizens staying therein, by using standard questionnaire which is designed to study the demography of senior citizens with respect to their maintenance. Respondents are selected randomly. If selected senior citizen did not responded then next respondent was chosen for the survey.

Besides senior citizens, data was also collected by interview and questionnaire method from 50 social workers and experts who are associated with these old age homes and NGOs working for senior citizens. Law experts were also interviewed for their opinion about the maintenance laws for senior citizens.

### **Major Findings from Survey**

Demographic information of 100 senior citizens staying in 15 old age homes in Pune city is collected. The population size is 468 senior citizens who are residing in these 15 old age homes and sample size is 100. Out of the total 100 respondents, 57 are female and 43 are male respondents. The following facts have been observed through the survey.

#### **I. Reasons given by senior citizens for staying in old age homes**

One or more of the following reasons were given by respondents for staying in old age homes. The occurrence of these reasons is given in the following table.

**Table 1: Occurrence of the reasons given by senior citizens for staying in old age homes.**

Sr. No.	Reason for staying in old age home	No. of respondents giving this reason
1.	Spouse no more	25
2.	No one to take care at home	24
3.	No children	24
4.	Daughter/s married	24
5.	Abuse / quarrel / neglect / ill-treatment at home	10
6.	Unmarried	10
7.	Privacy needed by children	09
8.	Children staying outside Pune	09
9.	Children abroad	05
10.	Children staying separately in Pune	05
11.	Don't want to be burden on children	03
12.	Loneliness	02
13.	Reconstruction at home, so temporary stay	02
14.	Voluntarily come without any reason	00

- Highlighted reasons are most common reasons for which senior citizens are staying in old age homes.

age home voluntarily without any reason.

## II. Physical and emotional condition of senior citizens in old age homes

- Conclusion - No one goes to old

**Table 2: Problems of respondents in a nutshell.**

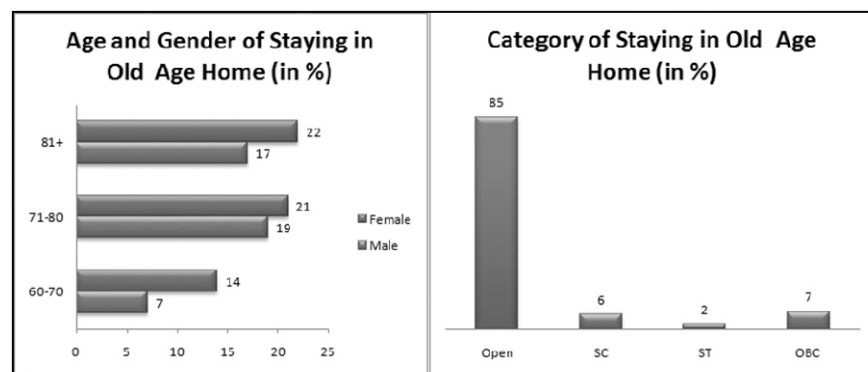
Sr. No	Particulars about Problems	Agree %	Disagree %.
I	With old age, I have some or the other physical ailment.	87	13
ii	I feel very lonely and insecure at times.	78	22
iii	I feel neglected at times by my family/relatives/friends.	61	39
iv	Senior citizens though are knowledge tanks, do not get enough opportunity to share their experiences	73	27
v	I get abusive treatment from my family/relatives/friends at times.	21	78

- Conclusions - Majority of the senior citizens in old age homes are having some physical ailment, they feel lonely, insecure and neglected by their family, relatives and friends and do not get enough opportunity to share their experiences.

- Majority of respondents denied facing any abusive treatment.

### III. Demography of age, gender and category of senior citizens in old age homes

**Figure 1: Demography of age, gender and category of respondents**

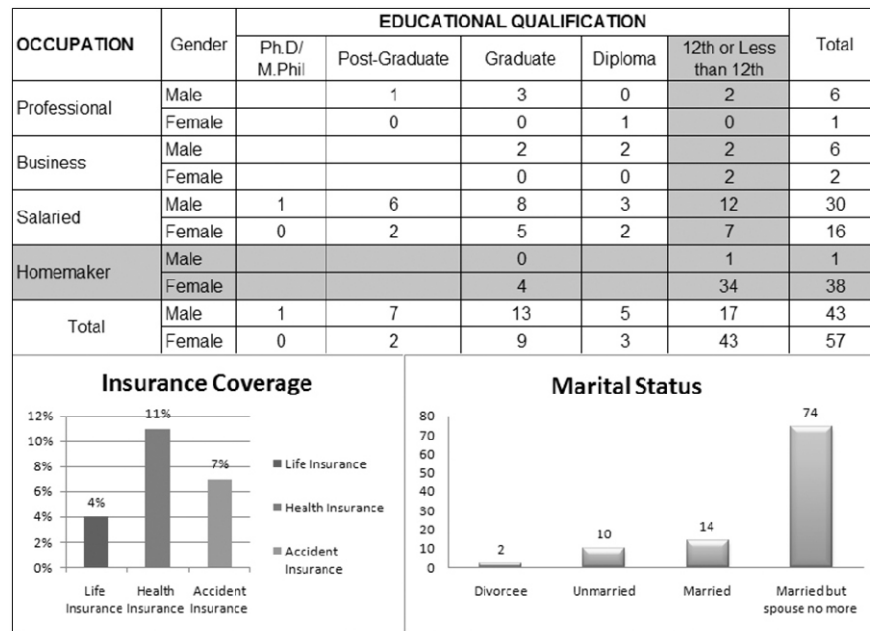


- The highest percentage of population was from 71-80 years age group (40%), followed by 80+ years age group (39%).
- Females outnumber male population in old age homes.
- The highest percentage of population is from open category (85%), followed by OBC (7%), SC (6%) and ST (2%) category persons.

- Conclusions - As age increases, a person becomes more vulnerable and likely to stay in old age home.
- A person who is more than 70 years; or from open category is more likely to stay in old age home.

### IV. Demography of education, occupation, marital status and insurance coverage

**Figure 2: Demography of education, occupation, insurance coverage of respondents**

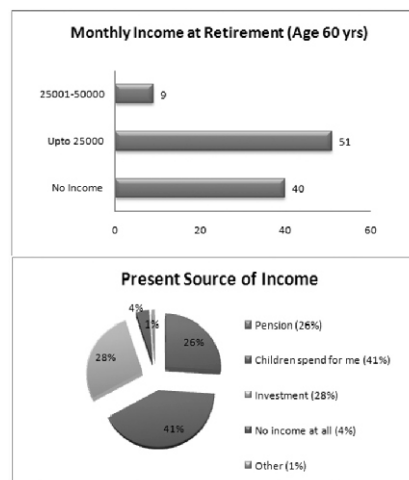


- Majority of senior citizens in old age homes are educated only upto 12th standard.
- Majority of females are educated less than 12th standard (43%) of which 34% are homemakers.
- Majority of men are educated more than 12th standard.
- On occupation basis, highest percentage is of females who are home makers (38%) followed by salaried men (30%).
- Very less percentage (4% to 11%) of senior citizens in old age homes have insurance coverage.
- Highest percentage of senior citizens belonged to 'spouse no more' category (74%).
- Conclusions – Majority of female respondents are less educated than men.
- A person who is less educated or homemaker or earning very less or whose spouse is no more, is more vulnerable and likely to stay old age home.

## V. Demography of Financial condition and economic dependency

The senior citizens were asked whether they work presently or are willing to work, to which only 2% were found to be working part-time, rest all were not working nor willing to work. Their financial condition is as follows

**Figure 3: Financial condition and economic dependency of senior citizens staying in old age homes**



- Highest percentage of senior citizens was having monthly income of less than Rs. 25000 at the time of their retirement, followed by 'no income' category mainly consisting of female homemakers.
- 41% of the senior citizens are financially dependent on their children / relatives for their livelihood. 28% of the

senior citizens are dependent on their investments. Only 26% get a pension and 4% had no income source at all.

- Conclusions - Majority of senior citizens are financially self-sufficient or their children are financially supporting them but still they are in old age homes.

## VI. Senior Citizens perception of Importance and Responsibility of providing Maintenance and Welfare facilities

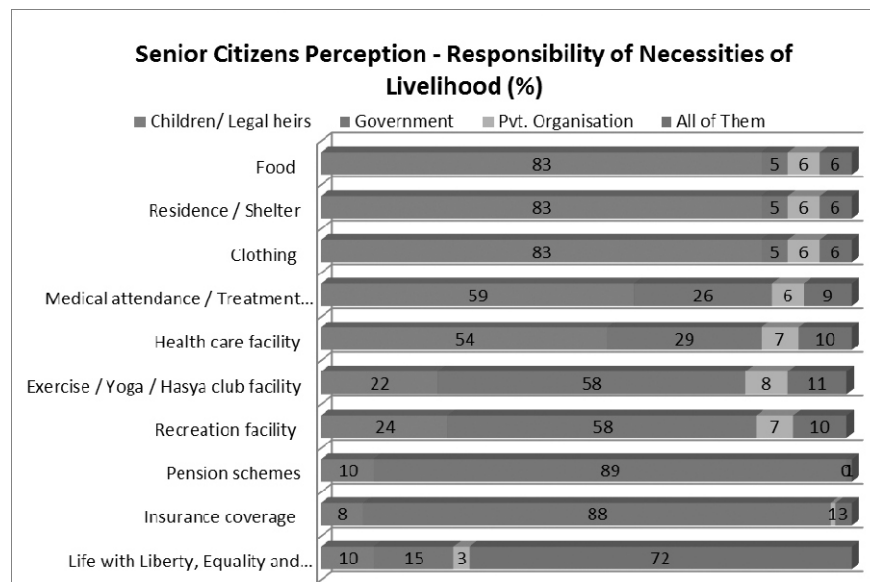
The senior citizens were asked to mark the level of importance of necessities of life such as food, shelter and medical treatment. These facilities were classified into maintenance, welfare and human rights of senior citizens as per their definitions. Maintenance facility and human rights were marked by majority of respondents as most important followed by Welfare facilities.

They were also asked to tick mark as to whom do they hold responsible (amongst children, government and private organisations), to provide these necessities of life, if they were not self-sufficient.

Figure 4 shows a clear cut demarcation of responsibilities as perceived by the senior citizens with respect to providing maintenance and welfare facilities, if they were not self-sufficient.



**Figure 4: Senior citizens perception - Responsibility of Necessities of Livelihood**



- Highest responsibility of providing basic necessities of food, shelter, clothing and medical facility is expected by the senior citizens to be of their children. (Maintenance facilities)
- Highest responsibility of providing recreation facility, pension scheme and insurance facility has been put on the shoulders of the Government. (Welfare facilities)
- Majority of senior citizens agreed that the responsibility of providing life with liberty, equality and dignity is upon all of them, viz. children, government and private organisations. (Respecting Human Rights)

- **Conclusions** - If senior citizens are not self-sufficient then providing Maintenance facility is perceived by majority of respondents to be the responsibility of children / relatives followed by Government.
- If senior citizens are not self-sufficient then providing Welfare facilities is perceived by majority of respondents to be the responsibility of Government followed by children / relatives.
- Majority of the senior citizens agree that their human right of living a life with liberty, equality and dignity should be the responsibility of children, government and private organisations i.e. of society at large.

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### Other Findings and Recommendations

The survey also tried to test the legal awareness of the senior citizens in old age homes, with respect to the maintenance laws relating to them. From the questionnaires filled by 100 senior citizens from old age homes and the questionnaires filled by 50 social workers associated with old age homes, it was observed that the senior citizens have very poor awareness about the laws of maintenance, human rights, government policies, schemes and concessions with respect to them.

They are not keen to take any legal action against their children for claiming maintenance. The reasons for this are varied such as – love and affection for their children; no energy, time and money to take legal action; ignorance about laws; no faith on justice system; afraid of social stigma and at times afraid of their children.

When consulted, the law experts opined that though there are various laws of maintenance for senior citizens, they are not able to give enough justice to them because of difficulty in their implementation, delayed procedures, ignorance of laws and reluctance of senior citizens to sue their children.

Merely passing of laws of maintenance is therefore not going to solve the issue of maintenance of senior citizens. The senior citizens,

their family members, the society, the government and the Legal system should work hand in hand in order to make the senior citizens more secured, independent and self-sufficient in order to live a dignified life.

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## **Challenges to Local Government as a Developmental Paradigm in Nigeria**

**Imuetinyan, Festus. & Mustapha A. I.**

### **Introduction**

Local governments are political authorities usually at the community level, created by law to provide services of local nature. They are usually authorized to decide and - administer a limited range of public policies within a relatively small territory. In Nigeria, local governments have been described as “governments at local level, exercised through representative council, established by law to exercise specific powers within defined areas” (Guidelines for local government reforms, 1976). Three main characteristics can be discerned from the above definitions: (i) local governments generally occupy territorial units; (ii) they have representative councils that serve as their governing bodies; and (iii) the powers they exercise and the functions they perform are assigned and regulated by law.

Local governments are widely recognized as tools for promoting development and popular participation

at the local level of society. Local governments' establishment is closely linked with the idea of promoting democracy, self-rule and a sense of participation in community affairs (Sharp, 1970; Sorkaa, 1978; Iyoha, 2008). Democratic ideals are natured in the people when they are called upon to elect their councillors. Participation of the people in local affairs through their representatives or directly holding some office encourages feeling of belonging and willingness to serve one's community. The existence of local government tends to assist in the protection of the liberty of the people at the local level. Excessive centralization of powers usually endangers liberty. Political decentralization through the establishment of local governments, can act as a shield against the tendency of centralized government to make all places alike. Local governments, with enough constitutional protection can defend the peculiarities of place upon which people construct geographic identity.

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Participation in local politics is an indispensable form of civic education. It enlarges peoples' outlooks, encourages responsibility and greater sobriety about the limits of politics. It extends people beyond their narrowly private concerns while still enabling them to operate within a sphere that is tangible and comprehensible. It inculcates the idea that government is in fact a difficult enterprise, dependent upon difficult trade-offs, sticky administrative questions, and inevitable conflict. The development of comparatively large group of citizens who have had a taste of administering the law is a civic resource, both for calling government to account and for defending it against unreasonable expectations (Marc and Steven 2003).

Modern states have grown in size beyond what operated during the classical period of the Greek city-states. Consequently, the governments of modern states have also expanded in scope and their operations have become so complex that series of administrative bottlenecks are created in the process of delivering social services. Decentralization of the administration system appears to be the only useful solution to such problems. Decentralization contributes to policy efficiency and effectiveness. Decentralization leads to more efficient policy outcomes, because it provides information about facts and preferences that are more accurate and richer than

that to which the center has access. In all large, centralized bureaucracies, decisions must be made based on abstractions, ideas about generalized humanity and typical conditions (Scott 1998). This need to abstract and to homogenize may be a necessary part of statecraft, but it is also a dangerous one. Variations in local practices often exist for very good reasons. Diversity of jurisdiction permits experimentation. In a decentralized environmental system, policy change does not have to squeeze through a single pipe. Policy can be improved through trial and error. They can provide practical lessons in what works and what fails, reducing the need to rely on abstract reason in order to anticipate failure or success. (Marc and Steven 2003)

Local government system as one of the numerous forms of decentralization allows territorial distribution of powers and responsibilities; it allows a genuine decongestion of the central government. This enables the welfare of the people at local level to be adequately catered for while at the same time providing better opportunities for local officials to address the numerous social and economic problems confronting the local communities. Besides, local officials and community leaders are conversant with the custom and tradition of the people whose problems they are called upon to solve. They are therefore likely to be more relevant and

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efficient in finding solutions to the plethora of local problems than the officials from state government are capable of doing. Politicians trained in centralized legislatures depend heavily on abstract reason and ideology, and thereby overlook the formidable obstacles to attaining any social goal through government action.

Concluding that political decentralization is critical to the perpetuation of democratic institutions and civic capacity does not imply a blanket preference for devolving public policy and public administration to the local level. There are many cases where the exercise of effective local control requires the existence of strong national rules and in some cases full national control of public policy (King, 1988). Giving local governments functions that they are ill-suited to perform could lead to failure. Devolution may not lead to efficient service delivery when the devolved function is of sufficient technological complexity that effective public deliberation is not feasible, and local knowledge is unhelpful. In such cases, devolving the function would lead to poor service, which would lead to popular animosity toward local government and quite possibly withdrawal of attachment. Devolution could also run contrary to the dictates of legitimacy if it involved powers which create temptation to solve problems by violating the rights of citizens.

Devolution, if not properly designed and fitted with the appropriate safeguards, might encourage localities to strip citizens of their rights; subjecting some citizens to harsher treatment or less protection than others (Marc and Steven 2003).

Local government is also considered valuable as a training ground for higher office (Iyoha, 2008; Aibieyi, 2011). Local government provides an alternative proving ground, and one that has an executive component. Local executives are forced to deal with tangible problems and trade-offs and therefore bring a useful admixture of sobriety and pragmatism when they advance up the political ladder to the central government. One's townsmen are likely to be a more diverse lot than one's professional peers or the members of one's religious denomination or ideological sect. Under most conditions, place lends itself better to the development of tolerance and moderation than do its essentialist competitors.

Local governments are by law empowered to provide certain services in their respective areas of jurisdiction. Indeed, it is generally recognized that there are some types of services that should be handled at local levels to obtain results. This is what makes their services unique and also makes it imperative to guarantee their existence

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constitutionally. As an instrument of development, local governments are expected to elicit enthusiasm as well as foster the concentration of energies of the locality and thereby enriches national policies and makes national development plans more real for local needs and circumstance.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Though the democratic participatory and the efficiency services theories of local government have been criticized for modelling their discourse to suit the developed societies, the developmental school of thought adopted to suit this work would not totally jettison the earlier explanatory models particularly the position of efficiency services school. The developmental theory views local government mainly as addressing the problems of developing societies many of whom are culturally diverse with perverse local attachments much stronger than national loyalty. Hence, local government in developing nations has to consciously make its contribution to national integration, national evolution and national consciousness (Ola and Tonwe, 2005).

Scholars are beginning to hold the strong opinion that problem-solving is part of development effort. This is coupled with the general acceptance that development from within which is the most sustainable development can

only be actualized if local government makes a substantial contribution to the process (Ola and Tonwe, 2005). Laski in the similar vein argues that societies cannot realize the full benefits of democratic government unless we begin by the admission that all problems are not central problems and that the result of problems in their incidence requires decision and action at a place, and by persons, where and by who the incidence is most deeply felt (Laski, 1978). This essentially is the reason for governmental decentralization to the local levels and the relevance of local government as instrument to address the problems of development. Sikander argues further that local government represents the microscopic interests of the locality leading to broader concept of welfare and happiness of its people. It acts as the representative body which makes the surroundings fit to live in, keeps the street clean, imparts education to children, builds houses and paves the way to enable inhabitants to lead civilized life (Sikander, 2015).

Consequently, Local government must render efficient services to the citizens. For it to be able to perform the onerous functions, there must be virile institutional arrangement devoid of encumbrances from the other tiers of government if it must stimulate the much desired national development right from the local level. This challenge is what local government



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system faces currently in Nigeria which is the major focus of this work.

### **Institutional Context of Local Government as Development Paradigm in Nigeria**

The institutional context of local governments as instrument of development in Nigeria finds its expression in the 1999 Constitution as amended. The 1999 Constitution empowers each local government council to participate in economic planning and development of its area. The Constitution under the Fourth Schedule (Section 7) describes in detail two sets of functions, which local governments are to perform in order to facilitate development. The first set can be said to contain exclusive functions, while the second set indicates those functions that can be performed concurrently by both the state and local governments.

#### **Exclusive functions:**

These are functions, which only the local government can perform. Such functions include:

- a. the consideration and the making of recommendations to a state commission on economic planning or any similar body on-  
(i) the economic development of the state particularly in so far as the areas of authority of the council and of the state are affected and (ii) proposals made by the said commission or body;

- b. collection of rates, radio and television licences;
- c. establishment and maintenance of cemeteries, burial ground and homes for the destitute or infirm;
- d. licensing of bicycles, trucks (other than mechanically propelled trucks) canoes, wheel barrows and carts;
- e. establishment, maintenance and regulation of slaughter houses, slaughter slabs; markets, motor parks and public conveniences;
- f. construction and maintenance of road (feeder roads) streets, street lightings, drains, parks, open spaces or such public facilities as may be from time to time prescribed by the house of assembly of a state;
- g. naming of roads and streets and numbering of houses;
- h. provision and maintenance of public conveniences, sewage and refuse disposal;
- i. registration of all births, deaths and marriages;
- j. assessment of privately owned houses or tenements for the purpose of levying such rates as may be prescribed by the houses of assembly of a state;

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k. control and regulation of

- (i) out - door advertising and boarding
- (ii) movement and keeping of all descriptions
- (iii) shops and kiosks; restaurants, bakeries and other places for sale of food of the public;
- (iv) Laundries; and
- (v) Licensing, regulation and control of sale of liquor.

The functions listed above have always been and should be performed as a matter of law and administrative expediency, by local governments as the third tier of government. They are in the best position to perform them.

#### **Concurrent functions**

The Fourth Schedule of the 1999 Constitution authorizes local governments in Nigeria to participate in the government of a state in respect of the following matters, namely:

- (a) the provision and maintenance of primary, adult and vocational education;
- (b) the development of agriculture and natural resources other than the exploitation of minerals;
- (c) the provision and maintenance of health services; and
- (d) such other functions as may be conferred upon local government by the House of Assembly of the state.

What this means is that both the states and local governments can concurrently perform some duties in respect of the items listed. It means for example, that local governments can run primary schools just as the state does through its schools Management Board. States and local governments can also operate adult education and vocational studies programmes.

Furthermore, local governments can involve themselves in agriculture production or the tapping of natural resources except the exploitation of mineral resources. Local governments can, if they so wish, provide and maintain health service such as maternity centres, dispensaries, clinics and ambulance services just as the state government can and do engage in running hospitals. Indeed all the concurrent functions listed above are said to be inevitably performed by local governments in order to complement the efforts of the state governments in providing such services. It is also within the powers of the state government through its state house of assembly to confer other functions not specified in the Fourth Schedule on local governments. However, the issue that has not been addressed is whether constitutionally, the state house of assembly can take away any of the functions of local government clearly stipulated in the Fourth Schedule.

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Looking at their mode of operation and the law establishing them, Nigerian local governments are expected to serve regulatory; social service; protective and economic functions.

- i. Regulatory functions':  
These cover registration of birth, death and marriages, issuance of bicycle, dog, hand-cart licenses; licensing, regulation and control of sale of liquor, control and regulation of shops, kiosks, restaurants, etc.
- ii. Social services function:  
These will extend to the provision of health facilities, primary, vocational and adult education, recreational facilities, refuse disposal, road construction, etc.
- iii Protective functions:  
These will entail maintenance of parks and small bridges, toilets, cemeteries, etc
- iv Economic functions:  
These are functions from which local governments are expected to generate revenue. They include provision of market stalls at a fee to the public, investing in business ventures such as mass transportation system; running of cinema houses; building council houses and town halls and renting them to interested users; involvement in agriculture

including tractor hiring services for local farmers and tapping of the natural resources in the area except mineral exploitation.

The quality of life of the people depends on how efficiently these functions, particularly the social services and the economic functions are performed. If for instance local governments are efficient in their social service delivery system, if they demonstrate a high degree of commitment in protecting public utilities in their care and if they are judicious in utilizing resources to create job opportunities at local level there will be little tendency for people to migrate from the rural areas to the cities.

#### **Local governments and economic planning in Nigeria**

Local governments in Nigeria have always been recognized as micro-planning units and their importance in the economic planning process has been so emphasized in the Constitution. The 1999 Constitution for instance, empowers local governments to participate in economic planning and development of their areas. To ensure that this is done, the Constitution recommends that a joint economic board be established by the house of assembly of the state. The implication of this is that the state government cannot determine all alone the direction

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of economic planning and development at the local government level without the full participation of the local governments which are likely to know better the development needs at the grass-root. It does appear therefore that the Nigerian government has recognized the inescapable fact that it will not be possible for local government to perform the array of responsibilities contained in the Constitution without allowing them to participate in the planning process. This is simply because the planning process involves identifying the needs of the people, formulating policies which will provide for the needs, and implementing decisions taken in respect of satisfying these needs. It is only when the local governments are actively and effectively involved in planning, that economic developments are possible. Local governments are not just established to provide social services to the people at local level; they are also expected to devote their energy and resources towards the social and economic development of their areas.

The listing of local government functions in the Constitution started in 1979. That was the first time ever that local government would receive such attention in a Nigerian Constitution. The main reason for this was the practice of State Governments of encroaching upon the functions of local governments ostensibly so as to

perform them more effectively. It must be pointed out, however, that in spite of the provision of a list of local government functions in the Constitution, the States are far from restrained.

It would seem that State governments get away with the encroachment upon local government functions mainly because the Councils are in violation to constitutional provisions all mainly appointed by the Governors and they could not be expected to challenge the authority of the Governors that appointed them. The utility of having the list of local government functions in the Constitution lies in the fact that it is there to afford protection to any Council that wishes to defend itself against the interference of a State Government.

#### **Sources of finance for development**

Local governments in Nigeria derive their funds principally from grants from other tiers of government. Constitutionally, local governments get money from both the Federal and State governments. A specified percent of the Federation Account is shared among all the local governments in the country, and there is provision for statutory allocation from the state government to the local governments within their states. In other words, both the Federal and state governments are

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constitutionally required to contribute towards sustaining the third-tier of government. The grants from both the Federal and state governments can be either bloc-grant or specific grant. Other sources of revenue for local governments in Nigeria are internal and they include:

- (a) local rates and commissions paid to the local government for assisting in the collection of some taxes or dues on behalf of the state government;
- (b) profits from investment such as public transport system, cinema houses run by some of the Local government and dividends from shares bought by some local governments;
- (c) fees, market fees, licenses, fines from the customary courts and rents paid for the use of council property;
- (d) sale of council property (boarding)
- (e) loans from financial institutions;
- (f) donations from individuals and money collected from raffles and fund raising ceremonies.

Although there may seem to be many avenues through which the local governments can raise funds, the reality of the situation is that grants from the national and state governments still

constitute the bulk of the revenue of local governments. There are not many local governments anywhere in Nigeria with the capacity for efficient revenue generation. Besides a few local governments in the urban centres where there is a comparatively higher level of economic activity, local governments in the rural setting are likely to be more handicapped in generating revenue locally.

#### **Major challenges to Local Government as development paradigm**

The performance of local governments in Nigeria as agent of development is constrained by a wide range of challenges. First among these is inadequate funding. Local governments in Nigeria are greatly hampered by lack of finance to execute projects. This problem arises from their low capacity to raise funds internally as well as the insufficient transfers from the central government. Above all, financial load has been placed on the local government share of the Federation Account. For example, funds for 'primary school teachers' salaries and pension charges are now charged to the Local governments. The deductions at source of these charges and several other unfunded mandates in environmental and social spending tend to leave the Local governments with little funds. In addition, unfortunately, Local governments in Nigeria have limited access to productive tax bases.

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Furthermore, the Constitution makes it possible for State governments to cripple Local government councils financially by routing the amount of money standing to the credit of Local governments in the Federation Account (FA) through a joint State Local government Account rather than directly to local councils. This arrangement adversely affects the fiscal autonomy and viability of most local governments. Some State governors make inexplicable deductions or unduly delay the release of funds from the joint accounts to local government chief executives whom they regard as political adversaries. Steady drop in allocation from the Federation Account and huge wage bills have resulted in failure on the part of several local government councils to meet up with their financial obligations to their workers and teachers.

More worrisome is the manner in which the states handle the issue of funding of basic education part of which is primary education that hallmarks developmental efforts of Local government. Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC) recently made a shocking revelation about N60 billion meant for development of primary education that was still lying idle with the Central Bank of Nigeria, (CBN) especially given the terrible state of education sector across the country mainly because the state governments have

failed to provide the counterpart funds of equal amount of N60 billion which would have made the fund up to N120 billion. It was also reported that even when the state government provide the counterpart funds and the subsequently accessed the matching grant from the federal government, in many cases, the state governments either illegally diverted or put the funds in fixed deposit accounts instead of releasing same to the Local governments for the development of primary education (The Nation Editorial, 28 April, 2017).

Scarcity of experienced personnel is another area of challenge. Local governments in Nigeria due to their limited resources often find it very difficult to attract and retain highly trained and professional staff. This implies that they lack skilled work force to undertake some of their projects. Since they cannot afford expert staff of their own, councils usually rely on the specialized staff of central agencies for technical advice. Such technical advice is often used as means of control resulting in excessive intrusion and control by the central government.

The nature of relationship between local governments and the other levels of government also constitutes a major area of challenge in Local government administration in Nigeria. The relationship is complicated by the fact that in Nigeria, we talk of a gradation of powers from

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Local through State to Federal, with the scope of authority and responsibility increasing in that order. This gradation translates to functional responsibility for specific subject matters for which each of the three levels of government asserts autonomy sometimes equal to independence. Above all, every higher level perceives its relationship with the lower level(s) as a hierarchical arrangement in which it occupies the superior niche. Thus the Federal government sees itself as superior to the State and local governments while the State government sees itself as superior to the Local government. On the other hand, the lower level takes a non-hierarchical view of its relationship with the higher levels believing that the different tiers are nothing but separate and equal. The two views tend to result in inter-jurisdictional conflicts some of which lead to litigation even up to the apex court in the land (Agboola, 2017).

Due perhaps to the constitutional and administrative distance between the federal and local governments in Nigeria, relations between them are yet to degenerate into rivalry under the present partisan political arrangements. It is in State-Local relations that problems often arise, largely because of the proximity between the two levels and the superiority that the State as the second tier of government is wont to claim (Imuetinyan 2009). Local government autonomy has been a major casualty of the efforts of state

governments to liberate themselves from the overbearing powers of the federal government, which under the military extended to control over local government. For this reason, although the provisions for 774 local government areas and definition of their functions in the 1999 Constitution suggest that it may be correct to regard local governments as a third order of government, they are however subordinate to the state (and federal) governments which are effectively the determinate levels of government in Nigeria.

Local government councils in Nigeria cannot recruit their senior staff, a major hindrance to administration of development at the local level. Every state has a Local Government Service Commission which is charged with the personnel responsibility for all senior staff of local governments within the state. Confirmation is required from the state authority even for junior staff recruitment. Officials of state and central governments inspect local government projects periodically. Through these inspections, the central government ensures that local councils adhere to national standards. State governments have sometimes dissolved elected local government before the expiration of their tenure thus truncating policy formulation, implementation and even evaluation that could lead to actualizing development efforts.



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Most Nigerians view the structures of local government as alien and very corrupt. The system is hated even among the locals. The reasons are not far-fetched. Babalola (2017) noted that most functions assigned to Local government by the Constitution to justify its institutional relevance that will impact positively on the development of the local area such as construction and maintenance of roads, establishment and maintenance of slaughter slabs; establishment and maintenance of cemeteries; provision and maintenance of public conveniences etc are left unperformed. They instead concentrate on collection of rates and taxes in the most brutish manner from members of the public; licensing of bicycles, trucks; control and regulation of outdoor advertising etc. As a result of this, inhabitants of most local government areas hate local government councils with passion. They are perceived as mere opportunists who extort money from members of the public and that they enrich themselves at the expense of the local councils. This perhaps explains the unwillingness of most people to pay local taxes and even for services provided by the local councils. This situation contributes to the inadequate funding of local governments. The traditional institutions in most Nigerian communities are considered more accessible and caring, resulting in a situation where the structures of modern local governance are often in

competition with the traditional institutions of governance for the support of the people. While most people desire to obtain services from the local government, they do not feel it is their duty to support it by paying their rates and taxes. Instead, they willingly give such support to their town unions and age grades. Most Nigerians accord more reverence to their traditional rulers than the elected chairpersons of their local councils.

### **Recommendations**

The issue of local government performance becomes critical if it must surmount its challenges as a development paradigm. In our view, inter-local government cooperative relations will enhance local government performance. Unfortunately, there has been very little inter-local cooperation in the various aspects of governance in Nigeria. Consequently, it has become imperative to recommend, if local government must serve as an instrument of development, a much greater level of cooperation among local governments given the present arrangements in Nigeria. Inter-local governments' economic cooperation is recommended to strengthen the internal revenue base of local governments. If the experience of joint economic ventures among states is anything to go by, Nigerian local governments obviously stand to derive immense benefits from that kind of cooperation.



Certainly, the emergence and achievements of the Association of Local Government of Nigeria (ALGON) has demonstrated to all that Local governments need each other's support in fighting the constitutional battles for supremacy with the states a situation that has remained a major hindrance to local government as a development paradigm. The present situation of one or two local governments challenging their State government is not in the interest of local government as a tier of government. It would serve them more if they were able to make their struggle a question of the collective survival of a particular tier of government. If the local government councils can under the present competitive, partly political, civilian administration in Nigeria come together to fight for their rights, ultimately, the states could become restrained from unwarranted interference in local government affairs.

It is also recommended that the steam of agitation by various stakeholders in the local government system especially the Nigeria Union of Local Government Employees (NULGE) for relevant constitutional amendment that will guarantee financial autonomy for local governments should be sustained until victory is achieved in that direction.

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## **The Changing World of Local Government: Theories and Values**

**Pankaj Singh**

### **Introduction**

The local Government's jurisdiction is limited to a specific area and its functions relate to the provision of the civic amenities to the population within its jurisdiction. A local government functions within the provisions of the statute which has created it. Although since last two decades its importance has declined, the activities of the local Government are numerous. Local Government has been undertaking new activities which either regulate the conduct of the citizens or are in the nature of services such as provision of mass transport, construction of houses for the poor, supply of electricity, health centres, parks, play grounds etc. In fact, local government is today much more important in the daily life of a citizen than the State or Central government and some countries viz India and Nigeria have constitutionalized them. Thus it is very important to know about local government.

### **What is local Government?**

It is not easy to answer the question “what is local Government”? Local government may be described as 'government by popularly elected bodies charged with administrative and executive duties in matters concerning the inhabitants of a particular district or place and vested with powers to make bye- laws for their guidance. Local government has been defined from various angles. It has been defined as “an authority to determine and execute measures within restricted area inside and smaller than the whole state.” The variant local self- government is important for its emphasis on the freedom to decide and act.<sup>1</sup>

Local government is administration of a locality, smaller than the state, by a body representing local inhabitants, raising at least a part of its revenue through local taxation and spending its income on services which are regarded as local and distinct from state and central services.

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Thus local government has five key features; it is elected, multipurpose, operates on local scale, has a clearly defined structure and possesses power of local taxation.

The essential characteristics of a local government are, firstly, its statutory status; secondly its power to raise finance by taxation in the area under its jurisdiction; thirdly, participation of the local community in decision-making in specified subjects and their administration; fourthly the freedom to act independently of Central Control and lastly, its general purpose, in contrast to single purpose, character.

The analysis or examination of various approaches given above reveals that local government is a combination of various elements and no single approach includes all of them. These elements include a local statutory body, local inhabitants electing and controlling that body, limited autonomy in the sense that State governments in a federation and Central government in unitary system give them a limited freedom to perform their functions prescribed by law; a recognition of distinction between local and non-local services, and power to levy local taxes.

#### **Appraisal of various approaches**

After discussion of various approaches adopted for defining local government, one has to identify the main

characteristics of local government and assess their usefulness for a proper definition.

#### **Local Area & Geographical size and area**

A local government institution has a well-defined area which is fixed by the law of respective State government in a federation and by Central government in an Unitary State. This area can be termed as a city, town or a village in any case smaller than the State. Thus, the local authorities have jurisdiction over a specific area so is the case of national or regional governments. Thus local government is local but this begs the question as to how large local government has to become before it ceases to be local. For example, the Greater London Authority (GLA) governed nearly a sixth of England's population but was said to be local.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, U.S.A States like Montana, North Dakota and Wyoming are considerably smaller than English counties such as Devon, Essex or Kent, yet all English counties are classified as local government. Further-more, many counties are smaller than the local authorities in their national neighbours. Monaco with a population of 26,000 is 77 times smaller than Paris, and Malta (population of 4,00,000) is nearly 7 times smaller than Rome. The assertion that local government is local reveals nothing

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about the absolute size of any unit and little about its size in relation to any regional or state tier (s) of authorities.<sup>3</sup>

Likewise, in India Bombay and Calcutta, both cities have individually more population than the North Eastern States like, Meghalaya, Tripura, Nagaland and Mizoram.

#### **Autonomy or Subordination to a Higher Government**

In most of the federal states local government is exclusively left for States, but this is not the case in every federation. For example, In India local government is subject to federal control and regulation and recently Central government has passed 73 and 74 Constitutional Amendments for the local government in rural and urban areas. Thus, subordination neither to State or regional authority nor to a higher authority can be used as the defining concept of local government. In the case of unitary states where there is no federal structure the distinction between regional or state level and local government collapses. The weakness of this approach to define local government is that even in federal system it is only useful to distinguish local government from other governmental bodies, quasi-government and private organizations because they are also subordinate to governmental tiers.

#### **Elected Body**

It is said that local government is elected directly. But we also find many indirectly elected, non-elected or appointed local governments. Thus an election based definition of local government would also be difficult to apply to non-democratic countries. For example, municipal governments in all the United Arab Emirates (UAE) main towns are appointed.<sup>4</sup> In Malawi all members of town Councils are appointed and not popularly elected<sup>5</sup>, while in Congo only the capital district of Brazzaville has an elected local assembly.<sup>6</sup> Even in America the governing bodies of many special districts are appointed and not elected by the people. Many local authorities contain a mix of elected and non-elected members. In India, New Delhi Municipal Council and Urban Improvement Trusts have nominated Chairman and members. Similarly many urban development authorities such as Delhi Development Authority (DDA), Jaipur Development Authority (JDA) and Lucknow Development Authority (LDA) have nominated and indirectly elected ex-officio members. Many special purpose bodies like Delhi Transport Corporation, Delhi Electricity Supply Undertaking, the Water Supply and Sewerage Boards, Housing Boards, have nominated Chairman and members. Thus, if the concept of local government is restricted to directly elected local authorities the list of exclusions becomes much longer.

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### **Multipurpose, Many functional Bodies**

Local government is said to be Multi-purpose. It is mentioned that local government is directly elected multi-functional body while existence of single purpose local bodies is acknowledged in a secondary category. The assertion that local government is multipurpose may be appropriate for present day British local government or local government in India but it is inconsistent with contemporary arrangements in countries like USA and Canada.<sup>7</sup> Modern US School districts are directly elected but confined to one function, i.e., education.

### **Taxation**

Many scholars point out that a characteristic of a local authority is that it levies taxes. But this is not a Universal characteristic. Some countries are very rich and they have very few taxes and do not levy local taxes. Example is Arab Emirates, where five out of seven Emirates earn so much money from oil that they do not levy taxes.<sup>8</sup> Saudi Arabia has no local form of taxation – the Zagat or Islamic Charity Tax, is the only levied Tax on Saudi Nationals.<sup>9</sup> Thus imposition of taxation is not a Universal characteristic of local government.

Local authorities are mentioned as bodies which collect revenue rather than levy taxes. Such a definition would include bodies which charge users for specific services but do not collect taxes from the residents of the area. Under this criterion the bodies such as toll tax barriers which levied tolls and not taxes would count as local government but they are not local government.

Thus, there is no single characteristic which is, in it self, sufficient to define local government. Not all local authorities are geographically smaller than their State/National governments, local councils share subordination to the Centre with other organizations; some bodies which are widely accepted as part of the local government system are not elected; many local governments are single-purpose rather than multipurpose; and local authorities in some countries have no power of taxation.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, bodies which possess all of the following characteristics can be thought of as 'pure' local government : "jurisdiction over a substantially smaller area than the national government, election by popular vote, powers of taxation and genuine discretion over service provision."<sup>11</sup> Thus, definition of local government is not a simple task, therefore, most of the literature available on the subject mentions along with its definitions essential attributes of local government.

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The essential attributes of a local government are, firstly, its statutory status; secondly, its power to raise finances by taxation in the area under its jurisdiction; thirdly, participation of the local community in decision making in specific subjects and their administration; fourth, the freedom to act independently of Central/State Control; and lastly, its general purpose, in contrast to single purpose character.<sup>12</sup>

#### **Local Self-Government and Local Government**

Local self-government and local government in our country is generally known as local- self-government. The term local self-government is a legacy of the British rule when the country did not have self-government either at the state or central levels. When the British Government decided to associate Indians in administering local affairs, it meant a slice of self-government for the people. But now the word 'self' has become superfluous or redundant because the country has self-rule at all levels. Moreover, local bodies like New Delhi Municipal Council and Urban Improvement Trusts are not representative in character, the use of the term local self-government will not be proper. Despite this distinction, both the terms continue to be used interchangeably in our country. That is why the term local government and not local self-government is used in Entry 5 of the List II of the Seventh Schedule of our constitution.<sup>13</sup> The term local

self-government is a value lauded and virtuous sometimes difficult to justify, while the term 'local government' is a moral in nature and preferred to virtue embodying 'local Self-Government'.<sup>14</sup>

#### **Values of Local Government**

The importance of local government lies in sustaining the democracy. If democracy has to function properly, as many citizens as possible should be encouraged and provided with opportunities to take a continuing interest in its activities and problems. In a democracy, people have to work with great patience and perseverance. In the long run, we may find that the progress achieved under such democratic methods is more firm and more solid than under a totalitarian set up. People should have faith in democracy to become capable of achieving progress. People's faith in democracy is like reposing faith in themselves. Since faith sustains people's patience, people can acquire this faith more easily through experience of working in democratic institutions. Our first Prime Minister, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, inaugurating the first Local Self-Government Minister's Conference in 1948, had said "Local Self Government is and must be the basis of any true system of democracy. We have got rather into the habit of thinking democracy at the top and not so much below. Democracy at the top may not be a success unless you build on its foundation from below."<sup>15</sup>



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**(i) School of Democracy**

The proposition that self-government localities are the citadels and schools of democracy has been stressed by the following statement of an advisory committee of the Commission on Inter-government Relations (U.S.A):

“Local government are to total government what basic tissues are to the human body. Without them, government would have no vitality. The countries, cities, towns, villages, and boroughs serve as training schools for the readers of government and in the affairs of local government are tried those who aspire to state and national offices.”<sup>16</sup>

More important is “the use of government to soften the impact of arbitrary state and national laws and regulations and to modify them to fit a population quite diverse in its cultural, economic, geographic and political elements.”<sup>17</sup>

Further symbolizing democracy by local government, G.D.H. Cole points out: “Democracy is nothing unless it means in the last resort letting the people have their own way not only in the mass by means of an aggregate vote on nationwide scale, but also in their lesser groups and societies of which the great society is made up, and through which it is made articulate in such a way that the less clamorous voices can be heard.”<sup>18</sup>

Local government trains people to work for and with others and teaches them the need for compromise, tolerance and respect for others. The concept of representative government is itself a realization of local government's importance. It proves a reservoir for the growth of national leadership. John Stuart Mill argued convincingly that participation in the process of government was a valuable education in public affairs which helped to produce a sense of responsibility in the community and stimulated the creation of local leadership.<sup>19</sup>

It had long been recognized that “Local government has a value as an 'education' for democracy. It is education for the electors, who are called upon to do their voting in relation to issues that are readily comprehensible to them; and for councilors, who can gain experience in the art of responsible leadership. It is easier for local government than for national government to be close to the common people.”<sup>20</sup>

Lord Bryce in his famous work on Modern Democracies has laid down that “the best school of democracy and the best guarantee for its success is the practice of local self government.”<sup>21</sup> Underlying the importance of local government in free democratic India, JawaharLal Nehru had said, “local Self Government is and must be basis of any true system of democracy.”<sup>22</sup>



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Local Government can be said to “encourage citizenship or democracy and to promote 'political education' in its widest sense. It does this by involving large number of people in the political decision making process. While people may find the affairs of a modern state too large and complex to understand, they will perhaps more easily and naturally participate with their neighbours in helping to manage local community affairs.”<sup>23</sup>

**(ii) Platform for Political and Popular Education and Training**

Lord Ripon's famous Resolution of 1882 also emphasized the need of political and popular education through local government:

“It is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly designed as an instrument of political and popular education.”<sup>24</sup>

Emphasizing the importance of local self-government Prof. Laski says that “the institution of local government is educative in perhaps a higher degree at least contingently than any other part of government. And it must be remembered that there is no other way of bringing the mass of citizens into intimate contact with persons responsible for decisions.”<sup>25</sup> It cultivates a sense of civic duties and

responsibilities and develops among the citizens a corporate spirit of common interest.

Local elections provide opportunities for participation through voting which provides a lot of political education. Local government provides opportunities to a very large number of citizens at a time to work in democratic institutions and to directly participate in the administration of the affairs of the community. Thus, it serves as training ground for emerging leaders, who after getting experience in the art of government and politics in these institutions, go up to the state level or national level. In India many leaders were products of these institutions. For example, Feroze Shah Mehta, Motilal Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Chander Bose, Vallabh Bhai Patel, Lala Lajpat Rai and many state level leaders have served in rural local government institutions. At least 40 conservative challengers and at least 60 from both Labour and the Liberal Democrats could be described as having 'Senior local government experience', mostly as council or party group leaders or committee chairs (local government chronicle, 27 March 1992, p.4).<sup>26</sup>

**(iii) Promotes Spirit of Liberty and Equity**

The Local assemblies of citizens says De Tocque Ville, add to the strength of free nations. “Town

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meetings are to Liberty what primary schools are to science; they bring it within the people's reach, they teach men how to use and how to enjoy it. A nation may establish a free government, but without municipal institutions, it cannot have the spirit of Liberty.”<sup>27</sup> The concept of equality has many meanings but in the context of local government, it may enhance equality by providing access to political office and political activity for wider groups of people than are accommodated through national politics.”<sup>28</sup>

#### **(iv) Effective Solution of Local Problems**

Local government by applying local knowledge to local problems prepares the way to understand them. It is a popular saying that “only the wearer knows where the shoe pinches.” Hence, it is the local people alone because of the pinch can be set to provide solutions. Thus, the problems which are local in nature need to be solved locally as per the needs, environment and wishes of the people. To solve such problems effectively, the government has to step down to local level. Problems of a particular locality can easily be best tackled, if local resources are brought to bear on them. The local bodies on account of their nearness to the people and familiarity with their needs and wants are better placed to meet them. Laski, opined “we

cannot realize the full benefits of democratic government, unless we begin by the admission that all problems are not central problems, and that the results of problems in their incidence require decisions at the place, and by the persons, where and by whom the incidence is most deeply felt.”<sup>29</sup> Sharpe terms this ability the 'knowledge Value' of Local Government.

“Central government is not equipped to grasp the inimitable conditions of each locality. Local government is preferable precisely because locally elected institutions employing their own specialist staff are better placed to understand and interpret both the conditions and the needs of local communities..... Out stationed field agencies could not .....coordinate their activities with each other.”<sup>30</sup>

#### **(v) Provides Civic Services**

Local government institutions perform numerous functions to provide civic amenities to the inhabitants. The services performed by these bodies including garbage collection, cleaning of streets, drainage, electricity, water supply, fire services, health service, etc. are very important for good civic life. Moreover, R. Argal opines that “from the pre-natal days to even after death, the municipal institutions serve us, but

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we may be utterly ignorant of the composition of the town council. We realize that importance of local institution only when its services- the water supply, scavenging, etc. -fail.”<sup>31</sup>

**(vi) Reduces the Burden of Work of State/Central Government**

Local government aims at division of governmental functions and a large number of functions are performed by it which in the absence of local government would have been performed by State/Central Government. Fesler points out that “we need a national government covering the total area; we need a group of sub-national governments each covering a significant portion of the national area-whether one-forty-eight or one sixth or some intermediate fraction....we need a group of municipal governments for the areas in which many people live closely together and have common problems growing directly from their collective social life.”<sup>32</sup> This division according to functions lightens the burden of functions to be performed by the Central government. If the central government is over-loaded with work, it becomes incompetent, incapable and inefficient to perform its duties. Even if the Central Government be competent and efficient, yet it is said that good government is no substitute for local self-government. Thus local government is necessary for the development of initiative and interest of local masses in government.

**(vii) Laboratory for experiments and testing Government policies.**

Local government is an invaluable socio-political laboratory for trying and testing on a small scale, various new proposals for government organization and socio-economic policies. It is a preserver of local colour in the national life.<sup>33</sup> “Local authorities are almost bound to enhance the learning capacity of government. They will develop their own solutions and initiatives some of which may prove unsuccessful or applicable only to their specific locality, but some of which may be adaptable either by other local authorities or even by central government.”<sup>34</sup>

Most (local Councils) indeed, are likely to be involved in one or more of the government pilot schemes that have proliferated under Labour Ministers who have recognized much more than their predecessors the testing and learning opportunities provided by local government.<sup>35</sup>

Recently individual local authorities have originated such schemes as developed budgets to schools, free birth control, comprehensive education, mobile libraries, bottle banks, advice centres for housing or consumer affairs, and free bus travel and special housing for pensioners; many local authorities or even government have since adopted these ideas.<sup>36</sup>

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**(viii) Control and Check against Bureaucracy:**

As a matter of fact, these local authorities direct and to an extent regulate our lives. They provide the citizens with the minimum health, education and other welfare services. Besides, providing the services, a strong local government system prevents unnecessary increase in the powers of bureaucracy over the community. A centralized system of administration, even though democratic, results in control of the community by bureaucracy. In the absence of such institutions the business of government is left in the hands of appointed officers and between them and the people the gap is usually widened. It is one of the goals of any democratic constitution to prevent concentration of executive powers in a few hands. The existence of local government makes way for the decentralization of powers and leads to the reduction in the powers of bureaucrats. Local government provides intimacy and ready access to local government officers.

**(ix) Local Government is Economical**

The performance of any government whether central or local largely depends upon availability of finances. In performing functions by local government, the economy is

secured because local functions are performed by local authorities out of the funds raised locally by levying taxes. When the local people are entrusted with the management of local affairs, they will manage them at the lowest cost because they know that it is their money which is spent on local services. Therefore, they remain conscious to making services more economical and avoiding wastage.

**Justification for Local Government:**

The search for the existence of local Government divides scholars in three schools of thought about the justification of local Government- first those who believe that it can be justified within the context of certain democratic theories, second, who perceive it as a means of providing efficient services at the local level. The conventional view of local democracy was highlighted by the writings of John Stuart Mill. His book, *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861), presented a series of arguments in favour of local government. His two postulates being, (1) that local representative democracy provides an avenue for the political education of citizens aspiring for national office, and (2) that substantial scope for local administration made practical sense because local interest, knowledge and capacity to oversee made the prospects of achieving efficient and effective service provision much more likely:

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“In the details of the management, therefore, the local bodies will generally have the advantage”<sup>37</sup>. To Mill, therefore, the individual citizen's political suavity is assured when he progresses through the tutelage of local to national politics. Thus, Mill considers local government to be “the prime element in democracy.”

**Local government as the basis of democracy, have drawn the most vocal criticism.**

Mackenzie in a lecture argued that “local government is far from being a launching pad for democracy.” He perceived local government primarily as a means of providing certain services, although it may also offer the citizen the benefit of servicing the people. Thus as a secondary (quasi-sovereign, quasi- autonomous) not a primary form of government, it is erroneous to regard local government as the basis of democracy.<sup>38</sup> Neither democracy comes into being due to local government nor it ceases with the disappearance of the latter.

The famous exchange of writings between Langrod and Moulin on one side (anti-Mill) and Panter Brick (pro-Mill) represent the apogee of the debate about whether or not the purpose of local government is representative democracy. Langrod and Moulin debunked the notion that local government is the basis of

democracy.<sup>39</sup> Synthesizing what may be regarded as a continental view (both scholars being from the continent of Europe), they argue that local government is subordinate democracy; and that any reference to a reciprocal relationship between it and democracy is a mirage. As Langrod said, “democracy does not come into being where local government appears nor does it cease with the disappearance of the latter.”<sup>40</sup> Langrod and Moulin contend that local representative democracy not only breeds parochialism (to the detriment of national unity) but is also inimical to national democracy.<sup>41</sup> The position of Langrod and Moulin is that local government cannot be justified within the concepts of local representative democracy espoused by Mill and his followers.<sup>42</sup> While Panter-Brick reveling in the Mill's tradition argues that local government assures the operation of individual interests. Local government is essentially to allow individuals to voice their needs and to learn the art of practical politics.<sup>43</sup> Further, some scholars hold the view that local government is not an exclusive arena whereby the citizen's political awareness may be sharpened.<sup>44</sup> The assertion of Mill that local government is a training ground for citizens who may venture into national politics presumes that local interests aggregate into national interest. This cannot be applied universally; this position can be

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sustained in a polity characterized by a high level of homogeneity both in terms of socio-cultural and ideological manifestations, but it may not be so in a heterogeneous, diverse polity.

Two points emerge out of the discussion regarding what should be the basis of local government or what the basis of local government ought to be. First, is the idea that representative democracy is the basis of local government and vice-versa. Second is the contrary argument that local government is mainly justified in as much as it is a means of providing certain forms (services) of government work. These attempts at finding the basis for local government has also led to the rejection of the isolated concepts of liberty, equality, participation-or-representative democracy as the justification of local government. Now many scholars have suggested that the justification of local government is primarily traceable to its uniqueness as an efficient provider of public services, not as an avenue for local democratic ideals.<sup>45</sup>

L. J. Sharpe developed a series of interesting and new arguments in favour of modern local government. He promotes the efficiency value of local government as the strongest point in favour of local government. To prove his claim of efficiency he discussed several roles of local government. He said, "As a coordinator of services in

the field; as a reconciler of community opinion; as a consumer pressure group; as an agent for responding to rising demand; and finally as a counterweight to insipient syndicalism, local government seems to have come into its own."<sup>46</sup>

The localists led by Jones & Stewart put forward many arguments in defense of local autonomy and local government. They pointed that, "the message of central government was that it needed to control disobedient local authority. Its measures and proposals were designed to increase centralization and to weaken local government; they plainly said they value a governmental system where there is considerable scope for local autonomy and decision making." They emphasized that local government is an expression of the diffusion of power and concluded, "Concentration of power is a danger to a free society."<sup>47</sup>

The Widdicombe Committee on the conduct of Local Authority Business in U.K. summarizes the case thus:

The value of local government stems from its three attributes of:

- (a) Pluralism, through which it contributes to the national political system;
- (b) Participation, through which it contributes to local democracy;

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- (c) Responsiveness, through which it contributes to the provision of local needs through the delivery of services.<sup>48</sup>

On the other hand the 'centralists' criticize the case of local government on many grounds.

- (1) Local government allows a variation in the standard of provisions of local services which may be regarded as 'inequitable or unfair in an age of equality or at least equality of opportunity. For example, in the services, such as the provision for special housing for the elderly, hostel accommodation for the mentally disordered, or the levels of provision of home helps, occupational therapists and social workers.
- (2) Doubt is cast on the efficiency of local government administration. Local government is seen either too bureaucratic or too party political to be efficient or sufficiently responsive to public opinion.
- (3) Local authorities are closed to new ideas and change, encourage narrow or 'parish pump' attitudes and policies.
- (4) The local government acts as a bastion against excessive state power and as a catalyst to the

release of simmering community participation is too ambitious a claim. In practice the Central Government exercises considerable control over the policies of local government, and the general public shows a considerable lack of enthusiasm for local government matters. The abolition of metropolitan counties and the Greater London Council (GLC) led to joint boards for certain services. Functions have been removed from local authorities and given to appointed bodies. The main consequences, of such steps would weaken local government and increase centralization.<sup>49</sup>

The third school which holds the modern 21<sup>st</sup> century view, believes that local government can be justified on the basis of its capacity to lead to a process of social economic and political development in our communities.<sup>50</sup>

#### **Conclusion:**

A system of "good local governance should display the values of openness, deliberation and a capacity to act". The value of local government is not to be judged by the services it delivers but by its capacity to lead a process of social, economic and political development in communities. A debate on local self-government runs the risk of becoming



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stuck on performance, local authority needs to be trusted but to be trusted, they need to perform.<sup>51</sup>

The importance of local government has been depicted through the writings of various scholars on the subject.<sup>52</sup> Lest we may not be lost behind quotations; it would be worthwhile to restate the case for local Self-Government in brief.

What a tissue is to the body, it is for total government. It is a school for democracy, wherein citizens are imparted political and popular education regarding issues of local and national importance. The test of successful democracy at the centre lies in its satisfactory functioning at the local levels. It develops qualities of initiatives, tolerance and compromise, so essential for the working of a democracy. It not only relieves congestion at centre, but it also checks the increasing powers of bureaucracy. It stands positively for distribution and diffusion of powers leading to administrative deconcentration and political decentralization. It opens an outlet for the articulation of lesser groups in a large society. Being close to the original base, it finds solutions for local problems. It provides facilities for minimum basic needs, whose slightest absence makes us realize its necessity as the pinch of their absence becomes more acute. It exercises a kind of self economy on financial

measures to reduce expenses of the government. It is a reservoir of talent for local and national leadership.

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## **Spatial and Social Structure of Indian Cities in Historical Context**

**Ritu Raj Kaur & Gursharan Kaur**

### **1. Introduction**

Urban areas have been greatly influenced by a long history of urbanization. Regional influence of various civilizations can be seen even today in historical buildings. Each invading civilization had brought in its ideology & concepts in developing & designing cities from time to time. In historic cities there may be buildings which still exist and are conserved depicting history through its varying design elements and architectural features. Historically, natural factors such as natural hazards and political pressures had played important role in the basic spatial and social structure of the cities. Historic cities were more of political and social organizations formed to improve economic security, avoid conflicts with other communities, etc.

The objective of this paper is to classify various cities of India in historical context before British period,

focusing on changing spatial structure and social hierarchies in the cities. As per history of Indian cities, there has been growth and decline of cities which has led to spatial and temporal discontinuities. Various cities of historic times which were completely ruined include Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, Taxashila and Nalanda. Other cities which survive to this day include Varanasi, Delhi, Madurai and Kanchipuram. For this purpose, the cities have been categorized into three phases:

- a. Cities of pre-historic period covering Indus Valley Civilization
- b. Cities of early historic period covering rise and expansion of Mauryan Empire
- c. Cities of medieval period covering Mughal cities spatial and social influences

**Figure 1: Cities of Pre-historic Period**



**Source:** Miller, Daniel. *Ideology and the Harappan Civilization*. 1984. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 4, 34-71 (1985)

## 2. Cities of Pre-historic Period

In the prehistoric period (2350 to 1800 BC) earliest cities originated in the Indus Valley region (Ramachandran R, 1989). Cities of this region were Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, both of these are now in Pakistan (refer figure 1). The locations of these settlements were on the banks of rivers and they practised agriculture as the main occupation. These cities were developed around the Indus Valley and adjoining parts of Rajasthan, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh.

### 2.1 Social Structure

There are no evidences of Harappan culture. Racial types that have

been identified include proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Mongoloid and Alpine, of which the Mediterranean is predominant (Ramachandran R, 1989). Head of this culture was the high priest or King. Social stratification existed in this period, which is clearly seen from the remains of the civilization. Citadels include residences/places of elites whereas lower city included residences of common citizens.

### 2.2 Spatial Structure

These people settled in fertile soils of plain land near water bodies. Harappan culture was fully developed, in which large urban centers were surrounded by rural villages. There was uniformity in culture of Indus Valley region. Mohenjo-Daro & Harappa were twin capital cities of the region with very high level of infrastructure. Following the twin cities was port town i.e. Lothal. Various other towns of this period are Banwali, Kalibangan, Rojdi, Tuda, Somnath, etc. which acted as regional centers to the twin cities (refer figure 1).

Mohenjo-Daro was developed along Indus River and Harappa along the Ravi River. Both cities extended over an area of two square kilometers with a population around 30,000 persons. Mohenjo-Daro is the older city in comparison to Harappa, which was built to meet the expanding needs of Mohenjo-Daro. Lothal, a port city was located near distributaries of Sabarmati River, which was a major trading city at Gulf of Cambay.

Cities during these times consisted of two main parts a) Citadel, a place for high priests or King consisting of large structures, which was fortified by walls.

b) Lower city, city for common was developed on grid iron pattern. Site area and Citadel of twin cities and regional towns is given table 1.

**Table 1: Overall Size and Citadel Size of Various Sites.**

Site	Overall size (Ha)	Citadel size (Ha)
Mohenjo-Daro	85	12
Harappa	85	12
Kalibangan	14	4.2
Lothal	4.7	1.2

**Source:** Miller, Daniel. *Ideology and the Harappan Civilization*. 1984. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 4, 34-71(1985)

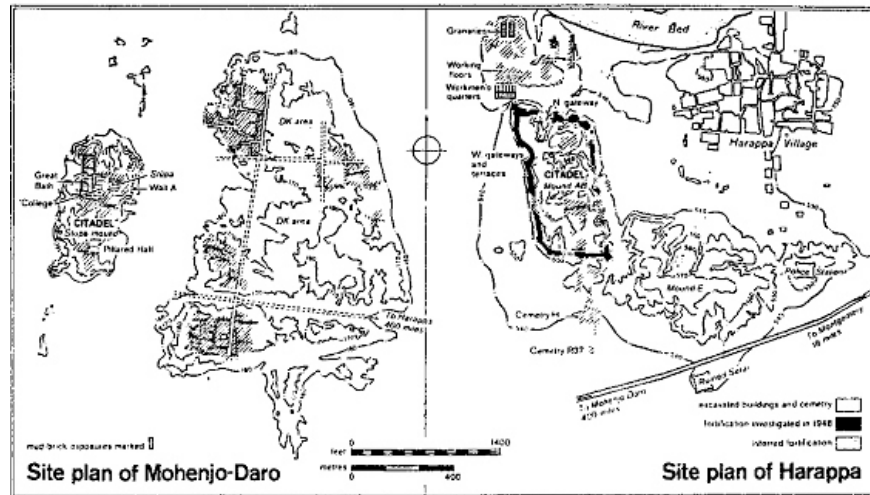
The main features of the city spatial structure includes (refer figure 2).

- Citadel was located at higher mounds and equipped with high order facilities such as great bath, pillared halls, large structures and fortified walls.
- Residential areas of lower city consisted of single room to multiple room and even multistoried housing units, distinguishing classes prevailing in that time.
- Grid Iron pattern-streets aligned in north-south and east-west direction.
- Road hierarchy- three level road hierarchy, largest road width of fourteen meters and smallest of three meters.

- Water supply of the city from one meter brick lined wells.
- Fully covered drainage system along with manholes at equal intervals for periodic cleaning.
- Partial soak pit treatment to sewage, which was drained to river.

Level of development in twin cities was significant, but these development concepts have not been carried forward in next civilizations. Harappan towns were highly developed, but were destroyed either by man or nature. The decline of Harappan cities and towns was either because of natural disaster such as floods, droughts, epidemic or invasion by early people believed to be Aryans.

**Figure 2: Site Plan of Twin Cities – Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa**



**Source:** Miller, Daniel. *Ideology and the Harappan Civilization*. 1984.  
*Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 4, 34-71(1985)

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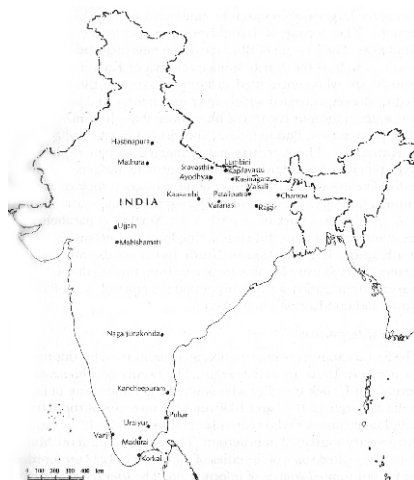
### 3. Cities during Early Historic period

This is a period, which includes cities of post-Vedic, Mauryan and post Mauryan phase and began around 600 BC. During this period a new civilization emerged, which was dominated by Aryans in North. Unlike

early Harappan phase which was completely destroyed, a few cities of this phase still exist. The oldest cities of this time which exist till date are Varanasi, Patna, Kanchipuram and Madurai.

Aryans migrated to India over a period of several centuries and were first settled in Indus Valley during Vedic period. During post Rig Vedic period they extended up to plains of Yamuna and Ganga. The Vedic pre-urban Aryans were small communities with agriculture as main occupation. They lived in rectangular villages, which was divided by four main streets and surrounding land was used for cultivation purposes.

**Figure 3: Ciities during Aryan Period**



**Source:** Ramachandran, R. *Urbanization and Urban Systems in India*. 1989. Oxford University Press: Delhi.

Development of cities/towns as well as clear social stratification emerged during post-Vedic period. In this period due to clashes in Aryan and non-Aryan groups, small kingdoms emerged. This gave rise to building capital cities and palaces. The cities of this period include Hastinapura, Kapilavastu, Ujjain, Sravasthi, Ayodhya, Varanasi and Kausambi. (refer figure 3). This is considered as origin of Mauryan period.

Aryan country was divided into eight janapadas, tribal territories. With expansion of empire, the janapadas increased to sixteen in number and were termed mahajanapadas, because of increased size of population and area over time. Around these mahajanapadas, Magadhan Empire emerged also known as Mauryan period. Modern location of these mahajanapadas is given in table 2.

**Table 2: Mahajanapadas and Capital Cities during Mauryan Period.**

Sr. No.	Mahajanapadas	Capital	Modern location
1.	Anga	Champa	Munger and Bhagalpur
2.	Magadh	Girivraja / Rajagir	Gaya and Patna
3.	Kasi	Kasi	Varanasi
4.	Vatsa	Kausambi	Allahabad
5.	Kosala	Sravasti	Eastern Uttar Pradesh
6.	Saurasena	Mathura	Mathura
7.	Panchala	Ahichchatra and Kampilya	Western Uttar Pradesh
8.	Kuru	Indraprastha	Merrut and S.E. Haryana
9.	Matsya	Viratnagar	Jaipur
10.	Chedi	Sothivati / Banda	Bundelkhanda

Sr. No.	Mahajanapadas	Capital	Modern location
11.	Avanti	Ujjain / Mahismati	Madhya Pradesh & Malwa
12.	Gandhar	Taxila	Rawalpindi
13.	Kamboj	Pooncha	Rajori & Hajra (Kashmir)
14.	Asmaka	Pratisthan / Paithan	Bank of Godavari
15.	Vajji	Vaishali	Vaishali
16.	Malla	Kusinara	Deoria & U.P.

**Source:** *The National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS), History book- From Janapadas to Empire pg 63-81. Retrieved 25 February 2016 from [http://download.nos.org/srsec315new/History%20Book\\_L05.pdf](http://download.nos.org/srsec315new/History%20Book_L05.pdf)*

Spatially, cities during this phase increased in number as well as size. This phase had given rise to different type of towns in addition to above capital towns. Various categories of towns included:

1. Rajadhaniya - Capital city and the largest of all cities
2. Sthaniya Nagata - Capital of a janapada
3. Sthaniya Nagara - Focal point of about 800 villages
4. Kharvata Nagara - Focal point of about 200 villages
5. Kheta - a small town

Various important towns and cities during early history period include:

1. Putabhedana - a large commercial centre (wholesale trade)

2. Nigama - an ordinary market centre
3. Pattana - a coastal trading town
4. Dronamukha - a port city
5. Khadavara - a military camp
6. Taxashila and Nalanda - educational cities

### 3.1 Social Structure

Level of social hierarchy was clearly prevalent in the cities of this phase. Caste and occupation were considered as status indicators. Cities structure was spatially segregated on caste based social stratification, i.e. brahmanas, kshatriyas, vaishyas and sudras. Brahmanas and kshatriyas being superior in social hierarchy lived in better areas of the city. Sudras, lowest in caste hierarchy lived near the industrial areas. Residential areas of different caste groups were located



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away from one another and level of facilities also varied among these caste hierarchy. Mostly in early historic cities brahmana and kshatriyas lived in the north and north-east, vaishyas in the southern parts and sudras lived in the western part of the city. Within the four main caste classifications, the major sub-division of urban society was done in following categories (Ramachandran, R., 1989):

- The king and his higher administrative and military officials,
- Priests,
- Lower administrative and military officials,
- Independent professionals such as physicians, scribes, accountants and teachers,
- The mercantile community,
- Artisans and craftsmen,
- Public entertainers such as musicians, dancers, actors and prostitutes, and
- Persons performing a variety of services, such as dhobis, barbers and domestic servants.

### **3.2 Spatial Structure**

The most famous Mauryan period ruler was Asoka, which period gave rise to Buddhism in the country. Mauryan Empire having different

religious, cultural and social origin, had given rise to regional influenced art and architecture. Regional influenced prominent features included rock-cut architecture, pillars and sculptures in various stupas and viharas like Sanchi and Sarnath. Unlike Harappan civilization cities, cities of this phase were developed keeping in mind security from other territories. All the cities of this phase were walled cities of rectangular or square shape, with four gates, one in centre of each side. Cities were surrounded by defensive walls and moats. Main spatial features of the cities included:

- Large cities had market places and rest houses for visitors.
- King's palace, royal building included intricate art and architectural details influenced by regional origins of ruling kings.
- Capital City was divided into 16 sectors by six royal highways, three royal highways in north-south direction and three in east-west direction.
- Each of above sectors had specific land use and was segregated based on social hierarchy. Specific uses of sectors were based on following parameters:

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- Palaces of the king, the ministers and the priests,
  - Residences of warriors,
  - Residences of brahmanas and temples,
  - Residences of merchants,
  - Living quarters of courtesans and dancers,
  - Residences of craftsmen in wool, leather, etc,
  - The labour colony,
  - Various offices,
  - Crafts and Industries – eleven categories of industries,
  - Warehouses and workshops,
  - Stables for elephants, camels and horses, etc.
  - Minimum width of streets was eight meters forming a grid
  - Many stupas and viharas like those at Sanchi, Sarnath and Amaravati were developed during this phase due to the popularity of Buddhism and Jainism in this phase.
  - Pillars, sculptures and rock-cut architecture were important features in the cities of this phase, which were erected all over the Mauryan Empire.

This phase covered a thousand years of history. The Mauryan Empire collapsed with death of Asoka and

fellow empires could not administer well. Other reasons for decline of cities included natural calamities and foreign invasions. Decline of Buddhism had resulted in decline of various cities as well and given rise to Hinduism. Many urban centres were established in the Ganga plains with continuous ups and downs of Hindu empires. This led to Muslim invasion from Afghanistan which gave rise to second highest empire, i.e. Mughal empire after Mauryan period. Many important cities as Taxashila, Nalanda of this phase had been destroyed by the invading rulers.

#### **4. Cities in the medieval period (AD 600-1800)**

Muslims came to North India from Afghanistan and established a huge empire as there was political disintegration in this part of the country. The new Muslim leaders set up their capital at Delhi. The earliest dynasty was called Slave Dynasty of Qutb-ud-din Aibak followed by the Khiljis, Tughluqs and later the Lodis. The Lodis shifted the capital from Delhi to Agra in 1506. Thereafter, Delhi and Agra became two dominating centers of northern India. Figure 4 shows the Mughal Empire till 1601.

For nearly one hundred and seventy years (1556-1719) the Mughal Empire remained a dynamic,

centralized, and complex organization. The main trade route acted as blood vessel which ran through whole of the Mughal Empire and strengthened the interaction between various trading centers.

**Figure 4: The Mughal Empire Political 1601**



**Source:** Kaushik, Isha (2013), “The process and pattern of emergence of structure and composition of main trading towns of medieval Mughal Period”, Department of Geography, University of Delhi.

The Mughal Empire extended from Assam to Gujarat, including present day Pakistan and Bangladesh. The urban system of this time dominated by 16 large cities out of these four have survived as large cities of today namely Delhi, Ahmedabad, Lucknow and Varanasi. The contribution of Mughals was largely in revival of existing cities rather than stressing on establishing new ones (Sikri and Moradabad).

#### 4.1 Social Structure

The urban landscape was largely influenced by Islamic culture the impact of which is visible in mosques, forts and palaces. The cultural thrust of this time period was on division of people and society into Muslims and the non – Muslims. Initially, the Muslims were confined to the cities. The cities were dominated by Muslim population and the villages catered the Hindu population. Earlier the craftsmen were Hindu but during Muslim rule from AD 1000 they were forcefully converted to Islam (Ramachandran R, 1989). The Hindu craftsmen were assigned low caste status. However, the conversion from Hindu to Muslim did not improve the economic condition of those persons. The absence of drainage and water supply system and the narrow unplanned roads depicts the poverty of masses.

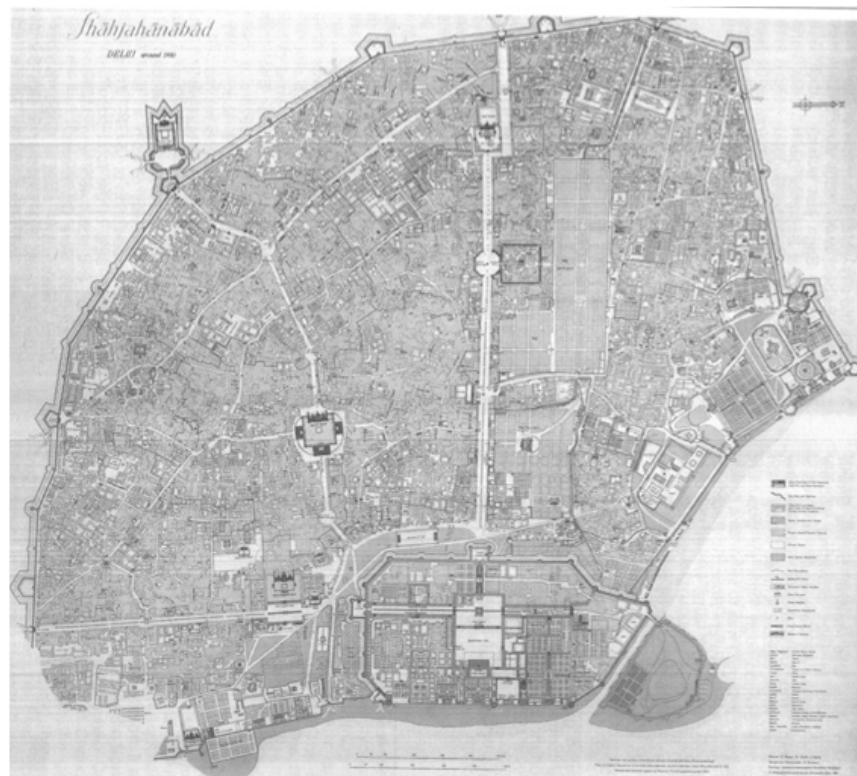
#### 4.2 Spatial Structure

Under the Mughals the older established cities started reviving with addition of few new cities and buildings especially in the Northern India including Pakistan and Bangladesh. Like every civilization, Mughal period also have some basic elements that distinguish it from others. In Mughal cities mainly there were following elements:-

- i. Palace of the King - or the feudal lord of the area, which was located either on a river bank or

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- on high ground towards one end of the city. The palaces and a number of buildings were enclosed within a fort. (Ramachandran R, 1989)
  - ii. Mosque - the Jama Masjid depicting the cultural focal point of the Muslim population.
  - iii. Outer wall and gates - The towns were protected by thick walls, made of bricks or mud from eight to ten feet high. Nobody could come in and go out without the written permission of the guards. (Kaushik Isha, 2013)

**Figure 5 : Shahjahanabad – 1850**



**Source:** *The Imperial Islamic City: A Map of 19th Century Shahjahanabad.* Retrieved 25 February 2016 from <http://archnet.org/system/publications/contents/3280/original/DPC0848.pdf?1384774132>

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For example, Shahjahanabad (refer figure 5) was fortified on three sides by a strong wall and the fourth – on the eastern side partly by the Fort and partly by the wall. The height of wall is more than 8 meter and width is about 3.5 meters and the length has exceeded 9 kilometers. The wall was surmounted by twenty-seven towers and had a number of big gates and entryways at regular intervals such as Lahori Gate, Kashmiri Gate, Ajmeri Gate and Akbarabadi Gate.

- iv. Road network – except Shahjahanabad, the Mughal cities have irregular road pattern with mixed land-uses. Except one or two big broad and paved streets the other streets and lanes were narrow and muddy.
- v. Main Chowk or crossroad – market centre nearby which there were homes of craftsmen and local industry. Like Chandini Chowk in Shahjahanabad.
- vi. The Gardens – another important element of Islamic tradition introduced by the Mughal rulers. Mughal gardens were rectangular divided into four sections by a flowing canal due to which they were named as Chahar Bagh. Surrounded by high walls broken

by gateways, and topped with towers. Like Shahjahanabad was surrounded by several gardens on three sides and mansions of the Mughal princes and nobles. Other examples are of Shalimar Bagh, Mubarak Bagh, Roshanara Begum's Bagh, Talkatora Bagh, and Kudsia Bagh. (IHC, 2014)

- vii. Mahallas or Wards – Where people of similar professions, crafts and castes live together. For example, in Agra several mahallas were known after the principal crafts placed there or after a particular commodity sold. There was the loha gali (after blacksmiths) chhapitola (ward of painters), cheeni tola (the sugar mart), naiki mandi (barbers ward), dal mandi, ghasmandi, hing ki mandi, kanari bazaar, sabun katra (soap market), nilpara (indigo mart) kucha-i-rangrezan (dyers) in Agra. (Kaushik Isha, 2013)

Other than above, the cities were planned for high densities as city of Delhi and Agra to accommodate population of 5 lakh. The houses in Mughal cities were of two types; (a) extravagant enclosures built of bricks and stone belonging to the aristocracy, rich men and big merchants, (b) houses of mud, wood and bamboo covered with straw, grass and thatch inhabited

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by ordinary people (the artisans, workmen, and labourers). The former were spacious airy well –built and well supplied with water containing gardens and tanks and bordering upon the principal streets. The latter were undersized, soiled, with no appropriate arrangements for water, unsymmetrical and opening in to tapered and short lanes. (Kaushik Isha, 2013)

### 5. Conclusion

Continuous invasions in the historic times had led to various changes in the spatial and social structure of cities. Each historic phase has brought changes in city structures with each invading regional ruler. The regional influences can be seen in each period from well planned Indus Valley civilization to sanchis and stupas of Mauryan period and architecture and city planning of Mughal period. Harappan town planning never reappeared in the succeeding empires, which was highly developed as each ruling empire tried to bring in their ideology and concepts while planning cities/towns. Due to this many important cities from spatial and social planning perspective, of different time periods are found in form of small mounds or ruins, including cities of prehistoric and historic times such as Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, Nalanda, Taxashila and Vijayanagar. A few ancient and historical cities exist to

date including Pataliputra, Madurai, Kancheepuram, Varanasi and Delhi but only the monuments of the Mughal period (belonging to the 16th and 17th centuries) are found.

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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. We reserve the right to edit for sense, style and space.

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## Assessment of Gender Aspects in Disaster Recovery and Reconstruction – A Case Study of Andhra Pradesh

V. Deepa Nair

### 1. Introduction

According to the Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters (CRED), Brussels, Belgium, India is the worst disaster-affected country in South Asia. CRED studies show that between 1987 and 1996, on an annual average, disasters killed 5,063 people and affected 56,563,631 people in India. 2540 people died and 392,690 people were affected by disasters in 1997 alone. Estimation of the economic impact of natural disasters (Average 1985-1995) is 1,645,507 million US dollars.<sup>1</sup>

The Indian subcontinent is highly vulnerable to cyclones, droughts, earthquakes and floods. Avalanches, forest fire and landslides occur frequently in the Himalayan region of northern India. Among the 35 total states/ Union Territories in the country, 25 are disaster prone. On an average, about 50 million people in the country are affected by one or the other disaster every year, besides loss of property worth several million (Table 1).

Floods, droughts, cyclones, earthquakes, landslides and avalanches are some of the major natural disasters

**Table 1: Total number of people reported killed and affected by disasters in India.**

Year	Total number of people reported killed	Total number of people reported affected
1986-1995	42,026	561,472,995
1996-2005	85,001	686,724,143
2005	5,405	28,262,805

*Source: World Disasters Report 2006- Disaster data*



that repeatedly and increasingly affect India. The natural disasters directly impact economies, agriculture, food security, infrastructure viz, housing, water & sanitation, the environment and health each year. Therefore it is one of the single largest concerns for most of the developing nations.

### 1.1 Andhra Pradesh Scenario

Andhra Pradesh (AP) is the most Disaster prone area in terms of drought, floods, cyclones and fire. It is the fifth largest state in India, in terms of both population and area. Spread over 2.75 lakh sq km, it comprises 8.4 per cent of the country's total geographic area. With a population of 49 million (Census 2011)<sup>2</sup> it is one of the most developed states of the country with a strong agricultural, industrial and socio-economic contributions to the country's GDP.

### 1.2 Socio-economic Profile

Description	Year 2011
Population	4,93,86,799
Male	2,47,38,068 (50.10%)
Female	2,46,48,731 (49.90%)
Sex Ratio	996
Literacy	2,97,72,532 (67.41%)
Male Literacy	1,65,01,990 ( 74.8%)
Female Literacy	1,32,70,542 (60.0%)
Human Dev. Index	10th with score of 0.416

**Source:** Census , 2011

### 1.3 Disaster Risk Profile

AP has a long coastline stretching approximately 1,030 km, and an equally long history of cyclones. Floods and cyclones are a recurrent phenomenon in Andhra Pradesh. The coastline districts are normally affected by cyclones and floods, whereas the western and northern parts of Andhra Pradesh often experience severe drought conditions.

The Cyclone HUDHUD which hit Andhra Pradesh on October 12, 2014 has caused extensive damage to the city of Visakhapatnam and the neighbouring districts of Vizianagaram and Srikakulam of Andhra Pradesh. The devastation was unprecedented and damages were estimated to be ₹ 21908 crore (US\$3.4 billion) by the Andhra state government.<sup>3</sup> At least 124 deaths have been confirmed, a majority of them from Andhra Pradesh and Nepal, with the latter experiencing an avalanche due to the cyclone.

Frequent disasters lead to erosion of development gains and restricted options for the disaster victims. Physical safety, especially of the vulnerable groups, is routinely threatened by natural hazards. Recent floods in A.P. have very clearly illustrated the need for multi-hazard prevention, response and recovery plans for natural hazards so that threat to human life and property is minimized.

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## 2. Gender Snapshot

Women in Andhra Pradesh have a strong demographic presence as seen from the 2011 Census. They constitute nearly 50% of the population. The literacy<sup>4</sup> rate among women is nearly 60.0%. Though this is a fairly high literacy rate in comparison with most of the other states in the rest of the country, barring the southern states, women are not adequately empowered with a large number of them working in agricultural or largely unorganised sectors, thus, exposed to various degrees of risks.

Women, in general, are subjected to various types of discriminations and problems arising from lack of finances, education health & sanitation, social customs and family traditions, marginalisation on the basis of gender in matters of decision making, policy & planning, vulnerability to domestic & societal violence, trafficking, lack of legal support, etc. Like the problems faced by women in the rest of the country, women in Andhra Pradesh too face similar problems of marginalisation and gender bias.

They also face challenges<sup>5</sup> in matters concerning health, nutrition, sanitation, vulnerability to domestic violence as also violence from society in various forms of discrimination on the basis of gender as they are soft targets and they often do not react because of social stigma, further alienation from homes and families,

etc., exposing them to extreme mental stress and psychological disorders. In the absence of adequate/targeted health facilities, they are subjected to silent suffering. They suffer most especially during post-disaster periods such as floods, cyclonic storms, etc., when they lose family and belongings and face great trauma and the pressures of recovery and rehabilitation (as they are care takers of the family). They also get left out in all key decision making processes which further alienates them.

However, as enshrined in Article 14 and also under various other articles of the Constitution<sup>6</sup> of India that guarantees equal rights to women, and as envisaged by the Government of India on empowerment and welfare of women, the emphasis of which is laid in the Five Year Plans of the Planning Commission,<sup>7</sup> the Government of Andhra Pradesh has a functional Department for the welfare of Women, Children, Disabled & Senior Citizens which is implementing various schemes and programmes<sup>8</sup> for the holistic development, empowerment and protection of women including those meant for her health, education and nutrition care.

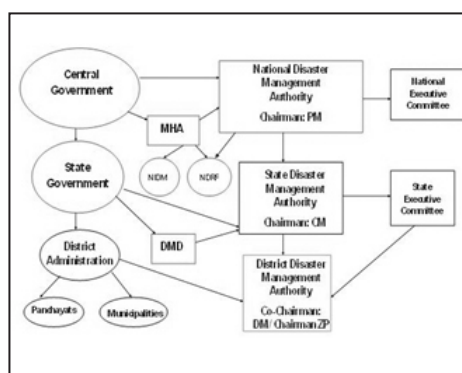
## 3. Overview of the Disaster Management Structure

Disaster management became an important focal point on a national scale following the terrible disaster in the aftermath of tsunami in 2004 that

struck the Eastern coast of India (mainly Tamil Nadu and parts of the coasts of Andhra Pradesh and Kerala), which prompted Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, to set up the National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA)<sup>9</sup> as envisaged by

the Disaster Management Act, 2005 with the Prime Minister as its Chairman, to deal with calamities in a methodical and structured way. The current structure and plan of disaster management in the country is as follows:

**Fig.1**



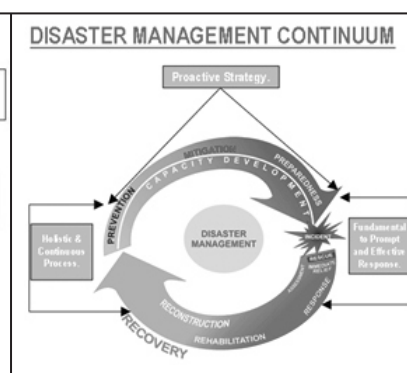
*Source: NDMA*

This led to setting up of State Disaster Management Authorities at State levels too to deal with calamities as mitigation is the responsibility of the state governments. Accordingly, NDMA's National Policy on Disaster Management (NPDM) in 2009<sup>10</sup> lays down the guideline and standard operating procedures (SOPs) to be followed by all state governments in the event of a calamity.

### 3.1 Disaster Management Structure in Andhra Pradesh

The state level high power standing committee, which is currently operational in the State to mitigate and

**Fig.2**



*Source: NDMA*

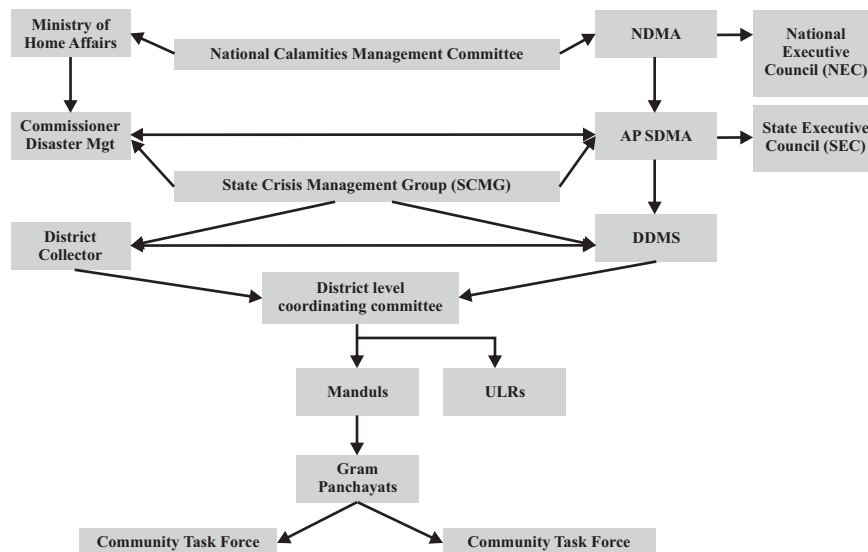
manage disasters/emergencies, meets twice a year to review administrative preparedness and response mechanisms. State Executive Council (SEC) of the State Disaster Management Authority has been constituted under the chairmanship of the Chief Secretary. The SEC at the state level and other agencies from Central Government complement the functioning of SDMA in executing disaster management functions. Figure 3 below presents the coordination between Central Government with State and State with district/ULB level.

### 3.2 Andhra Pradesh State Disaster Management Authority (APSDMA)<sup>11</sup>

Under the provisions of Disaster Management Act 2005, The Andhra Pradesh Disaster Management Rules 2007 were issued. As part of the rules, the Government of Andhra Pradesh has constituted Andhra Pradesh State Disaster Management Authority (AP SDMA). AP SDMA will be the chief nodal agency for disaster management at the state level. The APSDMA will have two distinct objectives:

- Development and updating of plans and strategies to handle any type of Disaster at various levels as Pre-Disaster efforts
- Undertake projects for restoration and strengthening of infrastructure damaged by Disasters during Post-Disaster scenario.

**Fig 3: Existing coordination mechanism between Centre to State and State to District in Andhra Pradesh (Source: Deputy Director, Revenue (DM) Department, GoAP)**



### 3.3 Composition of the State Authority

The State Disaster Management Authority (SDMA) consist of the following members namely

1. The Chief Minister of the State, who shall be Chairperson, ex officio;
2. Other members shall be as follows:

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- (i) Minister for Revenue, Relief, Rehabilitation & Youth Affairs;
  - (ii) Minister for Home.
  - (iii) Minister for Finance
  - (iv) Minister for Health
  - (v) Minister for Major Irrigation
  - (vi) Minister for R & B
  - (vii) Minister for Panchayat Raj
  - (viii) Chief Secretary – Member Convener

As part of the pre-Disaster efforts of the APSDMA, the authority is mandated to develop Disaster Preparedness Plans for the State to meet any eventuality arising and Management of all kinds of Disasters. In addition, the APSDM Authority is also responsible to-

- Develop multi-hazard disaster response plans
- Develop district disaster management plans (DDMPs)
- Establish and maintain a fail-safe communication network connecting the state EOC with the district, mandal and gram panchayat EOCs and administration.
- Establish mechanisms and systems to collect, analyze data and disseminate information/resources related to disaster management to all key government departments, district/mandal/village/ULB administration.

- Undertake institutional capacity enhancement
- Promote capacity building of communities and CBOs to handle emergencies
- Create techno-legal regime; proactively prepare GIS enterprise for disaster management and development planning
- Identify and authorize the state Administrative Training Institute (Dr. MCR HRD IAP), Andhra Pradesh Academy for Rural Development (APARD) and other similar institutes to design and develop training programmes for decision makers, elected representatives and civil society groups.
- Coordinate with NGOs, Corporate/Private sector in the state, academic institutes, schools and other stakeholders in achieving better prepared state of Andhra Pradesh in mitigating disasters.

The State Disaster Management Authority is also mandated to undertake comprehensive restoration and reconstruction of public infrastructure damaged due to natural and man-made calamities. The Primary role of the authority would be to coordinate between the executing agencies i.e., various line departments

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and bilateral aid agencies. The State Disaster Management Authority will review and approve technical proposals received from the executing agencies, process and procure packages, manage relief fund disbursement and monitor execution and implementation of State Disaster Management Plan.

### **3.4 District Disaster Management Authority (DDMA)**

Under the provisions of the Andhra Pradesh Disaster Management Rules 2007, besides setting up State Disaster Management Authority (SMDA), district level District Disaster Management Authority (DDMA) under the chairmanship of the District Collector is mandated. The composition of the DDMA consists of-

1. The Collector and Magistrate of the district, who is the Chairperson, ex officio;
2. Chairperson of the Zilla Parishad of the district, as Co-Chairperson
3. Superintendent of Police of the district, ex officio; 4. Chief Executive Officer of the District Authority is the Joint Collector of the District, ex officio; who is also be Member and Convener
4. Project Director, District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) of the district, ex officio

5. Chief Executive Officer of the Zilla Parishad of the district, ex officio; and

6. District Medical and Health Officer of the district, ex officio;

### **3.5 Constituting State Executive Committee (SEC)**

Under the provisions of Disaster Management Act 2005, The Andhra Pradesh Disaster Management Rules 2007 were issued. As part of the rules, State Executive Committee (SEC) has been set up under the chairmanship of the Chief Secretary, GoAP through G.O. Ms. No. 150.

The SEC consists of following members:

1. Chief Secretary to State Government, Chairperson, ex-officio
2. Other members of the committee are:
  - i. Principal Secretary/Secretary – Finance Department
  - ii. Principal Secretary/Secretary – Panchayat Raj & Rural Development Department.
  - iii. Principal Secretary /Secretary – Irrigation & Command Area Development Department.
  - iv. Principal Secretary – Labour, Employment, Training and Factories Department (Permanent Member).

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- v. Commissioner, Disaster Management – Member Convener
  - 3. The Chairperson of the State Executive Committee may co-opt any other Special Chief Secretary/ Principal Secretary /Secretary as a special invitee taking the nature of the Disaster into consideration for the meetings of the State Executive Committee (SEC).

#### **4. Recent disasters through gender lens (Preparedness, relief, recovery, reconstruction)**

Gender shapes the disaster experience and the ability to recover. It explains why certain groups of people are at greater risk or why some others recover at a slower pace. Since gender plays an important role in assigning roles and responsibilities within groups and in determining the access to and control of resources among groups, gender sensitivity and gender aspects become a valid and important policy domain during disasters and throughout the rehabilitation, recovery and reconstruction process. (WBI, 2009)<sup>12</sup>

Cyclone HUDHUD made landfall on the 12th of October 2014, between 12h00 and 13h00 near Vishakhapatnam with sustained wind speeds of 170 -180 km/h, and gusting

to 195 km/h (GDACS reports gusts of up to 212km/h). The intensity of cyclonic winds prevailed for 6 hours after landfall. Heavy rainfall affected West and East Godavari, Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam of North Andhra Pradesh and Ganjam, Gajapati, Koratpur, Rayagada, Nabarangpur, Malkangiri, Kalakhandi, Phulbani districts of South Odisha. The peak storm surge took place during high tide (1.1m) and was estimated at 1.2 meters above astronomical tide, resulting in some inundation of low-lying areas of Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts at the time of landfall. Chhattisgarh, adjoining East Madhya Pradesh and interior Odisha, East Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand and Bihar experienced rainfall as the system moved northwards and further inland.

The Cyclone has caused 1) Wind storm and storm surge and 2) Heavy rain, flooding and water logging. Local authorities have estimated that up to 70% of trees were uprooted and approximately 70% of power lines damaged in Visakhapatnam. As of 20<sup>th</sup> October 2014, 46 deaths from Andhra Pradesh (29 in Visakhapatnam and 15 in Vizianagaram, and 2 in Srikakulam) have been reported. HUDHUD has predominantly caused damages to kutcha houses and livelihoods.<sup>13</sup> Over 2.48 lakh people in 320 villages of 44 mandals (blocks) were affected by the

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cyclone and as many as 1,35,262 persons were evacuated and accommodated in 223 relief camps.

Communities experienced significant crop losses, damage to productive assets and household NFIs. There was little impact on pucca houses, and therefore the impact of the cyclone on shelter was limited to vulnerable pockets. The most affected were those living in low lying areas, exposed to the hazards, and experiencing reduced livelihood opportunity or the loss of productive assets.

In the aftermath of the calamity, issues concerning gender are matters of bigger concern in a country like India where there is great inequality in the treatment meted out to women / girls vis-à-vis the men / boys, primarily due to societal norms. It is a primarily patriarchal and often, feudalistic approach to everything – the way of living, perceiving issues and problems, and the way we plan our policy programmes in the country. The skewed gender ratios, the manner in which women get to live in a majority of households in the society, etc., influence the policy planning, including on disaster management. Women, by their biological and societal difference, face an entirely different challenge and requirement. The roles and responsibilities of men and women are different and these

differences lead to inequalities in their access to, and control over resources and decision making powers.

Similar to most places in the country, women in Andhra Pradesh too do not enjoy cultural or socio-economic freedom and they are not involved in any major decision making process either in the households or in relief and reconstruction operations in a significant way.

As per the Cyclone HUDHUD Joint Rapid Needs Assessment Report of Andhra Pradesh<sup>14</sup> the assessment in the disaster struck 41 villages are as follows:

#### **4.1 Food, Nutrition & Livelihood**

- 43% of the mothers reported that there is no safe and private place for breastfeeding their children who are below 6 months, which will severely affect Infant and Young Child Feeding (IYCF) practices and may result into top feeding, reducing exclusive breastfeeding.
- ICDS centre are not functional in the affected areas, although ICDS has been ordered to open immediately, it will take some time before becoming fully functional as all the food commodities (oil, rice, eggs, etc.) have been lost/damaged.



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- 54% of villages indicated that there were challenges relating to food preparation due to damage of cooking utensils/ loss of food stocks in the affected areas.
  - 89% of the communities reported that their remaining food stock will last for less than a week. This will result in severe food scarcity and less consumption especially by women and children.
  - There is a need for further nutritional assessment, as reduced availability of diverse foods, reduced consumption at the household level, increase in market prices, poor sanitation conditions of displaced populations and loss of assets and stocks may lead to a deterioration of nutritional status.
  - There is an urgent need of safe baby spaces for breastfeeding, which can be met by providing baby tents for establishing baby friendly spaces.
  - Tribal areas are yet to be reached by the aid and hence immediate support for livelihoods early recovery is needed.
  - In tribal areas where the crops are damaged, livelihoods are affected and food security is an issue, alternative short term livelihood options are needed

through cash transfer/ CFW for both agriculture and non-agriculture based labour.

#### **4.2 Water Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH)**

- 51% of communities indicate that the majority of households have limited access to safe drinking water, while 22% indicate that some are without access. Only 22% have only a few or 7% have no access to safe drinking water.
- Only 49% of communities indicated that access to safe water is available to marginal groups.
- More than half of the households have no access to toilet facilities for both male and female household members.
- In 93% of villages surveyed, women use cloth for menstrual hygiene, in 32% of villages women use sanitary napkins.
- A growing number of people do not have access to safe water are in urgent need of a range of WASH support, including clean water, storage containers hygiene kits, purification materials and various WASH NFIs.
- Poor menstrual hygiene –use of cloth mostly now needs an intervention strategy.

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- Bathing spaces and toilets are in short numbers and hence a problem in relief camps and in water logged areas.

#### **4.3 Shelter**

- Affected community took shelter in the schools so schools were closed during that period.
- Affected community staying in shelters is vulnerable to mosquitos, snakes and darkness.
- Immediate temporary shelter support and medium term assistance with shelter repair and reconstruction.

#### **4.4 Health**

- As per secondary data, there are 738 pregnant women of 7 to 9 months gestation including those nursing care in the districts assessed.
- Poor water, sanitation and hygiene conditions are increasing health risks for spread of communicable diseases and epidemics.
- Most pregnant women deliver in the private or the Govt. Hospitals, large number of which are affected and thereby increasing the load on facilities that are operational.

- The routine immunization and neo born care is also under pressure in existing health facilities. SRH services, RH supplies, emergency obstetric and new -born care, prevention of gender based violence and prevention of HIV/AIDs.

- High incidence of UTI reported among women by Anganwadi workers.

#### **4.5 Protection**

- Many villages don't have left safe and private bathing places & latrines for women.
- In the affected villages, most of the pregnant women, children, aged and persons with disability relocated in the neighbourhood habitations situated on high land areas.
- Lack of sufficient hygiene material for women especially in Srikakulam and Vizianagaram Districts.
- Private bathing spaces and latrines have been found in few villages of Vishakhapatnam District.

#### **4.6 Education**

- Children under 12 lack nutrition food due to no mid -day meal in the schools.

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- There was decrease in proportion of both girl and boy students found from before to after disaster.
  - Adolescent girls are at risk of privacy.
  - No sufficient study material is available with children.

### 5. Policy Map

Following the enactment of The Disaster Management Act, 2005, the Government of Andhra Pradesh formulated a set of Disaster Management Rules 2007 under the provisions of Disaster Management Act 2005.

The State Disaster Management Plan establishes the policies and structure for state government management of disasters; Prevention, Mitigation, Preparedness, Response, Relief and Recovery. The State Disaster Management Plan (SDMP) is for Floods, Cyclones, Earthquakes, Industrial accidents (chemical spills), Oil spills, Dam breaches and Mine disasters. This plan assigns responsibilities for actions and tasks that the state will take to provide for the safety and welfare of its citizens against the threat of natural, technological and human-caused disasters.

The State is primarily responsible for the management of natural and human-caused disasters identified

above at the state level and has a shared responsibility with the Government of India for preparedness and for identified catastrophic disasters. The State's responsibility necessitates the preparation of a Disaster Management Plan, with detailed operational procedures that the state departments will assume and a framework to set up Emergency Operation Centre (EOC).

Plan preparation efforts are made as general as possible to insure flexibility to combat the impact of all types of disasters at the State level. The approved State Disaster Management Plan (SDMP) will be a sub-plan of the State's annual and five-year plans.

The State plan is prepared with an emphasis on close coordination with the National Disaster Management Plan (NDMP) of the National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA). It establishes a base on which further plans, procedures, guidelines, logistical arrangement plans, district-level DM plans, mandal-level DM plans can be prepared.

The State Disaster Management Plan<sup>15</sup> is a strategic planning document for State-wide Disaster Management; with broad responsibilities as outlined below:

1. The State is primarily responsible for natural and technological emergency preparedness, but has a shared responsibility with the

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Central Government for national security preparedness and for catastrophic natural and technological hazards.

2. The State's responsibility necessitates the development of the State Disaster Management Plan with functional annexes and detailed procedures, prepared by concerned departments and districts. Planning efforts are made as general as possible to insure flexibility in combating the impact of all types of hazards.
3. Emergencies or disasters could, individually or in combination, cause a grave emergency condition in any area of the State. Emergencies vary in scope and intensity, from a small local incident with minimal damage to a multi-district (and at times multi-state) disaster with extensive devastation and loss of life.
4. The initial actions of prevention, mitigation, preparedness, and response and recovery operations are conducted by mandal and district-level administration with close coordination by State-level departments. District and mandal officials will exhaust their resources first, and then tap into State and Central Government resources depending on the severity and levels of disaster.

5. State assistance will supplement local efforts and Central Government assistance will supplement State and local efforts when it is clearly demonstrated that it is beyond local and State capability to cope with the emergency/disaster.

Finally, following objectives are identified in implementing AP SDMP for better organization and promoting a paradigm shift in the approach to facilitate planning, preparedness, operational coordination and community participation:

- Prevention and preparedness to be promoted as highest priority at all levels.
- Mitigation measures to be encouraged based on state-of-the-art technology and environmental sustainability.
- Efficient response and relief operations with a caring approach towards the needs of the vulnerable sections of the society are ensured.
- Undertaking reconstruction as an opportunity to build disaster resilient structures and habitat.
- Undertaking recovery to bring back the community to a better and safer level than the pre-disaster stage.

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- Community to be considered as the most important stakeholder in the DM process.
  - Disaster Management concerns to be integrated into the developmental planning process.
  - Legal and technical framework to be put in place to enable regulatory environment and promote compliance regimen.
  - Contemporary forecasting and early warning systems backed by responsive fool-proof communications and Information Technology (IT) support to be developed.
  - Promoting a productive partnership with the media to create awareness and contributing towards capacity development.

In order to ensure that the State is well prepared to face a calamity the State Disaster Management Authority (AP SDMA)<sup>16</sup> undertakes a scenario-based risk assessment and vulnerability mapping of each of the disasters using the scientific methodologies involving computer simulation and modelling methods. It follows the nation-wide Hazard Risk & Vulnerability Analysis (HRVA) initiated by NDMA. The State involves research institutions such as Indian Institutes of Technology (IIT),

National Remote Sensing Agency (NRSA), Andhra Pradesh State Remote Sensing Application Centre (APSRAC), National Geological Research Institute (NGRI) and others who have the capacity to undertake such technology-driven risk assessment in the state.

The work done by the State Government in the above areas of technological advancement, vulnerability assessment, etc., and its preparedness as per the national policy framework 5 days in advance to the calamity based on information of the cyclone and its continuous monitoring made available by the India Meteorological Department enabled the State to not only face the fury of HUDHUD that made a landfall at Visakhapatnam on October 12, 2014 causing huge damage to property, lives and crops, but also enabled it to put into action relief, restoration, rehabilitation and reconstruction activities in quick time.

## **6. Issues in Gender Aspects in Disaster Recovery and Reconstruction**

- Currently, there are no specific policy frameworks / guidelines in matters of gender issues that concern women in a disaster scenario in respect of providing rescue, relief, and rehabilitation and reconstruction assistance to women.

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- There are no targeted training, skill development, education, financial assistance, health and sanitary rehabilitation, for women who remain the most vulnerable and affected people. Due to the basic gender difference and prevalent socio-cultural issues, women often get neglected or relegated in matters of rehabilitation and all assistance matters, be it financial or otherwise.
  - Women are not involved in major decision making processes in matters of reconstruction, rehabilitation, capacity building programmes and trainings, community capacity building programmes, etc.
  - Women are largely deprived of the benefits of modern methodologies and technologies in all training and rehabilitation and infrastructure reconstruction, including reconstruction of lost homes and properties. As a result, they are not only left traumatised but are vulnerable to exploitation both within families and outside.
  - Women are left out of benefits such as direct cash transfers, which has often been seen as one of the primary causes for their becoming destitute in the event of losing families and belongings in such calamities. They become vulnerable and often get exploited in such situations.
  - Another important issue in relief, recovery & rehabilitation mechanism is health and sanitation. Women not only need special care in matters of health and sanitation as they are very vulnerable due to their biological differences with men, but they need to be well trained as well in matters of first aid and trauma care so that they are able to not only cope with the calamity themselves but also provide care to the children and other members of the family, especially the older surviving persons. Pregnant and lactating women are not only highly vulnerable but they also need immediate and special care.

#### **7. Recommendations to Engendered Risk Management Systems**

- A number of steps need to be put in place as a policy framework in order to mitigate relief and reconstruction assistance to women.
- Community Capacity Building programmes involving women in skill development, basic education, training in rescue,

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rehabilitation and reconstruction activities, health and sanitation, trauma services and first aid matters, psychological counselling are to be envisaged in partnership with NGOs working in this area so that women can be mainstreamed in matters of decision making and to ensure quick recovery in post-disaster scenarios.

- The Government of India and most of the State Governments are now targeting beneficiaries directly in matters of cash transfers so that subsidies etc., are passed on to the end beneficiary without deviation and to ensure its effective utilisation. Women should be made equal participants in all matters of decision making, be it household matters or in policy formulation by the Government, NGOs, etc., so that they derive the benefits of such transfers too.
- Women are the first responders not only to a calamity but also to recovery and rehabilitation from a calamity. As first line care takers of family and children, they not only suffer the trauma of the calamity by way of personal losses, but they also suffer in mitigation. Even as they are either left out or relegated to the backsides of decision making in

matters of relief and reconstruction, they are the ones who first start the process of recovery. Therefore, they should be mainstreamed in all decision making processes during and post-disaster scenario and they should also be given adequate financial support by way of micro-credit etc., through financial institutions, SHGs, etc., to help recoup quickly from the effects of the disaster/calamity.

- When public properties such as schools, hospitals, gram panchayat utilities get damaged by floods and cyclonic storms and their reconstruction begins, the women must be involved in all such matters for their advice and decisions so that appropriate systems are put back in place.
- It has often been found that even as relief packets containing food items etc. are distributed to all affected persons, women have found it either impossible or difficult to cook due to lack of utensils and cooking accessories such as stoves and fuel. This is due to bad planning because women are not involved at the time of such planning. This can be avoided with participation of women in all decision making levels, especially in relief and rehabilitation decisions / operations.

- Women in the community should be given adequate training in health management in pre-disaster periods, so that they can form formidable teams of first-line or front-line health assistants / para-medics who can assist women, children, old and infirm and others in survival in adverse situations.

When women are trained well and involved as equal partners in all matters of decision making in the households and community, they are a great asset in Community Capacity Building who help states and nations recover faster and correctly too.

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## **73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act and Gram Panchayats Administration in Maharashtra**

**Jitendra Wasnik**

### **1. Introduction**

Maharashtra as a separate State of Marathi speaking people was formed on 1st May, 1960. By that time the report of Balwant Rai Mehta study team was already referred to the State government, which was seriously thinking about the matter. Subsequently, a committee under the chairmanship of Shri. V. P. Naik was constituted to study the Mehta committee report in all its aspects and recommend suitable model of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) for the State. Naik Committee studied the subject of establishing a new set of PRIs thoroughly and submitted its recommendations in a 1961. It is on the basis of the recommendations of the Naik Committee that a comprehensive legislation “Maharashtra Zilla Parishad and Panchayat Samiti Act” was passed in 1961 and it came into force from 1<sup>st</sup> May 1962. Thus Maharashtra became the eleventh State in the country to adopt three tier system of Panchayati Raj.

Before the 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA), the PRIs in Maharashtra were governed by two separate Acts, the Bombay Village Panchayats Act 1958 and the Maharashtra Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis Act 1961. As a follow up action of the 73<sup>rd</sup> CAA, the Maharashtra Government has enacted a law for making amendments to both its Panchayats Acts. The law is known as Bombay Village Panchayat and the Maharashtra Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis Amendment Act, 1994 and came into force on 24th April, 1994. It incorporates mandatory provisions of the 73rd CAA.

### **1.1 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act and Gram Panchayats**

The 73<sup>rd</sup> CAA passed by the Parliament in December 1992 became operative in May 1993 on its ratification by fifty per cent of the States. The Bill was drafted by the joint Parliamentary Committee chaired by Nathu Ram Mirdha, who incidentally, was

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Rajasthan's Panchayat Minister in 1959 when India's first Panchayat was inaugurated in Nagore district of the State (Maheshwari, 2003). This Act envisages the addition of a new Part-IX and an Eleventh Schedule relating to Panchayats and certainly provides an opportunity for correcting the current failures of local democracy in rural India and holds many promises, but the actual success of this Act depends a great deal on other types of public action. If this Act is not supplemented with more active programmes of social change, it stands in some danger of leading to a proliferation of bureaucracy without any real improvement in local democracy (Dreze and Sen, 1999). Though the PRIs have been in existence for a long time, it has been observed that these institutions have not been able to acquire the status and dignity of viable and responsive people's bodies due to a number of reasons including absence of regular elections, prolonged supersessions, insufficient representation of weaker sections like SCs, STs and women, inadequate devolution of powers and lack of financial resources.

The incorporation of Article 40 in the Constitution has proved to have been less a gesture to romantic sentiment than a bow to realistic insight. And the aim of the Article has long been generally accepted: if India is to progress, it must do so through reawakened village life. Panchayat

development under the Constitution has had three main aims: to foster the involvement of individuals throughout the nation in the processes of democratic government, to gain the villager's participation in national development from the village-level upwards (an aim which would, it was hoped, increase agricultural and village-industrial production and thus promote an improvement in village conditions), and to lessen the burden of state administration through decentralization (Austin, 2008). In the light of the experience in the last forty years and in view of the shortcomings which have been observed, it is considered that there is an imperative need to enshrine in the Constitution certain basic and essential features of PRIs to impart certainty, continuity and strength to them.

This Act is entitled as 'The Panchayats' and consists of provisions from articles 243 to 243-O. It contains 29 functional items of the Panchayats and deals with the Article 243-G. The Act has given a practical shape to Article 40 of the Constitution. This Act has brought them under purview of the justified part of the Constitution. In other words, the State government is under constitutional obligation to adopt the new Panchayati Raj system in accordance with the provisions of the Act.

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The provisions of the Act can be grouped into two categories—compulsory and voluntary. The compulsory provisions of the Act have to be included in the state laws creating the new Panchayati Raj system. The voluntary provisions, on the other hand, may be included at the discretion of the states. Thus the voluntary provisions of the Act ensure the right of the states to take local factors like geographical, politico-administrative, and others, into consideration while adopting the new Panchayati Raj system. In other words, the Act does not disturb the constitutional balance between the Centre and the States. Though it is a Central law on a State subject<sup>2</sup>, the Act does not encroach upon the jurisdiction of the states which are given adequate discretionary powers with regard to the Panchayats.

The 73<sup>rd</sup> CAA transfers the representative democracy into participatory democracy. It is a revolutionary concept to build democracy at the grassroots level in the country. The salient features (Mishra, 1996) of the Act are as follows:

1. There shall be a Gram Sabha in each village exercising such powers and performing such functions at the village level as the legislature of a state may provide by law.
2. Panchayats shall be constituted in every state at the village, intermediate and district levels, thus, bringing about uniformity in the Panchayati Raj structure. However, the states having a population not exceeding 20 lakh have been given the option of not having any Panchayat at the intermediate level.
3. While the elections in respect of all the members to Panchayats at all levels will be direct, the elections in respect of the post of Chairman at the intermediate and district level will be indirect. The mode of elections of Chairman to the village level has been left to the State government to decide.
4. Reservation of seats for SCs/STs has been provided in proportion to their population at each level. Not less than one-third of the total membership has been reserved for women and these seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Panchayat. Similar reservations have been made in respect of the office of the Chairman also.
5. A uniform term of five years has been provided for the PRIs and in the event of supersession, elections to constitute the body should be completed before the expiry of six months from the date of dissolution.

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6. The state legislatures have been given the power to authorize the Panchayats to levy, collect, and appropriate suitable local taxes and also provide for making grants-in-aid to the Panchayats from the consolidated fund of the concerned state.
  7. A finance commission has to be constituted once in an every five years to review the financial position of the Panchayats and to make suitable recommendation to the state on the distribution of funds between the state and local bodies.
  8. With a view to ensuring continuity it has been provided in the Act that all the Panchayats existing immediately before the commencement of this Act will continue till the expiry of their duration unless dissolved by a resolution to that effect passed by the state legislature concerned.
  9. The state legislature should bring the necessary amendments to their Panchayat Acts within a maximum period of one year from the commencement of this Act so as to conform to the provision contained in the Constitution.

The 73<sup>rd</sup> CAA provided the general guidelines for effective and efficient PRIs in India. At the national

level, the ostensible aim of the constitutional amendments was clearly to revitalize local government. This was seen as a means of promoting greater community participation and involvement in developmental efforts, thereby improving the dismal record of the Indian developmental state in the sphere of human development and public goods provision. In that the impetus for the amendments came from a widespread consensus regarding the failures of the bureaucratic and centralized apparatus of the Indian developmental state, supplemented, in certain circles, with a political agenda of democratic deepening, the attempt to revitalize local government in India. The amendment sought to make the PRIs the cornerstone of the process of local self-governance in India (Upadhyay, 2002). However, 25 years down the line, the realization is fast gaining ground that while the 73<sup>rd</sup> CAA promised much to Panchayats, it has delivered little.

The 73<sup>rd</sup> CAA contains no specific provisions regarding power, functions, administration and organization of Gram Panchayats except Gram Sabha in article 243A of the Constitution. In this manner, Gram Panchayats are free to widely exercise concerned provision of this Act. Gram Panchayats were being associated in a progressively intimate way with the planning and execution of

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development programmes. There are four aspects of the Gram Panchayats which could make them live and viable basic units of rural local government. The first aspect is the universal establishment of Panchayats in all the local rural areas that can be designated as 'villages'. The second is the democratization of their Constitution. Strengthening the Gram Panchayats by widening the scope of their functions and vesting in them adequate financial and personnel resources is the third aspect. The fourth aspect concerns the change in the mode and methods of supervision and control over these bodies (Inamdar, 1970).

Following the Amendment, the functions of the Gram Panchayats have been substituted under the State Act (Bombay Village Panchayat Act, 1958) by a list of items including in the Eleventh Schedule of the Constitution. However, these functions have been further elaborated (as assistance to the state government; promotional; implementation of existing programmes; maintenance of directly developmental functions) and include interventions in the agrarian economy (agriculture extension, land consolidation, land reforms, soil conservation, water management, animal husbandry, social forestry, fisheries, etc) and other functions ranging from rural housing, education, electricity, electrification, village roads, sanitation, social welfare, public distribution system, and poverty alleviation programmes.

Under the new legislation, the Panchayats are expected to constitute the following committees to assist in the performance of their duties: the Krushi Samiti (agriculture, rural industry, and development schemes), the shikshan Samiti (education), the Aarogya Samiti (public health), the Bandhkam Samiti (public Works, roads), the samajkalyan Samiti (welfare of SC, ST and OBCs) the Mahila va Balkalyan Samiti (welfare of women and children), etc. The Act also provides that: A Gram Panchayat shall prepare every year a development plan for the Panchayat area and submit it to the Panchayat Samiti concerned before such date and in such form as may be prescribed.

Article 243G makes clear that the primary role of the Panchayats will be in the area of development. Planning and implementation of programmes of economic development and social justice ought to be the focal points of their activities. If the role envisaged for the PRIs is primarily in the field of development. The passage of the 73rd CAA has created a space and opportunity for decentralized participatory local development effort with in-built pressures for accountability (Kaushik, 2005).

## **1.2 Panchayati Raj in Maharashtra**

Presently 33 Zilla Parishads have been constituted in Maharashtra, each district having one Zilla Parishad.

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There is no Zilla Parishad for Greater Mumbai and Mumbai suburban area which is entirely an urban area. Panchayat Samiti acts as an agency of its Zilla Parishad for implementing development programmes. The reservation for SCs, STs and women has been provided in addition to 27 percent reservation for the OBCs. The Zilla Parishad works on a committee system. The committee system ensures the participation of elected members in the decision-making process. A Panchayat Samiti in Maharashtra works as an area committee of Zilla Parishad. It is a non-corporate body and cannot levy taxes. It, therefore, provides downward ex-officio membership for the elected representatives in the Zilla Parishad from the constituencies in the block. The Panchayat Samitis are constituted in each block and elect members, ex-officio members, and associate members. The members of the Panchayat Samiti are elected from electoral colleges in the block for which each Zilla Parishad electoral division is divided into two electoral colleges for the term of five years. The BDO is the ex-officio Secretary of a Panchayat Samiti. Main source of income is the Block grant received by the Panchayat Samiti according to the schematic pattern. In 2001, 122 schemes of nine administrative departments of the State Government were transferred to PRIs.

### **1.3 Gram Panchayat Administration (GPA) in Maharashtra**

The Gram Panchayat is the important representative and elected body in the Panchayat system at village level. It consists of such number of members not being less than seven and not more than seventeen (The Bombay Village Panchayats Act, 1958 p. 8) depending on population. The Gram Panchayat is formed for one or a group of villages. Its members are elected on the basis of adult franchise by the Gram Sabha through a direct vote. Seats are reserved for SCs and STs. The term of Gram Panchayat is also of five years. It has been given the power to constitute committees for the discharge of its duties. The Secretary of a Gram Panchayat belongs to the Class-III District Services.

Gram Panchayats are considered as the grassroots administrative unit to serve planning and development needs of the rural people. It is expected that, they would be prepare their own development plans. Constitutionally, the political executive (i.e. Sarpancha) is entrusted with the responsibility of preparing village plans. He is to execute and supervise the plans with the help of Gramsevak. However, in practice the Gramsevak prepares plans. He works as a village planner. He is an important official at the village level. He is not only a planner, but also he works there as an agent, administrator, social and extension worker and Panchayat Secretary.

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Poor performance of PRIs in the past has been attributed mainly to administrative deficiencies. Many critical surveys of the working of PRIs have revealed that the symptom of administrative deficiencies is mainly structural and organizational. These maladies affect the Panchayat system and its overall performance. An examination of administrative processes on these lines suggests that some organizational changes are called for in the Panchayati Raj system to improve its efficiency. Therefore this paper discusses the important issues related to performance and role of Gram Panchayats, like administrative deficiencies and problems, and challenges of GPA. This paper is based on an empirical study conducted in 10 villages of Nagpur District of Maharashtra State, keeping in view the need and performance of PRIs.

## **2. Performance of Gram Panchayats**

During the postcolonial period, as South Asian countries attempted to enhance socioeconomic progress based on planned development, the performance of government was to be assessed by the extent to which it could realize objectives such as poverty reduction, public welfare, income equality, self-reliance, and better living conditions. Although these performance criteria were hardly realized in practice, they were officially stipulated in all long-term

development plans of these countries. In addition, performance standards were also implied in the formal public service norms like accountability, representation, neutrality, equality, and justice, although public institutions often violated these standards. Under the newly emerging mode of governance based on businesslike objectives and market values, these earlier criteria or indicators of performance have largely been sidelined by a new set of performance standards such as growth, efficiency, competition, entrepreneurship, value-for-money, and customer orientation (Haque, 2001).

If rural government is perceived as responsive and efficient, how is its effectiveness assessed? Perhaps the most important consideration in evaluating the effectiveness of administration is the assessment of the consequences of its activities and public services. Although the public's perceptions of effectiveness are not the only criterion in this assessment, their views are of substantial significance (Zody, 1980). Based on the data on multiple indicators, an assessment of Gram Panchayat's overall performance on the three evaluative (functional) criteria— (1) Regulatory/Routine functions, (2) Developmental functions, and (3) Development activities has been made. It has been admitted that the whole picture about performance of village panchayats



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would appear in a different perspective altogether, if it is once conceded that the Panchayats as well as the supervisory functionary and the general public continue to regard the Panchayats as responsible primarily only for municipal functions falling under criteria (1). This is inspite of the fact that functions falling under the criteria (2) and (3) have been specifically included in the duties of the Gram Panchayats mentioned in the Village Panchayats Act since long. It is further surprising that although many of the functions under the criterion (3) do not require much resources as continuous efforts by the leaders of the community in teaching the people about the same, they have all remained neglected at that level.

### 2.1 Regulatory /Routine functions

The performance of Gram Panchayats has been evaluated based on the criterion of regulatory functions. Five significant regulatory /routine functions were identified to assess the performance of GPA in performing these functions.

a) **Tax collection:** During survey, it is clearly realized that all the Gram Panchayats face several problems in tax collection. These Gram Panchayats failed to collect tax amounting to lakhs of rupees. The fact is that, rural people generally are not willing to pay taxes to Gram Panchayat.

b) **Removal of encroachment:** It is a general observation, that the people encroach upon public land for their own purposes. It is the duty of Gram Panchayats in such cases to take initiatives for removal of encroachments. Gram Panchayats were not attempting to remove encroachments.

c) **Maintenance of sanitation:** Maintenance of sanitation is a crucial problem which remains unsolved till today. With Central and State government continuously taking initiative for this, Central government started Nirmal Gram Puraskar and State government of Maharashtra started Sant Gadge Baba Gram Swachata Abhiyan. These initiatives are incentive and award schemes for the Gram Panchayats, for promoting sanitary conditions in rural India and have motivated and empowered the local bodies. The award recognizes the efforts made by PRIs in promoting total sanitation. The slogan "Clean Village Green Village", successful in the State of Maharashtra, as in the year 2007 highest number of PRIs i.e. 1974 won the Nirmal Gram Puraskar at national level. Gram Panchayats make special attempts to maintain sanitation in villages.

d) **Permission for new constructions:** Forty-six percent of the respondents think that Gram

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Panchayat grants permission for new constructions, while 29% says no and remaining say do not know.

- e) **Drinking water:** People need clean water and sanitation to sustain their health. However, beyond the household, water also sustains ecological systems and provides an input into the production systems that maintain livelihoods. When people are denied access to clean water at home or when they lack access to water as a productive resource their choices and freedom are constrained by ill health, poverty and vulnerability. Water gives life to everything, including human development and human freedom (Human Development Report, 2006). The water available for drinking and other domestic purposes is not clean and free from harmful bacteria contaminants. The Rainfall although quite satisfactory, facilities for storing water are not available. Therefore, there is an immense pressure on the water supplies to meet the water demands particularly for domestic purposes. Thus, the government has always taken initiatives in rural water supply. The immediate solution of this problem is “there should be optimum utilization of water and an awareness of water as a scarce

resource should be fostered and conservation consciousness should be prompted in rural areas (Malik and Yadav, 2006).” Sixty-four percent of the respondents think that Gram Panchayat made available drinking water to the people.

## 2.2 Developmental functions

The performance of Gram Panchayats has been evaluated based on the criteria of developmental functions. Six significant Developmental functions were identified to assess the performance of GPA.

- a) **Primary education:** Despite the obvious benefits of education, the provision of education services in India has been less than satisfactory (Nayyar, 2000). Sixty-five percent of the respondents think that Gram Panchayat made sufficient arrangement of primary education, but that arrangement was very poor.
- b) **Condition of Internal roads:** In India, rural road connectivity has often been ignored. Only railways and pucca roads join a small number of villages. Rural roads play a crucial part in bringing the produce from the field to the transport point and then to the mandis. Small and marginal farmers often use slow moving transport vehicles like tractors and

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bullock carts to carry their produce to the market. Such means of transport do not facilitate transport of goods to far off market places forcing the farmer to dump his produce in nearby markets even if the price obtained there is considerably low. Poor transport infrastructure not only affects the quality of produce but also leads to extensive wastage. Most of India's villages are still poorly connected or not connected at all by proper roads. It would be impossible for markets to develop in areas where there are no roads. Again, the funds allocated by the government for this purpose are misused. Inadequate rural connectivity and lack of mobility pose constraints to rural development. Road connectivity has promoted agriculture growth, contributing directly to lower transport costs and facilitating the expansion of services sector activities, and support to strengthen the economy in rural areas (Kanthimathinathan, 2006). Fifty percent of the respondents think that internal roads in village are in good condition, others were not happy with that.

- c) **Arrangement of water for the cattle:** Water is required for drinking, rearing cattle and irrigation purposes in the rural areas of the country. It is the duty

of Gram Panchayats to make necessary arrangement of water for cattle. Maximum Gram Panchayats are not making arrangement of water for cattle.

- d) **Forestation:** Maximum Gram Panchayats are not making any special attempts for forestation. Forestation is important to maintain environment and ecological balance.
- e) **Land reforms:** The Five Year Plans seek to impose heavy obligations upon Panchayat of modern times. The plan proposes that the panchayats assume responsibilities for land reform measures, for cooperative management of land, for safeguarding the interests of landless tenants, and for selecting landless peasants to be settled on lands taken over from the larger landholders (Goodall, 1957). Maximum Gram Panchayats are not making special attempts for land reforms.
- f) **Hospital/dispensary:** Most villages in India have limited and poor quality access to health care. Good and free health care would play a very important part in reducing poverty both directly and indirectly through reducing population. Fifty three percent of

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the respondents think that Gram Panchayats make proper arrangement of hospital/ dispensary in villages.

### 2.3 Development activities

In this section, the performance of Gram Panchayats has been evaluated based on the criteria of development activities. Five significant Development activities were identified to assess the performance of GPA.

- a) **Initiatives for agriculture development:** The problem of agricultural development is crucial to sustainable, egalitarian development of the country. Panchayat Samiti and Gram Panchayats were given the responsibility of developing agricultural programmes locally, within the framework of State and National plans (Dubhashi, 1986). Thus, decentralized planning of agriculture, based on the typical land situation in each area, is the need of the day (Gosh, 1992). Forty four percent of the respondents think that Gram Panchayat always organize workshops/counseling to the villagers for further agricultural development.
- b) **Attempts for Health Education:** In the social services, health is of paramount importance as a

national asset and basis to sustain as well as stimulate optimum levels of efficiency. Health is a prerequisite for increasing productivity, while successful education relies on adequate health as well (Ojha, 2006). The Government's initiative for health are quite appreciable but the fact remains that, most of the rural health sub-centres, primary health centres and Anganwadi centres are on the verge of collapse. It is found that Gram Panchayats make special attempts for Health Education.

- c) **Programmes to create awareness among the villagers for sanitation:** Forty eight percent of the respondents think that Gram Panchayat organize special programmes to create awareness among the villagers for sanitation.
- d) **Systematic planning of village:** An understanding of the relationship between the public and planning is essential for a proper realization of the role of administrative machinery in planning. Plans themselves must of course be for the people. In other words, they must aim at raising the standard of living of all classes, especially the agriculturists (Gorwala, 1953). Maximum Gram Panchayats are undertaking systematic planning of village.

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- e) **Social welfare activities:** Forty-six percent of the respondents are of the opinion that Gram Panchayat made any special attempts regarding social welfare activities in villages.

The success of the schemes would depend on qualitative difference in the delivery system at operational level. More funds for education, health, nutrition, safe drinking water may not necessarily mean more education, more health, more nutrition, safe better drinking water. What matters is how the money is spent.

### 3. Problems

- a) **Financial irregularities:** The other name for financial irregularities is corruption. Corruption in public life adversely affects the development process. Various resources are underutilized or inefficiently utilized and public morale, at large, is low. Personal gains take prominence over public good, leading to favoritism, inequality, and unfair treatment by those holding positions of power. This leads to human deprivation and poor governance (Dwivedi and Mishra, 2007). The effect of corruption on ethical codes and

social norms also tends to be antithetical to democratic values (Dreaze and Sen, 2008). Survey shows that there are financial irregularities in the implementation of development schemes. It was observed in informal discussion with the villagers that generally people accept corruption as a normal tendency and a condition for their work being done by the administration. Some people stated that officials and non-officials fixed the charges for work done and this charge varies from work to work. If somebody refuses to give money, then nobody takes cognizance of him and try to avoid him.

- b) **Caste factor:** The success of popular participation involves structural problems in India. Caste stratification is a social situation specific to India. This stratification has left the dalits and tribals not only economically backward but also socially vulnerable. Due to their degraded social status, they are still treated worse than animals in many parts of the country. This milieu acts as an obstacle in ensuring their participation in developmental activities. Participation for them at present means following the upper caste blindly, without questioning them. The rural

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development strategy/plans so far have lead to vertical mobility in the society and increase in social inequality. Keeping this in mind, the rural development plans here onwards should try to largely focus on the development of the dalits and other marginalized sections. Efforts have to be made to understand and incorporate their problems and sufferings while framing rural development strategies and they will have to be empowered enough economically and educationally so that they can think and act for themselves (Waghmore, 2002). According to the survey caste factors affect the public programmes/schemes.

- c) **Salary of Gramsevak :** Max Weber in his bureaucratic model explains, "The official receives the regular pecuniary compensation of a normally fixed salary and the oldage security provided by a pension. The salary is not measured like a wage in terms of work done, but according to "status," that is, according to the kind of function (the "rank") and, in addition, possibly, according to the length of service. The relatively greater security of the official's income, as well as the rewards of social esteem, make the office a sought-after position, especially in

countries which no longer provide opportunities; this situation permits relatively low salaries for officials (Weber, 1977)." 31% of the respondents did not agree to the statement and they did not think that salary affects the work and efficiency and 32% of the respondents did not show their concern with this problem. 37% of the respondents agree and say that, salary of the Gramsevak should be high and dignified; if not it adversely affects his work performance. In Maharashtra, salary of the Gramsevak at the beginning is very low (it was Rs. 2500/- in 2007-08) and fixed for the three years on probation. The pay scale of Gramsevak was increased and fixed at Rs. 4500-7000/- from 1 April 2008 (Daily Lokmat, Nagpur, 9th August 2008.). Recently as per the sixth pay commission, he will get pay band of Rs.5200-2400-20200/- per month. Though he is the backbone of GPA, he is always ignored by the state. This indicates the non-serious attitude of state towards the village administration.

- d) **Training and orientation:** All round social and economic progress is largely dependent on the efficient day-to-day management of development

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policies, particularly at the grassroots level, and that administrative capability can be built up quickly and at a modest cost by carefully planned training programmes for administrators responsible for rural development. The two main considerations strongly favouring increased emphasis on the preparation of development personnel are-(a) the need to equip the growing army of development workers with the knowledge and skills relevant to their job which are getting more and more complex, and (b) the need to familiarize them with their work so that the barriers separating the administrators and the people rapidly crumble down (Mathur, 1977). Ministry of Panchayati Raj has been giving assistance to the states for the capacity building and training of elected representatives of the PRIs. It is well recognized that many of the elected representatives of PRIs are illiterate/semi-literate and know little about development programmes, planning, systems and procedures. They require training to undertake the tasks expected of them as people's representatives. Further, most of the Panchayats do not have their own office space as well as adequate staff to look after the functions assigned to them.

Lack of trained work force admittedly is a great hindrance to the successful execution of development programmes. For this “every government servant should undergo a mandatory training at the induction stage and also periodically during their career. Successful completion of these training programmes should be a minimum necessary condition for confirmation in service and subsequent promotions. Mandatory induction trainings should be prescribed for Group-D staff also before they are assigned postings (10th ARC Report, 2008).” Designing and conducting meaningful training programmes to meet the needs of the new generation of administrators who now are in the thick of a fierce battle against poverty and underdevelopment. As per the survey, the State government failed to impart proper training to PRIs.

Government of Maharashtra set up the training centres for the training of official and non-officials of Gram Panchayats in the State under the supervision of State Institute of Rural Development (SIRD). SIRD is the nodal agency for organizing training in the State.



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#### 4. Challenges

- a) **Effective implementation:** It has been widely held among observers of the Indian planning experience that Indian plans may be good on paper but are rarely good in implementation; because they do not pay enough attention to issues of feasibility (Chakravarty, 1989). It is generally known that the all round rural development completely depends on the effective implementation of all schemes meticulously. Survey indicates that GPA is not effective in implementing the rural development schemes.
- b) **E-governance:** E-governance is about the process of reform in the way governments work, share information, and deliver services to internal and external clients. The underlying concern for those who implement e-government applications must be the impact of e-government initiatives on transparency, corruption, and poverty (Bhatnagar, 2008). Information technology is not simply a “tool.” It is an important resource in organizations, like other resources such as money, staff, legitimacy, and power (King, 1982). The systems concepts are far from completely developed and local governments are not now in a position to exploit this embryonic technology. So in this regard, Pargunam (2007) suggests that, “the government should set up an information kiosk in each village consisting of a multimedia PC, printer and internet connection with local language software. When the Village Core Group completes their training, they can take charge of the information Kiosk of the village/ neighbouring villages.”. During the survey, it was observed that no Gram Panchayat was computerized in reality and lacking e-governance.
- c) **People's participation:** The Gram Sabha, the general assembly of villages, has a key role for the effective functioning of Panchayats. In Gram Sabha meeting, the rural poor, the women and the marginalized people get an opportunity to join in decision making on matters affecting their lives. Active functioning of the Gram Sabha would ensure participatory democracy with transparency, accountability and achievement (Kashyap, 2008). It has been argued that not all the members of Gram Sabha attend its meetings, usually men or specific group of them go to attend the Gram Sabha. Since the required quorum for the Gram Sabha meeting is one-fifth of the total



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number, the requisite number is maintained with great difficulty. It is surprising to note this apathy of the villagers, particularly when the panchayats have been given most of the powers to make them units of self-governance. Another important aspect is the women's participation in Gram Sabha; but the fact is that many family members do not want their women members to participate in the village meetings. They also do not allow their elected women representatives to interact with government officials and others in the matter of taking decisions. There are cases where husband opposed their wife's active participation (Bhuyan, 2008).

It is clear from the above analysis, majority of the respondents did not attend regularly the Gram Sabha meetings, this shows their casual approach and a clear-cut apathy towards Gram Sabha, and accordingly non-participation in the GPA. Therefore, public meetings are often referred to as "rituals" to denote a largely symbolic activity with little concrete meaning (Mc Comas, Besley and Black, 2010). Low participation can mainly be attributed to the strongly entrenched caste system; class differentiations and gender

divide in villages. Sarpancha and other influential people dominate in decision-making process (Sisodia, 2006). In such meetings, participants simply receive information from officials who announce and explain policies. A much smaller set of venues are deliberative in the sense that citizens take positions, exchange reasons, and sometimes change their minds in the course of discussions (Fung, 2006).

Therefore, for the active participation, Gram Sabha is to be made effective, active and creative so that the expected result could be accessible to the rural society. It is foremost responsibility of the Panchayati Raj representatives to convey to the people the real nature, function and the real spirit of Gram Sabha. Meetings of the Gram Sabha can be a good platform for the solution of various day-to-day problems pertaining to the village society. This platform can also be used for the initiation for community work. Most of the basic rural problems, which have hardly any cost implication, can be solved through motivation among the villagers and the Gram Sabha is the forum to discuss all such issues.

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d) **Ethical practice:** Ethics is a set of standards that society places on itself and which help guide its behaviour, choices and actions (4th ARC Report, 2007). It is also observed that in the elections of Panchayats. Most of the leaders elected in the background of non-ethical standards. In the GPA the role of higher officials and non-officials is very much important, their administrative and public behaviour always reflects in the results of efforts of Gram Panchayat. Thus, they observed ethical values in public life. Survey indicates that local leaders are quite ethical while performing their functions. Wood (1955) suggests that, "While we wait for better men and better communities, we should try to catch the dishonest among us. While we work for the professionalization of the entire bureaucracy (administration), we should perfect at once critical staff units within our public agencies." We are not going to improve either community or bureaucratic ethics overnight.

performance and effectiveness of GPA, it is suggested that regular training courses should be provided for officials and non-officials at Gram Panchayat level. Seminars and conferences for all officials at all levels should be arranged in order to acquaint them with the objectives and goals of PRIs. In addition to training, the policies, objectives and goals of each agency should be stressed upon the officials on various occasions to make them perform their duties satisfactorily.

The working efficiency of personnel at Zilla Parishad office should be improved. Further, more regular monitoring of the programmes should be undertaken. The monitoring team should visit actual programme sites. Regular monitoring should be scheduled and strictly adhered to. In addition to the earlier suggestions, improvement in the information systems is required. Information distribution should be quicker and more up to date and the same should be conveyed to everyone concerned. For proper and faster information dissemination, each concerned agency must be computerized and e-connected.

## 5. Conclusions and Suggestions

The improvement of administrative system must be undertaken with serious considerations consistent with the changing conditions. In order to improve the

PRIs have yet to develop positive conventions and traditions; every attempt should therefore, be made to improve their working. The changes that are needed in the working of the PRIs are two-fold. First, they need to

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be further strengthened as legal and constitutional authorities and secondly, the people who are involved in their working, also need improved functioning. In fact, the second proposition is more important. No matter how good is the legal framework of an institution, if the people who manage it are not competent and motivated, it would never achieve its objectives.

The role of GPA should be flexible and innovative. It is mandatory for all members of Gram Panchayat, Sarpancha and Gramsevak to take initiatives for the work of rural development and for that they should be motivated.

The lack of financial resources is another major problem confronting rural communities to provide basic services to residents. Thus, in order to provide local administration with a more sustainable financial basis for effective governance, the centre first needs to consider a more direct mode of delivery of funding to the recipients. This requires considerable strengthening of the administrative capacity of the central administration; as it entails delivery of massive administrative resources directly to local administration.

Adequate staff helps to execute work efficiently and implement various schemes to GPA, but most of

the Gram Panchayats are facing the problem of adequate staffing. Many of the Gram Panchayat did not have full time Gramsevak, who is responsible for the affairs of GPA. At many times, the weak financial position of Gram Panchayats does not allow them to engage required staff. Therefore, this badly affects the functioning and performance of Gram Panchayats. Many of the Gram Panchayats carry have large burden of work placed upon them, or they are overburdened. To handle this, an attempt should be made to enhance the administrative capacities of existing administration, but an equally relevant, though unusual course of action, the burdens placed on a GPA can be reduced.

In conclusion, the leading factors that contribute to measures are the first applies to the enough trained staff, the second and third deal with public organizational systems-either the need for people's participation or the need for motivation, and the fourth deal with financial shortcomings.

A comparison of those who believe these measures are none/minimal and those who feel it is moderate/high with respect to the relative importance of measures does not reveal any significant differences. However, each potential measures is consistently rated higher by those who believe measures are moderate/high than those who believe none/minimal

in terms of absolute value given to each measures while the ranking or ordering remains virtually the same.

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## Book Review

### **The Durable Slum: Dharavi and the Right to Stay Put in Globalizing Mumbai**

*By Liza Weinstein*

*Published by Orient Blackswan*

*Private Ltd., New Delhi.*

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*Pages xvi plus 216.*

Slums are a universal reality as the settlements of the less fortunate in cities. The word 'slum' first appeared around 1820 as a slang, referring to a house of low repute or low unfrequented parts of the town, of poor quality housing with unsanitary conditions, a likely source of diseases. In the Report of the UN-Habitat, (2007) the word 'slum' is used to describe a wide range of low - income settlements and poor human living conditions. It has defined the term as "*a heavily populated urban area characterized by substandard housing and squalor*". In the book under review, the author gives a good account how the perception of slum has passed through its long and troubled life in the social science. Emerging as a spatial form and analytic concept in Victorian England, the slum was conceptualized by

Fredrich Engels and his contemporaries as a by-product of industrial capitalism and its creation of an urban working class. Most sociologists through the first half of the twentieth century viewed the slum as the source of such social problems as immorality, vice, and dysfunctional family forms. By the late 1960s, studies of the slum moved from the first world to the third world. In the wake of slum clearance campaigns and national urban renewal programs, the industrial cities of the north were believed to have eradicated slums and slums were imagined to have the exclusive property of the third world countries. In the 1970s and 1980s, after exchange for more neutral names like "squatter settlements", "shanty towns", the slum has returned both as a term and an analytic concept. Author of the book under review is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Northeastern University, Boston. She has written the book under review, based on her research for long including more than a year of firsthand research in Dharavi. Dharavi is regarded as the biggest slum in Asia and among the biggest slums in the world. It has a history of more than one and a half century. After a discourse in the Introduction, the author has come to accept the "the increasingly controversial claim that Dharavi is a slum", as she employs the term throughout the book. Her reservation was on account of the institutional density of Dharavi including a multitude of schools, hospitals, pharmacies,



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restaurants and bars, clothing shops, electronics stores, vegetable markets and dry goods shops, etc.

According to the author, the “*book uses the case of Dharavi and the ongoing\* Dharavi Redevelopment Project to explore the relationship between change and stability, ephemerality and entrenchment, on the context of global urban development. It ventures an answer to the question of how Dharavi and its seemingly marginal residents have held on, for over a century, to some of the most valuable land in this dramatically unequal city. But beyond Dharavi, it seeks to explain how cities and their residents, more generally, are responding to the potentially obliterating and tantalizing forces of global capital.*” (\*conceptualized but not making any headway).

The publisher's note (on the flap of the cover) describes Dharavi as a contrast situated “*directly opposite Mumbai's newest and most expensive commercial developments lies Dharavi, where as many as one million squatters live in makeshift housing on 535 acres of prime urban land. As property prices are booming and cities are now vying to be “world class”, governments across India, and throughout the world, are facing new pressure to clear settlements like these. But Dharavi and its residents have endured for a century, holding on to what has become of Mumbai's most valuable land.*”

Chapter 1 of the book traces the history of Dharavi. In 1864 it was a fishing village with a population of 992. In 1867, when the municipality set up slaughterhouse on the northern shore of the Mahim Creek, tanneries came up in Dharavi because of availability of land and ample water across the creek. In the late nineteenth century, it was decided to keep the dangerous and polluting trades of tanning out of South Bombay, through zoning and land-use regulations, Dharavi was designated as a tannery town. Soon migrants from the southern state of Tamil Nadu began to settle in Dharavi which came to be known as Tirunelveli North. With the scarcity of housing for labourers in Mumbai hutments began to sprout in the outlying areas of Mahim, Worli and Sion, adjacent to tannery town of Dharavi. In 1919 the municipality relocated Kumbhars (potters) from other place to Dharavi. A 1944 report divides Dharavi into five distinct settlements of Koliwada, Kumbharwada, Kala Killa, Matunga Labour Camp, and Dharavi. With this foundation, Dharavi metamorphosed into a mega slum with more than a million people living in makeshift houses in just 2.1 square kilometers area. The chapter gives detailed account of this metamorphosis including emergence of mafia of land grabbing and illicit liquor, etc. She says that as a failure of support and absence of coordinated planning for housing



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and infrastructure development, the informal economy stepped in, turning housing provision and water and electricity connections into illicit commodities.

Chapter 2 on 'State Interventions and Fragmented Sovereignities' is a story of declarations of grand plans of redevelopment of Dharavi and their failures. She gives an account of the various state interventions like passing of the Maharashtra Slum Areas (Improvement, Clearance, and Redevelopment) Act, 1971, the ambitious Prime Ministers Grand Project (1985), various NGOs, taking up the causes of the slum dwellers for protection of their right to habitat and better conditions. After discussing these interventions, the author comes to the conclusion that *"although the various interventions in Bombay's slums were designed to improve and ultimately eradicate them, these programs had the opposite effect of further integrating and entrenching informality in Bombay's urban fabric"*.

From the 1970s, there has been a love-hate relationship between the State Government and the slums, with periodical demolitions and periodical declaring and extending the cut-off year for protecting the existing slums. The decade of 1980s saw many important changes in Mumbai, the strike and ultimate shutdown in textile mills, gradual migration of manufacturing

industries out of Mumbai, boom in commercial and service sector, high demand for residential properties, sky rocketing prices of land, the State's policy of protecting old slums, later declaration of making Mumbai slum free. The decade of 1990s was transformative both for the nation and Mumbai. The author captures these developments and the impact they had on increasing marketization of slums and discusses Dharavi's Redevelopment Plan in the context of all these developments, in the third chapter. Her observations are very pointed when she concludes the chapter saying *"the changing objectives from slum improvement to property development have paralleled the city's shifting political economy....the government's new perspective on slums came into sharp focus when Deshmukh's administration launched the violent demolition campaigns in late 2004, premised on turning Mumbai into Shanghai....Even as slum settlements are being bulldozed and plans are being developed to transform Dharavi into an extension of the Bandra-Kurla office park to the north, these spaces retain some of the durability that has made them an enduring feature of Mumbai's complex social landscape."*

Chapter 4 begins by describing the institutional fragmentations (by this term, the author means scattering of the powers of sanctioning or permissions required for

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redevelopment are spread in as many as 13 agencies listed by the author) that have, according to her, undermined urban development efforts and slum housing schemes in Mumbai. After narrating the conceptualization of Dharavi Redevelopment Project, floating global tenders for the project by the State Government, the project did not make any headway. The first global tender was floated in 2007. Fourteen developers had responded, of which seven later dropped out and the tenders were ultimately cancelled in 2011. In 2016, 16 big builders had evinced interest in taking up the project and participated in the pre-bid meeting, but none of them finally submitted a bid. The redevelopment project which has been in the state of about to take off since 2004, but has remained a non-starter due to political opposition, frequent policy changes, design alterations and differences with consultants, among other reasons. In fact, it is complex matter to comment upon why there is opposition from the occupants of Dharavi. The reasons may differ from household to household, groups to groups, the uncertainty about the future and doubts about the project, etc. There have also been questions of regularizing unauthorized, unregularized and ineligible occupants. These have been a poll issue for all parties in every election conducted since then. The author concludes the chapter with the lament that I “*political*

*entrepreneur” who conceptualized and promoted the DRP inserted himself and appropriated the tools of city making. Yet despite this novel political configuration, which seemed for a brief moment that it would succeed, enduring fragmentations undermined these efforts.”*

Given the nature of Dharavi, a million people living and seeking their livelihoods through a range of industries, businesses, trades, encroached spaces, the DRP affected one or the other interests and livelihood of the occupants. One of the stumbling blocks in the project taking off is the demand of the residents for bigger area of the tenement than what is admissible in the scheme of the redevelopment. Political parties have been supporting them, which resulted in change of design and escalation of the cost. The chapter 5 gives a detailed account of the various initiatives and attempts to push the project, involvement of NGOs working with the people, the opposition to the project, demonstrations, litigations, etc. The author comes to the conclusion that “*whether project opponents derailed the project remains unclear, but their inclusion in the political negotiations certainly altered the project's character and slowed its implementation. These activities, which can be understood as part of broader struggles around the right to stay put, are waged on a*

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*regular basis in the electoral, communal, and judicial arenas. These struggles have not always yielded their desired results or led to expanded tenure protections, but these institutions have been used by residents to maintain the durability of spaces like Dharavi. Yet even when the struggles around the right to stay put are successful, the victories won are not always so victorious, as the right to stay put often means the right to remain in dangerous, inadequate, and in hospitable conditions. As these efforts have made slum residents dependent on corrupt and extractive institutions and individuals, significant compromises are made in order to keep Dharavi in place.” This sums up the theme of the book.*

The concluding chapter of the book cites the example of a midsize builder who attempted to redevelop some chawls in Dharavi under the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme protocols, under the name and style of Janata Cooperative Housing Society, which was stayed before final completion and the residents of the chawls landed up in incomplete project. This was a harrowing experience.

The author concludes the book with these observations: *“Embedded politics, institutional fragmentations, and popular mobilizations have erected barriers to a potentially destructive development and kept*

*residents in a precarious state of stability. The stories of Janata and DRP are familiar to those who know Mumbai's long history of state interventions in the slum. Plans like these **routinely fail, and it is often a good thing that they do.** If the grand visions of master planners were realized, then the social dislocations they would bring about would be unimaginable. Holding aside the critical question of where they would all go, if the hundreds of thousands of “unauthorized”, “unregularized” or “ineligible” Dharavi residents were evicted, the city would simply stop working. If the mega slum was to disappear, then Mumbai would lose so many of its drivers, domestic workers, garment manufacturers, garbage collectors, and office workers that India's commercial capital would simply cease to function....Referring to the mega slums in other countries, she continues in her conclusion that: “While long standing interests and embedded political networks have produced these settlements and protected them and their residents for decades, a dangerous game of casino capitalism is now being played by global real estate speculators and liberal reforms in planning officers, threatening the housing security of millions of informal urbanites around the world. And while Dharavi- at least for now-remains intact, many of these other slums are being dismantled. With distinct interests and particular*

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*political configurations battling to both preserve and eradicate these other settlements, further place-specific examinations are required to reveal the complex dynamics at work in each of these places. These analyses will lead us to further question our conventional wisdom and to remake our existing theories."*

The book is very well researched and written with academic depth. Real life images from the lanes of Dharavi on the cover pages and inside the book bear out the reality of life in Dharavi. As to the conclusions drawn by the author, one may not agree with her with one of her observations. The book is about the history and society of Dharavi, a mega slum in Mumbai and the grand plan for the redevelopment project for accommodating its inhabitants into well-constructed buildings, which has failed to make headway. Failure of this project to take off is lamentable as it has deprived a million habitants of the mega slum of good housing. One would disagree with the author when she terms failure of the project (so far) **as good thing** (as highlighted in the above paragraph). Her sweeping observation that *where they would all go, if the hundreds of thousands of "unauthorized", "unregularized" or "ineligible" Dharavi residents were evicted, the city would simply stop working*. Given the scheme of the things, all the squatters before 1995 (even those up to

2005) are well protected. The project, among other things, promises a well-constructed tenement, bigger than the existing structures with ownership rights. So there is no question of eviction of substantial population of Dharavi if the project is completed. Her observation that *"If the mega slum was to disappear, then Mumbai would lose so many of its drivers, domestic workers, garment manufacturers, garbage collectors, and office workers that India's commercial capital would simply cease to function"* does not match with the reality i.e. policies of the State Government as regards slum rehabilitation. Whether as a result of the ballot politics or the inclusive approach towards the poor and recognition of their rights to live in the mega city, the policy of the State Government has all along been to protect them, and through the legislation to provide for free accommodation, i.e. encouraging private real estate firms to take up development of slums into building, meet the cost of redevelopment along with a profit through a component of sale in the newly constructed buildings on the lands of the slums. It is the returns that attract the private builders, which is the incentive to venture in the projects. Hundreds of slums have been redeveloped into buildings through the policy. As such, in the scheme of the things, which also applies to Dharavi Redevelopment Project, hundreds of slum rehabilitation projects have been

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successfully completed and the poor occupants have come to live in self-contained well-constructed buildings. The same applies to the Dharavi Redevelopment Project, and if it sees the light of the day in future, the city will not lose so many of its drivers, domestic workers, garbage collectors, etc. Rather they would all get a comparatively nicer place to live in. At the time of writing of this book review (August, 2017) news has appeared in the newspapers that the Chief Minister of Maharashtra took a review of the Dharavi Redevelopment Project and stated that the project with a total cost of about Rs.25000 crores will be implemented in five phases dividing

the total area in five sectors. It may be recalled that the project was first conceived in 1985, as Prime Minister's Grand Project. This is tell-tale of how grand plans can get stuck up.

The deep analysis of the Dharavi Redevelopment Project in this well-researched book should help the State Government and the Slum Rehabilitation Authority to make sincere attempts to implement and complete the project, which, when completed will bring a new dawn of better living for the million plus people, the occupants of Dharavi.

**F.B. Khan**



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## 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.



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