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Local Government Quarterly

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All India Institute of Local Self-Government

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International Academy of Urban Dynamics

- Sustainable Urban Drainage and New Urban Agenda
- Decentralisation process and Local Government in Pakistan
- Interaction of Micropolitics and Education Quality in Rural Karnataka
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About All India Institute of Local Self-Government (AIILSG)

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

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

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

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About International Academy of Urban Dynamics (IAUD)

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

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

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

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Editorial

Towards happier societies; need to look beyond GDP

Norway is the happiest country in the world, closely followed by Denmark, Iceland, Switzerland and Finland. A new report released at the United Nations on the occasion of International Day of Happiness on March 20 this year ranks countries based on responses of about 3000 citizens in each of over 150 countries. They were asked to rank on a 1 to 10 scale their current lives where 10 signifies best possible and 0 worst possible. This is the second such ranking after the previous one in 2012. The top 10 positions have been retained by the same set of countries although there has been some swapping of places. The report was published by the Sustainable Solutions Development Network New York, a global initiative for the United Nations.

Such an exercise by an international body is acknowledgment of the fact that happiness, quality of life and the feeling of well-being are very important in the lives of people, communities and nations. While there is constant pursuit of economic progress, military superiority and larger influence, these must all contribute towards the well-being of the population resulting in contentment and happiness. One is reminded of the TED talk recorded in February 2016 by Tshering Tobgay the Prime Minister of Bhutan. He quoted their King Jigme Singye Wangchuk who said way back in the 1970s that for Bhutan, Gross National Happiness (GNH) is more important than Gross National Product (GNP). Since then there have been conscious actions to mainstream this philosophy in the development and governance architecture of the country. In 2008 it was written into the Constitution of Bhutan directing the State "to promote those conditions that will enable the pursuit of Gross National Happiness". The GNH Commission provides the institutional framework overseeing the development and policy initiatives to ensure that these work to improve GNH. Education, health and some other critical services in Bhutan are universally free. The country has modest economic means with a population of just over 700,000 and GDP of about US$ 2 billion.

In India, Madhya Pradesh is reportedly the first state to implement some measures to measure and monitor the happiness quotient of its people. The State has announced the setting up of 'AnandVibhag' (Happiness Department) in the government and plans to publish a Happiness Index in 2018.

What determines happiness?

The World Happiness Report 2017 finds that there are 6 key factors which influence the ranking of countries. To quote the report, these are 'GDP per capita, healthy years of life expectancy, social support (as measured by having someone to count on in times of trouble), trust (as measured by a perceived absence of corruption in government and business), perceived freedom to make life decisions, and generosity (as measured by recent donations). The top ten countries rank highly on all six of these factors'.

While it is quite evident that the top ranked countries are economically better off compared to the rest, economic prosperity alone does not add to overall well-being and happiness, the report argues. Improvements in the social factors are likely to improve rankings of the bottom-of-the-table countries to a greater extent than improvements on per capita GDP and healthy life expectancy. China's example is used to illustrate. 'GDP in China has multiplied over five-fold over the past quarter century, subjective well-being over the same period fell for 15 years before starting a recovery process', the report says. It is likely that the transformation of China in the early 90s from a social/welfare orientation to a more market economy system contributed to the fall in subjective well-being.

From the above one could infer that in all likelihood, while low per capita GDP can detract from happiness/subjective well-being, improved (higher) per capita GDP by itself may not help climbhigher levels on the happiness ladder. Similar could be the case with healthy life expectancy. It is a necessary but not sufficient condition for overall well-being.

What needs to be done?

It is thus a signal to policy makers and administrators. Rather than scale down efforts on the economic well-being and health aspects, they need to substantially augment and strengthen efforts in these directions. These are necessary. But these are not sufficient to ensure overall happiness and well-being of the citizens. For example on the economic side, a good job and income is not enough to give comfort; a safety net in case of loss of livelihood could greatly add to well-being. Similarly an efficient, transparent and effective public healthcare system can provide comfort to people.

At the same time, the social (non-economic) side needs to be strengthened. To start with, an overarching philosophy of good governance should guide the administration. This can significantly enhance trust (perceived absence of corruption). Alongside, governments need to work towards strengthening the institutional framework, especially of constitutional authorities. Strong, independent, fair, competent and transparent institutions will strengthen democracy and greatly improve trust among citizens. Social support (having someone to care for) is a key contributor to achieving high happiness ranking. NGOs working for the elderly, disabled and other needy groups should be encouraged along with family values. Promoting cultural and leisure activities including spiritual pursuits can help bring people together and enhance bonding between individuals and families. Public participation in national social causes such as waste management and road safety will lead to a sense of 'contribution to society' and generosity (non-monetary) among citizens and thus add to the happiness element. Governments and civil society need to work together to build happy communities through several small steps. A good line to remember in this context-“we need not wait to be rich in order to be happy”.

Sustainable Urban Drainage and New Urban Agenda

Kulwant Singh

Introduction

This paper addresses the need to reduce the impact of city development of flooding on residents and in other places, and the worsening of the water quality in streams, rivers and lakes caused by the expansion of cities. The most appropriate current solutions involve Sustainable Urban Drainage Systems (SUDS) but it can only be implemented with good policies, supportive stakeholder groups and partnership working so that these new ideas, which cut across existing methods and practices, can be accepted and how the New Urban Agenda (NUA) shall be supporting to address these challenges.

Sustainable Urban Drainage Systems require several changes in thinking and practice in city planning and there are many barriers to progress including the perceived costs added to development, the increased maintenance activities required, the attractiveness of big infrastructure projects to politicians whereas drainage projects are very often just 'normal work'. The inertia of planning systems also tends to discourage the good new ideas involved. However, the perceived additional costs need to be set against the costs of losing habitats and the fish, food and other ecosystem services which follow, and the damage to properties and danger to people caused by flooding which frequently results from development. The barriers to more sustainable drainage are high but a whole portfolio of potential 'Green' infrastructure solutions are available to be applied in any city in the world. There are no particular problems for high cost, high value developments since the additional costs of drainage are small and green space is normally an integral element.

However, for most urban developments where money is tight, drainage solutions on a development site are likely to be hard concrete with no financial allocation for maintenance.

Consequently, to achieve more widespread use of sustainable drainage principles, greater integration into Green Infrastructure is necessary, and multiple benefits need to be clear. Otherwise the whole life costs will not be properly recognised. Major developments and redevelopments give the opportunity for the reallocation of open space to improve its use through multiple functions. Sustainable drainage has the potential to provide habitat improvements which provide places for breeding, give connectivity between SUDS and with natural areas, and, link directly to zones of natural habitats thus providing more sustainable and greener solutions to drainage problems.

New Urban Agenda (NUA) aims at enhancing effective urban planning and management, efficiency, and transparency through e-governance, information and communications technologies assisted approaches, and geospatial information management. Further, New Urban Agenda underscores the need to promote adequate investments in accessible and sustainable infrastructure and service provision systems for water, hygiene and sanitation, sewage, solid waste management, urban drainage, reduction of air pollution, and storm water management, in order to improve health and ensure universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water for all; as well as access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all; and end open defecation, with special attention to the needs and safety of women and girls and those in vulnerable situations. NUA seeks to ensure that this infrastructure is climate resilient and forms part of integrated urban and territorial development plans, including housing and mobility, among others, and is implemented in a participatory manner, considering innovative, resource efficient, accessible, context specific, and culturally-sensitive sustainable solutions.

NUA also recognizes that urban centers worldwide, especially in developing countries, often have characteristics that make them and their inhabitants especially vulnerable to the adverse impacts of climate change and other natural and man-made hazards, including extreme weather events such as flooding, subsidence, storms, including dust and sand storms, heat waves, water scarcity, droughts, water and air pollution, vector borne diseases, and sea level rise particularly affecting coastal areas, delta regions, and Small Island Developing States, among others.

NUA also commits to promote the creation and maintenance of well-connected and well-distributed networks of open, multi-purpose, safe, inclusive, accessible, green, and quality

public spaces to improve the resilience of cities to disasters and climate change, reducing flood and drought risks and heat waves, and improving food security and nutrition, physical and mental health, household and ambient air quality, reducing noise, and promoting attractive and livable cities and human settlements and urban landscapes, prioritizing the conservation of endemic species.

Sustainable Urban Drainage

With fast urbanisation there is an urgent need of city development and to reduce the impact of flooding on residents and in other places, and the worsening of the water quality in streams, rivers and lakes caused by the expansion of cities. The best way to reduce surface water drainage charges is to prevent surface water entering the public sewer. Sustainable Urban Drainage Systems (SUDS) provide a natural approach to managing drainage in and around sites. SUDS work by slowing and holding back the run-off from a site, allowing natural processes to break down pollutants. SUDS deal with run-off close to the source, rather than transporting it elsewhere via the public sewer system. Sustainable drainage systems have several benefits which include:

- Slow down surface water run-off from the site to help reduce the chances of flooding
- Reduce the risk of sewer flooding during heavy rain
- Recharge ground water to help prevent drought
- Provide valuable habitats for wildlife for built up areas
- Create green spaces for people in urban areas
- Help reduce surface water drainage charges

Sustainable Urban Drainage Systems (SUDS) are the most appropriate current solutions but SUDS can only be implemented with good policies, supportive stakeholder groups and partnerships so that these new ideas, which cut across existing methods and practices, can be accepted. The New Urban Agenda (NUA) adopted at the HABITAT-III Conference in Quito last October is also supportive to address these challenges.

Sustainable Urban Drainage Systems require several changes in thinking and practice in city planning. There are many barriers to progress including the perceived costs added to development, the increased maintenance activities required, the attractiveness of big infrastructure projects to politicians whereas drainage projects are very often just 'normal work'. The inertia of planning systems also tends to discourage the

good new ideas involved. However, the perceived additional costs need to be set against the costs of losing habitats and the fish, food and other ecosystem services which follow, and the damage to properties and danger to people caused by flooding which frequently results from development. The barriers to more sustainable drainage are high but a whole portfolio of potential 'Green' infrastructure solutions are available to be applied in any city in the world. There are no particular problems for high cost, high value developments since the additional costs of drainage are small and green space is normally an integral element.

However, for most urban developments where money is tight, drainage solutions on a development site are likely to be hard concrete with no financial allocation for maintenance. Consequently, to achieve more widespread use of sustainable drainage principles, greater integration into Green Infrastructure is necessary, and multiple benefits need to be clear. Otherwise the whole life costs will not be properly recognised. Major developments and redevelopments give the opportunity for the reallocation of open space to improve its use through multiple functions. Sustainable drainage has the potential to provide habitat improvements which provide places for breeding, give connectivity between SUDS and with natural areas, and, link directly to zones of natural habitats thus providing more sustainable solutions and greener solutions to drainage problems.

Sustainable Urban Drainage Systems (SUDS) in cities and towns are required as part of local development. Use of SUDS contributes towards the city governments' aim of seeking to achieve sustainable development. SUDS are physical structures built to receive surface water run-off and provide a drainage system that:

- Deals with run off as close to source as possible
- Seeks to mimic natural drainage
- Minimises pollution and flood risk resulting from new development; and
- Provides an alternative to conventional drainage systems.
- Traditional systems move rainwater as rapidly as possible from where it falls to a point of discharge e.g. watercourse. This causes a number of problems;
- Increased flooding
- Poor water quality as run off can contain a variety of pollutants
- Less infiltration to ground leading to poor groundwater recharge
- Poor biodiversity and amenity of urban watercourse, many of which are hidden underground;

Therefore, using SUDS is most important for sustainable development. All developments must carefully consider appropriate sustainable surface water drainage options. Careful design of drainage systems and/or the provision of treatment facilities prior to discharge will assist in reducing the environmental impact of new development. This range of techniques ais known as SUDS. They can be successfully applied to most development and can even be fitted to existing development. As stated above, there are considerable environmental and economic benefits of incorporating SUDS techniques in local development. These include:

- Reduced cost by not constructing expensive underground structures
- Reduced cost from simpler maintenance
- Increased amenity and education value
- Improved visual and environmental quality of development and therefore increased economic value
- Increased biodiversity
- Reduced pollution
- Recharging of groundwater
- Reduced flood risk

SUDS can be applied to large or small developments due to the variety of techniques available. Use of SUDS on a series of smaller sites can have a significant cumulative effect on minimising harm to water quality and flood risk in an area.

The impact of development on surface water flow and the fact that its disposal is a material planning consideration needs to be acknowledged. All built development tends to extend the area of impermeable ground, from which water runs off rather than percolating into the ground. This can increase both the total and the peak flow from built-up areas, resulting in increased flows downstream and thus increasing the risk of flooding.

There has been growing interest in the use of "soft" sustainable drainage systems to mimic natural drainage. As well as reducing total and peak flows of run-off, these systems can contribute substantially to good design in improving the amenity and wildlife interest of developments, as well as encouraging natural groundwater recharge.

Development should be satisfactorily serviced in terms of water supply, drainage, sewerage, energy supplies. Development which would pose unacceptable risks to the quality and quantity of the water environment both groundwater and surface water, should not be permitted unless suitable mitigation measures are taken to reduce the risk to an acceptable level. Developments which will generate

additional foul, combined and/or surface water drainage should only be permitted where arrangements are made for their satisfactory disposal. Positive surface water drainage systems separate from foul drainage systems are required for new development unless it is demonstrated that soak away disposal will be satisfactory under all seasonable conditions.

Cliff Stability

The objective of using SUDS is to secure and promote new development. However, there may be areas in close proximity to the cliff top where the use of SUDS may not be appropriate. In such situations, cliff stability must be maintained and it will be more appropriate to use the local piped drainage system to dispose of surface water for new development. The cliff top locations do not preclude the use of measures to recycle water or reduce runoff at source e.g. use of water butts and green roofs (roofs incorporating vegetation).

Policies need to be framed so that proposals for development or redevelopment within certain areas (say 200/500 meters) of cliffs and chines, or in proximity to steep embankments, will incorporate the measures necessary to demonstrate that such development will have no adverse effect upon existing cliffs, chines or steep embankments. Proposals for major developments in these areas may be required to submit a development impact assessment to show the proposal will have no adverse effect on land stability. Developers also need to be advised that they will be required to comply with the requirements of Planning Policy

Nearly one-half of cities are in locations susceptible to flooding. Assessment of the 136 largest world coastal cities, predicts costs resulting from flood events triggered by climate change may exceed USD1 trillion a year.

Building Regulations

Incorporation of SUDS should be reinforced as part of the development process by changes to Building Regulations. Such regulations may stipulate that, in order of priority, rainwater run-off should discharge into one of the following:

- an adequate soakaway or some other adequate infiltration system; or where that is not reasonably practicable;
- a watercourse; or where that is not reasonably practicable;
- a sewer

Methods of Sustainable Urban Drainage Systems

Permeable surfaces and filter drains

Filter drains and permeable surfaces are devices that have a volume of permeable material below ground to store surface water. Run-off flows to this storage area via a permeable surface. Examples of this are: grass, reinforced grass; gravelled areas, solid paving blocks with large vertical holes filled with soil or gravel, solid paving blocks with gaps between the individual units, porous paving blocks with a system of void within the units, continuous surfaces with inbuilt system of cavities. Car park drainage does not have to go to sewer. Infiltration is where surface water is directed via cavities within areas of solid paving. With a porous surface, water is drained directly through the surface.

Permeable surfacing encourages surface water to permeate into the ground. Materials such as porous concrete blocks, crushed stone/gravel or porous asphalt can be used. Depending on the ground conditions, the water may infiltrate directly into the subsoil, or be stored in an underground reservoir (e.g. a crushed stone layer) before slowly soaking into the ground. If necessary, an overflow can keep the pavement free of water in all conditions. Pollutant removal occurs either within the surfacing material itself, or by the filtering action of the reservoir or subsoil.

Infiltration Devices

Infiltration devices drain water directly into the ground. They may be used at source or the run-off can be conveyed in a pipe or swale to the infiltration area. They include soakaways, infiltration trenches and infiltration basins as well as swales, filter drains and ponds. Infiltration devices can be integrated into and form part of landscaped areas. Soakaways and infiltration trenches are completely below ground, so water should not appear on the surface. Infiltration basins and swales for infiltration store water on the ground surface, but are dry except in periods of heavy rainfall.

Soakaway is an underground chamber lined with a porous membrane and used to store surface water, and then allow its gradual infiltration into the surrounding soil. Although soakaways have been traditionally used in more remote locations away from public sewers or where sewers have reached capacity, they may be used as an alternative to connection to the piped system. They are used to dispose of storm water and are typically circular pits with a honeycomb arrangement of bricks to allow water to permeate through them into the ground.

Gravel drive is anexample of permeable surfacing encouraging surface water to permeate into the ground.

Swales and Basinsare dry channels or ditches and basins are dry "ponds". Both can vary in size. They can be created as features within the landscaped areas of the site, or they can be incorporated into ornamental, amenity and screen planted areas where they would be maintained as part of a normal maintenance contract. They provide temporary storage for storm water, reduce peak flows to receiving waters, facilitate the filtration of pollutants and microbial decomposition as well as facilitating water infiltration directly into the ground. Swales and basins are often installed as part of a drainage network connecting to a pond or wetland prior to discharge to a natural watercourse. They may be installed alongside roads to replace conventional kerbs, therefore saving construction and maintenance costs.

Infiltration trenches and filter drains: Infiltration trenches are stone filled reservoirs to which stormwater runoff is diverted and from which the water gradually infiltrates into the ground. Filter strips, gullies or sump pits can be incorporated at inflow points to remove excess solids. This lengthens the life of the trench.

Filter Strips:An area of gentle sloping, vegetated land through which surface water run-off is directed. Filter drains are similar to infiltration trenches but have a perforated pipe running through them. They are widely used by highway authorities for draining roads and help to slow down runoff water on route towards the receiving watercourse. They allow storage, filtering and filtration of water before the discharge point. Pollutant removal is by absorption, filtering and microbial decomposition in the surrounding soil.

Basins and Ponds - how they work

Basins are areas for storage of surface run-off that are free from water during dry weather conditions. These structures include: flood plains, detention basins, extended detention basins; Ponds contain water in dry weather and are designed to hold more when it rains. They include:

- Balancing and attenuation ponds
- Flood storage reservoirs
- Lagoons
- Retention ponds
- Wetlands

Basins and ponds store water at the ground surface, either as temporary flooding of dry basins and flood plains, or permanent ponds. These structures can be designed to manage water quantity and quality.

Ponds and Wetlandscan be particularly beneficial during time of storm due to their capacity to hold large

amounts of water and therefore reduce flood risk. They are most widely used on larger sites. Ponds and wetlands also help with grit removal. Algae and plants in wetlands can significantly assist with filtering and nutrient removal. The ponds and wetlands can be fed by swales, filter drains or piped systems. Use of inlet/outlet sumps assist in reducing sedimentation and reeds planted at these points will cleanse water as it enters and leaves the pond.

Choosing the right SUDS

Of the various methods, large ponds and wetlands are generally more appropriate for larger sites in excess of 5ha. Infiltration trenches, swales and porous pavements are suitable for both large and small sites. Many large sites may incorporate a mix of different mechanisms.

- The choice of SUDS depends on a number of factors:
- The pollutants present in runoff (in part dependent on type of development)
- The size of and drainage strategy for the catchment area
- The hydrology of the area and infiltration rate of the soil

Large sites may incorporate a mix of different techniques. SUDS can be incorporated into areas where there is clay subsoil or there is a fairly steep gradient. Soil permeability can have a significant effect on the selection of SUDS techniques. Infiltration techniques for example may not be effective if the infiltration rate is below 10mm/hr for the upper soil layers. Swales and ponds, working by a combination of filtration and infiltration, are more tolerant of poor soils. In highly permeable soils wet ponds need to be lined.

SUDS and Planning

It is important that developers establish the soil conditions and hydrology of the site (storm water run-off, water table height, water quality) and consider appropriate SUDS at an early stage in the site evaluation and design process. This will ensure that the best drainage solution for a particular site is found and incorporated into the layout, development costs and timetable for implementation. SUDS should be incorporated into the detailed project reports (DPRs) of development proposals with detailed design. The adoption and future maintenance of SUDS should also be incorporated at the design stage.

It would be appropriate to link SUDS on new development sites to existing green space and amenity areas. Planning conditions or legal agreements should be used to secure implementation of SUDS where appropriate.

New Urban Agenda (NUA)

At the Habitat-III Conference in Quito in October 2016, New Urban Agenda (NUA) was adopted which aims at enhancing effective urban planning and management, efficiency, and transparency through e-governance, information and communications technologies assisted approaches, and geospatial information management. Further, New Urban Agenda underscores the need to promote adequate investments in accessible and sustainable infrastructure and service provision systems for water, hygiene and sanitation, sewage, solid waste management, urban drainage, reduction of air pollution, and storm water management, in order to improve health and ensure universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water for all; as well as access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all; and end open defecation, with special attention to the needs and safety of women and girls and those in vulnerable situations. NUA seeks to ensure that this infrastructure is climate resilient and forms part of integrated urban and territorial development plans, including housing and mobility, among others, and is implemented in a participatory manner, considering innovative, resource efficient, accessible, context specific, and culturally-sensitive sustainable solutions.

NUAalso recognizes that urban centers worldwide, especially in developing countries, often have characteristics that make them and their inhabitants especially vulnerable to the adverse impacts of climate change and other natural and man-made hazards, including extreme weather events such as flooding, subsidence, storms, including dust and sand storms, heat waves, water scarcity, droughts, water and air pollution, vector borne diseases, and sea level rise particularly affecting coastal areas, delta regions, and Small Island Developing States, among others.

NUA also commits to promote the creation and maintenance of well-connected and well-distributed networks of open, multi-purpose, safe, inclusive, accessible, green, and quality public spaces to improve the resilience of cities to disasters and climate change, reducing flood and drought risks and heat waves, and improving food security and nutrition, physical and mental health, household and ambient air quality, reducing noise, and promoting attractive and livable cities and human settlements and urban landscapes, prioritizing the conservation of endemic species.

SUDS should be part of local economic development strategies which also coordinate land use, infrastructure and investment planning. Financing and investment

planning are also important driving concerns. Coordinated decisions about land use are essential. Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) should identify set of policies that will allow cities and their surrounding regions to reap the benefits of economies of urbanisation and localisation, attract and leverage private investments while minimising risk hazards. New Urban Agenda also underscores the need for urban planning, rules and regulations together with sound financial planning. To be successful, SUDS has to be an integral part of the local and regional urban planning and strong building bye-laws.

Conclusions

Available evidence indicates that in low and middle income countries, urban drainage sector is among few other sectors including sanitation and solid waste management that has made little progress in addressing the need for institutional reform and financial sustainability. New approaches are needed in urban drainage sector in delivering services to the informal settlements.

The whole life costs of the systems of drainage infrastructure can be correlated to the pattern of urbanization, with compact cities providing the most cost-effective solutions to drainage infrastructure investments.

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Decentralisation process and Local Government in Pakistan

Saikat Roy

Introduction

The need for decentralisation is not just an option for countries as a way of good governance. National pressure for decentralisation stems from the openness of the polity that is being increasingly adopted throughout the world. In Pakistan political openness was institutionalised by restoring multiparty rule. Real democracy requires the people themselves to be involved in shaping their own lives and decentralisation is the only means of devolving authority from the centre to the local units of governance.

This issue of devolution of power in Pakistan has attracted the attention of policy makers for several decades now. Ideally, it represents the societal input into decision making at the local level, thus lowering the cost of administration for people by way of saving time, energy and money. Also, devolution of power represents the ultimate democracy because it increases people's power. Since independence, Pakistan is trying to make local self-governments powerful by devolving power at the local level. In Pakistan political parties represent an extra local input in the locality. They are the indirect but ultimate targets of policies relating to decentralisation of authority. While the army and bureaucracy tend to exercise a substantive hold over initiative in the centre, and the district remains the preserve of the local bureaucracy, middle tier of government at the provincial level is the locus of political activity of the ethnic, linguistic, religious, sectarian, feudal and tribal by seeking to transfer resources away from it.

As the context of Pakistan projects politics as the core area, wherein we find its people though politically marginalised, yet full of potential to change and transform, therefore popular inclusion in political system may create long lasting and

productive impacts because "Politics is not just a means of attaining our ends but is also a means of defining who we are and hence what our ends are" (Shalam: 2005). It is this practical and ethical appeal inherent in the logic of popular political participation that justifies decentralisation, which will enable those affected by any decision to be part of the policy discussions rather than subjects to be imposed upon (Albert: 2003). Such participation at the very local level changes the fundamental position of people. Thus, local government reforms have been a consistent phenomenon in Pakistan.

In Pakistan local governments are mentioned in the constitution, first as the defined part of the state, and, secondly as institutions whose existence is encouraged by the state. Their existence has been encouraged by the provincial governments through the promulgation of ordinances which govern the constitution of elected local councils, define their authority and responsibilities. On the other hand, provincial governments have legislated powers which enable councils to be superseded on the flimsiest of excuses. This is contrary to the principles of policy enunciated in Article 32 of the Constitution, namely: "The state shall decentralise the government administration so as to facilitate expeditious disposal of its business to meet the convenience and requirements of the public".

The Constitution of Pakistan and federal structure

Soon after Pakistan's emergence, a major preoccupation of the Pakistani governing elite was to make efforts for finding a constitutional consensus. The provisional constitution of 1947 was called 'The Pakistan Provisional Constitution Order of 1947'. It referred to Pakistan as a "Federation of Pakistan" making it a country having the concept of federalism from the very beginning (Mehrunnisa Ali: 1996).

The adoption of federal system in Pakistan was an outcome of a realisation on the part of its leadership (Sayed Jaffar Ahmad: 1990), that it ensured unity in diversity, accommodating socio-cultural and economic variance within a shared political framework derived from common religion and a long struggle for independence. Thus to deal with the pressures like historical political setup, geographical integration, ethnic and cultural diversity, and heterogeneous characteristics of the society, Pakistan produced a system of federalism.

Pakistan became a federal nation by the provisional constitution order, 1947. This federation included (G.W. Choudhary: 1963):

1. Four provinces of East Bengal, Sindh, North West Frontier Province

2. Baluchistan
3. Any other areas that might with the consent of the federation be included therein
4. The capital of the federation, Karachi, and
5. Such Indian state as might accede in the federation.

The idea of provincial autonomy was the shadow of the 1935 Act upon the interim Constitution of 1947. According to the interim Constitution, "The domain of Pakistan consisted of the Governor's provinces of West Bengal, Sindh, North West Frontier Province and East Bengal. Each province had an elected legislative assembly and was normally governed by a cabinet of ministers responsible to the assembly" (Parmatma Sharan: 1968). This is the basic feature of Pakistani federation. By the Interim Constitution, the provinces were autonomous in governing the provinces except in some state actions like that of defence, foreign relations and communications.

In 1956 when the constitution was framed the first Article envisaged that "Pakistan shall be Federal Islamic Republic" (Zulfikar Khalid Haluka: 1995). The federal structure under this constitution was almost a repetition of the previous constitutions with some minor changes. It retained the same method of distribution of powers in the three lists Federal, Concurrent and Provincial between centre and provinces.

The constitution of 1962 which was the brainchild of President Ayub Khan came into force in March 1962. It contained a preamble, 250 articles divided into 12 parts and 6 schedules, creating a Presidential form of government (Haluka: 1995). The Constitutional Commission designated a federal system of governance. It was highly centralised in nature and also coloured with religion. According to article 1 of the Constitution, "Pakistan shall be a Federal Republic to be known as Islamic Republic of Pakistan" (Chaudhary: 1963). The 1962 constitution constituted two new territories. First, was Islamabad Capital Territory and second was Dacca Capital Territory (Parmatma Sharan: 1968). When the distribution of powers is witnessed between the centre and the provinces, it could be seen that there wasonly one list of subjects of national character with residual authority vesting in the provincial legislature. This constitution however provided priority to the interests of the central government over provincial powers (Chaudhary: 1963). According to article 131, "Where the national interest of Pakistan required, the central legislature could make laws in respect of items not mentioned in the central list" (Bhargava: 1971). The

centre had powers to extend its authority in all matters of provincial subjects. This constitution entitled the federal government to give direction to the provincial government.

In 1970 the President pronounced a Legal Framework Order Programme. According to the LFO, maximum authority was granted to the provinces (Raja: 1997). By putting light on the federal powers it explained, "The federal government shall also have adequate powers, including legislature, administration and financial powers to discharge its responsibilities in relation to external and internal affairs and to preserve the independent and territorial integrity of the country" (Raja: 1997).

In 1972 after becoming President, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto made sincere efforts to constitute a new constitution. As a result the 1973 constitution came into force on the 26th Anniversary of the Independence Day on August 14th 1973. This constitution introduced a truly federal parliamentary system of government (Muluka: 1995). The article 1 of the constitution described Pakistan as a federal republic. This constitution contained 280 articles and 6 schedules. It established a parliamentary form of government with a federal structure having an independent judiciary. For establishing a federal nature, the constitution constituted the three basic organs of federal government, i.e. the executive, legislative and judiciary. There was one important provision in the constitution which would enable the federal government to delegate power to the provincial governments as its agents. The federal government might, with the consent of a provincial government, entrust either conditionally or unconditionally to that government or its officers functions relating to any matter to which the executive authority of the federation extended. Similarly a provisional government, with the consent of the federal government was also empowered to entrust, either conditionally or unconditionally some of its executive functions to the federal government or to its officers (Khan: 2001). The constitution retained the structure of the provinces. It established four provinces Punjab, Sindh, North West Frontier Provinces and Baluchistan. The federal government also administers the Federally Administrated Tribal Areas.

After going through a detailed discussion it would seem that Pakistan was on the path of turning into one of the most perfect federated nations in the region. However, the changing moods of the central authorities made the constitution difficult to operate and rather more of a rulebook that remained in the archives, though new policies are being adopted to make the national power decentralised.

Decentralisation process in Pakistan

Pakistan is a plural and heterogeneous society with various types of cultural and ethnic groups but lack of political will, coordination and cooperation between these and between the centre, provinces and local governments caused a grave threat to the state. Therefore in this situation decentralisation is an effective means of governance to unite them under one government, where every organ of government is autonomous in its own sphere.

In Pakistan, like any other developing country, problems have aggravated as a result of heavy concentration of powers by the federal and provincial governments in the matter of public services and infrastructure development. There was little coordination between different offices at the district level and secondly, all important aspects of public service delivery were under bureaucratic control without any contribution from elected politicians at the local level or members of the public. Elected bodies controlled few and relatively less important aspects of public service delivery. Due to the nature of the system, the provincial and central governments did the policy making and district authorities acted as the implementation staff with little say in decision making. The crisis of confidence in government led to alienation and low levels of citizens' participation creating a vicious cycle of even more top-down and less responsive government. Coupled with these facts, weak administrative capacity and lack of resources had seriously hampered service delivery capabilities. Precisely, building the institutions for a capable public sector is essential to enhancing state effectiveness, but also immensely difficult. Once poor systems are in place they can be very difficult to dislodge. Strong interests develop in maintaining the status quo, however inefficient or unfair. To offset the poor governance a process of devolution has been initiated through the establishment of local governments across Pakistan. The principle of inclusion through political decentralisation was meant to provide institutional entitlements for voice and action.

Stages of decentralisation in Pakistan

In Pakistan, because of the common heritage with India and the circumstances of its creation, some local government characteristics are similar. Before the advent of the British rule in India there was no advanced tradition of local self-government in the modern sense. However, a rudimentary local government system did exist in the rural areas. This was the system of village panchayats which performed administrative, judicial and sometimes developmental functions.

Since the Vedic Era till British period Pakistan shared some local government experiences with India. At that point of time panchayat was the system of local government. In epic era there was also a system of administration at the village level. During the ancient period the villages also had some power in their hand to govern themselves. In the medieval period villages had sufficient powers as regards self governance in their territory. Panchayats were very much prevalent in villages in the medieval period. Hence, the decentralisation process can be elaborated in two stages, pre-independence era and post-independence era.

Decentralisation in Pakistan in the pre-independence era

The local government system in Pakistan has a long history. The history of decentralisation in Pakistan can perhaps be attributed to having started in Karachi. In 1846 the British set up a board of conservancy to deal with a Cholera epidemic. This was followed by the creation of the Karachi Municipal Commission in 1852. But there was no comparable development of local self-governing institutions in rural areas up to the year 1871, when Lord Mayo introduced his scheme for decentralisation of administration. The scheme consisted of both rural and urban committees, largely nominated and official. A number of municipal bodies had been established in the areas which now constitute Pakistan with Karachi leading the way in 1878 in imposing a property tax as the first local levy. In 1882 Lord Ripon's resolution on local government was a new landmark in the evolution of local government, when a definite policy of establishing a general network of rural local authorities as an instrument and district boards and circle boards were established.

In 1907, the British administration established the Decentralisation Commission which examined the entire subject of local government and proposed adequate democratic local institutions with strict official control.

A new era began when rural local government became a provincial subject under the Government of India Act of 1919. Following a resuscitation of village panchayat, district and taluka or tehsil boards and union committees with elected presidents andothers were set up and endowed with wider functions including village administration and increased powers for taxation in all provinces.

In 1933, the city of Karachi Act converted the municipal committee to the Karachi Municipal Corporation, the first such organisation in Pakistan.

The UNESCAP in 2002 argued that the 1935 Government of India Act allowed provincial autonomy and

permitted provinces to frame legislation on local government system. The provincial autonomy envisaged under the Government of India Act of 1935 was expected to give further impetus to the development of local government. Under the new arrangement almost all the provinces enacted legislation for further democratisation of local bodies.

Thus, some aspects of decentralisation during the British administration should be appreciated. Tinker (1968) observes that the resolution of 1882 provided a wide scope for democratic local government system up to the district level and claims that it was the native leaders and bureaucracy which failed to utilise that opportunity. In Tepper's words the bureaucracy considered the ascendency of politics in local government as a threat to its authority and it therefore did not support the proper working of the new councils (Tepper: 1966). The general political conditions further deteriorated and clogged the whole machinery of local government. So the local bodies which had been set up during the British rule could hardly be described as functioning effectively.

Decentralisation in Pakistan in the post-independence era

Pakistan inherited a very rudimentary form of local government institution in 1947. Independence was expected to infuse vitality and strength into local government, but the position did not basically change. It was since late 1950s the process to decentralise government started in Pakistan.

The developments in the decentralisation process of Pakistan can be elaborated in four prominent stages:

1. Basic Democracy plan under Ayub Khan Regime

To legitimise his capture of power, Ayub Khan wanted to improve the economic condition of the country. Therefore he introduced some administrative reforms to involve people at the local level in development and increase the capability of local institutions for implementing programmes of rural development. The government of General Ayub Khan introduced a system of local bodies known as Basic Democracies (BD) in 1959. While introducing it Ayub Khan pointed out that Western Democracy could not be transplanted or imposed upon a soil that was not prepared for its healthy nourishment and growth. In the words of Ayub Khan "The scheme of Basic Democracies has been evolved by us after a careful study of the experience of the other countries and of the special conditions prevailing in our own land. There is no need for us to imitate

blindly the type of democracy to be found in other countries. We have to work according to the requirements of our own nation and the genius of our own people" (Khan: 2001).

An explicit characteristic of the Basic Democracies Plan was a concession to grass root level to compensate for consequences of age-old neglect. It conceived local reforms as a device of national development, both political and economic. The major objectives of the Basic Democracies System were (Basic Democratic Manual: 1959):

a. To give maximum possible authority and responsibility to people at lower levels i.e. at the level of Union Councils and Union Committees in rural areas and Town Committees in urban areas.

b. To bring close co-operation and co-ordination between government functionaries and people's representatives.

c. To make government officials aware of the needs and problems of the people and to allow open criticism of government functionaries and machinery.

d. To develop mutual respect between people's representatives and government authorities.

e. To make the administrative and technical competence of government servants available to the councils for planning and execution of programmes of the councils.

The underlying idea of the Basic Democratic System was to invoke local participation in the development activities and integrate local aspirations with national objectives. For promoting decentralisation the Basic Democratic Ordinance argued in favour of some actions (Government of Pakistan: 1972):

i. More functions have been delegated to Union Council so that people can obtain justice and services within the Union.

ii. Rendering of justice and services would be prompt and inexpensive and rural people would be saved from the clutches of touts.

iii. Bringing justice and services within the reach of the people will tend to reduce their in differences towards government policy and help to develop enthusiasm for national activities.

iv. As more functions will be delegated to the Union Council, educated and capable persons, hitherto disinterested in local affairs, would participate in local work.

The structural framework of the Basic Democratic System had four tiers, namely:

A. Union Councils (rural areas) and Town and Union Committees (urban areas).

B. Thana (East Pakistan) or Tehsil (West Pakistan) Councils.

C. District Councils, and

D. Divisional Councils.

The Basic Democratic System did show some achievements in terms of physical targets but it could not emerge as a vehicle of change. The main reason was inherent, built in contradiction in the system itself. In practice, it became an instrument for perpetuating the then prevalent political system.

2. Local Government Reforms during Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Regime

After coming to power Zulfikar Ali Bhutto government enunciated and enacted some pro-decentralisation policies and laws. In March 1972, the provincial government on the directions of the federal government promulgated the People Local Government Ordinance 1972 in their respective jurisdictions. With the emergence of new constitution in 1973, the idea of Integrated Rural Development Programme came into being. It laid great emphasis on the promotion of local self-government as a vehicle of economic development.

The Constitution of Pakistan, "Article 32" reads as: "The state shall encourage local government institution composed of elected representatives of the areas concerned and in such institutions a special representation will be given to peasants, workers and women". Article 40 also provided, "The state shall guarantee and promote the autonomy of local government units to ensure their fullest development as self-reliant communities".

The Provincial Government, after long drawn deliberations, enacted "The People Local Government Act 1975" which provided for popularly elected Union Councils, District Councils (in rural areas) and Town Committees and Municipal Committees (in urban areas) headed by chairman (Quddus: 1981).

The People Councils Act 1975 constitutionalised the local government units their power including taxation power. The Act likewise emphasised the corporate personality of local councils vested with accompanying corporate powers. The Act defined the relationship of the local governments with provincial and national ministers performing general

development functions in the area including education and health. It provided for relatively wide latitude of powers over local financial matters. But, despite a strong commitment to local government in the constitution and introduction of the 1975 ordinance, local government was not developed.

3. Local Government Ordinance under Zia- Ul- Haq Regime

The local government system was revived again in 1979 by another military ruler with similar intentions of legitimising military rule at the local level only (Cheema and Mohammad: 2003) as Zia-Ul-Haq regime sought to manufacture a new class of political leadership through it. Like Ayub's experience of local government, it was imposed in top-down manner by a non-elected government without any consultation. It had no constitutional safety nor did people have any fiscal or political rights. Yet the popular protests in late 60's had changed the picture and this time direct non-party elections were to be held at all levels of local government and members were given some autonomy (Cheema and Mohammad: 2003).

In September 1979, Zia-Ul-Haq announced local government reforms in order to bring the government closer to the people. The Military government issued the ordinance of local government 1979 with the following objectives:

a. To make appropriate development activities responsive to local wishes and initiatives by developing or delegating them to local representative bodies.

b. To facilitate the exercise of democratic self-government close to the local levels of society and encourage initiative and leadership potential.

c. To mobilise human and material resources through the involvement of members of the public in their local development.

d. To provide two way channel of communication between local communities and government.

The ordinance made local governments the creature of the province. Accordingly, each province promulgating their laws in 1979, provided for the two main groups of local government, the rural local governments and urban local governments.

The rural local government comprised a two tier system of popular institutions from the village to the district, formed on democratic principles. These authorities followed more or less the same pattern in all the provinces. The rural local council's structure was as follows:

A. Union Councils formed the base of the structure and had a membership of 8-15, elected inwards at large by the adult residents of the village.

B. The next tier was the 'Zilla' or District Councils. The number of members was usually determined on the basis of population of the Council area concerned.

Under the ordinance, in the urban areas there were four levels of municipal government- Town Committees, Municipal Committees, Municipal Corporations and Metropolitan Corporation.

Despite elaborate structure and responsibilities, it is very clear that in terms of service delivery, certainly one of the two most important pillars of decentralisation and devolution in Pakistan is the form of the local government system. The other of course, being some form and some degree of political representation and participation in the local government system in Pakistan since 1979 to 1999 when it was still effectively in operation, failed significantly.

In mid of 1990s Pakistan launched a Social Action Programme. This happens to be one of the most potential areas for decentralisation in Pakistan which involves the provision of basic health, education, and water supply in rural areas. This is being attempted through the Participatory Development Programme which encourages the involvement of NGOs/CBOs in mobilising communities for taking over the operation of services and infrastructure. Another element of SAP is the devolution of authority to beneficiary communities, particularly in the areas of elementary education and rural water supply and sanitation. In the health care field, privatisation of underutilised facilities is seen to be the vehicle for improving service delivery.

4. Devolution Plan under Musharraf Regime

Exasperated by corrupt and ineffective government, General Pervez Musharraf assumed power with the support of the army, and some politicians on October 12, 1999. Like his military predecessors Musharraf quickly seized upon the idea of using local government to advance regime survival and consolidation. Creating a National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) under retired General Tanvir Naqvi in November 1999, he made devolution and diffusion of power a main policy priority of his military government. The Bureau produced a broad local government blue print that Musharraf announced on 23rd March, 2000. He claimed devolution was "the beginning of a constructive, democratic, dynamic revolution

whose sole objective is to place in the hands of the people the power to shape their own destiny.....an unprecedented transfer of power will take place from the cities to the vast majority" (ICG: 2004). The plan was known as "Devolution of power to the grassroots levels". The Devolution plan, after extensive debate and consultation in the country underwent some changes and finally the new system of decentralised governance in Pakistan entered into force on 14 August 2001 as "Local Government Plan 2000".

The local government system, according to the Local Government Plan, is based on the fundamental principles: devolution of political power, decentralisation of management functions, diffusion of the power-authority nexus, and distribution of resources to the district level.

The salient objectives of the Devaluation plan 2001 are the following (Safqat and Walrah: 2006):

a. Bureaucracy should be subordinate to the elected officials in the local councils. Restructure and decentralise civil service, so that it becomes responsive to public needs.

b. Devolve administrative, financial and developmental power to the elected officials in the local councils.

c. Ensure grassroots level accountability of the elected and appointed officials through an internal checks and balances system and also through the external system of citizen monitoring committees and the institution of an ombudsman.

d. Enhance public participation at the local level for all segments of the community especially through reserved seats for peasants, workers and women. The 33 per cent reservation of seats for women in local councils aims at bringing women into the mainstream decision making processes at the local level.

e. Reorient the entire administrative system to participatory decision making to make it responsive and efficient for effective service delivery.

f. Introduce new performance evaluation and incentive reward disciplinary procedures for higher performance of the public employees.

The plan argued in favour of a three tier local government system consisting of District Government (DG) at the top, Tehshil Municipal Administration (TMA) in the middle, and Union Administration (UA) at the bottom. The DG consists of an

indirectly elected mayor (Nazim). The district administration is comprised of offices at DG, TMA, and UA all coordinated by the District coordination officer (DCO) and are responsible or accountable to the Nazim. The administrative and financial powers of the divisional offices were delegated to the DG.

The architects of the plan are aware of the need for empowering the grass-roots level, and the vehicles selected for this are the Village Councils (VC) and the Citizens Community Boards (CCB). The VC is to assess finances, promote civic education, community learning, recreational and youth activity and gender sensitivity. The CCBs will be registered in the Zillas and will mobilise communities, raise funds for local problems, receive cost-sharing support and work closely with the monitoring committee of the union council.

Different persons and institutions have voiced several characteristics and issues and concerns about the system. According to the National Reconstruction Bureau (2000) the Local Government plan integrates the rural with the urban local governments on the one hand and the bureaucracy with the local governments on the other, into one coherent structure in which the district administration and police are answerable to the elected chief executive of the district. The main strengths of the devolution plan, according to the World Bank were:

i. It specifies a political process that would weaken central and provincial government's discretion by devolving more powers to non-partisan local government elected officials.

ii. Emphasises the need for grass-roots accountability of local governments.

iii. Puts in place check and balances and external accountability mechanisms including citizen monitoring committees, the District Ombudsman, clear procedures for selection and removal of senior officials and elected representatives.

iv. Incorporates provisions to promote popular participation at the local level.

v. Reserves 33 per cent of elected positions at the union and tehsil level for women thus attempting to break with traditional non-representation of women in the political process.

vi. Provides for representation of peasants/workers and minorities to prevent capture by the current power blocks.

The main local government legislation is the Local Government Ordinance (LGO) re-enacted by each province in August 2001:

A. Baluchistan Local Government Ordinance 2001.

B. North West Frontier Local Government Ordinance 2001.

C. Punjab Local Government Ordinance 2001.

D. Sindh Local Government Ordinance 2001.

Conclusion

A number of experiments in decentralisation are currently being planned or implemented. In recent years following its independence, decentralisation schemes were employed to strengthen the economy and governance to the country. The various governments of Pakistan saw that decentralisation could make a difference in the lives of its people, especially the poor. They attempted to reform the local government structure and district administration system to provide better access to basic services needed by the people. By bringing the government nearer to the people through the reformed structure, increased peoples participation and involvement in governance was and is being expected.

Decentralisation in Pakistan has always been a top-down imposition and, in each case, has had the sole purpose of legitimising a non-representative government at the centre, while at the same time creating a rural support base and loyal cadre of local politicians.

Musharraf's set of reforms have taken a significant step in substantially decentralising service-delivery functions from the provincial to the local level and by the empowerment of elected local governments vis-a-vis the bureaucracy. This is also the first time that a decentralisation effort in Pakistan has been focused, at least in rhetoric, on the empowerment of citizens and bottom-up process. The plan claims to be 'people-centred' and to have placed power in the hands of people at local level. This is borne out to an extent by the greater user role in service-delivery through CCBs and by the increased reservation of seats for women, labour and minorities (Cheema and Mohammad: 2003). The Local Government Ordinance 2001 adopted the goals of Pakistan's e-government strategy to:

1. Improve the quality of government services.

2. Provide transparency in government functioning

3. Create a public/private sector partnership for the development of Pakistan.

The National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) has launched a Media and Governance Website (www.mng.gov.pk) which reports on best practices in local government, currently covering matters such as improved revenue collection, pilot programmes between local governments at different levels, and women's initiatives.

The LGO has further made district governments responsible for delivering elementary and secondary education, literacy, primary and secondary health, agriculture, and intra district roads; tehsils and towns have service responsibilities including local roads and streets, street services, water supply system, sewers and sanitation, and slaughter houses, together with fairs, markets and cultural events. The Union level is responsible for libraries, local streets and street services, wells and ponds, cattle ponds and grazing areas. Union councils work closely with village and neighbourhood councils, and Citizen Community Boards (CCBs), promoting and coordinating development activities, and submitting proposals through annual plans to the district and tehsil levels which help inform the development budget allocation process.

By providing donor friendly lexicon of 'good governance', 'devolution', 'grassroots empowerment', and 'bottom-up reforms' Pakistan has been able to increase the support of donor agencies and NGOs over all the provinces. This further increases the opportunities for social capital as well as civil society enrichment. But it was not able to work in a broad manner because of the existing social structure.

In rural development of Pakistan the devolution of power happens to be an outstanding feature for which provinces were authorised to independently manage this vital area of activity to provide a third tier of governance, as provided by the 1973 constitution. To ensure the devolution of power, the law to transfer local governments to provinces was enforced on December 31, 2009 and provincial governments were, accordingly given the mandate to enact necessary laws through legislature, conduct party based elections, and launch local self governments to solve problems and ensure progress and development at the grassroots level in consultation with the people. Going through some recommendations the Asif Ali Zardari led Pakistan government has introduced the Local Government Act 2009 to ensure capacity development, gender justice and peoples participation.

The experience of Pakistan local government under different regimes can be seen in the following way:

A. The military governments, that instituted authentic local government moved forward more rapidly and forcefully in implementing reforms, and on a much broader front, than attempted by democratic governments in Pakistan. In practice only a nominally decentralised council, whose decision making and executive actions were dominated by representatives of the central bureaucracy and despite assertions to the contrary, every time political decentralisation was successfully launched, the next steps in terms of fiscal decentralisation, personnel or management as a whole, where often ignored.

B. The democratic regimes were often not ready to reform and develop local governments. They distrusted the idea of fragmenting central power, and were confident in their ability to organise development from the centre. A supposedly autonomous local government was not seen as consistent with resources aggregation and allocation to determine the national priorities. But as leaders became aware that their available options did not include the blotting out of locality identification and priorities, local participation came to rank higher in their priorities and they opted for a package of norms related to decentralisation. Consequently, decentralisation prevailed mostly in the form of deconcentration and delegation under the strong control of the centre.

Thus, decentralisation is not without potential but needs to be equipped with an ideology, aiming at the creation of a strong civil society. Only a strong civil society would be able to solve the formidable challenges that Pakistani society is facing now.

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Interaction of Micropolitics and Education Quality in Rural Karnataka

Pradeep Ramavath J

Introduction

Formal schooling provisions enshrined through various provisions in our constitution pretend to perform twin functions of realizing country's demographic dividend and ensuring social justice to the historically disadvantaged communities through its 'Public' and 'Private' schooling system. Formal entry of elementary education into the list of fundamental civic rights at present seems only a symbolic gesture of the state (Kumar, K. & Sarangapani, P. M. 2004). Thus, during the process of policy implementation, interacting structures and actors have been discounted to express their desires, needs, understanding, knowledge, and wisdom. Local communities residing in the periphery and interiors have been silently excluded from expressing their idea of education and quality. This process has significantly de-linked the aspirations of the stakeholders from the macro-policy objectives.

On the other hand, in India, we have varied consensus on the aspect of education quality (Dhankar, R. 2010). For some it is quality provisioning for school such as timely availability funds, teachers, infra structural facilities, school management by local community, socio-economic-political, cultural factors and for others it is only learner's cognitive achievement in the schooling system. Most of the macro studies (Lee, J and Barro, R. J. 2001, Banerjee, A and Kremer, M. 2002, ASER 2009, 2010, 2011, Bishop J 1989, Banerjee et. al., 2003) conducted at the national level focused only on establishing whether there is positive, strong and significant causal relationship between educational expenditure and outcomes at the aggregate levels. Dependent variables that were taken as proxies in most studies were: test scores, repetition, dropout, completion rates and enrolment ratios at the primary and sometimes at the secondary level. The studies generally aim to establish the

extent to which increases in school resources- usually measured as Pupil Teacher Ratios (PTRs), expenditure per pupil, proportion of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or average teacher salaries- enhance educational outcomes.

Parallel to the macro paradigm, micro studies in education also borrowed modern economic approaches to investigating the determinants of educational outcomes and developed well-established techniques from other economic applications to investigate into the issues of quality. The idea being there is a determinate relationship between inputs to production process and the outputs that subsequently emerge. However, the application of production function analysis to education is somewhat hazardous; also, using language to portray education through 'input' and 'output' approach is not very helpful as it obscures the key issues of assessing quality (Winch, C. 2010). Hence, in parallel with the economic tradition a different empirical approach to study schools and classrooms began to emerge. Micropolitics of education and schooling is one such framework, tradition that tries to uncover the hidden, untold, underworld of school, which influences quality significantly.

Micropolitics and education quality: towards an Interactionist framework

Realities encircling education clearly warn us that every narrative on quality is political, but all politics surrounding it is simultaneously macropolitics and micropolitics (Deleuze G and Guattari F,1993). Researchers have drawn a distinction between these two types of politics in schools. The term micropolitics refers to the use of formal and informal power by individuals and groups to achieve their goals in organizations. Cooperative and conflictive processes are integral components of micropolitics. Macropolitics refers to how power is used and decision-making is conducted at district, state, and federal levels. Macropolitics is generally considered to exist outside of the school, but researchers have noted that micro- and macropolitics may exist at any level of school systems depending on circumstances (Blase, J. 2002).

Table 1: Differentiating Macro and Micropolitics

Macropolitics	Micropolitics
- Subject: State, Nation, Corporation, Transnational State (IMF, WE, WTO)	- Subject: Individual, Citizen, Community, School, Class room, people and other life forms

- Realm: Sovereignty, Population, Territory, Security, Law, Resources, Trade, Property etc.,	- Realm: Body, Learning, Teaching, Sense of Self, Identity, Gender, Domestic/ Public, Sexuality, Food, Aesthetic, Education, Health etc.,

In essence, denying of 'politics' in educational decision making deliberately ignores and suppresses the realities of educational change processes at both micro and macro levels. Micro level competitions for deriving 'power' and 'authority' in the educational decisions become matter of curiosity in educational planning processes. Educational planning in developing countries needs to focus on political, administrative decisions and must take into account the clash between traditional and modern systems of education and socialization (Rowley,1971). The dominance of one interest group over others and efforts to derive power, authority, and control are assumed to affect quality in the longer run. Micropolitics provides a conceptual framework for the analysis of both the processes and outcomes of school reform focused on improving quality.

Innaccone (1975), one of the founders of special interest group in politics of education coined the phrase, the 'micropolitics' of education. This new domain in educational politics was largely studied from an organizational perspective. Major focus in micropolitical research in education was on finding out the behaviors of stakeholders in education system through a psycho-sociological analysis of educational processes and concurrent political actions, at the local level, its impact on the administrative processes and teaching-learning processes. This tradition largely emended qualitative research approach and ethnographical methodologies. Hence, more emphasis was on processes and its interpretation through constructivist approaches. Least priority was provided to find out causal relationship between the variables.

Studies designed to investigate the political relationships among parents, administrators, teachers, students, staff, representatives in local bodies, community, state and policy reforms initiated by the state is valuable and fill the research gap in the terrain of micropolitics (Blasé, 2005). Given the evolutionary nature of educational programs such as Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) there is lack of clarity on roles and responsibilities of stakeholders involved. Political lobbying and negotiation are integral part of dynamic programme implementation processes, thus having impact over quality of education at the local level. Overlapping roles and co-option are very common issues shaping

the micropolitical climate and influencing the quality in the long run. These complex dynamics of interaction between micropolitics and quality of school education (refers to both quality outcomes and processes) is a rarely studied phenomenon in rural context. RTE 2009 has naively defined quality from a supply side perspective and thus not providing opportunity for studying education quality beyond the bureaucratic interpretations.

Present study actually probed and investigated the dynamics of power, autonomy, and control of inputs and its impact on the processes and outcomes through the micropolitical framework. The micropolitical framework took into consideration both, consensual-cooperative and conflictive-adversarial micro political processes prevalent in the education system at the district and sub-district levels. Study aimed to:

a. Examine the existence of micropolitics in rural school systems, and to explore nature of micropolitical relationship between the stakeholders.

b. Construct the definition of education quality from the knowledge, attitudes and perspectives of actors, institutions and organizations in the rural education system.

c. Build an understanding on interactional patterns between micro politics and education quality in different rural contexts.

d. Probe on the micro political processes, which have significant impact in determining the education quality at the school, village, panchayat, cluster and block levels in rural areas of Karnataka.

Designand methodology

The study uses the theoretical frameworks of 'symbolic interactionism' as research design and thus the findings are majorly dependent on the interpretations derived from the interactions between 'micropolitical climate'(established by the actors, institutions, networks, and objects) with the concomitant processes associated with 'education quality' derived through a process of 'social constructivism'. Theoretical and empirical construction of 'micropolitics' and 'education quality' as distinct but interrelated, dependent phenomenon have been achieved through emergent, flexible research design embedded in interactionist, constructivist traditions. A hybrid analytical framework was constructed to evolve theoretical and empirical construction of micropolitical and quality perceptions from the associated stakeholders.

The schools were selected from two educational blocks (taluka) through purposive sampling methodology.

'Extreme-case sampling' method was applied to select the blocks. Channapatnain Ramanagaradistrict and Sidlaghatta in Chikkaballapur district in the State of Karnataka were chosen based on the Educational Development Index (EDI) for the year 2012-13. Study was carried out over a period of one year (2013-14) understanding the context, nature, pattern of interactions between 'educational quality' and 'micropolitics' at the village and school level. After the selection of educational blocks based on EDI, initial selection of schools were based on the criteria such as performance of the school with respect to outcome indicators-enrolment, retention, and learning levels. These selections had good predisposition with the opinions expressed by the educational functionaries working at cluster and block level. These predispositions were related to the perception of educational functionaries, their identification and judging capability of the schools as 'Good Schools', 'Bad Schools', 'Medium performing Schools', etc. Though on the official documents (school records, report cards) all the schools in the educational cluster showed more or less similar educational characteristics. One school in each educational cluster which fared better in terms of enrolment rates, learning outcomes and designated as 'better performing school' as compared to rest of the schools in the given educational cluster was selected for the study (Table-2).

Table 2: Sample Villages and Selection Criteria

Level	Selection Criteria	Samples	
Taluk	EDI	Channapatna (67th Rank)	Shidlaghatta (127th Rank)
Cluster	Perceptions of the CRPs and BEO Administrative	Myalanayakanahalli	Tummanahalli
Panchayat	Achievement tests, perceptions of	Mailalli	Kannesara
Village (School)	CRPs	Mailalli	Kannesara

After selecting two schools it was decided to spend a complete academic year i.e. 2013-2014 in these two schools to understand the micropolitical activities which might have some influence on high achievement levels of the children and also demarcate from the rest of the schools as 'Good Schools'. The central idea was to map the pattern of concurrent contributory 'micro political' processes and activities, which might demarcate these two schools from the rest of the schools in the selected educational clusters. Micro political processes were mapped

with respect to school as a unit of analysis; corresponding notions of quality have been gathered through a process of continued field action. A variety and tools were used as per the contextual need. Hence, study followed a 'mixed methodological' regime in selection of tools. Most of the tools used in the field were 'emergent' like -open ended questionnaire, unstructured interviews, focus group discussions(FGDs), observation of classroom and school processes, conducting of standard achievement tests, personal interviews, content analysis of school records, reports, texts and personal in-depth interviews.

Analysis and Reflections

Quality has different meaning to different groups; it is about the completion of physical and financial targets in time for head teacher, Cluster Resource Person (CRP), and educational bureaucracy, completion of syllabus for schoolteachers. However, when it comes to issues of quality for their own children it is about the higher order critical thinking, English knowledge, computer awareness, etc. When the question of explaining the factors influencing the quality of education in their schools, teachers in their responses have come out with diverse set of responses. These factors and components were mainly with their own perceptions, inputs and vision to create better quality outcomes from the present education system. Inputs for better quality included, inter alia, academic and pedagogic practices, management skills, community partnerships, training and capacity development of teachers, embedding leadership skills, ensuring good quality of infrastructure, technology deployment etc., (please refer Table-3)

Table 3: Meaning of quality of education and influencing factors

S.N	Factors	Percentage Responses
1	Three Rs (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic)	91%
2	Community Participation	82%
3	Training & Capacity development	50.50%
4	Leadership Development	44%
5	Universalization	42%
6	Teamwork	13.00%
7	Good Management	24%
8	Feedback	3.70%
9	Time Management & Communication skills	3.70%

10	Technology deployment	1.1.%
11	Improving the curriculum and pedagogy	60%
12	Extra-Curricular activities	35%
13	Others - decrease in corruption, - Recognize the importance of teaching as profession - More professional ethics	4.10%

a. Micropolitics of Infrastructure and Facilities

Basic physical facilities, necessary in schools as identified by SSA are classrooms, toilets, drinking water, playground, usable blackboard and seating facilities for the children (SSA, 2011). It is assumed that, these non-living elements, facilities play important role in improving experiences of teaching–learning subtleties and consequently overall school quality. There are some research evidences those link the availability of permanent classrooms, textbooks, desks, libraries, and running water with the take up, progress of primary education and quality (Heneveld & Craig, 1996). We also find that often in India the 'school building' is regarded by stakeholders and many commentators as the most important ingredient after the teacher (Michael W, 2007). School quality attributed no significant correlation between the existences of infrastructure facility with the learning levels; but has shown positive association between the presences of quality infrastructure with the students' well-being. Most of these attempts seem to physicalize the spaces and living world of the schools. The current RTE act of 2009 has just acted as state's physicalizing apparatus focusing primarily on quantum of infra structural facility that needs to be present in the school premises. It prescribes certain number of essential facilities to be present and proscribes such educational establishments which do not follow its prescriptions. In practice these prescriptions by the RTE legislation negates the human elements of caring, bothering, loving, liking, feeling and bargaining. It never provided a space for imagination through local wisdom and sensitivities. Instead of providing life to physicalities RTE seems to have taken out the living aspirations of the infra structural facilities. A typical example being presence of toilets, ramps, compound walls and their corresponding dysfunctionalities in the

rural schools. These facilities internalise the inefficacies through complex immanence of human necessities rooted in their local socio, economic and cultural contexts. Thus mere imposition through the toothless legislation of RTE would have void and null effect on these obligating physicalities.

Local community in Mailalli and Kannesara have used the school infrastructural facilities to penetrate the caste, political and religious identities through the 'space bargaining' process. This bargaining process usually carried out through the formal spaces provided by state in the form of Birthday celebrations of the National heroes and religious icons. School Development Monitoring Committees (SDMCs), local caste groups and panchayat authorities are the bargaining agents- where the interplay of caste and religious identities is clearly visible on the prominently visible physical spaces (such as school walls) and written documents (such as SDMC proceedings). Schoolteachers feel such processes as unnecessary but these bargaining processes are 'necessary evils' for their survival at the schools. Thus, the caste, religious- politics of school walls seemed more prominent than what positive effect the school infrastructure brought on the educational development of the student community.

This signalling of school infrastructure and learning environment in school premises as a space for identity (politics) bargaining for political clout without any positive association for students learning seems to be a negative outcome but has positive bearing for local politicians to carry forward their 'micro-political' agendas over a long gestation period. Above case studies from the selected school sites further demonstrates how the caste, religious and political hierarchies of the society are being reproduced through the physical spaces of the schools through the 'objectified state'. Feudal forces in the village actually control the decisions relating to any infrastructural matters; teachers, SDMCs are at the mercy of 'patronage' network of dominant castes. School facilities become reliable forum to build such 'dominating networks' at the village level, though these dominating networks and religious infrastructural facilities would not have any positive association with the education of the children.

b. Panchayat and Link Politics

Panchayat politics and its effect on schools seem to have a distinct orientation toward material benefits, and its elected leaders are the media for channelling the material benefits for themselves rather being altruists (Narain and Pande, 1972). Politics

under PR for schools is treated as a case of 'link politics' built on vertical alliances that serve as the proverbial hyphen that joins and buckle that fastens the state level and rural local politicians. If one were to treat this development as legitimate, one should also accept as its logical corollary the entry of political parties in the area of local politics (Narain and Pande, 1972).

Table 4: Allocation of money from CAC-GP

	Year	On Civic Amenities in Kannesara GP (Health Educational facilities)	On School education	GHPS Kannesara	On Civic Amenities in Mailalli GP (Health Educational facilities)	On School education	GHPS Mailalli
1	2005-2005	28000	14500		15000	8600	2000
2	2006-2007	49000	35550	3400	18800	10000	1700
3	2007-2008	35000	27000	3490	19800	15000	6000
4	2008-2009	23000	16000	6370	21000	13145	3400
5	2009-2010	21000	18000	6700	26000	17273	5800
6	2010-2011	27000	25000	5600	18990	16990	4500
7	2011-2012	20000	19000	6760	21000	14237	3900
8	2012-2013	39700	35000	2300	23000	19832	7800
9	2013-2014	35000	28000	11000	46000	39000	8400
	Total Amount Spent in 9 years	277700	218050	51220	209590	154077	43500
	Average Money Spent in 9 years	30855.5556	24227.7	5691.1111	23287.7778	17119.7	4833.333

Source: Book of accounts for standing committees

From the table-4, it is evident that, Kannesara School received an average of 18% of total allocation from the CAC and Mailalli received an average 20% of its share every year. In both the GPs more than 70% (78% for Kannesara and 73% for Mailalli) of the money from the CAC was spent on school education, indicating health component received very less priority in both the villages. In both the panchayats the Panchayat Development Officers (PDOs) inform about the erratic allocation on money on the issues relating to Civic Amenities; most the funds utilised for these purposes comes from the state government through the Zilla Panchayat and around 30% of the money will be pooled from the local revenue collection. From the assessment of school head teacher in Kannesara it would have been a sufficient grant for them to maintain

the repair and small maintenance activities through the CAC funding; but he complains of non-receipt and invisibility of the money at the operational level. Most of the spending is only on papers and in bills. SDMC members do not ask Panchayat for any accountability in this regard and CAC do not send any intimation about the release of the money.

As per Section 55 of the Karnataka Panchayat Raj Act of 1993, the decisions at the Panchayat meeting shall be displayed within three days from the date of the meeting on the notice board of the Grama Panchayat; along with the details of the names of the members voting respectively for or against the resolutions passed in the meeting. However, during the course of field verification only Mailalli Panchayat used to display such information; the Kannesara PDO always complained of problem with the printing machines to display such proceedings on the notice board, although he would circulate the proceedings to all the members. He declined to display any information to the public through the notice board and has not sent any intimation even to the school head teacher. On the contrary, in Mailalli the HT was informed about the repair and construction works undertaken by the panchayat in school premises.

This lack of accountability could be attributed to the factor about the co-option of the members in SDMC through the GP members. In addition, influential political leaders of the village selected most of the members of GP and SDMC. These political leaders are close associates of gram panchayat members and MLAs. None in both the villages remembers about election conducted in GP for the position of CAC or for the SDMC memberships.

During the group discussions head teacher blamed GP and community for distancing itself from the school activities and on the other hand SDMC members blamed head teacher for keeping them away and uninformed about the school matters. However, on panchayat account books, SDMC records the routing of the money for the construction purposes have been shown. PDO in Kannesara informed that the attendance of the SDMC members is though proxy signatures. Most of the GP and SDMC members in these villages are illiterate and hence not interested in reading the meeting proceedings or any notices. An analysis of participation of Dalits in the decisions related to school infrastructure and other facilities of Kannamanagala and Mailalli yielded a 'Matrix of Domination' as shown in Table-5, demonstrating 'Caste' as an important contextual factor in deciding the educational outcomes.

Table 5: Participation and types of talks in school decision-making with respect to infrastructure (adopted from Ball, 1987)

	Forms of participation	Response opposition	Strategies of control
Authoritarian	**Prevents access to voice** Ex- Particularly prevents the participation of parents of scheduled caste children in schooling activities.	**Stifle** Ex- Frequent insults in the schools by the upper castes	**Insulation, concealment and secrecy**
Managerial	**Formal committees, meetings and working parties** Ex- Teacher weekly staff meetings, SDMCs meetings, Gram Sabhas	**Channel and delay** Ex- Coordinated decisions of delaying the works due to discretionary powers provided to them in SDMC bye laws,	**Structuring, planning, control of agendas time and context** Ex- Setting meeting agendas, writing of meeting minutes, discussions and voting on the subject
Interpersonal	**Informal chats and personal consultation and lobbying** Ex- Biases towards the teachers of same age, gender and caste	**Fragment and compromise**	**Private performance of persuasion** Ex- Praising each other during CRP, BRP visits
Adversarial	Ex- Public meetings and open debate	**Confrontation**	**Public performances of persuasion**

c. Micro-Management versus Micro-Marketing

The teachers in Kannesara School had no mentors or senior teachers to induct them into the process of teaching. They experimented on their own to get inducted into the system. They faced the challenges outside the classrooms of brining the children into the classrooms. Even though they had support from community members, they spent lot of time in making the relations with the children, community, and other stakeholders. Even though teachers work on a collaborative mode, they do not get adequate support from the HT and other functionaries in the system. There are many drop out children from the marginalized communities, particularly Dalits, the reasons from them being excluded are not related only to the livelihood and poverty issues. There are micro level practices in the schools, which need to be introspected by the teachers, community, and HT. The micro-management practices of HT has repercussions on all teachers who were forced to carry out tasks, which might not help students in the school. These micro management strategies have brought good amount of narcissism in to the school system. On the other hand

the local private schools market their school through intimate 'micro-marketing strategies' and sell their schools to the community. Hence, the micro-marketing strategies practiced in the private school have a countering effect on the government school. This results in pulling out the children from government school catchment to shift to the private school. Even though the teachers have good practices and collaboration strategies, they fail to negotiate with the political economy in retaining the catchment of their school

d. Micropolitics of Curriculum and Teaching - Learning Material

Learning systems in rural schools are dominated by the 'Textbook culture' (Krishna Kumar, 1988). Textbooks have taken the centre stage of Indian curriculum and teaching methodologies. In this process, they impose hegemony on the community by discarding the local learning systems. The entire standard quality assessment framework tends to measure the impact of textbook culture in schools. They invariably ask questions from the textbooks to validate the children's knowledge and understanding on the parameters of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The curricular change supposedly aimed at indigenisation in post-colonial educational policy, resulted in Brahminisation as a key defining feature (p vi, NCF 2005)

An analysis of textbooks from class 1 to class 5 covering subjects such as Kannada, English, Social Science, and Environmental Science in the selected schools has demonstrated the following issues;

- There are around 644 pictures of the human beings in all these texts and 508(around 79%) pictures depicting the gender disparity in the society. This gender disparity is shown repeatedly and holds the patriarchal societal sentiments in the minds of schoolchildren. Most of the pictures relating to woman are related to domestic work.

- In class 5 textbook, there is mention of 54 temples, 5 mosques, and 2 pictures of church without a detailed description of these images except the glorification and rituals, which are carried out in these religious places.

- The description of rural life is prominently pronounced through the context of livelihoods such as basket making, farming, etc., and urban life as described through portrayal of white collared clean jobs.

These stereotypic descriptions of the school texts and their deliberations by the teachers had significant impact over the mind-sets of the children.

Their behaviour inside and outside the schools is affirmed by hegemonic thoughts imposed by the texts mediated by the teachers. In total 120 classroom observation shave demonstrated the patriarchal, brahminical indoctrination in the minds of the child to be obedient to the Brahminical value systems.

However, Teachers in GHPS in Kannesaratried to break this mold of hierarchical knowledge creation and dissemination. They started thinking about:

a. Creative ideas to integrate some innovative methodologies to teach the syllabus prescribed by the state;

b. Alternate learning methods to integrate the creativity of their fellow teachers and create supportive learning spaces in the school.

Block education officer (BEO) Mr. Hanumanthappa once during his visit to this school observed these works and encouraged teachers Sreedharand Dhanrajto carry out more such innovations. He started speaking in different teacher forums about these two teachers and started demanding such creativity in the work of teachers. This was the starting point of problems for these two teachers as many teachers in the neighboring schools criticized this initiative as waste of time and school hours. Both of them never gave up and further created a colorful magazine Shaamanti (2011, 2012, 2013, 2014) which was written by the students to share their own experiences: experiences of their interactions with the society, their observation of their environment, their learnings of mathematics, science, etc., The idea was to create the spaces for children to write their own texts, share, read and participate in the self-learning processes.

"….education is not only providing knowledge within the four walls of the classroom, it is a continuous engagement of the children with its community and surrounding. To realize the potential of the child teacher plays very important role. In many instances, the hidden talents of the children do not emerge. This is due to pressure from the education system to memorize a specific type of knowledge. Education sector should thus have to have more sensitivity and nurture the creativity among the children. ….In a small village of Kannesara teachers in GHPS and Sneha youth group are doing a marvelous task of organizing the school development activities, integrating the curriculum with the children's experiences and they are bringing children textbook titled Shaamanti. This is really encouraging and it should become a role model for all of us who are working in education sector."

A.Devaprakash
Director- Primary Education, CPI , Bangalore
p 4, Preface to Shaamanti-3 (2012)

It has been observed during the fieldwork that teachers are busy delivering what has been prescribed to them from the higher authorities. They do not have any say in the curriculum which they transact, neither are they so creative and talented to redesign the curriculum as per the local requirements. Even if they attempt some innovations (like children text books in Kannesara) they are not encouraged, instead they have been heavily criticized and discouraged. Short semesters with vast coverage of syllabus put the learning of the children at greater risk.

e. Politics of Street Bureaucracy

The dynamics of interaction between teachers and functionaries such as CRPs in negotiating and bargaining power to control and exercise authority over available educational resources to produce given set of educational outcomes depends on several contextual factors. These contextual factors are not completely separate from standard quality procedures set by the educational bureaucracy; they are integral part of the system. The 'Street Level Bureaucracy' (Lipsky,1969) has no control over any of these processes, though certain forms of participation and types of talk in school system would help them in arriving at certain strategies of control (Ball, 1987). These strategies of control in fact demolish the innovations practiced by the teachers in the local contexts. Control strategies in the local situations have been assimilated through the positional power and social capital gathered by the educational functionaries. Even though the executive orders from the higher authorities act as currency to scare the teachers to perform the proxy tasks of educational administration, social and cultural capital plays a significant role. This is further hardened when educational practice sites such as Cluster Resource Center (CRC)are utilized as mediator of electoral politics. In addition, there is a clear evidence of assertion of power through the intersection of identities of being affiliated to upper caste hegemony.

Cluster resource person comes to these schools not as an academic support functionary but as a 'departmental postman' with an authority to pressure; force the head teacher to provide the data and information. He uses techniques of 'scaring the teachers through the executive orders and through names of higher officials'. He always comes in a hurried fashion, with a bunch of newer data formats and he hardly listens to what teachers have to say.

His conversations start with…"you have to complete the report of the enrolment drives by 15-06-2013", "fill these sheets and details

regarding new enrolments", "books have arrived go and collect the text books", "send copy of all bills to CRC by this week."

Head teacher in Mailalli says, "Most of his visits and discussions happen not even inside the school premises. He will be sitting in his 'Pushpakavimaana (motor bike) in the middle of the road and dictating the things to us. Now he is not coming to our village also, he functions through 'mobile phone'. Yes, this mobile CRP has become real mobile CRP. Earlier we missed his visits now we miss his 'missed calls'. His ritualistic visits do not have any kind of academic significance for the teaching and student community."

HTs and teachers do not show any respect towards these CRPs as they just work on the currency of 'fear for the orders'. Weekly teachers meetings in Cluster Resource Center (CRC) just end up in a follow up of his visits. Rarely do they also do some sharing in CRC on awards or prizes won by the students during some competitions. Most of the time it has been observed that CRC meetings have been structured to discuss the problems of confrontation between community, SDMC and teachers or else they will discuss about what syllabus they have completed till then , local holidays and funds for TLMs. They do not have time and space to discuss either on any specific topic or do they intend to arrive at any solution to the problems they face at the school site.

Thus teachers and HTs call these weekly CRC meetings as 'Chow Chow Bath' meetings; with mix of everything in it and nothing specific in it. Prior to Lok Sabha polls this platform was used for election campaign by sponsoring food, cold drinks, and gifts by the political parties. Local teachers' union mediated the process; thus most of the time teachers act as 'mediating actors/brokers' between the political parties and larger teaching community. These interactions through 'mobile phones, ritualistic visits and no academic interactions at weekly CRC meetings are symptoms of 'top down policy implementation' where only great expectation set is to send the reports and bills on time. These type of top down policy implementation strategies are endemic to local level administrative and political bargaining thus making school system act as"Street level service provider" (Lipsky 1969) which operates in a strategic network designed to connect the educated slaves performing mandatory rituals in the Brahminical social order.

Opinion of the teachers and HTs have some weightage and currency only if they belong to dominant castes (Okkaliga and Lingayat), upper castes (Brahmins, Achari's) etc., Hence caste

identity has due weightage in teachers identity at the cluster and school level. Teachers like Dhanraj and Sreedhar even though they have some innovations, new practices, etc., to be discussed with the fellow teachers do not get a chance as they belong to 'Holeya' community. Teachers like Vidhyalakshmiand Chayadevi also do not get chance to express their ideas, their identity being 'women'. These type of 'intellectual untouchability' at the school and CRC level could be seen as reproduction of socio-cultural inequalities (Bourdieu, 1977) embedded in the feudal schooling system.

CRP in Thummanahalli Mr. Chandru points out that HTs like Manjappahave become more an administrative authority than an academic leader in the school. His school day begins from 8.30 by getting vegetables and catching bus to reach KannesaraSchool and ends his day around 5- 5.30pm updating records and planning for the next day. Though one can categorize HTs work into annual, monthly and daily, Manjappacannot perform his work in a systematic way, rather he mixes everything.

Thus CRP Chandru smiles and says, "work of Manjappaand his team could be listed under the title…...time constraint or utilization of time for unmanageable activities…..ha haha" he giggles and showed me the exhaustive Quality Monitoring Tools (QMT) received form the department.

He further says "…. Now we have to be prepared for the completion of QMT during second cluster level consultation meeting. These formats are very detailed and humanly not possible to compile each detail asked. I don't understand how one can monitor the quality using these formats. By the time we finish the first round of data collection; rather than reflecting on the data collected we get busy in collecting one more set of data or information asked by the department. ….now we also need to get busy with the school and family survey work….."

f. Pseudo decentralized structures

Systematic co-option efforts to create parallel institutions in 'decentralized governance framework' with the establishment of school development and monitoring committees by centralized executive order is an unintended effort by educational bureaucracy to delink panchayats from mandated constitutional responsibility. Unplanned fund disbursal by Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and recent confusions created by 'Right to Education Act of 2009' on the roles and responsibilities of individuals, authorities, institutions, etc., are seen as some of the common reasons for disfunctioning of school development

and monitoring committees in most part of Karnataka. However, critical appraisal of this committee using institutional ethnography in Mailalli has helped to probe more on the ability of this 'pseudo decentralized structure'in performing the roles and responsibilities prescribed to them beyond the educational bureaucracy. However, exhorting reluctant community members to take active interest in educational needs of their children demands a holistic and long-term strategy. The efforts taken by the local NGOs and community members in consultation with the teachers are worth replicating, but this cannot be a substitute for Panchayats.

Suboptimal and short-term solutions such as formation of SDMCs without situating them in a larger societal context are a serious mistake committed by educational bureaucracy, however situational strengthening of the SDMCs in place of Panchayats makes them supplementary structures. Present SDMC structure in Mailalli does not flow out of the larger PRI governance mechanism; on the other hand, PRIs see these SDMCs as agglomeration of voiceless parent community. SDMCs are puppets in the hands of head teacher and other higher levels of educational bureaucracy. They are created as symbolic institutions representing democratic principles in school governance mechanism and help educational administrative machineries to spend resources channelized by SSA. The impact made by SDMCs is a larger question to be addressed but the mere existence of these improperly conceived pseudo-participatory structures are problematic to the educational system as they do not indicate any sustainable structural affiliations. Rather they are situational leadership, momentary community driven strategies.

The influence of teacher associations in affecting educational outcomes is an important discourse at the district and sub district levels. Qualitative enquiry into functioning of primary school teachers association in Channapatna and Shidlaghatta Taluks demonstrated the existence of 'neo-corporate' strategies at meso levels. Karnataka state primary school teachers association (KSPSTA) is a large 'organized interest group' of primary school teachers at the taluk and district level which influences the routine administration practices and in turn shapes the extra educational politics at the school and sub-district levels. Its actions have a larger inclination towards personal wellbeing at the cost of systemic educational goals and quality. It largely tackles issues of individual wellbeing of teachers such as time bound increment in pay scale, transfer, posting, promotion, training and vacation related issues. Its ability to impact

policy implementation processes and influencing curricular areas are hardly evident in its actions even after explicit mention of such novel intentions in the constitution bye-law document of the association.

Conclusion

On the one hand, the study demonstrated the existence of multiple innovative pedagogic, democratic practices, which are local, driven by the collaborative school leadership practices. On the other hand the study discusses the delink of micro-innovative practices with existing 'top down' quality governance mechanisms. The study, through the analysis of 'quality' and 'micropolitical' interactional pattern signals the stabilisation of 'systemic inefficiency equilibrium' in rural school system which has been strategically crafted through existing educational bureaucracy which is completely feudal; school, village level institutional networks which are dominated by caste identities, and school texts which strew only Brahminicalvalues in the minds of the school community. Thus teachers need to be capacitated to work and teach in the highly politicized world of school, village, and classroom, keeping all the positive and negative micropolitical behaviors into consideration. Thus timely in-depth orientation on micropolitical behaviors need to be provided. This has to start on an immediate basis in order to realize the constitutional vision of education being a social change agent. The emancipatory power of education is embedded in such micro-initiations. Teachers should empathize with all the stakeholder like teachers, students, community members and SDMC members to understand the micropolitical strategies, which will help them to enhance the quality of services in their school in a sustainable manner.

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Notes

[1]Micropolitics is defined as the "dynamics of interaction between and among several stakeholders in negotiating and bargaining power to control and exercise authority over available educational resources to produce given set of educational outcomes and quality of education in schools." Alternative names Interpersonal Politics, School Site Politics, Power Relations, Small Organizational Politics

[2]At the micro level quality is defined with respect to (i) process indicators such as enabling and facilitating management and pedagogic practices, teacher and student engagement, effective utilization of school and community resources-both material and human resources. (ii) Pupils' performance based on achievement tests. In both macro and micro indicators, efficacy and equity assumed centrality.

[3]Chapter III in the duties of appropriate government and local authorities, 9(4) ensures for the good quality of elementary education conforming to the standards and norms specified in the schedule; section 19 & 25 mentions about some of the norms and standards relating to number of teachers, building standards, number of instructional days of school, working hours per week for teachers, library facilities, play materials and games facilities at the school.

[4]Identifying the extremes or poles of some characteristic and then selecting cases representing these extremes for an in-depth examination

[5]Education Development Index is composite index comprising of access, infrastructure, teachers and outcome indicators prepared by Karnataka education department t in order to facilitate the process of educational planning in the state.

[6]As described by Bourdieu (1986), Objectified state refers to the cultural capital at the community levels in the form of cultural goods such as pictures, paintings and physical spaces which are trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, ideologies and problematics.

Urban Mobility; its role in buildingcleaner, greener and safer cities

V. Vijaykumar

Introduction

The new world order is marked by rapid, relentless and often uncontrolled urbanisation. Migration into cities has resulted in severe infrastructure deficits and service delivery shortfalls. These have resulted in deteriorating quality of life, exclusion of the underprivileged, environmental degradation and on several occasions, plain chaos. While the world urban population is expected to grow from about 54% in 2015 to 67% in 2050, the shareof people living in Indian cities will nearly double from 31.20% (Census 2011) to 60% by the same year. In India as elsewhere, megacities have borne a disproportionately larger burden of urbanisation and its outcomes-some less than desirable. Smaller cities, simply by virtue of lighter population loads have adequate time to prepare for absorbing the migrant populations. Smaller cities also have less national and global attention, lower economic potential, lower glitz quotient and the resulting lower attractiveness for migrators as compared to the larger cities.

Housing shortages and the related proliferation of slums, water supply and sanitation, municipal and solid waste management, environmental degradation, chaotic traffic conditions, security especially of women, children and the aged and public health are all very serious issues in all our cities and present immense challenges especially given the resource constraints of urban local bodies and inadequate citizen engagement. Each of these issues is vital in making our cities more livable, yet complex, eluding effective solutions for many years. The involvement of NGOs and the voluntary sector has had a soothing effect in some cases but the overall impact has been more peripheral than widespread, robust and sustained. This paper takes a look at the transport situation in our cities, reasons for poor

performance of public transport systems and possible interventions and approaches towards more effective, efficient and sustainable options for urban mobility.

Current situation in cities

Transport is a key element of urban infrastructure. Efficient, meaning safe, speedy and affordable transport enables city dwellers to access essential needs including livelihood, education, healthcare and leisure. Public transport is crucial for the poor and vulnerable due to limited mobility options at their disposal as well as likely remote residence. Cost of transport is particularly relevant in their case. High cost can deny them the more fulfilling livelihood options forcing them to settle for suboptimal choices closer home.

The current mobility scene in most of our cities is marked by disorder and chaos, often even lawlessness.

1. Road and related infrastructure

Congestion is a key issue in city traffic in all cities. Policy makers, believing that the problem is due to limited road space and slow traffic flow, have invariably responded by increasing space for roads, widening of roads, building of flyovers, bridges and viaducts-all of which address just one aspect of mobility and go to encourage motorized transport, ignoring in the process demand side dynamics of city design and planning including the need to travel and role of non-motorized transport. Such expansion of physical infrastructure has resulted in more rapid increase of vehicles on road, leading to more congestion. Considering that infrastructure creation lags demand by many years, citizens therefore live in constant congestion and disorder.

2. Traffic composition

Over the years, with economic growth, there has been a substantial growth in ownership of private vehicles-largely two-wheelers and passenger cars. Increasing numbers of passenger cars is also contributed by the growth in the taxi segment (Intermediate Public Transport-IPT). Improving propensity to spend accompanied by easy availability of financing options for purchase of taxis by individual entrepreneurs has supported growth. Alongside, recent growth of organized hail-a-cab systems has made finding and engaging a cab far easier. Table 1 shows the steep increase in the share of two-wheelers (contributing to private transport) in total vehicle registration in the State of Maharashtra in the last 45 years to 2016. The steep drop in share of buses (almost all for public transport) denotes the shift away from public transport in the State. Table 2 shows recent trends in vehicle sales at the national level

with significant rise in numbers for two-wheelers and passenger vehicles (cars, utility vehicles and vans) with other categories more or less constant or declining.

The role of public transport usage by contrast is becoming less relevant. The BEST undertaking which operates bus services–considered one of the most efficient ones in the country-in Mumbai and part of the adjoining districts reported a steady drop in ridership since the fare hike in September 2014. Average daily ridership dropped to 3.3 million a day in February 2015 from about 4.2 million prior to September 2014.[1]

Table 1: Percentage share of different categories of registered motor vehicles in the State of Maharashtra, India

Sr. No.	Category of Vehicle	% Share March 1971	% Share March 2016
1	Two-wheelers	28.25	73.04
2	Cars/Jeeps/Taxis	44.55	14.99
3	Buses	2.93	0.47
4	Goods Vehicles	17.39	5.17
5	Others	6.87	6.32

Source: Department of Transport, Government of Maharashtra

Table 2: Automobile Domestic Sales Trends

Category	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17
Passenger Vehicles	26,29,839	26,65,015	25,03,509	26,01,236	27,89,208	30,46,727
Commercil Vehicles	8,09,499	7,93,211	6,32,851	6,14,948	6,85,704	7,14,232
Three Wheelers	5,13,281	5,38,290	4,80,085	5,32,626	5,38,208	5,11,658
Two Wheelers	1,34,09,150	1,37,97,185	1,48,06,778	1,59,75,561	1,64,55,851	1,75,89,511
Grand Total	1,73,61,769	1,77,93,701	1,84,23,223	1,97,24,371	2,04,68,971	2,18,62,128

Source: Society of Indian Automobile Manufacturers

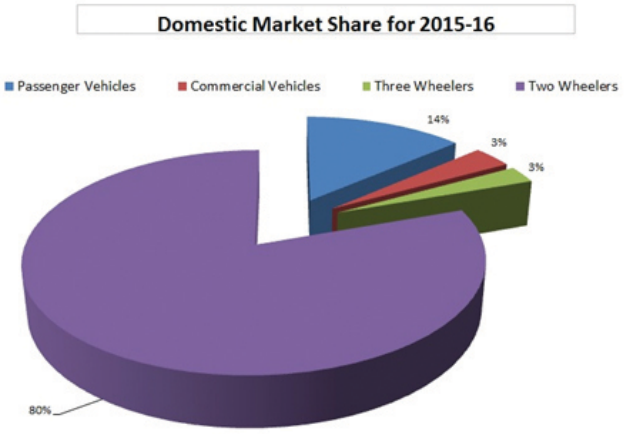
1-The Times of India, Mumbai; 1st April 2015

Table 3: Growth Rates in registration of various categories of motor vehicles in the State of Maharashtra

Sr. No.	Category	CAGR (2005-15)
1	Two Wheelers	10.22
2	Cars/Jeeps/ St. Wagons	10.30
3	Taxi Cabs	6.83
4	No Auto-Rickshaws	2.78
5	Stage/Contact Carriages	5.44
6	School Buses	21.37
7	Private Service Vehicles	3.19
8	Ambulances	8.63
9	Arti/ Multi Axel Veh., Trucks/Lorries, Tankers & Delivery Vans	8.76
10	Tractors	10.37
11	Trailors	6.63
12	Others	13.78
	Total State	9.7

Source: Department of Transport, Government of Maharashtra

Figure 1: Share of various categories of vehicles in India during 2015-16



Source: Society of Indian Automobile Manufacturers

Another feature of traffic on Indian roads is its mixed nature. In most cases, the same roads are used by non-motorized modes such as bicycles as well as all motorized modes from two and three wheelers to large commercial vehicles; and commonly even animals from stray dogs to camels. Understandably the result is slow and unpredictable movement of vehicles, increased congestion and more accidents. Efforts have been made in many cities now to segregate traffic such as separate roads for two-wheelers and bicycle lanes. But these remain the exception and largely unpopular and hence unsuccessful. Impediment to smooth traffic flow is also caused by pedestrians walking on roads even in the existence of footpaths because these footpaths are sometimes encroached upon by hawkers.

Some successful Bus Rapid Some successful Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) Systems in a few large cities have demonstrated the benefits of appropriate traffic segregation which also helps speed up public transport (bus) and thus could increase ridership.

3 Road Safety

During 2015 total traffic (Road plus Rail) accidents in India was 496762 rising 3.1 percent over the previous year. Deaths due to traffic accidents in 2015 were 177423 as against 169107 in the previous year.[2]

Table 4 illustrates the severe vulnerability of two-wheeler riders on the road. Non use of helmet and weak enforcement increases their vulnerability many fold. Number of

Table 4: Share of road accident deaths by mode of transport during 2015

Sr. No.	Mode of Transport	Total persons died	Percentage share of deaths
1	Truck/Lorry	28910	19.4
2	Bus	12408	8.3
3	SUV/Station Wagon, etc	6096	4.1
4	Car	18506	12.4
5	Jeep	5766	3.9
6	Tractor	5483	3.7
7	Three wheeler/Auto Rickshaw	6915	4.7
8	Two wheeler	43540	29.3
	Total Motorized	**137781**	**92.7**
9	Bicycle	1248	0.8
10	Hand drawn vehicle/Cycle Rickshaw	92	0.1
11	Animal drawn vehicle	194	0.1
12	Pedestrian	7088	4.8
13	Others	2304	1.5
	Total Non-motorized	**10926**	**7.3**
	Grand Total	**148707**	**100**

Source: National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India: Accidental Deaths and Suicides in India 2015

2- National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India. Accidental Deaths and Suicides inIndia 2015

pedestrians who lose their lives in road accidents is significant and is a cause for distress because they are mostly 'victims' and not 'offenders'.

4. Pollution

Air pollution is a very real and deadly hazard in Indian as well as global cities contributed greatly by automobile use. The Suspended Particle Matter (SPM) in ambient air while always well beyond permitted limits has often reached alarming levels prompting city authorities to announce drastic measures. Paris recently made all public transport free for a few days in order to discourage use of private cars and thus reduce GHG emissions from alarming levels. It was faced with the worst air pollution in ten years. Similarly the Delhi government introduced the odd-even rule to restrict the number of vehicles on the road. Reportedly this met with little success though. Delhi also proposed to slash bus fares by 75 percent as a trial measure, but the proposal was ultimately not implemented. In a recent WHO ranking,10 Indian cities figured in the list of the world's top 20 with the worst air quality. Delhi for Instance has PM2.5 (Particulate Matter of diameter upto 2.5 microns) 6 times the WHO permitted level of 25 micrograms per cubic metre.[3]

WHO Guideline values
$PM_{2.5}$
10 µg/m3 annual mean
25 µg/m3 24-hour mean
PM_{10}
20 µg/m3 annual mean
50 µg/m3 24-hour mean

Vehicular pollution is a function of the number of vehicles on the road, the technology, age, roadworthiness and operating condition of vehicles. In addition, traffic flow dynamics (stop-go, idling), road conditions and adulterated fuels are equally responsible. Governments all over are working to upgrade technologies of both vehicles and fuels in order to achieve cleaner emissions. In India recently the Government mandated that all vehicles sold from 1st April 2017 onwards shall meet the stricter Bharat Stage IV (BS IV) emission norms. Side by side fuel refiners are working to upgrade fuel quality to fall in line with stricter emission norms. The government is also reportedly planning to incentivize the scrapping of old vehicles for the same reason.

A lesser evil is noise pollution. While the effects of noise pollution are not life threatening, they can be substantial. Continued exposure to high decibel levels can lead to hearing impairment, decreased cognitive abilities and disturbed sleep leading to irritation, heightened blood pressure levels and resulting cardiac

3. WHO Air Quality database 2016.

abnormalities. Vehicular noise pollution is severe and widespread; and prevalent through the day, everyday. Construction noise is often limited spatially, restricted to activity centres. Other man-made noise such as during festivals or processions though substantial occurs during specific short periods only.

5 Public Transport

Public transport in India has traditionally been hampered by lack of resources, investments and quality management. Mumbai is one of the few cities with a better record on this score with public transport accounting for over 51% of all motorized trips in the metropolis[4]. The suburban rail system the lifeline of the city's mobility carries over 7 million passengers each day. This system moves people efficiently across large distances of the city including neighbouring districts and even beyond the Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR). The low carbon footprint, nil contribution to street congestion and inexpensive pricing make this mode most desirable. However the system efficiency has reached saturation with already high frequency operation, increased rake lengths and carrying capacity, and no possibility of expansion through additional tracks due to severe land constraints. The system is fully loaded, rather greatly overloaded with peak hour overcrowding reaching alarming levels at great risk to passenger safety. In spite of very affordable monthly/ quarterly passes, the Fare Recovery Ratio (FRR), i.e., the extent to which operating revenues meet operation expenses was 1.0 during 2004-08 but declined to 0.6 in 2011-12[5]. While other cities such as Chennai have suburban rail systems, they are not so widely used and contribute less to the cities' mobility load.

In order to address the public transport needs, Indian planners are increasingly looking at metro rail as the ideal solution. The Kolkata Metro was commissioned in 1984, the Chennai MRTS in 1995 and the Mumbai Metro in 2014. Other Indian cities which have a functional metro include Delhi NCR, Bengaluru, Gurgaon, Jaipur and Chennai. 8 cities have Metro systems under construction and another 18 under planning. Monorail has a small role to play mainly as a feeder mode.

The bulk of the public transport in a large number of Indian cities is handled by bus. In Mumbai for example, it is BEST an undertaking of the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai. The undertaking provides services in Mumbai and some parts of adjoining Thane and Navi Mumbai. BEST is considered one of the better run public transport utilities in the country. Large sections of Mumbaikars recall with pride the dependable services BEST has been providing for many decades and vouch for the

4-Mumbai Rail Vikas Corporation Report/Comprehensive Transportation Study (CTS) for MMR (2008)
5- Pricewater house Coopers Study for Mumbai Rail Vikas Corporation

quality of its services. The organization is however facing difficult times. Revised financial estimates put the loss of the transport undertaking for 2015-16 at 1057.84 crores. The Budget for 2016-17 estimates a loss of 930.15 crores[6].Since the undertaking also has a power distribution arm where it makes profits, on the whole it manages to break even or make a small surplus.

Way forward

Urban mobility has already reached unsustainable limits in many settings due to immense congestion, severe compromise of road safety and dangerous levels of GHG emissions. In a situation where we will see increasing pace of urbanization and the unlikely emergence of new urban centres, we can expect higher stress on the existing cities and megacities in particular. These cities will face all round service delivery deficits, including on the mobility front. There will be an increasing tendency on the part of citizens to use private transport options such as two-wheelers considering the convenience these offer as also means, i.e., easy financial assistance to acquire vehicles. This trend will however not be in the interest of our cities from a variety of standpoints as we have seen in 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4 above. There is thus need for policymakers to aggressively promote public transport. There is need to simultaneously discourage or disincentivize and minimize personal transport use.

1. Role of Bus in public transport

Bus will remain a crucial vehicle to enable efficient urban mobility in the future in all cities for several reasons: (a) the physical infrastructure, i.e., road is already available in most of our cities. The road network continues to be augmented, improved and modernized everywhere aided by urban rejuvenation measures such as Smart Cities Mission and AMRUT. (b) it is a comparatively low investment alternative, certainly compared with rail based systems like metro and monorail. For example the first phase of the recently inaugurated Chennai Metro comprising 45 kms will cost Rs 14,750 crores[7]. (c) while bus operations would require subsidy support in order to keep fares low and encourage rider ship, the amount would be manageable with visible funding options as discussed in 3.2. (d) Bus based public transport systems have very short gestation periods. Buses can be purchased almost off the shelf and put into operation within a few days. (e) buses can be deployed on different routes and areas and frequencies adjusted based on local, special needs, for example in times of festivals or emergencies. (f) Buses can play an important role in last-mile connectivity for the main modes like suburban rail and metro.

6- BEST Financial Highlights and Budget Estimates FY 2016-17
7-www.chennaimetrorail.org - Project Brief

Metro rail will be the preferred option in situations such as airport transfers where airport-city centre distance could be large, where time predictability of the journey is essential, and higher fare realization is possible.

2 Fiscal and regulatory intervention

As we have seen, the transport wing of the BEST is incurring losses of nearly Rs 3 crores a day with income of about 4 crores and expenses of about 7 crores. While it is tempting to assume that revenues should be augmented by increasing fares, it is unlikely to work. The undertaking reported a steep drop in daily ridership consequent to fare hikes in 2014-15.While this is indeed an unfortunate situation for BEST, it portends ill for public transport in general. The reason is not difficult to understand. With most two-wheelers providing fuel efficiency of atleast 50 kms per litre of petrol which costs say Rs 75, the cost per Km is Rs 1.50. A two km ride for two persons thus costs Rs 3.00.

The same distance for two persons in BEST costs Rs 16.00 as per the fare chart[8]. As per Chennai Metro Fare Chart a 2 Kms ride for two persons will also cost Rs 16. Given that the initial purchase cost of the two-wheeler can be easily financed, the operational cost is very much in its favour and with two-wheelers offering door-to-door convenience and zero wait times, the choice is clear. No wonder in 2016-17, India became the largest two wheeler market in the world with sales of 17.58 million units amounting to 48,000 units each day. India overtook China which sold 16.8 million units. Thus without intervention the future of public transport (at least buses) appears bleak.

Therefore we need bold, intelligent, well thought out interventions to make public transport the preferred choice. A two-pronged strategy is called for. One which makes private transport less attractive and public transport, say buses, more attractive. Some possible measures are discussed below:

1. A Rs 2/- 'Public Transport Cess' on every litre of petrol, diesel and unit of CNG sold in the city. This is to be passed on entirely to the public transport (bus) utility. If we can have cesses for various public good measure like education, why not one in support of lower emissions which could save us all from certain physical harm. A report quotes that during the four financial years to 2013-14 Mumbai, Thane and Navi Mumbai burnt about 69 Lac kilolitres of fuel. That is about 17.25 lac KL per year[9]. The 2 rupees per litrecess would yield about Rs 350 crores in a full year.

8. http://bestundertaking.com/pdf/farerevisionjuly2016-english.pdf
9. DNA 18th December 2014 quoting Sales Tax Department Reply to an RTI query

Such a measure will make private transport more expensive while taking care of part of the finances of the public transport utility enabling it to keep fares low. In fact to counter the economics of using motorized two-wheelers, public transport should ultimately become free. A higher Public Transport Cess could make this possible.

2. City corporations need to run air-conditioned bus services with full fares for passengers who would otherwise use cars. While fares should reflect true costs, the overriding objective should be to provide alternative to take cars off the roads. A small cess on the annual insurance premium for cars, jeeps, vans and SUVs can contribute to the public transport pool in order to fund services, while at the same time making the operation of private vehicles more expensive.

3. All public parking lots in the city must be handed over to the transport utility by the municipal corporation. The public transport utility, say BEST, could then raise revenues by charging private vehicles which park there. Parking charges must reflect the true value of public spaces. This will discourage use of private vehicles in many situations. If citizens are found to cooperate in measures such as the odd-even scheme in Delhi recently, surely they see the larger good to public health and will support such measures.

4. Parking areas close to (say within one Km to) facilities like suburban railway stations and metro rail stations will be reserved for use by the public transport buses only. If people cannot get to park their two-wheelers very close to the railway station while going to catch the train, they may be encouraged to take the bus instead which will drop them right at the station entrance. In fact regulating public roads so that private vehicles cannot enter an area of radius one Km from such facilities can discourage further the use of private vehicles. In China two-wheelers are not permitted within the entire city limits of many cities. Some permit electric one though.

5. Walking, cycling and non-motorized modes such as cycle-rickshaws or pedicabs can be encouraged by various means. Wider footpaths with small eateries and stalls along the way for instance can make walking the preferred last mile option during commutes. The shortest way to

reach a suburban railway or metro station could be reserved for walkers and cyclists, making their journey safer and more pleasant while forcing motorists to take longer routes. Roads around other preferred destinations in a city may be reserved for non-motorized transport users.

There could be several other measures one could pick up from successful practices prevalent around the world. The City-State of Singapore has some. The Area Licensing Scheme (ALS) was in force between 1975 and 1998 when it was replaced by the Electronic Road Pricing (ERP) Scheme which is now in force. Under this system some roads during some times of the day attract additional charges which are electronically billed to the vehicle. These are typically in inner city areas during peak traffic hours and urge motorists to take alternate roads to avoid the fees thereby reducing congestion.

Several other demand side measures can be examined. For example different offices in a busy business district can observe different work timings so that traffic and parking demand as also loading of public transport facilities is spaced out. The office timings could be realigned once every six months. Offices may be encouraged to have one day in a week as a 'work-from-home' day for each employee.

Conclusions

Mobility is one of the essential needs for the urban dweller in order to meet her needs of livelihood, education, healthcare and leisure. However, urban mobility presents significant and stubborn challenges in cities around the globe. The challenges stem from congestion, low travel speeds, very high levels of hazardous emissions posing grave health problems, and compromising safety of all road users including pedestrians. A major portion of the problem is attributable to the growing preference for private transport and the resulting burgeoning number of such vehicles on roads. Many initiatives and presumed solutions to the mobility conundrum in cities have ended up in fact supporting private transport as against public transport options. Measures like wider roads, flyovers and viaducts end up encouraging private transport. Given that common personal transport options such as the motorcycle and scooter cost far less than public transport and provide door-to-door connectivity, the trend is unlikely to change.

There is thus need for proactive intervention through policy measures to encourage use of public transport while at the same time discouraging or disincentivising private transport. A mix of measures including fiscal and regulatory ones is required. These need

to impose additional costs on users of private transport in terms of fuels costs and parking fees. These charges and fees should be ring-fenced and provided to the body running bus services in the city so that fares can be kept very low to encourage their use. Regulatory measures could include parking restrictions for private vehicles, no access areas and the like. In the medium to longer term, evolving technology options will provide more sustainable options leading to greener mobility. Niti Aayog is reportedly working towards 3 percent Methanol blended fuel which will help slash India's import bill of petroleum products. However its impact on emissions may be only incremental. Then there is Power Minister Piyush Goyal's statement that India should move to 100 percent electric vehicles by 2030. This can lead to dramatic improvement in air quality. While these would lead to cleaner air in the long term, we need urgent measures for the short and medium term, if we are to leave a clean earth for future generations. As the native American proverb says, *'we do not inherit the earth from our ancestors, we borrow it from our children'.*

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An Invitation

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

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

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

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

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Reflecting on Complexities of Neo-liberal Urban Transformation in Indian Cities

Soumyadip Chattopadhyay

The Perspective: Neo-liberalization of Urban Governance in India

India is urbanizing and the growth is occurring across the urban spectrum. However, majority of the Indian cities are riddled with serious infrastructural deficits and basic service delivery gaps. This not only jeopardizes the quality of life of the urban populace but also undermines the competitive edge of these cities and thereby their potential as key drivers of economic growth. Indian policy makers thus face a very difficult task of managing the conflicting demands of economic growth and social justice. A substantial amount of investment is needed to remove the current backlogs in infrastructure provision and also to augment the infrastructural facilities. Till the 1990s, municipalities used to rely on budgetary support from the state/central government for developing infrastructure. Given the insufficiency of such resources and weakness of municipal authority, urban development plans and policies from 90s onwards started to embrace governance reforms, especially democratic decentralization and private participation (Weinstein, Sami and Shatkin, 2014).

In particular, the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act1993, seeks to democratize urban decision making through the provision of regular municipal election and mandatory formation of ward committee as the deliberative body at the ward level. The implementation of constitutional amendments aimed at decentralization has been intensified after 2005 as Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), India's flagship urban renewal programme, for the first time at the national scale emphasized on 'citizen participation' in urban planning. Along with decentralization, the transfer of funds is linked to the adoption of a set of institutional and policy reforms to improve governance

through focussing on the aspects of accountability, transparency, cost recovery, financial self-reliance, privatization/commercialization of basic services through public-private partnership (PPP) and control of corruption and thereby produce 'economically productive, efficient, equitable and responsive cities' (Mukhopadhyay, 2006). In 2014 India witnessed a move towards creation of hundred 'smart cities' to further promote their economic competitiveness primarily through digitization of urban planning. Essentially, these city narratives envision a particular type of urban space insulated from disorders of service deficiency, pollution and slums and also from politicization of planning process that undermines the city (re)building process of world class standard.

Thus, it becomes imperative to understand how the Indian cities are transformed through specific spatial imaginaries and modes of governances which are shaped by the interactions among different actors. This paper, drawing on studies of governance reforms under neoliberal framework in India, engages with the exploration of the relationships between the various actors, interests and institutions involved therein as well as implications for making the cities more livable, secure and, of course, global in character. Rather than with conclusion, this paper ends with an agenda for further research within a range of cities having distinctive processes and socio political dynamics and, therefore, contributes to the rethinking on governance mechanisms for cities of global South.

"Urban Entrepreneurism": Rolling Out of the State

Indian urban policy transformations strongly draw on theoretical underpinnings of a variety of neoliberal experimentations that have been undertaken in the cities, at the global scale, to enhance their local economic growth capacities (Brenner, 2004). In contrast to the notion of absentee state in neo-liberal rhetoric, such transformations are decidedly state led and often state-financed. With the onset of economic liberalization in the 1990s and aspirations for integrating with the global economy, the central government conferred greater economic freedom to the state governments and encouraged them to compete for attracting global capital. Consequently, state governments undertook ambitious plans for large scale infrastructural development, much of which are located in the cities. Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh aggressively adopted city centric infrastructure-led growth model through formulating special rules, industry friendly policies and setting up new parastatal agency to fast track

particular large projects through public private partnerships (Dutta, 2015, Kennedy, 2007). Successive state governments in Karnataka constituted 'Task Forces'to improve government efficiency through employing business model as well as nurturing collaborative relations with the resource-rich corporate sector and de-politicization of government initiatives (Coelho, Kamath and Vijaybhaskar, 2011). These initiatives supplant the statutory norms and procedures to realize and circulate entrepreneurial discourses of efficient city management and urban infrastructure improvement.

Incomplete Decentralization and Fragmented Power and Authorities in Indian Cities.

Devolution of power and functions is the most important urban reform undertaken by the Indian government to empower the city governments. Yet, actual implementations can at best, be described as partial and this has not evenbeen followed by the devolution of finance and functionaries at the municipal level. Given India's federal structure in which urban development is a state subject and tendency of the state governments to perceive governmental power as a zero sum power, inter-governmental competition and in some case inter party conflict (e.g., as in the state of Maharashtra) have resulted in incomplete and fractured devolution of authority and resources to the cities (Ren and Weinstein, 2013). State level politicians and bureaucrats have resisted the devolutionary effort as they saw this new empowerment as a direct threat to their own influence and constituency and consequent erosion of the domain and authority of the state governments. No state has attempted to synchronize the functional responsibilities of the state level deconcentrated bodies with those of newly empowered ULBs. In Mumbai, Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM) is responsible for city development but it lacks many substantive powers relating to urban planning and land use (such as leasing land independently to raise revenue) that seriously undermine its capacity to undertake and finance city redevelopment. Formation of ward committees consisting of elected representatives, municipal officers and citizens, has led to changes in power between the executive wing and the deliberative wing of the ULBs. However, ward committees have hardly been formed and where they exist, they are usually large and formed by clubbing together many wards, which ultimately defeats the purpose of proximityto citizens (Lama-Rewal, 2007). Incomplete implementation of decentralization thus has generated decentralization of policy authority at the state government level which has further compounded the extant problem of institutional fragility and instability that municipalities in India inherited.

Emergence of New Set of Actors Promoting 'New Urbanism'

This prevalence of weak government, fragmented power and resultant power vacuum in Indian cities has facilitated 'flexible governance networks' (Brenner, 2004) through 'a multitude of localized mutations in state society relation' (Shatkin and Vidyarthi, 2014) at different state spaces/scales in which multiple agents of transformation including business leaders, elite and middle class organizations and civic activists are playing crucial role in reshaping urban space and infrastructure. They unveiled particular vision of neoliberal city aligning well with the demand and dreams of safe, clean and healthy cities of the middle class which are being promoted as the hallmark of new urbanism. Master Plans and City Development Plans formalize and legitimize 'world class city' vision of these newly powerful actors. As evident in the cases of Bangalore Agenda Task Force (BATF) and Agenda for Bangalore Infrastructure and Development Taskforce (ABIDe), these non-state actors build short term need based coalitions around shared interest and pursue 'network politics' to achieve their particular objectives. Personal social networks and historical importance for being white collar employees provided them the power in the form of access to resources like financial capital, technical expertise and governmental authority to wield significant economic influence on city planning (Sami, 2012).The Dharavi Redevelopment Project (DRP) of Mumbai underscores the importance of 'political entrepreneurship' of a project management consultant in establishing coordination among several disjointed actors and departments within the traditional state boundaries and also outside of it to garner political support for bringing the project to fruition (Weinstein, 2014). Under Delhi Bhagidari scheme, state arranged new set of participatory spaces where chosen few interacted with the government representatives for designing the city plan and thus were able to stamp their authority in the administration of urban space (Ghertner, 2011). These initiatives share two common features. First, they prioritize development of modern urban infrastructure, high end residential complexes and exclusive shopping malls at the expense of development of essential services. Second, they signify states' simultaneous attempt to transfer power to new institutions and exercise control at a distance through a set of private experts. Thus, the involvement of elected local representatives has turned out to be minimal in the matters of city governance with a consequent loss of democratic accountability and having severe implications for poor people's access to essential urban services.

Recognising the Inclusivity and its Limits and Contradictions

However, it would be imprecise to maintain that practices of neoliberal urbanism in India completely disregard the needs of urban poor. Under the official rubric of decentralization, municipalities sometimes attempt to engage local communities from below in implementation of development projects and, thereby, provide marginalized urban people access to the exclusive field of urban political decision making. Community based organizations (CBOs) and NGOs also partner with the city governments to mobilize and organize poor people, create participatory forums and facilitate participation of people. Interestingly, all these practices require that the urban poor learn to act as 'citizens' and inculcation of conscientious economic behaviour and promotion of the idea of 'self-responsibilization' among the poor (Roy, 2011).In particular, participation is equated with people's consent in favour of capital contribution and payment of user fees to uphold the neoliberal rationalities of cost efficiency and financial discipline(Coelho, Kamath and Vijaybhaskar, 2011). Roy (2009) theorises these espousals of market principles as a regime of 'civic govern mentality' that produces governable subjects and governable spaces through 'norms of civility and civil virtue'. Since 1990s, Indian middle class, under the garb of locality specific neighbourhood association, have supported this model of consumer citizenship and attempted to establish their right to city through reinforcing the 'rule of law'. Essentially, at the core of the ideology of creating global metropolis is the idea of transforming the spaces of urban poor, squatters and encroachers into urban assets for high value commercial and residential spaces, regardless of the human cost (Chatterjee, 2004). Even some advocacy NGO groups, e,g, SPARC in Mumbai defended the displacement of urban poor from city core as the unavoidable social cost necessary for facilitating political and economic agenda of world class city making. This entails the implicit acknowledgement of the urban poor as encroachers and, consequently, SPARC underscored the importance of policies of dialogue and negotiation through 'working with rather than working against the state' as more pragmatic tool for securing urban poor's access to city space. Such adoption of civilized modes of community participation failed to accommodate the claims of a section of Mumbai's urban poor related to their concerns over baseline survey conducted for identifying the beneficiaries and proposed resettlement sites in the World Bank funded Mumbai Urban Transport Project (Roy, 2009).

In practice, variegated local factors intersect to determine the outcome of participatory arrangements favouring

the urban poor. Nijman (2008) attributed the success of rehabilitation program in one Mumbai slum to the presence of the NGO with strong local base and homogenous, stable and unified character of the slum community. In Dharavi Redevelopment Project (Mumbai), possession of 'intangible political resources' in the form of caste position and historical claims provided the democratic edge to certain affected group over the others in claim making (Weinstein, 2012). Even in case of 'network politics' practiced by urban elites, the very nature and formation of the 'network' produces inclusive outcome. In Green Pune Movement, coalition members' awareness as well as interest to address both the environmental concerns of the middle class people and the issue of displacement of poor people was instrumental in forming alliances with low income people and thereby, providing some chances for the latter to make claims to the city(Sami, 2012).In contrast, for an indigenous community in Ahmedabad, the factors like lack of state recognition both as electoral and socially disadvantageous group and homogenous caste character with unique cultural values weakened the prospect of political negotiation with the local agents(Johnston, 2014). Money and even coercion and violence were employed as tactics to dilute and eventually suspend the rights of that indigenous community to the city (Johnston, 2014).

Essentially, following Chatterjee's (2004) conceptualization of 'political society', poor people make claims and negotiate access to urban services in the spaces whichlie below the radar of formal planning. They capitalize on 'vote bank politics' to put pressure on locally elected representative and local bureaucrats who act on the poor people's demands by undermining the municipal laws and a flexible interpretation of bureaucratic procedure (Benjamin, 2008). However, the potential of such informal practices is constrained by the terms under which the political actors use poor people's dependency strategically by giving in to their demand only when that is politically convenient. In Kolkata, Roy (2003) showed that political leaders of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)utilizedambiguous ownership of land for establishing informal slum colonies in Kolkata's urban fringes. Residents managed to secure access to basic amenities through a variety of informal practices. Tacit acknowledgement of such practices by the local state helped the CPI(M) to secure its social and political control over those colonies. Transgression of rule of law clearly was a part of spatial politics and thus the extra-legal arrangements were always provisional in nature. When the state required urban land for actualizing the strategy of entrepreneurial city making, the same ambiguity facilitated eviction of the inhabitants and, thereby, helped the state in imposing its preferred vision of urban spaces.

In Indian cities, urban elite, using their better socio-economic positions and political connections, also rely on informal tactics to influence urban development policies. In Kolkata, the building of upscale South city residential and commercial complex involved closure of some of the largest water bodies in gross violation of environmental laws (Roy, 2011). Similar 'informalized production of elite space' in Ahmedabad attains legitimacy through the payment of token impact fee by the municipal authorities(Johnston, 2014). Even the judicial system with several controversial court judgements framed the poor as illegal usurpers of public land and a threat to the city planning (Ghertner, 2011). Interestingly, the poor people do not always resist neoliberal governmental schemes. In Bangalore, the poor inhabitants contested the state's inadequate provision of basic services in the peripheral areas while they simultaneously agreed to make payments for water pipes and user charges as key strategies to bargain for tenure legality (Ranganathan, 2014).In essence, the differentially empowered multiple actors engage in everyday practices of enforcement and subversion of urban planning rules and regulation to produce the formal-informal dichotomy and assert their control over or access to cities (Schindler, 2014).

Contemporary Research on Politics of Urban Transformation in India

Politics of urban planning in India has been gaining scholarly attention – one group of literature examined the role of the state and other powerful actors including international financial institutions, corporate sector, civil society groups and NGOs and their coalitions in facilitating the idealized vision of a beautified globalizing city and related democratic implications in reproducing both social and spatial marginalization while the other group studied the negotiation and claim making processes of disadvantageous groups mainly the urban poor. This paper documents simultaneous presence of the formal, invited and institutionalized arena of 'participatory planning' (Miraftab and Wills, 2005) to facilitate neo-liberal development that excludes and displaces urban poor and also the 'fissures' in which urban resistance can take root (Keil, 2002) to carve out new institutional spaces for negotiations and participation of urban poor with other development actors and thereby to disrupt the idealized vision of world class city. Thus urban restructuring is fundamentally about the distribution of power and resources among different competing actors and groups, each with a particular vision of urban development and transformation. Urban decisions have been made through simultaneous interactions and negotiations among

them at different spatial scales. Structural and organizational powers certainly provide one group of actors an edge over the others in policy making, but that fail to determine fully how and by whom urban space is accessed and used in Indian cities.

The Way Forward

To say that Indian cities are riddled with contradictions and reforms needed are not easy to frame would be an understatement. Given the attractiveness of cities to both local and global capital, India will surely experience a far more aggressive scaling up of large scale infrastructural activities. Present emphasis on building of 100 smart 'cities' symbolizes such activism. This process of spatial restructuring along with its implications for equity and sustain ability is certainly distinctive as it does not necessarily entail a decrease in spaces for popular participation - rather it does entail a change in mode of production and rules of engagement in such spaces. However, the grounded investigations of multiple urban arenas and processes that determine their formal or informal status are relatively under researched (Shatkin and Vidyarthi, 2014). Two lenses seem to be crucial for this investigation - first, the nature of the state and the spaces and institutions that it provides for popular participation and second, the structural political-economic conditions of the urban society that shape power and interests of the actors involved. Reflections and learning through such lenses would generate more useful and sustainable urban policyas alternative to the current practice of adopting generic urban policy in cities of the Global South.

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Challenges for Implementation of Inclusive Education in Palghar District

Rajashree Milind Joshi

The world is on the edge of 2020. 'Information Society' extended to 'knowledge economy'. Growth is dependent on the quantity, quality and accessibility of the information available, rather than the means of production. It is possible through quality education and equality in education across all dimensions. Equality in education leads to inclusive education.

Significance of Inclusive Education

'The term Inclusive Education is often used for education given in the class where children with special need and without special need participate and learn together.'[(1)] The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is a declaration adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 December 1948 at the Palais de Chaillot in Paris, France. In this declaration article 1.1 states that 'every person, child, youth and adult shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities desired to meet their basic needs.' Further article 5 directly mentions about providing equal access to education to every category of disabled person as an integral part of education system. UDHR used the term 'integration of disabled person' for the first time.[(2)] After many scholarly discussions and researches this term turned into inclusion which itself presents the view and approach for education with and for all. The convention on the rights of persons with disabilities (2006) announced by UN, stated that children with disabilities should have full enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms on an equal basis with other children. This convention recognized the need to promote and protect the human rights of all persons with disabilities, including those who require more intensive support.[(3)] The convention made clear the concept of disability and inclusive education.

Integration or mainstreaming is different from inclusion.

1. Integration is about getting learners to fit into an existing system. Whereas inclusion is about recognizing and respecting the differences among all learners.

2. Mainstream gives support to needy so that he/she can fit in to the normal classroom set up. Inclusion is about trying to develop teaching strategies with the help of all stake holders that will be benefit all learners,

3. Integration focuses on the learner but inclusion focuses on overcoming barriers in the system that prevent it from meeting the full range of learning needs.

The Indian Constitution directed the State to ensure provision of basic education to all children, up to the age of 14 years. The education of people with disability was not mentioned in the early constitutional provisions except for guaranteeing similar rights for people with disabilities as other member of the society. The education commission of 1966 (Kothari Commission)while giving emphasis on transformation in education, drew attention to the education of disabled children. In 1974, for the first time, the necessity of integrated education was emphasized with the introduction of Integrated Education for Disabled Children (IEDC). National Policy on Education (1986) and its follow-up actions helped in changing the scenario. The importance of the concept was accepted. The world declaration on 'education for all' adopted in 1990 gavea boost to the various processes already existing in the country. Rehabilitation Council of India Act, 1992started a training program for the development of professionals to solve the problem of students with disabilities. Disability Act of 1996 gave legislative support by making it mandatory to provide free education to disabled children until the age of 18 years. Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan launched in 2000 geared up the efforts for inclusive education. In February 2006 Indian government passed National Policy on Persons with Disabilities which is considered a valuable resource for persons with disability in the country. It stated the importance of creatingan environment that provides equal opportunities and protection of their rights and full participation in society. RTE Act 2009 stated 'Every child in the age group of 6-14, has the right to free and compulsory education in a neighborhood school, till the completion of elementary school.' Further it stated that private schools will have to take 25% of their class strength from the weaker sections and the disadvantaged group of the society through the random selection process.

RTE (2009) and thus introduced the idea of inclusive education on the basis of social and economic diversity.

Census of India 2011 and Data on Persons with Disability

- Percentage of population of persons with disabilities to the total population has increased from 2.13 in 2001 to 2.21 in the 2011 census.
- The disabilities in movement, sight and hearing are significantly larger in numbers than the others that have been enumerated.
- While their percentage in the population in rural areas has grown from 2.21 in 2001 to2.24 in 2011 it has increased significantly in urban areas from 1.93 to 2.17
- Although the number of men continues to be higher than women with disabilities the increase in percentage of women (1.87 in 2001 to 2.01 in 2011) is higher than men (2.31in 2001 to 2.41 in 2011)
- 2.5% of the disabled population belongs to the Scheduled Castes while 2.05% belongs to the Scheduled Tribes.
- Another 2.18% belongs to the other social groups regarded as vulnerable in the country.[4]

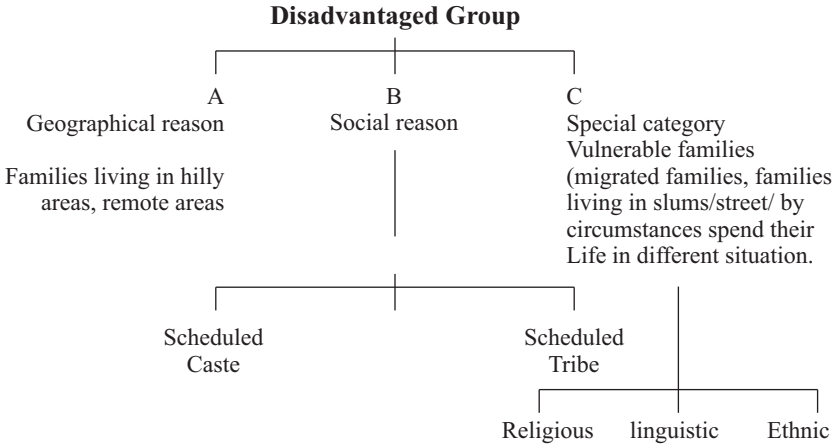
The importance of this data for policy and practice in education should be recognized. Data on children with disabilities belonging to already vulnerable groups in India indicates that not only medical but also social and other factors must be taken into account when we strategize for education of children with disabilities.Our strategies have to be multi layered and must recognize increased vulnerability. National Policy on Education 2016 gave recognition to learners with different degrees of disability, also referred to as children with special needs (CWSN), which would include varying degrees of visual, speech and hearing, loco motor, neuromuscular and neurodevelopmental disorders, (dyslexia, autism and mental retardation).[5]

Expansion of concept of inclusion

The UN convention on rights of persons with disabilities (2006) is not only concerned about physical disability but also about the difficult conditions faced by persons with disabilities who are subject to multiple or aggravated forms of discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic, indigenous or social origin, property, birth, age or other status. So the physical as well as social and economic disability and diversity should get addressed through inclusive education.

Inclusion is not just about learners with special needs; it is an attitude and approval that embraces diversity and learner differences and promotes equal opportunities for all learners.[6] India's National Policy on Education 2016 has discussed about Inclusive Education (chapter 6.11) and Tribal Education (chapter 6.12) separately. In its recommendations report NCPCR referred the concept of Inclusive Education in its broad meaning. It includes SC and ST students, girls, students from minority communities and children with special needs.[7]

It is obvious that to include children with special needs requires a school with special equipment, specially trained teachers (or mobile teacher), special evaluation system; but for disadvantaged group, we do not feel the necessity of special program, special language teacher, special evaluation system. This is the reason why our education policy is not fully successful though it has undergone exceptional changes. 'Disadvantaged group means scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, other socially and economically backward classes, and such other group disadvantaged due to economic, social, cultural, linguistic, gender, administrative, locational, disability or other factors and notified as a disadvantaged group in relation to an area, in such manner as may be prescribed.'[8] We can divide disadvantaged group as follow:



The major problem in this group is lack of education. The comparison between literacy rate of world with India and Maharashtra will make us aware of the problem of education in tribal population.

1.1 : Table showing comparison of literacy rate

World (based on aged 15 or over who can read and write)			India (based on aged 7 and above who can read and write)			Maharashtra (based on aged 7 and above who can read and write)		
Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
86.3	90.0	82.7	74.04	84.14	65.46	82.91	89.82	75.48

(World data by UNESCO Institute of Statistics, India and Maharashtra data collected by Census 2011)

These recent figures indicate the problem of literacy rate of India in the background of world's rate of literacy. On all the three levels female literacy rate is low compared to male literacy rate.

Deprivation in urban areas tends to be highly concentrated in specific groups, mainly in slum dwellers and street children, where schooling situation is similar to the poorest areas of rural India.[10] As regards female literacy rate the situation remains the same. The geographic location causes many barriers in the educational development. Difference between rural literate male population and urban literate male population is almost 10%;whereasthe difference between rural literate female population and urban literate female population is almost 20%. The reasons are discussed further.

1.2 : Table showing SC and ST literacy rate of India (as per Census 2011)

	% of Scheduled Caste		% of Scheduled Tribes	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	75.2	56.5	68,5	49.4
Rural	72.6	52.6	66.8	46.9
Urban	83.3	68.6	83.2	70.3

Literacy rate of tribal population compared to rest of the country is much lower as per Census 2011. It is 58.9% while rest of the India rate is 72.9%. The table 1.2 shows rural and urban SC and ST percentage of literacy. Rural ST female literacy rate is lowest which is less than 50%. Low literary rate is a serious problem for a developing country like India.

According to Census 2011, the tribal population of India is 10.42 cr. which is 8.6% of total population of the country. Maharashtra is a state where we can find various types of tribal

people. Maharashtra is in 2ndplace with reference to the percentage of total tribal population in the country. In Maharashtra literacy rate of SC male is 87.2% and literacy rate of SC female is 71.9%. But literacy rate of ST male is 74.3% which are very less in comparison to SC male. ST female rate is further lower at 57%. Educators in Maharashtra state should think over these figures. Education is a powerful tool for progress. 'Education determines the structure of the society and the form of education is, in turn, determined in large part by the values of the society. So both education and society are inter-dependent."[11]

The main reason of low literacy rate is drop-out from the school system.

1.3 : Table showing drop-out rate in Maharashtra (Census 2011)[12]

		Std. 1 to 4	Std. 4 to 5	Std. 5 to 7	Std. 7 to 8
Category					
Scheduled	Boys	3.0	98.0	8.7	77.7
caste					
	Girls	3.5	96.2	11.7	73.0
Scheduled	Boys	12.1	82.4	24.6	66.7
tribe					
	Girls	16.8	77.7	19.6	79.6

Table shows that there is a vast difference between the rate of drop out in std. 1 to 4 and std. 4to 5 and std. 5 to 7 and 7 to 8. Table shows significant difference in drop-out rate percentage of scheduled tribe girls from standard 7 to 8 than of boys, (which is more than 50%).

The number of female students dropout is worrisome. The main reason of female dropout is marriage or home responsibility; male dropout reason is also for economic reasons. Boys are considered as the breadwinner and are forced to earn or work in fields. So, male as well as female students are forced to withdraw from school. It is actually 'forced out' rather than' drop out' which implies leaving school willingly.

Above table is evidence of the fact that a large number of girls drop-out from the education system around puberty. If lady teachers are appointed in the school, girl dropout rate will decrease and retention rate will be higher. Though at present 93.7% of schools in Thane district are with female teacher, either the percentage should increase or the situation should improve so that parents develop confidence about security.[13] NPE 2016 recommended the need for having a female teacher in every school.[14] But

the teachers from non-tribal areas are often reluctant to work in schools in tribal areas because of distance from town, lack of housing and other amenities. To break this cycle education system has to plan for preparing a team of eligible teachers from tribal sector itself. For this, teacher education colleges should be started in tribal areas. There should be provision for selecting area for pre service teacher training. Government should announce some facilities and concessions for candidates who choose tribal area for B.Ed. course. If tribal youth came forward for B.Ed. course then this area will get candidates from tribal community with knowledge of tribal language, which will result in good retention rate.

Many parents do not want to send their girls to schools having co-education. Some facts regarding low retention rate are:

- The disadvantaged group needs something different from above mentioned facilities. Government has introduced English language training program with British Council, video based mathematics teacher training program, vocational education, activity based science learning program through Nyas Trust, Kishori Utkarsh Manch (a counseling program for girls) to control the dropout rate. The dropout rate of girls has reduced from 10.60 (2013-14) to 9.75 (2014-15) but the retention rate of girls has reduced from 88.93 (2013-14) to 84.76 (2014-15) which appears contradictory.[15]
- One of the key problems is that students don't usually drop out for a single reason. There are many interrelated reasons. (e.g. household problem, long journey to school, negative belief towards education, failure in studies).
- It was also observed that if parents are not working, the possibility of dropout among their children was relatively high.
- The drop out is high among the children belonging to Muslim, S.C., S.T. families.
- Parent's thinking, beliefs and socio-economic status play a significant role in determining education.
- Though the dropout rate of girl students is higher, they are more willing to learn, their academic performance is also better than boys and they take advantage of the opportunities for social and economic mobility.
- The major reason for school dropout among tribal communities has been non-availability of books and teachers in their own language.

Status of education in Palghar District

Palghar district is a district in the state of Maharashtra in Konkan division On 1st August 2014 Maharashtra government announced the formation of a new Palghar district which was carved out of the old Thane district. Palghar district is classified as a tribal district. Except two talukas all other talukas have tribal population.

Palghar district is predominantly tribal district which has recently witnessed tribal child malnutrition deaths.Out of total eight talukas, Scheduled Tribe population of four talukas is greater than 90% of total population.

1.4 : Table showing Talukawise percentage of ST population in Palghar district

Taluka	Jawahar	Mokhada	Vikramghad	Talasari	Vada	Palghar	Vasai	Dahanu
Total population	128147	83453	137625	154818	178370	481236	121012	173784
Total ST population	124259	76842	126368	140273	101709	158432	40808	268581
% of ST Population	96.96	92.07	91.82	90.60	57.02	32.92	33.72	64.70
ST Women	63048	38596	63722	71574	50549	79758	20668	137292
% of ST Women	50.73	50.22	50.42	51.02	49.69	50.34	50.64	79.00
ST Men	61211	38246	62646	68699	51160	78674	20140	131289
% of ST Men	49.26	45.86	49.57	48.97	50.30	49.78	49.35	75.54
Number of Villages	109	59	93	46	168	203	80	173

(Ref: Census 2011)
Varali, Katkari, Vanjari, Wadwal, Malhar Koli, Dhor Koli, Thakur are the main tribes.

1.5 : Table showing comparison of dropout rate in Palghar district and other areas.

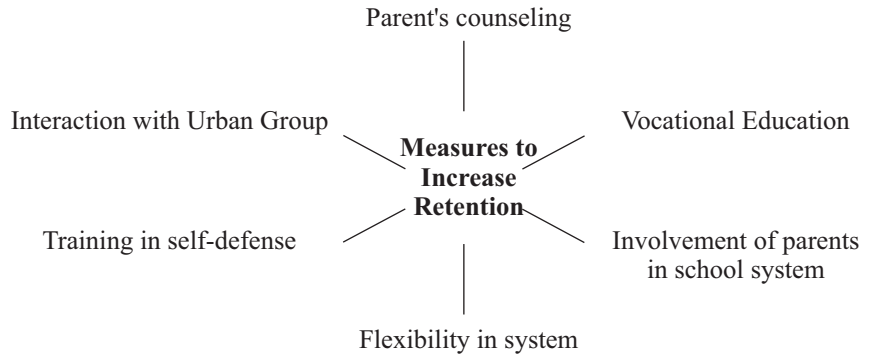
Mumbai (Suburban)	Palghar	Mumbai	Thane
33.40%	19.27%	17.66%	16.94%

The dropout rate of suburban Mumbai is high compared to Mumbai area, Palghar and Thane districts. Palghar district is second in dropout rate.

Education has two fold challenges here.

1) To increase retention rate of girls and boys and decrease force out rate.
2) To create inclusive schools(broad meaning).

Measures to increase retention rate



- Parent Counseling – NGOs, urban teachers and counselors should take initiative to interact with tribal people and through many activities they can change the beliefs of the community. Gender equality, importance of education, ill effects of child marriage, their rights as a parent are some issues which could be discussed.

- Vocational Education – Tribal people have some inborn skills. Their cultures allow them to learn things which are essential for life. They know about medical plants and flowers. They know how to make musical instruments, to cultivate vegetables, and they makea variety of items from bamboo and mud. Government and NGOs should give access to exhibit and sell their articles at reasonable rates. They can conduct workshops in urban schools, through which their financial condition can improve.

- Involvement of Parents in School System –Schools need to involve parents in the educational system. Providing food, giving demonstration on cultivation of plants, making bamboo items, teaching their language to teachers so that interaction with student becomes easy, are some areas where parents can play a role.

- Flexibility in system – School timings should be convenient to students. Teacher should keep in mind the distance of the school. Further, examinations should be planned keeping the harvest time in mind. Activity based learning will increase the interest of students.

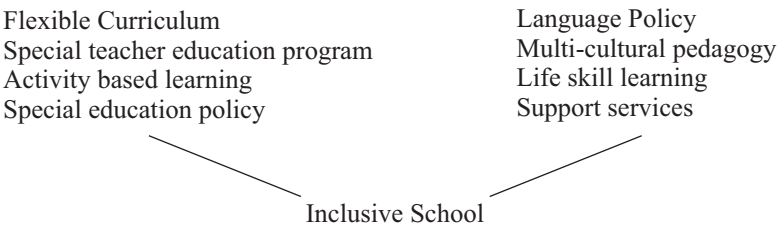
- Self-defense training – Tribal people are familiar with some techniques of self –defense. These are used to protect themselves from wild animals. Teacher can teach these techniques to students with the help of parents. NGO can arrange self-defense workshop especially for girl students. It is observed that many parents are reluctant to send their girls to school due to the fear of insecurity in the school and during travel to school. Training in self-defense will give more confidence to the parent.

- Interaction with urban group – Tribal people hesitate to interact with urban people. They feel the difference and gap between their lifestyle and urban life. But if with NGOs' help they can interact safely, their attitude towards urban life will change. They will realize the importance of education. This will help to increase the retention rate. Innovative methods should be designed for such interactions.

To create an inclusive school

'Inclusive schools are places where students, regardless of ability, race, language and income, are integral members of classrooms, feel a connection to their peers, have access to rigorous and meaningful general education curricula and receive collaborative support to succeed. In inclusive schools, students do not have to leave to learn. Rather, services and supports are brought directly to them.'[18]

Palghar district has multi-cultural population. Linguistic, social and religious minority groupsreside there. Co-education in hilly, costal and remote area with multi-culturalsociety is a challenge. Along with special equipment and infrastructure, these schools need appropriate support systems like transport and hostel facilities. Tribal population lives mostly in scattered homesteads rather than villages. This makes it difficult to provide access to schools within a short distance for all students. The concept of inclusive school is different in tribal areasas compared to urban areas. In these schools the focus is on multi-cultural and multi-linguistic students and teachers.



- **Flexible Curriculum:** In school curriculum some flexibility is needed for this area. School timings should be suitable for students. Examination schedules should be planned keeping in mind the harvest season activities. Some Parents work for brick factories. They have a different schedule. School should also consider this. School should implement activity based learning while giving emphasis on physical education, vocational training and environmental education.

- **Language Policy:** The major reason for school drop-out among tribal communities has been non-availability of books in their own language. Teachers from other areas are also not familiar with local tribal languages and dialects and are not able to communicate effectively with tribal students, particularly in lower primary sections. Tribal students face difficulties in following prescribed text books which are not in their mother tongue, particularly when the content is not appropriately designed for them. In many states, text-books have been developed keeping in mind tribal dialects and their context. Teacher should show initiative to learn tribal language. Educated youth from the community can help as an interpreter. The NPE has recommended preparation of bi-lingual textbook for tribal areas.

- **Special tribal teacher education program:** Education Department may consider three options for pre-service teacher training, namely, normal, tribal or special B.Ed. course. Government could give special concessions and some facilities to the candidate who chooses tribal area for her B.Ed. training. This policy will give eligible candidates from tribal community an opportunity and the retention rate in schools can improve. Communication and counseling skills will help the teacher while interacting with students and parents.

- **Activity based learning:** Teacher of a tribal area has to use and introduce different methods, strategies and skills in their teaching. To improve students' interest, the teacher can deploy activity based learning using material from local surroundings. Along with activity based learning the teacher should use peer tutoring, collaborative teaching, and co-operative learning. Experiential learning is beneficial in this type of school.

- **Special education policy:** NPE 2016 realizes the need for special education policy for tribal areas. These areas have special problems different from urban or rural areas. At the same time these areas have different resources and therefore opportunities. The special educational policy should be followed in primary level and for secondary level it will work on par with the urban system.

- **Multi-cultural pedagogy:** Palghar district is multi religious district. Most of the population follows Tribal culture. Therefore education system and the pedagogy need to be multi-cultural. Multicultural education refers to any form of education or teaching that incorporates the history, texts, values, beliefs, and perspectives of people from different cultural backgrounds. Such an education system will gain trust of parents.

- **Life skills education:** Life skills have been defined by the World Health Organization (WHO) as 'abilities for adaptive and positive behavior that enable individuals to deal effectively with the demands and challenges of everyday life'[19] This is an essential skill in present day scenario.

  Some of the important life skills identified through Delphi Method by WHO are:

  Decision making, Problem solving, Creative thinking/lateral thinking, Critical thinking/perspicacity, Effective communication, Interpersonal relationships, Self-awareness/mindfulness, Assertiveness, Empathy, Equanimity, Coping with stress, trauma and loss and Resilience. The imparting of life skills will make tribal student mentally strong and result in the development of scientific attitude in them.

- **Support services:** Due to lack of facilities and remote and hilly geographical conditions tribal school needs support services like hostels, food availability,

language training centers, doctors and therapists and transport along with necessary fundamental needs like electricity and water. NGOs can take the initiative to make available these support services.

- **Multi-cultural pedagogy:** The most important aspect is to create a group of eligible teachers. It is not only relevant to Palghar district, but also other areas where tribal population is present. Experiential learning is beneficial to elementary and secondary education. Special education policy with multi-cultural pedagogy is also a good option for education in other regions of India. Educators should carry out research on concept of multi-cultural pedagogy, its effect and the ways of implementing it in our education system. It could give us many answers to overcome the barriers in the current system.

India is a country with diversity. It has great geographical diversity but efforts should be made for the development of remote and hilly areas too. Even among tribals there is great diversity with about 700 notified scheduled tribes in the country; and there are many that are not notified. Schools must become inclusive so that they are able to address disadvantaged sections of the population by understanding the diverse needs of children and catering to them. The aim of tribal education should be to improve retention rates in schools, develop life skills among tribals and to prepare them for the future including life in an urban setting without losing their identity and traditional skills. If we can make this happen successfully then India can be ready to meet the challenges of the future.

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NGOs' Initiatives for Rural Development in India

I. Subramanyam

Introduction

In the last one and a half decades there has been a great deal of interest in the voluntary sector and its possible role in development. The attention, which these relatively small interventions in civil society have got, is symptomatic of the complexity of development problems, compulsions of political economy and the centrality of the concern of reaching out to the poor. The Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are a relatively new phenomenon. Organisations today whether voluntary or government are an accepted fact of life. Individuals are surrounded by organizations all through their lives, whether they like them or not. The term organization includes a galaxy of institutions such as hospitals, schools, factories, offices and armed forces. Organisations of one type or another are indispensable to contemporary political realities. The NGOs are groups of persons organized on the basis of voluntary membership without state control, for the furtherance of some common interest of citizens.

Generally, voluntary organizations and NGOs are treated as one and the same. This is not true. All NGOs are treated as one and the same. This is not true. All NGOs are not necessarily voluntary. Voluntary organizations are spontaneous in their origin whereas NGOs may also be government sponsored.

Generally NGOs follow some clear cut strategies-simple charity, supplementing welfarism of the state, encouraging people's participation and implementing programmes launched by the government for the larger benefit of the community, involving people in programme planning, raising resources, implementing activities and sharing fruits of development and conscience instilling and organizing people,

enabling them to demand and undertake planning and implementation of development programmes beneficial to them.

In respect of entrepreneurship development the NGOs can be classified as under:

- Primary level NGOs: These NGOs are mobilizing their own resources; operating internationally and taking up development activities themselves or through intermediate or grass root level partners. They include NGOs like ACTION AID, OXFAM, and Christian Children Fund.

- Intermediate NGOs: These NGOs procure funds from various agencies, impart training, and conduct workshops for professional work force. They include NGOs like SEWA and AWAKE.

- Grass-root level NGOs: These NGOs take up field actions by forming direct contact with the needy. They are usually small and may often have funding problems.

Generally, the NGOs supplement and assist governmental development activities. Yet there are many NGOs operating independently with their own programmes relating to income generation, self-employment and entrepreneurship. They are regarded as initial, middle and terminal phases in the growth process of entrepreneurship development in the context of employment generation. Through 'selection' approach, the NGOs have concentrated their efforts on the development of micro entrepreneurship development in the informal sector rather than the more substantial formal sector business.

The trainee-specific activities of NGOs engaged in rural entrepreneurship development can be broadly classified into three sections.

- Direct involvement in stimulation of entrepreneurship by inculcating entrepreneurship development programmes (EDPs) and skill development among the target groups funded out of its resources or sponsored by others.

- Provision of counselling and consultation services in project preparation, feasibility study, technical advice on the purchase of plant and machinery, tricks of trade, etc., and to assist small entrepreneurs in promotion, growth and expansion needs of business units.

- Provision of marketing (for example participation in exhibitions and trade fairs)

assistance in securing finance (information about government schemes of self-employment, subsidy, loan facilities, etc.) incubation and networking facilities. They also provide technical expertise and train development workers of other NGOs engaged in this activity.

These NGO efforts, weighed in terms of strengths in the context of rural entrepreneurship development, have revealed the following. The NGOs have an edge over others because of strengths like:

- The lean overheads and operating costs to reach the poor and needy.
- Flexibility and responsiveness in operation to invent appropriate solution.
- Nearness to client groups makes them sensitive to community need.
- Capacity for innovation and experimentation with new groups and untried development approach.
- Stimulating mobilizing interest in the community.
- Dependence on customer satisfaction.
- Act as a test-bed and soundboard for government policies and programmes.

Resources from the Mainstream

Finance

Since almost all NGOs totally depend on either foreign or Indian grants for their activities, it is necessary to raise capital from mainstream sources, such as the development financial institutions and the banks. This will have two benefits; firstly it will make NGOs more accountable in terms of effective use of money; and secondly it opens much larger sources of funds from foreign and Indian grants. Almost all financial institutions like SIDBI and NABARD have accumulated years of experience in funding NGOs through grants for experimental projects. NGOs can approach these institutes to get funds as loans with longer than normal repayment and moratorium periods and lower interest rates or they can raise money from the corporate sector.

Human Resources

NGOs are known to have highly experienced and committed individuals. Many NGOs have good grass roots workers but not at middle levels. If so, the grass roots worker may not get any guidance and support. Therefore NGOs should hire more experienced persons in education, anthropologists and experts in other related fields. If NGOs would like to move from direct implementing agencies to supporting producers'

organization, they need to have people of higher calibre at all levels. Those in support roles have to be more versatile, having broad-based knowledge of various cultural factors.

Technologies

As another step towards effectiveness implementation of education related programmes, NGOs need to have links with various technology generation institutions blessed with a very large scientific and technological research infrastructure in India. For example ICAI and IVTC (Institute of Vocational Training Centre) in addition to state level research and training institutes. NGOs should get a lot of technical support from these institutions. The presence of professionally trained staff in NGOs greatly facilitates this process of acquiring technology and adaptation to the local situation and to the poor.

Expertise

NGOs should have a vast pool of technical experts and professionals specialized in project finance, socio-economic analysis, training and capacity building, technical aspects, computing, tribal infrastructure, tribal financial institutions, planning, monitoring and evaluation.

Knowledge

As education is a complex phenomenon, all NGOs should have certain useful concepts which have a bearing on successful education-related programmes like:

- NGOs should understand social structure, caste and class problem, dynamics of social changes, political economy of resources and policy analysis.
- Communication theory; diffusion of innovation; group dynamics and collective action; training and organization development; and appropriate educational technology.

There is no doubt that NGOs play an important role in influencing the Panchayati Raj Institutions in crucial areas of development. But there is no proper linkage between NGOs and PRIs and very few opportunities exist for constructive cooperation. On the one hand NGOs could pay a significant role in strengthening the local self-governance while on the other, by interacting with the government, they could play a major role in formulation of policies regarding PRIs.

In India the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments have given a new approach to development and social change. The Amendments aim at democratic decentralization and

self-governance. Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) were set up four decades ago to realize the basic conviction that village panchayats could play a major role in social transformation. It was introduced to decentralize powers and functions. Thus PRIs have been the prime instruments of decentralization at the grass roots in India. The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act 1992, which came into effect on 24th April 1993, empowers the PRIs and ensures democratic decentralization in rural areas. For the first time an attempt was made to involve the rural masses in the task of national development and reconstruction coupled with empowerment of the weaker sections of the rural society. The Panchayati Raj system envisages political and administrative decentralization as embodied in the 73rd Constitutional Amendment. It aims at greater participation and more autonomy to the people in the management of their own affairs. Decentralization can be one of the best ways of empowering people, promoting public participation and increasing efficiency and accountability. Another major instrument for people's participation is their organizing into community groups such as the NGOs. The emergence of NGOs can be a powerful force and a process for greater participation by the people in a civil society.

NGOs have increased substantially in their number in the country in the recent years and have assumed an important role in rural development. As voluntary agencies, they work with the people and catalyse their development. In this effort they focus not just on developmental programmes but also on the process of awareness building and community organization.

NGOs have taken up many issues relating to ecology and environment, safeguarding of natural resources, protection of human rights, exploitation and oppression, economic backwardness, ill-health and women's issues. They are making efforts to build awareness among masses. They are conducting training programmes to build effective leadership among the rural people. More programmes are being directed towards women and socially backward sections of the society.

In recent years, the issue of NGOs and government working together has been sharpened by the adoption of the structural adjustment programmes. The government on its part is realizing that NGOs and their participatory methods have a role in national development.

NGOs Performance in India

NGOs in India perform a variety of activities that would benefit the public basically because they do not have any commercial interest or profit motive. The important objective of NGOs is to serve the people who are suffering due to poverty or some natural calamity. Though NGOs are often criticized saying that they are wasting public money, they counter those criticisms by identifying the social problems systematically and involving themselves in finding a solution for them. As NGOs in India run mainly with the support of the funds that are raised, they plan everything carefully so that each programme that they execute is executed in a very cost effective way.

The benefits of having NGOs in India are manifold. As India is a large country and as the population is large, it may practically be difficult for the government to take care of all the activities, and the country definitely needs the support of the NGOs to take care of the rest.

As the standard of living certainly needs to be improved for majority of the people, Indian NGOs develop and work on various projects that would help people in changing their life styles. The local NGOs can help the development of the region better as they are flexible in adapting to local situations and responding to local needs and therefore able to develop integrated projects. They enjoy good rapport with people and can render assistance to very poor people especially in rural India. They are able to recruit both experts and highly motivated staff with fewer restrictions than the government. The leadership qualities are also developed by the active involvement of NGOs in social activities. Several Indian NGOs are working in the area of education and similar services. Especially in the context of insufficient quality education in many parts of our country, NGOs are really a ray of light. As many such NGOs in India work solely to offer free education for poor children and to uplift the lives of people who are living below the poverty line, it is a valuable support for government programmes. In addition to education, there are also large numbers of other welfare programmes that are run just for the benefit of the people. In this regard the role of NGOs cannot simply be neglected in a country like India where government alone may not be able to address the requirement of itsover 125 crore people.

Rights versus service delivery

Today our country is progressing very fast on the path of self-reliance. The stable democracy and continued economic growth have contributed to this. Unfortunately the fruits of this

economic growth have not reached the majority of our population which still suffers from poverty. These include not only the poor in urban locations but also tribals, dalits and women. For the benefit of such sections of society the Indian government has come out with various flagship schemes. Since NGOs have outreach in the remotest locations of the country as well as acceptance with the community, they become very effective partners of government at national, state and district levels. This role is primarily known as facilitating service delivery. Equally important is the role of empowering people about their entitlements under these schemes. Many a time these schemes are made in national or state capitals in very complicated languages. The true spirit and ultimate results can only be achieved when people get to know its benefits and demand from the officials and also from the NGOs. These roles, service delivery and empowerment have to go hand in hand if we wish to not only make freedom from hunger and disease a reality but also achieve full and effective utilization of public money. The NGOs are playing a very important role in this aspect of nation building and rural development in India.

Advisory role to the government

There are some NGOs that play active role as advocacy groups. They conduct research on the key issues affecting the country and engage with government on policy dialogue. Many a time they also conduct reviews on the efficacy of developmental projects carried over by the state and national governments. These reviews help in mid-course correction and redefine the targets of such projects. The NGOs have benefit of their outreach on the one hand and availability of technical expertise on the other. The NGOs were also engaged in formulation of five year plans of the Planning Commission. The review of 11th plan was conducted by a consortium of voluntary organizations after a series of consultations at state and thematic levels. Not only the voluntary sector but even the government considers this role as an important input in policy formulation function that will help rural development. Since the last two years selected voluntary organizations are also invited by the Finance Ministry for pre-budget annual consultation. Many consultative committees are also formed by various ministries to seek structured input from the sector.

The voluntary sector is engaged in providing critical input to the policy makers within government even to this mechanism. They regularly bring out status reports on climate change, agriculture, industry, fiscal reforms, etc. and submit them to the government. They also provide input to the members of Parliament and state

legislatures. Often these reports are neither invited by the government nor accepted by it. In such cases these organizations run advocacy campaigns through media and popular publications to generate awareness and public support.

Shrinking financial resources

Financial resources are very critical to the survival of this sector because the users of services by this sector are not in a position to pay. For example, if a voluntary organization is providing sanitation facilities to the economically poor and socially marginalized group, the total expenditure towards this is required to be supported by a third party. This party could be government, private sector or international funding agency. However, in the last few years international funding for development aid is going down as far as India is concerned. This is partly due to growing GDP of India and partly due to policies of government refusing bilateral aid. The focus has shifted more to technical aid away from socio-economic development aid from the international aid agencies. Simultaneously, the nature and scope of government aided projects have grown tremendously in the last few years. The private sector has also made significant contribution with its Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) projects. Unfortunately in the current aid scenario of India, there is very little support available for work on awareness on entitlements or grass roots innovations. The major focus of government and private sector is on delivery of services with very little investment on independent review of policies or flexible grants for experimentation. The voluntary sector of India is losing its edge on these two important aspects for which it was known worldwide.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that during the past few decades, efforts are on to produce rural entrepreneurs, the principal actors being the governmental and non-governmental agencies. The role of NGOs has assumed critical significance primarily at the grass root level. They have contacts with people and respond to their needs effectively. A few NGOs in India have succeeded largely in imparting skills of income generation and micro-entrepreneurship development among the weaker sections of the society, women, tribals and others.

India has a vibrant and fast growing NGO sector. These NGOs perform a number of functions in areas including environment, healthcare, anti-corruption, eradication of child labour, education, protection of human rights of women and children,

consumer protection, relief and disaster management. Though the benefits of NGOs are reaching millions of the Indian population, there exists a lack of public awareness about the very necessity of such non- profit motive organizations. A healthy linkage between government and NGOs is the need of the hour. It is also of paramount importance that the NGO sector in India, considering its social concerns and necessity, should properly be recognized and extensively researched for rural development in India.

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Book Review

COMPENDIUM OF ENVIRONMENT STATISTICS, INDIA 2016

Published by the Central Statistics Office, Government of India, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation
257 pages.

The first half of the 20th century saw two devastating World Wars and attainment of freedom by a host of nations from the colonial rule engaged the world attention. It was in the second half of the century, that the common problems facing the nation and humanity received attention at world level and the nations realized that their fundamental mandate for governance is to give quality of life to their citizens. The concern about environment protection came late on the international and national levels. The world took serious notice of the hazards of pollution during this period. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (also known as the Stockholm Conference) held in Stockholm under United Nations auspices was the UN's first major conference on international environmental issues, and marked a turning point in the development of international environmental politics. Later the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro, June 3-14, 1992 and the policy or legal instruments that emerged from these conferences, intimately linked to the two declarations, conceptually as well as politically. They represent major milestones in the evolution of international environmental law. The threat of global warming and climate was realized in the late 1980s which also resulted in formation of world bodies to tackle the challenge. The Brundtland Commission with its report Our Common Future published in 1987 brought home the need for humanity to adopt sustainable practices. It was the wisdom and foresight of the Founding Fathers of the Constitution of India that they incorporated certain provisions under the chapter on the Directive Principles of State Policy, which reflect the commitment of the Indian State to protect the environment with regard to forests and wildlife and which enjoin upon the citizens of India the special responsibility to protect and improve the environment. The dimensions of environment are broadening by the day. The components of environment include the natural environment comprising the water, air, soil, as well the whole gamut of flora and fauna. The man-made environment is represented by human settlements which consist of

physical elements of shelter and infrastructure and the whole range of services to these elements which provide material support. Today, seven types of pollution namely water pollution, air pollution, soil pollution, thermal pollution, radio-active pollution, noise pollution and light pollution are causing disastrous consequences on human life.

The foundation of the present day institutional framework for environmental programmes in India goes back to the 1970s with the establishment of the National Committee of Environmental Planning and Coordination immediately after the historic Stockholm Conference on Environment held in 1972. The Committee was gradually upgraded into a Department of Environment in 1980. Passing of the Environment Protection Act in 1985led to formation of a full-fledged Ministry of Environment and Forests. Now the subject of Climate Change is also added to the Ministry. The State Governments have also their own Departments of Environment to address the rapidly increasing policy initiatives and programmes in the environment and forests sectors.

It is a hard fact that the rapid pace of economic growth has been accompanied by resource depletion and environmental degradation. This also necessitates making of appropriate policies, bringing in place institutional framework and formulation and implementation of policies on all aspects of environment protection and its amelioration. For this purpose the Government, policy makers, planners need evidence-based statistics on the quality and availability of natural resources, human activities and natural events that affect the environment, the impacts of these activities and social response to them. Similarly, in an informed society, the Civil Society, specific user groups, environmentalists, the public, researchers, academicians also require data. In order to meet this vital need, over the years as a result of series of efforts, the Central Statistics Office under the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation has been publishing Compendium of Environment Statistics as per the Framework for Development of Environment Statistics of the United Nations Statistical Division since 1997. The seventeenth publication of this volume came out in 2016, (publication could not come out for 3 years in between) which is under review.

The Compendium is divided into seven chapters containing text and tables namely,

The Chapter 1 inter alia, states that *"although, the present coverage of information in the compendium may not be exhaustive with respect to entire domain of Environment, it does however provide a glimpse of the present*

Chapter	Chapter contents	Tables
1.	Environment Statistics: Framework and Indicators	3
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scenario of the environmental degradation, its causes and the reasons for concern. It provides the necessary base to bring out the magnitude of the problem." The 257 pages of the Compendium are filled with precise texts, detailed tables, pie-charts and beautiful images. Going through the pages of the Compendium is an enlightening experience to know of the vast natural resources available with us. India has 18% of the world population but only 2% of the geographical area. It is estimated that 11.20% of the number of species of described fauna in the world is from India. Of the 34 global biodiversity hot spots, four are present in India represented by the Himalaya, the Western Ghats, the North-east and the Nicobar Islands. Legal measures taken for protection of specific aspects of environment are mentioned in between the texts are under the tables.

On many counts, this substantial compilation and analysis of the data in the Compendium raises a feeling of concern, as the reader comes to know that most of the things are not only far from satisfactory but in respect of many things, there are alarming situations, whether extinction or endangering of plant and mammal, birds species, increasing levels of pollution, contamination of water, slum population and their deprivation from basic human amenities, flow of untreated sewage into our rivers. The Compendium definitely provides a food for thought for the policy makers and plannersto devise plans and schemes for protecting the environment. In between there are a few positive aspects, e.g. in 1901-1911, the expectation of life at birth in India was 22.9, which is now at 67.9.

Such compendiums are veritable source of data for the academicians and researchers to analyze and collate the same for the studies and bringing out the thematic publications. Civil Society in India has had fair success in raising and highlighting the environmental issues. The Compendium would be highly useful for raising concern for action. In short, the 2016 edition of the Compendium of Environment Statistics is a valuable addition to the corpus of information and data needed for a variety of positive purposes. **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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