

Local Government Quarterly

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

Brought out by its International Academy of Urban Dynamics



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- What do I do in the face of unemployment?
 An investigation into the factors influencing involvement in kidnapping in selected states of Nigeria
- * Local Government Administration and E-Governance in Digital India: Special Reference to Andhra Pradesh
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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

World Wildlife Day 2019

"Sustainably managing and protecting marine and coastal ecosystems are the objectives of Goal 14 of the Sustainable Development Goals. Today, ocean life is under severe pressure, ranging from climate change to pollution, the loss of coastal habitats and the overexploitation of marine species", says UN Secretary General António Guterres in his message on the occasion of World Wildlife Day 2019. The theme for this year is Life below water: For people and planet.

The UN observes World Wildlife Day on March 3 every year in order to highlight, among others, the fact that the economic and social development of the world depends on the sustainable use of the plant's natural resources. As oceans occupy about seventy percent of the earth's surface, they surely have a significant impact on the eco-system of our planet.

The role of oceans

Primarily, oceans support and sustain life on our planet. Oceans provide nearly 70 percent (estimates vary between 50% and 85%) of the oxygen generated on this planet, through phytoplankton, etc. Rainforests (on land) generate approximately 28 percent. Therefore it is obvious that the well-being of the oceans and its plant life are crucially important for the well-being, or even the very existence, of us humans and animal life on earth. The phytoplankton are extremely minute in size, often at the surface of the ocean or just beneath; making them rather vulnerable to pollution and contamination.

Equally important is the food provided by oceans. Food from marine sources, mainly fish provides a lasting, rapidly replenishing source of nutritious food for millions who live not only in coastal areas but in the mainland as well. Seafood is in fact a delicacy that is relished and sought after, providing livelihoods and driving the economy in many locations.

And of course, oceans, the seaside and beaches offer great leisure and vacation options; beach resorts are among the most sought after vacation destinations. The oceans therefore support local economies in great measure through tourism potential. However, this opportunity often comes with potential for great ecological damage and degradation arising out of irresponsible tourism.

Polluting our oceans

Pollution of our oceans is a very serious issue and receives widespread global coverage. Indiscriminate dumping of waste including untreated sewage into water bodies, eco-damaging coastal tourism, rapidly growing maritime operations or commercial shipping, seaborne conflict, climate change induced ocean warming, and changing ocean chemistry are some factors that adversely affect the well-being of the oceans. Among the most dangerous and massively impacting marine ecosystems is plastic waste. The scourge of plastic, especially the single use, non-recycled one is an all-pervading evil that destroys the planet's ecosystem with marine ecosystem possibly the worst affected.

María Fernanda Espinosa, President of the UN General Assembly puts the problem in perspective. She says, "Each year we throw about 8 million metric tons of plastic into the ocean. That means that every minute a garbage truck worth of plastic makes its way to the sea. Some of this plastic remains in its original form, while much more is broken down into microplastics that are consumed by fish and other creatures, eventually finding their way into our own food, our own water. This is not the way we treat our home, our planet. This is not the way we maintain a sustainable and healthy ecosystem". Pollution of sea water by plastic happens in several ways, many unnoticed. For example, when we wash garments, some of them release plastic microfibers, of which about half a million tonnes find their way into oceans resulting in grave hazards for marine life and in turn human life.

Overexploitation

The unsustainable exploitation of ocean resources; be it fishing for food, or for leisure and recreation, puts a big question mark on the future ability of ocean systems to produce oxygen and food to sustain human life. Added to these is the new phenomenon of reclaiming land from oceans for building infrastructure and creating physical structures in the sea. With the huge amount of cement, steel and sand dumped into the ocean, the potential for damage is significant.

The way forward

Let us recall the words of the President of the UN General Assembly, "this is not the way we treat our home, our planet. This is not the way we maintain a sustainable and healthy ecosystem". What then is the way we can change? The concern for and protection of ocean ecosystems is hampered by the fact that not all persons can relate with oceans and ocean life easily. For example, populations living several hundred miles away from oceans cannot easily appreciate the vital role of ocean ecosystems in their lives and even the adverse impacts of their lifestyles on ocean systems.

Therefore, firstly there needs to be change in our mindset regarding how we look at 'water' in general. Water touches each of our lives, irrespective of where we live, on the coast or the hinterland, in the hills or on the plains. In fact water is life. Without water, there can be no life. Once we all begin to treat water judiciously, there can be an effect on water bodies including lakes and rivers, and therefore the seas. While sustainable treatment of water bodies is necessary to preserve ocean ecosystems and ensure the well-being of marine life, judicious use of water is equally necessary from a conservation point of view. Extreme water stress is already evident in many parts of the world putting at risk nearly half the earth's population.

As tourists or while undertaking recreational activity, we must learn to enjoy the beaches and other coastal assets responsibly. Take for example coral reefs which support millions of living organisms. In fact these corals which occupy just about 0.1 percent of ocean area support over 25 percent of ocean life, the ocean life which in turn produces oxygen and food to support life on earth. Therefore they are often called the rain forests of the sea. Fish, Plankton and Coral reefs are only a small part of the rich and diverse ecology of oceans. Together they all support life on this plant in all dimensions, below the water, on land above the water, and in the air above land.

Among other measures, citizens need to reduce their carbon footprint, thereby relieving the pressure of climate change and its devastating outcomes on ocean systems. Reducing power consumption and use of fossil fuels can protect from climate change and thus guard marine life. One could sign up with community groups to clean up our beaches and encourage our friends and neighbours to do so too. In other words, keep the seawaters clean.

And most importantly reduce or eliminate the use of plastic, especially plastic plates, cups, water bottles, spoons and forks and bags which mostly end up in the oceans and destroy marine life.

Local governments of coastal cities, towns, and villages can play a meaningful role. They could work to create awareness among local populations and through them, among tourists about the value of the ocean ecosystem, the need and mechanisms to protect these ecosystems; this is primarily in the interest of local populations since their very livelihood often depends on the oceans and these local populations are also the most vulnerable to coastal hazards such as cyclones and flooding. Community capacity building and community participation in oceanprotection interventions could be most effective.

While this year's World Wildlife Day worked towards collectively resolving and rededicating ourselves to protecting our natural ecosystem in all dimensions, the efforts must be ongoing. Communities must learn to 'do more with less', so that we are able to leave behind enough for future generations who will live on this planet. So that we are able to leave behind a better planet than the one we inherited.

Union Parishad in Bangladesh: A One Stop for Access to Local Justice Services

Sarder M. Asaduzzaman

Abstract:

Strengthening access to local justice for the citizens is critically important in establishing good governance. Local government institution may play an undeniable role in establishing good governance and facilitating local justice services. Union Parishad (UP) is the lowest tier of local government institutions in Bangladesh that is entrusted to run Village Courts, Arbitration Council, forming and running Union Legal Aid Committee, etc. locally for its constituency. Traditional shalish run by the elderly or NGOs within the same geographical areas also plays a pivotal role in rural citizen's life in obtaining legal remedies. Given these circumstances, the objective of this paper is to explore the local justice delivery frameworks currently existing in Bangladesh at the UP level – be it actively functional or inactively lying on paper, analyze the strengths and weaknesses of these

systems and explore potentials of making the inactive mechanisms active.

Key words: Union Parishad, Access to justice, Village Court, Arbitration Council, Legal Aid, Shalish (mediation)

Preamble

Good governance is a human right. In establishing good governance, strengthening the access to local justice for the citizens is critically important. Local government institutions play an undeniable role in establishing good governance and facilitating citizencentric local justice services. Union Parishad (UP) - the lowest tier of rural local government institutions of Bangladesh- is the closest-to-people institution which serves important functions in people's lives and livelihoods at the community level. In Bangladesh, UPs are entrusted to run access to justice related several services namely Village Courts,

Arbitration Council, forming and running Union Legal Aid Committee etc. locally for its constituency. Traditional shalish which is run by the elderly or, in several cases, by nongovernment organizations (NGOs) within the same territorial jurisdiction of Union Parishad puts an important influence on citizen's justice seeking behavior locally. However, in practical terms, all the above-mentioned mechanisms are not equally functional despite of having huge potential. Only few UPs are having functional Village Courts while Arbitration Councils are not available. On the other hand, Union Legal Aid Committee (ULAC) is mostly unfamiliar to UPs and traditional shalish - although very much in practice but - often questioned for its neutrality and fairness. Given these circumstances, the objective of this paper is to explore the local justice delivery frameworks currently existing in Bangladesh - be it actively functional or inactively lying on paper, analyze the strengths and weaknesses of these systems and explore potential of making the inactive mechanisms active through coordinated efforts anchored by Union Parishad.

Union Parishad (UP):

Union¹ is the lowest tier of rural local government institutions of Bangladesh. There are 4,571 Unions² in Bangladesh and each Union has an elected body which runs the Union

Parishad (UP). The Union Parishad consists of a chairman, nine members elected from general seats and three women members elected from seats reserved for them. These reserved seats equal one-third of the total general seats. The nine general seats represent nine wards in each Union and each reserved seat is assigned to three wards. To assist in the activities of the Union Parishad, there is one Secretary. Union Parishad is governed by the Local Government (Union Parishad) Act, 2009 (Act No. 61 of 2009). Union Parishad - the lowest tier of government service delivery institutions- although belongs to Local Government Division but acts on behalf of several other central government's ministries and departments.

Citizen's Services rendered by Union Parishad

The Schedule-2, Section 47 of the Local Government (Union Parishad) Act, 2009 outlines the list of services a Union Parishad is assigned to render to its constituency. The list ranges from providing basic social services (e.g. education, health, agriculture, relief, vulnerable group feeding, water and sanitation, family planning, social welfare, disaster management, environment preservation) to preserving law and order situation of the specified geographical territory. To perform entire list of tasks each UP – as per the Section 45 of the Act- is also advised to form 13

(thirteen) Standing Committees on various issues to oversee UP-provided services. Along with all these functions, UPs have been entrusted with the responsibilities to run the Village Courts, the Arbitration Councils by the Village Courts Act, 2006 (amended in 2013) and the Muslim Family Law Ordinance, 1961 respectively. UPs are also assigned to form Union Legal Aid Committee and function as per the Legal Aid Services Act, 2000.

Access to local justice services:

Access to justice is essential for human development, establishing democratic governance, reducing poverty and conflict prevention (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2006). UNDP defines access to justice as: 'the ability of people to seek and obtain a remedy through formal or informal institutions of justice, and in conformity with human rights standards' (UNDP, 2005). However, when we speak about ensuring access to justice, we generally mean access to a legal process that 'enables people to claim and obtain justice remedies, whenever conflicts of interests or particular grievances put their well-being at risk' (UNDP, 2005).

There is no well-accepted definition of the expression 'local justice'. The term 'local justice' can be conveniently defined as mechanisms of access to justice of marginalized group of people through administering justice

system at local level. Geographical proximity and physical accessibility is, thus, the key element of the notion of local justice. Predominant feature of local justice is the application of social values and customary rules rather than legal norm in dispensation of justice. The local justice system enjoys legitimacy and authority that is not accorded to formal justice system (Faruque, (undated)). However, local justice delivery mechanisms backed up by legal framework were introduced to provide the rural peoples with the alternatives to the traditional informal and court-based formal justice systems, which were proved unable to render justice to the large number of rural people due to various reasons including the delay in disposal of cases and the huge transaction cost in formal courts (Biswas, (undated)).

Bangladesh has a range of local justice mechanism with varying degrees of formality. Most of the developing countries like Bangladesh have multiple local justice systems that co-exist (Das and Vivek, 2008). Various forms of local justice systems are as follows:

Village Court

The Village Court is an institution where the local government and village representatives resolve certain categories of disputes in an easy and expeditious manner as per the Village Court Act, 2006 (amended in 2013).

Under the Act, Village Courts have the jurisdiction to try both civil and criminal matters as prescribed in the schedules thereto. Part I of the schedules makes a list of criminal cases and part II makes the same of the civil disputes (Annex-1).3 Ideally, Village Courts combine the best of shalish on the one hand (accessibility and effectiveness), and of the formal judicial system on the other (procedural justice) (Islam, 2018). The suits that a Village Court can entertain are the ones of the recovery of money due to contracts, receipts or other documents, for the recovery of movable property and possession of immovable property within one year of dispossession, for compensation for wrongfully taking or damaging movable property, for compensation for damage by cattle trespass, and for recovery of wages and compensation payable to an agricultural labourer. All these suits are maintainable in the Village Court only when the claim amount, or the price of the moveable property involved in a suit does not exceed 75,000 (seventy-five thousand) taka.4

It is to be noted that all these above-mentioned cases and suits, with a few exceptions are triable by only the Village Courts and no civil or criminal court shall have jurisdiction to try any such case or suit.⁵ A Village Court shall consist of a Chairman and two members to be nominated, in the prescribed manner, by each of the disputant parties. The Chairman of the Union Parishad shall be the Chairman

of the Village Court, but where he is, for any reason, unable to act as Chairman or his impartiality is challenged by any party to the dispute, any member of the Union Parishad appointed - by the concerned Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO) - in the prescribed manner shall be the Chairman of that particular Village Court. One of the two members nominated by either party shall be a member of the concerned Union Parishad.

Adjudication process in the Village Court system is largely informal. The provisions, except a few, of the Evidence Act, the Code of Criminal Procedure, and the Code of Civil Procedure, do not apply to the proceedings before any Village Courts. In addition, the engagement of any lawyer to conduct a case in the Village Courts has been restricted to ensure informal atmosphere in the Village Courts proceedings (Biswas, undated).

The strengths of the Village Courts include (Jacques, Marzi-ul-Huq, Matin and Stapleton (undated)):

- It is held within the community, and the villagers do not have to spend money on transport
- It is cheap. There is no scope for bribes to members
- It is fast. The hearings can't be adjourned more than a week in between

⁴Section 7, Village Court Act, 2006 (amended in 2013)

⁵Section 3 (I), Village Court Act, 2006 (amended in 2013)

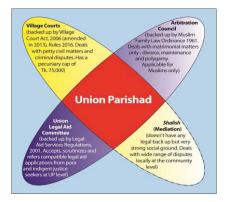
⁶Section 5(2), Village Courts Act, 2006 (amended in 2013)

- It is fair. Since the participants all belong to the community, there is little scope of lying or using false witnesses. The judicial panel of five consists of equal representation from both parties
- It is participatory. With the proceedings typically observed by dozens of villagers, it has educational value and commands a degree of community sanction
- Women participation is encouraged. Women are invited to participate in the Village Court, to ensure a safe and fair space for them to speak
- It is potentially sustainable, with best practice innovations incrementally replicable across an entire system of local governance in Bangladesh
- Although Village Court has yet to live up to the expectations of the people, it has managed to make important contributions in maintaining law and order in rural communities by intervening in local conflicts and disputes (UNDP, 2002).

However, there are still some weaknesses. For instance, if the defendant doesn't turn up or nominate his/her representative in the panel, the case can't move on. Instead, UP Chair will issue a certificate to the applicant suggesting him/her to approach to the higher court. It weakens the village courts to function and the 'clever' party takes this opportunity to defy village court's merit. Police is not barred from continuing the investigation even if a case is under trial in village court.8

Arbitration Council

Union Parishad is entrusted to run another legal remedial mechanism called Arbitration Council. Arbitration Council (AC), following the Muslim Family Law Ordinance 1961, aims to



resolve family disputes mainly dower, divorce, polygamy, dowry and maintenance. AC consists of three panel members: the UP Chair and two others, one of whom is chosen by each disputant party. An Arbitration Council resembles a Family Court. Notably, the Ordinance is applicable only for the Muslim citizens of the country and the AC system functions both in urban and rural areas in Bangladesh. In rural areas, it functions under the aegis of the Union Parishad, and in urban areas

under the *paurashavas* and City Corporation. However, only the case of UP is discussed in this paper.

Similar to Village Courts, Arbitration Council also doesn't legally require following the procedures of Code of Civil Procedures, Code of Criminal Procedures and Evidence Act. The underlying argument is that the disputant parties will be able to discuss all their problems without any reservation or hesitation and can take an amicable and justifiable decision. However, in absolute majority, decisions of these courts are as binding as those of any other formal courts of the country. In this way, both VC and AC mechanisms accommodate elements of formal court system and traditional shalish system (Faruque and Khaled, 2010).

Both VC and AC are pro-women and pro-poor, transaction costs are low. Cases with female plaintiffs tend to be processed faster. Further, poor people and women who have low bargaining power in the traditional shalish can enhance their bargaining strength because of the AC and the VC (Hassan. Mirza and Ali (undated)) which are the institutions rooted in the traditional cultural values of justice and dispute resolution. It is not alien to traditional norms of justice that is being forcefully implemented from above. The practice of justice through consensus, the complementary relationship between the VC and AC, and the close

correspondence between justice outcomes at the AC or VC and the *shalish* are indicators that the VC and AC are deeply rooted in community norms and values (Hassan, Mirza and Ali (undated)), and it attempts to revive and sustain the traditional values and norms of rural communities (UNDP, 2002).

However, huge awareness gap exists across the community about Arbitration Council. UP body doesn't have clear understanding and knowledge about the AC either. Although the Act mentions, in case of non-Muslim Chair, a Muslim UP member would act as the Chair of the AC but nothing is mentioned in case of entire UP body being non-Muslim. AC can't act in this situation. Moreover, implementation of the decision in regard to maintenance is a big shortcoming for UP to execute.

Union Legal Aid Committee

As per Section 12 of the Legal Aid Services Act 2000, each Union Parishad of the country will have Union Legal Aid Committee (ULAC). The Regulation number 7 of the National Legal Aid Services Organization (Upazila and Union Committee formation, responsibilities and activities etc.) Regulations 2011 prescribes the formation of the ULAC. It mentions, the Committee, headed by the UP Chair, would be composed of other members like three reserved

women elected UP members, three elected UP members, a woman teacher of government school, one women member of Ansar and VDP, the President of the Market Committee or a local businessman, one representative from local NGO (if available), one representative nominated by the Chair of Jatiya Mohila Songstha, Sub-Assistant Agriculture Officer, Family Welfare Visitor and the UP Secretary who will be the ex-officio member of the Committee. The Union Legal Aid Committee is tasked to i) collect legal aid service seeking applications from the poor litigants, scrutinize and refer to District Legal Aid Committee, ii) Undertake mass awareness and sensitization activities locally on government legal aid services. UP Legal Aid Committee is also responsible to forward quarterly progress report to District Legal Aid Committee (DLAC) (National Legal Aid Services Organization [NLASO], 2011) that maintains a legal aid fund allocated by the government aiming to be spent for poor litigants upon their application. ULAC bridges justice seekers with government legal aid services.

ULAC has several limitations. The composition and size of the Committee is a complex one for meeting regularly and scrutinizing the potential applications. The Committee doesn't have any separate budget for conducting meeting or undertaking mass awareness activities which is one of the prime jobs of ULAC.

Shalish (Mediation)

Outside the formal or quasiformal system lies the traditional shalish – the practice of gathering elites and village elders for the resolution of local disputes. Considering that settlement of cases through the courts is both expensive and time consuming, shalish provides a welcome alternative, especially for the resolution of small disputes. Since the local shalish is in a relatively better position to know the real nature of the conflict, the chances of foul play are significantly low (UNDP, 2002).

It deals with a wide range of local disputes and hears them to settle through an amicable way. However, its neutrality and fairness put a question mark which is evident in many literature and studies. In the past, this system has commanded the respect of villagers however, decisions are sometimes arbitrary and maintain the status quo and interests of local elites; and because the traditional shalish is composed almost exclusively of men, women are particularly vulnerable to biased decisions (Jacques, Marzi-ul-Hug, Matin and Stapleton (undated)). Informal justice system is often discriminatory towards women and disadvantaged groups, do not always adhere to international human rights standards, are susceptible to elite capture and the quality of the justice is often dependent on the skills and moral values of the individual operator

Items	Village Courts	Arbitration Council	Union Legal Aid	Shalish (Mediation)
			Committee	
Legal	 Village Court Act, 	Muslim Family Law	 National Legal Aid 	No legal framework
framework	2006 (amended in	Ordinance, 1961	Act, 2000	but social acceptance
	2013)		 Legal Aid 	exists
	 Village Court Rules, 2016 		Regulations 2014	
Composition	Five panel members	Three panel members	Fifteen members as prescribed in the Regulations	Composition varies case to case/area to area.
Jurisdiction	Both civil disputes and criminal matters upto BDT. 75,000	Three matrimonial matters: polygamy, divorce and maintenance	Accepts legal aid seeking applications, scrutinizes as per the prescribed criteria and refers to District Legal Aid Committee	All compoundable cases are dealt/No prescribed jurisdictions
Supervising authority	Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO), Deputy Director Local Government (DDLG) and LGD at the central level	Not specified in the Act	District Legal Aid Officer and MoLJPA at the central level	No official authority to supervise but social supervision by community peoples and operating NGOs
Reporting channel	Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO)	Not specified in the Act	District Legal Aid Committee	None

(UNDP, 2006). To address these limitations, NGOs have come forward with reformed initiative to make it human rights friendly and fairer. The primary distinction between the traditional shalish and NGOcoordinated shalish is that the former relies on arbitration while the latter aims to be a mediated process. In the one, parties are bound by the decision of the officiating individuals, while in the second, the NGO training enables the decision-makers to actively engage both parties in settling the dispute, with the goal of reaching a mutually agreed solution. The process is highly participatory, and results are usually complied with because a) they have been accepted by both sides; and b) the maximum participation of villagers and the role played by the local mediators further vest ownership and community

sanction to ensure compliance between the parties (i.e. societal pressure) (Jacques, Marzi-ul-Huq, Matin and Stapleton (undated)). There are various NGO-coordinated shalish model in place in Bangladesh e.g. Madaripur Media Model (MMM), Banchte Sekha Model, Nagorik Uddog Model, Shushilan Model, Ain o Salish Kendra Model. These models mainly vary in terms of its composition, structure, male-female participation ratio, etc. NGO-administered *shalish* is generally regarded in the literature available as more equitable, especially where women are concerned as they are encouraged to speak and present their side. Moreover, shalish does not necessarily require institutional linkage with UP as it happens for other three cases (VC, AC and ULAC).

Discussions

Success:

Considering the potential of the Village Courts, the Government of Bangladesh undertook a pilot project (2009 – 2015) for making village courts functional in 351 Unions across the country with the financial assistance of European Union and UNDP. Local Government Division (LGD) completed the implementation in 2015 aspiring for a scaling up. The Pilot Phase demonstrated a great success that rendered tremendous benefits to the community-based justice seekers.

A follow up and scaled up project is taken up later by LGD to activate village courts in 1,080 Unions across the country with financial assistance of European Union, Government of Bangladesh and UNDP. It targets to make village courts functional providing capacity building supports, deploying Village Courts Assistant in each project union, organizing community awareness activities and strengthening government monitoring systems.

Few initiatives are taken up for making Arbitration Council functional by several NGOs with external donor support. However, no initiatives from government side - like activating village courts - are evident. UK Aid funded Community Legal Services (CLS) program extended support to several NGOs and USAID funded Justice for All (J4A) program also supported NGOs for making Arbitration Council functional. However, both the initiatives left sustainability question in place as they didn't have any strong linkage with the implementing ministry.

Similarly, a few projects are tested for forming and making Union Legal Aid Committee functional. Both the CLS and J4A tried to make it functional and experienced very little knowledge level at the community and among UP members on this account. Although from government side strong focus is placed for activating DLAC, little efforts are seen for ULAC except the recent pilot initiative taken up in Naogaon district with UNDP support. Naogaon experience shows extremely high demand among the poor and indigent litigants for government legal aid services. Case referral from ULAC to DLAC has significantly been increased in Naogaon district following the pilot project.

Shortcomings:

Although VC and AC are prowomen and pro-poor, strongly legitimate institutions, they are much in their infancy and the fact the institutions are less-existent in the country points towards their extreme vulnerability (Hassan, Mirza and Ali (undated)). One of the major reasons of

vulnerability is that these institutions are highly dependent on the willingness of the chairman to make the institutions functional. On the other hand, the long recipe of activities UP is obliged to perform- as per the Local Government (UP) Act, 2009 - doesn't enlist activating and running Village Courts, Arbitration Council or making Union Legal Aid Committee functional. Thus, UP Chair puts lesser priority on access to local justice-related services despite of having huge demand from the citizens. Neither Village Courts, nor Arbitration Council or ULAC service is included in the thirty-nine mandatory works list of the Union Parishad.9 Thus. activation of such local level access to justice service mechanisms doesn't get due importance and priority.

Local Government Division in 2012 prepared Union Parishad Operational Manual (UPOM) explaining entire range of services each UP is to provide for its citizens. Although Village Courts service is mentioned in the UPOM, neither Arbitration Council nor the ULAC is included which results in lower priority by Union Parishad towards latter two local justice related services.

Citizens' expectation towards Union Parishad as their door-step institution is extremely high. On the other hand, UPs are having several capacity limitations in terms of human resources, financial capability and technical knowledge gap. Therefore, despite of being uniquely positioned, Union Parishad has not yet been able yet to render required legal remedies or guidance to its citizenry.

Lack of mass awareness is a huge deficiency in all the cases of local justice delivery systems at union level. Very little or no awareness raising activities are in place now except a few project-based social mobilization interventions which are running only in very few localities.

National Legal Aid Services Organization (NLASO) under the Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs is a relatively new organization having many inadequacies in offering its mandated services to the esteemed targeted poor litigants. Only thirty four (34) full time District Legal Aid Officers are now in place across the country. Even in those districts where full time Legal Aid Officer is available the Legal Aid Office isn't yet fully equipped with essential human resources and logistics for carrying out their job.

Union Legal Aid Committee (ULAC) is not only composed of UP members but also members from outside of the Union Parishad (e.g. teachers, NGO representatives, UP level government officials), therefore, calling for a meeting entails preparing meeting notice for non-UP members of

10 Source: NLASO, Dhaka.

⁹Schedule II of the Local Government (Union Parishad) Act, 2009

the legal aid committee. But UP Secretaries are already too busy with regular tasks and it becomes impossible for them to complete all these alone (USAID's Justice for All Program, 2018).

Lack of monitoring by government authorities and coordination among relevant government institutions, lack of human, financial and physical resources, inadequate knowledge with technical skills also makes local justice mechanism ineffective and nonfunctional (Faruque, (undated)).

Lack of inter-ministerial coordination is another limitation for making local level access to justice service functional. UPs are directly supervised and monitored by UNO and accountable to DDLG for their work. Therefore, UPs always prioritize to perform the task referred by these two authorities (USAID's Justice for All Program, 2018). On the other hand, ULAC is among the responsibilities of District Legal Aid Officer, linked with district judiciary, directly connected with NLASO. UP Secretary is the only person. There are already more than twenty different committees in each union and UPs remain busy for those committee meetings. They don't get much time or have much passion to organize any meeting which is not directly followed up by their line authorities (USAID's Justice for All Program, 2018).

Way Forward:

A thoughtful and careful dealing can strengthen access to these local justice institutions, broaden the scope of justice for the poor and disadvantaged, and thus change the overall justice scenario of the country positively (Biswas, (undated). Legal framework of Village Courts systems has been in place since 1976. Arbitration Council is also an age-old mechanism and Legal Aid Services Act or the legal provision of having UP Legal Aid Committee is in place since 2000. UP as the trusted institution for offering these three legal remedial measures have been in place since time immemorial. Therefore, enormous potential exists to offer all these remedial entitlements to citizens as the ultimate target audience - if required capacity is instilled in Union Parishads.

Following the Local Government (Union Parishad) Act, 2009 a new post is created for each Union Parishad. Accounts Assistant-cum-Computer Operation (AACO) is the one who will be assisting the UP Secretary and the job description of AACO includes Village Courts management responsibility. If this person is in place and is provided necessary technical skills and knowledge it can further strengthen UP's institutional capacity to provide VC services. However, AC and ULAC are yet to be included in the

job description of AACO. Inclusion of ULAC and AC services in the UPOM Manual is essential to oblige UP to act on these.

Through the Activating Village Courts in Bangladesh Phase II (AVCBII) project, district judicial officers in 28 districts are more sensitized and confident about functionality of village courts within the district jurisdictions at least for the AVCBII project-supported UPs. Therefore, VC triable case flows from District Courts to Village Courts have increased and now LGD needs to be more attentive on how to ensure efficiency of UP officials for running Village Courts not only in project areas but across the country.

Lack of mass awareness is another critical area which needs strong impetus. VC, AC, ULAC do aim to serve the citizenry and comprehensive awareness raising initiative can heighten people's understanding and knowledge. NLASO together with UPs can accumulate resources for undertaking sensitization drive for addressing the common audiences. Observance of the National Legal Aid Day (NLAD) has a significant potential in disseminating legal aid service message among the community. NLAD events play an important role in conveying legal aid message to citizens (USAID's Justice for All Program,

2018). Joint efforts can add message about Village Courts and Arbitration Council for wider dissemination.

Legitimacy of both Village Court and Arbitration Council is very evident. Its value seems to be high given that people stick with the institution through to the end. It also has considerable 'threat-value', in the sense that justice seekers can use it as a bargaining chip to negotiate better outcomes in the traditional *shalish*. There is a high degree of compliance with verdicts. VC and AC are not being abused through false cases (Hassan, Mirza and Ali (undated)). Therefore, people's acceptability is very strong.

Informal *shalish* system should be strengthened through introducing easy format and convenient procedures for recording, conducting and reaching final conclusion of cases under *shalish* system (UNDP, 2002).

Similar to AVCBII project, a large-scale project could be launched emphasizing UP as center of access to local justice service delivery hub which will focus on VC, AC and ULAC together putting equal importance. Legal aid services run by the National Legal Aid Services Organization (NLASO) belongs to Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs (MoLJPA) while the UP Legal Aid Committee headed by UP Chair

primarily belongs to Local Government Division. Therefore, central level interministerial coordination between LGD and MoLJPA would be an important prerequisite and LGD can steer the project with MoLJPA's cooperation.

Periodic inspection of village courts should be conducted to ensure efficient functioning; a strategic planning cell could be established in LGD to plan, monitor and evaluate village courts' performance (UNDP, 2002).

Structure of DLAC does not include DDLG as member. The composition of DLAC needs to be revisited so that closer coordination with LGD represented by DDLG at the district level is made for making ULAC more accountable and functional as UP belongs to LGD.

Although ULAC doesn't belong to LGD portfolio, it does not mean UP will not act upon it. Since there is gazette notification for ULAC to be formed and functioning it is only required to prioritize it from government side with coordination established between LGD and MoLJPA.

Financial allocation is another area to consider. No dedicated budget is allocated yet either for VC, AC or UPLAC. Therefore, a small fund should be allocated for these justice delivery services to bear the cost for meeting, record keeping, issuing summons in case of VC and AC, upward reporting, etc.

Conclusion

Although Village Courts and Arbitration Councils follow respective legal framework, neither of these is purely a judicial service. None of these follows formal justice delivery mechanism but uses reconciliation spirit in resolving the disputes as quasiformal justice delivery platform. These are more local and social than legal. Union Legal Aid Committee is not itself a legal service delivery mechanism, but a connector between poor and indigent litigants with government legal aid service mechanism e.g. DLAC. On the other hand, shalish - an informal mechanism - happens within the territorial jurisdictions of the UP. Therefore, coordination can be established by the Union Parishad. UP as entrusted institution to run the above access to local justice services, strengthening its institutional capacity is a key requirement. The educational profile of UP officials should be raised and should be commensurate with assigned responsibilities (UNDP, 2002). UP can be considered as the best place to invest more on this local justice delivery aspect – be it quasi formal, formal or informal – so that as the entry

point to accessing to justice system, it can offer all possible options before the citizens for them to pick as they deem suitable. Comprehensive capacity building of UP is essential in close coordination between LGD and MoLJPA involving competent legal aid NGOs who are experienced and familiar in running *shalish*.

Annex-111

I. Criminal offences which can be tried by a village court are briefly as follows:

Under the provisions of the Penal Code. 1860

- Voluntary causing hurt to any persons which may also be on provocation
- Mischief (causing damage to others property of any kind)
- Criminal Trespass
- Unlawful assembly and rioting
- Affray (causing disturbance through force)
- Wrongful restraint and/or confinement of person and property
- Assault
- Insult with intent to provoke breach of peace

- Criminal intimidation
- Act caused by inducing persons to believe that he will be rendered an object of the divine pleasure
- Wrong and gesture to insult modesty of women
- Misconduct in public by drunken person
- Theft-normal, of the master's property of in dwelling house
- Dishonest misappropriation of property
- Criminal breach of trust
- Cheating

The above also includes attempts to commit or the abetment of the commission of the above offences.

Under the provisions of Cattle Trespass Act, 1871

- Anyone either obstructs, or forcefully releases cattle from custody (khaor); causing damage to harvest by pig; and negligence of the custodian of khaor.
- II. The civil disputes that can be brought for settlement before a village court are briefly as follows:
- Suits for the recovery of money due on contracts, receipts or other documents

- Suits for the recovery of movable property, or for the value there of
- Suits for the recovery of possession of immovable property within one year of dispossession
- Suits for compensation for wrongfully taking or damaging movable property
- Suits for damages by cattle trespass
- Suits for recovery of wages and compensation payable to an agricultural labourer

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What do I do in the face of unemployment? An investigation into the factors influencing involvement in kidnapping in selected states of Nigeria

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Abstract

The incidence and prevalence of kidnapping in Nigeria is not only on the increase, but has become a source of great concern to the citizenry, particularly as it has defied and made a mockery of all security measures put in place by government. This paper therefore investigates the predisposing factors influencing involvement in kidnapping in selected states of Nigeria. With the aid of the qualitative technique, sixty respondents were purposively sampled from Anambra, Delta and Edo states of Nigeria. The data gathered were content analysed and they revealed that unemployment, greed, flaws in the administration of criminal justice, moral decadence were some of the factors which underlay involvement in kidnapping in Nigeria. The study therefore suggests that government should take concrete steps in partnering with private investors with a view to creating jobs for the unemployed youth. Besides,

there is the need to emphasize the dignity in labour while also embarking on a value re-orientation of the youth.

Key words: Kidnapping, societal values, crime, unemployment

Introduction

Hardly does a day go by in Nigeria when news of the kidnap of someone is not heard in the media. This social malaise was unheard of until 2006 when as a reaction to the environmental degradation of the Niger Delta region, the militants began to take foreign oil workers hostage. This now has spread throughout Nigeria with the south-east and south-south now referred to as the kidnappers' playground in Nigeria (Ngwama, 2014). At first, it was the expatriate oil workers who were targeted but later, anybody became a target. The huge ransom that was previously paid to the kidnappers (militants) became an energizer to go for more; little wonder then that it has

become a profiting business of some sort. This unwholesome act is thriving despite the fact that Section 362 of the Criminal Code Law Federal Republic of Nigeria 2004 makes it an offence punishable by 10 years imprisonment.

With the incessant spate of its occurrence, many states, believing that the law as it was then was not deterring enough, put in place through their respective Houses of Assembly, new laws, making death penalty to be the punishment upon conviction of suspected kidnappers. In further response to the rising waves of kidnapping, some states have improved their methods and strategies of stemming the menace. They have increased their funding on security matters and provided more equipment, communication gadgets, vehicles and other tools of policing to their various State Police Commands. With the near daily occurrence of kidnapping, including setting up Joint Task Force (JTF) and open confrontation by security personnel to the hideouts of known kidnappers: vet all these proved to be exercises in futility. In spite of these lofty programmes and strategies, kidnapping is still on the increase and has defied all provisions against its continuous existence (Ogugbuaja, 2010, Abati, 2010, Osumah and Aghedo, 2011). The rising wave of kidnapping in many parts of Nigeria has however been blamed on many factors. Poverty and social deprivation

and unemployment in varied degrees are blamed to be factors predisposing people to the crime of kidnapping. Opinions and suggestions have also been given, blaming poor political leadership and not paying much attention to other factors that create enabling environment for insecurity to thrive as factors that promote kidnapping in our society (Ilechukwu, Uchem and Asogwa, 2015).

The intriguing question with respect to this scenario is; - have these factors which underlie involvement in kidnapping any implication on the administration of the criminal justice in Nigeria. This paper examined these issues in some detail.

Brief review of related literature

Introduction

Kidnapping has also been defined as 'carrying a person away, without his consent, by means of force, threats, or fraud' (Martin, 2003). It has also been defined as 'to unlawfully and forcibly take and carry away a person' (Blackwell, 2008). Section 364 of the Criminal Code and Section 271 of the Penal Code clearly defines what kidnapping entails and the punishment.

From the provisions of both the Criminal Code and the Penal Code, it is clear that for the offence of kidnapping to be complete some elements must be established. In the first place, there must

be the enticement or taking away of the victim. Secondly, the taking away of the victim must be without the consent of the victim, his parents or lawful guardian. Thirdly, the victim must be confined and be denied access to his parents or lawful guardian. In other words, the place of confinement must be a secret place in relation to the victim's relatives. The demand for the payment of ransom is not necessary for the offence of kidnapping. Where a ransom is demanded, it amounts to further proof of the fact of unlawful confinement. The absence of a demand for ransom does not detract from the commission of the offence of kidnapping. Kidnapping also refers to the taking away or detaining unlawfully a female, intending to force her into marriage, concubinage, or prostitution (Blackwell, 2008). The Criminal Code specifically provides with Section 316 that:

Any person who, with intent to marry or carnally know a female of any age, or to cause her to be married, or carnally known by any other person, takes her away, or detains her, against her will, is guilty of a felony, and is liable to imprisonment for seven years'.

Also, Section 362 provides that:

Any person who unlawfully takes an unmarried girl under the age of sixteen years out of the custody or protection of her father or mother or other person having the lawful care or charge of her, and against the will of such father or mother or other person, is guilty of a misdemeanor, and is liable to imprisonment for two years. Ignorance of age of girl, or consent, is not a defence.

Underlying factors influencing kidnapping in Nigeria

Unemployment

Inyang (2009) Adibe, (2009) and Okoro (2010) have noted that one of the reasons for the high crime rate, including kidnapping, is the existence of an army of unemployed youth who out of frustration and need to fend for themselves, resort to the thriving business of kidnapping. Ugwuoke (2011) observes that many unemployed youths in Nigeria are poverty-stricken and usually find solace in criminal activities. Diara (2010) on his part feels that the economic downturn in Nigeria where many of the able-bodied youth are unemployed is a major contributing factor to kidnapping.

The point these scholars have made is that the rise in kidnapping is attributable to unemployment situation in the country. More worrisome is the fact that various higher institutions of learning across the country turn out graduates in large numbers year in, year out but this is not matched with job vacancies. Few or no plans, projections or policies are made to absorb these graduates. If the youth who are the

more vulnerable are empowered, if they are given jobs to do, if the government provides jobs, crime, including kidnapping will be reduced to the barest minimum. Even at times when the youths want to be creative, there is no government incentive to empower them and this can be quite frustrating.

Greed and inordinate ambition to amass wealth

Diara (2010) in a study identified greed and inordinate ambition to amass wealth as one of the causes of kidnapping. Owing to the quest for materialism, people engage in criminal activities to amass more wealth. In Nigeria, money is held higher than virtues. Kidnappers are in the business to extort money and the money is given under duress; often times the choice is either to give them money or lose the victims (Ugwulebo, 2011). Most young people want to own flashy cars, big houses and live large, and the easiest way to achieve this is now through kidnapping.

Corruption among the Nigerian Police and Politicians

Ugwuoke (2011) observes that, the corrupt influence of Nigerian leaders must have played a significant role in the escalation of vices such as kidnapping. Adibe (2009) asserts that corruption among the Nigeria Police Force and politicians contributes immensely to kidnapping in Nigeria. He gives the example of a case of kidnapping which was said to have been masterminded by a high-ranked police officer who thought that he was above the law (Olebera, 2010, as cited in Ugwulebo, 2011). Politicians arm the youth to assist rig elections in their favour but once they win the elections, these youth are barred from seeing them so, the money they were getting from the politicians suddenly stops and more out of frustration, the youth sometimes turn against these politicians who have used and dumped them, by kidnapping them (Onyeishi and Eme, 2011). In this vein, the corrupt politicians and police may not be physically involved in the act but may be aiding it. Ogabido (2009) claims "the issue of poverty and unemployment of youths as well as social injustice and unfair distribution of the nation's resources are potent causes of kidnapping in Nigeria. These factors have caused the youth to engage in kidnapping and criminal activities as a way of getting their share of nation wealth"

Low morale and lack of training and equipment from the police

Meanwhile, one of the major problems of security agents is training in order to match the well armed criminals. Osaghae (2011) has advised that police training must include infantry, weapon handling, and anti-

terrorist training in order to match the well-armed criminals. Dambazau (1994), Shittu and Olufemi (2008) opine that there is need to increase the salaries and allowances of the police as a measure of boosting the low morale and efficiency of the force. To Dambazau (1994), crimes, including kidnapping, based on the statistics he examined, are rampant in Nigeria owing to the inability of the Nigeria Police Force to carry out its statutory functions. This could be attributed to the fact that the salary of the average policeman is well below the poverty line. He also notes that prison warders must be co-opted in the fight against kidnapping because criminals that act outside are known by inmates. But, Nigerian prisons are faced with many problems and so have been less helpful in the quest to curb the incessant spate of kidnapping.

Osaghae (2011) opines that the relatives of the kidnapped persons should cooperate with security agents because they can be of great help. The Police Force has been accused of aiding and abetting kidnappers, as a result people detest using the police against kidnappers (Ugwulebo, 2011). The police will not have information to act on if cases of kidnapping are not reported to them. Despite the shoddy performance and corrupt tendencies of the police, the populace still needs to report and assist the police with information on kidnapping.

Loss of societal value

In Africa, particularly in Nigeria, there were (and still are) values, morals and traditions that were highly valued. It was believed that a good name is better than riches and so family tended to bring up their young ones to appreciate societal values of honesty and upright living but this seems to have changed as the youths no longer follow the tradition of their forebears. They believe just like some elders that power and wealth are all that matter now irrespective of how they are acquired.

Theoretical framework

Functionalism

For the purpose of this study, the functionalist theory was adopted in explaining the underlying factors influencing involvement in kidnapping in Nigeria. The main thrust of the functionalist school of thought is that the society is made up of different units which, though run independently are also dependent on the smooth running of other units. The proponents of this theory include Parson (1951), Malinowski (1944) and Durkheim (1897) and they strongly believe that, for there to be social order in a society, there must be equilibrium and this equilibrium entails that the various units in the society must work smoothly. This implies that where there is a problem with one of the units, it would have an effect on the smooth functioning of the other units.

In relation to the topic under investigation, it is believed that the economic institution is not functioning properly due to unemployment, while the political institution has not been able to muster enough will power to put the necessary strategies and programmes in place to deter or discourage young persons from getting involved in kidnapping. Similarly, the religious and family institutions appear not to be functioning properly in that, they are supposed to inculcate the right moral and societal values in their young ones which will discourage them from getting involved in kidnapping; rather from the increasing spate of kidnapping, mostly carried out by young persons, it would appear that the family institution has failed in its responsibility of inculcating the right values in its young ones.

Methods and materials

This study was conducted in three states of Nigeria namely Anambra, Delta and Edo. It adopted a crosssectional study which involved the use of qualitative technique (key informant interview and in-depth interview) in the selection of sixty respondents whose consents were obtained before their participation in the study. The

purposive and quota sampling methods were adopted for this study because of the nature of the topic under focus. The population study included all the staff of the judiciary, the police, the prisons, as well as kidnappers/suspected kidnapers, victims of kidnapping and relatives of kidnap victims from which a sample size of sixty was drawn (forty-eight for in-depth interview and twelve for key informant interview respectively). The interview guide used for the study was content validated and also, a pilot study was done using it to ensure consistency. The data collected from the field was thereafter content analysed.

Findings and discussion

Information gathered from the field revealed that there are quite a number of young persons who are unemployed, and due to frustration, coupled with mounting responsibilities to handle, take to kidnapping. A graduate who is unable to secure a job is more likely to be physically bereft of other means of survival. In such a situation as gathered from the field, he develops a negative attitude towards society and attributes his failure to society. In addition, he has little or no regard for the law, knowing that he can always circumvent it. This view appears to be the regular mindset among the participants and bears no respect for gender or social setting (urban or rural).

This was expressed by one of the male informants thus:

Many of the suspected kidnappers upon being apprehended usually attribute their involvement in the act to lack of jobs and the fact that the law will not catch them. (IDI, Male, Police Officer, Benin).

Similarly, this position was strengthened by another IDI participant:

Here in Awka; there is nothing the law or police can do to stop kidnapping until government creates jobs for the teeming youths who seem to be hopeless and thus resort to kidnapping (IDI, Male, Defence Counsel, Awka).

The view of one of the suspected kidnappers further illuminated this theme:

I left the university eight years ago and up till now, I am still an applicant searching for a job. I actually had no choice but to join three of my unemployed friends to start this kidnapping racket which was paying very well but for the mistake we made by going for the same person twice. (IDI Male Suspected Kidnapper, Asaba).

This finding confirms the previous one by Ugwuoke (2011) that many unemployed youths in Nigeria are poverty stricken and usually find solace in criminal activities which includes participation in kidnapping. Diara (2010) asserts that kidnapping in Nigeria is due to unemployment.

In fact, the finding of this study validates the studies of Adibe (2009) and Inyang (2009) who opine that kidnapping is as a result of the rising incidence of unemployment. They note that thousands of Nigerians are roaming the streets in search of jobs and see kidnapping as a means of livelihood. The implication of this is that these unemployed youth who have taken to kidnapping believe strongly in the fact that they cannot be caught because of the ineffectiveness of the police and even when apprehended, they can also use proceeds from their escapades to settle the actors of criminal justice.

Information gathered from the field revealed that there is a strong link between 'moral decadence' and the 'get- rich- quick syndrome', and kidnapping and the administration of criminal justice in Nigeria. The inconsistency between economic transparency and accountability in the running of normal government affairs and the desire to access wealth among public office holders at different levels of government was pointed out by many informants as an underlying factor that has contributed largely to the activities of kidnappers. Findings of this study revealed that those involved

in kidnapping believed that, when those in government employment loot government treasury openly without fear, they too can take the law into their own hands by abducting people for ransom, especially because when caught, they can spend out of their loot to come off the wheel of justice. In Nigeria, nobody asks questions on how people make their wealth. A poor person today can show up with an expensive car tomorrow, make large donations to the community and nobody cares to question the sudden wealth. Instead, he is rewarded with chieftaincy titles and a front row seat in churches and ceremonies. Many of the informants emphasized this view. A male informant asserted thus:

The society places too much value on material things, hard work is not encouraged. So the youths, wherever they find themselves, tend to follow the trend or dictates of the society. Hence, they engage in kidnapping as a way of living up to societal expectation.

(IDI, Male, Policeman, Benin City)

Another informant explained that:

I went into kidnapping because it is a very quick way of making big money. Nobody wants to know how you got your money, all they want to see and know is that you have 'arrived'.

(IDI, Male, Suspected kidnapper, Asaba)

Another informant aptly captured it thus:

Even corporals today ride in big cars and nobody asks them where they got the money to buy the cars. Some of the policemen here in Awka shamelessly associate with kidnappers because of what they get from them and this affects their

(IDI, Female, Police officer, Awka).

Another respondent presented the situation this way:

> You cannot believe it, but it is true that after collecting money from kidnappers, some policemen tip them off about possible arrest or raid. Why will kidnapping stop? This Asaba is something else. (IDI, Male, Judicial Worker, Benin City).

An informant described the situation thus:

This thing called kidnapping will continue because some of our socalled young state counsels compromise their official duties because they want to make it fast. Some have been accused of collecting money from suspected kidnappers and giving an opinion that there is no prima facie case. (IDI, Female, Ministry of Justice Staff, Benin City).

One of the convicted kidnappers put the issue thus:

What do you expect me to do when people look down on me because I had nothing? You won't believe that these same people started greeting and respecting me whenever they see me in my Lexus jeep, without knowing how I was making my money. For me, people do not want to know how you get your money, just get it and people will want to be friends with you. You can do whatever you want and get whatever you want from the police and even the court.

(IDI Male, Convicted kidnapper, Asaba)

The finding of this study validates Diara's (2010) conclusion. He identifies greed and inordinate ambition to amass wealth as one of the causes of kidnapping; stressing that owing to the quest for materialism, people (including those who are supposed to be the custodians of the law) engage in criminal activities to amass more wealth. In Nigeria, money is held high above virtues. This finding is further given credence to by Onovo (2009) when he stated that kidnapping and crime generally are largely due to the inordinate quest for wealth at the expense of moral values, dignity in labour and upright living.

Conclusion

The prevalence and incidence of kidnapping, particularly in Nigeria has become increasingly a source of concern to many, especially as it has impacted negatively on not just the socio-economic development of the country but also on its criminal justice system. This paper showed that inspite of the concerted effort of government, inefficient and ineffective policing system, the rate of unemployment amongst the youth, moral decadence and the get rich quick syndrome among the populace are some of the factors which underlie involvement in kidnapping and in a way impact negatively on the administration of criminal justice in Nigeria.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are imperative:

- > There is the need for government to create jobs for the teeming unemployed youths in Nigeria. It can also engage the private sector by creating the enabling environment for investment to thrive with hope that such investors will take the unemployed youths off the streets by providing them jobs.
- > There is the need also to establish skill acquisition centres where some of the unemployed youths

- can acquire vocation and skills that will make them live meaningful lives in the society.
- There appears to be a shift from the societal value of 'honesty pays' to 'the end justifies the means'. There is a lot of moral decadence involving both the high and mighty and the common man on the streets. There should be a reorientation of the people. Moral laxity should be discouraged and emphasis should be placed on uprightness, honesty and morality.
- There should be an emphasis on the dignity of labour; genuine hard work should be rewarded while denouncing the acquisition of wealth illegally. Corrupt politicians and leaders who have made ill gotten wealth should not be worshipped rather they should be abhorred. This will in a way discourage the 'get rich quick' syndrome.

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Local Government Administration and E-Governance in Digital India: Special Reference to Andhra Pradesh

Vadranam Suresh

Introduction

E-governance is one of the major pillars of good governance and Simple Moral Accountable Responsive and Transparent (S.M.A.R.T) functioning. Good governance cannot be imposed or imported from anywhere; it is the responsibility of the government to deliver the services to the people. The internet revolution had paved the way for a majority of good governance initiatives and a major dimension of the internet potential is the capacity of providing services anytime, anywhere, of the citizen's choice; the citizen who is the central focus of any responsible government in the world. E-governance is a transforming process which is mainly concentrated on the transformation and the modernisation of government processes and the functions for delivering better services to the public and these delivering mechanisms are mainly through the means of technology. These days the whole paradigm of governance has changed with increasing awareness among the citizens about their rights. Keeping in mind the promises made by elected representatives for 'online governance instead of the inline', for convenient access to government services and the expectations from the government to perform and to deliver services in a faster, transparent, and accountable way, the use of ICT is imperative for good governance. Most of the advanced countries including the United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand and the USA have adopted series of measures under a new model with several new names but conveying the same message, i.e. replacing traditional models of governance.

"Digital India" a term coined by National Science Foundation in 1999 focused on the use of information and technology. In India advances in ICT further increased the versatility and the reach of the computers to majority of the government departments and were involved in various government

functions like tracking of the files, monitoring the development programs, etc. The thrust to e-governance was provided by launch of the Department of Electronics in 1970 but the establishment of the National Informatics Centre (N.I.C) is the major step towards e-governance.

Concept Definition

According to the World Bank¹, "E-Government refers to the use by government agencies of information technologies (such as Wide Area Networks, the Internet, and mobile computing) which have the ability to transform relations with citizens. businesses, and other arms of government. These technologies can serve a variety of different ends: better delivery of government services to citizens, improved interactions with business and industry, citizen empowerment through access to information, and more efficient government management. The resulting benefits can be less corruption, increased transparency, greater convenience, revenue growth, and cost reductions, etc." From this the World Bank mainly stresses on the use of the ICT in the administration and for more citizen friendly interactions. According to UNESCO, "Governance refers to the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in the management of a country's affairs, including citizen's articulation

of their interests and exercise of their legal rights and obligations. E-Governance may be understood as the performance of this governance via the electronic medium in order to facilitate an efficient, speedy and transparent process of disseminating information to the public, and other agencies, and for performing government administration activities."

According to the European Union $(EU)^2$:

"The use of electronic technologies in three areas of public action":

- Relations between the public authorities and civil society
- Functioning of the public authorities at all stages of the democratic process (electronic democracy)
- the provision of public services (electronic public services)"

Objectives of E-governance:

Some of the major objectives of egovernance are:

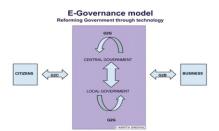
- Making improvements in delivery of essential services to the citizens.
- Empowerment of the people through necessary information.

- Ensuring transparency in the government business, transactions etc. and the right to information in all the government activities.
- Elimination of unethical practices such as touts, speed money, corruption, deliberate delays, harassments, bogus documents, and other means of illegal activities which affect good and effective governance.
- Encouraging participation of the people and for that creating awareness and alertness among them.
- Making administration more responsive by having due control over the assets, revenue and the expenditure.
- Making administration more citizen friendly and ensuring accountability and encouraging efficiency of the administrative functions through the promotion of knowledge network.
- Increasing the legitimacy and the credibility of the institutions.

Types of interactions in E-governance:

E-governance facilitates various types of interactions with various wings for effective governance and these interactions are:

- i. Government to government (G2G)
- ii. Government to citizens (G2C)
- iii. Government to business (G2B)



Government to government (G2G):

Gregory (2007) indicated that G2G is an online communication between government and the government organizations. In this, information and technology are used to restructure the government processes involved in the functioning of the government and it also follows the exchanging of the information from one entity to the other and this interaction may be horizontal (within the spear of the organization) or vertical (i.e. from the higher authority to the lower authority) or between the both.

Advantages:

Improving the consistency in the outcomes, saving of the time and the possibility of reducing the energy (manual energy), increasing the number of transactions.

Government to citizens (G2C):

G2C allows citizens to access the government information and services promptly and consistently from any place of their choice and from various types of channels. It improves the availability and the accessibility of the public services on one hand and also the quality of the services on the other hand. And also because of these geographical obstacles will be reduced and will also connect the government to the citizens and this coming together and contacting with one another leads to larger citizen participation.

Advantages:

It helps in completing certain transactions like certifications, paying of taxes and fees and applying for certain benefits like jobs.

Government to Business (G2B):

Government to business interaction helps to provide the goods and the services easily and there is a possibility for business to interact with the government efficiently. And the main aim of this G2B is to reduce the redtapeism, corruption, bias of the politicians and the government employees; through G2B, transparency in the business environment can be achieved.

E-governance in Integrated Policy Making

E-governance has an important role to play in policy integration. To better understand this role it can be divided into stages and sub-stages, which make up a 'policy cycle'. The phases of policymaking begin with agenda setting (i.e., consideration of a problem or issue that requires government attention). It moves to the policy formulation phase (i.e. consideration of options to address the problem), and then to decisionmaking (i.e. prescription of a particular course of action). In the policy implementation phase (i.e. translation into action), the selected direction and approach translates into action on the ground. Finally, policy outcomes are monitored and evaluated in the policy monitoring and evaluation phase, often leading to setting a new agenda. E-governance can support policy integration at almost every stage of the cycle.



E-governance in India and around the globe: An overview

In recent years, all countries irrespective of whether developed or developing, have paid increased attention to e-governance. The infrastructure comprising internal networks, special networks, and external networks, and a database system are mainly used by these countries for developing the contact with their people.

E-governance around the globe

E-governance has been accepted by many countries worldwide as it reduces government operational cost and also ensures a citizen-centric transparent government. Some of the countries like Singapore and Australia (particularly the state of Victoria) adopted E-Governance early, but if we talk about successful implementation of E-Governance for the first time then it was in Chile. To ensure better government processes, many governments make provisions for investments in ICT. Use of E-Governance online is high in Singapore, Sweden, and Norway where people feel comfortable. More than 60 percent of Internet users in the U.S.A interact with government websites. India stands at the 107th position.³

Rank	Country	Region	Income lev
1	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Europe	High
2	Australia	Oceania	High
3	Republic of Korea	Asia	High
4	Singapore	Asia	High
5	Finland	Europe	High
6	Sweden	Europe	High
7	Netherlands	Europe	High
8	New Zealand	Oceania	High
9	Denmark	Europe	High
10	France	Europe	High
107	India	Asia	Medium

Source: United Nations e-governance Survey 2016

E-Governance: Acceptability In India

E-Governance is a way to solve the social as well as economic problems that exist in developing countries like India and also in other developing countries. Deepak Ghaisas, former Chairman NASSCOM Product Forum and CEO India Operations estimates "Nearly23 percent of

³⁸ Local Government Quarterly January - March 2019

government spending goes on defense, while 46 percent of it on governance. If a small fraction is spent on technology, namely to strengthen the processes, it will really boost the domestic tech industry"

According to WEF Global Information Technology Report, India ranks 24th out of 134 countries with 5.38 score in accessing and overall priority of ICT. Therefore there is tremendous potential for e-Governance to provide exponential benefit to their citizens and maximize return on government investment. Which presents an encouraging picture for the growth of e-Governance in India.4

Central Government Initiative

The policy-makers in India tend to justify the adoption and expansion of egovernance on the grounds that it costs less, reduces waste, promotes transparency, eliminates corruption, and has possibilities to resolve rural poverty and inequality, and guarantees a better future for citizens; in other ords government tends to portray egovernance as the main source of solving a range of problems confronting India, therefore Indian Government has set the target of delivering at least 25 percent of its dealings and services electronically. To achieve the target Indian Government has decided to boost computer density by making computers easily affordable; to

increase connectivity by improving the telecommunication based on optical fiber networks. Indian government has taken some of the major initiatives to setup institutions for making policy, control and deployment of e-Governance which will provide effective and efficient services.

- One of the most important initiatives undertaken by the central government is the Information Technology Act (2000), which is to regulate cyberspace and define offences and penalties related to information technology (IT) such as tampering of computer source documents, breach of confidentiality and privacy, publication of false digital signatures and so on.
- Freedom of Information Bill which makes all public authorities to maintain information and records, and appoint Public Information Officers to assist citizens in gaining access to necessary information.
- Ministry of Information Technology is playing a crucial role in facilitating e-governance by reinforcing knowledge based enterprises, encouraging coordination among users, adopting procedures based on international standards, promoting the internet and introducing its awareness.

- The Government has also decided to establish a National Institute of Smart Government in order to enhance capacity-building in e-Governance in all administrative levels.
- Centre for Electronic Governance to promote IT and e-governance in the country which is to identify the appropriate forms of ICT necessary for better service delivery; it conducts training for generating awareness among government officials and to help state governments in implementing policies and reforms based on best e-governance practices.
- National e-Governance Projects (NeGP) make all Government services accessible to the common man in his locality, through common service delivery outlets and ensure efficiency, transparency & reliability of such services at affordable costs to realize the basic needs of the common man. In addition, various ministries and departments organize summits, and deploy other mechanism to raise awareness and to make varieties of information available to citizens through electronic links.

Digital India

The journey of e-Governance initiatives in India took a broader dimension in early 90s with wider



sectoral applications which mainly emphasize on citizen-centric services. Later on, many States/UTs started various e-Governance projects. Though these e-Governance projects were citizen-centric, they had a lesser than desired impact. Government of India launched National e-Governance Plan (NeGP) in 2006. 31 Mission Mode Projects covering various domains were initiated. Despite the successful implementation of many e-Governance projects across the country, e-Governance as a whole has not been able to make the desired impact and fulfill all its objectives.

It has been felt necessary to promote inclusive growth that covers electronic services, products, devices and job opportunities. Moreover, electronic manufacturing in the country needs to be strengthened. In order to transform the entire ecosystem of public services through the use of information technology, the Government of India has launched the **Digital India programme** with the vision to transform India into a digitally empowered society and knowledge economy.

Online service components

Aadhaar

The Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI) is a statutory authority established under the provisions of the Aadhaar (Targeted Delivery of Financial and Other Subsidies, Benefits and Services) Act, 2016 ("Aadhaar Act 2016") on 12 July 2016 by the Government of India, under the Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology (MeitY).5 UIDAI was created with the objective to issue Unique Identification numbers (UID), named as "Aadhaar", to all residents of India that is robust enough to eliminate duplicate and fake identities, and to be verified and authenticated in an easy. cost-effective way. The first UID number was issued on 29 September 2010 to a resident of Nandurbar, Maharashtra. The Authority has so far issued more than 111 crore Aadhaar numbers to the residents of India.

Under the Aadhaar Act 2016, UIDAI is responsible for Aadhaar enrolment and authentication, including operation and management of all stages of Aadhaar life cycle, developing the policy, procedure and system for issuing Aadhaar numbers to individuals and perform authentication and is also required to ensure **the security** of identity information and authentication records of individuals.

E-sign:

Digital Signature Certificate treated on par with physical signature as per IT Act, 2000 and it is the Dongle based and has a time-bound validity. E-Sign is safe and secure and biometric based authenticated for life long, issued each time. Cannot be impersonated and it cannot be misplaced, misused or lost and it is a cost effective as business model could be based on transaction.

E-Governance in Andhra Pradesh

The residual State of Andhra Pradesh, formed on 2nd June 2014, has many challenges confronting it. The new State of AP has to be practically reimagined and reconstructed in a planned manner, for fulfilling the hopes and aspirations of its people. The combined State of AP had taken a leadership position in e-Governance and IT. However, when we see the statistics the new State accounts for only 2.05 % of the IT exports of the combined State, 1.83% of employment. The performance of e-Government is quite satisfactory, with 50% of etransactions occurring in each State. Significant, consistent and planned efforts have to be made if the first two figures have to attain respectability over the next 5 to 10 years.

To fulfill the aspirations of the people, the following Vision Statement is suggested: "To develop Andhra Pradesh as a knowledge society of global repute, with a focus on enhancing the quality of life of its citizens, through high-quality education and healthcare, increased productivity in agriculture and allied activities, creation of requisite employment potential by promoting electronics and IT industries, and above all, by providing good governance."⁶



E-governance projects in Andhra Pradesh:

E-office:

Government of Andhra Pradesh has been putting great emphasis on improving productivity in its internal processes, increasing transparency in the decision making and improving the citizen participation as part of the inclusive governance in the country. Governance processes are based around creation of files, decision at

various levels, and finally issuing decisions as letters and notifications. Any request to the Government goes through an elaborate processing of different stages which is also known as workflow. Most of these processes are handled in the form of files which move forward and backward for decisions and it is a time consuming process. But the automation of those files can play a very crucial role both in improving the efficiency of decision making and also in making governance more transparent.



MeeSeva:7



Government of Andhra Pradesh has a vision of reaching the people living at the last mile of the State and should enhance the standard of living and they should uniformly avail the benefits of the schemes and programs implemented by Government and this should happen transparently, seamlessly and instantly without any barriers. Certificates & Documents are offered in "MeeSeva" through a digitally signed, legally valid, and printed on secured stationery and delivered across the counter. 'MeeSeva', easier, faster is an online transparent facility to provide convenient access to all the citizens without any need of going to multiple Government offices. And it was launched for delivering Revenue & Registration Department services to the citizens. Today, MeeSeva offers citizens a list of 309 high volume services from 32 departments through 4070 MeeSeva

centers on the State. The Project has already completed 4 crore transactions and is soon reaching the 5 crore mark. The target of the government is to ensure that MeeSeva becomes the entry and exit point for the citizen to approach the Government for any service. MeeSeva centers are now also providing Business Correspondent Services for various banks and achieving financial inclusion for the citizens because of the large scale Aadhaar based DBT roll out in the country.

Andhra Pradesh State Resident Data Hub

Andhra Pradesh State Resident Data Hub (APSRDH) is a comprehensive portal for managing all the demographic information like Name, Gender, Age, Photograph,

Address and also the biometric information for facilitating 'Unique ID' based identity authentication. SRDH is an exclusive source of information about the state residents and will be integrated with departmental applications for the purpose of availing Government Welfare Scheme benefits. And the UIDAI details are collected by the AP State which includes the resident information and is verified through a process of data authentication in order to ensure uniqueness of data provided.



SRDH has now further extended the utility of the demographic data of state residents by linking the Aadhaar Number to check the fake beneficiaries in multiple Government Welfare Schemes. It only keeps active beneficiary records. And it also developed an application called "AP State Resident Data Hub" – (APSRDH) which is a major portal for managing demographic as well as biometric information of citizens for facilitating "Unique ID/Aadhaar" based identity authentication.

AP State Portal:



AP State portal is acting as the electronic face of the government. It is the main source of information on all government matters. Links for the respective department or organizational websites are made available on the portal for public convenience. It also provides information relating to the State and the District Profiles, Budget, Programs, Schemes, Forms, Acts & Rules, Government Orders, Circulars and Notifications etc.,.

APe-procurement:



E-Procurement is one of the core e-governance initiatives of the State of Andhra Pradesh. It mechanizes the procurement and purchase procedures of AP Govt. starting from demand aggregation to procurement till the fulfillment of contract. The basic objective of this project is to use the tools of IT for introducing the best practices in electronic procurement across State through the Government. The prime objectives of e-Procurement are demand aggregation, reducing the inventory cost, uniform procurement

procedures across departments, reducing the cost of procurement, transparency and effective tendering processes etc. This project has brought substantial savings to Governments, by way of attracting competitive bids, maintaining uniformity of bidders, and decrease in tender cycle time besides empowering the contractors to file tenders, strengthening security and authentication.

CFST-Transport Department Services:

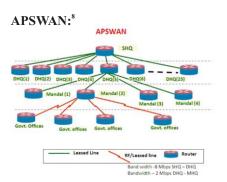


Computerization in the department was first taken up in the year 1988. In phases, offices at Hyderabad Central, Vijayawada, Visakhapatnam, Chittoor, and Head Office have taken up computerized transactions on UNIX operating system with Unify database. The objective of computerization is to make the Transport Department citizen friendly in its functioning and provide SMART services to the public. It is intended to build comprehensive database and provide on-line services to the public covering all the services of Transport Department like Issue of Driving Licenses, Registration, Permits, and Taxation. All the offices in the state are connected through APSWAN.

CARD (Computer Aided Registration Department):



CARD is a name given to the comprehensive project of computerizing one of the oldest wings of the Government "The Registration & Stamps Department". The project was originally conceived in August 1996 and implemented at two test sites in August / September, 1997. Judging the project by its initial success and the immense potential it has in transforming the concept of public service, the Government decided to replicate it all over the State. This began an intensive and dedicated effort which is now the watchword of the Department.



AP State Wide Area Net Work (AP SWAN) is implementing by the government of Andhra Pradesh

whereby the government is connecting State Head Quarters (SHQ) with 13 District Head Quarters (DHQs) and DHOs to respective 562 Mandal (Revenue Unit) Head Quarters (MHOs). It is the backbone for all Government applications of voice, data and video services, 2360 Government offices spread across AP State are connected to APSWAN to enable the broadband penetration in the rural areas of the State. The Government of India has formulated a National e-Governance Plan with the vision of providing all Government Services in an integrated manner at the doorstep of the citizen, at an affordable cost. The target fixed for the year 2015 is 10,000 CSCs.

E-cabinet meeting:



Taking a further step in the egovernance the government of Andhra Pradesh had conducted its cabinet meeting as a paperless exercise by the council of ministers holding I-pads in their hands. The agenda and the minutes of the meeting are officially recorded and the Power Point presentation is given for the effective understanding to the fellow ministers in the cabinet. For this new initiative the government had brought a new system file cloud tool for the ministers and the top bureaucrats.

Paperless Assembly:9



The Union Ministry of Information Technology and Communications has chosen Andhra Pradesh Legislature for implementation of a World Bankfunded computerization project, which will make it almost paperless. This project has increased the efficiency in the functioning of the Legislature and the members for bringing more transparency. A dedicated IT wing with 30 staffers will execute the project with technical support from Centre for Good Governance. A file monitoring system, integrated with all government departments, would be put in place to ensure paperless administration. All information related to government schemes and public assets in each Assembly constituency would be made available to the legislators on their mobile phones through Geographic Information System. All the information required will be available to them at their fingertips. All communication to members will be electronic only.

Some Observations

- (i) Beneficiary data base has to be digitized.
- (ii) Aadhaar has to be seeded with beneficiary database. For this, adequate technology support is needed from NIC.
- (iii) Wherever beneficiaries do not have Aadhaar number, they will have to be enrolled for Aadhaar by the UIDAI Registrar.
- (iv) Wherever beneficiaries have bank accounts, it will need to be linked with Aadhaar number.
- (v) Wherever beneficiaries do not have bank accounts they will have to be opened, for which Aadhaar should be used as KYC, by the Lead Bank/Bank Branch. An integrated campaign to be initiated to inform the beneficiaries of the program and to encourage enrolment in Aadhaar and opening bank account.
- (vi) Robust but easy to access grievance readdress systems to be put in place to mitigate unforeseen hardships, system failures, etc. and to ensure there is no denial of service to beneficiaries without Aadhaar or bank accounts.

Conclusion

We have seen how the concept of egovernance and m-governance has evolved in Indian scenario and how

much it is required for transparency and accountability on the part of government and at the same time it is also a tool to increase the participation of people in policy making by empowering them with the right information at right time. The penetration of internet, telecommunication services in India has increased in the last decade and this gives a ray of hope to the citizens of India to fight with the long persisting problems of poverty, corruption, regional disparity and unemployment. But at the same time, due to slow pace of project completion, red-tape and resistance from the side of government employees and citizens too, the result is not to the desired level.

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Reincarnation of Gandhism in Vinoba's Non-Violent Revolution: The Impact of Sarvodaya, Bhoodan and Gramdan on India's Inclusive Growth

Smita Nayak

Abstract

As renowned chronicler and anthologist Mark Shepard terms him, Sant Vinoba Bhave was the 'King of Kindness' who epitomized Gandhian dictum of autonomous and self-reliant villages. At a time when Gandhian concept of Gram Swaraj was on the verge of getting abandoned by the protagonists of rapid urbanization, it was Vinoba Bhave who staged an epoch by startling the world through his unique interpretation of 'Sarvoday' as a spiritual revolution at source emerging in union of hearts. In 1916, when Vinoba was in his teens with an urge of becoming a religious hermit, he read about Gandhiji's vision from a newspaper and met him, within whom he could perceive and feel the Himalayan peace and Bengal's revolutionary fervour. Gandhi reposed his complete trust in Vinoba and during national protest against Britain's war policies he preferred Vinoba over Nehru to lead the campaign. Gandhiji's

death created a vacuum and when millions of Gandhians looked towards Vinoba for directions to go ahead, he pointed at Sarvodaya depicting 'welfare of all'. In 1951 following the annual conference of Sarvodaya, Vinoba declared to start his journey through Telengana. On April 18 that year, Vinoba stopped in a village called Pochampally and after prayers asked if anyone could help the Harijan friends. A prominent farmer immediately declared that he would donate 100 acres but Harijans asked for only 80 acres. Thus emerged the idea of land gift for landless called 'Bhoodan'. During 1954 Sarvodaya conference, it was ascertained that Gandhians could collect over 3 million acres of land nationwide. So after 1954, Vinoba started appealing for donation of whole villages instead of parcels of land. Gramdan was a more pragmatic program than Bhoodan. In a Gramdan village, all land was required to be legally owned by the village as a combined entity, but parcelled out for

individual families, according to need. So Vinoba's Sarvodaya, Bhoodan and Gramdan not only could breathe the Gandhian legacy but also preached, propagated and perpetuated the Marxian postulates promoting the idea of 'from each to his ability to each to his needs'. This can be termed as victory to the world or 'Jai Jagat' as Vinoba Bhave lovingly coined it aiming at greatest happiness of greatest numbers.

Introduction:

Thinkers and reformers who brought around tremendous changes in India belonged to two categories. Some were products of the age. Some made the age what it is today. Sant Vinoba Bhave belongs to the later one. Needless to say that his unexampled will power, vision and deep sense of faith in the goodness of so called lesser mortals could establish equitable land reforms, much benevolent than the socialist pattern of land distribution and sharing of common welfare. Vinoba's three major contributions namely Sarvodaya (Gandhism redefined), Bhoodan and Gramdan created a niche place for him among the radical reformists of the globe. As Sam J Thomas puts it aptly "On 18 April 1951, a fragile old man, dressed in traditional costumes of Indian sages, set out on his first round of begging. It is not for food he begged, but for land, not for himself, but for the countless farmers that raised crops on lands that never belonged to

them, farmers that toiled day in and day out, but remained forever poor and hungry. That fragile old man was Vinoba Bhave, a staunch follower of Gandhiji and firm believer in the Gandhian principles of peace and nonviolence, and the project he launched was the Bhoodan Movement."1 Researcher Santosh K Pati quotes in his analytical article published in the 'Odisha Review', while reflecting on the impact of Bhoodan movement on tribals of Odisha. The Bhoodan or the land gift movement was a voluntary land reform movement of India which was initiated by Acharya Vinoba Bhave in 1951 at Pochampally Village, Nalgonda, Andhra Pradesh.² Bhoodan was an attempt at land reform in order to bring about institutional changes in agriculture, like land redistribution through a movement and not simply through general legislation.³

Gandhism Revisited:

It is quite revealing to note that Gandhiii could see the reincarnation of his rudimentary philosophy in Vinoba's thought. Gandhi reposed his complete trust in Vinoba and during national protest against Britain's war policies he preferred Vinoba over Nehru to lead the campaign. Gandhiji's death created a vacuum and when millions of Gandhians looked towards Vinoba for directions to go ahead, he pointed at Sarvodaya depicting 'welfare of all'. In 1951 following the annual conference of Sarvodaya, Vinoba declared his journey would start through Telengana. Manimala recollects in the comprehensive website on Gandhian writings. "The year 2011 marks the sixtieth anniversary of the Bhoodan Revolution started on 18th April, 1951 in a village in Andhra Pradesh when an incident turned instantaneously into a revolution. Majority of the nation's population was landless. A few had control over all the land. As a result, within a few years of Independence, the result of the handful of landed people controlling the rest had become evident. The landed and landless were coming into conflict in a village in Andhra Pradesh. Some violent incidents also took place. In this region, the group trying to resolve matters of land through violent means was active. In this scenario, people found hope in Vinoba Bhave. Vinoba was chosen by Mahatma Gandhi as the first Satyagrahi in the Individual Satyagraha initiated in 1940. After all, what had Gandhiji seen in this man called Vinayak? This question has to be seen in the context of the multitudes that were Gandhi's followers and disciples at that time. The first Satyagraha of the Individual Satyagrahi was initiated on 17th October, 1940."4

Apostle of Silent Revolution:

As chronicled by Manimala we find great resilience in Vinoba's boundary-less efforts. His views 'Jai Jagat' transcended the boundaries of land limitations. He could perceive great hope in the countless hopes of the timid millions. She writes " Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was the second Satyagrahi. Gandhiji declared Vinayak as the first Satyagrahi and also gave him the name 'Vinoba'. This is the first instance that drew everybody's attention to Vinoba. Vinobaji continued to work in Gandhiji's constructive programmes. After Gandhiji's death, his disciples saw hope in Vinoba. The Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh was under the effect of violent incidents on the issue of land. The 'Sarvodaya Samaj' also decided to hold its conference in the Shivrampalli Village of this region. In addition, they requested Vinobaji to attend and grace their conference. Vinobaji started on foot to be a part of this conference. On his way, he met people, shared their worries and woes. He also heeded their views on contemporary society, nation and the world scenario. On returning from this conference, the landless Dalit villagers of Pochampally Village demanded some land while talking to him. Vinobaji asked the villagers for potential solutions to their issues. Ramchandra Reddy of that village suggested that 100 acres of land be given as 'daan' to them. Acharya Vinoba contemplated deeply on this suggestion and gave it the shape of a principle. In this novel incident, he saw the resolution of the impending turmoil facing the entire nation in the near future. It was no longer relevant here whether Ramchandra Reddy had given this land to accord democratic rights to the landless people, or merely to fulfil his own father's wishes. Inspired by this incident, Gandhiji's spiritual disciple, Acharya Vinoba assessed the importance of 'daan' (offering) in the Indian consciousness and planned 'Bhoodan' and began to visit different parts of the country to realize this vision."5

Bhoodan in Eastern India: An Epoch Making Step

In Odisha we could see great fervour in strengthening the legendary movement of Sant Vinoba. Great leaders who joined Vinoba, later on became trend setters. This includes a list of Odia political leaders who occupied significant positions and got recognised as iconic Gandhians. As researcher Pati writes. - In response to the nation-wide call for Bhoodan Movement by Vinoba, Gopabandhu Choudhury one of the top Gandhian leaders of Odisha along with his wife Rama Devi started collecting land for the landless in Odisha from 7 January 1952. On the same day, a meeting was conducted in Ramachandrapur village near Bari Bhoodan Movement in Odisha with Special Reference to Koraput. It was attended by Gopabandhu Choudhury, Rama Devi, Acharya Harihar Das, Pandit Krupasindhu Hota, Radharatan Das, Sakti Sekhar Das and a number of such

other constructive activists. It marked the inauguration of the Bhoodan Movement in Odisha.⁶ One Harapriya Devi of Anandpur village became the first donor of the Bhoodan Movement in Odisha by donating twelve gunthas (0.48 acres) of land for the landless. She was followed by two others who declared land donations. They were Rambha Devi a lady constructive activist from Gujarat who stayed at Bari Ashram and Surendra Pati, an inhabitant of village Balibil, who vowed to donate three acres of land.8 Starting from 7 January 1952, the first Bhoodan Padayatra continued for four months and twenty two days ending on 28 May 1952. The marchers covered Cuttack, Puri, Ganjam, Koraput, Kalahandi, Balangir, Sambalpur and Dhenkanal districts on their way and collected 1626 acres of land from 233 donors. A non-official Bhoodan Yagna Samiti was constituted under the Chairmanship of Gopabandhu Choudhury with its headquarters at Cuttack 9

The Trendsetters who could see the Awakening:

From the above mentioned article we find an account of great reformers joining Vinoba in the erstwhile province of Odisha. Pati recounts "Vinobaji visited Odisha in 1955 and first reached a small village known as Deula, Balasore. He was greeted by many of the top Gandhian leaders of the province namely Gopabandhu Choudhury, Acharya Harihara, Naba Krushna Choudhury, Nanda Kishore Das, Biswanath Das, Surendra Dwibedy, Nishamani Khuntia, Manmohan Choudhury along with a large number of Bhoodan activists. In the meeting at Laxmannath, (Balasore), Vinoba dwelt on the idea and implications of Bhoodan movement." 10 This galaxy of towering personalities joining Bhoodan movement speaks volumes for its glory. The Bhoodan Movement at Koraput inspired the whole country. As recounted by Pati, 'Vinoba remarked in a meeting held at Damuripadar that the villagers of two hundred villages in Koraput had donated all their land to Bhoodan with the resolve that there would be no landless in their villages. Addressing the meeting Vinoba held that the primary objective of Bhoodan Movement was to abolish individual ownership of the land. In a prayer meeting at Katirguma, Vinoba maintained that he would like to see the Grama-Rajya in Koraput and expected the world to watch it and that all would follow it."

Rising of All in Every Aspect: The Sarvodaya

Sarvodaya, as Pankaj Dubey writes in comprehensive website on gandhian literature¹² non-violence, truth, spiritualism, creative work and gram swaraj are the main components of Gandhian thought. The Gandhian

thought attracted the attention of many thinkers. One among them was Jayaprakash Narayan. Jayaprakash Narayan used Gandhian thought for social reconstruction after independence of India. Actually the philosophy of Jayaprakash Narayan is the result of the effect of Gandhian thought on him. Jayaprakash Narayan was a freedom fighter, social worker and great socialist thinker of India. His ideology changed from time to time in positive direction. He made major contributions in social reconstruction. He was linked with Bhoodan and Gramdan movements. In 1974, he gave a concept of Total Revolution to change the corrupt, autocratic and rotten system. He was one of those persons who worked on the way of Gandhian thoughts. Before the independence of India, he was influenced by Marxism but after independence he understood the depth of the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi and accepted it. He tried to complete the dream of Mahatma Gandhi and the aim of Gandhiji's Loksevak Sangh. Socialism to Sarvodaya - Sarvodaya is a term meaning 'universal uplift' or 'progress of all'. The term was first coined by Gandhiji as the title of his 1908 translation of John Ruskin's work on political economy, 'Unto This Last' and Gandhi came to use the term for the ideal of his own political philosophy. Sarvodaya is the main concept of Gandhian thought. Mahatma Gandhi gave the philosophy of Sarvodaya as a module of development for human

society. Jayaprakash Narayan also accepted the Sarvodaya philosophy for social reconstruction after independence of India. But, before independence of India, he was a strong follower of Marxism. He believed that Marxism is better than Gandhism. He said, "Freedom still remained the unchanging goal, but the Marxism as a science of revolution seemed to offer a sure and quicker road to it than Gandhi's technique of civil disobedience and non-cooperation. The thrilling success of the great Lenin, accounts of which we consumed with unsatiated hunger, seemed to establish beyond doubt the supremacy of the Marxism way to revolution. At the same time, Marxism provided another beacon of light for me: equality and brotherhood. Freedom was not enough. It must mean freedom for all even the lowliest and this freedom must include freedom from exploitation, from hunger, from poverty." In this way, in the effect of Marxism, the philosophy of Jayaprakash Narayan was developed. Equality and brotherhood was the base of his philosophy. But after independence of India when Jayaprakash Narayan understood the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi, he believed that socialism could not be established through communism and democratic socialism, it can be established only through Sarvodaya. According to Jayaprakash Narayan, the right objective and right philosophy of socialism is found in Sarvodaya.

Bhoodan and Gramdan: A Critical **Appreciation**

Bhoodan and Gramdan like all phases of evolutionary growth went through phases of inertia, restlessness, institutionalisation and self-reliance. As the famous critic Dr. Parag Cholkar writes in his lead article published in the website of Gandhi Sevagram Ashram¹³ - It has been over sixty years since the birth of the Bhoodan-Gramdan movement. Bhoodan and its offshoot, the Gramdan movement, were visible at the ground level as a movement for around 25 years and after its end, 37 years have gone by. Circumstances have changed. So, what is the need to have an analysis of the movement now? Can we draw some lessons from this movement to face the present day challenges? Even when this movement was endeavouring to bring about new consciousness among the people, especially in the rural areas, the socalled intellectuals of those times did little, except ignoring or ridiculing the movement and dismissing it in a few words born out of ignorance and lack of understanding. This movement, which presented a novel and unprecedented solution to a complex and formidable problem outside the framework of the State, and through it showed a way for the transformation in individual and social life, did not receive from them the attention it deserved; it was not adequately

studied. Those intellectuals were either hoping for action from the State that claimed to be a welfare State: or were enamoured by the sterile violent activities backed by a verbose jargon. Perhaps, this class had neither the will nor the capacity to understand the words having moorings in the tradition and the ground realities of this country. But, now the sterility of the violence of the extreme left is apparent to all, and so are the limitations of the State and its real character. In fact a question has arisen whether the so-called Welfare State is really working for the welfare of the people, or serving the interests of national and international capital? The problems of those times are still there and new problems too have arisen. The land problem that gave birth to Bhoodan movement still exists, albeit in a changed form. Perhaps it has become more serious.

Farmers are fighting everywhere to save their land from the assault of the capital which have the backing of the State apparatus. The Gramdan movement fought against the process of the breaking of villages, which had started in the country in the colonial era. That process still continues; and despite the rhetoric of Panchayati Raj, the slavery in villages is increasing in alarming proportions. Violence and State action have clearly failed to find a way out of this impasse; in fact, they are aggravating the situation. The only way that is left, is that of non-violence.

A number of mass movements are claiming to follow that path. But they, and the people too, need to have a deeper understanding of the meaning of non-violence, its strategy and the way of its working. And their power will grow in proportion to this understanding. An overview of the Bhoodan-Gramdan movement would be fruitful in this connection.

The Ripple Effect: Championing Gandhism across the Globe:

Despite criticisms labelled by great leaders including doven of politics inside India, the Movement spontaneously attracted the attention of many fellow-seekers & thinkers from outside India. As great Gandhian thinker Subhash Mehta writes 'Louis Fischer, the famous American correspondent said: "Gramdan is the most creative thought coming from the East in recent times". Hallam Tennyson, the grandson of the famous English poet. Alfred Tennyson, wrote a book, The Saint on the march. He narrated his memorable experiences as he moved with Vinoba into rural India. Chester Bowles, the American ambassador to India, observed in his book, The dimensions of peace: "We experienced in 1955, the Bhoodan Movement is giving the message of Renaissance in India. It offers a revolutionary alternative to communism, as it is founded on human dignity". The British Industrialist, Earnest Barder was deeply

impressed by the Bhoodan movement & implemented the Gandhian concept of Trusteeship by allotting 90% share in the company to his industrial workers. The British quaker, Donald Groom, trekked with Bhoodan Sarvodaya coworkers for six months in Central India covering a distance of 1400 miles. The American friend Rev. Kaithan turned himself into a Sarvodaya co-worker and established a community centre in South India. David Graham, an English journalist of Sunday Standard, included Vinoba as one of the creative rebels. Arthur Koestler, in 1959 wrote in London Observer, that the Bhoodan Movement presented an Indian alternative to the Nehruvian model of Western development.' 14

In conclusion, it can be inferred from the series of analysis that, Bhoodan was perhaps the second greatest movement after the Gandhian freedom struggle. Gandhi talked about truth and non-violence as a holistic entity. Sant Vinoba progenited the greatest non-violent revolution in India that could breathe the spirit of the Gandhian era in the true sense of the basic postulates of Gandhian dictums. Socialism definitely means distribution of riches, not distribution of poverty. So Bhoodan and Gramdan are in contrast to Marxian thought of dictatorship of proletariat and withering away of the state furthering systemic machinery for exploitation of the poor, the marginalised and the downtrodden mass of rural India.

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Redevelopment, Transformation of City and Displacement: Case of Kolkata

Joy Karmakar

Abstract

Asian cities' race to be a global city or world class city becomes inevitable with the growing urban population in 21st century. The cities are facing huge challenges to become global and it is crucial not only to promote themselves but also to compete with the other cities and achieve a higher ranking in the networked the global economy. Therefore number of projects are being taken up to transform the city's infrastructure and network at different level. Scholars noted that such strategies are adopted not only to confront the city's problems but it is often regarded as an effort to produce an exclusive image of a city in this 'flat world'. A prominent feature of this global trend of urbanization is forced displacement. While number of studies in recent years have sought to analyze urban livelihoods and governance, little is known about how displaced people negotiate their way in the urban environment, their relationships with host communities and governance institutions, and their specific vulnerabilities as compared with other urban poor. Similarly the role of humanitarian and development actors in supporting these populations, and the strategies and approaches best suited to address the assistance and protection needs of urban Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), are poorly understood. In fact, the complex and shifting dynamics of urban displacement are of growing interest to international policymakers, not least as part of work toward the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, Kolkata Environment Improvement Project (KEIP) is one of the projects which was introduced in 2000 to arrest environmental degradation and improve quality of life in the city of Kolkata. It was funded by Asian Development Bank (ADB) and ended in 2013. The project has many components and sub-components which include sewerage and drainage

improvement to canal bank development as well as slum improvement. Data is collected through official project reports as well as from the newspapers. This paper will focus on the process of resettlement and rehabilitation of slum dwellers and explore the challenges and final outcomes of the project. Moreover, the paper's objective is not only to discuss the case vividly but to explore the strategies and policy response beyond resettlement and rehabilitation.

Key words: Displacement, Redevelopment, Resettlement, Rehabilitation,

1.0 Introduction

The growing urban population in the 21st century in Asia triggers the Asian cities' race to be a global city. During the last two centuries, cities have offered the environment for technological and institutional innovation. So they are often referred to as 'engines of economic growth' or 'agents of change' (Mohan and Dasgupta, 2005)1. Such change or growth in cities also brought different problems on different scale. Therefore various environmental programmes are being taken up to cure or sometimes to prevent such environmental problems. In fact, redevelopment of old infrastructure and building is one such strategy to cure environmental problem. Such strategy is often guided

by an international donor agency like Asian Development Bank. Such strategy is adopted not only to eradicate the city's environmental problem but it is often regarded as an effort to produce an exclusive image of a city in this 'flat world'. Promoting city image through such redevelopment is therefore an art which helps the city to reach a higher status in the global economy. So exclusive image² of a city in this globalized world is crucial not only to promote itself but to compete with the other cities and achieve a higher status in the network of global economy (Lai, 2014)³. To produce an exclusive image of a city several programs and policies are introduced in third world cities which focus on the improvement of the environment. Some of the most ambitious analyses of such urban dynamics have attempted to contextualize these policy introductions as part of a revanchist urban strategy to re-conquer the city for capital and the middle classes (Smith, 2002⁴) The revanchist city⁵ can be contrasted with another ideal type, that of the emancipatory city of the 1960s and 1970s, a city in which urban marginality was present but was considered as a social problem that could be cured through institutional reform and welfare. Many scholars have recently suggested that European cities are moving from emancipation towards more repressive policies and some explicitly argue for the relevance

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Mohan,R. and Dasgupta,S (2005) The 21st century Asia become Urban, Economic and Political Weekly, 40 (3) it is important to note that every city must have some images of its dweller and travelers to the city. The image may be loaded with positive or negative characteristics. Here the exclusive image of a city refers to a phenomenon that makes cities global or presents a 'worlding' view to the rest of the world.

³Lai, S.Y. (2004) Urban Infrastructure and the Making of City Image in the Age of Globalisation: The JLE Project in London, paper presented at Shanghai Overseas Returned Scholars Association

Smith, N. (2002) Cities and the geographies of 'actually existing neoliberalism', Antipode, 34(3), pp. 427–451. The concept's origins are traced to Ruth Glass' 1950s/60s East London commentary, when the middle-classes 'invaded' working class quarters of London, renovating 'modest mews' homes into 'elegant, expensive residences' and displacing working-class tenants (Glass, 1964: 19), the recent revival of interest explores gentrification as a symbol of urban change (e.g. Lees et al., 2008).

of the concept of revanchism in the European context (Atkinson, 2003⁶; Aalbers, 2006⁷). In fact, land contestation over prime location in city and rapidly developing urban peripheries are one of the key aspects in the contemporary urban development projects that trigger conflicts and often displacement. It adversely shapes the claims of displaced groups to the physical territory, political and institutional space. In the context of third world cities, Kolkata presents a glaring example of such project and program that was introduced to make changes in the city. Kolkata Environmental Improvement Project (KEIP) is one of the many projects which were launched in the first decade of 21st century so as to 'improve' the city. Within this context, the paper's objectives is to understand the process of displacement as well as nature of resettlement plan in the project and how new landscape at the periphery of the city has emerged under this canal bank improvement project exclusively.

1.1 Urban Redevelopment and induced displacement

Glass (1964) first identified the phenomenon in London; gentrification has transformed both temporally and spatially. Despite clear distinctions that early literature made between gentrification and urban redevelopment, the past few decades have seen a

blurring of this distinction, especially in developing countries. Smith (2002) observed an emerging global urban strategy in which gentrification is increasingly embraced by both the market and the state as effective means in promoting urban prosperity, mainly through large-scale urban renewal projects.9 In the past few decades, urban redevelopment and its consequences, namely of redevelopment-induced displacement, are thus often viewed through the lens of gentrification discourses (Lees et al., 2010). However, it is noteworthy that although gentrification tends to go hand in hand with urban redevelopment nowadays, the interactions between them are highly dynamic. The issue of residential displacement constitutes the fundamental essence of gentrification (Lees et al., 2010)10. Compared to sporadic gentrification triggered by the return-to-the-city movement of the middle class, gentrification by means of urban renewal strategy is more directly, overtly, and immediately associated with physical eviction of incumbent residents. This form of direct displacement (Grier and Grier, 1978)11 has been extensively documented in the literature because it is most evident and observable. Relating to economic displacement, and using moving costs and utility levels as leading concepts, Vigdor (2002) conceptualized the locational strategies of poor renters suffering from rising housing costs in gentrifying neighbourhoods. Vigdor

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⁶Atkinson, R. (2003) Introduction: misunderstood saviour or vengeful wrecker? The many meanings and problems of gentrification, Urban Studies, 40, pp. 2343–2350

Aalbers, M. (2006) Revanchism in yesterday's city of tomorrow Paper presented at the conference

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¹⁰Lees, L., Wyly, E. K., & Slater, T. (Eds.). (2010). The gentrification reader London: Routledge.
¹¹Grier, G. and Grier, E. (1978) Urban Displacement: A Reconnaissance. Washington, DC: US Dept. of Housing and Urban Development.

argued that, compared to households who are priced out (direct economic displacement), those who choose to stay in the neighbourhood tend to experience the largest utility loss, since they have to absorb any (unreasonable) increase in housing costs.¹²

1.2 Retrospect of Redevelopment Efforts in Kolkata

One of the earliest post-colonial efforts on urban development in West Bengal was Calcutta Urban Development Project which began in 1972 with the assistance of the World Bank (WB). This project was implemented in three phases.¹³ The focus of the project was to redeem the physical condition¹⁴ of Calcutta¹⁵ by investing capital on various services including sewerage, drainage, water supply, solid waste management and traffic and transportation. Subsequently, the Ganga Action Plan (GAP) was also an important effort that recognizes the problem of Kolkata and focuses on the improvement of drainage of the city. Followed by GAP a new plan called Calcutta Environment Management Strategy and Action Plan (CEMSAP) was introduced with the assistance of DFID to understand the environmental problem of the city. However this plan remained to be implemented. Thereafter, Kolkata Environmental Improvement Project (KEIP) was launched in 2000 with the financial assistance of Asian Development Bank

(ADB) and it has been successfully completed in 2013. In addition, a new program Kolkata Environmental Improvement Investment Project (KEIIP) has been started for further improvement and it will be implemented over 8 years period from 2014 to 2022. Since the time of independence, Kolkata underwent various redevelopment projects. It is worthwhile to note that various international donor agencies were also associated with the redevelopment projects in Kolkata.

1.3 Methods of the Assessment

Researchers have paid specific attention to building a rigorous and sophisticated methodology to evaluate plans and programs (Alexander¹⁶, 2002; Baer¹⁷ 1997; Hendrick¹⁸, 2001). Based on time dimension three types of plan evaluation have been found in literature which includes a priori assessment, evaluation in progress and ex post facto evaluation. Since, the KEIP was completed in 2013, ex post facto evaluation approach has been taken into consideration for the assessment of the project. Ex post facto evaluation involves measuring or assessing the impacts and effects of the subject undertaking - policy, plan, program or project – to evaluate its outcomes. This kind of evaluation usually begins upon completion or later, to allow time to observe relevant impacts. 19 This type of evaluation raises questions like what

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¹³Vigdor, J.L. (2002) Does gentrifications harm the poor? Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs, pp. 133-182.
¹³The first phase of CUDP was from 1972 to 1977. Second and third phase of the project spanned from 1977 to 1983,

and 1983 to 1992 respectively.

After the establishment of Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority (KMDA) in 1970s immediate focus of the authority was to improve "physical decay" of Kolkata so they took the assistance of World Bank.

¹⁵In 2001 the name Calcutta has been changed into Kolkata.
¹⁶Alexander, e. r. (2002), The public interest in planning: from legitimation to substantive plan evaluation', Planning Theory, ii, 226-49

¹⁷Baer, W. C. (1997), 'General plan evaluation criteria: an approach to making better plans', Journal of the American Planning Association, 63, 329-44.
¹⁸Hendrick, R. K. (2001), 'Evaluating comprehensive plans (paper submitted to the APA National Planning Conference, New Orleans, 14 March

¹⁹Alexander, R. E. (ed) (2006) Evaluation in Planning: Evaluation and Prospects, Ashgate Publication

happened to the plan. Was it useful? Did it achieve its intended effects? This paper tries to address the above question with respect to KEIP. Moreover, following questions have also been taken into consideration for assessment.

Table 1.0: Evaluation and Project Intent

Role of the Project	Possible Evaluation Questions
Vision	Was the programme having a vision?
Blueprint or Map	Was the blueprint implemented faithfully?
Regulation	Did the plan clearly establish Policy?
Future Guide	Did the plan help shape future decisions?
Remedy	Did the plan help remediate the problem?
Administrative Requirement	Did the plan help obtain funds?
Process, not plans	Was the process inclusive?

Source: Susan²⁰, 2004

Therefore, these questions become inevitable to assess the project. Now, to analyze the project, following

reports have been studied to get an authoritative view of the project.

Table 1.1 Various Reports on KEIP

	Name of the Reports		
1	Resettlement Plan of 2000, 2006 and 2013	5	Initial Environmental Examination Report on Sewerage and Drainage
2	Audit Report (Civil) 2010	6	Progress reports on EMP Implementation
3	Completion Report 2015	7	Initial Environmental Examination Report of Resettlement Sites like Kasba and Nonadanga
4	Social Monitoring Report 2012	8	Environmental Assessment Guidelines by ADB

Source: Compiled by author

1.4 An Outlook of Kolkata Environmental Improvement Project(KEIP) Kolkata Environmental Improvement project (KEIP), a joint effort of Government of India, Government of West Bengal (GOWB),

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²⁰Susan, L. W. (2004) Planning To Perform: Evaluation Models For City Planners, Berkley Planning Journal, 17 (1)

Kolkata Municipal Corporation and Asian Development Bank (ADB) intended to arrest environmental degradation and improve quality of life in the city of Kolkata. The project's objectives were to improve the environment in the outer areas of Kolkata and reduce poverty in lowincome areas by providing affordable access to basic urban services. Moreover it aims to facilitate community empowerment through participatory processes and protect the environment from adverse developmental impacts. KEIP is comprised of six parts. The first part is stakeholder consultation process. The stakeholder consultation process (SCP) was aimed at stakeholder involvement for effective project implementation. The process was to focus on stakeholder awareness, participation, education, and consultation. Affordable access by the poor to basic services and community empowerment were crosscutting components. Second component was sewerage and drainage (S&D) improvements which were intended to optimize sewage collection and treatment, reduce flooding through improved storm water drainage of the city and make efficient use of sewerage and drainage systems created under Ganga Action Plan (GAP). Third component about solid waste management aimed to improve the management of municipal, hazardous, and biomedical waste. Fourth and fifth components were about slum and canal

improvements respectively. Slum improvement aimed to improve environmental services in informal and formal low-income settlements. including the areas' water supply, drainage, and sanitation services, on the other hand canal improvements component was inclusive of rehabilitation of project affected families (PAFs), dredging, de-silting, lining to improve hydraulic efficiency, replacement or construction of bridges and culverts across drainage canals to eliminate drainage constrictions and construction of canal pumping stations. It was expected that canal improvement would require relocation of about 11,000 people living on canal banks. Last component was about implementation assistance and capacity building. It was to provide incremental administration services for the Kolkata Municipal Corporation and the Irrigation and Waterways Department (IWD) of the GOWB; equipment, vehicles, and logistical support.

On 19 December 2000, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) approved the Calcutta (Kolkata) Environment Improvement Project (KEIP) for the purpose of improvement of drainage system and underground sewerage system for the added areas of Kolkata Municipal Corporation and for the purpose of Slum development within Kolkata Municipal Corporation area. However the loan agreement for KEIP was signed on 18th December 2001

and the loan became effective from 16th April 2002. The supplementary loan agreement (2293 IND) was signed on 21 February 2007 and became effective from 1st June 2007. The loan was scheduled for closure on 31st

December 2010, but was extended twice up to June 30, 2013²¹(ADB, 2013). Following table shows the project's financial share by each of the institution.

Table 1.2 Financial Share of the KEIP

Name	Nature of payment	Rupees in Crore	Percentage Share
Asian Development Bank	Loan ²²	(799.98*+360**) 1159.98	64.22
Government of West Bengal	Grant	(245.70*+87.75**) 333.45	18.46
Kolkata Municipal Corporation	Grant	(249.30*+63.45**) 312.75	17.32
Total		1806.18	100

Source: Audit Report of KEIP 2010, *Original Loan/Contribution, **Supplementary Loan/ Contribution

Under a parallel financing agreement with the KMC, the Department for International Development of the United Kingdom (DFID) supported the capacity-building program (CBP) to sustain investments under the project with a grant of \$42 million.²³ Of the abovementioned components, the majority of the permanent resettlement impacts were due to the canal improvement works. It is worthwhile to mention that one of the components have been removed later, i.e. solid waste management.

The project was expected to benefit about 5 million people through the SCP and SWM interventions and 1.4 million people through sewerage and drainage improvements, as well as to deliver improved infrastructure to 65,000 slum dwellers. Socio-economic data collected during appraisal showed that 50 percent of the 5 million expected beneficiaries lived in slum settlements, and that 4 percent of these people lived below the poverty line. It is worthwhile to note that for proper implementation and monitoring of the project, a high power steering committee was constituted including

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²¹It was reported that loan modality adopted by KEIP was more relevant than other alternatives available at the time of initial approval. However, the multi-tranche financing facility (MFF) option that ADB introduced in 2006 would have suited the project better had it been available, since it would have helped enhance the sequencing of interventions based on the priorities, experience, and preparedness of the KMC and the IWD

The Government of India (GOI) is passing the loan from the ADB in the form of 70 per cent debt and 30 per cent grant to the Government of West Bengal (GoWB). The GoWB lends it on to KMC on similar terms. The loan with GOI is repayable over a period of 25 years commencing from July 2007. The loan agreement between Kolkata Municipal Corporation (KMC) and GoWB stipulated that KMC would pay interest on the principal sum withdrawn and outstanding from time to time, at 14.5 per cent per annum, with a rebate of 2.5 per cent for timely payment of principal and interest.

²³Asian Development Bank, (2015) KEIP Completion report, project no. 29466-013 and 29466-023, Kolkata

the representatives of both the State Government and Kolkata Municipal Corporation (KMC).

1.5 Canal Bank Redevelopment and Displacement Proposal

KEIP report on master plan for canal redevelopment noted that TP basin; Monikhali, Keorapukur and Churial are major outfall for the drainage system of Kolkata. These canals were completely silted up and polluted and caused water logging in the catchment areas. The project took up the rehabilitation work of the capacity of these canal systems through de-siltation, renovation and lining. Following table shows the details of the work.

Table 1.2 Proposed Canal Bank Redevelopment Activities

Name	De-silted in km	Lining in Km	U-trough in km
TP canal system	24.41	1.470	1.391
Manikhali canal	9.255	2.039	0.244
Keorapukur canal			1.065
Churial canal system	20.46	0.205	1.898
Total	54.13	3.714	4.598

Source: Caring for our city, KEIP

Canal improvement works were proposed in parts of the T-P Basin, Keorapukur Basin, Churial Basin, and Monikhali Basin, including desilting and lining of canals. The component included construction of 52 bridges over the rehabilitated canals, and resettlement of 2,880 households' canal bank dwellers in flats under the VAMBAY scheme and BSUP.²⁴

1.6 Profile of Displaced Persons

In Kolkata, drainage canals banks have traditionally served as sites for location of informal settlements. Migration from rural areas has largely filled canal banks with settlements. Nearby residents have also shifted to canal banks to escape rental charges. People in canal bank settlements do not have title to the land occupied by them. Between the RP 2000 and RP 2006, the increase in the number of affected households from 3507 to 3626 was due to the increase in canals and canal lengths to be improved which was expected to increase project coverage. Design changes increased the length of canals to be improved from 52.60 km to 77.306 km. As a result, the number

of affected households (persons) increased from 3,507 (11,547) to 3,626 (16.317).

The total number of affected persons has changed as a result of two factors: (a) design changes to avoid resettlement, and (b) lack of willingness of affected persons to relocate to the resettlement sites. Since the project treated 'family' as a unit for compensation, this section presents reasons for fluctuations in the number of affected families. In 2011, the number of affected families further reduced to 3067, as 298 families were unwilling to relocate to the newly constructed flats. The project authority undertook desilting of stretches of canals without relocating unwilling card-holders and did not cause any damage to their properties.

By 2012, allotment of 2880 flats was completed. In May 2013, the remaining 187 cardholders were surveyed to ascertain their willingness to relocate. The survey revealed that out of 187: (a) 50 shopkeepers in the Monikhali system did not wish to relocate due to potential loss of livelihood; (b) 31 card-holders could not be found as they had moved to locations unknown by local communities: (c) 63 families of Jamunanagar (C2 C3 Canal in the T.P Basin System) did not wish to move as they have already constructed permanent/semi-permanent houses on

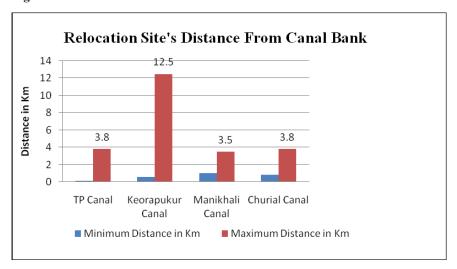
canal banks with legal water supply and electricity connections from KMC and CESC respectively: and (d) another 43 in Suti Mukundapur (T.P Basin System) indicated lack of willingness to shift due to potential loss of livelihood/employment in a large commercial complex that has come up in the vicinity. All 156 of the 187 families identified through the survey gave in writing that they did not wish to relocate.

1.7 Process of Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Canal Bank Dwellers in Kolkata

For proper implementation and monitoring of the project, a High Power Steering Committee consisting of representatives of both the State Government and Kolkata Municipal Corporation has been constituted. Both the State Government and Kolkata Municipal Corporation are paying special attention for proper implementation and timely completion of the project. Under KEIP, improvement of canals for about 53 kilometers of length and improvement of sewerage and drainage system of a vast area and the work of slum development are taken up. The original targets for canal improvement and resettlement were de-silting of approximately 70 km of canals, lining of 21 km of canals, construction of 53 bridges over canals and resettlement of 3.626 affected households. The target for de-silting was increased to 130.8 km when EKW canals were added to the scope, and the target for resettlement revised to 2,880 affected households in 2013. It is worthwhile to note that resettlement

plan was prepared in 2000, and the project was classified as category A for involuntary resettlement impacts. The plan was revised in 2006 to reflect design modifications.

Fig 1



Regarding relocation site distance, the 2006 Resettlement Plan mentioned that all relocation sites will be within 2.5 km distance of the original settlements so that affected persons could continue to remain near their sources of livelihoods and thus saved from total disruption to their lives. However, it's reported that it was difficult to identify suitable government land that matched the distance criterion at all locations. Hence, while the distance to resettlement sites ranges between 0.1 -

3.8 kilometers for a majority of canal locations, exception was a resettlement site (along the bank of Keorapukur canal) located 12.5 kilometers away. Land for resettlement sites initially identified was within the East Kolkata Wetland (EKW) and could not be used due to its environmental sensitivity. So an additional year was taken to search for replacement land. Initially, simple one-story residences were planned, but it was decided due to land constraints, to build multi-story apartments. Since this required more time than low-level

construction would have required it led to delays in resettlement.25 There were three ways in which land was procured for the KEIP resettlement and rehabilitation program. Land was obtained for the project through acquisition (3.51 acres from 64 persons), negotiated purchase (4.09 acres of private land from 31 landowners and 11.75 acres of government land), and long-term lease (1.20 acres of government land). Land requirement for resettlement was initially identified as 19.07 acres, which stands reduced to 16.963 acres.

The project caused physical and/or economic displacement of 2,880 non-titled canal bank families and shop owners. The project successfully demonstrated convergence with a government housing program, Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana, to provide housing with secure tenure to these non-titled affected families. The KMC avoided relocation of 559 persons by undertaking de-silting works in some canal stretches after ensuring adequate precautionary measures. This approach was consistent with ADB's involuntary resettlement Policy (1995). Of the remaining 187 entitled persons, 31 could not be found and the rest did not wish to relocate. They were not forced to do so. Affected landowners from whom land was acquired under state and national law, the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, were compensated based on market value.26

However, the state did not protect cleared canal bank areas from squatting. The secondary displacement due to acquisition of two small parcels of land was not documented. Of the 2,880 relocated households, 2,041 were granted 90-year lease deeds. A decision on leases for the remaining 838 apartments found occupied by families other than entitled families, is pending. Shifting allowances of Rs300 per affected family have not been paid to 2,460 families.

1.8 Critical Appraisal of Resettlement and Rehabilitation

KEIP faces manifold challenges with regards to its implementation. The canal dwellers from all these seven places have united, cutting across party lines. They have formed the 'brihattaro kolkata khaalpaar bosti uchhed protirodh committee' (greater Kolkata eviction resistance canal bank slums committee). This platform of resistance has been formed because of the poor track record of the Government of West Bengal regarding past displacements of canal bank dwellers from Kolkata. The major concern of canal bank dwellers was on nature entitlement.

Their demand was to get land as compensation instead of small house provided under the project. Nonetheless, intervention of the ADB plays crucial role with respect to the resettlement and

⁷¹ Local Government Quarterly January - March 2019

²⁴Kolkata Municipal Corporation (2013) Resettlement Planning Document 2013, Kolkata.
²⁶Asian Development Bank, (2015) KEIP Completion report, project no. 29466-013 and 29466-023, Kolkata

rehabilitation of the people. Bank kept vigilance on resettlement and rehabilitation project of canal bank dwellers and made it an integral part of project design, dealt with from the earliest stages of the project cycle. So the form of entitlements of displaced of canal bank dwellers was major issue of concern noted by scholars. Finally it is observed that the recovered space at the canal bank did not remain free of squatting because of migration from rural area after Aila.²⁷

1.9 Conclusion

This paper made an attempt to focus on redevelopment effort and displacement through KEIP. It is evident from the discussion that there was clear vision of KEIP and a blueprint map for implementation of the project. However on number of occasions, plans have been modified for implementation of the project. Funds for implementation of the project were also adequate enough. However project faces public resistance with regards to displacement and entitlement of the project affected people. Nonetheless the efforts of resettlement and rehabilitation project largely remain successful because 70 percent of the displaced households relocated.

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Book Review

Urbanization in India-Trends and Issues

First edition, 2018, Published by Swastik Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi. ISBN 978-81-89981-71-6. 199 pages.

Urbanization is a cherished topic for the academics to write a book on, because the subject is intimately related to the desired quality of life for the millions living in cities, and also because rapid urbanization has given rise to hosts of problems which require constant attention of urban governance. While the rural areas are granary to the nation, cities are acting as engines of growth, absorbing millions in jobs, businesses, industries and gamut of life which are flourishing in cities. Urbanization has been a focus of study from various perspectives by the academicians, researchers and social scientists. There are evident trends of urbanization and there are several issues associated with it, which is the theme of the book under review, authored by Dr. Durga Singh, an academic and researcher. In the Preface, he outlines the scope of the

book, as an attempt to "understand the urbanization, its causes, problems, benefits and disadvantages in detail." As further stated therein, urbanization in India and especially in Delhi are elaborately dealt with.

Chapter 1 of the book on Understanding Urbanization seeks to know the pros and cons of urbanization. He has described urbanization in a generic way stating that places where citizens live with all civic amenities are urban areas which have been increasing by leaps and bounds all over the world. He says that urbanization can be seen as a specific condition at a set time (e.g. the proportion of total population or area in cities or towns) or as an increase in that condition over time. The author takes a brief look at history and says that from the time of ancient cities of Mesopotamia and Egypt until the 18th century an equilibrium existed between the vast majority of the population who engaged in subsistence agriculture in a rural context and small centres of populations in the towns where economic activity consisted primarily of trade at markets and manufacturing. With the onset of agricultural and industrial revolution, this equilibrium relationship was disturbed and unprecedented growth in urban population took place over the course of the 19th century. Thus, he rightly traces the rise in urbanization to the two revolutions. He has quoted interesting

statistics in support of his premises and some data on urbanization from the time period 3700 B.C. to 2000 A.D. published by Yale University in 2016.

The author gives many causes of urbanization such as flight of rural population to cities for jobs, education, businesses, jobs to women (gender related transformation), health facilities, and taking advantage of opportunities to seek fortune and alter social position. However specific causes differ from country to country as cited by him. He further mentions about the concept of conurbation, a city where people from rural as well as from other cities migrate to it. He cites the prominent example of Greater Seoul as a conurbation with home to 50% of the entire national population.

Coming to the consequences of urbanization, he mentions that the industrial revolution made for segregation of labour class in cities and industrial towns and created a schism of rich merchants and poor masses of labourers. Other consequences as mentioned by him include environmental impact of 'urban heat islands', pollution, congestion, deficiency in health facilities, etc. leading to major problems such as sanitation systems and health care. He has dwelt at length on health and social effects of urbanization.

Chapter 2 of the book is on the concepts and management of Urban Sprawl and New Urbanism. Urban Sprawl is the horizontal expansion of main cities to the peripheral areas around the core city. This is also referred to as per-urbanization of suburbanization. This has given rise to the concept of urban agglomeration and development of satellite towns. The concept of New Urbanism is an urban design movement which promotes environmentally friendly habits encompassing certain basic principles for building a sense of community and the development of ecological practices, like neighbourhood designs and transit oriented development. Arising in the U.S.A. in 1980s, new urbanists support regional planning for open space; context-appropriate architecture, adequate provision of infrastructure such as sporting facilities, libraries and community centres and the balanced development of jobs and housing, historic preservation, safe streets, green building and the redevelopment of brownfield land. The author has discussed the adaptation/ implementation of these concepts in various countries with pros and cons. The idea of 'smart growth' is an offshoot of the movement.

Squatter Housing and Advantages and Disadvantages of Urbanization is the title of Chapter 3. Squatter housing addressed by various names including shanty towns and slums, is a universal phenomenon in all the cities and forms

the matter of a great debate on their existence and solutions. From an elitist approach they are usurpers of public land or land of others having undesirable presence. On the other side inclusive approach regards them as creation of failure of urban housing policies and recognizes their existence with relocation and rehabilitation to be a part of the urban society. The author discusses the issue with three defining characteristics - physical, social and legal. He again comes to the main causes of urbanization which he lists as migration from villages, industrial growth providing jobs to the seekers, apathy of government interests, vested interest forces (those profiteering on land) and defective town planning. He has listed the advantages and disadvantages of urbanization with examples from various cities across the globe. He has concluded the chapter by citing Hippocrates who advocated a balance between the human organism and its environment. He makes a case for participative planning and efforts by urban planners, public health and environmental experts, politicians and fundamentally, the communities themselves.

Chapter 4 - 'Focus on Urbanization in India' gives statistics relating to urbanization and contains a list of the main causes of urbanization in India. The author lists employment opportunities in urban centres, transport and communication facilities, educational facilities and increase in the standard of living as positive effects. In fact, there are many more positive effects. He also lists out the negative impacts which include overpopulation in cities, increase in cost of living which adversely impacts the poor, increase in crime rates, strain in family relations on account of many factors including compulsion of women to do jobs to meet the cost of living and pollution. This chapter gives generic information and lacks analysis of the topic. Urbanization has received fillip in India after Independence and there is discernible decadal growth. The spurt in urbanization in India has been centred in a few select megacities. These details could have been included in this chapter.

The Chapter 5 begins with a quotation saying that dull and inert cities contain the seed of their destruction (decay), the lively, diverse cities contain the seeds of their own regeneration with energy enough to overcome the problems. This is a matter of fascinating study as to how some cities stood through the ages; they fell and rose time and again with new magnetism, while some cities are known by the remains of the past. Urbanization is the bright theme of India. Since 2005 urbanization in India has received focused attention with the launch of the mega school of Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) (2005-2012). This was the first time that substantial central grants were made to select

municipalities. The novelty of this mega scheme has been that it was reform linked and the state governments and the municipalities were made to bring about certain urban and housing reforms. The author has discussed this scheme with its broad details and statistical highlights. He has also included salient features of Pooled Finance Development Fund Scheme, Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT) and Smart Cities Mission in chapter 5. It would have been desirable if the author would have discussed as to how the AMRUT scheme has capitalized on the experience of JNNURM and continues with reform agenda.

Chapter 6 with its caption 'Delhi: Urbanization in Perspective' focusses on the national capital. Delhi is not a single a city but an agglomeration of its districts and satellite towns under the designation of National Capital Territory (NCT). He gives an account of how Delhi has been in the centrestage from ancient times of rulers in different periods. Various aspects of NCT are discussed with facts and figures. It took about two decades of construction (1911-1931) for New Delhi to emerge as Capital of India with its grand administrative buildings. Delhi is repository of major happenings in history. Delhi forms the largest urban agglomeration with a population of 2.17 crore. Delhi has expanded greatly with its satellite towns. The chapter is a good

write-up on the history, ecology, environment, government and politics, civic administration, economy, transportation, population growth, slums, tourism, education, social structure and ethnic groups formed on account of migration. The chapter also pointedly brings out the sorry state of affairs as regards air pollution. contamination of Yamuna River, etc. which often make news. While discussing growth of Delhi and its notable features, the author has gone into the cause of the environmental deterioration of Delhi with detailed analysis. Some of the facts mentioned in the chapter make for painful reading; for example, - Delhi has the highest PM 2.5 air pollution (a dangerous component of air pollution) in the world; only 20% of industrial units are set up in the approved industrial areas whereas the rest of them are in residential and commercial areas: lack of proper technology or methods to treat huge quantities of solid, liquid, waste water, industrial and hospital wastes in the city. We know that huge efforts are being taken to tackle these problems in Delhi and other cities.

About 25 pages contain glossary of the terms related to urbanization.

This book has some interesting information and is an addition of one more book to the vast literature on urbanization.

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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