

# **Local Government Quarterly**

# July - September 2015

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

Brought out by its
International Academy of Urban Dynamics



- \* Gender Audit for Engendering Governance, Gender Responsive Budgets and Gender Just Laws for Empowerment of Women in South Asia
- \* Decentralization Process in India and Pakistan: A Comparative Study
- \* Cities and the Aged: Grey Clouds Over Mankind
- \* Smart Citizens Behaviour:The Core of Smart Cities in India
- \* Leveraging Land Resource for ULB Finance: Framework and Action Plan for Land Disposal
- \* Where are we on Decentralization?
- Health Status of the Rural Elderly in Tamil Nadu:
   A Study of Perceptions with Reference to Madurai District
- Gender Sensitive Self-Assessment and Planning by Vulnerable Populations vis-à-vis Environmental Sustainability and Sustainable Development Goals

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

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

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

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

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

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

# About International Academy of Urban Dynamics (IAUD)

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

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

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

**Our Contributors** 

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## **Editorial**

# The Horizons for Development and Social Work Studies

Being an academic institution itself, this organisation recognises the vital role academic institutions can and should play in shaping the future. In the context of local governments, development and social work studies have always been an influential factor in developing new cadre of development professionals. Their ambit encompasses a wide array of themes from poverty to infrastructure and from public health to education. A crucial forthcoming event vis-à-vis development studies in Asia-Pacific context is the 23rd Regional Conference of Asian and Pacific Association for Social Work Education. Dedicated to the theme of 'Growth and Crisis: Social Work and Policy Discourses', the Conference is expected to revisit the fundamental tenets of the social work and development studies. A key question which will run through the sub-conscious at this conference, reflecting the current churning in the development studies and social work fraternity not only in Asia-Pacific but also throughout the world is: "Is the current academic system dynamic and flexible enough to respond to the new emerging challenges faced by the development fraternity?"

The challenges faced by the local governments are transforming very fast. While the old societal challenges are still around, the new challenges are emerging at a rapid pace and grappling for the center-stage in tandem. Consider the issue of migrants. The conflict situation in many countries is forcing out many more migrants than in past. Even the willing host countries are grappling with the right ways of assimilating the new influx. A good example is of Sweden- known for its humane approach and a proactive intent to extend social welfare support to all. Sweden is witnessing an increasing influx of nomadic population from within Europe (notably from Romania) and migrants from countries in conflict from outside Europe. The Swedish welfare system is intensely scouting with urgency for human resources capable of providing an effective interface between this nomadic population and the social welfare mechanism.

Take example of a totally different type: Safety and security vis-à-vis terrorism which is becoming a key concern for all local governments. Ironically it has struck a blow to the city hosting the aforesaid conference, the city of Bangkok, which hitherto was absent from the map of terrorism attacks.

While keeping the focus on the Asian context, the answer to the key question of dynamism of the academic institutions to respond to the newer challenges is not encouraging. The newer challenges are addressed to a limited extent through one-off seminars and conferences. But, when it comes to a sustained institutionalised response in terms of building a cadre of future enablers addressing the basic cause, the performance is far from satisfactory. Though, there are a few examples of institutions dedicated to the newer themes such as of 'habitat', these are more as exceptions than rule. The academic engrossment is still predominantly oriented towards the 'traditional specialisations'. Though no one can deny the importance of these traditional specialisations, there is also an urgent need for appreciating the transformations at the spatial and societal levels. In view of the fact that the world is now more urban than rural, and the rapid urbanisation in developing countries like India, the development studies need to add to their repository, courses related to urban development, urban governance, decentralisation, infrastructure, *etc*.

It is very important to note that these new themes are opening up newer career avenues too. Illustratively, as the world is gaining more sensitivity towards disasters and vulnerability of women and children to disasters, there is a growing demand for development professionals addressing the physical as well as the softer issues of disaster risk mitigation. However there is an acute dearth of academic institutions offering scientific education and training on these newer themes.

These limited set of institutions striving to imbibe the pro-modern era flexibility are facing a key issue- the kind of certification to offer. A more rigorous programme in line with traditional academics implies a Master's or post-graduation degree which is a longer route of academic bureaucracy. An option perceived by many as more practical is developing more focussed, condensed, relatively shorter-term certificate courses with strong entry point filters as a quality assurance mechanism.

The Asian development academics fraternity is eagerly looking forward to the takeaways from the forthcoming Bangkok conference 'Growth and Crisis: Social Work and Policy Discourses' to understand how this crisis of acute shortage of development professionals vis-à-vis newer challenges to local governments can be addressed.

# Gender Audit for Engendering Governance, Gender Responsive Budgets and Gender Just Laws for Empowerment of Women in South Asia

# Vibhuti Patel

"A gender audit enhances the collective capacity of the organization to examine its activities from a gender perspective and identify strengths and weaknesses in promoting gender equality issues. It monitors and assesses the relative progress made in gender mainstreaming and helps to build organizational ownership for gender equality initiatives and sharpens organizational learning on gender through a process of team building, information sharing and reflection on gender." ILO Participatory Gender Audit: A Tool for Organisational Change, 2004

Gender gap in governance in South Asia in all spheres is very high. Women's representation in management and political positions is extremely low: only 7 per cent in parliament, 9 per cent in cabinet, 20 per cent in local governance, 9 per cent in civil services and 6 per cent in judiciary. This is a result of subordinate status accrued to women in all private and public domains namely household, community, state, market and civil society. (Panda, 2008)

If women were given equal opportunities, equal treatment and equal

remuneration/ equal share in property through gender sensitivity in planning, policy making and programme implementation, it would be possible for the country to have more output, more development of capacities, more wellbeing and more leisure due to combined contribution of men and women. When we do gender audit, we do not see women as beneficiaries of the crumbs thrown at them by the system but we perceive women as active participants in the development process and as citizens. For healthy governance,

"We need a vision of mankind not as patients whose interests have to be looked after, but as agents who can do effective things- both individually and jointly. We also have to go beyond the role of human beings specifically as 'consumers' or as 'people with need', and consider, more broadly, their general role as agents of change who cangiven opportunity- think, assess, evaluate, resolve, inspire, agitate, and through these means, reshape the world." (Sen, 2000)

With this vision, we need to make gender audit an integral part of all development efforts by the state and nonstate actors.

Gender audit of constitutional guarantees and legislations- fundamental rights, directive principles, family laws, criminal legal system-substantive law, procedural law, rules and infrastructure, labour and population policies, political and electoral systems have proved to be important tools for public education, transformatory process for women's development and legal reforms to ensure gender-justice.

Gender audit of macro policies is done to show how international economics impacts the local processes of empowerment of women. Gender audits of economic reforms, globalisation and structural adjustment programmes, and national plans are done to identify conceptual and operational biases in the approach, design and gender differential implications.

Gender audit of mega developmental schemes and programmes have been extremely useful to seal the leakages that dis-empower women and bring to the fore women's component in terms of employment, educational opportunities, skill development, health facilities, entitlement and assets ownership. This exercise needs to be mainstreamed in all projects involving displacement, relocation and rehabilitation of affected population.

Gender audit of statistics and indicators is a must to identify conceptual and operational biases of the data system

that invisiblise women's contribution, stake and concerns. Visibility of women (along with men) in statistics and indicators provide a realistic picture for allocation of resources for women specific projects and gender-neutral projects with respect to education, health, public utilities-transport, toilets, information desk, *etc*.

Gender audits of documents of state and central governments such as status of women's Committee Reports, State Policies for Women, Amendments in the Local Self Government Act to grant reservation of seats for women and Human Development Reports have sensitised the administrators, politicians, non-government organisations and social movements to women's needs, aspirations and demands.

Gender audits of housing policy, water policy, energy and environment policy, population policy, national health policy, mental health policy, disaster management policy, policy for financial assistance and foreign policy and the Millennium Development Goals have helped to evolve safety nets for women's survival and subsistence. This is a must as women's interests in all sectors have been historically neglected and there is an urgency to deconstruct institutionalised hegemony that maintains gender gap between formal equality & substantive equality.

Gender audit of budgets provides policy framework, methodology and a set of tools to assist governments to integrate a gender perspective into the budget as the main national plan of public expenditure. It also aims to facilitate attention to gender analysis while reviewing macroeconomic performance, ministerial budget preparations, parliamentary debate and mainstream media coverage. (Nakray, 2013)

Gender audit has direct implications for Strategic Gender Needs (SGNs) and Practical Gender Needs (PGNs). SGNs are different in different economic contexts and are determined by statutory provisions, affirmative action by the state, and proactive role of the employers to enhance women's position in the economy and social movements. PGNs are identified keeping into consideration, gender based division of labour or women's subordinate position in the economy. They are a response to immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context. They are practical in nature and often are concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as provision of fuel, water, sanitation, healthcare and employment.

Considering the large numbers of women in unpaid work and women's central role to the care economy, to address women's concerns in these sectors, policies need to focus on social services to support women's care roles (old age, child care). With increasing women's role in the care economy (both paid and unpaid), adequate resource allocations need to be made to support women's care roles. In the absence of sex disaggregated data, evaluation of schemes through a gender lens or any effort at strengthening gender dimensions of

existing schemes poses a big question. So, provision of such data should be prioritized. In the light of the present agrarian crisis and the changing face of agriculture being highly gendered, the vulnerability of South Asian women farmers in particular due to globalisationis significant.

Considering the huge gender disparities in land ownership patterns, women's access to land needs to be strengthened immediately. This could be done by

- (a) Improving women's claims to family land (by enhancing legal awareness on inheritance laws, provide legal support services, *etc.*);
- (b) Improving access to public land by ensuring that all land transfers for poverty alleviation, resettlement schemes, etc., recognize women's claims;
- (c) Improving women's access to land via market through provision of subsidized credit to poor, by encouraging group formation for land purchase or lease by poor women, *etc.*

Women's rights organizations have demanded that the Government should ensure adequate gender budgeting in all ministries and departments, enact a comprehensive and universal Food Security Act to ensure right to food as a core component, allocate 6 per cent of GDP for health, allocate 6 per cent of GDP for education, make budgetary allocation to cover special schemes for women

workers, increase allocation of resources for women farmers, enhance resource allocation for tribal, dalit, and minority women and increase budgetary support for schemes to assist women-headed households and differently abled women. (Patel & Karne, 2006).

The target of 30 per cent gender allocations under all ministries has not yet been achieved. This must be implemented immediately. There is need for gender audit and gender outcome appraisal of all ministries and departments at the central and state levels. Very often, resource allocations made under gender budgeting do not reach in time and they remain unspent. There should be proper monitoring and supervision of the allocated funds with greater transparency and accountability at all levels. Gender economists have strongly recommended tax reduction for working, self employed and business women. Lowering tax rates for women will put more money in their hands and encourage those not yet in the job market to join the work force. Similarly, property tax rules should be amended further to encourage ownership of assets among women. (Patel, 2009a)

Budget audit from the perspective of poor, women, minorities, people with disability, children, geriatric groups and other vulnerable sections is now practiced by many countries with an objective to support government and civil society in examining national, regional and local budgets from a sectional perspective and applying the study results for the formulation of responsive budgets. There

is no single approach or model of a sensitive budget exercise. In some countries, *e.g.*, these exercises are implemented by the government while in other countries individuals and groups outside government undertake the budgetary analysis.

Budgets garner resources through the taxation policies and allocate resources to different sections of the economy. There is a need to highlight participatory approaches to pro-poor budgeting, bottom up budget, child budget, SC budget, ST budget, green budgeting, local and global implications of pro-poor and pro-women budgeting, alternative macro scenarios emerging out of alternative budgets and inter-linkages between gender-sensitive budgeting and women's empowerment. Bottom up budgets have emerged as an important and widespread strategy for scrutinizing government budgets for their contribution to marginalised sections of the economy. They have utilized a variety of tools and processes to assess the impact of government expenditures and revenues on the social and economic position of men, women, boys and girls. Serious examination of budgets calls for greater transparency at the level of international economics to local processes of empowerment. There is a need to provide training and capacity building workshops for decision-makers in the government structures, gram sabhas, parliamentarians and audio-visual media (Patel, 2009b).

Budget is an important tool in the hands of state for affirmative action for improvement of gender relations through reduction of gender gap in the development process in 5 crucial areas-education, health, employment, economic opportunities and political participation. It can help to reduce economic inequalities between men and women as well as between the rich and the poor. Hence, the budgetary policies need to take into consideration the gender dynamics operating in the economy and in the civil society.

Public debate on gender sensitive budget will help the country to tilt the balance in favour of area development and peaceful use of resources in the present atmosphere of jingoism. Gender commitments must be translated into budgetary commitment. By using the Right Information, transparency accountability for revenue generation & public expenditure can be ensured. For reprioritisation in public spending, we must prepare 'bottom up budgets' and lobby for its realisation in collaboration with the representatives. elected Gender economists must lift the veil of statistical invisibility of the unpaid 'care economy' managed by poor women and highlight equality & efficiency dimension and transform macro-policies so that they become women friendly (Patel, 2010).

## **Gender Just Laws**

In all South Asian countries, judicial activism has made landmark contribution in challenging antiquated laws- double standards in family laws, criminal laws and labour laws (Serajuddin, 2011).

Violence against women (VAW) has become a central issue in the discourse of the international women's movement in the 21st century. Women's networks in the South Asia have taken up a wide range of issues concerning violence against women (VAW) in their personal lives as well as against the systems perpetuating it (Goonsekera, 2004). "Personal is political", a slogan popularised by two decades of women's movement in the last century signifies consistent campaigns against all forms of violence in women's intimate/personal and public/societal lives. Social construction of masculinity in the region is defined by cultural nationalism, jingoism and militarisation of the economy as well as ethnic/caste/religious chauvinism in the context of worsening economic crisis due to liberalisation, privatisation, and globalisation (LPG). Escalating fundamentalist backlash in the South Asian countries takes the most barbaric form in terms of a wide range of violence against women at different stages of their lives, from womb to tomb. Moreover, as a result of modernisation and commercialisation of subsistence economies, family ties have become less supportive. Increasing intra-state, interstate and cross country migration as well as trafficking of women and girls has a sole purpose of SEXPLOITATIONferocious and complete control over their sexuality, fertility and labour. Cut throat competition among the nation states has increased work-burden drastically due to shift from just-in-case approach to justin-time approach to meet the targets of production at the cheapest possible cost.

During the eighties, women's rights organisations mushroomed in South Asia in response to varied manifestations of VAWG by the state apparatus and in the civil society in the form of anti-women family laws and customary laws, communal carnage, sexual harassment at the workplace and assaults on individual women in the family and in society. They organised rallies and demonstrations, sitins and conventions, seminars and conferences, which culminated into politics of protest movements and petitioning. In the 1990s, the women's groups consolidated their base by finding their allies in the state apparatus and created their institutional base and shelter homes of women and children victims of violence.

# Adverse Sex Ratio (Number of women per 1000 men)

The Skewed Sex Ratios have been found in most of the South Asian Countries. Historical legacy of strong son-preference and neglect of daughters has taken a dangerous turn where scientific technologies for sex-determination such as amniocentesis, chorion-villi-biopsy, foetoscopy, ultra sonography are abused for selective abortion of female fetuses by money-minded medical professionals. All South Asian Countries need Pre Conception and Pre Natal Diagnostic techniques (PCPNDT) Act to stop sex selective abortions of female fetuses (Patel, 2009).

#### Globalisation and new forms of VAWG

In the absence of any safety-net provided by the multinational and transnational Corporations or the governments, globalisation has enhanced control over sexuality, fertility and labour of women migrants in the region. Innocent rural girls as well as high-school educated adolescent girls are inducted into the workforce. Cross country migration of girls and women for domestic work, industrial and professional work and services like nursing, secretarial practice, tele-working and business process outsourcing (BPO) has increased many folds.

Mail-order brides from Asian countries are in demand in Europe so that aging patriarchs can be looked after by 'docile' Asian women. Organ trade of destitute women, children and fetuses from the poor Asian communities has gained demonic proportion. Soft porn as well as hard-core pornography and cyber sexual violence are used for terrorisation, humiliation and intimidation of women and girls. Cyber stalking in the computer labs of offices, colleges, universities and commercially run cyber-cafes has invited attention of the decision makers who are divided in their opinions. Some scholars believe that it reduces actual violence against women as people derive psychological satisfaction through voyeurism. Others see it as an extension of verbal and physical violence. Policy interventions are needed to deal with online sexual violence. Use of SMS to send scary messages to girls, is another important area that demands urgent attention. Only the East Asian countries have addressed cyber violence with gendered perspective. In all cities like those of South Asia; increasing number of women are reporting harassment by online sexual violence through spam mail, cyber porn and SMS messages.

To deal with these complex issues, laws to protect South Asian Women are the need of the hour.

#### **Domestic Violence**

Mapping of domestic violence in the region reveals universality of its occurrence. Still, health data collected routinely by governments and WHO do not yet report on the incidence of violence against women. For the South Asian region, country prevalence studies show that the prevalence of violence by an intimate partner ranges between 16 and 40 per cent" (OXFAM, 2004). Domestic abuse is everywhere still there are hardly any shelter-homes for women. In all South Asian countries, there is no legal or state provision against marital rape. The report titled In Pursuit of Justice notes that only four South Asian countries - Sri Lanka, India, Nepal, and Bangladesh - have laws specifically prohibiting domestic violence. But even where laws exist, scholars say lack of awareness, poverty, and social stigma often prevent women from accessing legal help. (UN Report, 2011)

# **How to Prevent Child Sexual Abuse?**

Increasing incidences of child sexual abuse are reported in the region, mostly

by street children and child labourers. In this situation, counselling of children only in school is not adequate. There is need for community and neighbourhoodcentered approach. We also need public discussion, TV coverage, radio-talks to legitimize experiences of the victims and empower them. Code of conduct concerning adult-child relationship, dos & don'ts and unsafe touch/intimacy should be discussed openly, not in a hush-hush tone. We should teach our children that "It is O.K. to say 'No", instead of unconditional obedience. We should organise assertiveness training sessions and create a non-threatening atmosphere for children to emphasize, "Speak out, don't suffer in silence." Docudrama and roleplay for class room teaching should highlight all potential situations of child sexual abuse. Custodial situations-hostels, jails, mental hospitals, orphanages, shelter homes and family need special mention. Accountability, transparency, and responsible media coverage are imperative on the part of the criminal justice system. Visually effective posters showing safe alternatives to abusive conditions should be addressed to schoolgoing and non school-going children. Ban on the use of children for child pornography should be made effective in the region. Sleazy remixes of old songs are making obscene use of women's bodies. Two yearsago, the Indian Parliament passed Protection of Children from Sexual Offense (POCSO) Act, 2012.

# **Human Trafficking and Forced Prostitution**

Sex tourism in South & South East Asia perpetuates and promotes child-prostitution. (Patel, 2010). In Burma, every year 10000 women and girls are trafficked into sex-slavery in Thai brothels. Same is the case with rural girls in India, Nepal, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka in South Asia. Both, worsening economic situation and cultural practices condoning multiple sexpartners are responsible for proliferation of prostitution. HIV-AIDs scare has had no effect in curbing sex-trade in the absence of economically viable alternatives for sex-workers.

An act to prevent trafficking of women and children should ensure decriminalisation of victims of prostitution targeting 4 Ps- procurers, pimps, police, and power elite. Dealing with blackmailers needs support of the community groups and civil society initiatives. State funding for rehabilitation of prostitutes and salary of frontline workers should be increased so that better quality of custodial care and developmental needs of ex-prostitutes in terms of education, skills, employment, and healthy recreational activities can be provided. Close collaboration between GOs and NGOs can be most effective.

# HIV AIDs as a Worst Form of VAW

This is a very important issue faced in the 21st century. Both sex-workers with multiple sex-partners and housewives with single sex-partner (*i.e.*, her husband) are at risk of getting HIV-AIDs. Counseling

for dealing with social stigma and creating an alternate support network are the most important aspects of providing emotional support to the HIV-AIDs patients. The Lawyers' Collective HIV/AIDS Unit holds monthly drop-in meetings, with an objective of sharing information, experiences and resolving mind-boggling issues affecting the lives of HIV/AIDS patients. It also provides legal aid and allied services to the needy. "The main objective of the Unit is to protect and promote the fundamental rights of persons living with HIV/AIDS who have been denied their rights in areas such as healthcare, employment, terminal dues like gratuity, pension, marital rights relating to maintenance, custody of children and housing" (Lawyers' Collective, 2000).

# **Culture Specific Violence against Women**

Culture specific violence against women in different Asian countries should be approached sensitively, without making any racist or chauvinist remarks against the concerned community. We need universal applicability of human rights and acceptance of the fact that women's rights are human rights. This approach should be kept in mind while dealing with dowry harassment and bride burning among Hindu, Muslim and Christian women of Indian origin, widow-burning-Suttee (Sati) in India, throwing of acidbulbs against women in Bangladesh, Hadood Ordinance-women as witnesses in cases of rape, battering, assault, molestation and Islamic punishment for "Adulteress", son preference and neglect of girl child in Asia. Denial of human rights and fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution of India by fundamentalists by imposition of dress code, not granting right to work and attacks on female headed households have been objected to by women's rights groups throughout the world. In some countries, an extreme form of punishment is meted out to women by the fundamentalists is in the form of stoning to death of "an adulterous woman" by the assembled community. During the last decade, innumerable women in several countries have lost their lives in painful and undignified manner at the hands of self-appointed 'custodians of morality'. 'Honour killing' has become most widespread in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan.

# Ban on Inter-caste, Inter-religious and Inter-racial Marriages

Obsession about racial, caste and religious purity are so deep in the psyche of fundamentalists that they have strong aversion against inter-mixing and intermarriages among citizens of different caste groups, religious communities and racial backgrounds. Newspapers are full of incidences of torture, abduction, forced abortion, lynching, and murder of newly married couples with different caste, religious, ethnic or racial backgrounds. Even the state and criminal justice system miserably fails to provide adequate protection to such love marriages. Such

couples have to face social boycott, can't easily get jobs, accommodation, and school admissions for their children.

Conversion of husband or wife as a conditionality for "allowing" couples to get married is a logical extension of the inward looking mentality generated by the fundamentalist mindset.

# Sexual Violence against Women

In the month following the gang rape of a 23-year-old physiotherapist in a moving bus in Delhi on 16th December 2013, debates over the social construction of gender that perpetuates sexual harassment in all walks of life have taken centre stage in India. The general public, community leaders, parents, youth, education providers, corporates, policy makers, politicians and the media: all are discussing the prevalence of sexual violence in our society. The masses, spanning four generations, have started deconstructing workplace safety in the context of misogyny, barbarism, the influence of pornography in valorising sadomasochistic relations between men and women, the influence Westernisation on women's dress codes. consumerist culture, hedonism, and how the chivalry toward women that existed among civilized cultures is being replaced by hostility towards women.

Sexual harassment at the workplace has been one of the central concerns of the women's movement in India since the 80s. After 30 years of consistent effort, Indian women have managed to get The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013. Due to pressure from child rights organizations, last year the Indian Parliament passed The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012, aimed at protecting children in India against the evil of child sexual abuse. It came into force on 14-11-2012, Children's Day (in India) along with the rules framed under the Act.

# Acid Attacks on women and Girls: A Serious Concern in South Asia

During 1999 to 2012, there were 3112 incidences of acid attacks in Bangladesh as per Acid Survivors Foundation Bangladesh. In 2012 in India, over 56 acid attacks were reported and over 150 acid attacks were reported in Pakistan. The Progressive Women's Association of Pakistan recorded over 7000 attacks in just 2 towns between 1994 and 2008. Out of the 7000, only 2 per cent of these were successfully prosecuted. The Acid Survivors Foundation of Pakistan has over a 100 cases of acid attacks a year but they estimate that the real figures are much higher. These attacks are frequently linked to domestic violence or revenge by rejected men. (The World Outline, 10-6-2013)

UN Report (2011) states more women in law enforcement and the justice system could greatly help victims of violence. Currently, in South Asia, women make up just 9 per cent of judges, 4 per cent of prosecution staff and just 3 per cent of police. The report

recommends that 'increasing the number of women in such positions could better help South Asian women understand and navigate the justice process. Many of these women are impoverished, illiterate and unaware of the laws and programmes in place to protect them.'

### Conclusion

The concept of gender audit has gained tremendous popularity among the development economists, social scientists, policy makers and practitioners in the new millennium. It is perceived as crucial from the point of view of equity and efficiency. Increasingly the scholars and the decision-makers in government as well as non-government organisations are accepting that gender-bias is not only harmful and costly for women, but it is equally harmful to the children and the households.

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# **Decentralization Process in India and Pakistan: A Comparative Study**

# Saikat Roy

This paper is a comparative study of the paths to decentralisation taken by two very different countries- India and Pakistan. It provides an explanation of the methodology applied for the comparison of two extremely different cases, an indepth reflection on the decentralisation phenomenon itself, as well as observation of the two different styles of decentralization adopted by these two countries. This reflection on the whole leads to a renewed questioning of the notion of decentralization itself as presented in comparative literature, which often compares Western countries only.

In the present golden era of decentralisation, support for shifting power to local tiers of government is gaining importance day by day. This perspective is grounded in the belief that doing so will increase government responsiveness and accountability to citizens, increase government flexibility to address the diverse needs of often a highly heterogeneous population and reduce corruption through enhanced oversight. In this process, it is argued, decentralisation

will augment greater political legitimacy while strengthening a sense of citizen ownership of their government.

"Decentralisation, or decentralising governance, refers to the restructuring or re-organisation of authority so that there is a system of co-responsibility between institutions of governance at the central, regional and local levels according to the principle of subsidiary, thus increasing the authority and capacities at sub-national levels. Decentralisation could also be expected of good governance such as increasing people's opportunities for participation in economic, social and political decisions; assisting in developing people's capacities; and enhancing government responsiveness, transparency and accountability" (UNDP: 1997).

Conceptually, decentralisation relates to the role of, and the relationship between, central and local institutions, whether they are public, private or civic. According to Parker and Serrano (2000), the process of decentralisation, focuses on the "formal institutions of government", both political and administrative. Crook and Manor

(1998) define decentralisation as the 'transfer of power away from a central authority to lower levels in a territorial hierarchy'. Rojer Boesche (1987) argued that, "decentralised political and economic participation push men and women from their private self-interested worlds into the public, teach them in a practical way how to master their surroundings, remind them of their independence and of the pleasers of cooperation, and to militate against the docility and sterility encouraged by centralisation. Cooperative decentralized efforts - efforts that rely on the talent potential for popular energy and that impel men and women to master their political world-are the first mark of a free nation".

# Decentralisation has always been inspired by the following two arguments

- 1. Decentralisation can lead to an increase in efficiency. Control state authorities usually lack the "time and place knowledge" (Hayek cited in Ostrom et al. 1993: 51) to implement policies and programmes that reflect 'real' people's needs and preferences. If properly managed, decentralisation is seen as a way to improve allocative efficiency (Musgrave: 1983, Oates: 1972).
- 2. Decentralisation can lead to improved governance. Decentralisation enhances accountability and monitoring of government officials and decision makers. Unchecked authority and inadequate incentives encourage, "rent seeking behaviour" by

government officials. Decentralisation undermines these opportunities by creating institutional arrangements that formalise the relationship between citizens and public servants. Political decentralisation, especially the election of local officials by citizens, when accompanied by a strong legal framework, can create local accountability and thereby foster officials' legitimacy, bolstering citizen involvement and interest in politics, and deepening the democratic nature of institutions (Blair: 2000, Crook and Manoor: 1988, Manoor: 1999).

Underlying the concept decentralisation is an assertion that a more decentralised state apparatus will be more exposed and therefore, more responsive to local needs and aspirations (Crook and Sverrison: 2001). This, it is argued, will produce systems of governance that are more effective and accountable to local people (Blair: 2000, Crook and Manoor: 1998, Manoor: 1999, Rondinelli et al.: 1989). In the words of Blair (2000), "decentralisation can be defined as meaningful authority devolved to local units of governance that are accessible and accountable to the local citizenry, who enjoy full political rights and liberty".

Decentralisation is complex and encompasses a wide range of elements (Parker: 1995). Going through assessment of different academics the concept of decentralisation can be categorised into three types: political decentralisation, fiscal decentralisation and administrative decentralisation (Smith: 1985, Hicks: 1961, Manoor: 1999). At its best, decentralisation does not simply transfer centralised functions to the local levels but simultaneously reorganises the roles and responsibilities of central governments, local government and communities, and opens government process to greater involvement by the people.

The notion of decentralisation shows that there are some variations within decentralisation. The variants of decentralisation are, Devolution, which involves a full transfer of responsibility, decision-making, resources and revenue generation to a local level of public authority that is autonomous and fully independent from the developing authority. De-concentration, that transfers authority and responsibility from one level of the central government to another while maintaining the same hierarchical level of accountability from the local units to the central government ministry or agency which has been decentralised. Delegation redistributes authority and responsibility to local units of government or agencies that are not always necessarily, branches or local offices of the delegating authority. Privatisation connotes the transfer of responsibility and resources for certain governmental functions to the private sector.

# **Decentralisation in South Asian countries**

During the 1970's, many governments in Asia, Latin America and Africa began to experiment not only with the new approaches to development, but also with new political and administrative arrangements for planning and managing development programmes and projects. The increasing interest in decentralising authority for planning and administration to state, regional, district and local agencies, field units of central ministers, local governments and special purpose organisations arose from three converging forces (Cheema and Rondinelli: 1983). First, from disillusionment with the results of central planning and control of development activities during the 1950's and 1960's; second, from the implicit requirements for new ways of managing development programmes and projects that were embodied in growth with equity strategies that emerged during the 1970's; and third, from the growing realisation that as societies become more complex and government activities begin to expand, it becomes increasingly difficult to plan and administer all development activities effectively and efficiently from the centre.

Hence, to ensure development, the third world countries moved towards the decentralised political system.

Recent studies show that on the South Asian countries have adopted decentralisation with varying degrees of success in public participation (Azis and Arnold: 1996). For a long time, local democracy was not taken seriously by South Asian elites. But, with the emergence of the modernisation paradigm, the South Asian governments from the 1950's were initially convinced of the importance of local government with the top-down projects.

Presently, many developing countries are engaged in the re-structuring and re-inventing their governments. Among these South Asian developing countries, India and Pakistan happen to be the leading proponents. One has been decentralised by the parliamentary democratic system and the other has received its decentralised character from the military regimes.

### **Evolution of Decentralisation in India**

Immediately after independence, for the sake of development in the rural areas, Community Development CD programme was introduced in India. In the second half of 1950's India introduced the Panchayati Raj system. In India the roots of modern Panchayati Raj (i.e., democratic decentralisation) lie in many recent commission reports, particularly in the 1957 report of the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee (Palmer: 1960). This report emphasized two aspects of Panchayati Raj-its autonomous character and its elective nature. Initially in 1959 the Rajasthan government adopted the Panchayati Raj system. Panchayati Raj institutions being developed as power mechanisms have not had encouraging results. However, in a summary assessment, it is generally accepted that Panchayati Raj has awakened political consciousness in the villagers and has set a foot the democratic process in rural India.

In India, the Janata Party led union Government in 1977 appointed a committee known as the Ashok Mehta Committee to inquire into the working of Panchayati Raj Institutions and suggest measures to strengthen them, "so as to enable a decentralized system of planning and development to be effective". The Committee made recommendations for reform and revitalization of Panchayati Raj based upon the main premise of linking institutions of democratic decentralisation with socially motivated economic development. But the recommendations of the Committee were not accepted by the Union Government due to a change of party in power, although actions were taken on some of the recommendations by a few state governments.

Later on in 1984, the Indira Gandhi government took some initiatives to strengthen Panchayati Raj as a Vibrant local institutional set up (Austin: 1999). As a result, in 1985 and 1986 two committees were set up under the chairmanship of G.V.K. Rao and L.M. Singhvi. Taking into account the views of these committees, in 1989 the Union Government introduced in parliament Sixty Fourth Constitution Amendment Bill for reorganization of the Panchayati Raj system, structurally and functionally. But in practice, the bill did not come into being. Again in 1990 the National Front Government introduced another bill for reorganization of both the Panchayats and Municipalities. But since the National Front Government went out of office soon thereafter, the bill lapsed. And finally, in 1991 through the 73rd and 74th amendments, the decentralisation process took its ultimate shape.

In the decade of globalization and liberalization in India, the Panchayati Raj

system acquired its constitutional status under the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendment act. The act is largely modelled after the previous Panchayat Bill of 1989 and has also incorporated some of the features of the Panchayat Bill 1990. The act considers a three Tier local government system comprising Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad to ensure more peoples' participation. The act reserved seats for SCs, STs and one third seats for the women at the grassroot level. It also introduced gram sabha within the village panchayat.

# **Evolution of Decentralisation in Pakistan**

Immediately after independence, for the sake of development in the rural areas, the Village Agricultural and Industrial Development Programme (V-AID)was set up in Pakistan. In the second half of 1950s, in Pakistan it was Basic Democracies which came into being in Pakistan.

The introduction of the Basic Democracies Scheme in Pakistan was prompted by the failure of parliamentary democracy, political instability, corrupt administration and a lack of popular involvement in the process of economic development. The scheme envisioned an integrated and interdependent five-tier system of councils at the Union, Thana, District, Division and Provincial levels (Basic Democracies Manual, no. 1).

Two major changes took place during this period: (1) decline the Yahya Khan

Regime and (2) emergence of constitution under the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Regime. The Bhutto government abolished the Basic Democracies system which was in a moribund state after 1969. The Bhutto government passed a local Government Ordinance in 1972 for providing a general legal framework for setting up a reorganized local self-government system. But requisite steps for putting into action the new local Government system appropriately, was not taken by Bhutto government.

In the 1980s both India and Pakistan went through a phase of resurgence of local governments. In case of Pakistan after a gap of ten years, local government received a boost by the introduction of local government ordinance in 1979 under the Zia-Ul-Haq government. Provincial Governments and Area Administrations were directed by the Central Government to issue ordinances to provide statutory basis to the proposed local government. The local government ordinance started functioning since 1979-80 and existed till 1999. The organized rural local government differed from the Basic Democracies in certain aspects:

- There was no longer any hierarchy of local bodies as was in Basic Democracies.
- In local government ordinance there were no division level councils like Basic Democracies.
- Some additional functions and autonomy were given to councils as compared to the Basic Democracies.

4. Integration between rural and urban local governments was discontinued.

But, the local government ordinance was unable to make any dramatic change in rural governance, because there was a basic imbalance between the assigned range of functions and the fiscal powers granted to councils. Scarcity of resources was the major constrain and restricted the effective functioning of the councils. Furthermore, the policy did not represent a radical departure from the past, nor did it provide for wholesale devolution of authority.

Since, the local government ordinance was unable to fulfil the requirements of local self government and in the absence of devolution of power, at the end of the decade due to the pressure from various quarters the Musharraf regime introduced National a Reconstruction Bureau to revitalize the local governments, which resulted in the 'Devolution of Power Plan' of 2000 and was implemented after a series of local government elections that ended by August 2001. It introduced a three tier local governmental system consisting District, Tehsil and Union Council. The major changes brought about by the devolution plan were (Cheema et. al.,: 2005):

- A. Engendering electoral accountability.
- B. Reducing bureaucratic power.
- C. Greater presence and scope of elected government at the local level.
- D. Changed local electoral process.
- E. Limited constitutional support.

- F. Provincial to local decentralization.
- G Uneasy integration between provincial/federal and district level elected governments.

# Comparison between the decentralisation processes of India and Pakistan

The major differences between India and Pakistan so far as local level governmental system is concerned is that in instability. In India there is always a continuation of government policies, but in the case of Pakistan, with every change of regime at the national level, simultaneous changes are also reflected in the system of local government.

Thus, the major comparisons between the current decentralisation process of India and Pakistan are as following:

- 1. In 2001, at the start of the new millennium, Pakistan came out with a local government ordinance, simultaneously issued by its four provinces. It introduced three tier local governments- district, tehsil and union council.
  - In India decentralisation has been ensured through the 73rd constitutional amendment act of 1992. The local government in India also consists of three tiers: Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad.
- 2. The purpose of the local government reform in Pakistan in 2001 was devolution of political power and financial authority to local

governments. It also emphasises on administrative decentralisation.

In the case of India, the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendment acts gave the rural and urban governments a constitutional status, empowered the rural self governments and established an effective decentralized government structure at the level below the state government.

Local Government in Pakistan was accorded constitutional protection under the 17th amendment in 2000. The local government ordinances (LGOs) were promulgated by the provinces under the 6th Schedule. Conferment of constitutional status to local governments in Pakistan has a few features, such as, (a) no tax has been considered for reform or devolution, (b) local government functions and finance have only been de-concentrated in Pakistan, but not developed, and (c) devolution under federal direction has further weakened its provincial layer.

In India, the 73rd and 74th amendments for panchayats and municipalities were passed in 1991 and became effective in 1993, which conferred the right of existence and timely elections of the local bodies, reservation of seats and 33 per cent reservation to women, creation of independent state election and finance commissions, specifying of three levels of panchayats and establishment of two planning committees for district and metropolitan areas.

- 4. Local councils in Pakistan have powers to levy certain taxes; they may increase, reduce, suspend, abolish or exempt the levy of any tax keep in mind public objectives.
  - In India, municipal taxation powers comprise: property taxes, entertainment tax, professions tax, advertisement tax, a miscellany of taxes, *e.g.*, toll taxes and non motorized vehicles, *etc*. Panchayats enjoy similar power of taxation except advertisement tax; instead they are authorized to levy a cess on land revenue assessment.
- 5. In Pakistan a Provincial Finance Commission (PFC) has been established in 2002 by each province. The PFC is to recommend distribution of allocable funds according to a formula to the district, tehsil and union councils.

In India, there is a two layered system of fiscal transfer to the local bodies, one by the Finance Commission that passes through states and other, grants from the states out of their tax revenues or from specific taxes.

#### Conclusion

Concept of decentralisation has changed rapidly over the last quarter of the last century with increasing process of democratisation of governments. Since, the 1980s increasing international trade and investment; growing economic, social and political interaction across national borders; and rapidly emerging technological innovations have changed the

perceptions of governance and the role of the state.

An evolutionary study of the process of decentralisation in India shows that from the very beginning, India started adopting policies to make the government decentralized. India has always witnessed a strong, stable and vibrant government and administrative system. Under the federal system of India, the Constitution is regarded as the supreme law the of land. Article 40 of the Indian Constitution has already made a reference of Panchayat as unit of local self-government at the time of inception of the constitution. However, Panchayati Raj system as a product of democratic decentralisation has been a much later phenomenon in the history of local government in India. It was an offshoot of constitutional development programme during the later half of the 1950s. Panchayati Raj Institutions as units of local self government in India are expected to perform a dual role. Panchayati Raj has been viewed first and foremost as an extension of democracy below the state level. Secondly, it is regarded as a tool and instrument for the implementation development of programmes at the grassroots level in rural India. The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act 1992 endowed Panchayati Raj with constitutional status. This decentralised Panchayati Raj system has been able to ensure service delivery, accountability, social justice and financial assistance at the grassroots level. The process of decentralisation has also encouraged people's participation in the political

process at the local level. It has also raised the position of women in political and administrative participation by making 33 per cent reservation.

On the other hand, in Pakistan the major challenge has been instability of the government resulting in frequent changes in the constitutional set-up. Democracy is not a permanent feature in Pakistan because of constant disruption by military dictatorship. Since inception, Pakistan has always focused on various policies to build a powerful local government. Despite the continuous efforts of making a selfsufficient government structure at the local level, constitutionally Pakistan is still a two level federal state. With the absence of 3rd level of local government, local people are not able to participate in the governmental process. It was said that local government ordinance 2001 was prepared by the federal government but each province was directed to notify it as its own law but from the very begining, the military regime has carefully controlled the pace and direction of devolution. The seventeenth constitutional amendment provided limited protection to the local governments for a period of only six years with provision for change within this period. On the other hand, devolution involved transfer of provincial powers and responsibilities to the lower level of governments but no decentralization of any federal power to either the provincial or local level. Another key problem with the devolution scheme is the lack of checks and balances between and across the various levels of district government. There is a virtual absence of accountability at the district level. The shortage of funds became a barrier in obtaining service delivery at the grass roots level. There was lack of financial assistance to the local units: as a result the local government was unable to implement the policies properly. The tendency shows that local governments have been created by nonrepresentative regimes to legitimize their control over the state. Legitimacy has been sought by creating a localized patronage structure. In Pakistan the military's need for legitimization of state control appears to be a prime reason behind the recurring attempts at local-government reforms. It is also important to note that all military governments, including the current regime, have required local-government elections to be held on a non-party basis. Such elections have invariably ended up weakening political linkages between elected provincial governments and local governments. Thus, each elected federal government that has followed the military regimes that introduced local governments has at best ignored these local governments and often suspended them altogether. In the case of Pakistan the military junta, which dominated the national power during most of the Republic's history, favoured a decentralized system which was to operate concurrently with centrally planned and implemented government programmes and was to serve for rural development. Local governments at the district and village levels are enjoying the elected status during periods of military rule. But, with limited power and resources, they have played only a marginal role in rural development.

The most interesting part in case of Pakistan is that the decentralisation policies or local government reforms are introduced not during the democratic regimes but when the military governments are in power to ensure their legitimacy at the local level. But, democratically elected governments failed to make local level governments strong. Due to lack of the need for legitimacy, the democratic regimes always focused on the federal structure till state level, which undermined the invisibility of the local level democratic decentralisation.

It has been seen that whenever there is any sort of political or economic turmoil in the domestic polity, the mechanisms governing the grass roots governmental structure fail to perform as desired. Rather, they simply ignore the power of the central government or turn into puppets of local chiefs especially in a semi-feudal setup like that of India as well Pakistan, where the essence of democracy remains an alien concept. That is why, in comparison to that of India, which has more stable democratic structure, Pakistan, even with all the good intentions of their respective leaderships has failed to initiate the proper process of decentralisation as intended. Only with a proper and stable democratic mechanism in the centre can a stable democratic, transparent and accountable federal polity with decentralised governing mechanisms be established in the true sense.

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# Cities and the Aged: Grey Clouds Over Mankind

# Ramanath Jha

# **Ageing World**

One of the key demographic highlights of the twentieth century was the global 'population ageing'. This is a "process by which older individuals become a proportionately larger share of the total population" (UN, 2001). Recognizing demographic this phenomenon, the United Nations designated 1999 as 'The Year of the Older Person'. This quite clearly was not the revelation of fresh information demographers over the past several decades had laboured to establish this and were already cautioning that the world was entering a phase of an unprecedented rate of ageing. There was, however, no reason for complete despondency on this account. There were voices around the world that discovered a silver lining. "Population aging represents, in one sense, a human success story; societies now have the luxury of aging." (U.S. Census Bureau, An Aging World: 2001, International Population Reports, Page 1). Indeed, disease and pestilence in preceding centuries had killed in such vast numbers

and at such speed that large portions of humankind found themselves felled in youth and immaturity, never to savour the fruits of hard work in their old age.

Such demographic trend was fuelled by a decrease in fertility and mortality rates on the one hand and an increase in life expectancy on the other. "Initially experienced by the more developed countries, the process has recently become apparent in much of the developing world as well. For the near future, virtually all countries will face population ageing, although at varying levels of intensity and in different time frames." (UN, 2001)

Global knowledge on the ageing of population collected at the beginning of the century has been further updated. Recent data reveals that the global share of older people (aged 60 years or over) increased from 8 per cent in 1950 to 9.2 per cent in 1990 and 12 per cent in 2013. This trend is predicted to continue and the old will reach 21 per cent as a proportion of the world population by 2050 (UN, 2013). Translated into numbers, the number of

older persons (aged 60 years or over) is expected to more than double, from 841 million people in 2013 to more than 2 billion in 2050. Older persons are projected to exceed the number of children for the first time in 2047.

The developing countries themselves will not escape the process of national ageing. The current phase of growth in these countries is witnessing larger demographic expansion, and therefore the birth of a large number of children. But within five decades, "just over 80 per cent of the world's older people will be living in developing countries compared with 60 per cent in 2005". (Global Age-friendly Cities: A Guide, World Health Organization, 2007, Page 3).

This is also confirmed by UN studies. Presently, about two thirds of the world's older persons live in developing countries. Because the older population in less developed regions is growing faster than in the more developed regions, the projections show that older persons will be increasingly concentrated in the less developed regions of the world. By 2050, nearly 8 in 10 of the world's older population will live in the less developed regions." (World Population Ageing, 2013, Ex. Summary, Pg xii). What needs to be further added is that this rising population of the old in the developing world would be on account of the twin factors of very large populations in the less developed regions and dwindling populations in the developed world. While in absolute numbers, the developing world will house proportionately huge numbers of the aged,

as an internal country percentage, the developed countries would be much, much older.

In view of the enormous gains made by human kind in longevity, it is evident that the old demographically will constitute segmented decadal groups and at various stages of vitality. As the UN Report states, "The older population is itself ageing. Globally, the share of older persons aged 80 years or over (the "oldest old") within the older population was 14 per cent in 2013 and is projected to reach 19 per cent in 2050. If this projection is realized, there will be 392 million persons aged 80 years or over by 2050, more than three times the present." (World Population Ageing, 2013, Ex. Summary, Pg xiii)

# **Ageing Women**

Women have proved that their physique, despite being second in brute muscular strength, can rough out vagaries of life more successfully than men and survive longer. As a consequence, the older population is predominantly female. "Because women tend to live longer than men, older women outnumber older men almost everywhere. In 2013, globally, there were 85 men per 100 women in the age group 60 years or over and 61 men per 100 women in the age group 80 years or over. These sex ratios are expected to increase moderately during the next several decades, reflecting a slightly faster projected improvement in old-age mortality among males than among females." (World Population Ageing, 2013, Ex. Summary, Pg xiii). A further

classification shows that while globally as a composite average 11.7 per cent population is above 60, 8 per cent above 65 and 1.7 per cent above 80, the figures for women are slightly higher. 12.8 per cent, 8.9 per cent and 2.1 per cent of those above 60, 65 and 80 respectively are women.

# Countries and the Aged

Japan leads the geriatric percentage in the world with 33 per cent of its population above 60. Germany (28 per cent), Italy (27 per cent) and a host of other European nations follow at the top. Among other countries with large populations, the United States of America has 20 per cent population above 60, China stands at 14 per cent and India at 9 per cent of their populations above 60. (Annex 1)

European countries seem to be more tightly in the greying grip. It is predicted that the median age in Europe will increase from 37.7 years in 2003 to 52.3 years in 2050 (Brookings Institution Think Tank). The European Commission believes that by 2025 more than 20 per cent of the Europeans will be 65 or over and more worrisome will be the rapid increase in the very old group of 80 and above. In fact, as cited above, Germany, Italy and Greece are already over 20 per cent; Bulgaria, Finland, Latvia, Portugal and Sweden are hovering around that mark and Austria, Belgium, Croatia, Denmark, Estonia, France and Spain are only a per cent behind. With the exception of Japan, European countries top the chart listing the highest percentages of aged population.

As a whole, therefore, European countries are far ahead of the world average. (The United Nations, DESA, Population Division's World Population Prospects, 2012 Revision).

Asia, as a region, has the largest human population. Many of the Asian countries rode their demographic dividend to achieve remarkable economic growth. The ADB Report 'Asian Development Outlook 2011 Update' reveals rapidly shifting demographics in Asia. "Asia's population is aging at a speed unprecedented in human history," said Changyong Rhee, ADB's Chief Economist upon the launch of the Report. Asia's elderly population is projected to reach 922.7 million by the middle of this century. As a result, Asia, as a region, in the next few decades will become home to the largest number of old in the world.

In our presentation of demographic data, it would be interesting to present comparative scenarios in China and India. For one, they are the most populous countries in the world, and additionally, they are destined to play momentous roles on the global scene.

### Aged in China

China, the most peopled country, is quite rapidly getting older. In the mid 80s, China had only 5 per cent of its population over 65 years. But with its advocacy of 'later, longer, fewer' lifestyle and a one child policy, the proportion has now risen to 9 per cent or a total of 123 million. A report released by a government think tank forecasts that China will become the

world's most aged society in 2030. To make it worse, by 2050, China's older population will likely swell to 330 million, or a quarter of its total population. In other words, out of every hundred people aged between twenty and sixty-four, there will be 45 persons over 65 compared with about 15 today. That is a staggering number.

"Rapid aging in China has been driven by three distinctive developments. First, robust economic growth over the past decades has been associated with increased average life expectancy in China—from 68 in 1981 to 74 today. Second, the generation of baby boomers (those Chinese born in the 1950s and 1960s) has started to join the older population. Third, the draconian population control policy, introduced in the early 1980s, resulted in an extremely low fertility rate, further increasing the proportion of the older population." (Huang, 2013)

## Aged in India

India itself will not have the complete luxury of deriving comfort from being one of the youngest nations on the globe. The National Policy on Older Persons, 1999 recognizes that 'Demographic ageing, a global phenomenon has hit Indian shores as well'. It further adds that life expectancy 'at birth for males has shown a steady rise from 42 years in 1951-60 to 58 years in 1986-90' and 'is projected to be 67 years in 2011-16.' Further, in females, 'the increase in expectation of life has been higher - about 11 years during the same period, from 58 years in 1986-

90 to 69 years in 2011-16' (Para 1, Policy 1999). The Policy further adds that the 'percentage of persons 60+ in the total population has seen a steady rise from 5.1 per cent in 1901 to 6.8 per cent in 1991. It is expected to reach 8.9 per cent in 2016. Projections beyond 2016 made by United Nations (1996 Revision) has indicated that 21 per cent of the Indian population will be 60+by 2050'. It also states that 'in a twenty five year period starting 1991 the population 60+ will nearly double itself.' (Para 3, Policy 1999). In terms of numbers, whereas the country had only 19 million people above 60 years in 1947, this number grew to 100 million in 2001 and is expected to be 150 million by 2020. According to another Report essayed by the Technical Group on Population Projections, constituted by the National Commission on Population in May 2006, senior citizens in India will constitute 12.40 per cent of the population by 2026. In a further recent report released by the United Nations Population Fund and Help Age India, the number of the old is expected to grow to 173 million by 2026.

# **Consequences of the World Ageing** and Urbanizing

All such demographic movement is getting the world trapped in a strange situation. On the one hand, the character of human settlements is turning predominantly urban. This has already happened in the more developed parts of the world and the developing countries are marching on the same path of urbanization. On the other hand, human populations over

the world are ageing. With urbanization, quite naturally, most of the old will live in cities. And a very large number will live in the mega cities. Such cities are appearing in larger numbers in the developing world. The oddity in the situation is that while economic development over a large number of countries has added to the ability of people to eat and live well, the fact that they will live in cities does not inspire confidence about the well-being of the old. Cities appear to be unkind to the old, and the mega cities seem to be even less kind. Thus, while on the one hand, fruits of greater prosperity and better public health have given human beings longer lives, cities do not seem to provide the environment in which they can live happily.

# Aged in Megacities

Many megacities around the world will have to contend with high percentages of senior citizens. Since, Japan has a briskly ageing population on the one hand and a declining population on the other, Tokyo will lose population over the years and will have a very high percentage of the old. A study group constituted by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government went far into the future and estimated that Tokyo from a peak of 13.35 million people in 2020 will house only 7.13 million in 2100 out of which 3.27 million or about 46 per cent would have crossed the age of 65. (The Telegraph, Sep 2012). New York City will also experience severe greying as their over 65 population standing at 938,000 in 2000 will be 1.35 million or 44.2 per cent in 2030. (New York City Population Projections by Age/sex & Borough, 20002030, Department of City Planning, Page 7, Dec 2006). Similarly, the elderly population in London is expected to grow rapidly. The Census 2011 revealed that the percentage of the population aged 65 and over in England and Wales was the highest seen in any census at 16.4 per cent, that is one in six people in the population. In London, those over 65 would in all likelihood reach 1.85 million by 2029, almost double of what they have today. The over-90s population is expected to double to 91,000. Given the facts of simultaneous urbanization and ageing. Shanghai, Beijing, Mumbai, Delhi, Dhaka, Karachi, Lahore, Manila, Bangkok, Seoul, Jakarta, Mexico City, Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro and scores of other megacities will be home to massive numbers of senior citizens.

## Rural vs Urban for the Old

In view of the hustle and bustle of megacities, their pace, cost and distances and the relentless fight for survival - all seem to point towards more serene and peaceful surroundings for the lives of the old, probably the villages, where retired life can be led in the lap of nature and far from the urban noise and din. Some data reveal that this is actually the reality. 'Despite the increasingly urban nature of today's elderly populations, rural areas remain disproportionately elderly in a majority of countries. In most nations, this is primarily the result of the migration of young adults to urban areas, and to some extent of return migration of older adults from urban areas back to rural homes. Data for 39 countries from the period 1989

to 1997 show that the per cent of all elderly living in rural areas was higher than the per cent of total population in rural areas in 27 of the 39 nations' surveyed. (U.S. Census Bureau, An Aging World: 2001, International Population Reports, Page 50)

Many old people, however, have left their rural environment, seeking the density of large cities for their variety of leisure activities, rich cultural life, better access to employment and anonymity, though at a cost. Clearly, many inhabitants of large metropolitan areas do very well both in terms of health and life quality as they benefit from better infrastructure, and a more dense system of social, health care, cultural and educational options.

These facts have led many thinkers to believe that as people grow old and are not able to fend for themselves, it makes sense to live closer to amenities and in a higher density of people. The thin distribution of the elderly over a large land mass requires social care and medical care to be reached over and across a large area, as would happen if they live in villages. That does not make these services cost effective and time effective. Hence for an ageing society, cities appear to be the best option. To this, there is the added concern about their safety and security. Their vulnerability is extreme where people are not around in the neighbourhoods, policing is scarce and they have little personal ability to protect themselves.

Theoretically, there is merit in the above argument. However, empirical evidence shows that cities, very largely, are not designed for the aged. Neither is

it in their nature to be crafted for this. A conscious effort, would, therefore, have to be made, to see that cities temper their drive for efficiency and productivity to strive, through inclusive strategies, to provide for children, women and the old. This is possible, as many small and medium sized cities in Europe and the developed world have proven. The quality of life surveys carried out globally have shown this year after year. However, from the current evidence in the developing nations, this looks highly unlikely. And if mega cities are the urban trend where the majority of people and elders would live, inclusive strategies are going to be even tougher to implement.

### **Current Situation**

A few examples may cogently illustrate the prevailing urban state of affairs. Hong Kong, a global mega city, has one of the world's highest life expectancies of 82.5 years. It has a swanky international airport with world beating services and a top transport system that reaches people from the airport into the city in less than half an hour. One of the finest mass transit systems carries an average of four million passengers per day. Its GDP stands at USD 32,000 per annum. However, below the glitter are low-income groups that earn less than what they earned a decade ago. Part of the poor population is packed into cage homes or cubicle flats. "For the elderly, their limited mobility causes a lack of a firm social and family support network. As a result, they become isolated and cut off from the community. Some had been relocated from the older districts in Kowloon and Hong Kong Island, breaking social networks. These older people feel disconnected from a new system yet to be established. With Hong Kong's increasingly greying population and a dependency ratio of 334 per 1,000 of the working population (aged 15 to 64) that's expected to increase rapidly in the next decade, the number of suicides among the elderly is a growing problem." (Yip, 2011)

### **Indian Cities**

In India, in a survey carried out by Help Age India, a non-governmental organisation, Bengaluru emerged as one of the least age-friendly cities in the country from among 20 cities surveyed. While Bhopal emerged as the most unfriendly city for elders, Bengaluru came seventh after cities such as Guwahati, Lucknow and Ahmedabad. By being last on the list of 20 surveyed cities, Jaipur emerged the best city for the elderly to live in. The survey was conducted in Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Bengaluru, Hyderabad, Guwahati, Patna, Chandigarh, Panaji, Ahmedabad, Shimla, Jammu, Kochi, Bhopal, Bhubaneswar, Puducherry, Jaipur, Chennai, Dehradun and Lucknow. The report says that at least 37.14 per cent of the elderly population in Bengaluru are victims of abuse. In Bhopal, 77.12 per cent of the elderly people are subjected to abuse. Guwahati comes next with 60.55 per cent and Lucknow in the third position with 52 per cent. (Help Age India, 2014)

In another recent survey by Help Age International, India was ranked 71 among 96 countries based on the social and economic wellbeing of older people. (Help Age International, 2015)

# Law and the Aged in India

It would be apposite to note that Article 41 of the Constitution of India mandates that the State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right of public assistance in cases of old age. In pursuance of this directive, in 1999, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India, came out with a National Policy on Older Persons. The Policy noted that adoption of small family norms, education of the girl child and rising readiness to accept employment by women was putting the old at a greater disadvantage since this was resulting in fewer care givers. In the circumstance, the Policy visualizes that the State will extend support for financial security, health care, shelter, welfare and other needs of older persons, provide protection against abuse and exploitation, make available opportunities for development of the potential of older persons, seek their participation, and provide services so that they can improve the quality of their lives.

A further step was taken for the aged in 2007, when the Indian Parliament legislated the 'Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act, 2007'. This was with a view to provide more effective provision for maintenance and

welfare of parents and senior citizens. This Act makes it a legal obligation for children and heirs to provide maintenance to their old parents by setting aside a monthly allowance.

An old parent who is unable able to maintain himself out of his own earning or out of the property owned by him, is entitled to get relief under this Act. Children/grandchildren are under obligation to maintain their parents/grandparents. In case of failure to do so, the parents can seek the assistance of the Tribunal constituted under this Act, to enforce the remedy of maintenance. Failure to obey the orders of the Tribunal may result in imprisonment till such time maintenance money is paid up. The maximum amount of maintenance that can be allowed by the Tribunal is Rs. ten thousand per month.

If a senior citizen has transferred his property, either moveable or immovable, by way of gift or otherwise, subject to the condition that the transferee shall provide him basic amenities and physical needs and thereafter such transferee refuses or fails to provide such amenities, such transfer of property shall be deemed to have been made by fraud, coercion or undue influence and the Tribunal can declare such transfer as void.

Also, abandoning a senior citizen in any place by a person who is having the care or protection of such senior citizen is a criminal offence and such person shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three months or fine which may extend to five thousand rupees or both. This Act also provides

simple, speedy and inexpensive mechanism for the protection of life and property of the older persons. This Act exhorts state governments to establish old age homes - at least one in one district to accommodate indigent senior citizens. State governments may also ensure proper medical care for senior citizens. However, there is no obligation cast on the state government to establish old age homes.

In a recent judgment, the Bombay High Court asked the state government to adopt the public-private partnership model and rope in big corporate houses to establish old-age homes for almost 75 lakh senior citizens in the state. The Court said it was the State's responsibility to run homes for the aged and not the NGOs. Mission Justice, a non-profit organisation had filed a public interest litigation (PIL), seeking directions be given to the State and Centre on implementing different aspects of the Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act. 2007. The HC has directed the state to conduct a survey of all old-age homes in the city and also to consider building new ones. (The Indian Express, 2015)

## Cities and Inclusiveness

The question, however, we are trying to tackle here is not about the responsibilities of kin, the higher echelons of Government and a host of institutions that could be engaged in addressing the matter. It is essentially about cities where the majority of the old will spend the last leg of their lives. While even 'the best vitality cannot excel decay', the question

is how can this be mitigated, whether cities are designed to do this, and if not, whether they can be customized to make lives of elders more comfortable, convenient and happier. There is indeed a conflict of objectives. As argued earlier, cities by their nature are economies that look for efficiency, speed and resultant productivity. The needs of the old oftentimes will not gel with such pursuits. However, the old have spent their productive lives and made their contributions in the past. Now they need the city to pay back and not leave them naked in their years. If the cities were to do this, they would need to modify themselves for the sake of the old, and give up part of their productivity drive to look after the old.

It is agreed that cities are abode to different demographic age groups, cultural groups and economic groups and city inclusiveness would have to be catering a11 their different needs. Demographically, this would include children, the young, and the old. At the same time cities ought to be genderfriendly, business friendly, culture-friendly and so on. City authorities may contend that such inclusiveness may not always be possible. In such a situation, cities will have to take a call on priorities and overall city sustainability. However, it is clear that if more than one-fourth of any city's population is in the category of the aged, surely the group is too large to be ignored.

# Old Age and Role Change

Women and men undergo a radical change of role in their old age. This in itself,

in many cases, could be traumatic. Till now, they went to a full time job, travelled to places, brought up a family, spent money and time on the education and settlement of their children, bought a home, car and made such purchases for quality living that their purse allowed. Then things changed. The job came to an end; children got settled and went their own way. Climbing stairs became uncomfortable, and the largeness of their houses began to hurt as there were too many rooms to clean. They began to prefer living in smaller apartments. Driving a car was no pleasure, and the body began to pain in areas hitherto robust. And instead of the workout in the gymnasium, frailties of the body needed them to visit the doctor and seek medical attention. In the case of the poor, the frailties of body and the inability to work and earn have far graver consequences.

# Infirmities of the Old

Quite clearly, age begins to make one physically infirm and faculties of hearing, seeing and moving slow. In all kinds of settlements, the old could be visited by failing health, isolation, neglect, boredom, abuse and fear. Old age is a stage of loss of vitality and the onset of decay. The WHO study cited above emphatically establishes that the old like a pleasant and clean environment, gardens, green and open spaces, safety and security and safe pedestrian crossings. They need to visit toilets frequently, cross roads slowly, and get into buses easily. They do not earn any longer or have incomes much less than

earlier and would therefore like a stable economy and no inflation that would eat into their savings by continuously pushing up costs. They would like to read books with large letters, television programmes with little violence and medical care of a wide variety as different members of the elder group develop different infirmities. Outside on the roads and public places, they need resting and sitting places as they quickly tire. The old definitely dislike noise, darkness, undulating and pot-holed footpaths, traffic and climbing up steep steps.

Urban living is promoting living in small families or single households. In the midst of such living are the old. As the old live in loneliness, they also get increasingly stressed. 'Stress is the unspecific physiological and psychological reaction to perceived threats to our physical, psychological or social integrity' (Mazda Adli, 2011). And urban living can be threatening if one is constrained for space, if there is the experience of insufficient security or unstable economic conditions. Stress increases with the anticipation of adverse situations and the fear of not having the adequate resources to respond to them. From an evolutionary point of view, stress is the mechanism that prepares us for any 'fight-or-flight' reaction, and also causes us to evolve in order to better adapt to our environment. Although not harmful per se, stress may jeopardise our health when stress exposure is chronic or when complete recovery is not possible.

Beard and Petitot point out that 'Both the "differential vulnerability" hypothesis and social stress theory posit that disadvantaged neighbourhoods can influence health by directly increasing the likelihood of experiencing personal stress events such as trauma or unemployment. Physical conditions such as urban decay, physical disorder, and high levels of crime may generate more chronic levels of stress and fear.' (Ageing and Urbanization, Page 429)

Living in an urban environment is long known to be a risk factor for psychiatric diseases such as major depression or schizophrenia. This is true even though infrastructure, socio-economic conditions, nutrition and health care services are clearly better in cities than in rural areas. Higher stress exposure and higher stress vulnerability seem to play a crucial role. Social stress may be the most important factor for the increased risk of mental disorders in urban areas. It may be experienced as social evaluative threat, or as chronic social stress, both of which are likely to occur as a direct consequence of high population densities in cities. As for the impact on mental health, social stress seems to outweigh other urban stressors such as pollution or noise. Living in crowded areas is associated with increased social stress, since the environment becomes less controllable for the individual. Social disparities also become much more prominent in cities and can impose stress on the individual. A recent meta-analysis showed that urban dwellers have a 20 per cent higher risk of developing anxiety disorders, and a 40 per cent higher risk of developing mood disorders. The World Health Organization has highlighted stress as one of the major health challenges of the twenty-first century. Urban living is quickly developing as a major contributor to this. Clearly, for the old living in cities, these stress factors would be larger and deadlier.

#### Old Women

The situation is even more difficult for aging women. Unfortunately, established and adverse socio-economic archetypes hurt them the most at this age. And it gets worse, as aging figures that we have cited reveal that women tend to live longer than men and therefore, have longer older lives. Gender relations structure the entire life cycle, from birth to old age, influencing access to resources and opportunities and shaping life choices at every stage. Good health, economic and social security and adequate housing are essential requirements of aging with dignity, but older women in both developed and developing countries face difficulties in accessing these on a basis of equality with men. Their rights are often violated. Many older women face neglect as they are considered no longer economically or reproductively useful, and are seen as burdens on their families. In addition, widowhood, divorce, lack of care-givers for older women, post-menopausal difficulties and absence of geriatric medicine and health care are other grounds of discrimination that prohibit older women from enjoying their human rights. It often results in unfair resource allocation, maltreatment, abuse, gender-based violence and prevention of access to basic services. Their ownership of, or access to, land may be restricted due to discriminatory inheritance laws and practices. Thus, they would need to depend on the family or the state for financial support and living arrangements.

Most of them live in the shadow of the males throughout their lives - father, husband, son or male relatives like nephew, brother, uncle. In most of the cases they do not earn money and even when they do, their employment is often guided by family considerations. Moreover, their earnings are managed by the male counterpart. Most of the women do not own property and even when they own it they do not manage it. They are completely dependent on the male members of the family for fulfilment of all their basic needs. Besides aging, women face specific health problems. They are prone to arthritis, osteoporosis and hypertension, cervical and breast cancer, anaemia, and most of all depression. The rich educated women may be selfsufficient but could be facing problems of emotional insecurity and physical vulnerability. Even these women are often subject to threats of crime and fraud by their own relatives or children.

# Analysis of Cities

An analysis of cities would show major deficits from the point of view of the needs of the aged. Most outdoor spaces are not designed to suit the older population. Stairs, lighting, signage are not particularly age-friendly. The walking environment is poor and many times dangerous. Public facilities are difficult to access. Public transportation is crowded, unreliable and mostly absent in many cities of the developing world. Citizens in any case place higher reliance on semi-public or private transport. Housing is largely unaffordable and not designed for the old. The employment market is not customized and the old would find it extremely tough to penetrate the job market. Information availability is poor and many of the old are not computer literate. High victim rate from information fraud has been observed in relation to the aged. Neither is medication affordable.

In cities, as they are built today, the elders face more problems. Today, the housing sector, in addition to problems of affordability, is not geared to factor in the peculiar requirements of age. Cities have not adopted land use, zoning and fiscal policies that encourage and support such development that is specifically tailored to meet the housing and health-care needs of seniors. Very few housing projects have been taken up that were planned after a full appreciation of the needs of the elders. City policies do not address urban location considerations to ensure that the benefits of city living for elderly residents and the city as a whole are realized. In the current scheme of things in urban housing, relatively few viable residential options for seniors exist within central cities or densely developed urban areas near city centres. Most senior housing is located in lowdensity suburbs or in small towns, where land is cheap and development costs are lower. At the same time, services for seniors in those areas are often dispersed and limited.

This situation recently prompted Help Age India to write to the Prime Minister stressing the need to create or design cities for aged and disabled persons, along with the creation of smart cities. In a conference on "Universal Design and Development" in Bengaluru, the MD of Help Age India remarked that "the majority of the designers and architects were designing and creating projects keeping in mind the normal and affluent people of the society." This quite clearly ignores the needs of other demographic and socioeconomic groups of the society.

One of the factors that complicate the situation for the urban old is the mounting population and building densities. Evidence reveals that as Indian cities expand, their densities rise. It is true that this article cited opinions that advised higher densities in which the old should live. However, proponents of such densities clearly did not have the densities of Indian cities in mind. Quite evidently, high densities in our cities have led to high traffic density, less walkability and reduced open spaces. Such high densities (20,000 to 30,000 persons per sq. km) do not support living comfort for the old.

# The Impact of Conducive Urban Environment on the Old

Do conducive urban environments positively impact well-being? It appears so as studies have begun to establish that positive urban environment assists positive health and the salubrity of the old can in several ways be extended until the last years of life in a wholesome physical and social environment that promotes their productive engagement in society. They can then be converted into valuable societal resource rather than be liabilities. Many urban initiatives, therefore, that have been put in place to make cities more supportive of older people are on the right track and need replication.

A positive residential environment may provide social resources that buffer the impact of life stressors. Readily accessible and affordable nutritional food could make it easier for older people to eat a healthy diet. Physical characteristics such as trees and parks foster a sense of well-being and provide a recuperative environment that supports resilience. 'Good street design, access to public transport and diverse retail outlets may encourage individuals to remain engaged with their local community and maintain supportive social networks. Such features may also encourage walking and other physical activity, which may exert protective effects by strengthening the physiological systems of older adults and reducing functional limitation (e.g., from osteoarthritis)'. (Ageing and Urbanization, Page 429)

Projects on these lines have been attempted in urban environments. These include the City of Calgary's Elder Friendly Community, the Valuing Older People Partnership in Manchester in the United Kingdom, and the Canberra Plan, an Age-friendly City project in Australia.

These projects do suggest a general course of action for cities in the context of the old.

'A number of approaches seem justifiable. These include strategies to foster the ongoing social engagement of older people through improving access to buildings and public transport, improving walkability, creating destinations that encourage older people to leave their homes, strengthening intergenerational links and developing innovative technology such as web-based networking and videoconferencing. Other interventions worth considering include reducing crime and improving urban safety, improving housing design and strengthening neighbourhood social resources. But these are just a few examples of a diverse array that span both the physical and social environments of an older person and that may be neighbourhood specific'. (Ageing and Urbanization: Can Cities be Designed to Foster Active Ageing? John R Beard & Charles Petitot, Public Health Reviews. Vol. 32, No 2, 427-450)

# **Moving Towards Solutions**

The first fact that cities should appreciate is that their age profile will undergo change, and without exception, very soon, they will carry more and more old people. And as conscientious cities they will have to adopt policies that adequately answer the needs of senior citizens. In essence, this means that cities will allow senior citizens to age actively. As the WHO puts it, 'An age-friendly city encourages active ageing by optimizing

opportunities for health, participation and security'.

Given that old age is taken to begin at 60 and goes beyond till death, a high percentage of the elders would have a remnant life span of a decade and a reasonable percentage of people would live beyond a decade. Echoing such a formulation, the National Policy on Old Persons 1999 of Government of India classified the old into decadal groups. 'Sixty three per cent of the population in 1991 (36 million) is in the age group 60-69 years, often referred to as 'young old'.....while 11 per cent (6 million) is in the age group 80 years and over i.e., in the 'very old' category. In 2016, the percentage in these age groups will be almost the same, but the numbers are expected to be 69 million and 11 million respectively. In other words, close to six tenths of population 60-69 years can be expected to be in reasonably good physical and mental health, free of serious disability and capable of leading an active life. About one third of the population 70-79 years can also be expected to be fit for a reasonably active life. This is indicative of the huge reserve of human resource.' (National Policy on Old Persons 1999, Para 4)

The ideal situation would be that the elders continue to do such activities, normally and with ease, that their stage of mental and physical fitness permits them to perform. Such a situation would allow a progressive reduction of work and work types and the gradual petering of activities and activity types commensurate with their ability. This would have several salubrious

impacts on the city. One, it would command a larger number of people in the workforce adding to the man hours of productive work per day. This would add to the economic performance of the city. Second, it would allow a larger number of citizens to spend happier and more comfortable lives, thereby adding to the happiness quotient of a city. Third, it would be in consonance with the societal respect that is due to the elders.

This is possible if the city takes into account the needs of the elders on the one hand and their vulnerabilities on the other. In all of its planning, infrastructure and activities, the city decision-makers would have to ask the question – does this factor in the requirements of the aged? A question that could be raised here is how customized could cities be. Along with the old, there are many other constituents that also occupy the city and have their own peculiar needs. And some of these could be adversarial. For instance, the young want life that is fast, music that is modern and aspects that are boisterous. These run counter to the needs of the aged. However, the ideal city, without ignoring the needs of any group would try to arrive at the largest synergy possible and the best provisioning of needs of all that can be skilfully managed. Inclusive cities would have to expand the definition of inclusive since as human settlements they have the most diverse group of stakeholders and their interests have to be cared for over a very, very long period. Such inclusiveness is possible if cities exhibit the will and begin designing themselves accordingly. It is necessary for the built environment of a city to anticipate users with different capacities instead of designing for what it considers the average normal person. An age-friendly city emphasizes enablement rather than disablement; it is friendly for all ages.

# What Some Cities are doing

A number of cities in the developed world have begun to devise programmes that assist the aged. Since, they are located in countries already highly urbanized and with large old populations, this is decidedly a rising concern in their context. However, it is apparent that they have not slept over the issue but have moved with purpose to find solutions. These provide a range of services to the old comprising delivered meals at home, domestic care such as home cleaning, home maintenance such as minor repairs, personal care such as showering and dressing, respite care that allows a break for the primary carer, social support such as cultural and recreational opportunities and transport services such as to and fro travel to a doctor. These are fee-based services and are calibrated in accordance with annual income. However, a common feature of such programmes is that these are practised in select city enclaves. These services may not be through and across the city but targeted to serve upper middle class areas.

Singapore has started an initiative called "a city for all ages". In 2011, the city carried out a survey in Marine Parade, one of the planning areas of the Central Region. More than 2500 residents aged 60 and above in the area were surveyed in regard to their requirements. This was

aptly called a 'hardware audit' of residential units. This led to plans to retrofit more than 500 flats that equipped them with elder-friendly features. These included slip resistant tiles in bathrooms and wheelchair ramps. Outside on roads, steps were taken to eliminate potential hazards for the old and longer 'green man' time for traffic light crossings. (Making Singapore a City for All Ages, Cover Story by *Denyse Yeo* in Challenge: Approaching the Public Service Differently, 07 Jan 2013)

In Canada, where the number of aged people has been rising, the law-makers are devising new ways of addressing this problem. It is attempting to make communities "age-friendly". It is also putting in place policies, services and structures that enable the senior citizen to 'age actively'.

In view of many cities around the world showing heightened concern about the aged, a 'WHO Global Network of Agefriendly Cities and Communities' has been established in 2009 to foster the exchange of experience and mutual learning between cities and communities worldwide. These cities may be of various sizes and set in dissimilar cultural and socio-economic contexts. However, they share 'the desire and commitment to promote healthy and active ageing and a good quality of life for their older residents.' (WHO, 2015). As of 23 April 2015, two Indian local bodies, Kolkata and South Delhi Municipal Corporation were on the Network.

The Network was the outcome of a programme specifically launched in 2006

to subjectively identify the characteristics of the urban environment that might foster the health of the old. 'Academic partners in 33 cities around the world asked older people in focus groups to describe the advantages and barriers they experienced in eight areas of city living. In most cities, the reports from older people were complemented by focus groups of caregivers and service providers. The eight domains considered included features of a city's physical environment that may have an influence on personal mobility, safety from injury, security from crime, health behaviour and social participation; different aspects of the social environment and of culture that may affect participation and mental well-being; characteristics that foster communication and access to information; and community support and health services.' (Beard & Petitot, Public Health Review).

# What Other Cities Could Do

Cities should easily and definitely take a number of steps to make the old more comfortable. There should be enough public seating and toilet facilities; dropped curbs and ramps to buildings should be standard features, and lights at pedestrian crossings should be safely timed. Building and housing design should be barrier-free. Information materials and communication technologies should be adapted to suit diverse perceptual, intellectual and cultural needs.

The above means that the city's planning - its landscape, buildings, transportation system, its cultural and recreational mix, its healthcare and its

libraries, its housing and its services such as policing need to be planned in such a way that they contribute to confident mobility, healthy behaviour, social participation and self-determination. If these get neglected, the outcome conversely would be isolation, insecurity, inactivity and social exclusion.

# City Community and the Aged

Acknowledging and respecting the old should characterize social and service relationships no less than physical structures and materials. Such social etiquette would have to be drilled in members of the community. Respect and consideration for the old has been an ageold custom in this country and should continue to be major values on the street, at home and on the road, in public and commercial services, in employment and in care settings. In an age-friendly city, users of public spaces should be considerate in sharing the amenities and priority seating in public transport and special needs stopping and parking areas should be respected. Services should employ friendly staff who take the time to give personal assistance. Traders should serve older people as well and as promptly as other clients. Employers and agencies should offer flexible conditions and training to older workers and volunteers. Because education fosters awareness, schoolchildren should be taught about ageing and older people. The media should portray them in realistic ways.

Another important characteristic of an age-friendly city is that it should foster

solidarity between generations and within communities. Opportunities for neighbours to get to know each other should be fostered; they should watch out for each other's safety and help and inform each other. Thanks to a network of trusted family, friends, neighbours and service providers, older members of the community should feel integrated and safe.

Housing must be considered in connection with outdoor spaces and the rest of the built environment such that older people's homes are located in areas safe from natural hazards and are close to services, other age groups and civic attractions that keep them integrated. Transportation services and infrastructure must always be linked to opportunities for social, civic and economic participation, as well as be accessible to essential health services. Social inclusion of older people must target social arenas and roles that carry power and status in society, such as decision- making in civic life, paid work and media programming. Since knowledge is empowerment, information about all aspects of city living must be accessible.

# National Policy on Older Persons, 1999

Many of the suggestions that have been listed in different WHO documents already found place in the National Policy on Older Persons, 1999 of Government of India (henceforth referred to as Policy). Some of the suggestions made in the Policy were the following:

'Public hospitals will be directed to ensure that elderly patients are not subjected to long waits and visits to different counters for medical tests and treatment. They will endeavour to provide separate counters and convenient timings on specified days. Geriatric wards will be set up'. (Policy, Para 39)

'Medical and para-medical personnel in primary, secondary and tertiary health care facilities will be given training and orientation in health care of the elderly. Facilities for specialization in geriatric medicine will be provided in the medical colleges. Training in nursing care will include geriatric care. Problems of accessibility and use of health services by the elderly arise due to distance, absence of escort and transportation. Difficulties in reaching a public health care facility will be addressed through mobile health services, special camps and ambulance services by charitable institutions and not for profit health care organizations.' (Policy, Para 40)

'The concept of healthy ageing will be promoted. It is necessary to educate older persons and their families that diseases are not a corollary of advancing age nor is a particular chronological age the starting point for decline in health status. On the contrary, preventive health care and early diagnosis can keep a person in reasonable good health and prevent disability'. (Policy Para 44)

'Layouts of housing colonies will have to respond to the life styles of the elderly. It will have to be ensured that there are no physical barriers to mobility, and accessibility to shopping complexes, community centres, parks and other services is safe and easy. A multi-purpose centre for older persons is a necessity for social interaction and to meet other needs. It will therefore, be necessary to earmark sites for such centres in all housing colonies. Segregation of older persons in housing colonies has to be avoided as it prevents interaction with the rest of the community. Three or four storied houses without lifts are unfriendly to older persons, tend to isolate them, restraints their movement outside the home, and are a serious barrier to access to services. Preferences will be given to older persons in the allotment of flats on the ground floor.' (Policy, Para 49)

'Group housing of older persons comprising flat lets with common service facilities for meals, laundry, common room and rest rooms will be encouraged. These would have easy access to community services, medicare, parks, recreation and cultural centres.' (Policy, Para 50)

'Educational curriculum at all stages of formal education as also non-formal education programmes will incorporate material to strengthen intergenerational and mutually supporting bonds relationships. Interactions with educational institutions will be facilitated whereby persons with professional qualifications and knowledge in science, arts, environment, socio-cultural heritage, sports and other areas could interact with children and young persons. Schools will be encouraged and assisted to develop out-reach programmes for interacting with older persons on a regular basis, participate in the running of senior citizens centres and develop activities in them. Individuals of all ages, families and communities will be provided with information about the ageing process and the changing roles, responsibilities and relationships at different stages of the life cycle. The contributions of older persons inside the household and outside will be highlighted through the media and other forums and negative images, myths and stereotypes dispelled'. (Policy, Para 57)

'Old persons have become soft targets for criminal elements. They also become victims of fraudulent dealings and of physical and emotional abuse within the household by family members to force them to part with their ownership rights. Widow's rights of inheritance, occupancy and disposal are at times violated by their own children and relatives. It is important that protection is available to older persons. The introduction of special provisions in IPC to protect older persons from domestic violence will be considered and machinery provided to attend all such cases promptly. Tenancy legislation will be reviewed so that the rights of occupancy of older persons are restored speedily'. (Policy, Para 65)

'There are various other areas which would need affirmative action of the State to ensure that policies and programmes reflect sensitivity to older persons. Among these are issue of identity cards by the administration; fare concessions in all modes of travel; preference in reservation of seats and earmarking of seats in local public transport; modifications in designs of public transport vehicles for easy entry

and exit; strict enforcement of traffic discipline at zebra crossings to facilitate older persons to cross streets; priority in gas and telephone connections and in fault repairs; removal of physical barriers to facilitate easy movement, concessions in entrance fees in leisure and entertainment facilities art and cultural centres and places of tourist interest'. (Policy, Para 68)

The steps suggested by WHO through global consultations have been summarized by WHO and are attached as Annex 2. These and the suggestions made by Help Age and India's National Policy on Old Persons are further summarized as Annex 3. They are excellent guides in relation to what cities could do to help the old.

# **Emerging Framework of Urbanization and the Aged**

While cities undertake to take such steps that would make the lives of the aged more livable, the larger picture that is staring in our face is the emerging framework of urbanization. Several cities in the developing world are moving beyond the definition of megacities, with populations beyond 10 million. It would be useful to categorize these as 'giga cities' (defined by me as above 10 million). Now, if the future pattern of urbanization is going to be 'gigacities' (cities above 10 million), megacities (5 million to ten million) and very large metropolitan cities (3 to 5 million), and where the majority of urbanites including the old would live, then the aged will have an awfully tough time ageing. They indeed would have little

opportunity for 'active ageing'. Despite the best efforts that such cities would make to provide infrastructure and conveniences for the aged, demographic additions would seem to have an adverse impact on the lives of the aged in terms of pollution, congestion, costs and comfort – all adding up to subtract from the happiness quotient. All additions to infrastructure and services, based on past empirical evidence, would get quickly lapped up by current and additional entrants, mostly the well to do. But they would also engender entry of the poor in large numbers to get enough to survive but not enough to live.

Mumbai, for instance, the largest city of India, began the last century with a population slightly more than 800,000. Given that the area of Mumbai has more or less remained stable at around 437 sq. km, the city had a per sq. km human density of 1860 persons. Based on the Census data of 2011, it is seen that the city's average density now is around 28,000 per sq. km. Within the city, populations are not evenly spread and some areas have much higher density with Dharavi slums going beyond 100,000 persons per sq. km.

More people would bring more vehicles on Mumbai's roads. The Transport Department of Maharashtra sometime back reported that the vehicular population of Mumbai doubles every seven years. This number now stands at around 2.5 million. Public transport in the city is poor, despite additions of suburban railway capacity, metro and monorail. More than half the vehicular addition is cars, with very

little to show in terms of addition to buses, taxis and auto rickshaws. The natural result has been the clogging of city roads with vehicles and a travel speed of around 20 km per hour. In terms of the old using the suburban rail or buses, they do not stand a chance in the kind of crushing congestion witnessed in such transport.

The annual Environment Status Report of Greater Mumbai prepared by the ULB has documented the rapid decline of air quality and rising noise pollution, both exceeding prescribed health norms. The city witnessed a rise in the cases of asthma, gastroenteritis and other disease related to noise and hygiene.

Affordable housing in Mumbai is like a square circle – a preposterous concept. It is, therefore, not surprising that 60 per cent of the population is packed into slums over land that is less than 10 per cent of Mumbai. With a larger population, there will be more people in slums as this would be the only kind of shelter that the majority would afford.

The above cited facts about density, slums, transport, air, noise, water and housing are different in other cities such as Delhi, Kolkata, Chennai, Bengaluru, Hyderabad and others only in small degrees. The same trends overall are noticeable in all large Indian cities. These clearly demonstrate that in the current Indian context, very large cities keep getting more dense as they grow, keep getting more congested, more polluted, more unhealthy. As a consequence, they would quite evidently get more inefficient. For the old, they clearly are unsupportive since most of the aged would not find housing unless they are very rich, would not be able to move out unless they have private transport, would not have open spaces to relax as open spaces are few and would run the risk of disease through air, water and noise. Whereas low density, on the one hand, is poor for security and services to the old, very heavy density on the other is poor for housing, movement, health and relaxation. Alas, the old will have to make a choice between the devil and the deep sea.

ANNEX 1

# **Countries and Population over 60 (2014 population)**

Sn	Country	Population Over 60 (%)
1	Japan	33
2	Germany	28
3	Italy	27
4	Finland	27
5	Greece	26
6	Portugal	25
7	France	24
8	Denmark	24
9	Belgium	24
10	Netherlands	24
11	Czech Rep	24
12	UK	23
13	Spain	23
14	Ukraine	22
15	Canada	22
16	Romania	21
17	USA	20
18	Australia	20
19	Russia	19
20	Cuba	19
21	China	14
22	India	9

Source: Worldometers (www.Worldometers.info)

# WHO: Checklist of Essential Features of Age-friendly Cities

# Outdoor spaces and buildings

- Public areas are clean and pleasant.
- Green spaces and outdoor seating are sufficient in number, wellmaintained and safe.
- Pavements are well-maintained, free of obstructions and reserved for pedestrians.
- Pavements are non-slip, are wide enough for wheelchairs and have dropped curbs to road level.
- Pedestrian crossings are sufficient in number and safe for people with different levels and types of disability, with non-slip markings, visual and audio cues and adequate crossing times.
- Drivers give way to pedestrians at intersections and pedestrian crossings.
- Cycle paths are separate from pavements and other pedestrian walkways.
- Outdoor safety is promoted by good street lighting, police patrols and community education.
- Services are situated together and are accessible.
- Special customer service arrangements are provided, such as separate queues or service counters for older people.

- Buildings are well-signed outside and inside, with sufficient seating and toilets, accessible elevators, ramps, railings and stairs, and non-slip oors.
- Public toilets outdoors and indoors are sufficient in number, clean, wellmain-tained and accessible.

# **Transportation**

- Public transportation costs are consistent, clearly displayed and affordable.
- Public transportation is reliable and fre-quent, including at night and on weekends and holidays.
- All city areas and services are accessible by public transport, with good connections and well-marked routes and vehicles.
- Vehicles are clean, well-maintained, acces-sible, not overcrowded and have priority seating that is respected.
- Specialized transportation is available for disabled people.
- Drivers stop at designated stops and beside the curb to facilitate boarding and wait for passengers to be seated before driving o.
- Transport stops and stations are conve-niently located, accessible, safe, clean, well-lit and well-marked, with adequate seating and shelter.

- Complete and accessible information is provided to users about routes, schedules and special needs facilities.
- A voluntary transport service is available where public transportation is too limited.
- Taxis are accessible and a ordable, and drivers are courteous and helpful.
- Roads are well-maintained, with covered drains and good lighting.
- Trac ow is well-regulated.
- Roadways are free of obstructions that block drivers' vision.
- Trac signs and intersections are visible and well-placed.
- Driver education and refresher courses are promoted for all drivers.
- Parking and drop-o areas are safe, Sufficient in number and conveniently located.
- Priority parking and drop-o spots for people with special needs are available and respected.

#### Housing

- Sufficient, aordable housing is available in areas that are safe and close to services and the rest of the community.
- Sufficient and aordable home maintenance and support services are available.
- Housing is well-constructed and provides safe and comfortable shelter from the weather.
- Interior spaces and level surfaces allow freedom of movement in all rooms and passageways.

- Home modication options and supplies are available and aordable, and providers understand the needs of older people.
- Public and commercial rental housing is clean, well-maintained and safe.
- Suûcient and aordable housing for frail and disabled older people, with appropri-ate services, is provided locally.

# Social participation

- Venues for events and activities are con-veniently located, accessible, well-lit and easily reached by public transport.
- Events are held at times convenient for older people.
- Activities and events can be attended alone or with a companion.
- Activities and attractions are aordable, with no hidden or additional participation costs.
- Good information about activities and events is provided, including details about accessibility of facilities and transportation options for older people.
- A wide variety of activities is oered to appeal to a diverse population of older people.
- Gatherings including older people are held in various local community spots, such as recreation centres, schools, libraries, community centres and parks.
- There is consistent outreach to include people at risk of social isolation.

# Respect and social inclusion

- Older people are regularly consulted by public, voluntary and commercial services on how to serve them better.
- Services and products to suit varying needs and preferences are provided by public and commercial services.
- Service sta are courteous and helpful.
- Older people are visible in the media, and are depicted positively and without stereotyping.
- Community-wide settings, activities and events attract all generations by accommodating age-specic needs and preferences.
- Older people are specically included in community activities for "families".
- Schools provide opportunities to learn about ageing and older people, and involve older people in school activities.
- Older people are recognized by the community for their past as well as their present contributions.
- Older people who are less well o have good access to public, voluntary and private services.

# Civic participation and employment

- A range of exible options for older volunteers is available, with training, recognition, guidance and compensation for personal costs.
- The qualities of older employees are well-promoted.

- A range of exible and appropriately paid opportunities for older people to work is promoted.
- Discrimination on the basis of age alone is forbidden in the hiring, retention, promotion and training of employees.
- Workplaces are adapted to meet the needs of disabled people.
- Self-employment options for older people are promoted and supported.
- Training in post-retirement options is provided for older workers.
- Decision-making bodies in public, private and voluntary sectors encourage and facilitate membership of older people.

#### **Communication and information**

- A basic, eûective communication system reaches community residents of all ages.
- Regular and widespread distribution of information is assured and a coordinated, centralized access is provided.
- Regular information and broadcasts of interest to older people are oered.
- Oral communication accessible to older people is promoted.
- People at risk of social isolation get one-to one information from trusted individuals.
- Public and commercial services provide friendly, person-to-person service on request.
- Printed information including ocial forms, television captions and text on

- visual displays has large lettering and the main ideas are shown by clear headings and bold-face type.
- Print and spoken communication uses simple, familiar words in short, straightforward sentences.
- Telephone answering services give instructions slowly and clearly and tell callers how to repeat the message at any time.
- Electronic equipment, such as mobile telephones, radios, televisions, and bank and ticket machines, has large buttons and big lettering.
- There is wide public access to computers and the Internet, at no or minimal charge, in public places such as government ofces, community centres and libraries.

# Community and health services

- An adequate range of health and community support services is oered for promoting, maintaining and restoring health.
- Home care services include health and personal care and housekeeping.

- Health and social services are conveniently located and accessible by all means of transport.
- Residential care facilities and designated older people's housing are located close to services and the rest of the community.
- Health and community service facilities are safely constructed and fully accessible.
- Clear and accessible information is provided about health and social services for older people.
- Delivery of services is coordinated and administratively simple.
- All sta are respectful, helpful and trained to serve older people.
- Economic barriers impeding access to health and community support services are minimized.
- Voluntary services by people of all ages are encouraged and supported.
- There are sucient and accessible burial sites.
- Community emergency planning takes into account the vulnerabilities and capacities of older people.

 $$\operatorname{ANNEX}\ 3$$  Areas of urban deficit and suggested action

	Area	Domain	Current deficit	Suggested action
1.	Physical Environment	Outdoor spaces	<ul> <li>Unfriendly to old</li> <li>Stairs, lighting, signage for younger users</li> <li>Poor walking conditions and lack of public facilities</li> </ul>	+ Installation of countdown pedestrian signals at intersections
		Transportation	<ul> <li>Poor or no public transport</li> <li>High dependency on private transport</li> <li>No low floor buses</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Strengthen public transport with low floor buses</li> <li>Provide affordable pick up and drop off vehicles for the old</li> </ul>
		Housing	<ul> <li>Affordable housing an issue</li> <li>Lack of supportive facilities <i>e.g.</i>, Handrail, elevators</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Build affordable housing in all city areas</li> <li>Erect accessfor-all buildings</li> </ul>
2.	Social Environment	Social participation	Limited social participation, few activities, limited variety, poor information about activities	
		Social respect	Low respect, considered burden, impediments by younger generation	Conduct respect for elders classes and promote activities that build respect

3.	Economic Environment	Employment opportunities	Ageism in working environment, lack of opportunities	Free computer courses
		Capacity enhancement	No customized training for the old	
4.	Community Environment	Community support		Counselling services
		Health services	Affordability an issue	
5.	Communication Environment	Communication	Poor communication in view of low computer usage by the old	Improved and wide communication in a manner and form accessible to the old
		Information fraud	High victim rate	

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# Smart Citizens Behaviour – The Core of Smart Cities in India

# P. H. Rao

"Technology is the answer. But what is the question?" - Cedric Price

'If you only focus on technology and not on human behaviour, you will not become smart' – (Copenhagen Cleantech, 2013)

Today 'Smart Cities' are acclaimed, all over the world, as the answer to meet the challenges of massive urbanization. Developed as well as the developing countries are embracing the concept of smart cities to effectively meet challenges such as urban sprawl, environment, sustainability, transportation, energy constraints, among other things. India has also began the pursuit of its own vision of 'Smart Cities' with the cabinet approval of the Smart Cities Mission with an outlay of Rs. 48,000 crores on 29th May 2015. The curtain was raised for the race of SMART cities in India with the Prime Minister of India launching the 'Smart cities Mission' on 25th June 2015.

It is widely acknowledged that there is no universally accepted, agreed definition of a SMART city. Is it when every citizen in India is equipped with a SMART phone? Or is it when Wi-Fi is

freely available in public places through hot-spots? Or is it when all of us are enabled for on-line transactions like paying utility bills, order breakfast or buying anything using numerous apps on our mobiles. Are we smart if we consume only bottled mineral/RO purified water for drinking? It is indeed difficult to give a satisfactory and universally acceptable answer.

Conversely, it is easier to visualize, what a SMART city is NOT or when a city can never think of becoming a smart city. Municipal corporations adopt smart solutions (technology) like 'Offsite Real Monitoring System' for effective management of solid waste. Yet garbage piles up everywhere, even in the heart of the city. Public Private Partnerships (PPP) are forged to construct public toilets, which often fetch good advertising revenue to the contractor, but still fail to prevent people from urinating or defecating in open. A

city may have a GIS based property tax information system, yet fails to collect property tax arrears for many years, even from people living in posh colonies/areas of the city. Delhi and other mega cities have smart transportation namely metro and the smart part comes to an end with the metro ride. The reality sprouts once you step out of the metro as pan stained walls, street vendors freely throwing waste, haphazardly parked autos and minibuses, *etc.*, are common sights

The definition used by O P Agarwal, Executive Director, Punj Lloyd Institute for Infrastructure Management, Indian School of Business - A smart city is one that is socially, environmentally and financially sustainable and which strives to minimize waste of resources, like energy and water, in meeting the needs of its residents (PTI, 2015a) is more realistic and applicable in the Indian context. The ultimate indicator of a smart city is 'Quality of Life' (QoL) of their citizens. The Vision Statement of Andhra Pradesh, after the bifurcation on 2nd June 2014 has QoL as the focus (Government of Andhra Pradesh, 2014). Haryana, a state on fast lane in terms of smart city readiness, has identified citizens' readiness, as a kev parameter and focuses on citizen centric solutions (PWC & CII, 2015). The 'Draft Policy on Internet of Things' (IoT) places emphasis on building answers for 'What Data will Service the Citizens'. It also adds that the goal should be 'Value Up' and 'Cost Down' (DeitY, 2015). There is

a need to understand how smart city implementation affects the social behavior of citizens towards more efficient and substantial utilization of city resources (Khansari, 2013).

In order to improve QoL the citizens of a city also have a significant and active role. Without change in the behavior of the people who live in the city, a city can never aspire to become a SMART CITY, no matter how many crores of public and/ or private money are spent on smart solutions based on technologies such as IoT, Location Based Services, GIS etc., (with mind boggling claims and each claiming better than their rivals) and creating SMART INFRASTRUCTURE. "Citizens, not technology makes a smart city" avers Karuna Gopal, President of Foundation for Futuristic Cities, who launched "Citizens for City" in Hyderabad in September 2009 (Express Features, 2015). One thing is clear: Citizens behavior is core to smart cities. Hence, this paper dwells on smart citizen behavior in light of smart cities in India.

Two major initiatives of the Government of India namely 'Swacch Bharat' and 'Digital India' contribute significantly to the development of Smart Cities in India.

#### **Swachh Bharat**

It addresses the ground realities like open defecation; waste management,

water, sanitation and hygiene among others.

# **Digital India**

It is concerned with the aspirations of future India. This programme aims to transform India into a digitally empowered society and knowledge economy. Digital empowerment of citizens means

- (a) digital literacy,
- (b) access to digital resources in Indian languages,
- (c) availability of all documents on clouds,
- (d) collaborative digital platforms for participative governance, and
- (e) portability of entitlements through clouds.

This involves broadband highway for all, universal access to mobile connectivity, public internet access, electronic delivery of services, information for all, training for people for IT sector jobs, targeted mass messaging, public Wi-Fi hot spots, SMS based weather information and disaster alerts. Some of the digital applications/ solutions hopefully can contribute to cities achieving the service level benchmarks for Swachh Bharat.

This paper presents a situational analysis with respect to 'Swachh Behaviour' and 'Technology/Digital Behavior' of Indian cities and their citizens. Role of technology and other facilitating and enabling factors and other

interventions for rendering behaviour of citizens SMART are explored. A strategy for smart behavior by citizens is offered.

#### Situational Analysis

Citizens with smart behavior *i.e.*, Smart Citizens are imperative to the emergence of smart cities in India. Applying basic marketing principles of identifying needs, understanding wants and estimating demand (willingness and ability to pay) for different services and products is the first step in behavior change process of people towards SMART CITIES. Two on-line surveys of consumers' satisfaction with 30 aspects of city life in 2011 and 2012, covering 27 major cities around the world (Ericsson, 2014) identified

- (a) traffic situation,
- (b) the mechanisms for communication with city authorities currently open to them and
- (c) aspects of health as the major sources of discontent. Hence, understanding citizens' needs and preparedness to accept smart solutions/technologies will be critical to their acceptance and optimal usage.

#### Swachh Behaviour

The situational analysis focuses on four cities *viz.*, Varanasi, Allahabad, Ajmer and Visakhapatnam, whose names were sounded as the first among the smart cities selected in India. It provides information

on the basic services available in these cities, which in turn influence the behavior of their citizens.

#### Water

Every citizen needs adequate and continuous supply of water at door step to meet various needs like bathing, hygiene, washing cloths and utensils, *etc*. The drinking water should be safe, potable and more importantly affordable. The table below presents the scenario with respect to these aspects of water supply in the proposed four smart cities first to be shortlisted for smart cities. (Table 1)

# **Affordability**

Inability of Urban Local Bodies in India to supply safe water for drinking forces citizen to install water purifiers or to buy bottled water, increasing the cost of drinking water enormously.

#### **Equity**

Does supplying 135 lpcd, the service level bench mark set by the Government of India, makes a city smart? For example with about 280-300 lpcd, Delhi, as a city, ranks highest in per capita availability of water. However, the standard for different target groups vary widely – for (a) planned colonies is 225 lpcd; (b) resettlement colonies and urban villages it is 155 lpcd and (c) jhuggi-jhopdi (JJ) clusters it is only 50 lpcd. On the other hand, each room in a five-star hotel consumes on an average 1,600 liters of water every day. The

residence of prime minister, president and ministers consumes about 73,300, 67,000 and 30,000-45,000 liters per day (Singh, 2005). Such disparity in water consumption level by different groups of citizens is neither equitable nor sustainable. Obviously, such a city cannot be smart. Reaching equity and sustainability in a smart city also require significant and widespread changes in consumption behavior of people.

#### **Sanitation**

Lack of access to toilets (individual, community or public) is a major reason for people defecating in the open. Not using the accessible toilets is a more important factor. The sanitation scenario of the four proposed smart cities is given in the Table 2.

As a result about 13 per cent of the urban population in India defecate in open (WHO & UNICEF, 2013) resulting in sanitation and health hazards.

#### **Solid Waste Management**

Absence of arrangements for door-to-door collection of solid waste by the ULB results in citizens throwing waste on the streets and in open spaces. Lack of segregation of waste at source, especially by the households, render even systematic waste collection ineffective. The waste management scenario of four proposed smart cities is given in the Table 3.

In Varanasi, one of the first in India to be chosen for development as a smart

city, segregation of solid waste is nil and door to door collection covers only 7 per cent of the total population and 4 per cent of the city area (CEPT, 2011, p.95).

#### Clean Air

Prolonged exposure to Ambient Air Pollution (AAP), with pollutants such as sulphur dioxide (SO<sub>2)</sub>, nitrogen oxides (NO<sub>x</sub>), carbon monoxide (CO), ozone (O<sub>2</sub>) and Particulate Matter (PM<sub>10</sub> and PM<sub>25</sub>) leads to increased rates of respiratory disease, chronic obstructive pulmonary disorder, and lung cancer. PM<sub>10</sub> is known to cause severe damage to the lungs. AAP is the fifth largest killer in India. Annual cost of AAP generated morbidity and mortality is estimated at Rs. 1,103 billion or 1.7 per cent of GDP in 2009 (Public Health Foundation of India, 2014). According to a 2014 WHO report, out of the 124 Indian cities monitored 63 (50.8 per cent) cities have critical level (>90) and another 33 (26.6 per cent) have high levels (61 to 90) of PM<sub>10</sub>. Out of a total of 164 cities in the world with critical levels of PM<sub>10</sub>, 63 are Indian cities. The air pollution scenario of three of the proposed smart cities is given in the Table 4.

According to the latest sources, Pollution Index of Varanasi is 157 (moderate) on May 1, 2015 and 127 (moderate) on June 27 2015 (CPCB, 2015).

#### **Education**

A smart city also means literate and well educated citizens. According to

Census 2011, about 74 per cent of 7+ yrs. are literate. Can India become digitally literate, in spite of illiterate population?

# **Transportation**

Bus Rapid Transport System (BRTS) was adopted by some Indian cities with lot of fanfare and backing by transportation experts. In Delhi, BRTS failed due to a number of reasons. People driving other vehicles use BRTS corridor in peak hours and the traffic police looking the other way is a major cause. Now BRTS in Ahmedabad, which has been acclaimed and has learnt lessons from Delhi, is falling prey to a similar trend. The typical Amdavadi bothers little about the traffic rules devised for BRTS and prefers to pay fines for breaking into BRTS lanes rather than abide by the rules and wait in traffic jams. Cyclists are forced to travel in mixedtraffic lanes as dedicated cycle tracks are unsafe because of broken infrastructure, encroachment by hawkers, squatters and parked cars, as it is in Delhi (John, 2013). With such (unsmart) behavior of citizens, a potential smart solution to solve transportation problems of a city, will be rendered useless.

# Technology/Digital Behaviour

Indian citizens are way ahead in Digital Behavior than in Swachh Behavior. An average Indian household may not have a toilet (and freely urinate & defecate in the open) but is more likely to own a mobile phone as shown by Census 2011.

While it took 10 years to reach from 10 to 100 million mobile users, the next 100 million were added in 3, whereas the last 100 million (from 200m to 300m) happened in just one year. India would reach 500 million users before end of 2016 (Desai, 2014). Policy of "calling party pays" (which helps to lower the costs of mobile phone ownership for users who make few outgoing calls); "ultra-low-cost handsets" (that reduce the barrier to mobile phone ownership) and prepaid accounts (enable users to keep their mobile service active with small amounts) have contributed to rapid growth in mobile subscribers in India (Aspen Institute of India, 2008). According to the 'Internet India 2014 Report' India is third, just behind the USA, with an estimated 302 million internet user by the end of 2014 of which 190 million are in urban areas. Mobile internet is used by 173 million Indian with 128 million in urban areas (IAMAI, 2014).

# **Smart Solutions**

The illustrative list of the Mission Statement & Guidelines of Government of India (MoUD, 2015, p.6) has six sets of smart solutions *viz.*, (a) e-governance and citizen services, (b) waste management, (c) water management, (d) energy management, (e) urban mobility and (f) others such as telemedicine and tele-education. Smart solutions, which have implications for citizen behaviour, are discussed in this paper as Swachh Solutions and Digital Solutions.

#### **Swachh Solutions**

Smart consumption of water and energy (electricity and fuels like LPG and petrol/diesel) are core to Swachh solutions.

#### Water

From the citizen's point of view 'Smart Water' is continuous (24 x 7) availability of safe drinking water and water supply of acceptable quality for other uses. Simple measures to enable citizens to test the quality of drinking water and guidelines for taking simple and affordable steps, when the water needs to be purified, to make it suitable for drinking make smart water.

#### Sanitation

Washing hands with soap after going to the toilet and before eating food is one of the simple yet highly effective hygiene solutions. Availability of adequate water is the key to maintenance of public and community toilets, to encourage their usage. E-toilets and bio-toilets are innovative solutions in this regard.

#### **Energy**

According to Energy Efficiency Services (EELS) Ltd., use of Light Emitting Diode Bulbs (LED) by households could reduce energy consumption by 88 per cent (as compared to ordinary bulbs) and 50 per cent (as compared to CFLs). The Demand Side Management based Efficient Lighting Programme (DELP) under which 4 LED bulbs will be provided, each household could save INR 648 per annum in its electricity bill, which is more than the LED bulbs cost. This scheme will result in annual reduction of energy consumption by 504 million units, which thus would be available for alternative purposes (http://eeslindia.org/DELP-Delhi/ Accessed on 15 June 2015).

Similarly people need to use/switch over to household appliances with energy conserving features that are available today in the market.

# **Transportation**

#### **Smart Fuel**

Compressed Natural Gas (CNG) and battery operated personal vehicles are less polluting and more environmental friendly. Payback period of cost of conversion to CNG, of Rs. 40,000 for a private car of an average 50 km run per day is 10 and 7 months in Delhi and Mumbai, respectively. The cost advantage of CNG (at likely price of INR 59.8/kg) over petrol is about 40 per cent and 20 per cent over diesel (AF-MERCADOS EMI, 2013, p.30). Reduction in the gap of price of CNG and petrol / diesel, led to drop in demand for CNG cars in 2013 (Chauhan, 2014). High initial costs, volatile prices of CNG and inadequate fueling stations are some of the barriers preventing people from shifting to or from buying vehicles using alternate

fuels which are more environmental friendly. In the USA, Texas offered a rebate of \$2,500 to motivate its citizen to shit to or purchase qualified alternative-fuel vehicles – CNG, liquefied petroleum gas and electric vehicles (Cunningham, 2014).

# **Public Transport**

Share of buses in all registered motorized vehicles in India fell from 11.1 per cent in 1951 to 0.9 per cent by 2011 (Tiwari, 2012). Safe, convenient, dependable, affordable and environmental friendly public transportation is one smart solution Indian citizens need in the context of smart cities.

# **Cycle Sharing**

It is a flexible form of personal public transport. Rojas-Rueda (2011) affirms that the health benefits from cycling in the bicycle sharing scheme are greater compared with the risks from inhalation of air pollutants and road traffic incidents with benefit: risk ratio 77. In consonance with the spirit of India's National Urban Transport Policy - "moving people, not vehicles" - MoUD brought out a planning toolkit for Indian cities promoting 'Public Cycle Sharing Systems'. Namma Cycle, in Bangalore IISC campus logged 4500 km in 2012, preventing a ton of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions because 300 liters of petrol were not used and saved 25,000 rupees (http:// www.nammacycle.in/).

#### **Digital Solutions**

NASSCOM (2015) has collaborated with a number of organizations to come out with 'Integrated ICT and Geospatial Technologies framework for 100 Smart Cities Mission. The framework covers (a) physical infrastructure (energy, water, waste, mobility and real estate); (b) social infrastructure (health, education, safety, culture and citizen services); (c) environment (climate change, pollution, disaster management,) and (d) governance (policies, municipalities, operations,). Key issues and challenges have been identified for each smart element (smart energy, smart water, smart mobility/transportation, solid waste management, smart urban planning, smart social infrastructure, smart education, smart public safety, smart citizen services, smart climate change, etc., Accordingly, ICT enablers and smart solutions have been identified for overcoming them. Stanislawski (2014) alleges that new solutions vigorously pushed by ICT companies often fail to deliver the promised benefits - or sometimes any benefits -because they ignore behavioural factors associated with the problems. Even if there are formal policy commitments, behavioural norms or organizational constraints may well be significant.

# **Smart Water Meters**

Adoption of Automated Meter Reading (AMR) technology in Malkapur, Maharashtra for all 4,200 water connections enabled the municipality to charge households for actual consumption, instead of fixed annual tariff. This helped the utility to earn a profit of Rs. 3 lakh, whereas it suffered a loss of Rs 32 lakh in 2008. Also, citizens will be more prudent in usage of water when they are charged for actual consumption, compared to when they are levied a flat rate. However, Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation (BMR) faced problems in maintenance and picking up remote meter readings and decided to be more conservative as replacing a stolen/damaged sensor (due to unsmart behavior of people) costs Rs. 5000 (Seth, 2012).

# Sanitation and Hygiene

Indigenous technology has been developed for e-toilets, which are portable, hygienically maintained, and eco-friendly by using solar energy. They can be (a) GPS enabled to allow entry to only authorized persons and (b) programmed to clean themselves at pre-determined intervals. They are well ventilated, and have independent water and sewerage systems. They use convergent technologies - electronics, mechanical, web-mobile technologies -are remotely monitored and can adopt multiple revenue options. The insertion of a coin opens the door of the e-Toilet for the user, switches on a light-thus saving energy-and even directs the person with audio commands (Pareek, 2014). Such mechanisms enable citizens use public toilets and avoid open defecation and urination.

#### **Smart Energy Meters**

They can help understand and quantify energy use by providing accurate real time data to households on an in-home display about consumption of electricity and low and high demand periods, so that citizens can use appliances in home at times when demand is low and cost is less. The information can also be accessed by the energy supplier remotely. Wide disclosure of energy consumption data could also stimulate favourable changes in behavior. Historical information on energy use and cost will allow consumers to compare current and past use. A load limiter in the smart meter can send command to users to reduce electricity usage when the demand for energy gets out of control. New smart systems would protect consumers from power shutoffs by notifying them about scheduled load shedding/a power outage by sending text messages to a cell phone or to the in-home display on the smart meter. Empowerment of consumers with easy and free-ofcharge access to real-time data on historical energy consumption with the help of more accurate individual metering will enable them to manage their energy consumption more efficiently (European Commission, 2014).

#### e-Governance

In a number of states in India, a number of citizen's services like payment of taxes, applying and obtaining certificates and licenses etc., are available online either through a central state level portal or websites of respective ULBs. Some of them are mobile based also. One needs to understand the access to and usage of such services by citizens and if it in consonance with the ownership/usage of mobiles and internet. If not, understand the barriers for their more effective usage and plan for overcoming them to encourage smart behavior. New technologies can foster new relationship between local government and citizens. Behavior (acceptance/rejection/apathy) of citizens has significant impact on the services offered using new technologies.

#### e-commerce

Similarly, while there are a large number of apps and opportunities for ordering/buying numerous things online, how many citizens actually use them. Normally, it is argued that a typical Indian would like to touch and feel the product, be it rice, fruits, clothes or more expensive items like jewelry. Do they see the value addition in terms of time and costs saved compared to going to a store.

# e-Health

Tele-medicine/remote consultation enable citizens to consult doctors and other health care staff over telephone/internet/video conferencing to overcome the shortage of qualified medical and paramedical staff, avoid time delay and reduce distance barriers to Quality Care.

m-Health can deliver information (schedule appointments), monitor patients (access blood glucose levels) and offer consultation and advice with a mobile phone or a connected device. Barriers such as poor network (which becomes crucial when you are monitoring a heart patient); security and privacy of health care information, too complex to adopt (such as vast number of languages) need to be understood and addressed to make m-health more acceptable in India. Willingness to pay and a lack of value were cited half as often as other barriers (Lunde, 2013).

#### e-education

Digital India needs to look for digital solutions which can motivate the illiterate to learn writing and reading and get educated. The differentiating element between digital city and smart city is smart people, who are well educated. New technologies enable virtual education offering benefits like low cost, flexible hours and greater interaction (Resurgent India & CEDAI, 2014).

# **Smart Behaviour Change Interventions**

In light of the above situational analysis and potential smart solutions, desirable Swachh and Digital behavior of citizens and necessary enabling and facilitating environment, which are conducive to the development of smart cities in India are given in the tables below

# **Swachh Behaviour Change**

The Table 5 describes important Swachh behaviours and corresponding facilitators and enablers.

An evaluation in Delhi (Schlebush, 2010) identified issues coming in the way of wider acceptance of bicycle sharing along the BRT corridor in Delhi. They include (a) the policy of returning the bicycle from the place of hiring, (b) uniform cost and no financial incentive for short trips, (c) need for depositing documents every time and (d) low bicycle occupancy and utilization rate and others. Recently launched Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (DMRC) limited cycle sharing service between the Saket metro station and the nearby Neb Sarai area, addresses some of the limitations of earlier schemes by allowing registered users to check out a cycle using a smart card and ride for a flat fee of Rs 10 per hour (http:// www.cyclesharing.in/delhi-metrolaunches-cycle-sharing-pilot/). In June 2015 the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) formulated a cycle-sharing policy to encourage use of bicycles for last-mile connectivity. It allows a hired cycle to be used and returned by multiple users and uses a smart card, linked to the user identity and accepted by Metro, DTC cluster buses, and in shops. Land-owning agencies will provide lanes for nonmotorised transport (NMT) and related infrastructure for ensuring safety and mobility of cyclists and pedestrians (PTI, 2015b).

#### **Digital Behaviour Change**

The Table 6 describes important Digital behaviours and corresponding facilitators and enablers.

Technology alone will not be sufficient to change the way people consume energy and smart meters need to be accompanied by some incentives and support systems to make us change our behavior according to Christie, coordinator of the Sustainable Lifestyles Research Group at the University of Surrey (Portilla, 2013). However, Nunes (2014) argues that using only economic incentives may not lead to a considerable and lasting consumption behavior in the context of smart grids and recommends creation of emotional incentives. Awareness and trust are crucial to induce customers to trigger a different behavior. The six Es of emotional incentives are explore, experience, ease, exemplify engage and empower.

# **Communication Strategies**

The Behaviour Change Communication (BCC) should focus on using multi-media for making people aware of need for change, availability of smart solutions and the benefits that would accrue to them due to adoption of new technology and consequent smart behavior. This should be followed by use of citizen groups for disseminating information as well as use of the peer pressure. Finally, Inter Personal

Communication to motivate people for actually adopting the new technologies and behavior. Demonstration of various tools and application, at places where people still are using manual methods; and enable users to tryout the methods also will be useful for early adoption of technologies and behavior change. Information needs to be communicated through user-friendly platforms using multi-media.

Sustenance of changed behavior will depend on how successful the smart solutions are, in delivering the tangible benefits, promised by them and people enjoy the rewards of behavior change advocated.

# **Citizen Consultation and Participation**

Citizens in Chennai carried GPS units while travelling in buses to help Transparent Chennai in mapping routes (Governance Knowledge Center and One World Foundation India, 2010). Another important behavior change of citizens is actively participating in the consultations, development and implementation of smart solutions for the building of smart cities. The cities should make necessary provisions for participation such as easily accessible platforms and by giving feedback and encouragement.

Crowd-sourcing is an important means of encouraging citizens to report issues related water, electricity, waste, bad roads, dysfunctional street lights etc., which need urgent attention from authorities.

#### **Smart City Champions**

There are a number of unifying factors behind these "city champions." Citizens are empowered through active participation to create a sense of ownership and commitment. Participative environments, in turn, facilitate and stimulate businesses, the public sector and citizens to contribute.

# Regulatory and Penal Mechanisms

Punishing the people who are responsible for littering waste, polluting air with high levels of emission, can also work, when the fines are very heavy compared to the benefit they get by not behaving smartly like urinating and defecating in the open; dumping waste on roads and in open spaces, not segregating waste; not paying user charges, water and electricity bills, etc., In case of violations like private vehicles using BRTS corridors, the monitoring and penal mechanisms should be such that the violators think twice before entering BRTS lane again.

Sweden (Swedish Energy Agency, 2014) adopted a gamut of policy instruments to promote smart energy behavior. They include (a) Economic – energy and CO<sub>2</sub> taxes and Eco car subsidy; (b) physical – comprising biking road, road bumps to reduce speed; (c) behavioural - as people are influenced by social norms and by information which is novel, accessible and of relevance to individuals in questions; (d) Information

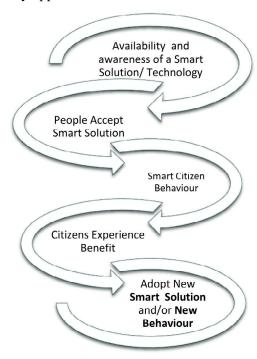
and Communication (energy labelling for home appliances which supports consumer's choice and compels manufacturers to manufacture more energy efficient products).

#### **Smart Citizens Traits**

Smart citizens share traits such as take responsibility; value access over ownership, contribution over power; ask forgiveness; know where they can get the tools, knowledge and support they need; value empathy, dialogue and trust; adapt technology, rather adopt it; help the people that struggle; ask questions, then more questions, before they come up with answers; actively take part in design efforts to come up with better solutions; work agile; will not stop in the face of huge barriers; unremittingly share their knowledge and their learning. Smart citizens are those who take action and work with the Government and redefine what "government" actually means Hemment & Townsend (2013). Smart Citizens make consumption decisions based on their real-time energy use (i.e. smart meters) and selecting different travel options based on real-time traffic information (Harrison and Donnelly, 2011).

# **Technology & Behavioural Change Spiral**

In general, people resist change. Hence, it is necessary to understand why they resist change, may it be using toilets instead of defecation in open or switching to CFL bulbs in place of fluorescent tubes in houses. The causes for resistance vary widely – which could be fear of facing a new situation, or initial costs, or lack of knowledge of benefits, or simple apathy. Hence, analyzing and understanding human behaviour is a key component of any applied research in Smart Cities.



On one hand acceptance of smart technology/solution requires behavior change of citizens and on the other hand use of smart technologies can lead to further behavior changes. In this chain, it is important that the so called smart solutions deliver the tangible benefit promised to the citizens.

For example, adoption of automated water Reading Meter technology, will lead to a behaviour change namely paying for water they actually consume, rather than a fixed annual tariff. This in turn is likely to trigger another behavior change, namely using water more judiciously as they realise, they have to pay for water, which they also waste. Such acceptance and behavior change is also likely to facilitate acceptance of similar technologies like smart electricity meters.

One needs to be wary of unintended and harmful behaviour changes of ICT implementation also. Bhoomi, an egovernance initiative in Bangalore, which is expected to reduce, if not remove, corruption in land dealings, resulted in some people monopolizing land holdings through rapid access to land records in a newly centralized digital clearing house Townsend (2013). Is this smart behavior that we require in order to build smart cities.

#### Framework for Smart Behaviour

No amount of water audit or energy audit will help to reduce the problem related to water or energy, when citizens, do not close the tap, when water is overflowing or switch off lights, fans and TV, when not in use or required. In many big government office buildings it is not uncommon to see that all lights are still switched on in the corridors, even after all people have left in the night and the place is locked up. What energy audit will be able to do or what replacement with LED bulbs will save? CCTV monitoring may help to identify a wrong doer, but may

not be able to prevent a crime be it rash driving or molesting a woman, as it will take quite some time, before help arrives. Hence, cities in India need to give top priority to Behavior Change Communication (BCC) and other facilitators and enablers and invest substantially, if they want to become really smart. Change in behavior requires change in thinking of citizens.

A framework for Swachh and Digital Behaviour of citizens in the advent of Smart cities in India is depicted in Figure 1.

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Table 1

S. S.	City	Number of Properties	Water Supply Connections	Per Capita Water Supply	Water Supply (Hrs.)	Samples Passed Quality	Cost Recovery
			(%)	(Lpcd)		Tests (%)	(%)
1	Allahabad	2,06,874	73	253	10	DNA	81
2	Ajmer	82,000	06	135*	1 to 1.5	DNA	DNA
3	Visakhapatnam	4,44,667	85	100-110	1	100	115
4	Varanasi	1,75,897	69	275	7-8	DNA	61

Note: DNA – Data Not Available; \* - supply status. Availability to end user is lower; lpcd – liters per capita per day;

## Source:

- 1) MoUD (2014). Rapid Baseline Assessment Allahabad City, p. 35.
- 2) MoUD (2014). Rapid Baseline Assessment Varanasi City, p. 38
- 3) MoUD (2014). Rapid Baseline Assessment Visakhapatnam, p. 21
- Government of Rajasthan (2006). City Development Plan for Ajmer and Pushkar, p. 60

Table 2

s,	City	Properties	Coverage of	Coverage of   Coverage of   Reuse and	Reuse and	Quality of	Extent of
No.			Toilets (%)	Sewerage	Recycling of	Sewerage	Cost
				Network (%)	Sewerage Water(%)	Treatment	Recovery (%)
1	Allahabad	2,06,874	DNA	20	0	DNA	81
2	Ajmer	82,000	DNA	DNA	DNA	DNA	DNA
3	Visakhapatnam	4,44,667	95	26	3	100	09
4	Varanasi	1,75,897	92	31	0	DNA	160*

Note: DNA - Data Not Available; \* - Water and sanitation details not segregated

## Source:

- MoUD (2013). Rapid Baseline Assessment Allahabad City Draft Report, p. 36-37.
- MoUD (2013). Rapid Baseline Assessment Varanasi City Draft Report, p. 39-40.
- MoUD (2013). Rapid Baseline Assessment Visakhapatnam Draft Report, p. 21.  $\widehat{\mathfrak{S}}$

Table 3

City	Properties	Household Coverage (%)	Efficiency of Extent of Collection Segregation of SW (%) (%)	Extent of Segregation (%)	Extent of Scientific Disposal (%)	Extent of Cost Recovery (%)
Allahabad	206,874	50	08	0	100	DNA
Ajmer	82,000	*0	DNA	0	0	DNA
Visakhapatnam	4,44,667	LL	16	9-0	0	26
Varanasi	1,75,897	0	08	0	0	0

Note: DNA - Data Not Available; \* - Thrown on roadside heaps

## Source:

5

- Rapid Baseline Assessment Allahabad City Draft Report, MoUD, p. 37-38
- Rapid Baseline Assessment Varanasi City Draft Report, MoUD, p. 41
- Rapid Baseline Assessment Visakhapatnam Draft Report, MoUD, p. 22  $\mathfrak{E} \quad \mathfrak{Z}$
- City Development Plan for Ajmer and Pushkar, Government of Rajasthan, p. 78

Table 4

CITY	SO <sub>2</sub>	NO <sub>2</sub>	$\mathbf{PM}_{10}$
Allahabad	4 (L)	24 (M)	218 (C)
Varanasi	18 (L)	20 (L)	127 (C)
Visakhapatnam	7 (L)	16 (L)	71 (H)

*Note*: L – Low; M- Medium; H – High; C – Critical

*Source*: Central Pollution Control Board (2012). National Ambient Air Quality Status & Trends in India - 2010, pp 17-22.

Table 5

S. No.	Smart Behaviour	Facilitator	Enabler
A	Sanitation		
1	Use community/ public toilets; pay user charges for their maintenance	Construct public community toilets using appropriate technology (e-toilets; bio toilets)	Moderate user charges andgood maintenance of the toilets
2	Segregate recyclable waste.Dispose waste appropriately	Provide bins for segregation.Reliable arrangements for door to door collection, community waste bins	Appropriate user chargesPenalty for violators (Polluter pays is the fundamental principle of India's Environmental Laws and Rules).
3	Wash hands with soap after going to the toilet and before eating food	Access to clean water and cheap soap	School education, multi-media promotion
В	Water		
1	Use water optimally. Boil water before drinking		Incentives for using less water
2	Rain water harvesting	Easy access to material required	Subsidies. Policy measures & Penal mechanisms for those who do not adhere

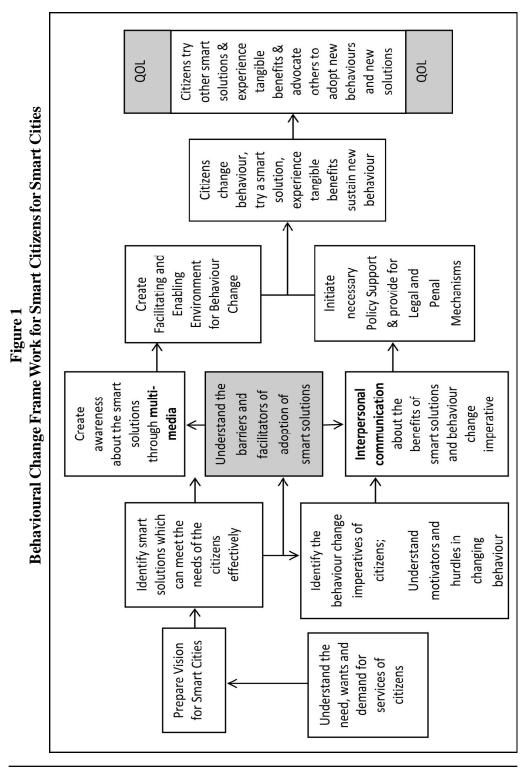
C	Electricity		
1	Switching off lights. TV <i>etc.</i> , when not required		Incentives for using less electricity (as in Delhi 50 per cent off the bill if consumption is less than 400 units per household
2	Use more energy efficient and environmentally friendly household appliances such as refrigerators, washing machines, and microwaves,	Such appliances are manufactured and are easily available.	Such appliances are affordable
3	Replace existing tungsten and mercury based bulbs with LED bulbs	The bulbs are easily accessible as being done in Delhi by EESL, a joint venture of PSUs of Ministry of Power, Government of India	-
D	Transport & Air Pollution		
1	Switch to vehicles based on less polluting fuels like CNG, electricity	_	Alternate fuels are priced comparatively lower than petrol and diesel. Provide incentives to those who shift such as tax credits as in case of the USA
2	Use public transport (for longer distances), car pooling, use of bicycles (sharing) or	Convenient and safe public mode of transport. Provide safe walking and cycle lanes	Rates are affordable and access is not cumbersome

	Pay municipal tax regularly		Early bird discount for those full amount in the first month of financial year like in Hyderabad
E	OTHERS		
3	·	real time data on AQI based on 'One Number- One Colour-One Description' which enables people to judge	Inform people as to what precautions to be taken based on the AQI
	walk for first and last mile connectivity		

#### Table 6

S. No.	Smart Behaviour	Facilitator	Enabler
A	Sanitation		
1	Accept and adopt smart water meters Pay for actual consumption (This in turn is likely to modify the water consumption behavior)	Water supply agencies procure and supply smart meters to households to replace existing meters	1. Provide reliable and accurate information about the tangible benefits of smart water meters 2. Make people understand the calculations and that charging according to meters is in the interest of people, as they pay only what they use' (Kulthe, 2012).

2	Test the quality of drinking water	Testing methods are developed which can be easily used at homes	The methods are free or affordable and easily accessible
В	Sanitataion	-	
1	Inform municipality about garbage piling, drains overflowing etc. using mobile based apps	Municipalities develop such apps as is done in Karnataka	Such apps are easily accessible on all types of mobilesAction is initiated on the information provided by citizens
C	Energy		
1	Install smart electricity metersChange usage patterns depending on non peak and low cost periods of supply	Electricity distributing agencies procure and supply smart meters to households to replace existing meters	Enable households by offering payment by instalments
D	Transport		
1	Use smart card whereever available for public transport	Smart cards are available	Smart cards are affordable
E	Health		
1	Use monitoring devices for checking blood glucose levels, blood pressure	Such mechanisms are easily available	Such mechanisms are affordably priced
2	Use mobile based systems to schedule appointments, transmit vital data to physician	The health system is equipped to receive such data and provide timely advice to patients	Such mechanisms are easily used on mobiles and are fee
F.	Others		
1	Make use of services like bill/fee payment; certificates/documents offered through e-Governance/ m-governance	e-Governance/ m-Governance solutions are easily accessible	Such solutions are affordable, reliable and secure



## Leveraging Land Resource for ULB Finance: Framework and Action Plan for Land Disposal

#### Ramakrishna Nallathiga Mohd Taquiddin

Cities are increasingly coming under pressure to provide urban infrastructure services to an increasing urban population in developing countries like India. Local infrastructure services provision and improvement in their delivery needs large resources in the hands of the urban local bodies (ULBs). But, the resources are scarce while the demand for infrastructure is growing rapidly. Therefore, it is emphasized by experts that rapid growth of urban population in developing countries warrants greater fiscal performance both in terms of autonomy of decision making as well as fiscal devolution (Peterson and Clarke 2008). In fact, resource requirements of various civic services are very large in the case of cities and the ULBs have to resort to alternate resources for financing infrastructure service delivery (Nallathiga 2009).

Peterson (2007) points out that urban local governments have more flexibility in managing their assets than they do in introducing new taxes. The latter requires

higher-level governmental approval or it is prohibited by the constitutional framework. In the absence of a flexible taxation system, there is a need to design innovative financing methods to fund urban infrastructure projects. One aspect that received much attention in municipal finances is land assets (Mohanty 2003, Vaidya 2008). It is a fact that various investments made by ULBs on their land for creating public amenities have aided the increase in the land value. Also, with the rising population, the value of land (both public and private) is on the rise. Thus, urban land is the most valuable asset of the ULBs, since rapid urbanization is driving up demand for urban land and thus its prices. Hence, ULBs with large land banks have the potential to realize the benefits of economic growth by disposing of municipal lands for the purpose of revenue generation (Nallathiga 2010).

Across the world, cities are increasingly looking at the tools to capture public land value in order to finance urban

infrastructure development (Peterson and Clarke 2008; Peterson 2007). Some of the land based instruments are finding place in resource mobilization efforts by some of the Indian cities too (CGG 2010). However, there are some inherent risks and limitations to this programme. With a greater share of private land, the leveraging effect of public land may be limited and political interference may further jeopardize. Given such potential risks of misuse/ abuse from public/ municipal authorities, a governance framework for the same has to be well defined so that the process is not only efficient but also transparent and corruption-free. In this paper, an attempt is made to list out the important areas which need to be considered towards developing such a frame work for the disposal of public land to finance key infrastructure requirements for sustainable development.

## Land Asset Disposal: Principles and Conditions

The following general principles are to be applied to all decisions regarding the disposal of public lands held by the ULB or similar authority:

- The ULB shall not dispose land assets which are essential for the delivery of civic services or where the retention of land is necessary in public interest.
- Disposal of land assets shall be at market value and should ensure maximum value gain.

- Disposal of land assets are to be fully accounted for in the appropriate financial statements.
- The proceeds from land sales shall be used only for either new infrastructure investment or preventive maintenance but not to meet the routine operation and maintenance expenditure.

## Further, land assets can be disposed subject to satisfaction of following conditions

- Where there are no strategic reasons for retention of excess vacant land
- Where land assets are not fully utilized
- Where conflict exists between the current use of a land asset and what its intended use is from a planning viewpoint (zoning and structure planning)

### Framework for the Disposal of Public Land

#### 1. Objectives

For achieving the disposal of public land, a framework needs to be developed. The following are the key objectives of such frame work:

- To identify the excess/unused land that has the potential to be sold in conjunction with the demand for funds
- To establish open and accountable processes for monetizing the ULBs' lands

 To appropriately plan for the resources required to undertake land disposal

#### 2. Safeguards

Measures/safeguards also have to be ensured for the disposal of public land so that there is no adverse impact on the

- social amenities of the locality in which the land is located
- Development potential of adjoining land is not disturbed
- The process is undertaken in an open and accountable manner and in accordance with law
- Community participation in the process in enabled

#### 3. Valuation

There should be maximum return to the ULB from the sale of land. The valuation should be used as a benchmark for the sale.

- The valuation of land proposed for disposal should be based on market value
- Valuations can be obtained from either the Municipal Valuation Office or an independent valuer

### Phased Approach to the Disposal of Public Land

The public land disposal has to be done in four key stages:

- Evaluation,
- Implementation,

- Disposal,
- Risk management.

#### 1. Evaluation

The first stage of evaluation represents the means through which the ULB identifies and evaluates alternative options in respect of its land portfolio. The process should take into account public interest considerations. These include:

- Where an underutilized land asset has some form of community significance,
- Where an underutilized land asset has strategic significance for future infrastructure development
- Where there are significant heritage, environmental or public usage aspects associated with the land asset

#### 2. Implementation

The ULB shall manage its land disposal process in accordance with legal requirements. The ULBs Planning division shall closely involve its solicitors at critical stages of the land disposal process to assist in maintaining legislative compliance.

The asset disposal plans should cover the same period of time as Capital Investment Plan of the ULBs. The implementation mechanism for disposal must be carefully chosen to ensure that the disposal of assets is carried out to:

- Satisfy probity considerations
- Provide adequate and equal opportunity to purchasers

- Achieve the best return to ULB
- Avoid any adverse environmental impacts.

#### 3 Disposal

Disposal will generally be by auction (public) or tender (competitive) and the choice of instrument has to be made based on an assessment of likely participants, their familiarity with the instrument, their cultural background and organization priorities.

- Auction is a common method of asset disposal that is more straightforward and the process is open to public scrutiny. In some circumstances, the environment of an auction may generate a higher price; but the price can also be brought down by collusion among participants. Further, any auction has to be held in a pre-determined process, which can be simplified through an e-auction.
- Tender is preferred where more control over the actual disposal of asset is required or where the credentials of the buyer need to be assessed in detail. Tender has an advantage of the person/agency not physically present and negotiation with a tenderer is always possible after shortlisting/evaluation. However, tendering may at times

lead to bias/ favour and noncompetitive environment may lead to inappropriate price discovery.

#### 4. Risk management

There are certain risks associated with land based financing of infrastructure. The sale of lands generates a large amount of money to the ULBs through such off-budget transactions, which has a potential for wastefulness and corruption. If the disposal process is not supported by competent and professional advice and the use of accurate and relevant information, this may result in:

- inadequate return on the disposal of land
- poor coordination of cash flow with capital investment requirements

Therefore, clear institutional arrangements need to be made for accounting the revenues generated by land sales and utilizing such funds for well planned actions.

## Governance and Action Points for Implementation

#### 1. Governance

The following is the broad governance framework for disposing public land:

Figure 1
Governance Framework for Disposing Urban Land

Ensure fiscal
Sustainability and inter
government fiscal relationships

Ensure transparent
implementation of
monetization process

Choice of appropriate tools
and methods of monetisation

Establish database of
land ownership and
mapping of land

Inventorisation and
prioritization of public
land to be monetised

#### 2. Action Points

## 2.1 Establishing (cadastral) database with land ownership

Cadastral land records with the ownership data of land parcels is largely absent in many Indian states, as the ownership is recorded through registration by the Revenue Department, which is not linked to the local government/authority. The ownership data of public land records lying with State revenue departments has to shared with local government/urban development authorities. However, there could be several pieces of public land that have been encroached upon by private

persons/agencies, which needs to be established through a detailed study of land database.

### 2.2 Mapping of land owned by public authorities

While ownership of public land is largely with revenue departments, there were a few attempts made to put them on maps after proper survey and mapping. Many States have not done extensive field survey of land (especially in the cities) to generate high scale maps; they are dependent upon old survey maps of 1950s and 60s (originally generated during the British rule). While there is a need to do re-survey, even the existing maps can be put under appropriate formats *e.g.*, digital map files rather than image files, so that they can be printed, preserved and used widely.

#### 2.3 Inventorisation of public land

Following the establishment of ownership and mapping, an inventory of public land can be prepared and shown on the map so that the location as well as the type of public use to which the land is put can be indicated. The specific uses to which it has been put can be further added using the existing land use map of the local government/authority. This gives an effective and useful inventory of public land with current use. This also gives an idea of whether the land is under encroachment or not, which can be further pursued by detailed check on the ownership of land.

### 2.4 Prioritisation of public land to be disposed of

Once an inventory of land use is prepared, the prioritsation of public land which is in excess can be done and it can be shown on map showing the size of land parcel, current use, development potential (as inferred from designated use

under master plan) and the commercial/real estate value of land parcel (as per the valuation done by professional valuers). The prioritization can give preference to such lands with low current use, high development potential and high real estate value. Also, the land which is free of any litigation or encroachment may get preference over other land so that the proceeds can be realized without any major hurdles. The encroached or disputed land has to be taken into possession before moving to its lease or sale.

### 2.5 Choice of appropriate tools of disposal

There are three major tools for achieving monetization:

- (a) Lease of public land and/or property
- (b) Sale of public land and/or property
- (c) Exchange of public land and/ or property. Each of the tools has its own advantages and disadvantages.
- Leasing will enable retention of ownership but realization of market rent (if revision of rent is periodic and on agreed principle) but there have to be systems and capacity for

protecting and monitoring the lease deeds as well as renewal/ possession after the expiry of lease period.

- Sale of land allows immediate capture of market value of public land and/ or property and improves fiscal position but it needs to be governed carefully and may lead to loss of it for future use. The past experience and future risks may be kept in mind before choosing the right tool.
- Exchange of land can be used as an instrument if the right options to exchange exist with the other government agency/ department.

### 2.6 Choice of appropriate methods of disposal

Apart from the choice of disposal tool, it is the method under which the disposal takes place which is much more important. The method has to be efficient and yield maximum value to the government, for which public auctions are widely used. Within the auctions, open auctions are considered to be the better as they allow the price to be revealed to others so that they can revise their own bids, which is not possible in a closed auction as it follows the placement of bid in sealed manner.

However, even open auctions are only efficient if there are more serious participants that compete for the public land being auctioned. For this, the auction process has to follow good governance principles - transparency, accountability and participation. The potential participants have to be informed well in advanced and it has to be widely notified in newspapers. The public auction terms and conditions should be explicit and such that they do not provide any scope for mischievous play on the part of participants, *e.g.*, proxy participation, corruption, cartelization *etc*. Framing appropriate rules under which auctions will be held is an important step that requires legal and practical knowledge.

E-auctions (on the lines of e-tendering of public works, which is now widely used for procurement of material and services) are open auctions that are not only efficient but also can give advantages of giving better control over auction process (in an IT enabled environment) as well as giving better knowledge of the participants. However, it needs to be ensured that either the participants are technologically savvy or they have other channels to participate in the auctions.

## 2.7 Ensuring that the disposal is fiscally sustainable

Disposal of public land should also keep the fiscal condition of local government/ authority into consideration. It should not make the local government/authority too liquid with the cash flow from monetization; neither it should become an expensive process to execute, both of which will affect fiscal sustainability. A phased approach needs to be adopted to the monetization process, with a target estimated value to be mobilized through monetization set in each stage so that it complements the budget - capital income – of the ULBs.

Overzealous land sale/leasing also has the pitfall of under-realisation of the potential value when the markets of land/ real estate are not fully developed or prepared to absorb it at the right price/ quantity. Some of fiscal measures like setting limit/cap on the proportion of the amount from land lease/sales to total income or revenue income is one way of setting controls. Also, the plans may be placed before municipal council or standing committee of the ULB for approval.

## 2.8 Ensuring that the entire process is transparent and proceeds are known

The aim of disposal process is to capture the real estate value of public land lying idle in money terms so that it improves/strengthens the finances of local government/ authority and other governments. However, as it pertains to public land, transparency has to be maintained at all levels —

from preparation to process to proceeds. The details of public land to be monetized have to be kept in public domain (print and electronic) so that both general public as well as serious participants (*e.g.*, developers, investors and businesses) would know well about it.

The disposal process has to be implemented in a transparent method so that it would not give rise to any biased or manipulated outcome. Based on the choice of instrument - tender or auction – modus operandi and preparation have to be in place for the conduct of process to be followed under The proceeds from monetization have also to be declared in public (through media) and placed in the budget documents of local government/authority and other concerned governments.

# 2.9 Ensuring that the intergovernmental fiscal relations would not be compromised

The monetization process has different implications to different levels of governments. While it improves fiscal condition of lower tiers of governments, it should not put the finances of these governments at the risk of getting penalized for such action (as capital and revenue grants devolved by union/state government use per capita revenue as an important measure for determining transfers). It is essential that the process is isolated from the grant making criteria of national government.

At the same time, the proceeds from disposal of land should give adequate funds to local governments/authorities so that they take care of urban infrastructure management in a better manner, with the funds going to either capital formation or preventive maintenance. Monetisation. however, should not be seen as a means of abiding the provisions of Fiscal Responsibility and Budge Management (FRBM) Act by the State governments (local governments have balanced budget requirement).

# 2.10 Utilising the proceeds towards urban infrastructure - developing ring-fenced budgets

An important objective of the disposal programme is to help the urban local governments to mobilize fiscal resources to undertake capital works and their maintenance so that the urban infrastructure development does not stop for the want of funds. Therefore, it is important to ensure that the proceeds from the land auctions are used for the creation and maintenance of urban infrastructure, but do not get lost in general budget. This requires earmarking the proceeds from

monetization into urban local government budgets to be deployed/used for urban infrastructure only.

This can be better done through the development of ring-fenced funds for the development of urban infrastructure. The current local government accounts are not structured with reference to infrastructure services, except a few cities like Mumbai. With the preparation of infrastructure service oriented budgets, the proceeds from monetization of urban land can be well deployed and used for the development of urban infrastructure through adequate plans for the same *i.e.*, Capital Improvement Plan (CIP), in place before hand, which is now mandated under JNNURM.

#### Conclusion

This paper has set out a framework for the disposal of public land in the case of ULBs in India so that they can utilize this opportunity towards providing better infrastructure service delivery without any fiscal hurdles. By following the principles outlined in the process of land disposal, it is hoped that the ULBs will provide better services with infrastructure and ring-fence their budgets towards financing them.

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#### Where are we on Decentralization?

#### G. Palanithurai

Kerala has conducted several experiments in decentralization and has a lot to share with other states and countries. No other Indian state has displayed as much enthusiasm and passion in decentralization as the state of Kerala. It is a sharing and learning experience of the decentralization process for others. It is worthwhile looking at the experience of decentralization in other states and countries from the perspective of the experience that Kerala has gained in the course of implementing the 73rd Amendment to the Constitution of India. In the twenty years of democratic decentralization efforts that have taken place in Kerala, what are the takeaways for other states. It has to be evaluated through an introspection process by the state governments themselves in India as local governance is a state subject. The Central government has its own limitations and hence it cannot exert direct pressure on the state governments to devolve powers to local bodies. Through the decentralization process what has Kerala society gained, what innovations have been done in governance - these have to be assessed. It is a well known fact that decentralisation process in Kerala is not flawless. It has its own short comings and drawbacks. They are to be evaluated. Kerala government is open to learn and keen to receive advice.

Practically speaking, a ten year period is sufficient to evaluate the performance of any political regime. Now, twenty years have gone by after enacting the 73rd and 74th amendments to the Constitution of India. Hence, it is appropriate to evaluate the performance of the local bodies and to generate theoretical nuances of decentralization of powers in India. Many of the theoretical propositions on decentralization have to be tested in the new context. Many theoretical prepositions could have been evolved by this time on democratic decentralization of powers in India. Unfortunately, there was no such serious attempt on the part of the academics either in India or abroad. In my opinion barring a few, based on initial decentralization activities, no worthwhile document has been prepared on the strengths and weaknesses democratic of decentralization even in Kerala. Kerala has undertaken some unique exercises in decentralization in the last two decades. People have been mobilized for local governance through local planning. Such exercises have not been undertaken anywhere in India on such a massive scale. Kerala state has traditionally being governed by either of two fronts the LDF or the UDF. Yet the decentralization process has always remained in focus. Though, the LDF took the initiative to give shape to the new local body system in Kerala, the subsequent UDF regime also carried it forward. Thus, local governance culture has been created in Kerala. Of course documentation have been done. They are narratives and are in Malayalam and not in English. However, a deep analysis has to be done on different aspects of decentralization with the objective of evolving theoretical nuances on decentralization. There are some path breaking studies on Kerala's social transformation. In the light of these works, an anthology has to emerge on the transformative process of Kerala society through research analysis on the deepening of democracy in Kerala. There are certain aspects of decentralization which are vibrant even after twenty years

in Kerala. There are also certain areas in decentralization which are regarded as unique in decentralization which are not as vibrant as they were in the initial stages.

Decentralization processes and practices have to be analyzed from the perspective of sustainability. A realistic analysis and evaluation is needed at present to understand whether we are progressing or regressing. This evaluation has to be undertaken by a team of scholars, both from other states in India and from abroad who have contributed richly in decentralization. Barring a few individuals, no university in Kerala has taken earnest efforts to organize scholars to pursue deeper research analysis decentralization in Kerala. Academic apathy on decentralization is not unique in Kerala, it is an all India phenomenon. Till date, there is no organized effort among the academics to form a group of scholars to pursue research on decentralization continuously to strengthen local governance systems in India through policy advocacy. But, I found that there are a few scholars from abroad evincing keen interest in analyzing the impact of decentralization of powers. These scholars work as teams. But in India, there is no such team work. Till date, there is no such initiative to organize a research academy exclusively for doing research in decentralization.

#### **Opportunity Missed**

In the last two decades we had an inspiring journey in decentralization as

three million representatives of the people have been in various positions in governance institutions of which over one million are women representatives. Among the three million, around 20 per cent are from marginalised communities. It is being viewed by the scholars as a path breaking democratic experience at the community level as social conditions in India are often not in synch with the core values of democracy. The process of democratization of communities is unique and needs to be researched and analysed. While perusing the existing literature, both macro and micro, one would find that the local bodies deliver services and goods despite obstacles and barriers1. They argue for more powers and resources to local bodies to perform more effectively and efficiently than at present. Having seen the potential, why both the central and state governments are not keen in strengthening the local governance system is a big question among many<sup>2</sup>.

As we have positive environmental conditions and basic structures for conducting free and fair elections, massive local body elections had been conducted. In a democracy, both ruling and opposition have active roles in governance. In India opposition cannot be ignored or crushed. They have a vibrant, active voice in governance. People tend to change regimes. Worrisome social sector issues in India can be tackled through active micro action as institutions for governance and development are in position. If they

strengthened, activated. are professionalised, conferred with adequate powers, functions and functionaries, then issues like hunger, malnutrition, anemia, sanitation, water supply, illiteracy, drop outs in school can be addressed. In the twenty years journey there have been certain states taking earnest efforts to put the local body institutions in place with powers, finance and competent persons. As a result, these institutions were able to make an impact on society. Many of the states are still reluctant to strengthen the local body institutions and they have missed an opportunity of using the new arrangement.

There are reasons for this kind of reluctance. One is obvious that the members of Legislative Assembly find the local body leaders are active competitors in the political process as they maintain close contact with people through their development activities. There is yet another reason, namely that the members of State Legislature may need the support of the local body leaders to progress in the political career. Some state governments feel that the decentralization carried out in India is partial in nature. The powers tend to devolve from the central government to state government have not been devolved further. Slowly federal government is taking away the vital powers of the state governments. At the same time through the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments, states have been asked to devolve powers to local bodies. Some of the regional political parties powerfully argue that this decentralization is a strategy to weaken the state government<sup>3</sup>. Knowing fully well that decentralization delivers benefits to the poor, why state governments and even the central government are not taking hard decisions to push decentralization effectively. This paradox has to be explained through research.

#### Micro Planning

While, recently the Central Planning Commission has been abolished, the District Planning Committee has not been done away with as it is a constitutional body. In the subsequent announcement, it has been reiterated that the District Planning Committee will be strengthened for the purpose of preparing local development plans. The fact of the matter is only a few states had taken initiatives for micro plan. Many of the states have not taken any step in this regard. It is a blatant violation of a provision in the constitution. Now, the Fourteenth Finance Commission has given its recommendations for strengthening the local governance system through planning at Panchayat levels4. Huge amount of money goes to Panchayats and they have to be spent for basic services and facilities. Even after raising the revenue share of the states from 32 per cent to 42 per cent, the commission has recommended substantial increase in allocation to local bodies. While going through the figures,

one would assume that each and every Gram Panchayat would be able to provide all basic facilities and services to the people in the villages by using the money above through a process of Participatory Planning at the Gram Panchayat level. It has to be seen to what extent the Central Government will push this planning exercise to be implemented at Gram Panchayat level. Here it is to be noted that the Panchayat Raj Ministry had a budget allocation of Rs. 7000 cores previously but at present it has been reduced to Rs. 90 Cores. Why this cut? This is to be understood. It is presumed that the large allocation for backward area region development fund scheme to cover 272 districts has been stopped. Here one has to see as to what extent this Scheme has helped strengthen the Panchayati Raj System in the scheme operated districts in India.

#### **Core Functions Missed**

Local bodies have to work for economic development and social justice which includes gender justice. It is essential to assess the performances of the local bodies from the perspective of core functions assigned to local bodies through the act passed in parliament. From both micro and macro studies one would find the deviation of the local governments from the assigned core functions. In fact, we have witnessed social conflict and social tension in the

rural areas. But, the local bodies are completely relegated to the background. There is no organised effort to gear up the local bodies to concentrate on the core functions assigned to the local bodies statutorily.

#### **Transformational Leadership**

Through a cursory analysis one will find the emergence of unique leadership from the grassroots institutions. They are of different types. There are certain strikingly distinct qualities developed by the leaders in the process of working with communities, organizations and institutions to mange development at the grassroots. Their leadership qualities are unique to be documented and analysed. So far no such study has been done on this area. A few micro studies have been conducted<sup>5</sup>. Yet conceptual and theoretical nuances have not been developed in those studies. In the backdrop of the theory transformational leadership, comprehensive study can be carried out in India.

#### Questions to be answered

Twenty years have passed in practicing democratic decentralization in India and what are all the impacts on society due to decentralization? Have we done any comprehensive analysis? Have we moved beyond the three 'F's and activity mapping in our analysis? What is the literature generated on decentralization through research? What are all the new

research methodological nuances evolved over a period of time to study the new decentralization process? Do we have documents on the new democratization process in India? Do we find a worthwhile policy note generated out of our research studies conducted on democratic decentralization? These are all questions to be pondered over by the researchers in India. The literature generated over democratic decentralization in India is generally verylimited, sketchy and bare. Only a very few comprehensive studies have been done on democratic decentralization in India<sup>6</sup>. To the given size of the country and its diversity, India needs a larger number of studies in this field. But, available studies are very limited. On the theoretical front there is absolutely no worthwhile study or any attempt made by the scholars. Of the studies at hand, most of them are related to power devolution. Our research has not moved beyond power devolution.

#### **Disappearance of Donor Agencies**

There is yet another aspect one has to look into it as a large number of donor agencies who have worked in decentralization through civil society have withdrawn their support to the programmes on decentralization in India. In the beginning, after passing of the 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Constitution of India bilateral and multilateral agencies had evinced keen interest in the decentralization process. They pumped in

large amounts of money to create the needed climate for decentralization of powers. As a result, a large number of civil society organizations involved in the activities akin to decentralization of powers. They organized events and programmes throughout the year. After sometime, many of the agencies have shifted their priorities as there is no sign of devolving powers to local bodies in India both by the states and the Centre. In the beginning they evinced keen interest as it was part of democracy promotion activities. By devolving powers to lower level units for governance and development, many democratic practices can be promoted and with this assumption the donor agencies supported the activities relating to decentralization of powers. They strongly felt that many of the critical development issues could be solved through micro actions by the local bodies. From this perspective, many donor agencies evinced keen interest in strengthening local governance system in India. But, this potentials was not used by the state governments. As a result we found many agencies have started funding society organisations civil accountability activities instead of funding decentralization activities. This shift is visible after the donor agencies have come to the conclusion that devolution of powers did not pickup well in India.

#### **Studies on Democratization**

It is also visible that scholars who were enthusiastic in decentralization in the

beginning have disappeared suddenly at present. Why this disappearance? Only a few at the national and regional level have been working on decentralization for the past twenty years. There are a large number of propositions generated out of micro studies. They are to be tested and explained. By doing so, new theoretical nuances can be evolved on democratic decentralization. It requires the involvement of hard core academics from academic and research institutions. The first time the democratic values and practices are being taken to the community level to change the attitude and behavior of the people through the new governance arrangement. Indian social practices are totally against the democratic practice. In such a situation, how democratic values are being practiced at the grassroots is a major area of research7. Deepening of democracy is a process and to analyze the process new set of nuances is needed. There is no worthy literature on this aspect in India. Our democracy is minimal as it is confirmed to institutions and not to the behavior of the people<sup>8</sup>. For quality research on this subject, significant outlays are required but they are not forthcoming to the research community from the government.

#### Panchayats and Rights Revolution

The rural transformation process started with community development

movement and has now moved to rights based development schemes. We have a long history of rights in India. Our freedom struggle started with the right to government and it has now reached upto right to development. While talking about the rights, one has to visualize the behavioral traits of society in India. Still, in many parts, society is in the grip of the feudal mind set. Despite the revolution on rights, the poor are not able to claim their rights as they are not facilitated to claim their rights<sup>9</sup>. That is the reason many argued that the historic rights revolution has not created significant impact on the society as it ought to have. Scholars have not evinced any interest in looking at the rights revolution from the perspective of panchayats. From a common sense approach one can conclude that weak cannot help the meak. To help the people to claim their entitlements as rights, the panchayats require strength. At present they are weak and substantially work on programmes and schemes of the government of India and the states.

## Interface between Globalization and Decentralisation

Democratization, deepening of democracy and the transformation process of the communities through new local governance needs the attention of the hard core academics which is missing in India. No doubt "Globalization and Decentralization" are global phenomena. Decentralization has the capacity to

manage the ill effects of globalization by empowering people through establishing participatory governance at the grassroots. On this aspect of interface between Globalization and Decentralization, only a few studies have been conducted. It needs deeper analysis which is missing in Indian Social Science Research<sup>10</sup>.

Here one has to ponder over the relationship between globalization and decentralization. Globalization is inevitable and it brings wealth and prosperity. But, it does not happen to all. Globalization will leave an enormous negative impact on the life and livelihood of the poor. To mitigate all those ill effects, decentralization will help. To get the positive out of globalization for the poor and to mitigate the negative effects of globalization, positioning local bodies is the imperative need. But, at present the local bodies barring those in Kerala are not in such a condition either to use the advantages of globalization or to manage the ill effects of globalization through decentralization.

In the new local governance system, planning with the participation of people will alter the entire paradigm of development from top down to bottom up. The question is to what extent the system has been in place in every state to prepare a plan at the grassroots level when planning exercise is started at the community level. The governments, both the at Centre and the states have to work on the needs of the people mentioned in the plan document through the schemes, programmes and

allocation of resources of the Centre and the states. In the absence of Central Planning Commission, the District Planning Committee assumes significance as it is a constitutionally mandatedbody. Till date, we do not find a District Planning Committee with all wherewithal to prepare a comprehensive District Development Plan excepting those in the state of Kerala. There is yet another issue; the data generating system at the grassroots is an imperative need for micro planning. But till date we have no established system to generate and validate the data needed for planning. It is absolutely missing. But, even after the establishment of the new Panchayati Raj system if we make such a statement, it is a deliberate attempt to violate a provision of the Constitution of India. In the fast urbanizing context, looking at development from rural and urban perspectives separately is illogical. They are integral and inseparable. Rural and urban are in continuum. Even the planning process has to be done integrally at the district level and that is why the creation of the District Planning Committee has been provided for in the urban local body act.

We have three divisions of establishments in India both at the federal and state government levels for governance. We have rural development, urban development and Panchayati Raj ministries at the centre. In the same way we have ministries at the state government. However, there is no synergy

among the three ministries and departments. Apart from the above, there are thirty seven departments which are working with people for rural transformation. But, one hardly finds coordination and synergy. Micro level planning will certainly bring them together. To look at the above issues, academic attention is necessary from the academics.

#### One more Committee

Having spent fifteen years in power since the passage of the 73rd and 74th amendments to the Constitution of India, the UPA government constituted a committee under the leadership of Mani Shankar Aiyar to strengthen the Panchayati Raj institutions by making use of the centrally sponsored schemes. The committee gives a picture that even the central ministries under UPA have not been supportive of strengthening the Panchayati Raj system<sup>11</sup>. Here one has to assess the supportive measures of both the Central and state governments. It is always a criticism against the state governments for their refusal to devolve adequate powers and finances to local bodies. But equally, the Central government is also reluctant to strengthen the Panchayati Raj system. This is revealed through the reports of the Mani Shankar Aiyar Committee. A scholar from Switzerland who came to a conference in India made one critical observation about the Panchayati Raj system in India. He stated that Indian governance arrangement is so designed to govern centrally and not in a decentralized way. Decentralization is only in words and not in actions. No country has generated such voluminous documents as we have seen in India for decentralization. But no action has taken place either at the government levels or at the ground. Always it is in deliberation. He said that no more deliberation is needed, India needs only action now. Still we are waiting.

#### Report Fine but Action Nil

There is yet another evidence of failure on the part of the government on the Second Administrative Reform Commission Report<sup>12</sup>. One full volume has been devoted for strengthening local governance. Detailed recommendations have been made separately for Central and state governments. As per the recommendations of the Second Administrative Reforms Commission Report, a series of reforms have to be undertaken both by the Central and state governments. When secretaries have been asked to react to the suggestion, barring a few, most of them have not responded even at the Central government level. Till date nothing has moved on these recommendations. There is no response from the state governments. Now, it is a document only for research. But nothing else has been achieved.

#### **Absence of Pressure Groups**

Where is the pressure group for local governance? There are institutions and individuals working on decentralization continuously in the last twenty years, but they are not organized effectively and efficiently to exert pressure on the governments to strengthen local governance. Even the Dalit and women's organizations have not exerted pressure on the governments for greater devolution even though Dalits and women would get substantial benefits out of decentralization. Why such reluctance on the part of Dalit and women outfits for empowering local bodies in India? It is a matter of concern.

#### Lack of Capacity Building Policy

There three million are representatives of the people involved in local governance in the new context. They are to be trained and oriented to the new process of governance, development and transformation. Their perception, behavior and skills have to be changed and enhanced to meet the new requirements. But, there is no training or capacity building policy either at the federal level or at the state level. In the same way the capacity of the training institutions has to be enhanced. But in reality capacity building training institutions have been infrastructurally equipped but not on the substantial aspect of the training faculty. It has been a serious lapse indicated by many agencies. Hence, in the new context, by taking into account all those points, a status report has to be prepared with an objective of preparing a policy note.

#### **Summary**

Based on the studies conducted so far, it has been noticed that despite drawbacks, barriers and poor devolution of powers, the local bodies have performed well. In order to deliver public benefits, local bodies are the best vehicles as understood by the world. Haring realized the truth based on evidence, local bodies have been created constitutionally in India. This is the best opportunity for the country to make use of the local bodies to deliver services effectively and efficiently. But, India is missing this opportunity as many of the state governments are not interested in strengthening the local bodies by devolving adequate powers. What is to be done is the basic question. First, local bodies have to make it clear that they should concentrate only on governance and not in implementing the schemes of the centre and state governments. Implementing schemes has to be done only by the government departments. Local bodies have to empower people through Gram Sabha and to make the government departments accountable to the people by conducting social audit. By doing so it can emerge as a powerful instrument of governance. By using the existing powers it can make State Governments departments accountable.

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#### Health Status of the Rural Elderly in Tamilnadu: A Study of Perceptions with Reference to Madurai District

#### R. Hariharan M. V. Vaithilingam

Globally, population is ageing as the proportion of older people is projected to increase from 9.9 per cent in 2000 to 22 per cent by 2050. Increase in the proportion of aged people is one of the major features of demographic transition in the world. This is expected to have serious consequences on local, regional, and global economies. Due to rising old-age, dependency ratio of elderly to workingage population, the burden of caring for the elderly is shifting from families to government, businesses, unions and other institutions as well as to the elderly themselves through personal savings for old age.

Population has been increasing much faster in developing countries due to rapid mortality decline and increasing life span through medical interventions, providing effective treatment and prevention of fatal diseases. In recent years, rapid growth of elderly population due to fertility decline has become a

serious challenge to public health globally. The population explosion is of great concern as it leads to poverty, neglect, abuse, violence, crime, and more importantly overcrowding, all of which have direct relation to health status of the older persons. The aged comprise one of the important vulnerable groups having health problems mostly due to degenerative changes. Thus, social, physical and economic well-being of this group has become a challenging issue.

#### Literature Review

There have been various studies on health characteristics of the rural elderly and their progress in day-to-day life. In traditional and culture bound societies like India, family takes care of the ageing during their old age, especially when they are not earning and in the state of frail and ill-health. One of the main factors which determines well-being at old age is the absence of chronic Non-

Communicable Disease (NCD) like diabetes and heart disease. Due to modernization and fertility transition, in addition to urbanization and migration, the joint family system in India is slowly disintegrating into nuclear family system, especially in a state like Tamil Nadu, with highly urbanized population (48 per cent). The share of persons aged at least 60 years in the Tamil Nadu state was high with 8.8 per cent in 2001 and it is projected to increase to 16 per cent by 2021 (Census 2001).

Gender as a theme in ageing is part from the recognition that women predominate among the elderly ower mortality among women has resulted in an imbalance in the sex ratio among older persons in almost all countries, with women out numbering men particularly among the oldest-old (Mason, 2001). Gender systems also influence the relative access of older men and women to family assets both before and after the death of a spouse (Rahman et al., 2009). Economic satisfaction also varies by gender. Higher economic satisfaction generally leads to higher life satisfaction particularly in a country where most of the people are living below poverty line. In terms of financial satisfaction males experience more economic satisfaction than females. Generally, males eniov more independence and financial security than females.

Case and Paxson (2004) pointed out that the women have worst self-rated

health and more hospitalization episodes than men from early adolescence to late middle age, but are less likely to die at early age. The studies by Haaga (2004); Zhou et al., (2004); Mutharayappa and Bhat (2008) reveal that lifestyle adversely affected health and increased morbidity conditions among the rural elderly. Karuppiah (2002) reported that in the rural areas, problems of health arise due to poor economic conditions. Majority of them live under common shelter, they do not get proper food and they do not go for regular medical check-ups. Keeping these in view, an attempt has been made in this paper to study health status of the rural elderly in Tamilnadu based on the perceptions with reference to Madurai district.

#### **Objectives**

The primary objectives of this paper are:

- (1) to study the socio-demographic and economic characteristics of the rural elderly population;
- (2) to understand and analyse the health problems of elderly men and women and their perceptions; and
- (3) to suggest suitable policy measures to improve the health of the elderly population.

#### **Data and Method**

The data collected from the household survey were age, sex, religion, caste, and marital status, completed years of education, personal income, source of income and their health problems and perception of their health status. The items of information collected through personal interview were the level of physical and economic support from their children, level of their satisfaction in getting such support and their present need and perception for their happy survival. The data were evaluated and analysed using SPSS Software. Z-test analysis was used for judging the significance of difference between proportions of elderly men and women with any health problem in two independent large samples. Content analysis was done to capture the perception of the elderly on the availability of health and physical support from their children and the level of their satisfaction.

Madurai district was chosen as the study area. The rationale behind selecting the district is that the share of the elderly in the district is closer (8.5 per cent) to that of Tamil Nadu (8.8 per cent) and this district is an average district in most of the demographic, socio-economic and health characteristics. The next stage of sampling involved selection of one taluk in Madurai District. The researcher has selected Madurai South Taluk out of seven taluks in this district on the basis of the highest number of households, highest total population and highest number of elderly persons. In rural area of Madurai South taluk, Vilacheri, Nilaiyur, Thanakkankulam and Perungudi villages were selected out of 60 villages constituting the rural sample frame on the basis of the highest number of households. Among the four selected villages in rural area, a disproportionate stratified random sample of 40 elderly persons comprising 20 males and 20 females was got by selecting one from each of the 40 households selected at random to get a sample of 160 elderly persons through household survey and personal interview with the help of a well-administrated and pre-tested interview schedule.

In today's human society, age based prejudices and discrimination are firmly embedded. Therefore, the word like 'elderly' has in itself acquired a negative connotation. For practical purposes, we define elderly as those people who have crossed a given life span, 65 years in developed countries and 60 years in developing countries like India. As the Government of India as well as the Government of Tamil Nadu recommends the welfare programmes for the elderly to those who are 60 years and above, this study also considers the same age criteria for its respondents.

#### **Results and Discussion**

As stated in the review, the problems of the elderly differ with respect to income, residence, age, sex, education, occupation, health, marital status, family type and satisfaction. The demographic and social characteristics, economic and living arrangement characteristics, their perception on health status of the rural elderly are discussed in detail with the help

of results obtained through Z-test analyses.

### Socio-Demographic and Household Characteristics

The elderly persons were more (50.6 per cent) in young-old (60-69 years) age groups followed by middle old (35.0 per cent) and less (14.4 per cent) in old-old (80 years and above) age groups which may be due to a decrease in longevity with increase in the number of old persons and gender was equally represented. People belonging to Hindu religion are higher in proportion among the inhabitants of India. In the study area also, Hindus (79.4 per cent) have the higher representation compared to Muslims (15.0 per cent) and Christians (5.6 per cent). Majority of the elderly persons are backward caste (59.4 per cent) followed by scheduled caste (23.8 per cent) and forward caste (16.8 per cent) in the study area. An increase in number of widowed may be due to greater number of deaths among male elderly persons. As far as the marital status of the elderly persons is concerned, most of them are widowed (50.0 per cent) followed by married (48.1 per cent) and separated (1.9 per cent). The data reveal that most of the elderly persons are from nuclear families (85.0 per cent) as compared to joint families (15.0 per cent). With the advent of industrialization and modernization, the number of those living in nuclear families increases due to the breakdown of joint family system in the rural areas. The percentage of illiterates (44.4 per cent) and completed primary school education (35 per cent) are more in the rural areas than the secondary and the above level education (20.6 per cent) (Table 1).

#### Lifestyle and Economic Characteristics of the Rural Elderly

It is very important to study the lifestyle and economic characteristics of the rural elderly to assess their health status. Studies by Nanda, et al. (1987), Bali (1999), Prakash (1999) and Irudayarajan, et al. (1999) show that parents still predominantly prefer to live with their children even when they have problems with them. In particular, living with the eldest son, is the most preferred one. In this study, the results also focus that majority of the elderly persons are living with their children (47.4 per cent) followed by spouse (38.8 per cent) and living alone (13.8 per cent). More than one-third of the study population lived in belongs to family member house (36.9 per cent) followed by rented house and almost one-third of the study population lived in self owned independent house (26.9 per cent).

Majority of the respondent's earning income range was between 1001 to 5000 rupees (42.5 per cent). As far as the income is concerned, almost one-third of the respondent's income comes from a combination of salary, pension and financial investments (27.5 per cent)

closely followed by financially dependent on their children and others (26.8 per cent). Personal habits are a kind of the major determinants of health of the elderly. As found in the studies by Haaga (2004) and Zhou et al., (2004), these personal habits have adversely affected health by increasing morbidity conditions among the elderly persons. Most of the elderly persons had the habit of drinking tea/ coffee (68.8 per cent) followed by chewing pan parag (16.9 per cent), betel leaves (16.3 per cent), drinking alcohol (13.1 per cent) and smoking (11.3 per cent). Only two of the female elderly had the habit of drinking alcohol and none of the female elderly persons had the habit of smoking (Table 2).

#### Health Problems of the Elderly

Health problems and medical care are major concerns of elderly persons. According to the study conducted by Murray and Lopez, (1996) on 'global burden of disease', ill-health accounted for 10 per cent of the global disease burden among older people with 60 years and above. This section deals with the number of old age persons affected by long-term morbidity, short-term morbidity and physical incapacity by their gender perspective.

In this study back pain, blood pressure, diabetes, asthma, heart diseases were termed as long-term morbidity or chronic illnesses. Fever, body weakness, headache, cough, wheezing are termed as short-term morbidity or acute diseases. Physical incapacity is termed as visual, walking, memory, sleep, and hearing. It may occur during a person's lifetime or may be present since birth.

In case of long-term morbidity, majority of the elderly persons are affected by back pain (56.3 per cent) followed by blood pressure (50.5 per cent) and diabetes (32.0 per cent) but when we look at it gender wise, more males (14.0 per cent) are affected by asthma than female elderly (3.8 per cent) persons. It reflects the result of male elderly have more smoking habits. Nearly half of the respondents reported that they are affected by fever problem (46.7 per cent) followed by body pain. Almost an equal percentage of elderly persons is affected by headache, cough and wheezing while fever (53.6 per cent) was significantly more common among women. In case of physical incapacity, majority of elderly persons were affected by visual problem and almost equal percentage of elderly were affected by walking difficulty, memory loss, sleeplessness and hearing problems in both genders. More or less equal numbers of elderly persons were using medical aid for their physical incapacity in both genders. Majority of the respondents reported currently having any one of the medical problems (81.8 per cent) and this problem was more in female elderly (86.2 per cent) than male elderly (75.0 per cent) persons. This indicates that the females are not given proper care as compared to males, and lack of sufficient medical facilities in rural areas may also be one of the main reasons for more illness and physical incapacity in female elderly persons (Table 3).

# Health Care System of the Rural Elderly

Majority of the elderly persons received treatment for long-term morbidity government hospital (72.2 per cent) followed by private hospital (15.6 per cent) and home medicine (12.2 per cent), which proves the poverty condition of the elderly persons in rural areas. The same pattern has been noticed among both males and females and for both short-term morbidity and physical incapacity. As far as the gender difference in treatment seeking behaviour among rural elderly, majority of the female elderly received treatment from government hospital as compared to male elderly and more number of male elderly received treatments from private hospital than female elderly for all type of illness (Table 4).

**Hypothesis**  $(H_1)$ : Health problems differ between men elderly and women elderly.

#### Framework of Analysis

**Z** – **Test** was used for judging the significance of difference between proportions of elderly men and women with any health problem in two independent large samples. Health problems among elderly persons were analysed using the prevalence ratio of illness in terms of long-term morbidity (LTM) and short-term morbidity (STM), physical incapacity separately for men and women elderly persons in rural areas for different agegroups.

# Prevalence of Illness and Physical Incapacity

Prevalence Ratio of Illness was calculated from number of persons affected with at-least one long-term morbidity or short-term morbidity out of 10 morbidities in men and women divided by total number of sample elderly persons in that group and multiplied by 100. So,

#### Prevalence Ratio of Illness

$$= \left(\frac{\text{Number of men / women}}{\text{With atleast one illness}}\right) \times 100$$

$$= \left(\frac{\text{Number of sample}}{\text{Total Number of sample}}\right) \times 100$$

$$= \left(\frac{\text{Number of men / women}}{\text{Total Number of sample}}\right) \times 100$$

Prevalence Ratio of Physical Incapacity is calculated from number of persons affected with atleast one physical incapacity out of 5 in men and women divided by total number of sample elderly person in that group and multiplied by 100. So,

#### Prevalence Ratio of Physical Incapacity

Number of men / women with
$$= \left(\frac{\text{at least one physical incapacity}}{\text{Total Number of sample}}\right) \times 100$$

$$= \left(\frac{\text{aged persons in that group}}{\text{100}}\right) \times 100$$

The incidence of health problems in terms of long-term and short-term illnesses as well as physical incapacities are greater for women as compared to men in rural areas at either 1 per cent level or 5 per cent level of significance. As compared to physical incapacity, prevalence ratio of

illness was greater in all age groups in rural areas. As age increases, the prevalence ratios of illness as well as physical incapacity also increase in the men category. However, the absolute difference between men and women decreases as age increases. These results imply that women are more prone to health problems to a greater extent than men, which increase with the age in rural areas. These results also confirm the findings of Case and Paxson (2004) and Balasubrmanian and Sundarai (2008) that women are from the most affected group because of the lack of adequate support from the family and care for their own health (Table 5).

#### Perceptions of the Rural Elderly

This section discusses the perceptions of the rural elderly from the information obtained with the help of their personal interviews regarding the availability of health, physical, economic and social supports from their children and the level of their satisfaction by conducting in-depth interviews.

#### **Health Problems**

An elderly man states, "I have one son, he lives in a town. He keeps sending us sufficient money regularly. But still we have a feeling of missing something. He suffers from sugar, blood pressure and eye problem. When I fall ill, I become mentally depressed due to lack of support. Once we became old

we are considered as burden for the family. Our son will do what we want but his wife is not interested in us."

#### Lack of Physical Support

An elderly woman opines, "I am living alone, my husband is not living with me because I have no children. I suffer from mental distress due to blindness. My neighbours are friendly and cooperative but there seems to be indication of poor adjustment with management. When I see old women like me they are happy with their sons or daughters, in-laws and grand-children. I feel I am not fortunate to be with my own dears."

#### Social Problems

In the words of an elderly widow, "I have two children; they are married and live in the same area. I have been forced to stay alone. My family members are less bothered about my well being, financial and emotional support. I am feeling lonely, hopeless and sorrowful. I am not sufficiently respected by my own family members and relative in all social ceremonies and occasions. I also don't get any help from government. Now I don't want to live any more".

#### Economic Problems

An elderly man says, "I have one daughter, and she lives with her family in my house. Before my daughter marriage, the house and land were in my name. Now all the properties have been transferred to my son-in-law. They never used to consult with me for any major decision-making of the family. Now I am totally dependent on their support for all my needs. I always feel alone due to detachment with family members.

#### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

The young-old (60-69 years) elderly persons had more representation in the study area as compared to the middle-old and the old-old. Hindus among the elderly persons were more in number as compared to Muslims and Christians. The elderly persons who belonged to backward caste were more in rural areas as compared to scheduled and forward castes. There is an increase in the number of widowed persons which may be due to more number of deaths among male elderly persons. Majority of the elderly persons were from nuclear families (85.0 per cent) as compared to joint families (15.0 per cent). With industrialization and modernization, the number of persons living in nuclear families increases due to the breakdown of joint family system in the rural areas. Higher educated respondents were very less and the number of illiterate is more in the rural areas. Almost half of the elderly (47.4 per cent) were living with their children. Majority of the respondents lived with their family members followed by those who lived in rented houses. Majority of the respondents' income

ranged between 1001 to 5000 rupees and almost one-third of the respondents' income source was the combination of salary, pension and financial investments. Majority of the elderly persons have the habit of drinking tea/coffee and two of the female elderly had the habit of drinking alcohol and none of the female elderly persons had the habit of smoking.

Majority of the female elderly were affected by long term morbidity in back pain, blood pressure and diabetes, and majority of the male elderly were affected by short-term morbidity in body pain, cough and wheezing. More or less equal numbers of elderly persons in both genders were using medical aid for their physical incapacity in both genders. Majority of them were affected by any one health problem in last one-year period and there were conclusive data which showed that women suffered more than men.

Majority of the elderly persons received treatment from government hospitals followed by private hospitals, and home medicine for all type illness and physical incapacity. Majority of the female elderly persons received treatment from government hospitals than male elderly persons and more number of male elderly persons received treatment from private hospital than female elderly persons.

From the z-test analysis, we observed that the incidence of health problems in terms of long-term and short-term illnesses as well as physical incapacities were greater for women as compared to men at either 1 per cent level or 5 per cent level of significance. As compared to physical incapacity, prevalence ratio of illness is greater in all age-groups. As age increases, the prevalence ratios of illness as well as physical incapacity also increase. However, the absolute difference between men and women decreases as age increases.

The overall scenario of the health status of the elderly population is not found satisfactory. Still much work has to be carried out in this area of research to cope with other problems of our country.

In the light of the above discussions the following recommendations are suggested to improve and sustain the health status of the rural elderly. The elderly persons may be recommended for some amenable programmes enhancing them to get an additional source of income especially in rural areas. There is a need to increase geriatric centres for the treatment of the elderly as there is an increase in the number and proportion of the elderly having a direct impact on the demand for health services. Health needs of older persons are multidimensional. Not only physical health but mental and emotional health of older persons is equally important for their well being. A system of coordinated care needs to be provided instead of personal oriented intervention.

Health education programmes such as yoga and meditation may be introduced based on the felt-need of the rural elderly in the rural areas. The NGOs striving to protect the welfare of the rural aged may take part along with relevant departments of the government in various stages of the programmes with an innovative approach suiting the modern needs of the elderly. The family members may be encouraged, by giving education/counselling, to provide proper care, especially, food, clothing and shelter for the elderly in their houses.

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# Appendix Table 1 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents (Rural Elderly)

Category	Frequency(n=160)	Percentage
Age Group		
60-69 years	81	50.6
70-79 years	56	35.0
80+ years	23	14.4
Gender		
Male	80	50.0
Female	80	50.0
Religion		
Hindu	127	79.4
Muslim	24	15.0
Christian	9	5.6
Caste		
Scheduled Caste	38	23.8
Backward Caste	95	59.4
Forward Caste	27	16.8
Marital Status		
Married	77	48.1
Widowed	80	50.0
Separated	3	1.9
Family Type		
Joint Family	24	15.0
Nuclear Family	136	85.0
Educational Status		
Illiterate	71	44.4
Primary	56	35.0
Secondary	28	17.5
Graduate & above	5	3.1

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Table 2
Lifestyle and Economic Characteristics of the Respondents

Category	Frequency(n=160)	Percentage
Living Arrangement		
Living alone	22	13.8
Living with spouse	62	38.8
Living with children	76	47.4
House		
Owned by self	43	26.9
Belongs to family member	59	36.9
Rented	58	36.2
Income		
<=1000	54	33.8
1001-5000	68	42.5
5001-10000	22	13.7
10001-20000	12	7.5
>20000	4	2.5
Source of Income		
Salary/Wage	23	14.4
Pension/OAP	38	23.8
Financial Investments	12	7.5
Combination of the above	44	27.5
Financially dependent on others	43	26.8
Personal Habits		
Tea/Coffee	110	68.8
Betal Leaves	26	16.3
Panparag	27	16.9
Smoking	18	11.3
Alcohol	21	13.1

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Table 3
Health Problems of the Respondents in Last One Year\*

Category (in %)	Male (n=80)	Female (n=80)	Total (n=160)
Long Term Morbidity			,
Back Pain	54.0	58.5	56.3
Blood Pressure	42.0	58.5	50.5
Diabetes	30.0	34.0	32.0
Heart Problem	14.0	15.1	14.6
Asthma	14.0	3.8	8.7
Short Term Morbidity			
Fever	35.3	53.6	46.7
Body Pain	47.1	32.1	37.8
Headache	23.5	32.1	28.9
Cough	35.3	25.0	28.9
Wheezing	35.3	25.0	28.9
Physical Incapacity			
Visual	71.4	58.2	63.9
Walking	21.4	32.7	27.8
Memory	31.0	21.8	25.8
Sleep	19.0	21.8	20.6
Hearing	11.9	20.0	16.5
Using Medical Aid	19.0	21.8	21.6
Any of the Health Problem	75.0	86.2	81.8

Note: \*Ascertained through self-reports and not objective measurement.

Table 4 Health Care System of Respondents

Category (in %)	Male (n=80)	Female (n=80)	Total (n=160)
Long Term Morbidity			
Govt. Hospital	65.1	78.8	72.2
Private Hospital	14.0	10.6	12.2
Home Medicine	20.9	10.6	15.6
Short Term Morbidity			
Govt. Hospital	46.2	76.0	65.8
Private Hospital	38.4	16.0	23.7
Home Medicine	15.4	8.0	10.5
Physical Incapacity			
Govt. Hospital	78.8	66.6	72.5
Private Hospital	21.2	16.7	18.8
Home Medicine	_	16.7	8.7

Note: \*Ascertained through self-reports and not objective measurement.

Table 5
Prevalence Ratio of Illness and Physical Incapacity
(in %) of the Respondents

Category	Men	Women	Absolute Difference	Z – test
Long & Short				
Term Illnesses	72.5	87.5	15.0**	30.000
60-69 years	75.0	92.7	17.7**	22.040
70-79 years	65.5	85.2	19.7**	11.338
80+ years	81.8	75.0	6.8*	1.820
Physical Incapacity	55.0	70.0	15.0**	26.230
60-69 years	52.5	73.2	20.7**	11.241
70-79 years	55.2	63.0	7.8**	2.674
80+ years	63.6	75.0	11.4*	2.115

Note: \*\* Significant at 1% level, \* Significant at 5% level, NS – Not Significant

# Gender Sensitive Self-Assessment and Planning by Vulnerable Populations vis-à-vis Environmental Sustainability and Sustainable Development Goals

#### Mukesh Kanaskar

The United Nations Summit for the adoption of the post-2015 development agenda will be held from 25 to 27 September 2015, in New York. More than 150 world leaders are expected to attend the Summit. The ambitious new sustainable development agenda, "Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development", will serve as the launch pad for action by the international community and by national governments to promote shared prosperity and wellbeing for all over the next 15 years. The new sustainable development agenda is anchored around 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These goals together provide a neatly blended mix of environmental issues with other issues such as of poverty, inclusion, etc. This is very significant as environmental concerns are assuming worrisome proportions manifested in climate change processes and other environmental challenges. There have been some concerted efforts and instruments in this direction at the global and national levels.

However, the environmental dialogue till date has one important stakeholder at the periphery of its radar- the communities which are the most vulnerable to the environmental impacts. In urban areas, these are slum dwellers while in rural and tribal areas they are the persons in deep clutches of poverty and on the threshold of survival. Thus, we have an ironical situation whereby those who should be the primary stakeholders owing to their extreme vulnerability to environmental risks are hitherto not included in the environmental debate and planning.

For the environmental efforts vis-àvis "Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" and SDGs to succeed, they have to be owned up through proactive participation by the primary stakeholders. This forms one of the biggest lacunas in the current efforts for environmental sustainability. The environmental domain, especially planning for its conservation and improvement is hitherto presumed more in the domain of the suppliers of the

services than the populations which are the most vulnerable and worst affected by the environmental risks. The environmental concerns and urge for action should be demystified from its current predominance of jargon to simple vocabulary easily understandable for common populace. Moreover, it is crucial to nurture micro-level Sustainability Plans right from the grassroots.

The chronic environmental sustainability challenges demand a fundamental paradigm shift. Currently the primary stakeholders are considered more as recipient of services while the service providers are presumed to be the primary stakeholders. Another underlying premise for the current exclusion of the primary stakeholders- the most vulnerables- is the doubt over their ability to participate in the process.

Against this premise, this paper elucidates a global award winning innovation the author has developed and practised in field for more than 12 years (since year 2003) in diverse kinds of environmental sustainability contextsurban, rural as well as tribal: the innovation of 'Gender Sensitive Self-Assessment and Planning by the Vulnerable Populations (GSSAPV)'. It also finds a mention in the flagship policy document 'State of the Urban Poor 2013', which is a joint publication of Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, Government of India and Oxford University Press. The innovative methodology of community self-assessment and planning by slum dwellers for disaster risk reduction was

selected for a prestigious global award, 'Risk Award 2015', endowed upon All India Institute of Local Self-Government (AIILSG) from among 145 entries from 62 countries. The award is jointly supported by 'The United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction' (UNISDR), 'Global Risk Forum', Davos & 'Munich Re Foundation', Germany.

Moreover, another two salient aspects are: 1) The GSSAPV methodology has been practised in the context of populations which are the most vulnerable and worst affected by the environmental risks. 2) The in-built gender dimension in appreciation of the fact that women are the most vulnerable and worst affected of all environmental risks and disasters among such populations.

This methodology bears significance for environmentally sound sustainable development of 65.49 million slum dweller populations in India (equivalent to population of 193 countries from 213 enumerated countries on the earth) and 863 million slum dweller populations in developing countries (equivalent to population of 211 countries on the earth), 833.4 million rural and tribal populations in India and similar high numbers of rural and tribal populations in developing countries.

The methodology was developed by the author while he shouldered the responsibility as Project Director of a European Union supported project "Transfer of Technologies for Sustainable Development" implemented by an NGO and also anchored the responsibility of fostering of People's Organisations (Community Organisations) Sustainability for this project. The project with a funding support of 19.5 million Euros brought about environmentally sound sustainable development with 33,000 vulnerable families constituting about 0.165 million population from 217 underdeveloped locations in India. Apart from poverty alleviation of the project participant vulnerable families, the impacts of the project on environment front included 4155 ha of degraded lands was converted to productive purposes, watershed development and improved agricultural practices were adopted over 23,356 ha, increased the cropping intensity from 22 per cent to 93 per cent and the crop yield from 27 per cent to 75 per cent. Soil and water conservation measures generated over one million person days of labour. This resulted in an increase in the ground water table by 1 to 2.5 meters. To promote efficient water use, the participating families adopted group wells, drip irrigation and water budgeting. All the project villages had safe drinking water throughout the year. This has a direct influence on drudgery reduction of women and improvement in community health.

Since then, GSSAPV has been already utilised for environmental upgradation in 17 urban locations encompassing a population of about 29076, 337 rural and tribal locations encompassing a population of 0.267 million.

A crucial feature of the above referred impacts is environmental sustainability attained through fostering of community organisations. The process was instrumental in establishing 229 grassroots organisations taking care of sustainability. These organisations together worked on various environment related measures such as celebrating Green Festival (an innovation), combating severe drought, *etc*.

#### About GSSAPV

GSSAPV is a methodology which enables participatory development with a proactive role for the community. In this methodology, the vulnerable communitywho are the primary stakeholders for the development issue under considerationassumes the centre stage, defines the indicators for its own development. assesses its current status as against these indicators and plans for improving the situation. The concept is applicable in diverse kinds of development issues such as environment, women's empowerment, etc. Core strength of the methodology lies in the fact that the primary stakeholders are not mere beneficiaries of the development process but they are active partners in identifying the root causes of their plight, designing the strategies for upliftment and plan for those strategies. Moreover, equal participation of women at every stage is a mandatory prerequisite. This ensures women's role as decision makers in planning, actions and review. This is especially of importance in case of communities having high gender inequalities and discrimination.

The experience shows that identification of indicators with the

participation of the primary stakeholders is key for identifying the real issues and cause-effect dynamics. Moreover, the indicators are also identified in participatory manner with the need based facilitation from the facilitative development professional.

The community then undertakes self-assessment and planning at specific frequency (usually annual). As the methodology basically involves the vulnerables, the literacy levels are usually very low. Thus, a verbose narration of an indicator will not be of any value. Instead each indicator is translated into a symbolic picture presentation. This is done with the help of a professional artist. Various alternate depictions of an indicator are formed and field tested with the community before finalising a symbolic picture for an indicator.

The self-assessment by the vulnerable community for each indicator builds on the commonly understood signal codes. This assessment is done usually in a focus group kind of setting. The assessment ranks are, at a very simplified level, presented in colours -

- Dark green for excellent status
- Light green for good status
- Orange for a satisfactory status, but with scope for improvement
- Light red for un-satisfactory condition needing corrective action
- Red for a precarious status on which urgent actions are needed

(The earlier version of a 3 colour scale- Red, Orange and Green- was

refined to this 5 colour scale based on the learnings from field.)

As a part of self-assessment, the community ticks on the relevant colour for current status of each parameter. What will be of greater interest is the reason why community feels so. The discussion is further channelized towards actions for improvement on each indicator in terms of concrete actions for improvement. In other words, this constitutes the Action Plan. A set of developmental activities required to achieve progress envisaged under each indicator are thus identified. These activities are then prioritized.

The actions are segregated into 1) to be undertaken by the community itself, and 2) to be undertaken by outsiders, especially the local government. Resource requirements and timelines are fixed to make a comprehensive action plan.

#### GSSAV as a global innovation

The important features which makes GSSAPV a global innovation are :

- In the context of many developmental challenges such as those related to environment or women's empowerment, community is regarded as a beneficiary than a partner proactive in all stages including planning to review. GSSAPV provides a systematic participatory methodology to enable community to participate in meaningful manner.
- It provides an actionable framework in the hands of the community to

- assess its own situation, introspect for the reasons and plan actions with clear understanding of those set of actions within its direct locus of control and actions expected from other stakeholders for which liaising is needed from them.
- Community becomes partner right from the problem identification stage. It identifies the indicators for sustainable development in its own context. This ensures that a strong sense of ownership by the community is in-built.
- In appreciation of the fact that women are the most vulnerable among the vulnerable communities, the role of women is institutionalised in the process. This forms a mandatory precondition.
- **GSSAPV** The methodology demystifies the social and environmental issues to great extent. The social concepts and thoughts are deciphered into commonly understood depictions, visual in nature, to enable participation of even illiterate communities. An illustration is of India where the number of illiterates as per the official liberal definition (inability to read and write in any language by a person of more than 7 years of age) is 282.6 mn (27 per cent of India's total Population) as per Census 2011. This is indicative of the significance of making visual tools while working with the vulnerable communities.

 The self-assessment process is also highly demystified with the use of commonly understood signal color code. Thus the assessment process is made very easy for use by all kinds of vulnerable communities.

# The process of development and evolution of the GSSAPV

The concept was developed while enabling development of Sustainability Plans under the aegis of the European Union supported project "Transfer of Technologies for Sustainable Development". The project covered diverse range of environmental considerations. The challenge was developing a common methodology which could be applicable in these diverse environmental regions to enable planning for sustainable development.

Subsequently, the process was evolved further based on the learning from its application at the grassroots in diverse environmental and spatial contexts leading to its current form.

### Application of GSSAPV for environmental sustainability issues with 2 real life illustrations

a) Global RISK Award 2015

AIILSG's innovation 'Community Self-Assessment and Planning with Women's Participation for Disaster Risk Reduction of Vulnerable Communities' was felicitated with prestigious 'RISK AWARD 2015' in Sendai, Japan this year. This innovation is currently being

implemented in 13 environmentally vulnerable slums across two cities covering about 25672 slum dweller populations. The disaster management and disaster preparedness efforts are planned at macro level *i.e.* National, State and City level with less focus on micro level planning for addressing the concerns of vulnerable populations.

The participation of the vulnerable populations, who are most susceptible to environmental degradation and climate change impacts, has remained hitherto neglected aspect in city level strategies and plans for disaster management and disaster preparedness.

Through this innovation for the first time at grassroots level, micro level planning for disaster risk reduction is being undertaken. The efforts for this has been translated into concrete action plans developed with active participation of the environmentally vulnerable community especially women and children in the form of 'Slum Level Disaster Risk Reduction Plans'. The unique feature of this approach is utilising innovative methodologies e.g. (a) participatory visual tools for self-assessment& planning,(b) child friendly tools to enable participation of children in the process, (c) 'gender sensitive approach' as women and young children are worst affected by the disaster

impacts. Apart from these, communityfriendly methods such as street plays, puppet, and magician for disseminating the environment and disaster risk reduction related messages are also being utilised.

The 'Self-Assessment and Planning' methodology has become a vehicle for empowerment of vulnerable communities by enabling/ catalysing their active participation in the development process. The 'SAP' goes beyond assessment and planning by the community/ vulnerable but it also focuses on establishing 'Grassroots Participatory Mechanisms' for ensuring the sustainability of the initiative.

b) 'Community Self-Assessment and Planning for Management & Maintenance of Tenements' (in the context of slums redevelopment).

The innovative methodology was developed under the aegis of Government of India and DFID supported project implemented by AIILSG: 'Support to National Policies for Urban Poverty Reduction'. The methodology has crucial significance in the wake of large scale slum redevelopment projects being undertaken in India and other developing countries. A major rising concern is that in absence/ lack of proper maintenance of these redeveloped housing units, the horizontal slums translate into vertical slums.

The 'Community Self-Assessment and Planning' methodology was designed to understand (1) current maintenance status of the redeveloped housing

The RISK AWARD is a joint initiative of 'The United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction' (UNISDR), 'Global Risk Forum', Davos & 'Munich Re Foundation', Germany.

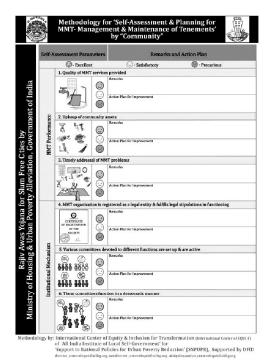
(2) community's role in its maintenance and management. The methodology imbibes both aspects- firstly, assessment of the current situation by the community and secondly, planning by the community for its improvement through their participation. This process enhanced accountability and ownership by the community towards its maintenance.

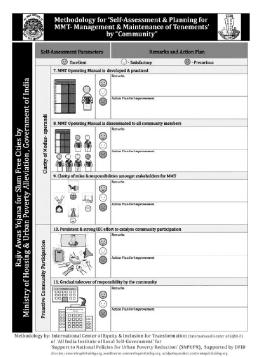
Considering the diverse literacy levels of slum dwellers, especially women & children, pictorial tools (using pictures to depict indicators) were designed to enable/catalyse active participation of women in the community self-assessment process. Moreover, to engage stakeholders at all tiers two participatory qualitative tools

were designed- (1) Self-Assessment and Planning by the Community and (2) Self-Assessment and Planning by the Community Representatives.

This innovation of 'self-assessment and planning methodology' has also been featured as a contribution to Government of India's crucial policy document 'State of the Urban Poor Report 2013' which is a joint publication of Ministry of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation, Government of India and Oxford University Press.

The Community Self-Assessment and Planning tool for Management and Maintenance of Tenements is presented below:





Self-	Assessment Parameters	Remarks an	d Action Plan
	O-Excellent	Satisfactory	O - Precarious
	12. Proactive participation	of women in community initives- invi	
Women in decision making		Remarks  Action Han for Improvement	
900	13. Women as Office Bear	ers - 50% reservation for women in co	nmittees
≥ Sig		kemarka	
-8	This S	Action Flan for Empsoverness	
	14. Development of a Corp		
	iteraal O	Remarks  Action Plan for Improvement	
	15. Regular payment of th	e Periodic MMT charges by the commu	nity members
Management		Remarks  Action Plan for Exprovement	
cial	16. Maintenance charges a	affordable to the community	
Prudent Financial Management		Action Plan for Expowerness	
	17. Regular accounting &	stipulated auditing is undertaken	
	•	le marks	
	9 9	Action Plan for Improvement	

Ale	Solf-4	ssessment Parameter	by "Community"	nd Action Plan
	Jen-M	-Excellent		
		18. Regular Meetings	Satisfactory	- Precarious
rt of India	Governance at Grassroots		Action Plan for Engeoverness	
ᅙ	Sea	19. Keeping due Records		
Awas Yojana for Slum Free Cities by & Urban Poverty Alleviation , Government of India	Governan		Remarks  Action Plan for Improvement	
티		20. Complaint Redressal	System Present & Used	
r Slum Free 3y Alleviati	ment		Remarks  Accides Plan for Engenweness.	
5 I	dola	21. Undertaking various	social development measures	
Rajiv Awas Yojana for Slum Free Cities by Ising & Urban Poverty Alleviation , Gover	Holistic Community Development	At S	Remarks  Action Plan for Improvement	
æ١	20	22. Eco-friendly measur	os ha the community	
Rajiv A Ministry of Housing 8	Holist		Remarks  Action Han for Improvement	
ž	+	23. Self-Assessment Too	I : developed & utilised	
Ministr	Self-Assessment Tool	MMT ©	Action Plan for Improvement	

## Crucial Significance of GSSAPV for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs): Sustainability Planning through Community Participation

Environmental sustainability is a fundamental tenet of the SDGs. However, the learnings from the earlier efforts indicate that a precondition for achieving the SDGs is strong ownership and accountability of the primary stakeholder community to the SDGs. The experience of the EU supported project 'Transfer of Technologies for Sustainable Development' of developing Sustainability Plans at the grassroots through use of GSSAPV methodology has been very encouraging in this regard. Apart from the Sustainability Plans developed at the grassroots, the methodology provided a demystified, easy to understand and use, tool in the hands of the primary stakeholder community- the environment vulnerables- to consistently track their progress and plan for future.

The GSSAPV has direct significance for the following SDGs (abridged below) & the respective specific targets (abridged, in brackets): SDG1: End poverty (build the resilience of those in vulnerable situations, reduce their vulnerability to environmental shocks & disasters), SDG2: End hunger (maintain ecosystems, climate change adaptation capacity), SDG4: Promote lifelong learning (to promote sustainable development) SDG5: Gender equality (End gender discrimination, women's participation and equal opportunities), SDG6: Water & sanitation (special focus on women & girls and those in vulnerable

water-use situations, efficiency, participation of local communities), SDG7: Energy for all, SDG10: Reduce inequality (inclusion of all), SDG11: Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable (reduce loss due to disasters with a focus on protecting the poor and people in vulnerable situations, settlements adopting policies and plans towards inclusion, resource efficiency, mitigation and adaptation to climate change, resilience), SDG12: Sustainable consumption & production (use of natural resources, environmentally sound management of all wastes, reduce waste generation, people have information & awareness for sustainable development), SDG13: Combat climate change and its impacts (awareness-raising and human and institutional capacity, capacity for climate change-related planning & management with special focus on women, youth and local and marginalized communities), SDG15: Land, biodiversity (integrate ecosystem values into local planning, development processes), SDG16: Inclusive societies (participatory decision-making at all levels).

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# **Book Review**

# World Development Report 2015: Mind, Society and Behavior. World Bank Group

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Pages xiv plus 215.

The World War II ravaged Europe and had a devastating effect on the world economy. The need of reconstruction was huge and farreaching. This called for some world level bodies to rise to the occasion to meet the needs of reconstruction and bring stability in the world economies, to work for the lost prosperity through economic cooperation. To quote John Maynard Keynes, "We have to perform at one and same time the tasks appropriate to the economist, to the financier, to the politician, to the journalist, to the propagandist, to the lawyer, to the statesman-even I think to the prophet and to the soothsayer." Some 730 delegates from 44 Allied Nations, which had fought against the Axis aggression, gathered in Mount Washington Hotel in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, United States, for a conference to deliberate upon the financial needs of reconstruction, to set up a system of rules, institutions and procedures to regulate the international monetary system, etc. They decided to set up an international bank, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), over the years, expanded its scope and objectives. It acquired the nomenclature of the World Bank, consisting of itself and the International Development Association (IDA). The World Bank is a vital source of financial and technical assistance to developing countries around the world. In the words of its President, "We are not a bank in the ordinary sense but a unique partnership to reduce poverty and support development. The World Bank Group comprises five institutions managed by their member countries."

Thus, today it is the World Bank Group, comprising the IBRD, IDA and three other bodies as its part, namely, the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), and the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID). Thus, the Bank in addition to its main activities of being a vital source of financial and technical assistance to developing countries around the world, operates as the World Bank Group. The scope of work of the Bank has been expanding. Its goals now include achievement of the following by 2030:

- End extreme poverty by decreasing the percentage of people living on less than \$1.25 a day to no more than 3 per cent.
- Promote shared prosperity by fostering the income growth of the bottom 40 per cent for every country

The World Bank Group has a huge corpus of the knowledge of the economies and societal conditions prevalent in the world, and keeps track of happenings, compiles data, analyses and studies it. Every year it comes out with a very valuable document called *World Development Report*. The report contains analyses of various economic and social problems facing various countries in the world, and suggests policy postulates. It contains time-relevant data and analyses and useful information for economic policy, social approach and governance. It has been bringing out this report by focusing on some relevant theme. As such, the report of 2015 is on the theme *Mind*, *Society and Behavior*.

At any point of time many countries, especially the poor countries in Africa and Asia are in the throes of some crisis or the other, be it outbreak of some epidemics, internal disorder and violence, terrorism, resulting into a mass misery and displacement of millions. Trigger for the theme of this report was Ebola outbreak in West Africa, as the Foreword begins: "a human tragedy that has cost thousands of lives and brought suffering to families across entire communities. The outbreak is a tragedy not lonely for those directly affected by the disease but also for their neighbors and fellow citizens." The indirect effect of the Ebola crisis showed in slowing business activity, falling wages and rising food prices that made life even more difficult for millions of people who already live in extreme poverty in that region of the world.

According to the Report some of such behavioral effects are unavoidable as Ebola is a terrible disease which necessitates quarantines and other public health measures. But the fact is that the behavioral responses are partly driven by stigma, inaccurate understanding of disease transmission, exaggerated panic and other biases and cognitive illusions, as had earlier happened with HIV/AIDs, H1N1, etc. The Report proceeds on the premise that how people make decisions can lead to new interventions that help households to save more, firms to increase productivity, communities to reduce the prevalence of diseases, etc. as recent research has advanced our understanding of the psychological, social and cultural influences on decision making and human behavior and has demonstrated that they have a significant impact on development outcomes.

The Overview of the Report speaks about three principles of human decision making upon which the organizing framework of the Report rests; Thinking automatically, Thinking socially and Thinking with mental models: Automatic **Thinking**, is effortless, associative and intuitive. It gives a partial view since men jump to conclusions based on limited information. Deliberative System considers a broad set of relevant factors; it is effortful, based on reasoning and reflective. Since, men are affected by what others are doing and what they expect from us, this pulls men toward certain frames and patterns of collective behavior. The Second Principle, Thinking socially speaks about how individuals are influenced by social preferences, identities, networks and norms and states that many are guided by a sense of fairplay, reciprocity and cooperation. The third principle is **Thinking with** mental models in which individuals do not respond to objective experience but to mental representations of experience, using interpretative frames provided by mental models. Part 1 of the report discusses principles of human behavior with the belief that an expanded understanding of human behavior can improve development policy. Part 2 contains how these principles can be applied in a number of policy domains. The report as a whole seeks to accelerate the process of applying the new insights into decision making to development policy. The Report further says that it is only the beginning of an approach that could eventually alter the field of development economics and enhance its effectiveness.

Chapter 1 with the title *Thinking* automatically discusses framing, anchoring, simplification, reminders and commitment devices, which policy makers can employ to help people make better decisions, which in turn can reduce poverty, and concludes that taking behavioral perspective on decision making with seemingly minor and low-cost policy changes may have a large impact on the achievement of development goals and the reduction of poverty.

Chapter 2 on *Thinking Socially* demonstrates that recognizing the effect of social influences on action can help development practitioners understand why standard policies sometimes fail and why it is necessary to develop new interventions to combat poverty and promote shared prosperity.

Chapter 3 on *Thinking with Mental Models* illustrates how a focus on mental models both gives policy makers new tools for promoting development and provides new understandings for why policies based on standard economic assumptions can fail, and concludes that economic and political forces influence mental models, but mental models can have an independent influence on development by

shaping attention, perception, interpretation and the associations that automatically come to mind.

Part 2 of the Report containing chapters 4 to 9 is concerned with psychological and social perspectives on policy. Even the affluent nations have people with poverty. Poverty reduction is the avowed goal of all the nations and one of the chief objectives of the World Bank Group. Chapter 4 focuses on this topic. Though poor have always existed, the chapter empirically shows that 'poverty is a fluid state, not a stable condition'. It further says that 'poverty is not simply a shortfall of money.....poverty can blunt the capacity to aspire and to take advantage of the opportunities that do present themselves'. Chapter 5 draws from studies, a hard fact that children in poor families can differ dramatically from children in richer families in their cognitive and non-cognitive abilities, resulting in enormous loss of human potential for themselves and society. It describes the critical role that parenting plays in shaping the child's early development. It relies on the results from a small number of high-quality studies which found that carefully designed interventions can pay lifelong returns for individuals born in poverty. It advocates more experimentation and testing to arrive at interventions to situations that parents experience, harnessing insights from neurobiology and the behavioral sciences to understand and tackle the psychological and cultural barriers to effective parenting that arise from the contexts in which individuals live. The chapter recognizes that parents' beliefs and caregiving practices differ across groups, with consequences for children's development

outcomes. It advocates for carefully designing anti-poverty programmes and social policies to have a powerful indirect effect on child development by reducing key psychological stresses that prevent parents from attending to and engaging positively with their children.

Financial decision making is always making a hard choice for people in poverty. Chapter 6 presents key insights into the social and behavioral influences on financial decision making. It shows that loss aversion, present bias, cognitive overload and the social psychology of advice make financial decision making hard. The chapter therefore makes a case for policy interventions to address these tendencies for including changing default options, using social networks in micro-finance, employing nudges and reminders, offering commitment devices, simplifying financial education and using emotional persuasion.

Increasing productivity necessitates understanding motivation and behavior at work by looking into cognitive and psychological barriers that individuals face and the frames that work- environments create, and also to examine the social contexts in which work takes place. These things are brought out effectively by using graphics in chapter 7. Chapter 8 with examples, suggests that people think automatically, interpret the world based on implicit mental models and think socially that allows policy makers to make major strides in improving health outcomes. It recommends framing effects that make social expectations and social approvals that act to motivate individuals to seek preventive care and adhere to treatment when they otherwise would not. It further says that individuals can suffer

from an intention-action divide and that through health care providers and commitment devices and reminders this divide can be narrowed.

Climate change is one of the major challenges of our time and adds considerable stress to our societies and to the environment. It is such a large problem that multiple, coordinated approaches are needed to address it. Among other things it requires every individual to use the energy and other natural resources prudently and avoid waste, and for this, psychological, social and cultural insights can make significant contributions. Through a case study of Columbia, the Report provides a real world example of how interventions that take into account conditional cooperation can be useful for achieving policy goals.

Part 3 of the Report containing chapters 10 and 11 is addressed to the development professionals. Chapter 10 begins with a real fact of life that development professionals can be susceptible to a host of cognitive biases, can be influenced by their social tendencies and social environments and can use deeply ingrained mindsets when making choices. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to explain why good people can make bad decisions, that their decisions are likely to favor certain groups over others. It points out that in the development context, where knowledge, status, and power differentials are rife, this often means that disadvantaged groups face additional hurdles to getting their voices heard, their concerns heeded. The chapter also admits that while the goal of development is to end poverty, development professionals are not always good at predicting how poverty shapes mindsets. It shows the

dichotomy between development and their clients and states that good social science, hardwon experience, basic professional ethics, and everyday common sense suggest that an ounce of prevention is a far preferable course of action for delivering on the World Bank's core agenda and mandate.

Finally, chapter 11 contains the suggested solution for development professionals including policy makers. It says that to account for the fact that development practitioners themselves face cognitive constraints, abide by social norms, and use mental models in their work, development organizations may need to change their incentive structure, budget processes and institutional culture. One of the purposes of the Report, as stated, has been to synthesize some of the most compelling scientific research on the topic *i.e. mind*, *society and behavior*. The Report hopes that it can inspire development professionals who are ready to take up challenge.

Poverty alleviation is one of the prime goals of all the countries- the affluent and the poor, the developed, developing and the underdeveloped. The book is addressed to policy makers and development professionals. The Report shows that poverty reduction requires much more than doling financial assistance to the disadvantaged, and requires an approach by taking account of the process of thinking of the

target group and of the professionals who handle the work. It underscores the fact that thinking processes of the limited and narrow kind need to be broadened by realizing the three thinking processes.

It must be acknowledged that the Report is not an easy reading, but it is a necessary reading for policy makers, development professionals and students of development economics. It addresses deep rooted mindsets of people, the poor and those working for them. It shows how a richer view of human behavior can help achieve development goals in many areas, including early childhood development, household finance, productivity, health and climate change. It also shows how a more subtle view of human behavior provides new tools for interventions. The Report effectively shows that poverty is not simply a state of material deprivation, but also tells upon cognitive resources that affects the quality of decision making. It gives a psychological perspective to development economics. The Report demonstrates the need for more discovery, learning and adaptation in policy design and implementation. As is claimed, "This new approach to development economics has immense purpose with a vast scope of application and introduces an important new agenda for the development community."

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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 training 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 assignment in various areas of urban development and problems of local bodies with view to improve and develop organisational, managerial and operational efficiency.

In view of 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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