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The Social Context of Swachh Bharat Mission in India

ASMITA BHARDWAJ*

ABSTRACT

In 2017, India was the country with the highest number of people practising open defecation (OD). They were about 525 million. Sanitation is a much neglected area in India with severe consequences on public health and environmental and economic development. The OD issue rose to national importance, when the Swachh Bharat Mission was launched in 2015 as a flagship programme of the Modi Government. The main aim of the mission was to achieve 100 per cent OD-free status through the construction of toilets, solid waste management and ending manual scavenging. Using a science and technology studies (STS) perspective, this paper as defined by the Government suggests that sanitation though heavy in the use of technology apart from its physical dimensions cannot be understood to be devoid of the context it operates in. Sanitation technologies operate in a social context that cuts across social stratification of the class, caste and gender. In what way has the Swachh Bharat Mission (SBM) embeded the caste, class and gender into policy, impacted and/or restructured these hierarchies both in policy and implementation of the SBM? Who is included and why? How can the SBM be made more inclusive?

Keywords: SBM, Inclusive, STS, Caste, Class, Gender, Policy, Practice

I. INTRODUCTION

Sanitation is defined to include the management of human excreta, solid waste, and drainage (WSP, 2018). Of the one billion people defecating in the open globally, 66 per cent live in India. Rapidly-modernising India, according to some, is drowning in its own excreta (Narain, 2012). One in every ten deaths in India is linked to poor

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sanitation and hygiene. Around 450,000 deaths were linked to diarrhoea alone in 2006, of which 88 per cent were deaths of children below five. Economic losses from the lack of access to sanitation and increased health system costs are estimated at US\$260 billion annually (*Kaliski, 2015*). Leaked sewage leads to contamination of ground water and the price of pumping water has become 40 per cent of that of pumping water (*Narain, 2012*).

The situation is similar for those who engage themselves in manual scavenging. The average lifespan of a manhole worker is about 45 years. In India the manhole worker wears nothing more than a loincloth or half-pants or if he contracts illnesses while doing the job, there is no monetary compensation (*Ghosh: 2016*). According to statistics, 22,000 Dalits die every year. But those who belong to the bottommost of the Indian society hierarchy continue to clean the faeces of people.

Inadequate sanitation places women at an equal risk as women who engage in open defecation are affected by gender-based violence.

The Swachh Bharat Mission, a prominent Government policy, was launched in 2015 with the following objectives to create safe sanitation practices in particular OD-free status of Indian districts, eradicate manual scavenging and promote efficient solid waste management. The Clean India movement is the biggest step taken ever till date (*AIF, 2018*) in a country where around 20 per cent people are toiletless and a mere two per cent have access to toilets that are connected to a sewerage network.

Much of the discussion that has taken place regarding the SBM has focussed on toilet construction. However not much work is centred on the social context. This new technology operates to achieve the target of having a 100 per cent OD-free status. This is imperative as such study can help us understand whether the SBM is successful in reaching those who lack sanitation the most. Using the STS as a background, this article examines the success of the SBM through the lens of the class, caste and gender and if the SBM gains have been equitably distributed within different social strata. This article also aims to understand the implementation and its challenges of the mission.

The article first focuses on the essence of the SBM, then discusses, the field of sociology of science studies in brief, followed by examining the policy of the SBM vis-a-vis the class, caste and gender. It then discusses the implementation of the SBM followed by a conclusion.

II. THE ESSENCE OF SBM

The main aim of the SBM mission is to achieve 100 per cent Open Defecation-free status and promote improved sanitation practices. The SBM is the country's biggest-ever cleanliness drive costing over 10,600 million USD for five years in 4,041 towns (Ghosh, 2016). There is a need to prioritise the sanitation facilities in India as 50 infectious diseases in our country are spread by water, majority being diarrhoeal diseases. Inadequate sanitation kills 5.8 million children younger than five years every year; most of the deaths are caused by the ingestion of faeces (Ghosh, 2016). The UN reports that 60 per cent of the Indian population defecates in the open which results in the spread of water-borne diseases and in poor economy. Bad hygiene affects productivity by health ailments which pressurise the economy by an increased burden on taxpayers to fund health initiatives (Ghosh, 2016). In rural sub-Saharan Africa, where people are, on average, poorer, less educated, and less likely to have access to an improved water source than people in rural India, only about 35 per cent of the people defecate in the open (Coffey, et al., 2017).

The Swachh Bharat Mission (Urban) aims to (i) eliminate open defecation, (ii) eradicate manual scavenging, (iii) implement modern and scientific municipal solid waste management, (iv) create behavioural change regarding healthy sanitation practices, (v) generate awareness about sanitation and its linkage with public health, (vi) promote capacity augmentation of Urban Local Bodies and (vii) create an enabling environment for private sector participation in capital, operation and maintenance expenditure. The components of the mission include the construction of household toilets, community and public toilets; solid waste management, IEC and public awareness and capacity building (NITI Aayog, 2015).

III. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY STUDIES

The sociology of STS is a discipline that concerns construction of science and technology as a social product, and its impact on society. The STS theme is best reflected in Thomas Kuhn's classic 1962 study, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, which suggested a new approach to historical and social studies of science. Here scientific facts were seen as products of scientists' socially conditioned investigations rather than as objective representations of nature. A number of authors emerged thereon. Prominent STS scholar Langdon Winner (1980) in his famous article titled *do artefacts have politics?* argues that technological artefacts embody politics through invention, design and arrangement. They establish patterns of power and authority, thus excluding some from

its use over others. What matters, Winner suggests, is not technology but the social system in which they are embedded. For instance, the bridges in Long Island, New York, were designed in a manner that they provided only limited access to minorities travelling to Jones Beach; they were meant for automobile travel and not mass transit, the bus in which coloured people travel. Such a design embodied a particular vision of social order. However not everything is socially constructed, technology has qualities itself. Many other authors emerged later. Here we define the sociology of science studies through the stratification of the class, caste and gender.

IV. SBM GUIDELINES AND ASSOCIATED DOCUMENTS

Before we engage in an analysis of the SBM let us examine the SBM documents given on the website. The SBM guideline document comprises Objectives of the SBM, mission's components (community toilets, household toilets, public toilets, solid waste management and public awareness; sanitation strategy (city level sanitation plans, safe sanitation strategy), and strategies for special focus groups like ragpickers. The guideline then talks about the financial strategy methods such as those of the Government and the private sector (corporate social responsibility), market borrowing and land leveraging. It then focuses on administrative structures at three levels and the mode of monitoring and evaluation. Finally it talks about targets for achieving the objectives (*MoHUA, 2018*). The associated documents are draft sanitation byelaws, case studies, sample RFPs, faecal sludge management, and *Swachh Survekshan* tool kit.

V. SBM AND THE CLASS

The reference is to access to sanitation and unequal households with varying economic status (*IIHS, 2015*). It is the urban poor and the lower class that resort to open defecation. A study estimating related economic losses showed that urban households in the poorest quintile bear the highest per capita economic impact of inadequate sanitation, 1.75 times the national per capita losses and 60 per cent more than the urban figure (*Wankhede, 2015*).

With the available resources being monopolised by middle and upper class interests, local governments have a poor record for implementing sanitation, water supply and urban poverty alleviation programmes (*Wankhede, 2015*).

The deficits are larger in terms of access to the urban poor. There are several challenges for service provisioning for the poor. The biggest

challenge in provisioning of services for the poor is related to land ownership and tenure security. Government programmes are usually limited to notified slums, and within those which have secure tenure. Apart from tenure households, not many households may be able to invest in water and sanitation facilities. The fact is that there are limited subsidies for household provisioning in India (IIHS: 2015). Furthermore, the provision of toilets has additional problems with regard to the lack of space. Urban slums are dense, overcrowded places where sometimes it may be difficult to provide sanitation facilities.

In addition to the lack of toilets, there are other issues such as poor design and maintenance of different kinds of systems, such as soak pits and septic tanks which lead to further effects on the urban poor. For example, in the case of pit latrines, minimum distances to sources of drinking water need to be maintained to avoid the possibility of water contamination. In the case of septic tanks, there must be soakaways/drain fields. Many of these on-site systems are also poorly constructed and are thus rendered unsafe, letting untreated excreta out into the environment. Urban poor households are more likely to be affected by these problems, as it is often not possible to construct soakaways or maintain minimum distances in high-density settlements. (Wankhede, 2015).

Not only there is a lack of toilet facilities the slum dwellers who live on sites that have poor sanitation are also exposed to many hazards and toxics. Because their settlements occupy space designated unfit for habitation or lands that they occupy illegally, are not for services – water, waste disposal, power, roads – and are treated as officially invisible (Black: 1996). Further the insecurity of tenure also leads them to invest more on the site (Duflo: 2012)

How do SBM documents understand the urban poverty and sanitation linkage? Table 1 demonstrates the references the SBM documents make to urban poverty and its links to sanitation.

Table 1 shows that in the SBM there is a poor linkage between poverty and sanitation.

VI. ACROSS THE CASTE

The caste system is unique to the Indian continent and is absent in other South Asian and Western countries. More than 6.76 lakh people--95 per cent of whom are women--are engaged in manual scavenging that includes the lifting and removal of human excreta manually. The caste system is based on the philosophy of *Karma* and

TABLE 1: ANALYSIS OF SBM DOCUMENTS

Name of the document	Urban Poor Reference
SBM guidelines	• Mentions beneficiaries as those with tenure and non-tenure living arrangement, Creation of community toilets; Involvement of NGOs and CSOs and the Creation of Public Toilets Behavioural change communication. • Disbursal of funds through performance grants. • Does not follow the complete link between urban poverty and sanitation.
Swachh Sarvekshan Toolkit	Only community engagement mentioned.
Sample RFPs	No reference to the urban poor.
Case studies	Some case studies have shown good work on participation but do not exactly address the urban poor. Some studies are purely technical documents.
Faecal and sludge management	Mentions community participation but not the urban poor. Talks a lot on awareness and behavioural change, especially for the urban poor ¹ .
Draft sanitation byelaws	No mention of the urban poor.
Community engagement guidelines	Only community engagement, yet no focus on the urban poor.
Swachh Sarvekshan	Mentions involvement of citizens and campaigns for awareness generation and penalties like fines for those engaging in OD but no mention of the urban poor.

Dharma which strengthens the idea of hierarchy that is inherent in Hindu society. The concept of purity and pollution governs relations between different castes (Irshad, Ahrar, and Zuber, 2013).

The origin of insanitary practices in Indian society leads to the oppression of the “polluted castes”. According to the caste system, no one else, permitted to practise manual scavenging. Violating this norm may result in ostracisation within and outside one’s community.

People work as manual scavengers as they are supposed to fulfil this role in their class position despite the fact that manual scavenging violates international human rights, unclogging manholes and cleaning the filth created by others.

Manual scavengers (95 per cent women) manually clean dry latrines and lift and carry heavy loads of excrement in cane baskets to designated sites of disposal. In the heat of summer and during the rains, the excrement leaks on to their faces and bodies. Additionally, manual scavengers are expected to carry out other “polluting” tasks, including the disposing of dead animals, cleaning placentas after delivery, and various funeral related activities. Their children also face discrimination in schools (*IDSN, 2018*).

Manual scavenging exposes people to many occupational hazards, besides having to face the indignity of spending numerous hours of their life in lifting and disposing of human faeces and cleaning sewers, often under conditions where there is no safety gear. The average lifespan of a manhole worker is about 45 years. There is no compensation for such risky works, unlike in many developed countries.

All latrines – whether sanitary or insanitary – require to be emptied, and occasionally unclogged. In the absence of pit-emptying technology in rural India and with an increase in the absolute number of latrines, more people from the manual scavenging communities may end up working with faeces.

The strong caste system dictates who can clean human excreta. People from non-scavenging castes have an aversion to emptying the pits of latrines – either privately built, or those built by the Government. As a result of this aversion, people prefer to defecate in the open, and use a latrine only when there is no other option. These health hazards include exposure to harmful gases such as methane and hydrogen sulfide, cardiovascular degeneration, musculoskeletal disorders like osteoarthritic changes and intervertebral disc herniation, infections like hepatitis, leptospirosis, skin problems, respiratory system problems and altered pulmonary function. According to the 2011 Socio-Economic Caste Census, 1,68,068 households were engaged in manual scavenging for a livelihood. Census 2011, on the other hand, recorded 7,95,252 dry latrines across the country. However, these figures are believed to be an underestimate.

Though the Government has tried annihilating the caste and manual scavenging through previous legislations and now these SBM legislations have had limited success. Evidence shows that in 20 years of its existence, not a single government official has been convicted for allowing this practice to continue. Similar is the situation with the new

legislation titled the Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and Their Rehabilitation Act in September 2013.

According to the Act, those using protective gear and devices as may be notified by the Central Government would not come under the definition of a manual scavenger, which too looks like an escape clause that leads to continuing deployment of workers for manual scavenging.

Manual scavenging continues to persist as planners and designers have not been able to find alternative means of managing garbage and sewage. In fact, caste and related discriminations have become so common and ingrained in our psyche that nobody finds anything disturbing about it.

Examining the SBM policy document there is a scarce mention of manual scavengers, and suggests that all manual scavengers in urban areas are identified. Insanitary toilets linked to their employment are upgraded to sanitary toilets, and the manual scavengers are adequately rehabilitated. Table 1 pretty much applies to the caste as well, showing that a perfunctory mention is given to the caste and manual scavenging. It goes without saying that there are other dimensions to the caste apart from manual scavenging that the SBM does not exist. The Swachh Bharat Abhiyan reminds one of the manner in which the Government made untouchability “disappear” on paper in the state sometime ago, despite its persistence on the ground. (*Ghatade, 2015*)

VII. SBM AND THE GENDER

Sanitation has a gender dimension as well as women and girls have to spend each morning to find sites for OD that are away from the sight of men. In the process of finding these sites there may be ways that poor women and girls can suffer gender-based violence. Such violence may also occur around community/public toilets. Women thus bear twice the burden as they rise earlier or stay up later than men in order to “go to the fields”.

Women are particularly at risk during periods of menstruation or illness when the taboos on controlling sanitary habits place an additional burden on them. Women may be at further risk by human or animal predation if they travel far away from their settlements for open defecation or to fetch water at certain times of the day or night (*Jha, 2010*).

Further more women cannot go for OD at all points of time, as their male counterparts can (*UNDP, 2018*). Table 1 holds true in terms of relationship between SBM policy and the gender.

VIII. IMPLEMENTATION

The implementation of the SBM has been a contentious issue-drawing both flowers and flak. The number of ODF districts as of 2018 is 402 out of 700 districts (making the target 56 per cent of the total). The SBM has managed to construct toilets and their monitoring is also being done (NDTV, 2018).

According to many sources, the SBM-G which has the task of building 10,000 toilets across the country has been underfunded (*The Wire*, 2018) which has impacted the implementation of the SBM. Even raising resources from the private sector has been difficult. This is despite the fact that many predecessors of the SBM have been in place such as the Total Sanitation Campaign, the Nirmal Gram and the Puruskar. A parliamentary committee has suggested that the gap on what was needed and what was given has widened over the years (*The Wire*, 2018).

The implementation of different elements of the SBM is not equal. Thus much of the work goes in constructing toilets than in information communication and community participation.

Apart from immediate finances, for gaining further government funds, through a Swachh Bharat cess, the districts have been competing with each other to declare themselves open defecation-free (ODF), purely on the basis of the number of toilets built, rather than on the basis of whether people are actually using those toilets (*First Post*, 2018).

For instance, in the Odisha village of Jampada in Jharsuguda, a declared 100 per cent ODF district, there are 40 households and all of them do have a toilet. But they are not used as the village does not have water supply. There is a single hand pump outside the village. Some other villages in Jharsuguda and Deogarh of Odisha, both ODF districts, have a similar story (*First Post*, 2018).

There is an absence of database whether these toilets are being used; whether their construction quality is OK and is being monitored by the PHED or whether there is simply a lack of facilities like soap in some toilets. In fact, stories have come to light that several rural people are using the toilets for keeping fodder for their cattle.

Further the Government's monitoring system does not track open defecation - it tracks funds spent on latrine construction. In many cases funds spent on latrines do not result in functional latrines. Pits may never be dug and superstructures may turn into storage sheds or bathing areas (*Coffee and Spears*, 2017).

The way behavioural change is being induced for people to stop

engaging in OD is also troublesome. According to a confidential source in a leading consulting organisation, methods used to meet OD targets included using NGOs to engage in shaming those who continued to engage in OD. Cases of evictions have also been reported.

Another reason why tracking funds spent on latrine construction tells us little about progress towards reducing open defecation is that even where funds translate into functional latrines, latrine ownership does not imply latrine use. There is a high rate of open defecation among people who own government latrines (*Coffey et al. 2017*).

There are positive reports as well. According to reports from the AIF on Jaipur district, while the problems such as water availability still persist, the women now feel more secure and a way better than before having their own toilets at home (*AIF, 2018*).

IX. CONCLUSION

The Swachh Bharat Mission has been a landmark strategy launched by the Modi Government in 2015. The scheme consists of eradicating open defecation, manual scavenging and solid waste management, changing behaviour towards open defecation, capacity building of ULBs and involvement of the private sector for achieving OD-free status. Examining the technology-oriented SBM through a perspective of sociology of science and technology studies, the analysis finds that the policy pays lip service to the class, caste and gender concerns. What appears to be a value neutral technology is not exactly a value neutral one. The policy needs to be better defined.

Similarly the SBM faces several issues like the availability of funds, the lack of private sector participation, unused toilets and difficulties in behavioural changes. This situation needs to be amended.

However, there are certain things that the SBM or later policies may find difficult to amend if they can ever be amended. Widespread open defecation in rural India is not attributable to relative material or educational deprivation, but rather to beliefs, values, norms about purity, pollution and the caste that cause people to reject affordable latrines. Many people consider having and using an affordable pit latrine ritually impure and polluting. Open defecation is seen as promoting purity and strength, particularly by men, who typically decide how money is spent in rural households (*Coffee et al, 2016*).

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Endnotes

1. The SBM documents talk a lot on behavioural change. In some way it pinpoints at a class that should bring about behavioural change in the urban poor while the rich class need not make any changes; hence some need to be sanitised and not others.

SHGs and the Well-Being of the Urban Poor: A Study of Visakhapatnam City

K. PADMAJA*

ABSTRACT

Self-Help Groups (SHGs) are the institutions of the poor. They have proved themselves as institutions potent enough to bring a turnaround in the lives of the poor, socially and economically backward classes. This is documented widely in the literature dealing with the rural poor. There is a relative neglect in the literature on the efficacy of the SHGs in improving the lives of the urban poor. The present article seeks to contribute to the literature on the urban poor. The premise of the study is that sufficient time must elapse for the SHGs to impact favourably on the lives of the urban poor. This sample study is based on the data collected from 400 households belonging to a poor locality of the Visakhapatnam city (Andhra Pradesh). It fits the households which became members of SHGs in the recent past as against those who became members in the distant past and reaches the conclusion that the latter group of households are better placed compared to the former group in respect of educational attainments, asset base, income, and expenditure. It also reaches the conclusion that there are fewer poor people in the latter group compared to those in the former group.

Keywords: Self-Help Groups, Well-Being, Urban poor, Visakhapatnam

INTRODUCTION

Self-Help Groups (SHGs) are informal groups of 10 to 20 members each invariably of homogeneous social and economic background drawn from a contiguous area. Their membership primarily comprises women (Madhura Swaminathan, 2007). They work on the principle of self-help and mutual help. They encourage thrift and with the funds

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so pooled and with generous matching support from formal financial bodies, extend interest bearing loans to their members. The mechanism of 'peer-pressure' enables the SHGs to promptly recover the loans advanced to their members and this has contributed to their sustainability in the long run (*Stiglitz, 1990; Rahman, 1999; Sharma and Zeller, 1997*). The loans advanced by the SHGs to their members are found channelled largely into gainful activities allied to agriculture and into non-agricultural activities. These activities are widely reported to have enlarged the employment base, enhanced incomes, smoothed consumption, improved education and health status and generally empowered women of the otherwise poor households (*Puhazhendhi and Jayaraman, 1999*).

Objective

In the literature, the impact of the SHGs of rural areas on the social and economic life of their members is documented much more widely than that of urban areas SHGs. The present study with its focus on the well-being of the SHG members of Visakhapatnam City (Andhra Pradesh) is an addition to the studies on the urban poor. The present study also addresses the less researched theme, viz., whether long-standing association with SHGs helps the urban poor to better their socio-economic status. In other words, the objective of the study is to examine if SHGs membership over a long period of time improves the well-being of the urban poor of Visakhapatnam city.

Methodology

The impact studies such as this follow either one of the two approaches - 'with and without' approach and 'before and after' approach. If we propose to adopt the former method (with and without approach), we need to compare the well-being of the urban poor households which are members of SHGs and those which are not members of SHGs. It is necessary here that both groups of members have the same initial conditions except that one group comprises members, and the other non-members. In contrast, if we decide to opt for the second method (before and after approach) we are required to compare the status of the urban poor before they became members of SHGs and after. This method to yield reliable results requires that the group of members chosen for the study is not subjected to any influence other than becoming members of SHGs between now and then.

In the present study we adopted the 'with and without' approach in principle. The first stage of this sample study involves the selection of a poor locality of Visakhapatnam city. Thus, we have chosen the area called Kobbarithota. Here, all the households are largely poor

and belong to the same socio-economic status and are members of one SHG or the other. However, they differ in that the heads of some of the households joined the SHGs in the last five years, here called 'new' households for ease of exposition; and some earlier in the more distant past, called 'old' households. Our second stage of the study involves a random selection of 200 households each representing the old and new households. Data employed in the study was collected during May-December 2015. The study involves a comparison of the characteristic features of the two groups to examine if the longstanding association of the old households with the SHGs has had any influence on their well-being. The premise here is that it takes time for the impact of joining the SHGs to be felt by the households in question. We test the hypothesis that association with SHGs over a long period impacts positively on the well-being of the concerned households – we expect that their educational status is better, their asset base is superior, their average household income and per capita income are higher, their consumption expenditure is larger and the percentage of poor persons among them is lower, as compared to the households which joined the SHGs relatively recently.

Distinguishing Features of the Old and New Households

(a) Age Distribution of the Household Heads

We looked at the distribution of sample heads of households by age. If it is largely divergent as between the old and new households, it could vitiate the findings of our study. In case there are more household heads in the working age of a particular group, it could easily place the household in a better position since the productivity of such members would be more. Data presented in **Table 1** shows that the age distribution of the old and new household heads is about the same. Thus, if old members exhibit superior economic status one could attribute it to their extended association with SHGs.

TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF THE HEADS OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS BY AGE (%)

Age-group in years	Old households	New households
Below 18	--	--
18-39	38.85	37.72
40-49	40.87	40.00
50-59	19.50	21.82
60 & above	0.78	0.46
All	100.00(200)	100.00(200)

Figures in brackets are the total numbers of sample households.

(b) *Caste Composition of the Household Heads*

Another factor that could impact on the well-being of households is the caste status. If a person belongs to a forward caste it could find itself in a better position to access benefits. The classification of our sample heads of households by caste given in **Table 2** shows that the forward castes are about the same in the two groups, old and new. In fact, most of the heads belong to backward castes in both the groups. We may thus discern that caste status is unlikely to impact differently on the well-being of the two groups of households.

TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF HEADS OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS BY CASTE (%)

Caste status	Old households	New households
Forward castes	8.26	9.01
Backward castes	63.91	69.09
Scheduled castes	27.83	21.90
All	100.00 (200)	100.00 (200)

Figures in brackets are the total numbers of sample households.

(c) *Dependency Ratio*

We show in **Table 3** the classification of the household members (including the heads) of the old and new groups by their earning status. We notice that earners constitute 40.6% in the old group of households and 43.80% among the new group of households. And, the dependency ratios work out to be 1.47 and 1.28 for the old and new groups respectively – there are more dependents per earner among the old households than among the new households. The higher ratio of the old households may be interpreted to mean that they support more dependents because, as we see in detail later, they are in a financially better position to do so.

TABLE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY MEMBERS* BY EARNING STATUS (%)

Earning status	Old households	New households
Earner	40.6	43.8
Non-earner	59.4	56.2
All	100.0 (854)	100.0 (790)
Dependency ratio	1.47	1.28

Figures in brackets are the total numbers of household members.

*(Including children)

(d) Educational Attainments

We postulate that the exposure to the SHGs over a long period of time places a household in a better position to realise the importance of education. We therefore expect the educational attainments to be better among the adults of the old than among the new households. Table 4 shows the distribution of the adult members (excluding children below five years) of the old and new households by educational status. It may be noted that the illiterate adults form 32.3% among the old households and 48.9% among the new. To put it alternatively, the educated accounts for a larger share of the adults, among the old vis-a-vis the new households. Thus our hypothesis stands vindicated.

TABLE 4: DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY MEMBERS* BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS (%)

Educational attainment	Old households	New households
Illiterate	32.3	49.0
Primary	27.4	26.2
Secondary	33.5	21.8
Post-secondary	6.5	3.0
Technical	0.3	0.0
All	100.0 (835)	100.0 (783)

Figures in brackets are the total numbers of household members.

*(Excluding children below five years)

(e) Value of Assets

We present in Table 5 the distribution of old and new households by the size-class of the value of assets possessed by them. It is evident from the table that the distribution is clearly favourable in the case of the old as compared to the new households of SHGs – the percentage of households in the size-class ‘below Rs. 2,00,000’ is less and ‘above Rs. 4,00,000’ more for the old households than for the new households. This situation may be because of the culmination of efforts and decisions

TABLE 5: DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS BY VALUE OF ASSETS POSSESSED (%)

Size-class of value of assets	Old households	New households
Below Rs. 2,00,000	39.97	51.05
Rs. 2,00,000-4,00,000	37.39	33.95
Rs. 4,00,000 and above	22.64	15.00
All	100.00 (200)	100.00 (200)

Figures in brackets are the total numbers of sample households.

of the old vis-a-vis the new households. That is because exposure to the SHGs for a long period impacts favourably on the assets possessed.

(f) *Annual Income*

Longstanding membership in the SHGs has had an enhancing effect on the household income. Thus, as may be seen from Table 6, the income distribution puts the old households in a better position with a relatively larger proportion of households in higher income classes. Next, Table 7 shows that the average annual income of households at Rs. 69,699 is higher for the old compared to Rs. 46,282 for the new households of the SHGs. Also, the per capita income given in the table is much higher for the old relative to the new households at Rs. 18,670 and Rs. 13,155 respectively.

TABLE 6: DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS BY ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME (%)

Size-class of	Old households	New households
Below Rs. 1,00,000	65.08	81.24
Rs. 1,00,000-2,00,000	31.92	17.18
Rs. 2,00,000 & above	3.00	1.58
All	100.00 (200)	100.00 (200)

Figures in brackets are the total numbers of sample households.

TABLE 7: AVERAGE ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND AVERAGE ANNUAL PER CAPITA INCOME

Average annual income	Income (Rs.) of old households	Income (Rs.) of new households
Per household	69,699	46,282
Per capita	18,670	13,155

(g) *Annual Expenditure*

It is generally admitted that estimates of the expenditure of households are more reliable than those of the income of the households. Keeping this in view, we have arrived at the distribution of households by expenditure class, average annual household expenditure and the average per capita expenditure of the sample households. The details are presented in Tables 8 and 9. It comes out clearly from the tables that on all counts, the old households are far better off than the new ones.

(h) *Incidence of Poverty*

Employing the data on the household consumption expenditure we have arrived at the incidence of poverty among the sample households.

TABLE 8: DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS BY ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE (%)

Size-class of	Old households	New households
Below Rs. 1,00,000	75.1	91.2
Rs. 1,00,000-2,00,000	21.1	7.2
Rs. 2,00,000 & above	3.8	1.6
All	100.00 (200)	100.00 (200)

Figures in brackets are the total numbers of sample households.

TABLE 9: AVERAGE ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND AVERAGE ANNUAL PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE

Average annual expenditure	Expenditure (Rs.) of old households	Expenditure (Rs.) of new households
Per household	82,793	60,651
Per capita	22,298	17,239

The head count ratio of poverty is estimated using the poverty line of Rs. 1,190 per capita per month for the reference year 2015-16. The poverty line is arrived at after adjusting the official (Planning Commission) poverty line of Rs. 1,009 per capita per month for the year 2011-12 of urban Andhra Pradesh, for price rise. It is estimated that the poverty ratio for the old households is 46.1% and for the new households it is 76.3%. These figures on poverty corroborate our earlier findings that exposure to SHGs over a long period of time improves the well-being of the urban poor.

CONCLUSION

The premise that the beneficial effect of joining SHGs will be felt in the long run is validated by our study. Thus, the old households where the heads of households joined the SHGs in the distant past were placed in a better position than the new households which joined the SHGs in the recent past, as judged from their educational attainments, asset base, income, and expenditure. Also, there are fewer 'poor' people among the old households as compared to the new households. It pays to be a member of an SHG in the long run, for sure.

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Best Practices in Urban Governance: A Case Study of Tadipatri Municipality in Ananthapuramu District of Andhra Pradesh

ANKITA SINGH* ,
V N ALOK**

ABSTRACT

The case study of the Tadipatri Municipality has been taken up to observe its performance and achievements with a view to bringing forward the best practices and reformist measures being undertaken by this municipal body of Andhra Pradesh. The study highlights its success story in the areas of financial sustainability, administrative reforms and civic services. The paper has been divided into seven sections. The first part gives a brief overview of the State of Andhra Pradesh and Ananthapuramu (popularly known as Anantapur) district and its administrative structure and then discusses Tadipatri town, its administrative structure and its geographical and demographic features. The next section deals with the financial profile of the municipality, its revenue and expenditure position and its innovative tax measures. The third section discusses the steps taken towards increasing administrative efficiency, the challenges faced therein and the introduction of technology in day-to-day administration. Subsequent parts of the study explain measures adopted by the municipality in the area of solid waste management, sewerage, drainage and waste water management and efforts made towards imparting better education for a brighter future of Tadipatri's youth. The concluding section brings out overall achievements of the municipality and the way forward for other smaller municipal bodies in India which suffer from the limitations of resources and the lack of self-sufficiency.

Keywords: Andhra Pradesh, India, Tadipatri Municipality, Urban Governance, Municipal Finance and Service Delivery

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INTRODUCTION

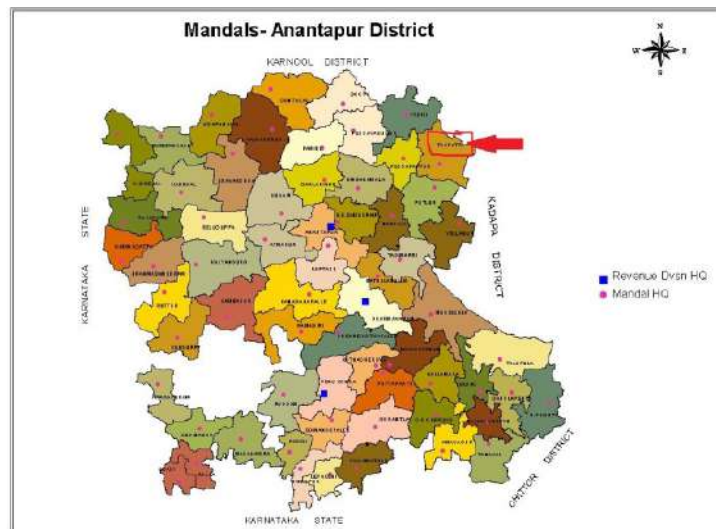
The Tadipatri Municipality is one of the civic bodies in Andhra Pradesh, and is located in the Ananthapuramu district of the State. With an area of about 162,970 km² and an estimated population of 53.612 million for the year 2018, Andhra Pradesh is considered the tenth most populous state of India. In the early years of Independence there were two acts governing the municipal administration, i.e. the Andhra Pradesh District Municipalities Act, 1920 (for Andhra Region) responsible for municipalities in the Coastal and Rayalaseema regions and the Andhra Pradesh District Municipalities Act, 1956 dealing with municipalities in the Telangana region (before the separation of Telangana in 2014). However, the enactment of the Andhra Pradesh Municipalities Act of 1965 consolidated all the laws relating to municipal bodies in Andhra Pradesh. The Act was extended to the entire State bringing consistency in municipal administration across Andhra Pradesh.

Urban Andhra Pradesh at present has 110 municipal bodies. Of them, 16 are Municipal Corporations, 73 Municipalities and 21 Nagar Panchayats. With the purpose of better administration, 13 districts of the State have been broadly divided into Coastal and Rayalaseema regions. This could be further understood as the Northern Coast region consisting of the districts of East Godavari, West Godavari, Vishakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam. The Southern Coast region constitutes the districts of Guntur, Krishna, Prakasam and Nellore. And the Rayalaseema region comprises the districts of Chittoor, Ananthapuramu, Cuddapah and Kurnool. Whereas Vishakhapatnam is the largest city (with a population of 2,035,922 as per the 2011 Census) and is considered the financial capital of Andhra Pradesh, Ananthapuramu is the largest district of the State with an area of 19,130 km².

Ananthapuramu district comes under the rain shadow zone in peninsular India. The average annual rainfall in the region is 520mm which is the lowest in the entire State. The geographical situation of the district renders it to be the driest area of Andhra Pradesh. Due to these reasons, Ananthapuramu has experienced a lot of famine like drought situations.

Ananthapuramu was formed in the year 1882 after being separated from Bellary district. It is a part of the Rayalaseema region of the State and lies in south-western Andhra Pradesh. The district has a population of 40,83,315 as per the 2011 Census and 28.09 per cent of this population resides in urban areas. There are eight municipalities in Ananthapuramu district, viz., Dharmavaram, Gooty, Guntakal, Hindupur, Kadiri, Kalyandurg, Rayadurg and Tadipatri. In addition, the district has one

Municipal Corporation and three Nagar Panchayats. The administrative headquarters of the district is located in Ananthapuramu city. In order to facilitate lucid administration, Ananthapuramu has been divided into five revenue divisions i.e., Ananthapuramu, Dharmavaram, Kadiri, Kalyandurg and Penukonda. These are further divided into 63 mandals. Ananthapuramu Division has 19 mandals, Tadipatri being one. Located on the banks of river Penna, the small town of Tadipatri was declared as the Cleanest Town of Andhra Pradesh in the year 2016.



Tadipatri is spread in an area of 7.46 km² and as per the 2011 Census, it has a population of 1,08,171. The Tadipatri Municipality was constituted in the year 1920 and in 2002 it was upgraded to a first grade municipal body with 34 election wards consisting of 30415 households. Tadipatri is rich in cement grade limestone deposits and is well known for the production of black stone and granite polishing in Ananthapuramu district. There exist three major industries on the outskirts of the town-Ultra Tech Cements (commissioned in 1994), Penna Cements (established in 2008) and Gerdau Steels (operational from 2014). Lately, the experience of urbanisation in the town has gained impetus due to these industries which employ thousands of people from Tadipatri and nearby villages. The town has emerged as a newly industrialised area and the population inflow has definitely posed a challenge to the Tadipatri Municipality with regard to the provision of basic services in the town. Nonetheless, the Tadipatri Municipality has come up as a role model body for others to replicate.

FINANCIAL PROFILE

The sound financial health of a municipality is the key for its efficient administration. The strength of a municipality is reflected in its financial sufficiency. Most of municipalities in India today face a wide fiscal gap between their requirements and resources to fulfil their requirements. The Tadipatri Municipality, with a population base as low as > 2 lakhs, has set an example for other smaller municipal bodies in terms of self-sufficiency and financial robustness. Tables below show the receipts and expenditure of the Municipality for three years, i.e. 2012-13 to 2014-15.

TABLE 1: REVENUE RECEIPTS OF TADIPATRI MUNICIPALITY

Rs In Lakhs

S.No.	Items	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
	Opening Balance	817.05	1064.40	1262.70
1	Taxes	245.28	248.03	256.60
2	Non Taxes	365.48	495.81	654.27
3	Assigned Revenues	178.08	50.91	85.03
4	Non Plan Grant	92.77	835.56	803.43
5	Plan Grant	100.36	123.18	432.00
6	Others	887.59	255.88	231.64
	Total	2686.61	3073.77	3725.67

The Municipality has been able to constantly achieve increase in its own source revenues which is an indicator of its sturdy financial position. Property tax as a principal source of tax revenue has been higher when compared to other heads of receipts. Under the non-tax revenue sources, the Municipality levies charges, rents and fees, advertisement tax and surcharge and earns rent from the usage of civic amenities, including its market and shopping complexes, an auditorium and community halls. It also levies licence fee, building permit fee, fee from sanitation certificate and development and betterment charges. It levies user charge for special sanitation and user charge for drainage. Lately, the Municipality has also been generating funds from the collection of penalties.

Table 2 presents the expenditure side of the Tadipatri Municipality. As seen from the table, the operation and maintenance of its services has been the major avenue of expenses for the Municipality followed by establishments and salaries of the municipal staff. However, in the year 2014-15 an increasing trend could be observed for the expenses made towards capital and other works. The explanation of this could be

several measures taken for the restructuring of the entire town. These measures have been detailed in the subsequent sections.

TABLE 2: EXPENDITURE OF TADIPATRI MUNICIPALITY

<i>Rs In Lakhs</i>				
S.No.	Items	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
1	Establishment	184.74	184.74	184.74
2	Maintenance of Services	442.90	757.51	913.63
3	Capital Works	151.58	79.41	245.47
4	Others	842.99	789.41	757.41
Total		1622.21	1811.07	2101.25

The Municipality has undertaken a number of steps in order to create financial self-sufficiency and sustenance. Like any other small municipal body, the Tadipatri Municipality too faced the challenges of insufficient manpower, poor financial condition and the lack of technical know-how among its staff. However, to overcome these problems various stakeholders were engaged and innovative and reformist measures taken, including micro planning and a division of the town into zones for better implementation of programmes in target areas.

All the municipal vacant plots were converted into shopping complexes which led to an income of about Rs. 1.25 crore per annum. Old dumps on grounds have been converted by the Municipality into vegetable markets that add an annual lease income of around Rs 30 lakhs. The Municipality imposes fees and penalties for the use of plastic carry bags for open urination or defecation. Apart from these, the Municipality has also adopted the best practices method in the areas of solid waste processing, waste water processing, the sewerage and drainage network of the town, primary education, municipal administration, infrastructural development and health and hygiene.

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

Post-reorganisation of Andhra Pradesh in 2014, the State Government made several reforms in its administrative structure with the motive of effective governance and delivering qualitative services to citizens. Taking a cue from this, the Tadipatri Municipality introduced the e-attendance system, i.e. AEBAS (Aadhaar Electronic Based Attendance System) for recording the attendance of its staff members in the year 2015. By doing so, the Municipality became the first civic body in Andhra Pradesh to introduce this system for both its regular and contractual staff. This was introduced with a view to putting check on irregularity among the employees and maintaining

punctuality. Also, manual maintenance of attendance was lopsided which made it difficult to supervise staff attendance timings. Introducing the step also helped in putting the Social Security Pension Distribution System in place as all fake/ineligible beneficiaries were tracked and their pensions discontinued. With support from the NIC and district administration, all employees have been enrolled in the AEBAS software while their service matters are updated in the employee management system *viz.*, entry into their service and leave particulars, the dates of their retirement, etc. The implementation of the biometric system for pension distribution in the Municipality has restricted the misuse of pension amount by detecting fake beneficiaries thus, reducing fraud.

In addition to this, the Municipality introduced the e-office system in the year 2016 in its departments for a speedy and efficient communication which could be transparent as well as accountable. The introduction of the electronic system has been helpful in tackling unnecessary delays in the organisation related to the finalisation of reports or preparation of monthly/annual accounts, maintaining records, identifying tax defaulters and handling corruption arising due to more scope for tampering with information or changing records and the waste of time, finance and manpower resources. The adoption of the single window system has increased transparency, responsiveness and the quality of services. It has facilitated the sharing of information between all government agencies and departments to build a strong database. The implementation of the GIS has made it easier to fulfil infrastructural gaps in the town and has helped in identifying and rectifying problems occurred in the networking of pipeline leakages or any other issues thus improving the quality of internal operations and the MIS to stimulate good governance.

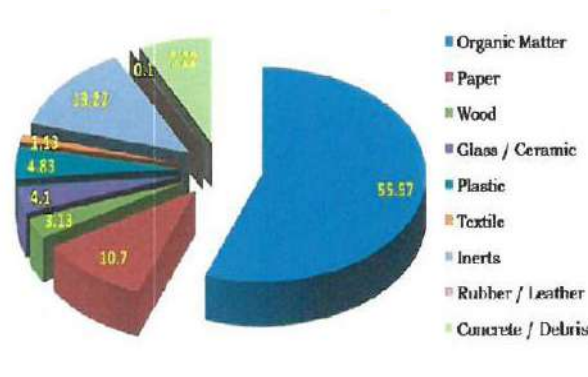
Thus, several reforms were introduced by the Tadipatri Municipality in a well planned and phased manner which resulted in the transformation of the entire administration. Slowly all functions and services rendered by the Municipality were brought to the digital mode. The management of finances, work modules, the tendering system, the collection of taxes, the redressal of grievances and other regular services were transferred to the online platform.

SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT

The management of municipal solid waste is indeed crucial for public health, sanitation and overall maintenance of hygiene in a city. Public health, sanitation and solid waste management have been one of the 18 matters of municipal governance under the 12th Schedule to the

Constitution of India. In this regard, the Tadipatri Municipality has been performing its responsibility in a significant manner. It is reflected in the achievement of the civic body declared as the 31st cleanest municipal area in India as per the Swachhta Sarvekshan conducted by the Government of India in the year 2017. However, the achievement didn't come easy as Tadipatri is a small town with limited resources, be they financial or human. With the advent of urbanisation waste generation has seen a steep rise, along with an indiscriminate disposal of untreated waste that led to the contamination and degradation of not only natural resources but also huge risks to human health conditions.

Way before the enforcement of the Solid Waste Management Rules, 2016, the Tadipatri Municipality took strict measures for the implementation of the Municipal Solid Waste Management Rules, 2000. The Municipality constituted a City Sanitation Task Force Committee and several meetings were held with the relevant stakeholders. Ward and street level meetings were organised to have public opinion. Accordingly, detailed surveys were conducted to prepare a micro plan for the city.



With grants under the 12th Union Finance Commission, the Municipality constructed vermicompost structures at different compost yards of the city investing about Rs. 500,000. A range of new vehicles were engaged in door-to-door collection of garbage and its direct transportation to the compost yard. A long term MoU of 25 years has been signed between the Municipality and the Ultra Tech Cement Industry, located on the outskirts of the town, for the supply of non-recyclable dry waste to the industry with the purpose of co-processing of waste to be converted into energy. In addition, the Industry, as part of its corporate social responsibility (CSR), has agreed to invest a sum of Rs one crore per annum towards generating awareness among citizens and funding developmental activities.

In the year 2018, Tadipatri takes pride in calling itself a dustbin free city with 100% door-to-door garbage collection and over 80 percent source segregation of garbage. One of the best practices adopted by the Municipality has been the production of organic manure out of the wet waste generated in a quantity of 15 MT on a daily basis. The organic manure produced is supplied free to economically weaker farmers and is utilised to maintain parks and green belts in the city. These initiatives are also paying off in the form of revenue that is being collected. It has been estimated that nearly Rs. 1.2 crore is collected per annum in the form of user charge for the door-to-door collection of garbage. An amount of around Rs 75 lakhs per annum is being collected by selling organic manure to the nurseries managed by the State Forest Department and government educational institutions. A complete ban on the usage of plastic carry bags has resulted in the establishment of small-scale industries for jute bags and paper cups. The steps taken in this direction have not only created awareness among citizens but have also improved their living standards. This has led to a decreased annual expenditure on public health as people are now living in a more hygienic atmosphere resulting in a significant change in their behaviour towards society which is now more responsible and disciplined.

DRAINAGE, SEWERAGE AND WASTE WATER TREATMENT

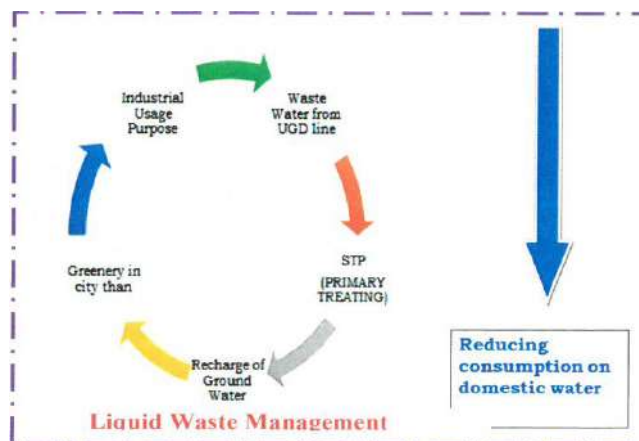
Like other cities, urbanisation, industrialisation and population growth have undoubtedly stressed the urban infrastructure system in the district under reference. Tadipatri had the open drainage system which led to an overflow of sullage in the town during the monsoon causing health issues, water contamination and soil pollution. It had become one of the biggest challenges for the municipality in terms of capital investment required to tackle the problems arising, getting skilled personnel for the job, coordination between various levels of government departments as well as between the government and civil society organisation.

However, in the year 2004, the Government of India sanctioned an amount of Rs 2844.00 lakhs under the HUDCO scheme in response to a detailed project report submitted by the Tadipatri Municipality for setting up an underground drainage system in the entire town. The Public Health Department of the town was entrusted with the task and by the year 2008 every household in the town was covered with underground drainage connection. In addition, two Sewage Treatment Plants (STPs) were established, one with a capacity of 8 MLD and the other with 3.5 MLD based on waste stabilisation pond technology/oxidation pond system. These initiatives were taken with the objective of

collecting the sullage water generated from residential and commercial areas to treat the polluting material and then release the water safely back into the environment.

AN APPROX ESTIMATION OF SEWAGE GENERATION IN TADIPATRI

Sewerage Zone (SZ)	Households (HH) Connected to Sewerage Network	Population @ 5 persons/ HH	Sewage Generation calculated @ 68.79 lpcd (MLD)	Sewage reported to reach STPs (SLB Notificatopm) (MLD)
SZ-1 8 MLD STP	16,554	82,770	4.55	5.0
SZ-2 3.5 MLD STP	6,105	30,525	1.68	1.5



Tadipatri has been estimated to generate approximately 6.4 MLD waste water at a per capita waste water generation rate of 55.03 LPCD with the existing water supply rate at 68.79 LPCD. The existing STPs were designed in the year 2005 taking in view a time period of 30 years with a per capita sewage production rate of 120 LPCD towards the final years. The estimated sewage quantity for the design year was 15 MLD but the constrained water supply rates during the base year resulted in the construction of STPs with a total capacity of 11.5 MLD.

The treated water is streamed back in the environment with a view to recharging the ground water level. It is also used for watering plants in the city and serves agricultural purposes. In 2017, the Gerdau Steel Industry approached the Tadipatri Municipality with the demand for 4.5 MLD waste water to meet its operational and expansion plans. The Municipality passed a resolution, vide CR No. 236 dated March 16, 2018,

according permission for the demand. The minimum guaranteed transfer of secondary treated waste water is planned to start with 1.5 MLD and to be increased up to 3.5 MLD in the first phase and 6.5 MLD once full treatment capacities are reached. There are also several polishing units running in and around the Tadipatri town which face serious setbacks due to drought conditions in the area and the depleting ground water levels. In such a scenario, the utilisation of recycled water for industrial purposes like stone polishing, cooling of boilers and, development of green belt in the industrial area is indeed a commendable step. The supply of recycled water for industrial usage is charged as per the user rates fixed by the Municipality. Technical support for selling recycled water was received from the BMZ (Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development, Germany) and developed by the GIZ (German Society for International Cooperation,) as part of the Support to National Urban Sanitation Policy being implemented by the GIZ in India.

EDUCATION

The 11th Schedule to the Constitution of India enlists Education, including primary and secondary education, as a responsibility of Panchayats. However, the 12th Schedule doesn't list this but does mention "promotion of cultural, educational and aesthetic aspects" with Entry 13 of the 12th Schedule. The Tadipatri town has over one lakh population excluding the population of around 20 villages surrounding the town within the radius of five kms. Children from these villages come to Tadipatri to pursue their higher education. Tadipatri has excellent option of educational institutions with 28 Municipal Schools, one Government School, 47 private schools, one Government junior college, seven private junior colleges, one government polytechnic, one Government polytechnic college, one ITI college and three private degree colleges. There is an estimated yearly enrolment of around 4,600 students in municipal schools. The strength of students enrolled from 1st to 10th Standards in Municipal and Private schools is 13,195. The overall percentage of literacy in the town is 72.17.

The Tadipatri Municipality supplies mid-day meals to students in all the municipal schools and government degree colleges in a centralised manner. The preparation of the food takes place centrally and is transported at a fixed time to all the drop locations with the help of four mini trucks engaged especially for the purpose. This helps in maintaining an overall quality of the food prepared and saves the Municipality from the expenditure that earlier incurred for maintenance of individual kitchen sheds at each municipal school. Also, the State

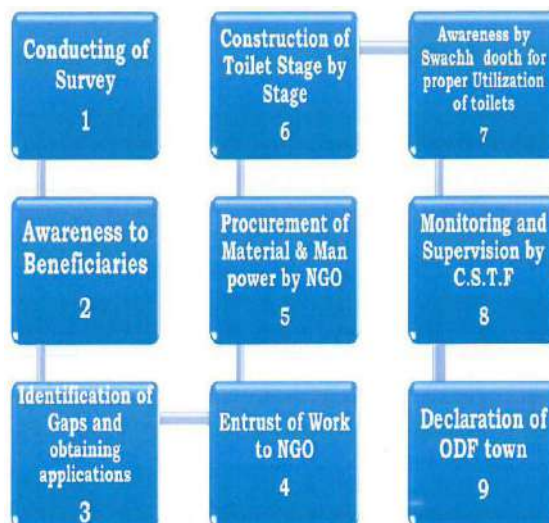
Government has a policy of supplying free of cost textbooks to students from 1st to 10th Standards, studying in municipal/ government schools, The Tadipatri Municipality in association with non-profit organisations, supplies notebooks, stationery and other study material to these students free of cost. In order to enhance the analytical skills of the students and to prepare them to meet the challenges of competitive examinations, the Municipality has introduced career foundation courses for students of 9th and 10th Standards. There are four such study centres which have a strength of around 800 students.

All this has been achieved through a comprehensive planning done by conducting field surveys of the entire town to understand the educational needs of students up to 10th Standard. This was followed by the identification of municipal and government vacant land for construction of strong infrastructure equipped with all facilities required for imparting a robust education. Awareness campaigns were conducted by women of SHGs (self-help groups) to help reach the message of quality education and its importance at the grassroots level. Digital learning methods have been introduced in municipal schools that have made learning more efficient and accessible. Rapid assessment, visualisations, games, annotation technology and videos with multiple instructors provide for a rich atmosphere for learning.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND WAY FORWARD

The success or failure of policies and programmes does not necessarily depend on the resources invested or the goals intended to be achieved. Rather, it depends on the social and institutional infrastructure within which the policies develop. The impressive performance of the Tadipatri Municipality is certainly not an overnight accomplishment but a work of leadership vision and the dedication to excel. As discussed in earlier sections, challenges faced by the Municipality were no less, be it in the form of finances, functionaries, social behaviour, organisational hindrances, and so on. A small town of 7.46 km² has done wonders and has left everyone amazed with its long list of achievements.

In the year 2018, Tadipatri is a plastic-free city because of the 100 per cent ban on the usage of plastic carry bags which were implemented effectively by the Municipality in the year 2006. Irrespective of microns, all sorts of plastic carry bags, tea cups and PP covers have been completely banned for usage. A Municipal Enforcement team headed by a Sanitary Inspector has been appointed to monitor the plastic waste management in the Tadipatri Municipality. A Grievance Redressal Cell has been established at the Municipality's main office to receive direct



complaints from the public with regard to the collection of garbage and sanitation complaints. There is also a special squad that has been set up to attend to all such complaints even on holidays. Best performing wards receive annual incentives. There has been a huge awareness campaign carried out to encourage citizens on tree plantation and almost 10,000 SHG members have been involved in tree plantation and their protection. All government organisations, private institutions and industries are covered with green belt by massive tree plantation and “Each One Plant Ten” is the slogan of the town.

A door-to-door survey helped the Municipality in identifying around 2,000 toiletless households and open defecation localities were identified. As per the Swachh Bharat Mission guidelines, the CSTF (City Sanitation Task Force) Committee was constituted for effective monitoring and coordination of the construction of individual toilets and maintenance of 100 per cent public health sanitation. Consecutively, a ban on open defecation has been enforced with penalties for offenders. Involvement of SHGs and school and college students, voluntary support by citizens helped in generating awareness on the matter. As a result, the city was certified Open Defecation. Free by the Quality Council of India. The chart shows the different stages adopted in the process of toilet construction and reaching the desired goal in a fixed duration of time.

The Tadipatri Municipality has been acknowledged on different platforms for their rightful endeavours. For instance, in the year 2015, the Municipality was given the ISO 14001:2015 Certification for

Environmental Activities, the ISO 9001: 2015 Certification for Quality Management, the Clean India Award for their contribution towards environment conservation and preservation, the Green Leaf Award in the category of Best Municipal Commissioner for the right vision and leadership, and the JCB Clean Earth Award for excellence in Solid Waste Management. In 2016, the Municipality was recognised with the Skoch Gold Award for Solid Waste Management- Collection and Transportation, the Skoch Order of Merit Award for its efforts towards the elimination of open defecation, and the Quality Council of India Award for ODF Declaration. In 2017, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development awarded the Tadipatri Municipality the Swachh City Award for the fastest moving city of South Zone in the population category of less than two lakhs under the Swachh Bharat Mission.

CONCLUSION

Urban governance is a complex issue and poses a formidable challenge in public management, especially in our country. For those living in India's metropolitan areas, daily living can be chaotic and trying, the unfortunate result of poor urban planning, creaking infrastructure and ineffectual governance. In smaller towns that are at the intersection of rural and urban India, the situation is often worse-inadequate facilities, no urban identity and limited resources, both human and financial, to develop and maintain basic urban services (the Second Administrative Reforms Commission, 2007). However, the Tadipatri Municipality has come up as a role model which sets an overarching example for other municipal bodies in India. The Municipal Commissioner, S Siva Rama Krishna, deserves special mention here whose constant efforts can be considered an important factor in giving the municipality a new identity. The success of Tadipatri town as a municipal body clearly indicates that S Siva Rama Krishna has been effectively implementing various aspects of good governance in Tadipatri. However, the Commissioner gives entire credit for these achievements to the MLA (Member of the Legislative Assembly) of Tadipatri, JC Prabhakar Reddy who believes 'discipline is good'¹. One thing about his reputation that he admits openly is, "I am a tough man." The 'tough' image helps because people tend to obey. He remarks proudly, "When my people go to other towns for a cup of tea, they tend to look for a waste basket after finishing it. The tea seller immediately asks them if they are from Tadipatri". The challenges faced by Tadipatri were no less - improper waste collection, dumps on road margins, the lack of manpower, the lack of technical knowledge, limited financial resources, restricted fund support and so on. But the reformist measures

taken by the municipality and its visionary leaders resulted in creating an ecological balance and healthy living conditions for its citizens.

Endnotes

- 1 As per an interview with 'The Week' published (online) on 15.7.2017. <https://www.theweek.in/webworld/features/society/tadipatri-mla-jc-prabhakar-reddy.html?fromNewsdog=1>

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Urbanisation and Socio-Economic Transformation of Tribal Population of Ranchi

NURUL HODA*,
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ABSTRACT

The unprecedented growth of population coupled with technological innovations and economic growth leads to increased urbanisation. Cities, therefore, have become the 'engines of growth' centered on trade, commerce, and industry. These cities thus provide greater opportunities to people to make a better living. Today almost one half of the world's population lives in cities. All cities exist as an interface between the "natural" environment in which they are situated and the "cultural" environment which modifies them. But this change is not constant and varies from region to region. In a region dominated by the tribals the modifications are more prominent and so is the impact of urbanisation on their lives. Urbanisation enables people to advance socially and economically and is most apparent in the scheduled population of India. The scheduled population constitutes the indigenous communities (Scheduled Tribes) and the Scheduled Castes, particularly their culture, languages, and style of life. The scheduled people are largely the deprived section of India.

The present article tries to analyse the effect of urbanisation on the various social and economic aspects of this deprived section. It analyses the accessibility to basic amenities for the scheduled population. A comparison has been drawn between the scheduled tribes and the Scheduled Castes at the tehsil level in the district of Ranchi, Jharkhand State. This comparison has been made to understand the variations within the scheduled population. Ranchi has been taken as the study area since nearly 40 percent of the district's population comprises the scheduled people.

Keywords: Urbanisation, Scheduled Tribes, Social and Economic Transformation

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INTRODUCTION

After independence, many transformations have taken place in Indian society. Major occupational and technological-cultural changes have occurred in our society due to various socio-economic and political developments. These developments have led to linkages and connections among the diverse castes, tribes, cultural regions and religious groups in the country. The major effect of these socio-cultural changes is visible not only across regions but also along ethnic boundaries. The process of cultural amalgamation on a national scale has grown up with an instantaneous increase in search for cultural sovereignty. The tribal population could no longer confine itself to its so-called unapproachable territories. The flood of socio-cultural, economic and political changes has made them understand the realities and face the challenges of the modern world. Hence, socio-economic change has been evident in the tribal societies of India also as it has been the case all over the world.

The issue relating to the development of the tribal population has been under discussion since independence. There are evidences which support this statement. An example can be cited of the appointment of V. Elwin as an anthropological Advisor to the Government of India by the then Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Nehru admired that Elwin has studied a lot about the life, culture, and issues concerning the tribals. He was curious about how these indigenous people were assimilated but also segregated within Indian society. In spite of his admiration of the work of Elwin, Nehru differed with him in his assessment. This dissimilarity was mainly on four counts—

- (a) How are the tribal people different from the caste Indian society?
- (b) Is their history different from the other society?
- (c) What exactly is the relationship between caste society and the tribal population? and
- (d) What approach should the Government adopt for their development? (Guha, 2001; Rath, 2006).

He further opined that the difference between the tribal and non-tribal population is not structural. Rather the differences are the result of settlement of these people at two different junctures in the history of civilisation (Rath, 2006). Elwin, however, strongly differs with Nehru on this account. He is of the opinion that the relationship that exists between the caste and the tribe is exploitative in nature. Moreover, the caste society has never been optimistic about the development

of the tribal population (*Rustomji, 2001*). Rather the *Zamindars* or the money lenders have exploited the tribals. Elwin therefore asserted for the adoption of the *protectionist approach* by the government for the upliftment of the tribal population.

In India, the Nehru era is characterised with mixed economy that experienced fast industrialisation through the establishment of several hydro-electric irrigation projects and steel plants. But the darker side of these developments is that approximately 60 – 65 million population has been displaced because of these so called development projects till now, though there is no clear-cut estimate. The reports clearly state that of these people nearly 40 per cent are scheduled tribes and another 20 per cent consists of scheduled caste and other rural poor. Displacement of these people from their own lands has led to pervasive traumatic psychological and socio-cultural consequences. The dismantling of production system, the despoliation of ancestral sacred zones, the scattering of the kinship set and the disorganisation of the informal social network and mutual support are the consequences, to name a few (*Ballabh and Batra, 2013*). It would not be wrong to say that the modern '*temples of India*' are built on the blood of millions of such people. (*Fernandes, 2008*). Nehru while justifying his acts in the name of development clearly stated that the underdevelopment of the tribal population was the result of their own culture as the tribal economy cannot be separated from their cultural disposition and sovereignty (*Rath, 2006*). The government, therefore, has done very little to protect the culture, economy and social ethos of the tribal population.

In recent years most of the studies both at the international and national levels show that urbanisation leads to development. But at the same time there is lot of controversy on what actually urbanisation; whether it is steady or slow; whether it should be appreciated or disappointed, should mean and, more generally, what the responses should be. The need becomes more important when one has to analyse urbanisation as a process leading to development in the context of the tribal population.

Tribal societies in Jharkhand have recently gone through a rapid socio-economic transformation. So, Ranchi has not remained untouched from transformation. The time has come to realise the relevance of these social dynamics for computing the present status of the tribal communities. Tribals are basically considered the aboriginal inhabitants of uneven hilly terrains and forests. They are the sons of the soil and live in isolation from other communities. It is not far from the truth that we have understood very little about various facets of their life. On many occasions, they are ignored as an illiterate lot. However, the large scale

socio-economic transformation in the modern industrialised societies has also been exaggerated. Thus, it is vital to scrutinise the change that has been brought about by the contact of greater civilisation and the process of modernisation in these primitive people.

India has a great variety of tribal people. The Jharkhand Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Order (Amendment) 2002 in the Constitution enlisted 32 (eight primitive) tribal communities. They are the hunter-gatherer, Birhor, the traditional simple artisans Mahali, Lohra, Karmali, and Chik Baraik, the settled agriculturists, Santhal, Munda, Oraon, Ho, Kharia and Bhumij and the shifting agriculture tribe Sauria Paharia. Population-wise, from being fewer than a thousand to more than millions Santhal live in the forests in and around of Ranchi. But, as saying goes that not all people are born equal; certainly, some are born more equal while others are vary from one to another. Perhaps the same is true of the tribes in Ranchi as well. Ranchi is one of the most urbanised districts of Jharkhand state. Almost more than 24 per cent of its tribal population resides in urban areas. Despite being so urbanised many of its tehsils (10 out of 18 blocks) in Ranchi have 100 per cent rural population. It gives a clear picture of predominance of the agriculturist population in these tehsils and the dearth of opportunities offered by urban centres. While the Scheduled Caste population is not on a par it is better than tribals of the district. They may fall prey to a vicious nature of the transition phase. The SC population is not spread evenly throughout all tehsils of Ranchi. The scheduled population through the time has become urbanised but its condition remains in hedge.

Objectives of the Study

The present study has been conducted at the micro level to analyse the effect of urbanisation on the various social and economic aspects of the tribal population of Ranchi district. The major objectives of this study are:

- to understand the factors of socio-economic transformation of the tribal population.
- to establish the relationship between the process of urbanisation and demographic, workforce and infrastructural characteristics.
- to analyse the relationship between the literacy rate and demographic, workforce and infrastructural characteristics.

This has been done to assess the success and bottlenecks of government and civil society interventions in bringing about changes in the socio-economic fabric of this population.

Database and Methodology

Ranchi district of the state has been selected for the study as it has experienced rapid urbanisation. Although most of its blocks still have agrarian society or dominance of rural population the change in some parts is transparent and needs to be looked into. The data is collected from secondary sources like Government records, articles, books and journals (print as well as web). The Records of Urban Population as sourced from Census Reports (2011) have been tabulated for a portrayal of its trend. Keeping in view the nature and the objectives of the study, various scientific methods have been applied in the present work. The study is restricted to one time period due to the paucity of data at the tehsil level.

Analysis and Discussion

4.1 Factors of Socio-Economic Transformation

Urbanisation, industrialisation, modernisation, secularisation, westernisation, social mobility, acculturation, democratisation, democratic devolution of power, globalisation, education and administrative machinery are some of the forces that influence the socio-cultural fabric of the population in modern times. These processes have, to lesser or greater degrees, affected all the segments of the Indian population. Even the tribal population cannot be isolated from the gamut of these processes of socio-economic transformation. In the post independence phase, planned development and interventions and implementation of schemes and projects in the tribal areas for their all-round development have acted as the main instrumental social change. As a result the tribal society, in course of time, has encountered different processes of socio-economic transformations, under the impact of both modern as well as customary factors of change. The tribal response to the collective effect of these forces of transformation is felt through their changing lifestyle, material culture, socio-economic relations, political organisations, beliefs and rituals.

4.2 The Matrix of Transformation

Man, whether primitive or advanced, is intuitively a culture being. The reality of socio-cultural life is the actuality of change. Change, as the unchangeable law of society, has taken an accelerated pace in the present age. Neither isolation nor simplicity of technology produces complete stagnation, and even in the most conservative cultures, change does take place. Social groups change steadily and gradually under the pressure of internal and/or external forces. It takes place in terms of the

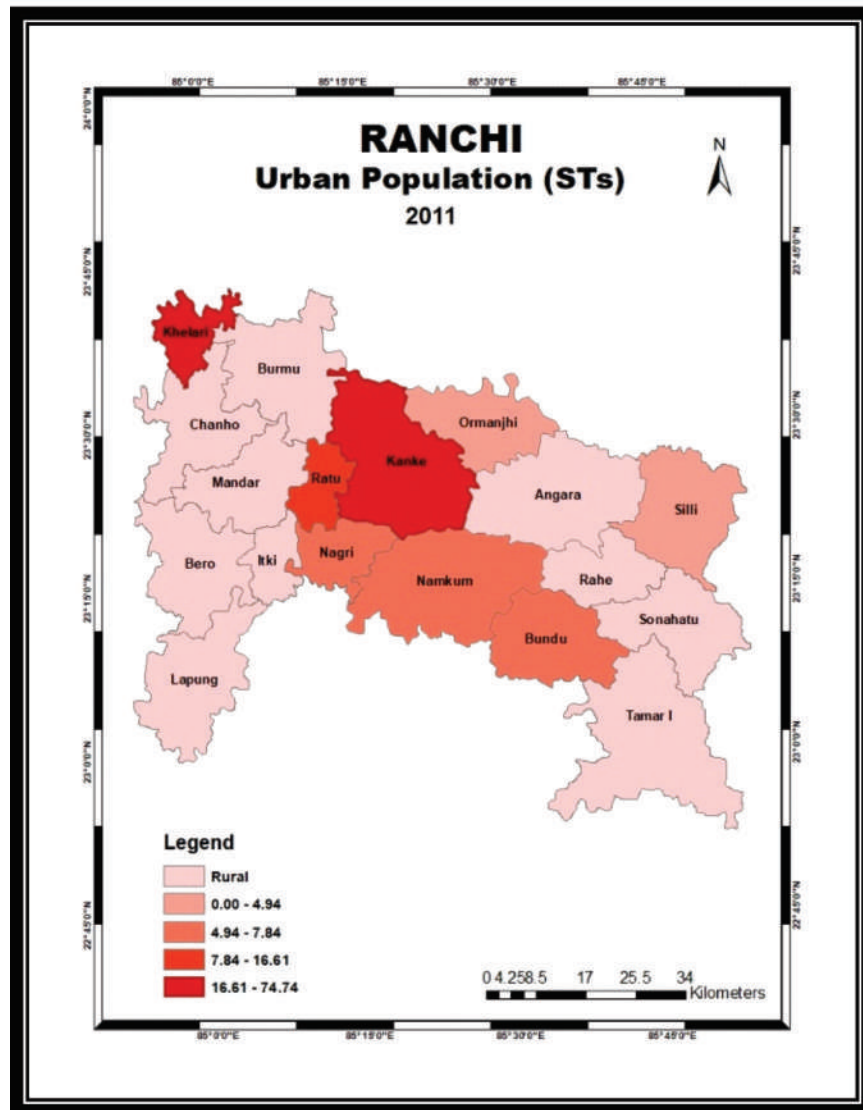
forces involving either an internal change in a single cultural system such as through invention, or others linking contacts between two or more systems or through diffusion, acculturation, urbanisation, and modernisation. Such transformations are more prominent in the tribal societies as these are presently going through a critical state of transition. The historic seclusion of primordial people, particularly during the past two centuries, has been broken by the dissemination of greater civilisation and the process of modernisation. It is not mere acculturation of adding up new items to a system, but also of modernisation. Its revolutionising ways of life, customs, beliefs, and adapting to new political and legal institutions have been at the root of the changing the society from primitive to modern, from agrarian to industrial, or from backward to progressive. Against this backdrop, the socio-economic transformation of the tribes has become a fascinating subject gripping anthropologists and sociologists to explore deep into its ever-widening scope and importance.

In the present century it has become evident that change is an ongoing process in human society. The tribes are no exception to this progression. However, the pace of change has been very sluggish because essentially they are not a heterogeneous society. The sluggish nature of development has led to social and economic backwardness in these people. In this paper this nature of backwardness has been analysed by understanding the relationship between urbanisation with various demographic, economic and infrastructural characteristics of the tribal population at the tehsil level in the district of Ranchi.

4.3 Relationship of Urbanisation with Demographic, Workforce Participation and Infrastructural facilities

The present world is more urban than rural which implies that more than 50 per cent of the world population resides in urban settlements. The data provided by the United Nations in 1991 further states that the urban population is not evenly distributed on the earth's surface. Rather it is concentrated in specific locations. Therefore even the level of urbanisation is also not uniform. Similar conditions are prevalent in India; be it at the macro level or the micro level. In this study also similar feature is found as is evident from Map 1, which clearly shows that the Scheduled Tribe population in the district of Ranchi is urban only in a few pockets. Highest concentration is found in the tehsils of Kanke (74.74 per cent) and Khelari (54.86 per cent). It seems that the process of urbanisation has not influenced the socio-cultural fabric of the tribal population in this region as nearly 10 tehsils have zero urban population for the tribes. Rest of the tehsils like Ormanjhi, Silli,

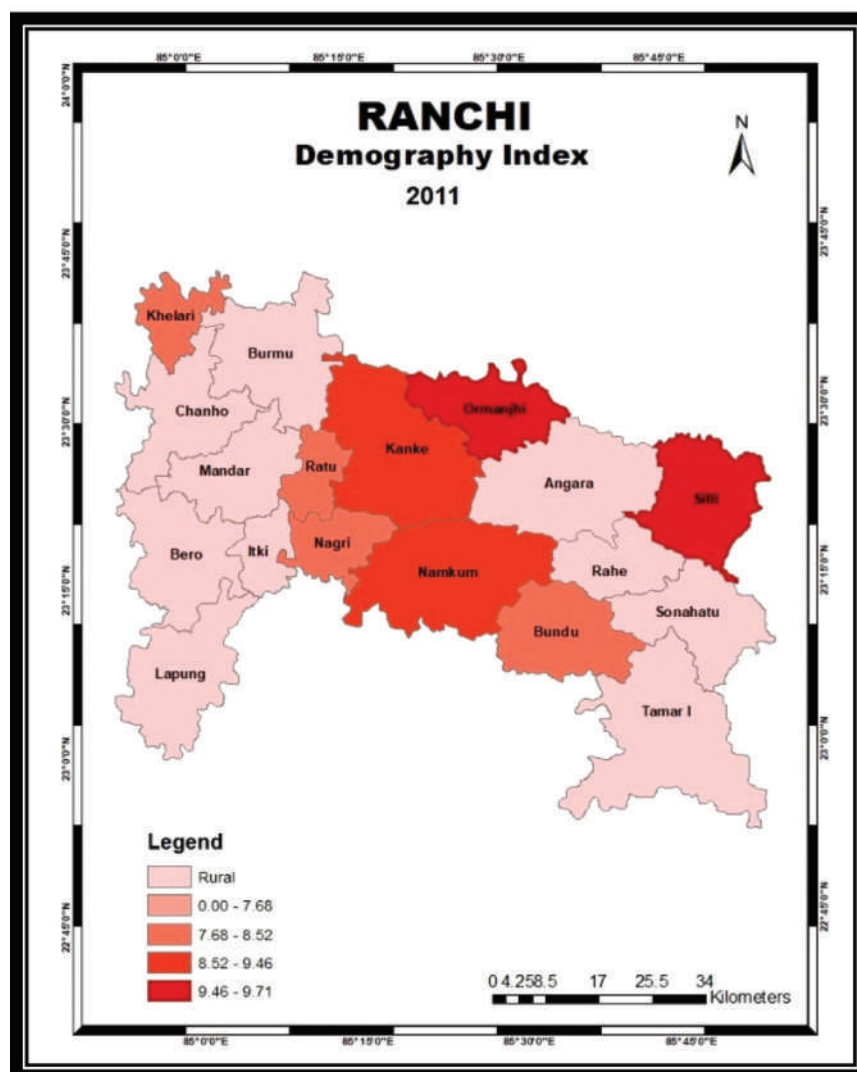
Map 1



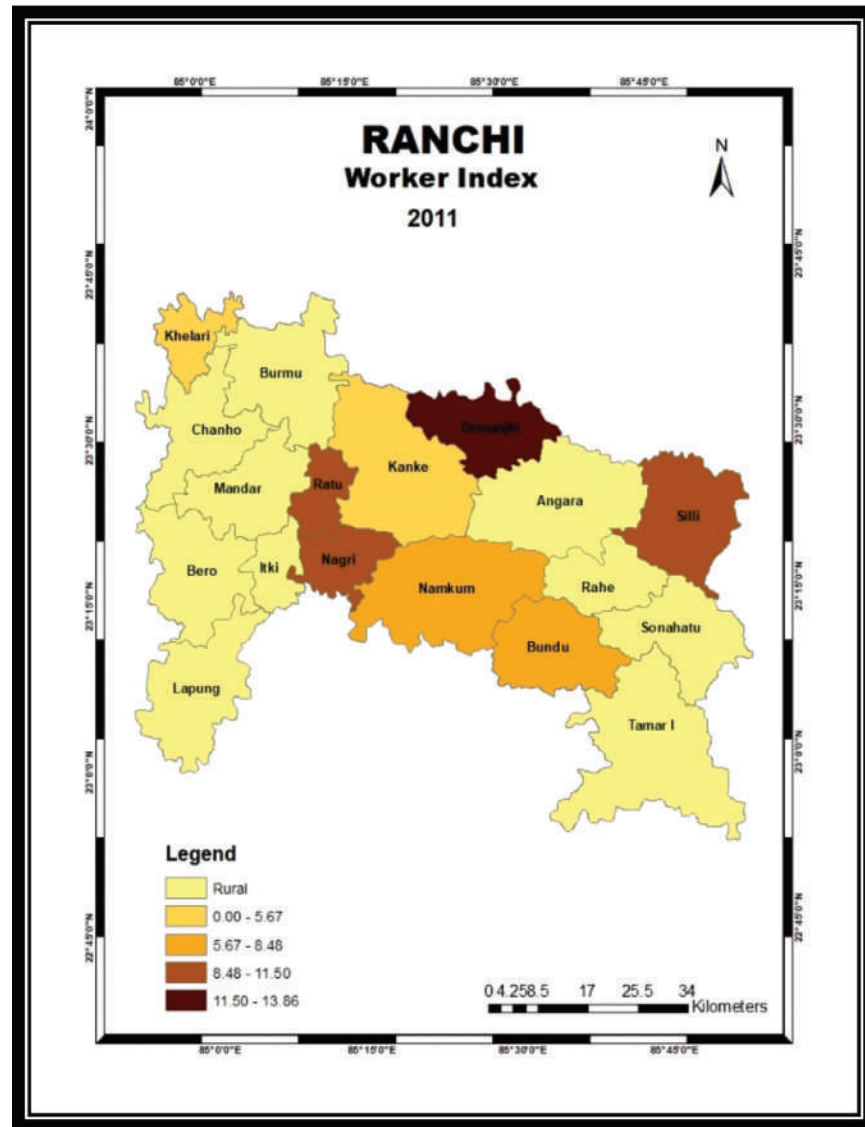
Namkum, Nagri and Bundu have less than 10 per cent of their tribal population as urban population. Ratu is an exception as its tribal urban population is nearly 16.62 per cent. Maps 2, 3 depict this observation as it is also apparent from the co-relation values. The value of R for urban population and demographic characteristics is 0.539 while that for urbanisation and workforce participation is 0.272. The inference that can be drawn from here is that there are glaring disparities even in

the tribal population. In this section of Indian society there is evidence of uneven development. The most problematic part of this scenario is that in spite of large amount of studies on tribal development and a number of government policies describer; intra-tribal disparities have been clearly overlooked. Xaxa's (1999) definition of the tribal society thus seems correct where he clearly this society as one which lacks the positive trait of modernisation and is crippled with illiteracy and backwardness.

Map 2

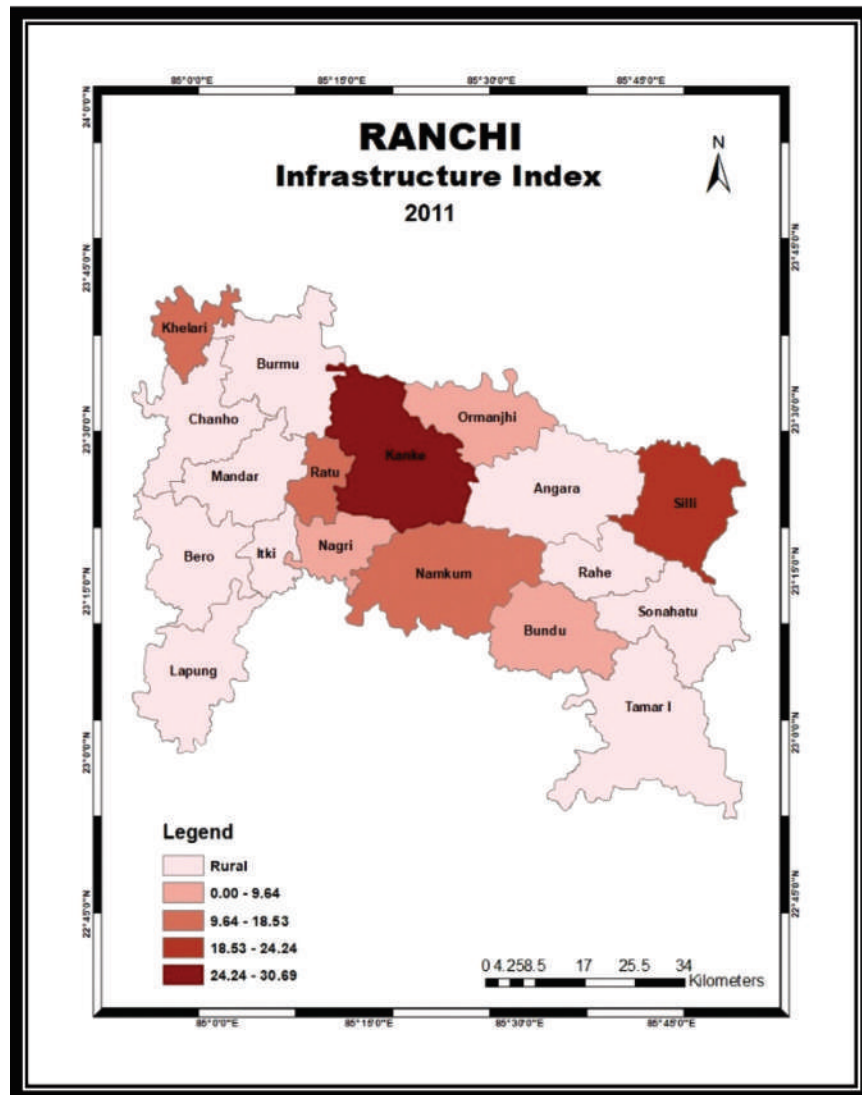


Map 3



Another characteristic which is closely related to urban growth is that of availability and accessibility to basic amenities and infrastructural facilities. The analysis shows that these two have a strong relationship even in a backward region like Ranchi. The value of R for this correlation is 0.789. This implies that the picture is not so grim; some initiatives of the government have brought positive changes in the study region (Map 4). The overall analysis of the development

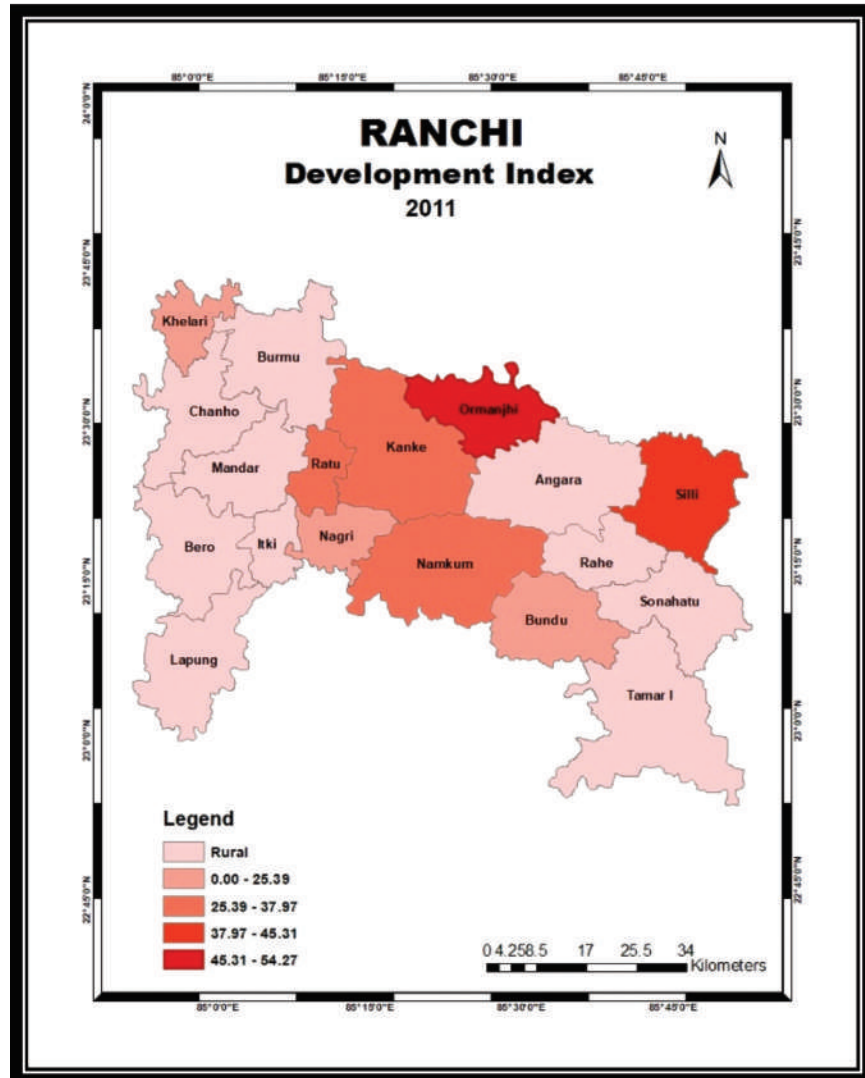
Map 4



characteristics (Map 5) though provides a different story. In Ranchi at the tehsil level the process of urbanisation is positively related with development but has a weak relation ($R = 0.385$).

An interesting feature that becomes clear here is that demographic characteristics have a strong positive correlation with workforce participation ($R = 0.932$) but weak positive correlation with basic amenities and infrastructural facilities ($R = 0.547$). Similarly workforce

Map 5



participation too has a weak positive correlation with basic amenities and infrastructural facilities ($R = 0.633$). The implication of this analysis is that there is a mismatch between the opportunities available for the tribal population in Ranchi district and the opportunities actually availed of by them.

Access to housing and basic amenities, such as livable household condition, drinking water (tap water from treated sources), electricity, latrine facility (within premises), waste water outlet (closed drainage),

fuel used for Cooking (LPG/PNG) and the presence of assets like television, telephone and computer is essential for human development. Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for India aimed at improving access to safe drinking water and sanitation facilities by 2015. India is progressing towards achieving these goals; however regional variations are noticeable (Government of India, 2014). But the analysis here clearly shows that these basic amenities are concentrated in some pockets and some particular groups of population. The tribal population is among those who have not received these benefits and if they have been provided with them they have not benefitted from them. Even if some are benefitting they are concentrated in a few pockets making intra group disparities more glaring.

4.4 Relationship between the Literacy Rate and Demographic, Workforce Participation and Infrastructural facilities

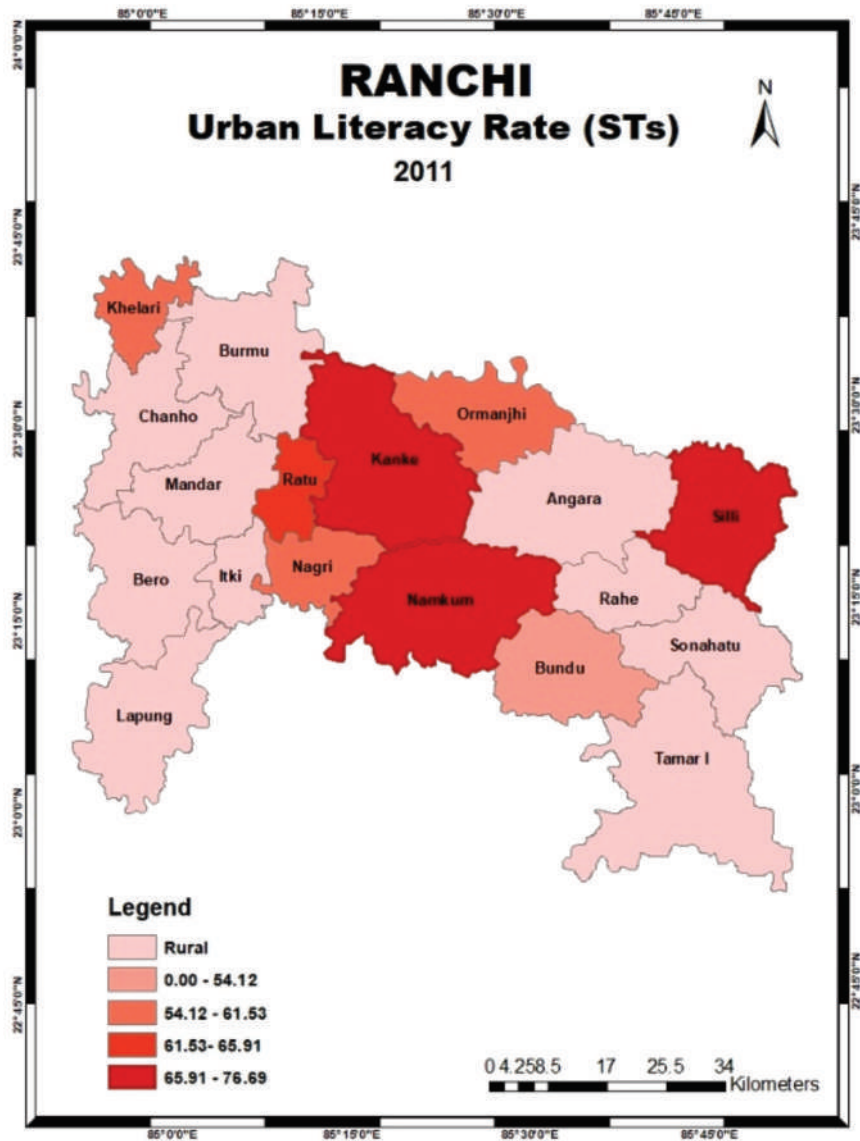
The literacy rate is often regarded as a positive indicator as it works as a replica in understanding the phenomenal changes a region undergoes through the process of urbanisation especially in its social and cultural set-up. In this paper too it has been taken as a dummy indicator to understand the socio-economic transformation of the tribal population in the region. Surprisingly the literacy rates in the tribal population are quite high. In all the eight tehsils where the tribal population is urban literacy rate is more than 50 per cent; highest in Kanke (72.51 per cent) with Bundu having the lowest figure of 54.12 (Map 6). The high rates of literacy here can be attributed to the fact that in some regions these people have the privilege of running their own educational institutions. Secondly the role of missionaries in this region has to be highlighted as they have enabled these people to assimilate with the other sections of society.

The above mentioned assertion can be supported by the fact that literacy rate has a very strong positive correlation with demographic characteristics ($R = 0.993$), workforce participation ($R = 0.899$) as well as accessibility to basic amenities and infrastructural facilities ($R = 0.880$). As a result it has strong relationship with the overall development of the tribal population in Ranchi district which are urban in nature ($R = 0.926$).

CONCLUSIONS

The tribals are no longer an encapsulated mass of people confined to the hills and forests. They are becoming a part of the larger process of globalisation and urbanisation. This process is vital and unremitting one, and only tribals have to decide in which way they have to march. The future of tribals, rests on their own decision that is rational and cultural.

Map 6



No society can attain all-round development unless it makes a suitable recourse and utilisation goes on optimum way; more notably the human resources. Since the tribal population constitutes a major chunk of our society, tribal development needs to be well directed and motivated in the right perspective to bring the desired socio-economic transformation leading thereby to the attainment of national objectives. This will on

one hand make the tribals self-reliant and economically independent, and on the other bring prosperity to their socio-cultural life.

The above analysis, therefore, clearly shows that though the demographic characteristics and workforce participation in the urban tribal population are lesser they have infrastructure and knowledge. Knowledge can open doors to the unknown and the tribal population should move in this direction with the help of infrastructure available to it. Moreover, the government should take the initiative to lessen the intra-group disparities among them by providing opportunities in other tehsils also where the tribal population is still rural in nature. Through proper initiatives this section of the population can also harvest the positive results of the process of urbanisation.

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Implications of Privatisation: A Case of S.A.S. Nagar

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KARAMJIT SINGH CHAHAL**

ABSTRACT

The S.A.S. Nagar Local Planning Area on account of its locational advantage has provided an excellent platform for real estate developers. The development mechanism has been carried forward both by public sector and private sector developers. In due course of time the private players have overpowered the real estate sector in the region and paved ways for completely different development scenario. An attempt to evaluate the development mechanism of public and private sector based upon various parameters has been dealt to highlight the benefit and shortcomings of the duo. The role of Punjab Urban Development Authority (PUDA) as a facilitator for private sector needs to be critically analyzed as the private developers are of the view that after paying hefty amounts as fees to the Authority the development of external services to the sectors are delayed which in turn affect their entire execution process.

Keywords: Mega Projects, Local Planning Area, Punjab Urban Development Authority (PUDA), Privatization, Affordability, Planning Mechanism

INTRODUCTION

The city of Mohali in Punjab has been a place for private developers to invest since it has the opportunity to have series of the Mega Projects in its planning area. The Master Plan SAS Nagar, 2031 has envisaged the role of the private sector so as to boost urban development. Thus big Multinational Companies and numerous developers such as ANSAL, Ultratech, Bajwa Developers, Omaxe, DLF and EMAAR MGF are investing crores of rupees in shaping Mohali and making it a multi-nucleated city. Though the basic objective of the private sector

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is to make profit, it is following the set norms and standards which are revised from time to time in numerous policies so as to serve all the strata's of society.

The parameters which are to be followed for determining the implications of the privatisation of urban development in Mohali are as follows:

1. Physical

- Nature of development
- Plot sizes
- Shape of the site
- Planning concept

2. Social

- Strata of society

3. Economic

- Affordability level
- Land price

4. Environmental

- Density of the population

5. Planning principles / mechanism

- Implementing agencies

Parameters

1. Physical

The first and foremost parameter to determine the implications of privatisation is physical aspect under which various factors are covered such as:

- **Nature of development:** It covers the type of development which is to come in a residential area viz., plotted or high-rise skyscrapers. The nature of development for commercial area comes out to be various shopping malls and multiplexes instead of numerous booths and small-sized shops.
- **Plot sizes:** The analysis of plot sizes is essential in order to determine the requirements of various strata of society. The requirements vary with different income groups. Because of this factor there exists variety of plot sizes in every residential scheme.

- **Shape of the site:** It depends upon the availability of land. The site which is developed by the public sector is generally a regular one since there exists no problem in its acquisition. On the other hand, farmers are not ready to sell their pieces of land to private developers due to which resultant shape of the site become irregular.
- **Planning Concept:** The planning concept may be defined as a fundamental principle which has been kept under consideration by teams of the professionals in order to prepare the layout of the site. There are two types of the planning concept usually adopted in layouts, namely introvert planning and extrovert planning.

2. Social

Another important parameter for determining the implications of privatisation is the social factor viz., determining the overall role of society in urban development. Under this sub-head, emphasis is given to the different strata of society.

Under this, it is studied whether the proposal is socially viable or not. In other words, the social interaction of different segments of society is examined. It should not be the case that development should be only for the allied group of society leaving other groups far behind. Thus there must not be social segregation in the planning process.

3. Economic

The third important parameter for the identification of the implication of privatisation is the study of economic status for which the scheme has been formulated. Under this aspect, two parameters have been identified which are as follows:

- **Affordability level:** The first and foremost aspect which should be studied under the economic parameter is the affordability level. Affordable housing is often confused with EWS and considered to be the strategy for making housing stock available for the poor, but in reality the affordable levels need to be understood in the context of purchasing power of each income group. Thus it is required to analyse which plot sizes are viable for which segment of income groups of society. In other words, the cross – tabular analysis is done between different income groups and plot sizes are provided.
- **Land price:** Here the current land prices are analysed. This in turn is also closely associated with the affordability level of people.

4. Environmental

The assessment of environment is also one of the most important parameters for the determination of the implications of urban development. Under this aspect, the population density to be accommodated is analysed. Also it is compared under this segment that whether the density is in accordance with the Master Plan SAS Nagar, 2031. It helps give details about the high density, low density and medium density areas of new development. Hence it checks the violations which have come up in the areas being developed by the private sector.

5. Planning Mechanism

Last but not the least comes the planning mechanism which also puts due emphasis on determining the implications of privatisation. Under this aspect, the role of different agencies undertaking the implementation of the project is studied.

Implications

In order to determine the implications of development to be undertaken during three phases. The role of Directorate of Housing Board, the PUDA and the private sector is considered. Sector 70 of Mohali has been developed by the Directorate of Housing Board which has been taken as case study while the public sector has developed Sector 79. On the other hand, the private sector has undertaken the development of numerous sectors. But here the case of the ANSAL for Sector 114 has been discussed.

Sector 70

Location and Surroundings

Sector 70 lies on the western side of the city. According to the Master Plan, this sector has been proposed to be developed as a residential-cum-commercial sector spread over an area of 248.085 acres.

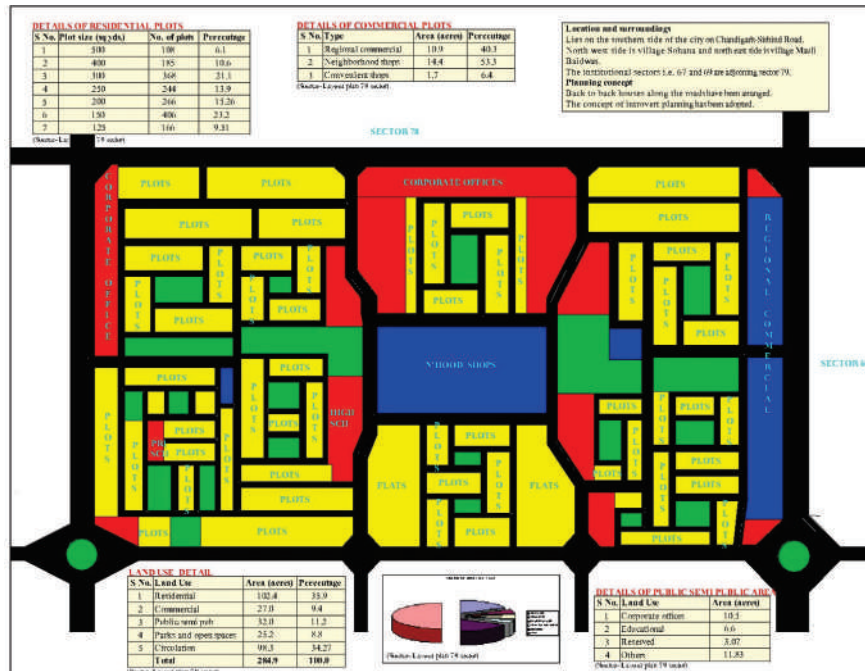
On the western direction, there lies a village Mattaur while sector 69, 61 and 77 are adjoining sectors.

Topography: Sector 70 has gentle slope with plain topography.

Sector 79

Location and Surroundings

Sector 79 lies on the southern side of the city on the Chandigarh-



Sirhind Road. According to the Master Plan, the sector is proposed to be a residential-cum-commercial sector. The area of the sector is 284.9 acres. On the North-West side there lies village Sohana while on the North-East side lies village Mauli Baidwan. The institutional sectors i.e. 67 and 69 are adjoining this sector.

Topography

Topography is gentle with slope 1 in 350 in the North-East to the South-West direction.

ANSAL Sector 114

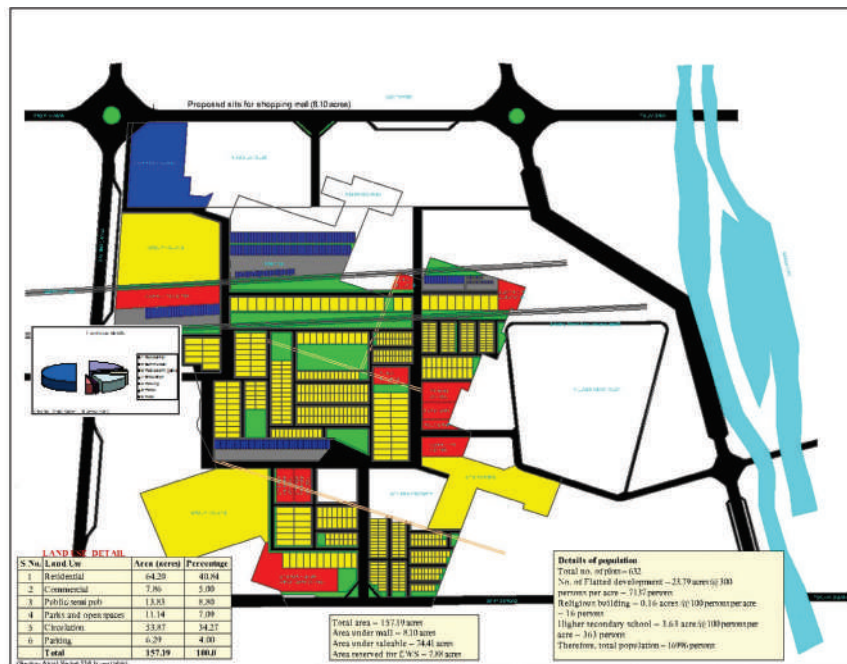
Location

Sector 114 is the last sector of Mohali and lies on the southern side of the city. It is in the close vicinity of the Chandigarh – Kharar Road (National Highway 21).

Topography

The site has a gentle slope towards the south to north and experiences plain topography.

The implications have been elaborated in the following para heads in the light of the above discussed parameters:



1. Physical: This parameter is detailed as follows:

- **Nature of development:** In Sector 70, there has been a very high percentage of flatted development as compared to plotted development while in Sector 79, there has been a very low provision of flatted development; On the other hand, in Sector 114 the percentage of flatted development is relatively higher as compared to the flatted development of Sector 79. The percentage of the type of development for all three sectors has been tabulated as follows:

RESIDENTIAL AREA CHARACTERISTICS FOR SECTOR 70

Sr. No.	Residential	Area (in acres)	Percentage
1	Plotted	42.775	33.05
2	Flatted	86.655	66.95
	Total	129.43	100.0

(Source: Land use plan of Sector 70)

RESIDENTIAL AREA CHARACTERISTICS FOR SECTOR 79

Sr. No.	Residential	Area (in acres)	Percentage
1	Plotted	89.6	87.5
2	Flatted	12.8	12.5
	Total	102.4	100.0

(Source: Land use plan by PUDA)

RESIDENTIAL AREA CHARACTERISTICS FOR ANSAL SECTOR 114

Sr. No.	Residential	Area (in acres)	Percentage
1	Plotted	40.41	62.94
2	Flatted	23.79	37.06
	Total	102.4	100.0

(Source: Land use plan by ANSAL Sector 114)

It is evident from the above tables and the text that the nature of development differs altogether with the variation of the sector responsible for the development.

Since the objective of the private sector is to maximise its profits, it goes in for high rise building structures so as to optimally utilise the available land. Thus the nature of the development varies with the sector which is undertaking the development.

- **Plot sizes:** The plot sizes also vary a lot with the change in the sector of development. In other words, the plot size kept by the public sector is totally different as compared to the one provided by the private sector. The plot sizes have been tabulated as follows:

DETAILS OF RESIDENTIAL PLOT SIZES OF SECTOR 70

Sr. No.	Plot size (sq. yds)	No. of Plots	Percentage
1	500	160	31.07
2	400	93	18.06
3	300	20	3.88
4	260	117	22.72
5	200	89	17.28
6	150	36	6.99
	Total	515	100

(Source: Land use plan for Sector 70)

DETAILS OF RESIDENTIAL PLOT SIZE OF SECTOR 79

Sr. No.	Plot size (sq. yds)	No. of plots	Percentage
1	500	108	6.1
2	400	185	10.9
3	300	368	21.1
4	250	244	13.9
5	200	266	15.26
6	150	406	23.2
7	125	166	9.54
	Total	1743	100.0

(Source: Land use plan by PUDA)

DETAILS OF RESIDENTIAL PLOT SIZE OF ANSAL SECTOR 114

Sr. No.	Plot size (sq. yds)	No. of plots	Percentage
1	950	29	4.6
2	800	55	8.7
3	500	32	5.1
4	400	39	6.2
5	350	40	6.3
6	250	136	21.5
7	200	55	8.7
8	160	103	16.3
9	150	127	20.1
10	600	16	2.5
	Total	632	100.0

(Source: ANSAL Sector 114 layout plan)

It is clearly evident from the above tables that the public sector prepares a layout plan for Lower Income Group people while the private sector prefers the layout plans for the Higher Income Group people and Middle Income Group people. Due to which there exist different proportions of plot sizes in different categories.

- **Shape of the site:** The shape of sector is 70 and 79 is regular and in the form of a rectangle. The shape of the ANSAL Sector 114 is irregular and the boundary is zig - zag because of problem

during the purchase of land, different ownership and unwilling behaviour of certain farmers.

- **Planning Concept:** The concept of self sufficiency has been followed with introvert planning in sector 70. Looking at the layout plan of Sector 79, it is derived that introvert planning has been followed. Back to back plots have been provided. Commercial and public semi-public activities are concentrated almost in the centre of the sector for easy accessibility of residents. In ANSAL Sector 114, it is observed that an attempt has been made to conceive it as self-contained unit. Back to back houses along the roads have been arranged. Since the site is irregular in shape the zigzag character of boundary line has compelled the developer to leave the narrow pockets. The concept of extrovert planning has been adopted as commercial and public/semi-public areas are placed outside.

2. **Social:** It is well evident from the above tables that the public sector is providing assistance to all stratas of society with more emphasis on the Lower Income Group while no such criteria on is adopted by the private sector.
3. **Economic:** Under this subhead, there are two factors which are required to be understood. It is very much clear from the tables depicting the plot sizes that the public sector assists the lower strata of government society while no such consideration is kept by the private sector in the preparation of the layout. The private sector only leaves a chunk of land for the EWS so that they can get the approval of the layout as per government policy.

On the other hand, there lies a variation in the land prices being fixed for different sectors. The land price of Sector 79 at the time of its launch was within a range of Rs. 3400-3500 per square yard and the land price in ANSAL Sector 114 was fixed at Rs. 7000 per square yard at the launch of its first phase. Hence one can very well conclude that the private sector's objective is to make profit.

4. **Environmental:** Under this parameter, the density is the key aspect which needs to be studied with due attention. The population density for Sector 79 is 120 persons per acre while that in ANSAL Sector 114 is 265 persons per acre. The Master Plan suggests the new sectors to be developed as low density sectors, but there has been pressure population which in turn affects the requirements of the infrastructure at the city level.

Hence the private sector is overutilising the available space as a result of which the concept of healthy living environment is being

defeated. Thus there is the need to review the policy so as to check such kind of development scenario. The External Development Charges, Licence Fees and Change of Land use charges need to be revised again since developers are of the view that they have deposited sufficient amount of funds and they can do whatever they feel like. There must be proper check by the PUDA during the development process so that the developer's activities are checked from time to time.

5. **Planning Mechanism:** As far as the planning mechanism of the different sectors is concerned, the responsibility of development of Sector 79 lies with public agencies. The layout plan of sector 70 has been prepared by the Directorate of Housing Board and the development has also been carried out by this board. Other public sector undertakings are giving due assistance. They are the Water Supply and Sewerage Board and the Punjab State Electricity Board. Among these agencies, the PUDA plays an eminent role in development. On the contrary, in the case of ANSAL Sector 114, the sole responsibility lies with the private developer so as to provide the basic infrastructure to residents. Thus there lies a great difference in the implementation strategies of public and private sectors of Mohali.

The PUDA needs to be vigilant so as to check the activities of the private sector so that the aim of creating healthy living environment is fulfilled. Since the situation is becoming worse day by day by increasing the growth of urban jungle.

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BOOK REVIEW

Sara Dickey, *Living Class in Urban India, Permanent Black, 2016, pp. 262.*

The book, *Living Class in Urban India*, by Sara Dickey, Professor of Anthropology, USA, is a study which enables the reader to understand the difference between the caste and the class which are often used interchangeably in the discourse of development and inequality in India. She studies the aspect of the “class” in her work claiming that it is not used regularly to understand the inequality in society when compared to the terms like caste and religion. She tries to produce an understanding of how classes generate boundaries, how these boundaries limit or expand in an intangible way which in turn form the base for founding a relationship among the various classes that exist in the society or the city. She chooses the city of Madurai to illustrate the same and has cited the examples of four citizens who are Kannan, an auto-rickshaw driver; Anjali, a graphic designer; Jeymani, a domestic worker and Usha, a housewife. Their castes are Maravar, Pillai, Paraiyar and Brahmin. Through her narration, she enables the reader to understand the choices these individuals make regarding the food they consume, their mode of travel, the location of their residence and the access to credit.

There is an attempt to find out the exact definitions of the rich, poor and middle classes. However, the exact definitions are missing at the end of the book. The researcher through her story narrates that the position of the middle class is precarious. The dynamic nature of the class results in a situation where its individuals may be better off today but worse off tomorrow. There is a further definition of the middle class by the author. Economists say middle class individuals or households are neither rich nor poor but the population belonging to this sect has its ‘own’ definition. For example, members of a household may consider themselves as poor as they do not possess an independent house or an airconditioner or a four-wheeler inspite of staying in a house equipped with electricity and drainage, having access to nutritious food and possessing a two-wheeler. The class has been associated with the aspect of consumerism which has entered the daily lives of people as an effect of globalisation and free market practices. However, these goods not only provide services but also act as “signifiers”. These signifiers illustrate the status of the user as high and low which in turn indicate the levels of decency. The access to these goods depends on the wealth accumulation of the individual or family. Having mobile phones, gold and jewels and textiles signifies the status of the individual in society. The author cites the example of Kannan’s grandchildren and family members who would

be dressed at their best while attending social functions like weddings and festival celebrations to “hide” their woes and appear “decent” or “neat” or “clean”. The level of “decency” plays a role in terms of goods consumed, marriage alliances, location of houses and access to credit. The author, through her work, explains how individuals or households belonging to the higher castes and having higher wealth status were able to secure loans from banks at lower rates of interest for the education of their children or to setup a business whereas the poor from the lower castes must depend on private money lenders who demand higher rates of interest.

Marriage is termed as an event which enables the household to display its status and where there is an exchange of capital. The term, “capital exchange” here refers to the process of giving or accepting goods such as a cupboard, a television set, a mixer – grinder and a refrigerator to name a few. It also includes the possibility of giving or seeking a car or a two-wheeler. The aspect of displaying the status can be associated with the way the wedding or any auspicious occasion in the house is celebrated. The author also illustrates the example of a popular businessman, Mr. Chellasamy, who invited residents of Madurai to the wedding of his son. The host referred the mega feast as a donation so that he could feed the hungry whereas the dependents referred the feast as a mechanism of equality because irrespective of the relationship they shared with the families of the bride and the groom, they dined together. However, Kannan, one of the invitees at the mega feast had a feeling that it was the equal “status” of the hard-worker that led him to attend the event. This paragraph tells how the goods consumed designate the boundaries in terms of establishing a marriage alliance for two families to come together. Another story the author narrates is that of Murugan who is a video-grapher and a dancer in a god’s procession during the region-specific festivals. She also highlights that she never saw any fear in Murugan of losing the tag of a “middle-class individual” because the dancing in such processions was considered “low-class”.

By way of summing up, I would say that the author defines an urban area as a construct of various classes. There is also a mention of Weber’s definition of a city as she know, how the status in the society and wealth determine the relationship between the residents and the city in terms of access to space and services. She argues that day-to-day activities like consuming the goods and food, using particular mode of transport and fulfilling social obligations like marriages reproduce the significance of the class and the boundaries associated with it. The exact definitions of the terms, class, rich and poor, both prior and after the study are missing.

The book uses a different approach for understanding the city and it is a useful piece for readers who are interested in urban studies.

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