

## ***Session-VI***

### ***Metropolitan Governance – Engaging the Political Spectrum***

**Mr KC Sivaramakrishnan:** ‘Engaging the political spectrum’ is something that came out of discussions that Hon’ble Minister had with me sometime back and in some respects this has to be regarded as something very, very important to this tone and substance of this whole workshop. We did start with a fairly large number of MPs and MLAs who said that they would turn up for this, but somehow attrition has taken its toll and we have a rather limited number. But on the other hand, we do have some very distinguished people. Minister, of course, needs no introduction at this point of time. He has been really infusing the sense of this whole debate. We have Mr Tarun Vijay who is an MP from Uttarakhand, he has been with us since yesterday. We also have Mr Chandre Gowda who is an MP from Karnataka and then we have Mr HK Dua. We also have among us Myron Orfield who is a Senator of the Minnesota State and Myron has been involved in all sorts of discussions between State Senators, House of Representatives, various levels of US Congress and he has been ploughing away at this whole business of metropolitan regional governance in the United States and one can expect that in the process of engaging the political spectrum has been involved and I am sure he has many bruises to show for his experience. We have Marco Kusumavijaya who has also been involved, I don’t know whether it is political skirmishes, but he has been involved in his own political excitement as far as the Government of Jakarta and the surrounding areas are concerned.

I will just take one or two minutes and then Hon’ble Minister will be chairing and steering this discussion. Arising from the various conversations we had yesterday we thought that there may be some four or five issues on which we need to get a sense of the political understanding of these issues. I think we generally agree that a metro region or a city region cannot be just a single municipal entity and it is in a way a collection or an agglomeration of both territorial and functional entities. We agreed that there are many, many challenges and all sorts of new challenges and yesterday it was highlighted that the whole business of ecology and natural resources and sustainability is a challenge which we have just begun to understand and we all agreed that perhaps the existing network will not be adequate. So one question is, do we need an entity of governance at the city region level? How do you, as political representatives, as people involved in the political system, how do you feel about this? Secondly, if we do need a new entity for city regional governance should we have a different threshold? Today, we are talking about million plus cities. Yesterday’s various discussions showed the numbers being very, very large. Should the threshold be somewhat limited? In other words, instead of having the city regions for just one million plus should that number be higher? What is your sense about it? Thirdly, if we do need a new entity is it something that can be brought about by re-configuring the existing organizations? These existing organizations have come over a period of time and yesterday various discussions took place about how the development authorities have evolved. We have also mentioned in our report that it is perhaps possible to revisit these development authorities so that they become a building block of this new entity and similarly. As far as the constitutional prescriptions are concerned, even this limited experience of 20 years has shown that there have to be some changes made in this and as Mr Ravindra, Adviser to the Government of Karnataka on urban matters, has been very deeply involved in this, there is a feeling and other states have also started saying that maybe we should make this constitutional amendment more workable than what it is. What is your feeling about this?

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And the next question is if there is a new entity for metropolitan governance, in whatever way you want to define it, what should be its representational legitimacy? What would you consider as an appropriate composition? Today the arrangement is that will have mainly municipal representatives. But we all know that we have a political level operating at the national (the members of parliament), there are state legislatures, and there are corporators. What in your view would be a suitable representational arrangement, and what should it be, what should its functional mandate be? Is it supposed to just think and plan, is it supposed to do something more? How do you envisage this, and in your opinion if there are some legal and constitutional changes that have to be made what would you consider as the more important ones. Many of these legislations are well within the province of the state and therefore it is a question of persuading the states about the political sense of bringing about these changes. We can look at this also from the experience of other countries so the focus of this session is on the political processes which are needed to bring about these changes and what should those be and how do you feel about this. I am sure that after the members in this panel have given their views there could be some opinions as well from journalists and various others who are present here but depending on the time factor because after this session the minister has some other programmes and then we will have open session after lunch in the afternoon as well. These are just very few points. It is not our business to lay an agenda for discussion before the members of the parliament. I have just provided some ideas to help you start thinking. If all of you feel no change is needed and everything is fine as it is so be it. There is no particular vested interest as far as we are concerned that we will relentlessly carry on the discussion. So it is really up to you people to give your thinking and say what you feel at this point of time is appropriate and I am sure the minister will have his own ideas and I do hope that this particular session will be strong, invigorating and definitely stimulate your hunger for more discussion, certainly for more food that will be available at lunch time.

### ***Mr Ajay Maken, Minister for Housing and Poverty Alleviation (Chair):***

Mr Sivaramakrishnan and my colleagues on the dais and dear friends; I think this is one of the most important sessions of the two-days' workshop wherein we are trying to engage with various political people cutting across different political parties and including one nominated member to the Upper House and I think what we are going to discuss now, perhaps as Mr Tarun Vijay was just saying, would be a beginning of many such series of discussions which, cutting across the political spectrum, we would like to carry out.

One thing which Mr Sivaramakrishnan said about amendments to be carried out to 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act, this is something which is beyond anyone's doubt that this is something which is absolutely necessary. The CPR in its report, in its thematic report, has also given number of such other options as far as the administration of such metropolitan regions is concerned. Yesterday soon after my session was over, the inauguration was over, Mr Suresh Prabhu came and met me when I was having my coffee in the period between the first and second session and as soon as we exchanged pleasantries he asked me did you say something about FSI? I said, "Yes, just one sentence out of my 25 minutes' speech was about FSI. He said, "You should not have said." I said, "What?" He said, "Whatever else you said would not be carried out by tomorrow's newspapers, the only thing which will be carried would be the FSI." And today, when I was listening to one of the panellists when they say about bringing citizens closer to the governance, involving more and more people together - this was exactly what I was trying to say yesterday. When I said about participatory planning, when I said about the inclusive cities, when I said about the change in the attitudes amongst the planners, change in the attitude amongst the people who have to

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implement these plans I was exactly mentioning this and not even a single word about these things you can find anywhere in the press today. The only thing which you will find is just the FSI for affordable housing. So it is not only the political class, the political spectrum which needs to change the mindset of the planners or people who are implementing but the press, the media also who are bringing all such discussions before the general people because hardly 100 to 250 people will participate. Rest of the people, what transpired in this conference, will know only through the newspapers or through the media. So this change of attitude and mindset is something which is badly required. We can have one set of governance; we can have one set of authority or the other. But unless you have participative governance, be it through the elected representatives but even if it is through the elected representatives, unless you have community participation in planning, you will not be able to achieve anything. Community participation is a must; peoples' participation is a must in any kind of management of these urban areas. Any kind of planning devoid of community participation I have seen that it fails to take off.

In the report also, at some places and otherwise also, many places where we discuss about how to politically manage these entities, some people say that we should have an entity which should plan how to manage these metropolitan regions, big regions. Some other people say that planning should not be divested from the land management. Planning and land management have to go together, hand-in-hand. Some people say that planning, land management and land development all three things should go together hand-in-hand, you cannot have three different institutions looking after these three things. Then, some other people say that planning, land management, land development and regulatory function also should go hand-in-hand. Then once you are talking about an entity, an authority which looks after the planning, which looks after the land management, which looks after the land development, which looks after the regulatory function you are virtually creating a monopoly without letting any other independent entity come into the picture and giving some sort of a competition which is required in such circumstances. The entity what I am talking about is the Delhi Development Authority which came into existence in 1962 after which no meaningful development has taken place in Delhi. Even though Bombay has a fair share of slums, and Delhi has much less, but Delhi has its unauthorized colonies which gradually are getting regularized one by one so that we do not have informal settlements as such but these informal settlements are formalised during the course. So they are formalized but they were informal settlements and they have all the characteristics of informal settlements. So what I am trying to say is that when once DDA was there it was planning at that time also; peoples' aspiration, the ground reality was not taken into account. So whatever authority, whatever structure we think of we need to take in mind that inclusive development which means living of rich and poor people taking into consideration the habitat, the service providers, as I said yesterday. The service providers and service consumers need to live side by side; they cannot be separated from each other. In-situ rehabilitation in the existing big megacities is something which is required and for which all political people have to come together and have to work in unison.

Now coming to management of the infrastructure, management of the amenities which are to be provided in these areas. What I strongly feel is that there is a difference of opinion, always, even if they are from the same political parties, amongst the state government and the local government. The central government wants to give more and more power to the local bodies, to the urban local bodies, and the biggest hurdle is created by the state government even if the state government and the central government belong to the same political party. So it is not a difference of political opinion. It is a difference of thinking how you can

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implement the 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment or how you can implement or how you can devolve more power to the urban local bodies. This is something which is very difficult to get past the state governments and try and giving more authority and more power to the urban local bodies. The state government creates the biggest hurdles in these things. But in some things, in some of these powers which are through 7<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment being devolved to the urban local bodies I think the state governments also have a point wherein the urban local bodies they do not have the capacity to carry forward the work, to carry on the work, particularly there are some issues relating to the poverty alleviation. The poverty alleviation and sanitation, poverty alleviation and the planning of the land, poverty alleviation and the transport or the sanction or the sewage supply or the water supply these are all very diverse subjects. You cannot have small municipalities, very small, small towns and expect them to have the same capacity as that of the Mumbai region. So, the capacity of Mumbai region is different from the capacity of the small municipalities. So from this 74<sup>th</sup> Amendment I think the biggest thing which we need to do is we need to find out what is the kind of capacity, of which kind of urban entity, and the kind of capacity which an urban entity has, that kind of power should be devolved and it should be ensured with the help of state government that those powers are devolved in true sense to those urban local bodies, to those urban entities or to the authorities, whatever the new entity is named as.

As far as the population is concerned, one question was posed to us by Mr Sivaramakrishnan as to what should be the threshold of population. I think the most important thing is the geographic entity which should be the spatial entity or the geographic entity which should be the most important thing and geographic entity as long as it is in continuum, as long as it is in one big solid block geographically I think that should be the basis, not just the population or not just the state or the district within which it comes. For example, Delhi is surrounded by Gurgaon, Ghaziabad, Faridabad. So this entire one geographical entity should be one metropolitan region irrespective of the state which it comes in, irrespective of the districts it falls in.

Now the floor is open for my colleagues who are members of parliament from different states with diverse opinions, diverse experience. I would first of all like to invite Mr HK Dua.

### ***Remarks by Mr HK Dua:***

Thank you Mr Maken and thank you Mr Sivaramakrishnan. It has been very educative two days listening to the panellists and some refreshing views from the Minister which normally the ministers don't associate with the people except during election time. But his approach is forward looking as he is. As usual, he is poor people oriented.

Mr Sivaramakrishnan has crystallized the issues which he was keeping for the last but one session, after listening to various views. He has raised the question of what should be the entity of a metropolitan authority on which there seems to be some consensus but nobody knows its shape. What shape it should take in India, or even different parts of the country what it should be. For example, Delhi has a different kind of governance structure. I come from Delhi from where Ajay Maken comes from. I have let down feeling Delhi was not included, as mentioned yesterday, as part of the study. The reason being there is a central government there and there is a state government there. It is not just state government and a possible metropolitan authority. There is a central government also and so many other factors. The number of agencies which run Delhi is much larger than any other agencies running Bombay and Hyderabad and Bangalore or Chennai, etc.

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What is an entity? Yesterday it was mentioned that economic entity should be the criterion. I was, frankly speaking, unhappy about it. The mentioning of GDP and GNP and contribution to Gross National Product it is not a very happy coinage. It excludes the people definitionally. If there is an area which does not contribute to the national GNP, it doesn't mean it doesn't have people who have to be fed, who have to live in houses, who have breathe clean air - they have also to be considered. Supposing a metropolitan authority has to, a city has to take care of Delhi then you cannot have GNP, economic entity as a...

I don't know whether geographical also will fit in that which the Minister has said. That means wherever the metro goes should be the metropolitan authority, at present times. So you have to have combination of all the factors but certainly not a contribution to the GNP. That Bombay should have the benefit of kind of metropolitan authority because it is contributing the maximum in the country, but what about the people of Bombay? They should also be part, an important part of the criterion. 50%, as somebody said yesterday, Bombay is in the slums. Delhi is said to have 30% in the slums but there are emerging slums also, while emerging housing is also there. Similarly, in Hyderabad or Bangalore or Chennai all these problems are there. So, the people have to be the central focus of a metropolitan authority and as well as all the planning that goes to setting up of it and its mandate, both are very, very, very important.

Health, education, water supply, toilets which have been neglected for 65 years after independence - we don't have toilets for everyone. Even in the Rajdhani, we don't have safe water supply for every citizen which should not have been a difficult task. But the question was lack of focus, possibly lack of political will. Why should 30 lakh people (30%) of the people live in slum or 50% in Bombay. The percentages vary. The problem is the same either in Bombay or Delhi except that there is coast here (in Bombay), so there is no coastal belt to be protected or violated in other cities.

What about the rights of the people in a metropolitan area? There are rights of every citizen, everywhere, metropolitan area or on the fringe or beyond; clean air - that is a fundamental right; clean water is a fundamental right. A house, yes, it should be a right; big or small that is a different question. Toilets, if we cannot provide, even now you have the long queues of people waiting for toilet in the slums, whether it is Bombay or Delhi or elsewhere in other metro towns; that means people have not been central even if they were important in speeches but are not important in implementation. People were not the focus. So for god's sake keep people in focus, rest of the definition, whether it is economic or geographic or contribution to GNP - they will fall in place and they are not that important.

Congestion has not been taken into account. Yesterday, it was said that cities like Delhi can afford or Indian cities can afford more density because London has greater density. But it is not just the figures. Again, we are taking statistical approach to congestion. Even in Delhi there are very large number of areas, central Delhi particularly, big lawns, one-storey Bungalows - it brings down the figures differently. But, if you cross Yamuna, and go to Jahangirpuri or Nand Nagari and others you will come with different figures. So, we are not living in one Delhi. There are many Delhis we are living in. It is not just Bharat and India. There are many stages between Bharat and India and there are transition stages also. Same way there are many Bombays, there are many Bangalores. So you have to take total complexion of the population, of the people. Whether they have education facilities? How far they have to travel for school? How far they have to go to seek medical aid? Those are the kind of things which should be the concern of the planners. We have some good medical institutions in Bombay, good institutions in Hyderabad. Particularly, in Delhi, most of the

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people who come are from the rural areas around, far beyond what is the NCR which can emerge as a metropolitan development area, if possible, it is they people who are mostly majority of the patients there. Why can't the planning setup a medical institute somewhere else or similar hospital somewhere else? The doctor should be close to the patient and community that the (doctor) he or she has to serve rather than patient should be brought from distances - by the time you reach medical institution some patients may have died also and they do. Water comes from somewhere else. The problem between Haryana and Delhi every summer when there is a shortage, Delhi is short of water so is Haryana. But they have to supply. Then the Chief Ministers meet and find a way out. Setting of the metropolitan authority is a good idea. Possibly it will sort out lots of problem in planning, in implementation of the plans and giving benefits to the people.

The report (couldn't go through everything, but some relevant portion I tried to have a look at last evening) gives little bit of idea, the basic problem. You cannot make the metropolitan authority (I am for it by the way), but page 11.8 the report specifies how much autonomy and powers it should have. I am for more power for the metropolitan council, frankly speaking, properly exercised. How much power the government should have? A metropolitan authority cannot function in an air. It is part of a State, what kind of balance of power should be State of Maharashtra and metropolitan authority of Bombay?, what should be the balance of power between State government in Delhi and metropolitan authority? This problem comes quite often in Delhi, particularly, and there is a third tier where comes the Central government in because it is a capital region, it is the Rajdhani. The law and order, as we experience in a big way, the Chief Minister has expressed helplessness in the gang rape case when protests were going on and she said, "the police is not under me". How do you tackle that problem? Should metropolitan authority have control of law and order? Or it should have only the responsibility of taking care of the services? These are the questions to be tackled. It won't deliver unless it has power; financial, taxation power and then execution power. You cannot make any institution responsible unless you authorize it to do or give it all the wherewithal to deliver. These kind of experiments have been carried out, as the report indicates, in Calcutta, in Chennai, in Delhi, in Bombay; Hyderabad also has wrestled with the problem and still wrestling with the problem. Making union territory may not be a solution I might say - politically it will not be acceptable. Having seen, as a student, when States were being divided how much trouble was there on "who should have Bombay?". Should it be separate? That idea was discussed, I am going by memory, should Bombay be part of Maharashtra when Gujarat bifurcation took place between Maharashtra and Gujarat. It is not possible. If leadership of that high stature and eminence and prestige could not make Bombay a separate State, whatever label was to be given, a city-state, you think it is possible to do it now when the federal question is being raised on different points every day? So you have to think of a metropolitan Greater Bombay as part of Maharashtra. Same thing with Delhi. Can you make Calcutta a separate city-state, whatever you call it to be governed by a mayor? Can Mamata Banerjee tolerate or CPM will tolerate if they are in power? In Chennai is it possible to persuade Jayalalithaa Chennai can be a separate union territory, you call it city-state, having direct mandate from the Constitution, etc., etc.? It is just not politically possible. You have to have solutions within the present arrangement, the Parliament, the State Assemblies, then metropolitan (greater or smaller that you can determine the size later). What it should be? Should MLAs or MPs, as the question has been raised in the report, to be part of the metropolitan council, or they should be in the new corporate? Composition question comes. What should be the composition? What should be the powers? Where are the areas which are getting overlapped? How they have to be sorted out? I think greater thought is needed and I am sure that during the future deliberations,

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which Mr Sivaramakrishnan is planning, we will dwell on specifically on those issues. But to await a greater metropolitan authority whatever its size, whatever its boundaries I think time has come. It is better we should go ahead with that.

### ***Remarks by Dr Myron Orfield:***

Thank you very much for inviting me for this interesting conference. I think that these issues that we are facing about regional government are global issues. They are the issues of every large, diverse growing city and I think among us, all of us planners and lawyers and politicians, I think that we know that a regional city, a regional government is necessary for our citizens to be educated and prosper, for our citizens to be healthy and to participate in a long life, for our transportation systems to function as best they can, for our land and our air to be protected. I think we all know these things are important. But I think the problem is politics. We have fierce, hard layers of politics in all of our countries. We all have powerful cities that don't want to yield power. We all have powerful State governments that don't want to change the present arrangements. We all have powerful federal governments that don't want to change the arrangement and in a time when the government is not well run, the forces of the status quo, the forces of intransigent grow very powerful. In a time when things are well run the barriers, the political barriers are hard. There was a politician in the United States, Robert Kennedy who said, "Some people see things as they are and ask why. I dream things that never were and ask why not?". And, I think part of the recognition about thinking about metropolitan government is thinking about things like politics with the same degree of care that we think about things like sewage and the things that we think about transportation, the way that we plan our land, the way that we finance infrastructure. In a democracy politics and existing power are very, very sophisticated. People that have power don't want to yield or change it very easily and we have to very much understand who has power and we have to figure out how to make arguments that are broad and public to show why these reforms need to be made. The best politicians and the best leaders will dedicate themselves to hard and risky endeavours if the possibly is great improvement in the lives of their constituents. The best politicians will do that. They need the support of academics and planners to know the best solutions. They need to have a strategy to think about an incremental change. It is very hard to change everything at once. It is very hard to change a government at once. The metropolitan areas that I have studied the changes have been incremental and strategic. The older cities, the older neighbourhoods that are often experiencing stress and poverty; in many parts of the world the older cities and the impoverished neighbourhoods have the most to gain. They have to gain better schools. They have to gain better water. They have to gain better air. They have to gain better transportation. And because, they form such a large block of voters pulling together those older neighbourhoods is a very important constituency.

Another piece of the puzzle, I think, in the United States was reaching out to faith groups and many of us may feel reluctant to think about that. Many of us who had lots of education may think this is dangerous. But many of these issues that we face are moral issues. The issues of poverty, debt, disease, inadequate housing, slums - these are moral issues and a metropolitan level entity has the power to transform those relationships. All faith traditions have a caring of the poor. All faith traditions have an ability to mobilize civil society and many of the hardest battles that we have had in our country and in our state, things like fair housing, things like racial equity; the faith community - the Christian community, the Jewish community, increasingly the Muslim community, the faith-based community is mobilizing and participating and has raised these issues above, sometimes the very dirty nature of politics, and made these issues higher and more important. The environmental community needs to tie its star to the need to protect the air and water, and a metropolitan level planning

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entity offers the best prospects to keep the streams and the water clean, to protect open spaces from development. To lead to those environmental consequences that environmentalists scream of, there is no better mechanism in a great, large, massive city of power to do this and the environmentalists, as they tie their horse to these things, it can make great progress.

The business community, certain segments of the business community will see this as much more powerful than others. The business people that are committed to the older neighbourhoods and the central core, the businesses that feel a long, strong, almost paternalistic relationship with the community that care about the citizens and that wish to help their workers there are not every business community, perhaps not every modern business community will be part of this. But it is important to do the analysis, to look at the politicians, to figure out where the power is, to figure out which politicians are idealists and will fight against an entrenched and difficulty status quo to bring moral questions to bear, to bring those segments of the business community that can speak with clarity. I think these are important pieces. These struggles to create metropolitan level entities are fierce. They are revolutions, they are political revolutions wherever they have occurred. And anyone that tells you that people that form these regional governments walk into a room and put their arms around one another and hummed regionalism that person is not telling you the truth. It is hard work. It takes great leadership, it takes great study. It takes the ability to fight and engage in the kinds of politics that a rich and free democracy can engage in. It takes people that do not fear to lose but have the strength to persist. In my country, where they have created these regional level entities have better schools. They have stronger neighbourhoods. They have stronger economies. They have healthier people. They have better environments. They have cleaner water and they have an active citizenry that participates and believes in their metropolitan level of government. Those are the messages that I would say. It is not easy; participate, do your homework and be ready to battle.

**Chair:** Thanks Myron. I think about the incremental changes which you mentioned is something which is a reality, but in our country the expectations are not for incremental changes and I think we as politicians are always expected in our country to make overnight changes and people expect this from us. This is something which, I think, in some sectors, is doable also and now, the economy growing at a rapid pace is something which is doable and even though incremental changes are something which are realistic but we should also not lose sight of overnight changes in certain sectors, wherein I think we can do with some amount of thrust and some amount of perseverance. Now I invite Mr Tarun Vijay.

### **Remarks by Mr Tarun Vijay:**

Hon'ble Minister, Mr. Sivaramakrishnan, my senior and honourable colleagues and fellow friends here. This is about the political consensus and I am really grateful and I congratulate Mr Ajay Maken for taking this initiative which has brought the arch opposition and ruling party on the same platform. Because we think that the country's interest and the peoples' interests are greater than the interest of our individual political parties and our individual interests. And I can tell you that if the political parties and the political leaders decide, the changes can come within a very, very short span of time, but they have to will it. It is all about the politics, it is all about power, power-sharing and as Ajayji also said that at the State level also, even if we have a one party rule in the metro city and at the State level the power sharing is very difficult. For a good management and a governance of a megacity you have to decentralize the powers, you have to make the ownership decentralized and see that people at the lower level also get a fair share in the power. It hardly happens. The more power is

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centralized in my hands the happier I am. So, the political consensus finds a lot of hurdles in this region. But ultimately there is no alternative to goodness.

Any politician who focuses on development, who focuses on infrastructure and power-sharing in an honest and transparent manner, he gets huge returns in political terms also. He strengthens his vote bank, he strengthens his vote constituency, he gains in name and fame. And we have seen a number of people, number of political people in India who have shown it. I may take some examples of my party. He (referring to Ajay Maken) had mentioned something yesterday about the Congress Party Chintan Shivir and I really appreciate that if the political parties find time in their political conclaves to discuss issues regarding development, issues regarding governance in the megacities it is very, very appreciable. But unfortunately in India this trend is on the decline, not on the rise. So, we have shown in Gujarat where Narendra Modi has shown that if focus is on development, infrastructure building, power-sharing; there is not stopping. Even in Bihar, which was once included in BIMARU States, we have shown that power sharing finally gives rich dividends. So, the reforms are needed and for it the power sharing and a political consensus is a must.

I recently saw a study that in every district about Rs.12000 crore, should be around 120 million rupees, comes as a grant every year. But, because there is no single agency to distribute the grants and even in those towns, which are yet to become megacities, the multiplicity of the agencies implementing various development tasks creates a lot of hurdles in providing the right kind of transportation, housing, roads and sewage system. So, what I suggest is that there has to be a proper multi-party system in every big town and metropolitan city where there is some consensus on the policy matters. In ancient times, we had the concept of Janapad which is now loosely translated as district. The country was divided into 52 Janapadas, so they were bigger than the present districts. But, each Janapad or if you want to say district or commission or division was headed by one Pramukh. So, there was a single entity. The buck stopped at his table, and he was overseeing all the development authorities, he was monitoring all the agencies and he had the power to change any scheme midway if he found that the scheme is not being implemented or is not meaningful anymore.

I would suggest that political consensus at this level, at the local level, which is to some extent reflected in our Panchayat system also., If we can further strengthen our Panchayat system but that again becomes a different agency which is often at the crossroad, cross-purposes with the other implementing agencies. And secondly, appointment or a system which is akin to the governorship of a megacity and we can call him a Janpad Pramukh or simply a Pramukh of the entire region; he oversees all the implementing agencies, he is the boss there and then all the schemes can be interlined, all the schemes can be made complementary to each other rather than working in isolation.

Secondly, it is all a game of strategies. Ultimately, we have to provide facilities to the citizens - roads, infrastructure, power supply, water and solid waste management. All this can be done if the funds from the central government are properly channelized and given at the micro level. I am sorry to say that the political leadership is failing this kind of governance at the megacity level. There is hardly any consensus and even if there is some attempt to create a consensus, the political leaders feel that whether it will translate into votes in the coming elections or not – so that becomes the sole criteria. It has to be explained that if we work for this kind of a development the vote per cent increase in the next elections will be guaranteed because all that people want is a good political leader who takes care of their development and facilities. That has to come about.

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We are still in the colonial mode of governance. Our constitution is also, as Dr Ambedkar also said, is a copy and paste miracle of Government of India Act 1935, is still at the local level. Various agencies are working with the same colonial system and the mindset. We have to break this system and take new innovative initiatives which will be completely delineated from the past.

I am a frequent visitor to Pakistan and China and in Pakistan at the local level they have created system of Nazim. Nazim is the principal master of the entire division. They have got away with the old, archaic IAS system and the Nazim is a semi-political person appointed by the political party in power. So, he gets the political support, he gets the administrative support by virtue of position and he is able to implement the policies. The same system, slightly different, but the same single person, chief system is implemented in China and it has done wonders there. So, unless we end up with the system of the multiplicity of the agencies we cannot deliver and another most important point. And that is the last point, we end up addressing a segment of the society which is already facilitated. But the problems are created by the sudden increase in the population. The population which comes from the rural areas, from adjoining areas, from the different parts of the country like in Bombay, in Delhi, even in my state Uttarakhand we never try to address their problems.

In Delhi, we hardly find a cycle path while the bicycle users are in huge in number in Delhi. When you go to Seelampur, when you go to Mangolpuri side in the evening after 7, after 7.30 it looks like a million cycle march on those roads. But they are unable to ride their cycles comfortably. Similar is the problem that the Minister has said that we allow unauthorized, illegal colonies to come up for political reasons. We don't take any action when they are coming up; we don't provide any road, any sewerage system, any water supply or power system to them legally, illegally they get everything. In Delhi, in the middle of the squares you find residential area, all around them the traffic is plying, all around them the strategic position holding offices are situated but in the middle of the junction you have a fax, photostat centre, you have some kind of a faith centre and then government ends up, the political system ends up providing them legal power supply, telephone connection, everything. This is the ironical part of our political system that we support the illegal mushrooming growth of the colonies and they end up creating more problems. So the poor section, the disadvantaged section, the marginalized section has to be on our priority list while discussing the governance in the megacities. Unless we do that the problems will not be systematically analyzed and solutions will not be available.

The second is vision sharing. We have to share the vision as we are sharing today. I wish there was more political representation from other (parts of the) political spectrum also as that would have created a new atmosphere, but I welcome this initiative. I think that these kind of reforms will be taken up further also and I congratulate CPR and Mr Sivaramakrishnan also for these initiative and we hope that even in the parliament we will be able to show this kind of a consensus on development issues. As I said yesterday also, we have a consensus whenever salaries are hiked, we have a consensus when food subsidies are okayed in the Parliament House and we have a consensus on many other issues, many important educational bills have been passed with the help of Opposition, and even on various other important issues like Lok Pal Bill there was a consensus among all the opposition parties and they saw to it that something is done and it is done. So, let us have a consensus on the development issues and governance on megacities also, and this will certainly herald a new chapter and a new era in India.

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**Chair:** Thank you Mr Tarun Vijay. Before I invite Mr Marco from Jakarta, I would like to make one small comment on the informal settlements or the slums or unauthorized colonies which come up in different parts of the cities. I think these informal settlements, these slums, unauthorized colonies which come (up) in different parts of the cities - it is because of the failure of the government to provide formal settlements for them. So, we should not put blame on these poor people, who for any informal settlement if they have to set up it is not that they get it for free. Many people think they just come up and encroach upon the government land. It is not so. They would have paid the money to some slum lord or to some private developer and then only they would have got that piece of land. And when we regularize or legalize those informal settlements it is not that it is just a political decision, but I think it is a human approach also towards those people and we should continue to do in future. But also (we need to) simultaneously ensure that these urban areas have adequate economically weaker section housing (EWS housing) so that people who come into the cities do not have to stay in slums and simultaneously these informal settlements, unauthorized colonies also are developed and they are almost of the same infrastructure level as the developed colonies are.

As far as the commercial usage is concerned, yesterday I talked about the rigid usage of land use by the planning authorities. If you do not plan well, if you do not take into consideration the realities of the commercial spaces which is required, if you do not look at the reality of the mixed land use, if someone has opened a small shop in his house I don't think it is wrong. We should encourage such small shops in the houses because it also solves a lot of transportation problems. It gives services or it provides shops nearer to the people who live. So these kind of considerations should be made at the time planning which unfortunately for want of participatory planning, for want of community participation these things do not happen.

### ***Comments by Mr Marco Kusumawijaya:***

Thank you Hon'ble Minister and Member of Parliament. I would like to be succinct but to be succinct I need actually longer time to think, especially not having English as my first language. So I would request you to forgive me if there are moments of silence between my sentences.

First of all, I would like to explain what Mr Sivaramakrishnan mentioned as my political skirmishes back in Jakarta. It was in 2002 I was nominated as Governor by a number of civil society organizations. At that time, we did not intend to win because we knew we would not win and actually we would not be allowed to win because in 2002 in our system, even after the revolution of 1998, no independent, no nonpartisan candidate can be elected or allowed. And I was picked as a symbol of many minority issues – environment, slum dwellers, etc. – because myself is double or even triple minority. First of all, I am a Catholic in the largest Muslim country. Second, I have Chinese heritage, which is making up at that time only 4% of Indonesian population claim themselves to be having Chinese origin. Now strangely, there are 8% of Indonesian population claim themselves to be Chinese origins which makes them no longer a minority. In fact, Chinese Indonesians, with 8%, is the third largest ethnic groups in Indonesia. The first group is Japanese making up, I think, 40 or 60%, and then second Sundanese (20%) and then the third are the Chinese - if it is true what they claim to be Chinese is true. The point is the revolution in 1988 opens up much, much more larger participation space for citizens.

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In 2002, the incumbent was a General, a four star General, my opponent with a lot of money and at that time no direct election was allowed. So, he was re-elected by, I think, 85 members of local parliament. So, not a direct election yet and, of course, I didn't go through the process but in 2007 the law changed. It was the first time for direct election for Jakarta's Governor and it was also the first time that independent nonpartisan candidate was allowed. So, we did make a change, we did make a case and I think that is the crux of the problem; or the crux of the problem that we want to attack which is if we look at the political system as a market, a political market the thing is that the supply side the political parties, etc., are very well organized but the demand side, the people are so less organized. I think that is the case that I want to make, when we are thinking about metropolitan region, as in any other management of an area or a territory with people, I think we need to organize the demand side to make effective any change.

The experience of Jakarta Metropolitan Region is the same. No leadership, no clear authority. We have only what is called a Coordination Forum for the three provinces to sit together to exchange ideas but there is no real authority for this Coordination Forum to do anything, not even to plan. I remember in 2007, during the election time the immediate past Governor consulted me during the election time. He was then re-elected. He is out now. He asked me what should I say if people ask me about the issue of Jakarta Metropolitan Region, He said, "It is not my problem. It is the problem of the central government. I do not have the authority. Jakarta, although it is prestigious to be Jakarta Governor, it is still a second tier territory as others." I said, "Sir, if you reply that that way people will woo you." (He said,) "So what should I say?" I said, "I think you should say that you know that it is a problem of the central government, the authority is at the central government, but since Jakarta is dominant in everything in that metropolitan region, you should say that Jakarta will take leadership to ask other territories to work together." And he said that during a televised campaign question and answer and he was applauded, I am glad. And now we have a new Governor, well known for his very openness, etc. Within a week he went to visit the Governor of West Java, the neighbouring province and asked for cooperation and I think this is good. But the point is, as I think, all we have said yesterday and today, it is very difficult to organize metropolitan regions politically, culturally. You have to deal with identities, you have to deal with other things that the real problems like water supply, services, etc. There are other things, there are identities, there are cultural issues, there are ego issues among the Governors, among the elected officials. And again, I think I would put my hope in a better organized demand side to help our politicians to focus on issues, on services, on provision of the need of the people.

I would add to my argument is that we are witnessing an emerging new world, that people can access knowledge, not just information, knowledge - unprecedented before. We have IT, we have social media, and in my context people are so fed up with, despite the fact that they are so organized, the supply side of the political market are not really delivering many, many things. So people are getting organized, using the new chance that the emerging new world is providing – information, knowledge, etc. We have actually some experiences which are funny. My colleagues found out that we know better about our own rules and regulations than our own bureaucracy. There are times when they argue about 'what do you mean by society', 'how do we involve society because society, communities is impossible to define'. And then my colleague replied, "Sorry Sir, do you know that there is a law number this and that which specify what we mean by communities and societies that should be involved in participatory process." I think the way to help our politicians is to say that representational democracy is not enough. We need participatory democracy. We need to be involved in

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everyday decision making process, not just getting involved every five years or four years in your case, to elected officials. The reason for me on this is not simply political. The reason, as I said earlier, the citizens demand side could be more knowledgeable, not only about their own problems but also about possible solution to their problems as compared to many bureaucrats and politicians. I do not mean to belittle the role of politicians and bureaucrats, but I want to mean to increase the role of civil society not just as a source of demand but as a source of solution, as a source of knowledge.

At least that is what my organization is doing and I think we started to see there are results in our context that the new administration start to consult us more and more and as I am speaking now my whole office which is very small, there are only three researches in my office, all of them are now busy attending consultation meetings with different branches of Jakarta government and also national government. So, I think what we need to think about is some sort of creative collaboration between politicians, bureaucrats and organized citizens as organized demand. You know, if you look at the market, the market doesn't work or at least the political market is different from economic market in the sense that - if the demand is not organized the supply side would not supply, would not deliver. It is the basic difference with economic market where there is a demand or even supply side would try to organize demand for them to sell things. But I think it is also true with political market.

We are facing the increasing rate of urbanization, not just an increasing urbanization but increasing rate of urbanization in all our countries, especially our metropolitan regions. This is also a new fact of what I would call the emerging new world and I think this should be seen as a potential. I am glad that our Hon'ble Minister said yesterday that urbanization is not inevitable, it is desired and I think we have to make use of it, that urban populations are actually among the most knowledgeable of many, not their problems but also their possible solutions to their problems. So I think again devolution from higher to lower tiers of governments is not enough, but I think we need also to have horizontal decentralization - give more power to the people to take care of their problems but of course on the pre-requisite that they should be organized and I think that is the challenge and let us not look at the challenge as the civil society challenge but actually it is a challenge for a better future, for easier work for our politicians and our bureaucrats. That is all what I would like to say.

Just to repeat key words; not just representational democracy but participatory democracy. Not just devolution in the sense of vertical decentralization but also horizontal decentralization. Trust the people as solution not just as problem; but they need to be actively organized and channelled into the political structure, into the metropolitan management because demand in political market is different from demand in economic market. And there are huge works ahead, but these works are worthy because of the emerging world that would give us more opportunities for more creative collaboration among us all and that, for me, is the key to our better future.

**Chair:** Thank you Mr Marco. You are absolutely right when you say about the active involvement of civil society. We as politicians, even though now I am a Minister, I started at grassroots level, we always have a feeling that we are always in touch with our people. But I think gradually as move up the ladder, that touch is somewhat lost. So that lost touch, if we have to make way for that loss touch, active engagement of civil society is absolutely necessary. You are absolutely right, the bureaucrats, the elected representatives and civil society - all three of them have to work together hand in hand. Then only we can have, and you also said, the participatory democracy and community participation.

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### ***Comments by Mr Chandre Gowda:***

Hon'ble Minister, my colleagues, distinguished delegates, we have been hearing for the last two days the expertise on the subject of governance. Let me give you few thoughts of experience also. I represent Bengaluru city, 2.2 million people and I have certain responsibilities to discharge being a representative of the city. Many inputs have been coming in right from the day one that we began. Bangalore is a beautiful city and it is called as a knowledge city of India.

But I would tell you, certain problems are specific to Bengaluru city alone. Most of the cities in the world are on the banks of rivers, one river or the other, most of them. But Bangalore is not on the bank of any river. So the first problem is the drinking water. Little more than 100 km (away from Bangalore) we have to draw the water from Cauvery. Cauvery it is again a dispute between Tamil Nadu and three or four other States. So we have to carefully examine the requirement of the water supply. The second most important thing is power. Bengaluru gets power from 400 km away from Bangalore and the transmission loss accounts about 30 to 38 per cent and keeping these in view we have to think of the alternatives also.

Number three, as many of my friends have suggested we know that it is a participating democracy. In these problems the city municipality or the corporation or the megacity cannot take decision on its own. It has to consult the local government, it has to be with the clear understanding with the regional government and, of course, the democratic institutions set up at the lowest level. As Hon'ble Minister has rightly drawn my attention to the community participation which is a must. But how could we do it? Before that we should have the authority to take a decision. Who is that authority? The question before us every year mayoral election; it begins with a mayoral election, takes at least one or two months to settle down, and begins after eight months the process of getting new mayor and this process of mayoral election itself is a major block in development of a city. That is my understanding of the thing so far as Bengaluru is concerned. So what should be the approach? I feel it is better that we should have a decision making authority decisively elected by the people. Decisively, precisely what I mean to say is at least the mayor should know his responsibility and his competence to discharge the problems of the city and he should have some time to think of the problems. At least four years a direct elected mayor is a must. Otherwise, we go on getting ourselves involved in politics of changing the mayor but not the development. And secondly, I have seen the Constitutional Amendment 74<sup>th</sup> which has given some light to the development of our problems. We have to have some committees which can advise the mayor at the lowest level. For example, planning, for example, power- alternative power, find out alternative source of energy and water. So we are planning to have an alternative water supply schemes from different rivers flowing in the States which requires a State's participation in solving the problem. And as I said earlier, the dispute between the States has to be sorted out by the federal government, the inter-water dispute or other border disputes. Therefore, we are planning to have, before a megacity governance, the governance which finds a permanent solution to the problem.

The problem that we are facing is consultation and political management. Intra-party discussions, inter-party discussions, inter-State discussions and inter-government discussions - if the government is different at Delhi, if the government is different at Bengaluru and the government is different at corporation level. So, all the three cannot come together and take a decision overnight. Therefore, some authority who take decisions whenever the dispute arises (is required). In Bengaluru, waste management itself is a big problem for the last so

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many months. How to dispose of, how to collect the garbage, how to use them, whom to give the contract, how does he dispose all this garbage so collected? This is a big subject Bangalore city is facing as on today and therefore I feel that there should be some structural change to give vent to all these problems which we are facing. So what I mean to say that mayor should have at least adequate power and he should be held responsible and answerable to the people with certain period of time that the law gives him. To help him we should have some metropolitan council, planning board, ward committees and of course the community participation, by whatever we feel fit. The financial alternatives have to be found out.

Now, most of the cities, particularly Bangalore city depends on the land - and the mafia has taken over most of the lands and the courts interfere. The poor people don't get even a piece of land to build a small house. They (referring to the mafia) constitute cooperative societies, grab the land, build the multi-storeyed building, dispose it off at the cost of not less than Rs.2 to Rs.3 crore per flat, and where does the poor man go? These are certain small problems. Therefore, resource mobilization and delivery system, additional resources from the central government with least interference and the State government's funding - all these are a must and therefore, to coordinate between the State, Centre and the local governments there should be some agency, whatever you feel fit. I have heard many of the people suggesting so many things. But you are a different system. In India the States are governed by one party and the national government collective of so many parties. If we are not members of the one group or the other, the State and the city gets (I would say) the full share of its requirement but to the many extent that is possible.

With this, I am grateful to you for having given the opportunity and it is one of the most successful events which I have come across in recent years because I was a Member of Parliament representing rural areas right from 1971. The last 40 years of my experience is different from that of the experience I am doing right now as a representative of Bengaluru city. As long as I was a rural representative, my problems were different. Today's problems are totally different. Therefore, I would request the Hon'ble Minister get hold of these problems, try to confront them and give some relief generally in terms of settlement by and between the States, for example, as I said, Cauvery water dispute.

We need 30 TMC of water every year. At the time of settlement it is 0.85 TMC has been offered to Bengaluru city. What do we do with this? The pressure on the local representatives and particularly members of parliament to give bore wells, where a number of bore wells from their MP account. We have a Rs.5 crore allotment every year to spend. We have the liberty to spend it at various levels within our constituencies which means people need something which can be easily availed. So without the participation of a local representative, whether he is a Member of Parliament or Member of the Legislative Assembly or a Councillor - it is difficult to satisfy the people's requirement. That is where we stand today and hope that all of us will take note of these difficulties and many, many committees have been constituted. Recently the Kasturirangan's Committee recommended so many things and today's distinguished delegate from Bangalore, the former Chief Secretary, he had submitted his report in one of the committees and we go on constituting committees but do not take a decision while implementing. Therefore, some authority should be found to see that these decisions are implemented.

Friends, it is a great honour and distinction for me to be associated with you and I shall take this opportunity to convey your feelings and expressions transformed into my people. Thank you very much.

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**Chair:** Thank you Mr Chandre Gowda. I think there are three political things which I would like Mr Sivaramakrishnan to consider looking at the deliberations in this session. One is the election of mayor, which as pointed out by Mr Chandre Gowda and Mr Marco also. In India also we have a different set of systems in different cities. In some cities we have direct elections of mayor wherein there is a tenure of five years or four years and in some, like in Karnataka (in Bengaluru) and in Delhi we have yearly tenure of mayors who are indirectly elected by the councillors, by the corporators. So what should be the ideal way of electing the mayors or the CEO or the person who is to head these municipal authorities or the metropolitan regional authorities?

The second important thing which again varies from region to region in India is the size of the Board, size of a constituency, corporation constituency. I was surprised to find in Ujjain, when I went in as an Observer from my party in one of these elections, to find an average size of a ward from 4 to 7 polling booths only wherein in Delhi at that it was around 50 polling booths. One polling booth is around 1000 people. So size of ward in Ujjain is 4000 to 7000 and in Delhi it was 50000 - I am talking about the number of voters, so the population would be even higher. So the size of every ward what should be the ideal size?

And third, the most important thing, is in some States initially they started with not allowing political parties to field candidates. The candidate should contest without any political party symbol. So this takes care of one of Mr Marco's problem contesting against a 4-star General. So should political parties be allowed to field candidates in the local elections or should we allow the natural local leadership to come up? Should it not be a kind of a big residents welfare association so that there can be more community participation?

Like some other things, I have raised these things within my party also, with lot of opposition because political parties view this exercise as a nursery for young or even not so young political activists and elections at the lowest level throw in a large number of natural political leaders for these political parties. But what I feel is that if we can make it mandatory, maybe through constitutional amendments or through State legislature (some States have already done, but to only withdraw it after sometime because of political pressure from their own political parties). Why should political parties be allowed to field candidates for the local elections? Why should not the constituency, the wards be so small that it can be easily manageable first of all, or a normal person without much resources can contest and win the elections also because the larger the constituency is, (the more) difficult it is for any person with less of resources to contest and win and, thirdly the larger constituencies also make these elected representatives corrupt very soon because the smaller the constituencies are less would be the money which would make a person cross over that threshold of corruption. This is again a very important point which I feel that the constituency should be very small so that at local the elected representatives they can contest, win the elections without political party symbols.

So, these are 3-4 things, which I thought, can be a food for thought for the CPR and others who are working on this and maybe at some in near future even if not through constitution, maybe through some State legislations we can have such progressive steps taken by the State legislatures and once it is successful in some States it can be easily replicable in other States, once they see some amount of success in terms of development because results definitely would be there, development definitely would be there if we have such kind of things because

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smaller wards are easily manageable and elected representatives will find enough time to look at different aspects of a smaller ward.

### *Q&A Session*

**Mr HK Dua:** One more suggestion I would like Mr Sivaramakrishnan to consider. What should be the taxation power of the metropolitan council? If it is all the time to depend upon the State government or the Central government for dole outs that autonomy will not be there. If it has the power then possibly some autonomy there or could be some mix of the two.

**K. K. Pandey, IIPA:** My observational point is just linked to what Dua saab has said. Today we have seen in the newspapers that Mumbai Corporation is going to abolish octroi and local body tax is proposed to be imposed in Mumbai. Navi Mumbai is doing this already since last couple of years and I studied three years back Navi Mumbai, because of local body tax is able to tax 6% of city income. So there is enormous potential within the city. You rightly said we need to devolve suitable instruments, suitable taxing powers to local governments. This is very important point which I wanted to add and also this financial autonomy did come yesterday and in this there is one very important political consensus needed right now and fortunately we have four Members of the Parliament. I hope you will take away this message, and that is we are going to finalize GST soon as we see from the media. So, there is a need to directly allocate a particular share of GST to local governments. And in the overall context what we discussed – development and urbanization – have go together, is going together, in India if we see from Gujarat up to Tamil Nadu higher urbanization. So, the road to development to backward States also goes through urbanization. We have to develop these States through proper policies and programmes and there the key is spatial dispersal of economic activities. We have to bring economic activities to Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh and that belt which is not developed. So, the spatial dispersal from larger cities to middle cities to small cities what type of economic activities are to be built. And also within the city, what Maken saab said, within the spatial dispersal means economic activities in the low income areas, economic opportunities, income generation opportunities to poor. So, the spatial dispersal of economic activities is also a very important point which we need to deliberate and build strategies on this.

**Mr Philip Oldenburg:** An academic who studied Delhi Municipal Government now 40 years ago and to some extent this question arises out of that experience. It is agreed obviously that any megacity or any body of the kind that we have been talking about would have elected representatives in it with powers but the implication at least as I have been hearing it is that these powers would be exercised basically on a planning policy directing side of the governance equation, and my question is to what extent do you believe, the politicians in particular I am asking, that politicians have a legitimate right to deal with the output side without the precise allocations of benefits to particular people and particular places within their own constituencies or within the city or within the region as a whole?. And this comes out of my experience of seeing in Delhi in 1969-70 that the constituency fund that councillors were allowed to use which is equivalent to the local area development programmes that now exist for members of legislative assemblies and the parliament, was an extraordinarily effective way of developing and allowing citizenry to include precisely where benefits would flow and I think it was done on the whole fairly and with good effect, and I am curious whether the politicians sitting in front me would agree that in any kind of scheme of

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governance of this kind that elected representatives should legitimately influence the allocation of goods and benefits to particular places and particular people?

**Chair:** I think you have raised a very important question and since you have Delhi experience behind it and I have served in the Delhi Legislative Assembly as a MLA with lots of MLA with me which I spent and now since last 8-9 years as Member of Parliament with MP Local Area Development Fund. Very important question which you have raised is “whether the politicians”, I would say, instead of “politicians”, I would say “the elected representatives” because it is a difference between the two. Whether the elected representatives should be allowed to decide on where this money should be spent? There are two kinds of development, straightaway. One is the smaller developments, developments of lanes, drainage system. Maybe some sewage which is not functioning, maybe water supply lines in certain areas which needs to be put in, maybe some roads, maybe some street lights, maybe some parks which need to be developed, the boundary walls or the tube-wells. All such things can be extremely well taken care of through these local area development funds and my experience is (since 1998, it is now almost 15 years) we have only one set of governance in Delhi, ruled by one single party. The credit goes to this local area development fund which has been very wisely spent by the local elected representatives, the MLAs. Now for each MLA it is around Rs.5 crores a year which is around \$1 million a year which is good enough for a small area which he represents and he is able to take care of these smaller needs. What happens is in Delhi or in many other urban areas these elected representatives they are open to public everyday in the morning. They have to - if they do not meet people every day in the morning next time they should forget that they can win the elections, and simultaneously almost all these elected representatives, at least in Delhi I know, including me, we undertake at least three or four times visits in our constituency, cutting across party lines we have to there. The councillors do in Delhi even. So they have to go and visit each and every part of their constituencies and interact with the residents’ welfare association. There they are able to prioritize the kind of development which is needed. There they are able to prioritize whether the drainage is a requirement, whether the road is a requirement, whether water supply or the sewage disposal is a requirement. If suppose the elected representatives want to use this amount as an output as you said to be spent in a rightful manner, in a very wise manner, I think this is the best way of development at the small level to be carried out. But this cannot be the way to carry out mega development programmes like laying of big sewage lines or rehabilitation, in-situ - the same place rehabilitation of the slum dwellers, how to take care of the street vendors. The bigger policy issue cannot be left to the lone elected representatives who deals with a small area in a very limited fashion. The bigger issues of the public transport from the city, what should be the best way for providing public transport system or the sewage treatment plants where should it be set up, how to clean the river which flows across the city. All these bigger things cannot be done by the elected representatives alone, then in that case the specialists people who know about that subject they have to work in tandem with the elected representatives and find a way and evolve a policy to tackle such problems. But at the local level these things do make a difference - at least in urban areas, at least in Delhi, as I know.

**Mr HK Dua:** Can I add something. I don’t underestimate, I am not in politics as such, I don’t belong to any party, but I don’t underestimate the politicians’ concern for development in their constituencies. But I agree with Mr Maken that larger development requires larger thought and collective thought at times to come out with the plans. Not all, but some is. The nexus which has developed in many States, in many State capitals and many big cities, between politicians, businessmen, bureaucrats and property developers - that is affecting the

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development of the cities on the right lines. It is a serious problem and I think the new development authority will have to give some thought to it how not to allow that nexus to develop in the development of the areas concerned.

Second is, yesterday it was mentioned also, PPP model, that more private sector. A former Senator from Minnesota he also said that big businesses take considerable care of the welfare of the city. Experience here is the big business doesn't take care with that much concern about the city. Here and there some model projects will be there but they don't share their wealth for the city's welfare. But PPP model has been exploited by some politicians and businessmen in the States. Last seven years, I was in Chandigarh. Some of the projects were taken up. Infrastructure has been given from government. The gain is of the private sector who have availed of the project. So this PPP model has been used not for public welfare but more for the private profit. With result private sector or PPP has got more space in the new plans in some areas and public space has got reduced. That is the kind of a nexus which develops that leads to problems. But otherwise they are quite concerned about the development of their constituency and their State.

**Mr Tarun Vijay:** I think what Mr Maken said is true for most of those elected representatives who are really working very sincerely in their constituencies and I must say that the survival of any elected representative solely depends on his or her interactions with the voters at the ground level and the works that he has been able to do. So there is a competition also in the local constituency that whose those marble plaques I have seen on the roads that this road has been done or constructed by such and such member of parliament or a member of legislative assembly. This is a very healthy competition. It has a dark side also. I mean, for every profession, whether it is media, whether it is politics, whether it is bureaucracy there is a darker side. That darker side is the nexus between those who use MPLAD funds for some other purposes and then there is a cut for the elected representative also. That can be checked, but an elected representative survives on his work. It is the media tigers do not survive in our democracy. There are other people, musclemen or money bags, who do different kind of things but that is a different story. Most of us, most of the elected representatives have to prove that they are good to their constituents.

**Next Question:** There is lot of discussion about strong mayor and a good participation. But I am wondering, which is also my question, most of the parties are very strongly hierarchy based and they have a poor track record of internal democracy. So I am really wondering if the parties themselves are not reconsidering their own democratic structure. Would they ever tolerate a strong mayor, a good councillor? So shouldn't the reform start within?

**Mr Tarun Vijay:** (As far as) the internal democracy of a political party is concerned, I think when you talk about the selection of candidates at the local level, particularly at the lowest urban local body level, I am entirely in agreement with what you say because the place where the decision is taken it is too far away. Let us not go into politics of this because whatever we may say, whatever internal party democracy we may say, but the truth is that even for the local bodies the candidates where they have to contest decision is taken far away from that place. So these political parties can never do justice in terms of selecting right kind of candidates representing those areas. That is why my suggestion was then why to allow these political parties field their own respective candidates. So let natural leaders evolve and let the constituencies be small so that money power doesn't play any role in these elections. Let natural leaders evolve and let them be free to join whichever party they want to. This is just my suggestion. I am not, like saying the suggestion of the entire panel. This is my

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suggestion, it has positive and negative points both. But to counter what exactly he was saying, in a party democracy which you are talking about, political parties have been saying, but at the time of selection of candidates at the lowest level the criteria only is winnability of elections. So when the criteria is winnability of elections the other things they move into the background, winnability becomes important and other factors come into the fore. So for this reason I strongly feel that for local body elections it has to be irrespective of party, party shouldn't be allowed to contest.

**Mr Tarun Vijay:** If I may add, it is a very deadly criteria. A person who is winnable from a constituency can be a very good person, gentleman like Mr Ajay Maken, but can be a very different kind of a person also who is winnable. And then in Indian politics the caste factor, your proximity to the top leader, whatever the party, and then your financial strength (power) - these are also very strong factors that make the party leadership or the parliamentary board to give a ticket and you may not be exactly the right person, you may not be even belonging to that constituency. You might have been imported from a thousand miles away from the State capital and you get the ticket and sometimes you win and these factors certainly affect the local development.

**Dr C Ramachandraiah:** I have 3-4 points for consideration. One is, a mayoral election, a city corporation election has to be a political election. The political parties have to fight the election. That is personally my feeling because otherwise what happens is after the candidates get elected somehow on non-party basis then there will be this poaching, money, horse trading all these things happen. So it has to be a political election and it has to be a directly elected mayor otherwise every year election. Now in Andhra Pradesh what happened is many cities the mayorship is shared for two years one MP's one, then another two years another local strong man's and minister's son, then 4-5 year somebody else now in Hyderabad we have, between the ruling party and the MIM. What happens is these are not alliances that arose before election. After election, depending on how many they get and it has lot of other implications. They are not bothered about governing the city. So somewhere a mayor has to be directly elected mayor and mayor with some powers, not an ornamental mayor who will be of no use, who has to be a subordinate for the powers of the commissioner and there have been committees' recommendations and you have to think about it.

Second, it has not come up in this discussion and I have personally, a couple of times, raised (this) with (I have two more points) with Mr Sivaramakrishnan. There has to be some kind of a proportional representation as the number of corporators in a city depending on the percentage votes a party gets. Somewhere this needs to be addressed otherwise it will be very difficult.

A third point is in the name ex-officio members, the MLAs and MPs in the city should not get a vote in the corporation in the election of mayor and deputy mayor. It is another big farce that happens. Again, if a ruling party has less numbers cutting shortage the Rajya Sabha members from another cities and come get registered in the capital city so that they get voting to defeat the other candidate.

Then the fourth thing is the cost. Unless you have proportional representational, today the first resolution made in Hyderabad in 2009 by the council that every corporator should get their ward development fund. Today in Hyderabad you have Rs.1 crore for every ward member every year. Ultimately what you have? You have MPs fund, you have MLAs fund and the corporator fund because now getting elected as a corporator has also become a costly

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affair, like an MLA and MP. You have to spend Rs.1-2 crores to get elected. Some way this needs to be broken and that person is not interested in this thing he needs only a cut in every work that happens in his ward, least bothered about what happens. So the deliberative part has been going and the contractor class has taken over the corporations. Unless you bring in some policy reforms where these things are addressed it will not yield desired results.

**Next Speaker:** I have a simple question. Since yesterday we have heard a lot about informal settlements and poor people and everybody needs to pay attention to these issues. I just wanted to ask the Hon'ble Minister that how come we don't have any policy about providing basic amenities like water, electricity and toilets to all the informal settlements irrespective of where they are located, whether they are located on the city land, on the federal land, on the railway land. For example, in Mumbai all the informal settlements which are settled on these kind of lands are not officially given any services and I am just wondering if you would ever consider passing or having a national policy that irrespective of their legal or illegal criteria whether they will be given just those three basic services?

**Chair:** I think you have raised a very important issue. Perhaps you may not knowing, I have got some Census figures also that as far as the water supply in these areas are concerned, since last 10 years it has improved tremendously. Not only water supply, potable water supply but also sanitation in terms of latrine facilities within the premises and also common latrine facilities. As far as the policy is concerned, perhaps you are not aware of the fact that one of the mandatory conditions to get grant for the Rajiv Awas Yojana or the JNNURM, one of the mandatory conditions is that every city, from its budget, has to put across 25% of its budget, every municipality, 25% of its budget only for the urban poor living in these slum areas and unless they do that they will not receive a single penny from the central government from the fund which we are giving to the JNNURM. This is something which is a policy, laid down norms and this is being implemented throughout the country and the census data also (once this is over) I can show it to you. The Census figures, house to house survey has been conducted, things have improved. It is not that we have achieved 100% which we would like to but things have improved and this is a mandatory reform which every municipality has to undertake and every municipality who has taken from us they have undertaken it.

**Ms Amita:** I am from Bombay. My question is actually all the concerns that we just now heard from the panel are actually about relating to people and I completely I think endorse this view that if there has to be a regional government then one needs to think of that too as a political entity too. That it cannot be a bureaucratic entity. But the sense that I have just now at least is we can think lower-down, We can think city level, mayor. Are we able to think regionally in political terms and, if so, I would like to hear at least a cross-section of views on this aspect itself. Do you think what is the viable political entity at a regional level? Can there be a prospect of a regional government for Mumbai or for Hyderabad or for Bangalore or for whatever?

**Chair:** This is exactly what Mr Sivaramakrishnan has been saying about. This entire workshop is not about cities. It is about the metropolitan region. So when we are talking about cities it is not cities as such. It may be misunderstood. We are so used to talking about cities that we normally do not use the word metropolitan region, but when we say about the entity, when we say whether the mayors or the CEOs should be directly elected, what should be the ward size then essentially we are talking about the metropolitan region. So we discussed just now in this session, as one of the questions posed by Mr Sivaramakrishnan, as to what should be the criteria, what should be the threshold level? Whether it should be one

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million, whether should it be on the basis of economic activity, whether it should be on the basis population, whether it should be on the basis of geographical entity, one geographical block, what should (it) be? So it is not only in terms of governance but also in terms of the manner in which you can define a metropolitan region. So essentially the entire two days' workshop and I would like to commend CPR and CII for organizing this and Bombay First also because this is essentially for metropolitan region which is the need of the day. So we should go beyond cities and we should now start talking about metropolitan region because these regions are a reality and they should essentially be an entity should be properly governed.

**Mr Tarun Vijay:** What I suggested, the Janpad Pramukh was essentially the regional chief. He would be heading all the paraphernalia of the agencies and accountable. One person (would be) accountable for whatever is happening in that region. That was the idea and he can be an elected representative because without political power things won't happen. That is a reality.

**Mr Sivaramakrishnan:** Since the Minister will be going away after lunch I thought I would take this opportunity to thank him on behalf of all of us for the interest he has taken, for his presence and I should also thank all the members here on this panel, the MPs and Marco and Myron Orfield for the presence here. Thank you very much.

***End of Session VI***