

Session VIII

Beyond the Status quo: Multilevel Governance for Megacity Regions

Remarks by Mr KC Sivaramakrishnan:

We have all been talking about metropolitan cities, city regions and what has been happening in the country for so many years and we have ourselves kept a tab. Marco made a very interesting observation today and he said that this political changes which we seek appear to be more a supply side response rather than a demand side. When in 1992 the Constitution (73rd & 74th) Amendments became law and even 2-3 years earlier when Rajiv Gandhi made an attempt to push those amendments and that as a result of that he won it in the Lok Sabha but lost in the Rajya Sabha and subsequently when the amendments came in the government by and large found it more convenient to declare victory rather than join the battle because that is something very, very convenient. But over the past 10 years or more as we have been monitoring the progress of this, it is quite clear that there is not much of a demand side for decentralization and so as a result of that this has had a very uneven course of implementation across the country.

The metropolitan region or a special arrangement was also one such leap of faith as part of the constitutional amendment and it is obvious that we have not made much of a progress. I think in the opening day itself when my colleague Partha Mukhopadhyay made the presentation and when we talked about the city regions being an economic reality, a demographic reality, a political reality, a spatial reality one of the things which comes to our mind is it is not yet a reality in the public mind. An average citizen of Mumbai probably may say yes Vasai Virar is somewhere up in the north but I do take the commuting train. Navi Mumbai is there, yes, I take a train to go there. So one can say that they have a broad idea about Mumbai metropolitan area. But the same thing cannot be said about Bangalore for example. To the average Bangalore person, the Bangalore metropolitan region may not mean much. In the case of Calcutta it may mean something because of the suburban railway line. To a lesser extent as far as Chennai is concerned. So one of the major challenges which we have to face is that this metropolitan region is not yet a part of public perception and that I think is a very, very major gap and in a way in these two days that absence of a singular perception did come through in this workshop also. We alternated between the macro and the micro, the municipal and the multi-municipal, one particular service versus another service on a metropolitan scale. So I think the reality that when it comes to large city, large city region reform it has not yet entered the public mind. So in spite of all the effort that all of us have put in we do have this salutary recognition at this point of time that we may have just begun and it may require a lot of effort to establish this concept of a metropolitan region or a city region.

The next is that we have also alternated about our concerns between sprawl, spread and concentration. We also took note of the fact that in the absence of a clear public recognition the city region can mean many things to many people and if finding a consensus is difficult among professional people like us it will be that much more difficult as far as the non-professionals and members of the public are concerned. At the same time, we also realized that one is not a substitute for the other. That a metropolitan area may have many small problems, many municipal problems but that is not a substitute for the metropolitan scale, nor answering the metropolitan scale can be a substitute for the municipal issue. So in a way and also taking a look at the constitutional side of it and here perhaps personally and some of you may think that this is rather cynical, this is one of the items about which within the CPR we had a lot of debate before taking up this study and that is how outlandish, out of place are not

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necessarily part of the same central theme of decentralization or the provisions with regard to the metropolitan planning committee. Arun Misra said that it is a vehicle with no fuel and just standing there on the road, and Philip Oldenburg said there is also something called an engine. That engine has not been run seriously by anyone for several years.

One part of our problem was whether this constitutional prescription that has been written in the 74th Amendment has been somewhat premature and it looks like that it is somewhat premature because there are so many other micro level problems which continue to occupy our mind, but at the same time the ground reality is such that these kind of agglomerations are taking a shape all over the country and whether we like it or not we need to do something about it and that is where today's discussions helped a little bit. But as I said before we have a long way to go. Since this particular session is really to get the feeling of a cross-section of participants here about what they feel and what they consider as takeaway point I do not want to prejudge this. But we look upon this particular workshop as a very important step in our learning process. We have a suspicion that this particular geographical pattern of growth which we have been witnessed is likely to continue in this country. We have a suspicion that though we do not have the answers right now somehow in the near future some answers will be expected. We do feel that maybe we are reasonably sure about some measures like planning, like bringing different entities together, like taking note of the various entities – territorial and non-territorial. So to my mind, I would say that this particular workshop has taken on the path of learning a little bit more. But that is the process of learning all over. We have never learnt anything with a dramatic flourish and we thought we did dramatically the drama evaporates very soon and then we are back to where we started. This may sound somewhat cynical but then I would like to believe that by definition planners and professionals and city officials they have to alternate between what they consider as highly hopeful and what they consider as highly dismal.

The Bangalore example is a very good example. Mr Ravindra has been trying, I don't know whether it is four years or five years or six years, trying to, ever since the Kasturirangan Committee report was given, and on the issues of metropolitan region and city region, even a draft bill has been prepared but it has not been possible to introduce the draft bill in the Karnataka legislature at any time. Every time the government says we may bring that bill something seems to happen to the government itself and I looks, I suggested to Ravindra jocularly last time we met, maybe we should submit these metropolitan reorganization plans to an astrological review in the first place because it has all such peculiar consequences. So at this point of time my summing up realization is that planners, city officials, business people, political people, journalists we are all quarter wise, maybe a little less than a quarter. But we are not necessarily near an answer to our basic questions which is not such a bad thing and that is why perhaps I think our political colleagues and I don't they feel about it, our political colleagues may have an advantage because they probably have a little more patience than all of us put together and they may very well say yes we had heard this suggestion before and if we wait long enough we will hear some other suggestion and then so we will see what would an appropriate thing.

I will not go any further because I don't want my lack of enthusiasm which is in sharp contrast to the amount of sweat and running about that I do, but this is part of my survival kit. So Mr D'Monte I am sorry if I have taken a few more minutes than what you as the anchor would have permitted. So I would like to be in a position to rewrite at least a part of my summing up at the end of this session.

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Remarks by Mr Darryl D'Monte (Chiar):

We were supposed to have this session televised but I would like to pretend that it is being televised and while rules of television, first and most important rule is that we speak briefly in sound bytes, nobody makes long speeches. This is not the time. We have had sessions. I also felt, frankly, in the previous session over these last two days some people spoke far too long, in far too much detail and from many, many years of professional managing of conferences such as this, mostly for environmental journalists, I feel that the richness is in the interaction between the audience and the speakers and I do feel that there has been far too little of that interaction. So I am going to start to ask each of the panellists to speak only in some bytes but not more than two minutes on a single point which is a takeaway, either a new thought or a mode of action, something that just one point that you can suggest to the audience. I begin with Amita Bhide from the TATA Institute of Social Sciences.

Remarks by Ms Amita Bhide: I will try to speak in a sound byte as Darry has suggested. But one tension which seemed to be clearly to be running through the entire workshop and which is something that we have not expressly articulated is the entire tension between the core and the periphery. We have been talking about city regions as the core and those which are within, I would say, commuting distances and different concepts we have used to delineate the surrounding region as the periphery. That is how the data has also been presented. What does regional government, what does metropolitan governance mean for this periphery? Have we tried to understand it from that perspective at all or all of it is driven by the centre because what I see running through this entire agenda is an agenda of city expansion which may be very, very much in furtherance of greater centralization, centralization meaning a very different, perhaps inviting very different actors and opening up the playing field for them. It may be in terms of real estate interests, it may be in terms of business interests, it may be in terms of, I would say, political interests which are also fuelling this. But what is it that one would exactly open up through this entire field and without, I think, answering this question of what it means for the periphery one is moving in for, I think, lopsided kind of a consideration of this question.

Mr Darryl D'Monte: We will follow now with Mr Sharad Kale who has been the Municipal Commissioner of Mumbai. He now serves on the Board of Pratham which is an organization which works in primary education to make each child, beginning in Mumbai, literate or rather educated. Every child learning is the slogan.

Mr Sharad Kale: I think with this introduction you will excuse me for concentrating on Mumbai. Mr Sivaramakrishnan has rightly pointed out that the metropolitan region concept has not really gone into sort of the conscientious or the perception of people in general. But I think probably the situation in Mumbai is not that hopeless. People of Mumbai are aware that various problems of Mumbai cannot really be sorted out or resolved within the geographical boundaries of Mumbai city as constituted under the Mumbai Municipal Corporation Act and many of these solutions will have to be sought beyond the boundary of Mumbai and that is how you legitimize and actually you realize the importance of a metropolitan region.

The real dilemma of a metropolitan authority I don't think got highlighted here. The representative of MMR did mention that once the metropolitan authority starts taking up projects and concentrating on projects there is a slight change in the nature of the relationship between the metropolitan authority and the municipal bodies which are within its jurisdiction and smaller municipalities start to push their projects and start lobbying for them. On the

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other hand, if the metropolitan authority concentrates only on so called planning and coordination I think it almost will sort of drop below the horizon so to say, out of public perception because planning is not something that excites people. Promises do, but somehow planning doesn't. To my mind, the answer to this dilemma is that the metropolitan authorities should concentrate on what I would like to call strategic planning. What is most important for this region to become economically vibrant and to make the city and region more livable for the people and concentrate on those things and then more or less prod the municipal authorities within its jurisdiction to take up activities and measures which we will make transport much easier, which will bring in investment for housing, which will make water supply an easier thing to obtain and a metropolitan authority can give regional solutions because after all, somebody pointed out, that Mumbai gets its water from Nasik. Many people say that but they don't count how many people from Nasik are already living in Mumbai. So it is a two-way process. We take water from there, we have got people also from there. But in any case, Bangalore said that there is no river and for water supply they have to look, necessarily they have to look outside Bangalore. But there will be regional solutions. Today, if you look at MMR, for instance, there is an MIDC water supply, there is water supply for SIDCO, there is a water supply for Navi Mumbai, there are water supply schemes of Mumbai Corporation, Thane Municipal Corporation but maybe if they all come together the situation could be still better than what it is.

It is also the same case in case of waste management. If there can be a common regional kind of a solution it will be much better than each municipality trying to arrive at its own solution. So if the metropolitan authority would concentrate on strategic planning I think it is possible that the usefulness of a metropolitan region and authority will sort of get to the consciousness of the citizens of that region, and anything that is found useful then only I think it will get a political recognition also, some kind of a nod, political nod will be there. Right now politicians are of course giving attention to MMR but that is more because of various region-wise projects like the monorail, the metro rail and of course the land, land development. But I think strategic planning is something that needs to be concentrated upon by the regional authorities.

Mr Darryl D'Monte: Mr Ashank Desai who heads MASTEK. If I recall correctly MASTEK develop the software for the congestion tax in London. So things are being done in London which should be in the very city in which he lives in and I hope he will advocate something on those lines.

Mr Ashank Desai: You give me two minutes plus, another 30 seconds I will just carry that thought further. When Prince Charles came that is what he asked me when I presented to him that why are you not doing here. So I said I need some more friends in government who are interested in it. But the point I am making is two points. What Sivaramakrishnan made as "public mind". I am coming here as a business person, as an entrepreneur who came with nothing in this city and we are one of the top 12, 15-20 companies in the country. In Maharashtra itself has been top 3-4. The point I am making is what do we mean, what this region means to me as a business person is all that I will talk about and I will take also the point that Marco from Indonesia made and I was clarifying also with him that supply side is not organized and what it means. What I will say is what has worked for IT industry and what has not worked for IT in this city and specifically for MASTEK. I don't know how many of you know that the evolution of software didn't start in Bangalore. It started 36 km from here in a place called SCEPZ (Santa Cruz Export Processing Zone). However, whatever happened, I am not going to comment how happened, what happened, but we did not take that

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opportunity, we as in city, as in State and whole thing went out of this city. Otherwise this would have been the Bangalore for the country. I am very sure of it. There is nothing that we lack here. What was lacked was foresight, planning and thought to retain the industry here. That is at a much larger point I am saying. So there is definitely a failure of planning here and planning at a regional level because it was not about city of Mumbai. It is about Navi Mumbai, it is about Vasai, it is about Alibagh. We could have expanded all over the place to allow IT industry to flourish. But as an industry decided to get out of the city and today it is no more anyway number one but it is number 4, 5 or wherever it sits in terms of size of the IT industry.

Now, if I look at it from the other side that where it has worked is that my company went from SCEPZ to Navi Mumbai because government thought about building a Millennium Park for IT Industry and if they had not done that I would have moved out of Maharashtra more swiftly what I have moved out. So in a way planning and looking at the whole region seems to have worked. So I talk of “public mind” of Sivaramakrishnan I do see some planning happening. Some thought was given but was not adequate, but something did happen in terms of planning and Navi Mumbai happened, transport happened around it, hydraulic bridge happened. Otherwise I would not have gone and so on. This story is long.

So what has worked but worked very partially is this concept of a Navi Mumbai and a larger region has helped us. But much more than that could have been done is the point that I am making here. When I say much more it is about the cost of living in city is high, transport is not good at all and so on and so forth. We know all the big problems in the city. If they had planned it properly the IT industry would have remained here because I find extremely difficult to get people from other cities here. They ask higher salary, cost of living is high, etc., etc., etc. So I think somewhere we have missed because of lack of planning all this opportunity of creating millions and millions of job. My company created 15000 jobs but we are moving out of the city, moving out of the State because of all these issues that we felt.

Now let me come back to the supply side organization that Marco talked. There are few things we in IT industry did which changed the landscape of the northern part of Mumbai. I don't know how many of you know in JVLR it is IT industry who took a lead because it mattered to us. Chief Secretary we met. So there are some things that you could do and IT industry's example is a one good example that you could organize yourself and make change happen and that is possible to make and there are lot of examples that I can tell you. The limited time won't allow me to say that. So there is an opportunity to organize by private sector to meet change happen and we should be doing it at a regional level and we could do it and there are good examples to do it. Taking it further of course Mumbai First is a good example of moving it still further. I will stop here. So what I am saying is from businessman's perspective it has worked but very, very partially and not to the full extent.

Chair: We are now being joined by Mr MP Vasimlai from the DHAN Foundation in Madurai.

Mr Vasimalai, DHAN Foundation: Listening law two days I think the point here is how do we create a demand driven megacity governance. I think we talk about as an intellectual process and we feel there is a need for it. But are the people are ready, the community is ready in this region? Are they really aware of it? I think the main point is are there community space? Is the social capacity for this governance is ready which is really the building blocks which can sustain it once it is really created. Otherwise we may really create

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like a 74th Amendment. The enabling environment is already there, who creates that? I think otherwise this discussion will be in this room only. How this idea is going to emanate from the demand driven process, like Marco was talking about? I think that is where we need to really from now to initiate such a kind of processes in those kind of megacities what is the real feeling there. Are they really want this and is it going to create a better situation. So the enabling environment of creating community space. My experience is that excellent community space is already there. There is a disconnect. I think there are self-help groups, there are welfare associations. Many of these forms are but they are not able to connect here with interesting mechanisms. Otherwise we talk in the air and making plans, strategic planning, everything unless who is going to implement that. So I think the building block is going to be from ward sabha and maha sabha or a kind of area sabha which has to really build on with the connectivity of the system. So I think from now on we should concentrate on building the demand system.

Chair: He will be followed by Mr Mike Douglas who is an American but he is now at the National University of Singapore.

Mr Mike Douglas: We so often say that the devil is in the details. I think India has too many details and when you are clearing that sometimes you get lost in it. So I think the demands already been stated and we have just been saying that it is only supply side. So I am more positive than you are in this regard. Interestingly the demand tends to come from women more than man but I won't go into that too much.

What is this demand? The demand is at one level the idea of the city that we haven't really talked about. I see a lot of confusion in that regard. So many people started off their presentations about the city is not producing X per cent of the GDP and all that, a very materialistic, very functional instrumental idea of the city. I think we have to return to a much more socially embracing idea of the city, a city that is based on what is currently quite prominent these days, the rights of the city or in this case the right to the megacity region and that would include in my terms the right to be included in a public realm which means that we have the right to a public city, not a private city, a public city. We have the right to a livable city. We have the right to a humane city. We have a right to contribute to aspirations, to have hopes and dreams and we have a right, the most fundamental of all, the right to change the city. In this regard I think in contrast to earlier speaker, it is not about objective so much. It is about the process, about how we engage in getting to those objectives that are defined always dynamically in a process and so what this all comes down to is trying to get this group together, in my mind, I think there is something called the Mumbai Declaration in which you had a Working Group that would construct this, that would set forth the principles of the rationale, the justification for a megacity region. Clearly, it is defence and then to go forward I think you have to take the consensus, what I perceive as consensus here, that has to be built from the bottom up, through coalitions, through a very participatory and necessarily messy process that will filter these decisions. So where is an entry point for this? I think it has been stated. Again, Marco gets lot of reference these days. But environment is an easiest one to start with. The ecology of urban regions is under threat. In Asia as a whole the urbanization process is coastal and now we are seeing agglomerations of 30 million or if you look at Southern China 100 million people in harm's way in such agglomerations and such intensity that it demands attention. So, one of the easier ways to start this larger discourse is about environment. Thank you.

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Chair: I would just like to add that perhaps one of the few if not the only city in the world, if you take Greater Mumbai which is 480 sq km which has a national park which is a 120-130 sq or ¼ of the city proper is a national park to which you cannot enter into core. We are followed by another Mike, Mike Raco from University College, London.

Mr Mike Raco: Thank you very much and thank you for the invitation to come again and the brief for this session was to say something about what you go away with as a speaker or come away from what you heard and I just want to make a slightly bigger point which is that one thing I will come away with is the fact that I have been privileged to be here in the world's biggest democracy. It feels democratic and this argument and this debate and so one of the things I feel about this country very much is that it matches in geopolitical terms what happens here. It matters how you do things. What you do in the future will make a difference to countries elsewhere enormously in terms of the role model that you set. So I kind of feel that some of the discussion we had yesterday about public-private partnership, about huge investments in infrastructure, water, energy, education, everything. These things are things that are globally significant and I think the way in which you do things in India will have repercussions for elsewhere and I guess in that sense I would just take the British case and other cases and just maybe caution about the way in which one can be seduced by fantasies of private sector simplification, seduced by the notion of partnership and consensus I think if you believe in democracy you believe in debate and you believe in argument and you believe in demands and you take demands as the basis from which you make political decisions through which some win and some lose and you make it very clear that when you do things there will be losers always as well as winners and that the fantasy that we can live in a consensus, build around some participatory structure where we all gain or benefit and it will be win-win-win is a nonsense. So I think that the thing I would come away with is an argument to believe in democracy, believe in the State actually, believe in planning.

Chair: Last but no means least, reversing in the normal order of things. We have our MP with us. I don't know if you heard the brief which was what single point would take away from all the discussions we have heard.

Mr Chandre Gowda: Thank you very much for the opportunity, but we had enough of hearing. Let us sit down to work out a proposal which I am trying to suggest for this august house to consider is the astronomical growth of the city, more particularly Bengaluru for the last decade it is 46.6% growth, but infrastructural and environmental impact on this population we have not taken care of or we have not planned enough to accommodate such a growth. Some sort of an arrangement has to be made to see that the growth is contained and what for they come to the city? Are they coming in search of jobs, do they come in search of higher education or they come in search of providing facilities to the people? So many ideas come to our mind but one thing is said that once they get into the city and its attractions they will not get back. So my suggestion to this Hon'ble House for consideration is that to stop this mad rush like we can take the universities outside the city purview, we can take out the industries outside the purview of the city to the best of our possibilities and particularly in a rushed area we should see that the residents are quietly moved out of the city to some peaceful places. We thought of a green belt long, long ago. But now the green belt is left only in the name but the entire land is swallowed by the people and permissions after permissions have been granted by the elected local governments. Therefore, some sort of a planning is necessary to contain the rush to the city. I hope that it is a very large and a question pending for the last so many years to come and it will remain some more years. My

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point is to see that the city's attractions, in whatever the manner it is possible, can it be decentralized or taken out of the city?

Chair: I hope I am not intruding on KC's territory. But it is my knowledge that actually India's urbanization is by no means rapid if it is compared to Latin American and African rates. If you take our own city where we are sitting now, my own city, it is decelerating. In the last census from 2001 to 2011 it is only grown by 5 lakhs. So it is decelerating and it is not that we have tried to make Mumbai any less attractive. The fact is that people don't come for the bright lights of the city. They are pushed out of rural areas in search of jobs. Now there are no jobs since the mills and all industries have closed in Mumbai. IT effect is moving out and since there are no jobs the population is decelerating. In fact, the natural increase now is 60% of the total population as against 40% is migration. In the 1960s which was just the reverse. I am taking the liberty also of mentioning, I saw that when Naseer Munjee mentioned the single street or area Hazratganj this morning, people got interested in a small micro improvement. So I am taking the liberty of citing some that I have been associated with. One is just outside this window here which is the area this most iconic image of Mumbai, which is the Gateway of India. There used to be a quite incongruous lawn which was locked off to the public and with great difficulty in a democratic system such as Mike Raco was referring we fought each round of the way through many vested interests, fellow planners, architects, heritage enthusiasts and we removed that garden and now you can see that it can seat in a consort despite security concerns now. It can seat 3000 or 4000 people and it is one of the, certainly the most iconic image of Mumbai. But apart from that in the suburban where I live in Bandra we actually citizens have built with public funds and MP's funds two promenades which we have maintained on a daily basis. We have cultural events there and its areas which we can claim the citizen have won back from the city. In Juhu which is the great beach recreation spot we have been able to move the hawkers who are blocking the view at the main gap and move them to a place. So we have restored Juhu to what citizens have been wanting for many years. But these are just micro examples of things that can be done even in a city like this.

I would like to ask before I throw it open, or maybe I will throw it open then go back to the panel. Can anybody would like to respond to any of the panellists

Q&A Session

Mr KK Pandey, IIPA: As you said rightly sir I would just mention two points. One, that we time and again discussed metropolitan planning committee, Article 243(ZE) and in the last session it was emphasized that we have failed to implement whatever maybe the focus of this 243(ZE). So that we have not been able to implement. There are several reasons, several lacunas. That is a separate matter of debate. Second, whatever we have discussed since last two days is fairly diverse and much more, the scope is much more than planning alone. We have focused on governance of megacity regions which is much more than planning only. So the time has come to rethink or redesign or have a relook on 243(ZE) in the context of governance as a whole, not planning alone.

Ms Vaidehi, Department of Economics, Mumbai University: My question is for Mr Sivaramakrishnan. I would like to ask is a political entity at metropolitan level a necessity because one finds that perhaps the costs for setting up a fourth tier would be significantly high. On the other hand, having a polycentric governance system where you have multiple independent decision making bodies at different scales and scopes has certain advantages in

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terms of creating checks and balances or being more democratic or allowing for flexibility in production of public goods and services. So should this stress be on creation of incentive compatible rules or for strengthening the existing rules so as to empower the urban local bodies and also enable efficiency enhancing competition and coordination between different public organizations, i.e. enabling a second order collective action so to speak so as to internalize externalities and also for providing services that have an impact at a metropolitan level. So in other words what should be the way forward? Should it be a metropolitan government or a better metropolitan governance system is what I want to ask.

Ms Anita: I head Pukaar, an independent research collective which is based in Mumbai. There has been a lot of talk about making some of our cities global cities and lot of policies have been planned and strategically executed to make arrangements for this global vision. The questions I have to everybody is has that vision been actually the hurdle in planning an inclusive cities and if you look at all the five cities we have been discussing last two days, everywhere more and more gated communities are coming up. There is more and more segregation between poor and rich which was not so at least in Mumbai, I would say 30 years ago. So I just wanted to know if this strategic global planning is the reason we are seeing this kind of a segregation, at least in Mumbai but I know such is truth as also in Bangalore and in Hyderabad we are seeing lot and lot of gated communities coming up where poor people cannot access these areas and lot of these gated communities actually take public spaces and then make them private spaces which cannot be accessed by other people of the city. So the right to city actually gets decreased for many poor people of the city.

Chair: I think the first interjection was just an observation.

Mr KC Sivaramakrishnan: One question about whether a political entity is needed, what we meant in the CPR report is a political entity is that we know the union as a political entity, the state as a political entity, the municipality is a political entity. But then if you have a big metropolitan area it cannot be merely a committee. A committee as such is not regarded as a political entity. It is a creature of another political entity, namely, the state government. So this is really an invitation to think about this. If it is possible for us to come up with a system which actually performs the functions of that political entity that is okay. But if that is not the case then you may need some kind of an entity. What should its relationship with the other political entities should be and, as far as cost is concerned I don't think it is such an issue because the people are already doing those kinds of work and I don't think that that by itself will add to the cost and I think the other point that Anita made we have referred to it in our report. But this is also something that requires some thinking. We find that many of these cities, their growth, their recent growth, economic growth is due to their international connections, their engagement with the international trade and international manufacturing and it is quite possible that by opening your gates to a global access you may be closing some gates within yourself. It is quite possible. But that is also an issue. So I think what one is trying to say here is, is it possible for us to give some thinking. For instance, in the case of Hyderabad though the Act has not been fully implemented the Hyderabad Metropolitan Development Authority Act as such comes very close to some kind of an entity. But in some other cases as in Chennai or Kolkata it is not so. It is just a committee or sort of a creature, a subordinate organization. That is what we meant. But there could be alternatives, but unless we think through and unless we are reasonably clear what are the tasks that this particular level will need to fulfil we will not be clear about what it should be called.

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Next Speaker: Even the Hyderabad Act says that plans prepared by MPC is subject to approval of Hyderabad Urban Development Authority.

Next Speaker: No, no, no. It is the other way round. The metro development has to be vetted by the MPC and then sent to the government.

Mr. Mike Douglass: We totally agree with the sentiment you are expressing. My vision...globopolis which is coming to. Globopolis first is cosmopolis and what you are getting is globopolis which is an unequal city, a undemocratic city and a privatized city. Unfortunately for me gated housing is a worldwide trend. It is happening in every country in the world, even the poorest and the richest. Some interesting news. Our friend Myron is not here but Minnesota actually is banning gated housing. So it is possible that through public policy you can do that and let me just reiterate what they say a way to enter this again is the idea of the city. The idea of the city was a social experience with loving and caring and associational life. If we cannot have that as a solid core we are going to be deflected into other ideologies that talk about competitiveness and tall buildings and all that.

Ms Amita Bhide: Just one small interjection and I want to just combine some 2-3 thoughts. One coming from my and perhaps one which earlier came from Mr Kale and (where I am coming from) in terms of even talking about this core periphery issue, is that basically before even conceptualizing a form of regional government. We need to make the experience of the city a real experience for those also in the periphery. The way we conceptualize even strategic thinking is of using the core in terms of we need to dump waste, here we need excess land for so and so activity. It is in those kinds of terms. We need to water from here, etc., etc. But I think key talking about regional solution. So I really kind of thoroughly agree with Mr Kale's suggestion that the way forward perhaps is through strategic planning and a strategic planning not in the way we have started to think in our context which is largely about how to just attract business. Not just about that. I think it is an important part, but I think there are several other stakeholders in the city and therefore how does one make this experience true, live, kicking for each one of them is the experience of education, is the experience of healthcare and I think when the region becomes live in people's minds I think that is the time which is ripe for thinking about a regional political entity. Till that time I think we will need to perhaps go much more by that negotiated compromise kind of a manner which was suggested to us by our South African friends.

Chair: I was talking to Andrew Thornley last night and I told him that Mumbai was the first city that the Urban Age Initiative run by the Deutsche Bank and out of the London School of Economics chose for its award and some of the projects I mentioned we are the co-sharers of that award. We shared the award in 2007. In 2008 we went to Sao Paulo for its award and there was a very telling slide which planners and architects showed which is on one side of the slide (the picture) there are slums. In the middle is a highway and on the third are very high buildings. Nobody can tell which city in the world that is. It could be Mumbai. It happened to be Caracas. But it could have been any city in many parts of the world. This was a terrifying thought. But I would like to come back to the question of the global cities. This was hurled to Mike Raco because in this city you heard references to mill land which was 600 acres of land. But the port is also in decline and that is three times the area, 1800 acres and there is a great debate within us, there are people who are in the debate, if Nasir is here (he is there at the back). We have also taken a cue from what Mrs Thatcher did in the Docklands which is to remove all norms of planning whatsoever and allow the free market to

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take place leading to at least one big company to go bankrupt. So maybe he would like to tell us from London is the idea of a global city a help or a hurdle.

Mr Mike Raco: Interesting question. It is saved by the by the London Docklands. That is a complete fantasy. The Docklands it is argued that, some people argue, people like Roger Lee, for example, of Queen Mary University argues that for every pound of private investment in the London Docklands there is at least 4, maybe even 7 pounds of public investment for the infrastructure that has gone in. So it is actually a form of public subsidy to small number of private investors. I think just get away from the nonsense that it is a free market driven development. It isn't at all a such reform of redistribution and I think just a couple of points on that global city aspect. Again, the fantasy of the global city is so powerful it kind of worries me a little bit. I think that is the points made there, have been excellent points about then what kind of urbanism you get from that and the way in which a form of inequality is justified through its ability to transform an economy. In other words, the arguments have been reversed from the 1980s where we saw gentrification as a problem. Increasingly it is seen as a solution because people say you need more inequality in order to bring in the creative workers because Richard Floyd he tells in his *Fantasies* and that is how economies now work and therefore we must accept inequality is the price for growth. I face these extra ordinaries. We see cross cities across the world trickle up going on in gigantic terms. People like Nicholas Shacks and the author argues that a third of global GDP could be tied up in overseas tax havens. In other words, places that are off the radar for all of us and actually taken by a tiny minority of people and this kind of form of capitalism is supported by global city fantasy that is promoted and I think it is critical that the kind of debate goes on here to challenge some of that and challenge the way in which some of that work. I will give you the example of gated communities as a brilliant one because there is some interesting research coming out from the US and elsewhere showing that they are more dangerous than inside than being outside of a gated community. It is actually a form of voluntary incarceration because most people suffer from domestic violence rather than public violence. So if you lock people away or you lock themselves into a domestic space violence goes up, people like Roland Watkinson in his research has shown that murder rates are higher, for example, because most people are killed in their home. It is a really interesting kind of discourse there then about what a gated community is and the nonsense about gated being safer and everything else. Even in its own terms it kind of falls down and yet where do those kind of understandings come into debate about global cities. Well, we have the price, we have to pay for a global city and a successful city is that you have these sort of spaces and enclaves for some people to promote their skills and their knowledge and their wealth and well al benefit from them and it is critical I think that is taken on, absolutely.

Next Speaker: That is one model of a global city. We could have another one. So my argument will be it is anti-global, it is anti what you are giving global and there is many other "ways forward" to link up and not just close the door at shut yourself down.

Mr A Ravindra: Speaking about global cities, global city need not necessarily be a megacity. A city that increases merely in size and population doesn't really acquire a global status. For instance, Bangalore, even before when it was half the size of the population as it is now (4 million or so) had achieved global status because of its IT strength. It is called IT capital of India and it is also classified as a world technological hub and the other technological hubs, apart from London are Boston and Austin which are certainly not very large cities. So I think what is required, even in the context of a metropolitan region is I think (here I would also like to respond to what Mr Chandre Gowda, our Member of Parliament said that) stop attracting

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more people to the cities. I think that is next to impossible situation. Urbanization is an irreversible process, but what can be done is to see how we regulate the process of urbanization and maybe a mega or a metropolitan region give us a kind of an opportunity. So now we talk about smart cities and eco cities. A few of them have come up, using technology, particularly. So in a metropolitan region you can identify certain areas or certain small towns where people can be attracted to that area, investment should go to that region rather than to the core city. I think that is a big challenge. That is where I say what is the objective of your metropolitan region, the government, the committee? What is the role they should play? It is not merely a spatial entity but if you look at it from the economic development point of view, in India in the urban parlance we don't talk about local economic development as it is done in Europe and American cities. So local economic development within the region, whether it is 4000 sq km, 8000 and all you see an opportunity to decongest the major city and develop new towns where people can come and settle.

Mr V Suresh: One dimension that seems to have missed in the session earlier and from what I heard from these speakers is a larger dimension of the environment, ecology as well as energy. The greening of the cities has now become an increasingly large dimension. The integrated water management, energy management, waste management and the low carbon footprints that are required to be brought for city life in a large way. It is slowly catching up. The message is coming at the level of the local building level, the green buildings but this is getting into neighbourhoods and later on at the level of the city development process. Primarily it is utilizing all the natural resources in an optimum, efficient and economic manner so that we should not take away all the resources, as a sustainable development process. For some reason we talked of the road, the metro, all the larger component there. But in all these particular area what is it going its impact on the overall environment of now not the city alone, now it is going to be the megacity region. As Madame rightly said this is the core and that is the periphery. Periphery was pretty good on the environmental side but when you start getting into the development over there the urban agriculture, all those related areas will have a major impact. I just wanted to bring this one additional dimension of energy, environment, ecology as the larger component of development of the megacity region.

Chair: I mentioned yesterday Mumbai is spending \$4 to \$5 billion (Rs.30,000 crore) on only road schemes which cater to the needs of just 8% of the communising public. Mumbai used to have the highest percentage of people in the world (87%) using public transport. It has now come down now. That is another story.

Dr Virmani: I just wanted to take on that technology dimension that was talked about by Shri Sreedhar. I think we always think in terms of physical infrastructure, which is required, of course, but I think we need to move forward to leverage tomorrow's technology which are already happening today to make megacity happen. I will give you an example and somebody will say of course oh technology is only for haves and not have-nots. Yesterday we were sitting with Chief Secretary of the state and there were health initiatives that are being taken by many, many NGOs and many others are using technology in such a beautiful and nice way to help downtrodden people, a farmer, a labourer regarding various issues. I will not get into the details of it. So I think here is an opportunity to alleviate some of the issues that we are talking through technology.

Second issue; various issues of demand that we talked about, the organizing demand, etc., today's social technology, Facebooks of this world and Twitters are making, as all of you

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know, many organized demand happen in real time and there is in fact a case study which I heard, not in India, but in Switzerland about what happened in Mangalore where there was this case of how few ladies got together through (*pink cheddy*). That *pink cheddy* case is a very good example. Women started sending the organization pink underwear and he was flooded with (whatever) millions of them. The point I am making is, I think, of course citizens will use technologies in whatever way they can but we need to build smart cities to make it happen and today, and I was talking to minister also that today JNNURM and all these issues talk more about physical infrastructure. They talk about health, education also maybe. But the point I am making is building smart city is not only the hardware part and software part which is important but it is also for organizing it. You need today CIO for a megacity and you will need them, you will see them in many megacities coming up because they will look at the whole IT infrastructure for the city. So it is not just municipality CIO. It is one level above to look at everything around the city. So beyond water and many other things that of course we all need for day-to-day living we will need a utility called IT which will helps us to live a much better life.

Next Speaker: I represent here Bombay First and even Clean Mumbai Foundation. I would like to say that listening, going through these two days can we come to one strategy for all the five cities which we have discussed (from India) that what Bombay requires the most, like governance in slum problem. For example, Bangalore in waste management, Chennai in something else and let us move towards it to improve our governance so that we at least achieve something in one sphere or list out a few problems or few topics per city in priorities and I would be very happy that something like that come out.

Sharad Kale: I just wanted to say two things. One you mentioned that road systems cater only to 8% of the people which is not true because road system is also used by the BST buses. Not the ceiling, if you don't allow it. That is the question. Flyovers also initially they were not allowed. Eventually you allowed. In fact, this so called trans-harbour link was originally meant also to have a railway. Now unfortunately, I understand that it is going to be only for the cars. Then it is a question whether that huge investment is really justified. But it is a separate issue.

Second, there has been a lot of talk about this demand for whether, is there is a demand for metropolitan government and is there a demand for decentralization. I think that if we go back to our development administration in India it started with Mr SK Dey and the community development. Was there a demand at that time for setting up national...city blocks and creating structures at the block level? Maybe not. There was not a vocal demand, but I think we should not ignore the silent aspirations of people for exercising their authority or their contribution to community development and that is how we went actually initially from advisory committees to blocks, we went to a regular elected Panchayat Samiti, then to elected Zila Parishads. I don't think there was a great demand being made. But it was understood by the politicians of that era, including the person Mr Yashwant Rao Chauhan who is responsible for the decentralization in Maharashtra and these structures were established and they have proved their utility. So maybe there is probably some such unarticulated aspiration for that metropolitan or regional government which one must respond to it with a right type of institution and maybe it will catch up at that time.

Chair: We won't go into detail because it is the fag end but I am sure our guest on my left could tell us that all over the world they are pulling down flyovers and stopping sea links.

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Next Speaker: I am not defending flyovers. I am only saying the use of roads by BST buses.

Chair: The BST buses use the Bandra-Worli sea link very seldom and of Rs.1600 crores worth investment there is an estimated usage now of 125,000 cars a day. Only 75,000 cars are using it. In other words, public is subsidizing motorists.

Next Speaker: Because sea link was not built by the corporation.

Chair: It is not the question of the corporation. The city has got the link. Anyway, we will not go into this. It is the missing link. It is a missing link. There are many missing links in the city.

Mr KC Sivaramakrishnan: I must say that my own reservations and concurrent level of dissatisfaction is partially reduced by the comments I have heard during this roundtable. One of the objectives in our taking up this exercise was we ought to go through this question. Do we need a metropolitan level and is that taken as a common accepted level for all these cities? Are there alternatives? And secondly we also felt that certain questions needed to be asked which you have asked, which we have also asked in our report. Are there certain services, certain requirements which are better performed at the metropolitan level? And if that does not happen they will go by default. So that is why what Amy Liu mentioned the other day that it took us 600 pages to reach that conclusion because we went through all these 5 cities and said what are the things which can perhaps be done better at the metropolitan level and can therefore subserve the sub-metropolitan also. So I think that assessment has to be gone through. Unfortunately the Constitutional Amendment in spite of all the statements we make, if you read the latest Plan document, you will find “we have now realized that one shoe does not fit all”. But still the government works over time producing single size shoe for everybody whether you like it or not. Unfortunately this metropolitan committee prescription also is a single size shoe. If you are 1 million people you jolly well have a metropolitan planning committee, and I must say that I was one of the enthusiastic cobblers who supported that single size shoe and it has required, it is a very expensive process, it has required some 12-13 years of search and a fairly expensive study like what CPR has done for me to realize that I was mistaken. So now I think that is a very important issue what is the need and what is the pattern that we should really follow.

From that point of view I am very happy when we thought having this particular workshop and bringing different people together initially we thought, being Delhiwallahs we should have that seminar in Delhi and I must say that Nimesh Kampani said you want to talk about Mumbai sitting in Delhi? You want talk about Chennai and Bombay and Kolkata sitting in Delhi? So you can go and talk for all your length and nobody will be coming. We said alright, let us come and sort of do it here. So from that point of view it has been very, very useful and therefore I will just take a few minutes.

I think we have been very fortunate in getting the support of several people; the CII and Adi Godrej and the people in the CII – Rajesh Menon, Manvendra, Mohan Gowde and various others – also the Bombay First. Narendra Nayar and myself have been on phone conversation a few times. The Rockefeller Foundation which assisted us, and I am very happy that all this made our international participants to take the trouble and come here. I am very, very happy that they have responded to our invitation. It is possible that some of them in the course of their journeys might have been forced to relearn their geography but notwithstanding that they are all arrived. At this moment, as of now, there appears to be only

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one temporary casualty. That is Myron Orfield. The chap is not feeling too well. Obviously he found the intensity of debate, this morning too much for him to take. So he is taking it easy. But it has been very wonderful to have all the international participants.

The Centre for Policy Research, one of the advantages of that institution is that it spans all ages. We have got about 5 or 6 people who are above 75 and we have got lot of people who are 35 and below and in between and so I have been particularly fortunate in having a very young and enthusiastic team to help me. My colleague Dr Partha Mukhopadhyay I see glimpses of him on the veranda. I don't know whether he is in the veranda or outside the veranda right now. Everyone knows Partho. So Partha Mukhopadhyay and then Anant Maringanti. These two people plus helped by a lot of others (our team is all around that table) and they have been trying very, very hard to do two things. One is to encourage me in all my foolish hypotheses in the hope that after some time I will give it up. By and large they have succeeded. They have also technologically upgraded. Mr Deshrai should not get offended, as a result of my young team I managed to learn the art of a Tablet within 24 hours but I also managed to lose that whole Tablet in London, of all places. It was a fairly intense learning process but they have been trying very hard. They don't give up. They keep on technologically upgrading me in all the time. So my young team is very much there. I am absolutely delighted that they are all here and they have of very great help and of course by now everyone would have come in contact with Gitanjali. I suppose for the next several days Gitanjali may wake up at some odd hour saying we haven't got your itinerary yet or you may wake up at odd hour and say I have not got my ticket yet. So it is quite possible some of those things can happen.

I am particularly grateful to the team at Taj Hotel and most importantly all the participants from within the country from different cities. I may be wrong but usually an urban seminar of any kind usually it comprises the people who are certified members of that particular clan. But this is about the most mixed group of urban discussion that we have had. We have had people, journalists as I said and people from other branches of development, academics, city officials, businessmen and so on. So it has been a very, very useful session.

The Centre for Policy Research because we have existed for nearly 40 years we are a pretty obstinate lot and our reputation is that we do not give up easily. So you must be prepared that from time to time we will be attacked by one more burst of obstinacy and it is quite possible we may visit upon you something more in the hope that it will stimulate some more debate. We certainly have much work ahead of us and as someone who has tried to retire for the past 20 years without success it looks like that there is no imminent danger of my retiring. It looks like that the extension of my employment will continue with studies of this kind. I am grateful for Darryl D'Monte. We have known each other for a long time and also I am glad that I can at least see Jason from a distance and by and large this city has treated me with some kindness and indulgence and I am very happy that you welcome us all and it has been very useful. I thank all my colleagues and I certainly thank the Members of Parliament and in particular Ajay Maken because I think this is one of those few occasions when Members of Parliament have found the discussion about cities is not such a waste of their time and that is not bad. Otherwise civil servants are always accused of being a hierarchical lot. But I must say with all due respects Mr Gowde the political class also has its hierarchy and therefore Members of Parliament and Members of Assembly and corporators they also view each other in terms of a certain hierarchy and if we have to jump hierarchy and meet people on a horizontal level of equality so can the MPs and I think that has been demonstrated. Thanks very much really to Mr Ajay Maken and I think he was highly enthusiastic and I must say

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that I don't go to the Nirman Bhawan which used to be my previous office for a long, long time but on the few occasions that I have been recently I was very much infected by Mr Ajay Maken's enthusiasm and I think it is largely his effort that made all these MPs come together. So thank you very, very much and I hope you find this experience useful and in my mind a number of questions are there which is very good and I must only say, I must alert my young team that now that we have produced this particular report it is time to rewrite it. Thank you very much and I hope all of you have an enjoyable flight home and that you will all have New Year, as the year is still new a year of some abiding cheer and thank you very much. Thank you very much Darryl for this opportunity.

End of Session

End of Conference