Effects of Civil Society on Urban Planning and Governance in Mysore, India

A Dissertation Submitted
to the
Faculty of Spatial Planning
Technical University of Dortmund

by

Manjunath Sadashiva
December 2007

in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of a
Doctor rerum politicarum (Dr. rer. pol.)

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this doctoral dissertation is the result of an independent investigation. Where it is indebted to the work of others, acknowledgements have duly been made.

Manjunath Sadashiva
Dortmund, February 2008

Acknowledgements

Abstract

The current global policy on urban governance in the cities of the third world seeks to harness associational forms of civil society as an interface for civic engagement and an instrument to achieve efficiency in service delivery. This normative and undifferentiated treatment of civil society has not only led to a wide spread scholarly debate on the very concept of civil society but also to the emergence of alternative radical and transformatory paradigms about state-civil society relations.

Set in this backdrop, the thesis evolves a conceptual framework, develops research tools, and applies them in Mysore, a South Indian city, in pursuit of empirical evidence on the nature of civil society and the effects they induce on various spheres of urban planning and governance. In this regard, collective empowerment of individuals, changes in the institutional arrangements, and the outcomes of decision making processes are identified as the possible effects of associational civil society and are, therefore, used as dependent variables. On the other hand, the organizational attributes of civil society, the political opportunity structures, mobilization of social structures and the struggle over symbolic capital (for e.g. shaping public opinion) in the public sphere are conceptualized as determinants of the effects of civil society.

The study reveals that the associational terrain of urban governance in Mysore is highly differentiated in terms of organizational attributes, ethnic composition, the degree of political orientation, functional domains and spatial levels. The state and the civil society are shown as sharing a mutually influential and inseparable relationship.

The study generates ample empirical evidence to conclude that associational forms of civil society do induce effects on the level of collective empowerment of individuals, the public sphere and the institutions of urban planning and governance in the city of Mysore. These effects are depicted as outcomes of the complex interplay between various factors such as the differential organizational features of associations; socio-economic attributes of their constituents; their ability to organize and mobilize social structures; the strategies they use to influence public opinion in the public sphere; and finally the state's response to their actions. The study also uncovers the potential of associational civil society to enhance rationality of urban planning in Mysore.

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List of Abbreviations

ACICM	Association of Concerned and Informed Citizens of Mysore
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AJMS	Akhila Bharat Janajagruthi Maha Sabha
BFCB	Bird Watchers' Field Club of Bangalore
BPL	Below Poverty Line
BSUP	Basic Services for the Urban Poor
CACL	Campaign Against Child Labor
CART	Centre for Appropriate Rural Technologies
CES	Collective Empowerment Score
CDA	Community Development Association
CDP	Comprehensive Development Plan
CDP	City Development Plan (National Urban Renewal Mission)
CG	Caste Group
CO	Community Organization
CSA	Civil Society Actors
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DC	Deputy Commissioner
DyC	Divisional Commissioner
DMO	Dhwani Mahila Okkoota (Federation of women's associations)
EA	Expert Activists
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EWS	Economically Weaker sections
FD	Forest Department
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GMH slum	Govindrao Memorial Slum
GUARD	Group for Urban & Rural Development
HUDCO	Housing and Urban Development Corporation
IEE	Initial Environmental Examination
IHSDP	Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme
IMR	Infant Mortality Rate
INTACH	Indian National Trust for Culture & Heritage
JNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
KHB	Karnataka Housing Board
KII	Key Information Interview
KKNSS	Karnataka Kolache Nivasigala Samyukta Sanghatane
KSA (IC) A	Karnataka Slum Areas (Improvement & Clearance) Act
KSCB	Karnataka Slum Clearance Board
KSPCB	Karnataka State Pollution Control Board
KTCPA	Karnataka Town & Country Planning Act
KUIDFC	Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Finance and Development Corporation
KUIDP	Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development Project
KUDCEM	Karnataka Urban Development and Coastal Environment Management Project
KUWSDB	Karnataka Urban Water Supply & Sewerage Board
LPA	Local Planning Area
MAN	Mysore Amateur Naturalists
MATF	Mysore Agenda Task Force
MCC	Mysore City Corporation
MDV	Measurable Dependent Variable
MET	Mysore Environment Trust

MGP	Mysore Grahakara Parishat
MHT	Mysore Heritage Trust
MID	Minor Irrigation Department
MJSO	Mysore Jala Samrakshana Okkoota
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MLAN	Mysore Local Agenda 21 Network
MSDF	Mysore Slum Dwellers Federation
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MUDA	Mysore Urban Development Authority
NGOs	Non Government Organizations
NNY	Nirmala Nagara Yojane
NOC	No Objection Certificate
NPM	New Public Management
NSDP	National Slum Development Programme
OBC	Other Backward Castes
ODP	Organization for Development of People
ODP	Outline Development Plan
ORR	Outer Ring Road
PP	Political Patrons
RCDP	Revised Comprehensive Development Plan
RC slum	Regional College Slum
RFGD	Rapid Focus Group Discussion
RLHP	Rural Literacy & Health Programme
RPA	Rate Payers Association
RWA	Residents Welfare Association
SC	Scheduled Caste
SEI	Significant Environmental Impacts
SHG	Self Help Group
SJSRY	Swarna Jayanthi Shehari Rozgaar Yojana
SPSS	Statistical Programme for Social Sciences
STEM	Symbiosis for Technology, Environment & Management
SUDP	Slum Upgrading and Development Programme
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHSP	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
VAMBAY	Valmiki Ambedkar Malin Basti Awas Yojana
ZAK	Zoo Authority of Karnataka
ZSS	Zilla Saakshratha Samithi

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1. Background and Objectives

Chapter one provides the background and the policy context for the doctoral dissertation, identifies broad empirical questions and research objectives, and gives an overview of the report.

1.1. Urbanization: The challenge of the 21st century

The world's population has doubled in the last 40 years. But in urban areas, the increase has been fivefold. Today, approximately 3 billion people i.e. almost half of the world's total population live in or around cities or urban areas. It is estimated During the next two decades, 95% of the total population growth is estimated to occur in urban areas of the less developed countries, which, by 2030 will be home to almost four billion people. The 21st century has been termed century of cities and the challenge therefore, in this century is, how to make cities a better place for the majority of the people (UN-Habitat 2006)

1.2. Paradox of cities: A crisis of urban governance

The paradox of cities is evident from their stark display of economic and social disparities with extremes of wealth and poverty co-existing side by side. As the UN-Habitat (2006: viii) notes, "urban poverty and inequality will characterize many cities in the developing world, and urban growth will become virtually synonymous with slum formation in some regions". Cities are hailed as engines of economic growth. But the problems of cities with regard to provision of basic public services such as safe drinking water, sanitation, housing, road infrastructure, public transport etc.; increasing crime rates; ethnic and racial conflicts; and deterioration in the quality of natural environment have assumed alarming proportions. The crisis of the cities is attributed to lopsided urban policy making and planning; resource constraints of the city governments; mismanagement of resources; socio-economic inequalities in the access to basic services; local politics driven by clientelistic and corrupt practices; and a weak civil society. Globalization of the world economy, the shrinking role of the governments as welfare states and the concomitant trend towards privatization of public services witnessed since the 90s are also perceived as contributing to the conditions of urban poverty (Hadenius 2003; UN-Habitat 2006).

1.3. Global Good Urban Governance Campaign

The concept of 'governance', especially the normative extension 'good governance', was popularized mainly in the field of development economics from the beginning of the 1990s. It invariably carries the imprint of international donor agencies and their involvement in third world countries (Hust and Mann 2005). The importance of urban governance was first highlighted during the 1992 Rio Conference on Environment and Development. Subsequently, a 'Global Campaign for Good Urban Governance' was mooted during Habitat II Conference at Istanbul, Turkey in 1996 to which 171 countries became signatories and was subsequently launched in 2001. The UN-Habitat treatise on principles of good urban governance states that, "governance as a concept recognizes that power exists both inside and outside the formal authority and institutions of government. First, many definitions of governance include three principal groups of actors viz. the government, the private sector and the civil society. Second, it recognizes that decisions are made based on complex relationships between many actors with different priorities. It is a reconciliation of these competing priorities that is at the heart of the concept of governance" (UN-Habitat 2000).

The treatise further states that, "urban governance is the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city. It is a continuing

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process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action can be taken. It includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements and the social capital of citizens" (ibid.).

The Global Campaign's potentially major thrust was to facilitate inclusive decision making processes in the urban context. Good urban governance was seen as an instrument in finding ways of engaging with the urban poor so that their needs can be reflected in the policies and programmes of city governments. The United Nations Centre for Human settlements (UNCHS) was identified as the nodal agency to co-ordinate this effort at the global level(ibid.).

The UN definition implies that good governance addresses the conflicting and diverse interests in a more or less amicable way. But as Evelyn Hust et. al (2005:8) observe, "this harmony is not easily accomplished and might even be impossible considering the multitude and heterogeneity of stakeholders' interests. It appears that the definition misses out on one major variable, namely power. UN-Habitat's conceptualization of urban governance doesn't recognize power differentials between the various actors contributing to the governance of a city who are equipped with very different economic, social and political resources which impinge tremendously on the part they actually play in the decision making process".

The impact of the Global Campaign, reflected to a large extent in the broad policy arena for urban governance in Africa and the less developed economies of Asia and Latin America is characterized by three important trends that include an increased focus on private solutions to service delivery, decentralization of urban governance and a mounting concern with participative urban local government (Beall 2001).

1.4. Good urban governance campaigns in the developing world: Focus on civil society associations

Despite laudable objectives, the implementation of the good urban governance campaigns in practice however, has tended mainly towards better urban management which is a virtual synonym for administrative and technical efficiency. It is towards this policy goal, decentralization, participation and civic engagement are being used as instruments. Owing to faith in the development potential of social networks and community level institutions for urban management and local governance otherwise referred to as 'social capital', a wide range of social and associational sites are being harnessed in the interests of urban development programmes. A focus on getting the institutions right has involved attempts at formalizing social networks and establishing organizational structures such as neighborhood citizens committees and community development forums in order to involve citizens in the identification of the problem, the prioritization of needs and the delivery of local services (Beall 2001).

Good Urban Governance Campaign in India
The National Good Urban Governance Campaign launched in 2001 by the Government of India as a joint endeavor with the UN-Habitat identifies the symbiotic relationship between decentralization, transparency and civic engagement as a key policy objective for transforming cities into inclusive spaces of decision-making. There are frequent references in the campaign document available on its web site about involving citizens as stakeholders in decentralized decision making and implementation of programmes and projects. The campaign document states that, "civic engagement has enormous potential to promote transparency, accountability, equity, and more mature and wholesome city functioning. It can thrive in a city in several ways such as participation in policy formulation, resource allocation, service delivery and monitoring, civic education and poverty alleviation. Nothing can build

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consensus and a deepening of true democracy better in a city than civic engagement"(Government of India 2001).

The National Good Urban Governance Campaign in India is a reflection of the global trend embedded in the urban policy reforms initiated in the early 90s. India launched local government reforms way back in 1992 through the 73rd and the 74th Constitutional Amendments for decentralization of rural and urban local governments respectively. Similarly, many central government schemes for urban poverty alleviation such as Urban Basic Services Programme and Urban Wage Employment Programme that lay emphasis on the creation of community based organizations, neighborhood committees and self help groups as a key strategy have been in operation for more than a decade now. The focus on harnessing associational sites received a major fillip with the entry of multilateral lending agencies like the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank into the Indian urban development arena with their insistence on community association as an integral component of urban infrastructure development projects for better management and efficiency.

1.5. Minimalist notions of the state: The return of civil society to political theory

According to Neera Chandoke (1995: 10), "the return of civil society to political vocabularies has in part been the result of neo-liberal projects such as privatization, denationalization, deregulation and de-statization which seek to 'roll back the state'. She further argues that, "the privileging of civil society can imply the unleashing of market forces and the retreat of the state from social engagements" and criticizes it as a "truncated and restricted view of civil society that ignores the historically rich and politically relevant systems of meanings attached to it" (ibid.:11).

The definition of 'good urban governance' given by the UN Habitat and the implementation strategies of the Global Good Urban Governance Campaign and its Indian counterpart imply a strong influence of the neo-liberal agenda. There is a growing body of empirical research to suggest that without addressing the political dimensions of democratic governance such as equity; citizen empowerment based on rights and entitlements; the broader political relationship between the civil society and the different levels of governments; and the emancipatory potential of civil society, managerial approaches alone may not significantly contribute to effective, equitable and democratic urban governance (Beall 2001; Hickey & Mohan 2004; Kakarala 2004).

1.6. Civil society: A contested theoretical and ideological terrain

The concept of civil society reemerged as a powerful and compelling thought during the last decade of the last millennium and has since then captured the imagination of policy makers, planners, governments, development practitioners, multilateral development agencies, political theorists, sociologists, development economists, the political left and the right and the conservatives and the radicals alike across the globe. Given its rich history and universal appeal represented by multiple schools of thought civil society has evolved itself into a highly contested terrain both in theory and practice. As Edwards (2004: vii) puts it, "civil society has become a notoriously slippery concept used to justify radically different ideological agendas, supported by deeply ambiguous evidence and suffused with many questionable assumptions". Notwithstanding the contradictions and ambiguities associated with the concept of civil society, he argues that, "when subjected to a rigorous critique, the idea of civil society remerges to offer significant emancipatory potential, explanatory power and practical support to problem solving in both established and emerging democracies and concludes that there are no solutions to social, economic and political problems in the 21st century that do not involve in one or more of its various manifestations" (ibid.).

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1.7.   Broad questions and objectives of the dissertation

Set in the broader policy context of urban governance and the reemergence of civil society in political thought and its diverse manifestations and applications in development practice and using the case of Mysore, a city of one million inhabitants located in the South Indian state of Karnataka, the doctoral dissertation was aimed to empirically investigate the following set of questions:
- What is the nature of urban planning and governance in Mysore?
- What are the structural dimensions and attributes of the civil society arena in the context of urban governance in Mysore?
- What is the nature of interaction between the civil society and the state represented by its agencies concerned with planning, management and development of Mysore?
- What are the effects or outcomes of interactions between civil society and the institutions of urban governance?

The main objectives of the doctoral dissertation were to:
- Enrich the scientific body of literature on civil society and urban governance.
- Meaningfully contribute to the policy debates concerning civil society and urban governance in the various policy arenas.
- Strengthen the civil society initiatives in urban India and Karnataka by generating empirical feedback and knowledge about the relationship between civil society and urban governance

1.8.   An overview of the report

The report of the dissertation is divided into twelve chapters. Chapters two, three and four are aimed at conceptual clarification and review of literature pertaining to treatment of concepts such as governance, decentralization, urban governance, planning and civil society in the contemporary theory and practice while also providing the Indian perspective. Chapter five describes the institutional setting for urban governance in Karnataka. Chapter six develops a conceptual framework for empirical analysis of the effects of associational civil society and urban governance, articulates specific research questions and outlines the methodology . An overview of urban governance in Mysore is provided in chapter seven while chapter eight is an exploration of the nature and scale of associational civil society in the urban governance arena of Mysore. Drawing from the field research in Mysore, the different effects of associational civil society on urban governance such as collective empowerment and institutional change are discussed in chapters nine, ten and eleven. Chapter twelve provides a set of conclusions and suggests areas for future research.

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2. The Concept of Democratic Governance

2.1. State, democracy and civil society

The term 'democracy' means rule of the people and has its origins in ancient Greece and Roman republicanism to designate a government where the people share in directing the activities of the state, as distinct from governments controlled by a single class, select group, or autocrat. Over the years, as the Western European philosophical thought evolved with the likes of Machiavelli, Rousseu and Hobbes, the definition of democracy has been expanded to include a philosophy that insists on equality of individuals and the rights, freedom and the capacity of a people, acting either directly or through representatives, to control their institutions for their own purposes. Given that there are wide variations in how democracies function depending on the particular socio-cultural context and political history of a nation-state implies that there is no uniform prescribed formula for democratic rule (Li 1999).

Any discussion on democracy is futile without reference to the nature of interactions between the state and the civil society as the latter is considered a vital precondition for building democratic societies. In any form of regime, be it democracy or otherwise the state which is an embodiment of political power is the principal player in all spheres of life be it political, cultural, social or economic. As Chandoke (1995:11) notes, "states invariably seek to control and limit the political practices of society by constructing the boundaries of the political. Politics is about the dialogues and contestations that society has with the state. The site at which these mediations and contestations take place and at which society enters into a relationship with the state can be defined as civil society".

The concept of civil society denotes a rights-bearing individual who is constitutionally protected, the various associational[1] forms that such individuals together constitute, a free press and all of them acting in tandem in a political process and sphere to ensure that the state is accountable to the citizens for its decisions (ibid.).

2.2. Democracy and human development

Traditionally, the term 'development' was equated with economic growth measured in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or a rise in per capita income. However, the notion of development has attained a broader meaning during the last decade and a half owing to the realization that purely economic indicators are not adequate to mirror the wide spread social inequalities in the quality of life and access to wealth. The international debates and efforts have focused on 'humanizing' the development process in the context of globalization marked by economic liberalization and technological advancement.

The relationship between democracy and human development was formally recognized in the 1989 International Declaration on the Right to Development in which development was defined as the rights of every human person and all peoples to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized. The broader definition of development also links it with better social justice and guarantees of basic universal human rights (Eapen 2004).

Freedom is the hallmark of democracy and Amartya Sen (in Haragopal 2003:56) equates development with freedom. According to Sen, "development should be looked through not only from the

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[1] Detailed discussion of the concept of civil society is provided in chapter IV

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perspective of freedom but equated with freedom. That wealth is only a means for happiness which in turn is dependent on the very notion being shaped by freedom as they cannot be divorced from each other". Sen also brings in the notion of un-freedom and considers poverty, deprivation and even inequality as constraints of freedom and adds that, "the realization of freedom, therefore, is dependent on removing these constraints which can be eliminated through political participation under conditions of freedom than through an authoritarian culture"(ibid.:57).

The importance accorded to freedom in the discourse on development also resonates in the documents such as the annual Human Development Report published by the UNDP which have constantly stressed the need to expand people's choices and creating en environment where people can develop their full potential (UNDP 1999).

Political thought in the recent times deems democracy which aims at the widest distribution of power among citizenry, a necessary precondition for human development. But the representative or aggregate system of democracy which is the most common form, assumes unequal distribution of powers of decision making between the elected officials and the citizens, where voters are mostly powerless after exercising their Franchise until the next elections. It is in this context, Chandoke (1995:24) aptly observes that, "democracy can become, as it has often become, identified with the practices of the state. Democratic practices have often been reduced to rituals and staged political events, such as elections, parliamentary representation and plebiscites which are meant to reaffirm the legitimacy of the state". Drawing from the experience of India, an economically less developed but a fairly mature democracy, Eapen (2004) similarly argues that the insulation of elected officials from citizens has led to grave abuses of power and loss of public accountability. Eapen concludes that "mere presence of democratic attributes such as constitutional rights, clear separation of powers, independent judiciary, multiparty political system etc. are no guarantee to achieve human development. The path towards development requires an active citizenry and civil society, responsive and accountable polity, transparent and efficient bureaucracy, and people centered policies and decisions".

The growing disenchantment with the state and the state-centric democracy has resulted in two contrasting trends in political thought and development practice. One of them is embedded in the neo-liberal school of thought and seeks to enlarge the role of associational forms of civil society and the private sector by rolling-back the state. The other, more radical and emancipatory in nature seeks to democratize both the state and the civil society by broadening the arena of political authority and strengthening the interactions between the state and the civil society. It is in this context, concepts such as governance, participatory and deliberative democracy, decentralization etc. have gained both currency and momentum.

2.3.   Concept of governance

The term 'governance' has its genesis in the New Public Management (NPM) perspective which began in the early 80s in the developed economies as a global wave to make governments more efficient, economical and effective. NPM was in response to the growing disenchantment with the alleged failure of the welfare state to provide effective and efficient delivery of public goods and services. NPM has been shaped by the neo-liberal political ideology which places immense faith in the effectiveness of the market institutions in the production, distribution and consumption of public goods and services. The neo-liberalism has had a profound influence on introducing NPM into the functioning of governments for public sector reforms through measures such as disinvestment, downsizing, decentralization, deregulation, corporatization, privatization etc. Since the early 90s, the multilateral lenders like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank made NPM as an aid conditionality for lending to less developed economies like for e.g. India which initiated the Structural

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Adjustment Programme in 1991 aimed at disinvestment from the public sector enterprises and a host of other measures to liberalize the economy (Medury 2003).

Limited success of the World Bank's lending programmes in African countries led the Bank to attribute the failures to 'bad governance' understood as corruption, oversized bureaucracies, administrative inefficiency, lack of transparency and so on. The World Bank conceptualized governance as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources (World Bank 1992).

The concept of 'governance' has since then gained prominence in development discourse and practice. Governance has come to mean that the 'government' with its institutional apparatus vested with highest authority and operating in a formally and legally defined framework is not the only actor in 'governing,' which refers to the processes through which political, administrative or social actors seek to apply solutions to problems concerning society. Though the term 'governance' is tainted by the 'minimalist state' connotations, it has gained wide acceptance as a normative concept that seeks to create a synergy between diverse set of societal actors in realizing the collective goal of good life. Some of the definitions of governance described here bear testimony to its synergetic appeal.

According to UNDP (1997), governance is defined as, "the economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels and comprising of the mechanisms, processes, relationships and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations and mediate their differences".

Kaufman et. al. (2000:12) conceive governance as, "consisting of the traditions and institutions that determine how authority is exercised in a particular country. This includes the process by which governments are selected, held accountable, monitored, and replaced; the capacity of governments to manage resources efficientl, and formulate, implement and enforce sound policies and regulations; and the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them".

Stoker (in Devas 2004: 24) defines governance as, "the action, manner or system of governing in which the boundary between organizations and public and private sectors is permeable". The essence of governance is the interactive relationship between and within government and non-governmental forces. It implies joint action and thus a common purpose, a shared framework of values and rules, continuous interaction, and the desire to achieve a collective benefit that cannot be achieved by either acting separately.

Some of the key ideas embedded in the concept of governance are as follows: that the government is only one of the many actors such as the private sector, citizens and the civil society organizations; it has a technical dimension reflected in the bureaucratic competence to manage efficiently and a political dimension manifested in the will, commitment and the very process of decision making to achieve the public good; and that the democratic values and principles are enshrined in the constitution.

2.4.   The notion of good governance

It was the World Bank that first brought the notion of good governance into the development discourse. The limited success of Bank's economic policies in African countries led the bank to attribute the failure to 'bad governance'. The conceptualization of bad governance then paved the way to the conceptualization of good governance, in purely administrative terms like greater transparency, accountability of government agencies, efficiency, rule of law etc. Since the World Bank did not

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associate the good governance attributes to any particular type of political regime, a restricted but distorted conception of good governance as almost synonymous with administrative efficiency, has come to pervade the contemporary development practice (Tandon & Mohanty 2002).

According to UNDP (1997) good governance addresses the allocation and management of resources to respond to collective problems and ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in the decision making over the allocation of development resources. The UNDP further states that good governance is the sum total of the governance role performed by state, private sector and civil society. Among other things, good governance is inclusive, participatory, transparent, accountable, effective and equitable.

Thomas Weiss (2000:801) perceives good governance to be, "universal protection of human rights, non-discriminatory laws, efficient, impartial and rapid judicial processes, transparent public agencies, accountability for decisions by public officials, devolution of resources and decision making powers to local levels, and meaningful participation by citizens in debating public policies and choices. He suggests that the notion of humane governance is a way of moving beyond good governance since good governance in certain contexts has been reduced to mere techno-bureaucratic efficiency. Accordingly "humane governance is a synergetic relationship between good political, economic and civic governance. Good political governance involves structures and processes that support the creation of a participatory, responsive and accountable polity embedded in a competitive, non-discriminatory, yet equitable economy which means good economic governance. This requires good civic governance through which the resources contributed by people are ploughed back to serve their own basic needs which will in turn expand the opportunities open to them and their ability to organize themselves (ibid.: 805).

Ellsworth conceives good governance as among other things, "a set of mutually reinforcing characteristics such as collaborative mechanisms, transparency, inclusiveness, responsiveness, social equity and accountability" (in Wyman 2001:14).

2.5. Key attributes of good governance

Despite the diversity in the definition and paradigms concerning what constitutes good governance and its overtly normative appeal with a techno-bureaucratic orientation, some common attributes can be delineated such as:

- Democratic institutions and political processes: Presence of a vast set of democratic and diverse institutions and political processes at every level of society from the local council to regional, national and international institutions.
- Equity and justice in public decision making: All men and women deserve opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being.
- Efficiency and effectiveness of public actions: Processes and institutions produce results that meet needs while also making the best use of resources.
- Rule of law: Legal frameworks should be fair and enforced impartially, particularly the laws on human rights.
- Transparency: Transparency is built on the free flow of information.
- Responsiveness: Institutions and processes serve the needs and interests of all stakeholders.
- Public accountability: Decision makers in government, the private sector and civil society organizations are answerable to the public and their respective constituencies for their decisions and actions.
- Participation: All men and women should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests.

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- Universal protection of human fundamental rights: Constitutional provision and protection of fundamental and other human rights and political commitment to secure them to citizens.

2.6. The concept of decentralized governance

Decentralization is a process through which authority and responsibilities for some substantial government functions are transferred from central government to intermediate and local governments and often also to communities and consists of three dimensions (World Bank 2000):

- Political decentralization which involves transfer of policy and legislative powers from central governments to autonomous, constitutionally recognized lower level assemblies and local councils that are democratically elected by their constituencies
- Administrative decentralization which places planning and implementation responsibilities in the hands of locally situated civil servants under the democratically elected local governments. But often administrative decentralization takes the form of mere de-concentration where the central government sets up local offices.
- Fiscal decentralization that accords substantial revenue and expenditure authority to intermediate and local governments and improves their direct access to resources.

The trend in many developing countries in recent years has been towards increasing decentralization in the direction of granting more authority to lower levels of government. It is also a reflection of the global trend towards minimizing the role of nation-state and involving civil society and private sector in improving service delivery. This recent wave of decentralization has been driven by a number of factors. Nick Devas (2004: 28-29) identifies six factors as contributing to this trend. They are:

- The failure of the central state and central economic planning in so many countries such as India to deliver the desired results and to be responsive particularly at the periphery.
- The political demand from below for greater local autonomy in decision making especially in Latin America.
- Decentralized governance was seen in countries like the Philippines, Ghana etc. as essential to unifying the state following the transition from autocratic rule or civil strife.
- Economic decentralization was seen as a means of promoting economic growth particularly in China
- Threats of secession as observed in Russia, Ethiopia, Indonesia, etc.
- Decentralization as a loan or aid conditionality put forth by international donors particularly in Africa.

Expected outcomes of decentralized governance
In addition to some of the attributes of good governance discussed earlier, the expected outcomes of decentralization across the three dimensions are:

- Grass roots political empowerment.
- Increased popular participation in governance and development through civil society involvement.
- Innovation in policy experimentation.
- Bureaucratic efficiency.
- Increased responsiveness of the plans and planning process to local needs.
- Coordinated or integrated multi-sector planning.
- Reduced distortion of information and accelerated flow of information.
- Increased speed, flexibility and quality of decision making and implementation.
- Generation of additional resources and efficient use of existing resources.

Decentralized governance in practice
In its original usage during the 80s, the purpose of decentralization was to make the planning and developmental process relatively bottom-up and induce a sense of accountability to the governing

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process at the local level, be it rural or urban. In democracies, it was a step towards the realization of the power to the people. In the decentralized framework, participation in a direct sense meant seeking a share in the political power vested in local institutions through electoral processes and in an indirect sense, it meant to seek transparency and accountability of those structures to the people at large. In practice, however, as many studies have pointed out decentralization has not had a significant impact either on the effectiveness of the local government or its responsiveness to the needs of the poor. But, the dominant development agenda of economic liberalization and structural adjustment with its emphasis on technical efficiency in service delivery has ensured implementation of decentralization reforms in a political vacuum (Kakarala 2004).

Crook and Manor's (1998) study of countries in South Asia and West Africa has revealed that while decentralization had increased participation and the performance of government services, it had no significant impact on the local government responsiveness to poor and vulnerable groups. Similarly Blair's (2000) study covering six countries concludes that the impact of decentralization on empowerment of the poor and poverty reduction has been minimal.

From a study of decentralization reforms being implemented in India, Bolivia and South Africa, Hadenius (2003) lists the following as major drawbacks:

- Fragmentation of functional autonomy of local governments: The continued stranglehold of central/provincial level governments on the local governments through constricting laws and procedures, para-statal organizations and elected representatives of state legislatures has fragmented the functional, political and administrative autonomy and the effectiveness of local governments.

- Perpetration of socio-economic inequalities: In societies with unequal distributions of land, wealth, income and access to human capital and further stratified by ethnic identities, devolving power from the center may only pass it onto traditionally powerful local elites who are even less responsive to the needs of their people. Therefore, as Kakarala (2004) observes, "it may be wrong to assume that mere inclusion of previously disadvantaged population groups into representative local decision making bodies would imply an increase in their capacity to exert positive influence".

- Abuses of power: There are many examples of decentralization having had a highly detrimental impact on the quality of political and administrative practices at the local level. An increase in the incidence of corruption, local fiefdom, mismanagement of resources and new forms of patronage and clientelistic forms of political organization seem to have gone hand in hand with process of devolving power. As a result, public resources are wasted and misused as they are spent primarily on serving clientelistic networks and personal ends.

- Limitations of competitive elections: Competitive elections in democracy are perceived to guarantee a higher degree of social and attitudinal representation and a much broader consideration of the local issues in the policy agenda. But elections only provide a restricted channel of influence and given that they are held at fairly long intervals, democratic participation tends to be silenced between any two polls. If and when the elections are held regularly, rigging and manipulation of the poll process through the use of money and muscle power to buy votes have served to undermine the democratic content of elections and have lead to decreased citizen confidence in the overall governance process. Abysmally low rate of voter turnout in local elections for instance, is an indication of the reciprocal, mutually reinforcing relationship between the state capacity and civic participation. Poor level of governance and low state capacity breeds

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low levels of democratic activity which in turn makes it easy for the traditional local elite to stay in power and misuse public resources to their own advantage.

From a study of 10 cities in nine countries across Africa, Asia and Latin America, Devas et al (2004) find that except in Brazil and Philippines, decentralization in the other seven countries has had much less impact particularly from the point of view of poverty reduction. Much worse, in countries like Kenya and India, as Devas et al note, there has been an erosion of local government responsibilities and autonomy and conclude that, "bringing decision-making closer to citizens opens up greater opportunities for the poor to have an influence and to make at least incremental gains. However, the impact of claims made at the local level may be only localized and piecemeal, often reinforcing clientelistic relationship, rather than being systemic and sustained" (ibid.:31).

Critical success factors for democratic decentralization reforms
The three nation study by Hadenius (2003) identifies several conditions necessary for reforms of democratic decentralization to be successful such as:
- Proper institutions to safeguard administrative regularity and efficiency;
- A fruitful division of responsibility between local bodies and the center ;
- The channels of communication and active influence in local population for meaningful participation through informed citizenry who not only claim rights and entitlements but also have the capacity for joint action and to resist abuses of power;
- The critical role of a vigilant civil society and the mass media ; and
- Appropriate legal and institutional framework to facilitate the process of political participation.

Devas (2004) considers the arrangements for decentralized governance, democratic control and accountability, the form of resource transfers, and the extent of political decentralization as critical factors for decentralization reforms to yield the desired results.

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3. Urban Planning and Governance: Tracing Civil Society in Planning Theory

3.1. Concept of urban governance: Actors and their power relations

The definition of what constitutes 'urban' is usually based on three aspects viz. the number of inhabitants within a certain settlement and their density; availability of infrastructure and/or the boundaries through which sub-national levels of administration are formally organized (Rabinovich 2002).

The term 'urban governance' includes all the normative attributes associated with the concept of governance and good governance such as inclusiveness, transparency, accountability, equity, effectiveness, participation, role of civil society etc. discussed in the previous sections. Additionally, it denotes a spatial dimension and includes 'planning' as a function of urban governance. Also, as some of the definitions discussed here reveal, conceptualizations of urban governance appear more explicit in acknowledging the power relations and dynamics amongst a wide range of actors both formal and informal.

For McCarney et al. (1994), adopting the notion of governance for urban analysis shifts the focus from state-centric perspectives to the role of non conventional actors such as the civil associations, community organizations and private sector and provides opportunities to explore the political dynamics and power differentials in society. According to Porrio (in Devas 2004:26), "urban governance deals with the power relationship among different stakeholders in cities". She identifies two key questions for urban analysis. Namely, what is the nature of the relationship among stakeholders at certain political and economic conjunctures? And what are the forms of negotiation that strengthen or weaken the position of stakeholders in urban governance? The crucial issue that arises from these questions is the ability of stakeholders to influence power relations within the governance structure and thereby induce effects on policy and delivery of public services.

Normative notions of urban governance: Towards an inclusive city
For the UN-Habitat, the understanding of good urban governance comes from its operational experience and the Habitat Agenda adopted during the second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) in 1996 which suggests the emergence of a new approach to urban governance based on a shift from direct provision of goods and services by the government to an enabling approach. It is characterized by three principle strategies, namely decentralizing responsibilities to local authorities; encouraging the participation of civil society; and using partnerships to achieve common objectives (Taylor 2000).

In the UNDP parlance, good urban governance is among other things, inclusive, participatory, transparent and accountable. It ensures that the voices of the poorest and most vulnerable are heard in decision making over the allocation of development resources (UNDP 1997). The Global Campaign for Good Urban Governance launched by the UN-Habitat focuses on the 'inclusive city' as its theme and identifies a number of norms and guiding principles such as participation, decentralization, equity, inclusion, accountability, responsiveness to civil society, efficiency in service delivery, sustainability and security (Taylor 2000).

The increased emphasis on the inclusion of marginalized groups like the urban poor has also led to conceptualization of 'pro-poor urban governance'. Devas (2001) identifies three critical factors for a more effective pro-poor governance process. They are: a more inclusive political process; a greater capacity of city governance institutions to respond to the needs of the poor; and more pressure from

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civil society. The importance accorded to civil society associations emerges as a recurring theme across the various definitions and conceptualizations of urban governance, both normative and neutral. This immense faith in the 'goodness' of civil society has come in for critical scrutiny. For e.g. from a study of ten cities across Africa, Asia and Latin America, Devas et al (2004) find that, 'civil society encompasses a great variety of groups with widely differing objectives, many of which may have no concern with equity or the poor. Indeed many may have explicitly anti-poor objectives of protecting the privileged and the vested interests. Nor are civil society organizations necessarily democratically accountable or characterized by principles of good governance".

Figure 3.1. provides a diagrammatic representation of the good urban governance framework based on the various attributes and norms associated with the concept of good urban governance in the international discourse.
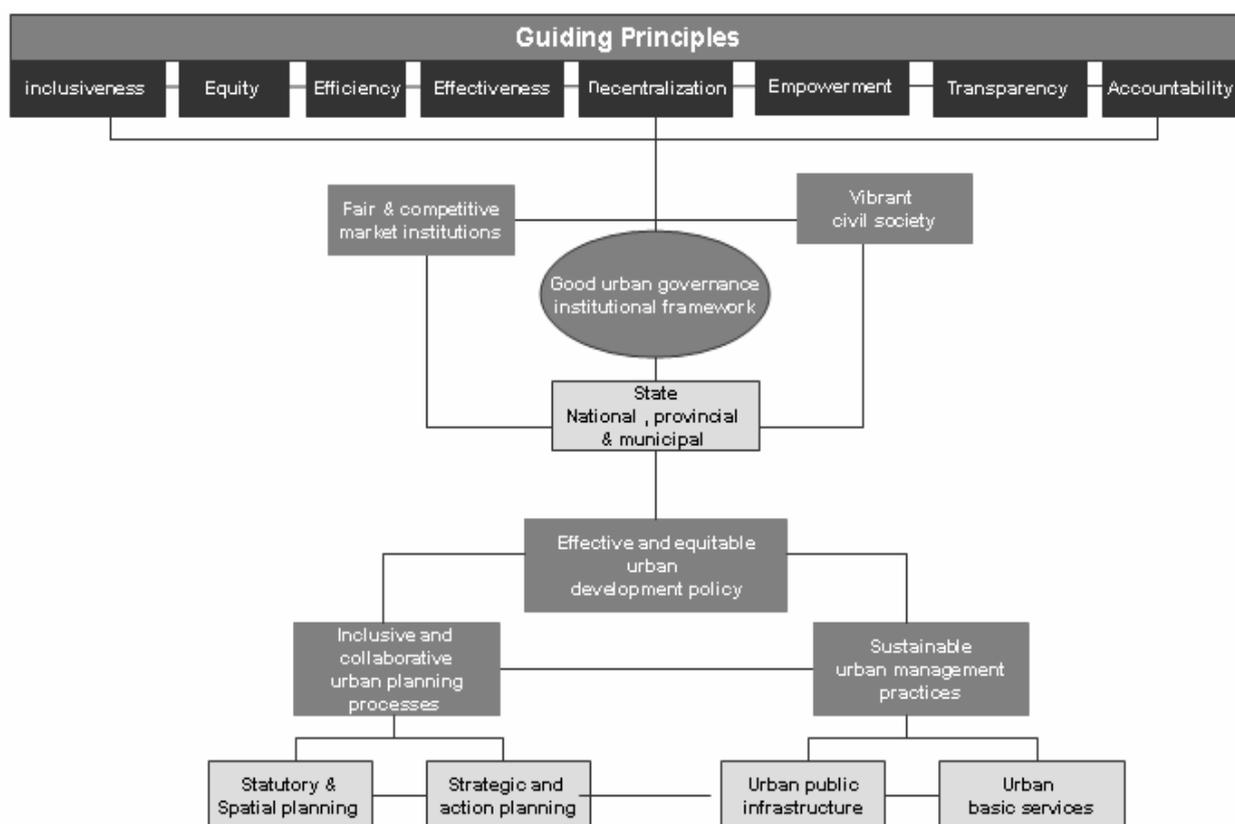
Figure 3.1: Good urban governance framework
(Source: Author's construct)

3.2.   Functions of urban governance: Planning and management

Planning and management are considered as two key functions of urban governance. Most definitions of urban governance are either concerned with 'actors' or 'processes' or both and do not include spatial dimensions (for e.g. land use), planning and such other functions. On the other hand, the functional and managerial conceptualizations of urban governance seem to ignore both the actors and processes, as evident in some of the examples given here.

Cousin (2002) defines urban governance as, "the sum total of institutional arrangements by which land use and social and economic development in urban areas or regions are planned, approved, administered, implemented, coordinated and managed".

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Davey (in Rakodi 2002) articulates the functions of urban governance as provision of public infrastructure for the efficient operation of cities; provision of services which develop human resources, improve productivity and raise the standard of living of urban residents; regulation of private activities that affect community welfare and the health and safety of the urban populace; and provision of services and facilities that support productive activities and allow private enterprises to operate efficiently.

Rakodi (2002) defines urban management as, "incorporating a corporate policy and resource allocation strategy dealing with health, education, transport, local economic development, poverty reduction, infrastructure provision and land use and translated into programmes and projects for implementation". The typical operations involved in urban management are planning and allocation of responsibilities for service delivery, the management of assets and services, regulatory functions and revenue generation.

The managerial dimension appears to expand the scope of urban governance in favor of adopting business management practices such as corporatism in urban governments, strategic planning, outsourcing etc.

3.3. Planning as a function of urban governance: Definitional issues

The practice of planning lies at the heart of the functions of the government. In a traditional sense, urban planning was understood as design of cities. Planning as the future oriented activity for managing urban development and change is embedded in and inseparable from the societal and political context in which it is practiced.

In a review of various definitions of planning from an evolutionary perspective, Alexander (1993) observes that conceptualizations of planning like many of its counterparts in public policy domain suffer from problems of generalization and imprecision. He notes how planning as a concept as evolved from being conceived as a generic human behavior, to include aspects such as, offering rational choices, future orientation, control of future actions and implementation. By evaluating what is 'not planning' such as individualized, routine, present-oriented, trial and error, utopian activities, he defines planning as, "the deliberate social or organizational activity of developing an optimal strategy of future action to achieve a desired set of goals, for solving novel problems in complex contexts and attended by the power and intention to commit resources and to act as necessary to implement the chosen strategy". Alexander's definition as he himself acknowledges, is both abstract and universal as against other definitions that view planning from 'what' planners do in specific institutional contexts at a given place and time (ibid.:73).

Friedmann (1987: 25) defines modern planning practice as a social and political process in which many actors, representing many different interests, participate in a refined division of labor. In this sense, planning is one element in the public domain understood as a territorially based system of social relations that are typically organized as political systems with their institutions of governance, legal and constitutional framework, political culture and other agents of governance such as political parties, interest groups and citizens.

Healey (2003:104) considers planning as, "a governance activity occurring in complex and dynamic institutional environments shaped by wider economic, social and environmental forces that structure, but do not determine specific interactions". By 'governance' Healy means the processes by which societies and social groups manage their collective affairs.

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Within the framework of urban governance, spatial planning is defined as a process by which land use and development plans for areas or regions are formulated and implemented. Broadly, it comprises of two types (Cousin 2002):

- Statutory planning: The process of formulating predominantly legal instruments such as policies and zoning schemes for land use, land development and regulation of built environment.
- Strategic spatial planning: The process of investigating multiple factors affecting the patterns of growth, trends and dynamics of an area, particularly economic, infrastructure, social and environmental conditions and requirements and proposing strategic spatial interventions for attaining specific objectives.

3.4. Tracing civil society in planning theory: The politics of rationalities

Theories and approaches to planning, be it urban, regional, spatial or development planning have a common genealogy and have over the last five decades continuously been evolving to embrace newer concepts into their fold. Most of the historical as well as contemporary thinking have been shaped either in the context of the United States of America or in Western European countries such as Germany, the United Kingdom, The Netherlands etc. The current debate in planning theory seems largely focused on the multiple meanings of rationality in planning that are emerging in the context of the changing role of cities and nation-states in democracies, the revival of the concept of civil society in political theory and the process of globalization driven by economic liberalization. A comprehensive analysis of the concept of planning and planning theories is beyond the scope of this study. The ensuing brief discussion is aimed only at distilling the essence of contemporary planning theory from the point of view of politics and the emerging role of civil society in urban planning process. This cursory search is oriented to locate the 'civil society' space within planning theory despite knowing it is akin to try locating a needle in a haystack.

Meaning of rationality

Rationality is the guiding principle of a thinking human mind. It means the application of reason in collective decision making. Possessing reason, being able to exercise reason and being based on reason are the three elements of reason. According to Alexander (2000), reason basically involves application of intellectual power or faculty in thought or action towards a given end and the concept of rationality in post modernity has become a stereotype and a 'bad word'. He notes that, "rational planning is commonly associated with misplaced scientism, overweening technocracy, and self-serving professionalism. Rationality is said to mean a narrow instrumental focus on means, unwarranted empiricism, and spurious objectivity based on purported facts that deconstruction reveals as either foolish class or culture based prejudices or manipulative partisan deceit. Linked to specialized expertise, rationality seems to reject nonscientific or subjective knowledge: personal, societal, or human values, individual intuition and common sense, socially and culturally constructed cognition and imaginative vision". In an effort to quell such stereotypical images of rationality, Alexander provides a typology of rationalities suggesting that reason can be applied to know and understand the world in different ways and concludes that planning cannot be anything but rational (ibid.:242). Blotevogel (2000:129) argues that a complete abandonment of rationality opens the door to fundamentalism and irrationalities and attempts to make a case for a plurality of rationalities.

The different types of rationalities and their treatment in various planning theories are briefly discussed here in an evolutionary perspective.

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The comprehensive rational approach: Dominance of instrumental rationality

The comprehensive rational approach dominated the early planning thought and is a set of procedures whereby the planner clarifies goals, conducts systematic analysis to generate a policy alternatives, establishes criteria to choose among these alternatives , and once choices have been made and implemented, monitors results. This approach implies a systems view and a systems approach. The analysis must be comprehensive if it is to be rational since all elements of the system contribute to the goals (Benveniste 1989).

Through an evaluation of various models of planning process, Alexander (1993) observes that almost all models see planning as a sequential, multi-staged process in which many of the phases are linked to their predecessors by feedback loops. From his synthesis, the various phases common to most models of the planning process are: problem diagnosis; goal articulation; prediction and projection; design of alternatives; plan testing; evaluation; and implementation. However he is also skeptical about whether such a sequentially ordered process of events can actually take place in real-life situations which in social, cultural and political terms are far more complex and dynamic in nature (ibid.).

Instrumental rationality
The comprehensive rational approach to planning which sees it as an exercise of applied rationality with its focus on the central role of the 'rational' planner reflects instrumental rationality or rationality of instrumental choice. Formal instrumental rationality provides a logical way to determine the optimal available means to accomplish a given goal. Here, planning and planner become instruments of social change. Though by definition rational or justifiable in reasonable terms, instrumental rationality does not necessarily ensure the best action. Instrumental rationality has been formalized as an axiomatic system that includes requirements such as transitivity of preferences and reflecting the computability of appropriate means to attain stipulated ends. In this form, instrumental rationality is the base for many theoretical models and decision support methods subsuming utilitarian principles and behavioral assumptions such as for e.g. utility maximization (Benveniste 1989).

A related notion of rationality in this context is substantive rationality which Max Weber (in Alexander 2000) defined as, "a logical relationship between means and ends based on assessing the impacts of projected actions". While instrumental rationality is limited to means, taking the ends as given, substantive rationality includes "the actor's own rationally pursued and calculated ends". Substantively rational action involves rational consideration of alternative means to the end, of the relations of the end to other prospective results of employment of any given means and finally of the relative importance of different possible ends (ibid.). Techno-bureaucratic rationality is a manifestation of substantive rationality. Decision support and evaluation methods aiming at substantive rationality combine the evaluation of alternative courses of action with consideration and analysis of goals and objectives (Alexander 1993).

Functions and dysfunctions of the comprehensive rational approach
According to Benveniste (1989), the comprehensive rational approach served useful functions such as for instance, it provided a systems view that yields far more information than a piecemeal approach; it made it possible to obtain information from parties that might not provide it otherwise; since it allowed issues faced by the entire system to be addressed, it is more concerned with the public good than with parochial interests; and during it's time, the comprehensive rational approach allowed the relatively young profession of planning to assert its legitimacy in a complex political environment. Benveniste also lists several dysfunctions of the comprehensive rational approach. A systemic, non contextual approach makes the planners disregard practical reality dominated by other powerful actors. As a result, 'technical' expertise becomes dysfunctional and planners lose control over decision

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making and makers who are driven by political considerations. Ultimately, planners could become instruments of technocratic rationalization for political actions (ibid.).

As Hoch (1996:40-41) observes, "planning practitioners work, for the most part, as employees in state or corporate bureaucracies that require professional employees to collaborate in the uneven distribution of uncertainty among subordinates or clients. This bureaucratic setting, however, also means that planning practitioners will be subject to authority as well. Like other subordinates, planners frequently conspire with their peers when threatened by the action of their superiors. Building on informal ties of mutual care and solidarity they develop ways to resist and frustrate the imposition of additional burdens of uncertainty. When those ties are weak, practitioners begin to identify with authority and its seductive promise of autonomy through the exercise of power".

In this way, the rational planner becomes part of the impersonal, opaque, bureaucratic and technical elite and colludes with the modern deterministic state in aiding the instrumentality of state actions while proclaiming at the same time to be a value-free technocrat fighting for the acceptance of his or her expertise in the arena of power negotiation.

The traditional modernist theory of rational planning has been criticized by post modern thinkers for ignoring the politics of planning and offering little guidance to the planners for acting in a political world and also for treating planners as impersonal calculators of information. The second major criticism is about its treatment of planning issues as abstract and favoring 'universal' languages for describing problems while ignoring the diversity of "social and cultural contexts".

E.M. Blecher (1972) provides a useful narrative of the application of comprehensive rational planning in the context of urban planning in the United States of America and how it eventually led to the emergence of alternative planning paradigms. Urban planners functioned on three assumptions. Namely, that the 'public interest' was the embodiment of community values and that it could be articulated and identified; that the power centers behind urban decision process were modeled in terms of 'power structure' construed as a monolithic pyramid with power flowing down from the top; and that at the top of this pyramid exist elite leaders with moralist concern for the 'public good'. Planners reasoned that once such representatives of the public interest and those who could articulate it were identified, urban planners had only to bring them into the planning and policy process and the problem of confronting and articulating the community values would be solved. Planners postulated that it was necessary to keep the politicians from exercising their control and to substitute the community elite for them. To be allowed to participate in the political arena, planners donned the mantle of value-free technocrats who in their quest to solve the problem of developing appropriate value-free technology that could be used to resolve community conflict of interest, they came up with the general or master plan. Rather than conflicts and competing interests of urban life, the general plan reflected consensus and acceptance of a corporate or utilitarian view of the city. Rather than class and/or caste, the general plan usually perceived only infrastructure and land use. Rather than priorities among functions, projects, and claims of competing real-world groups, the general plan dealt with abstractions like complete rationality, comprehensiveness and equality (ibid.: 7).

The current preoccupation of the contemporary planning theory with politics and a reexamination of the relevance and meaning of rationality therein is a reaction to the severe post modern criticism of instrumental and technical rationality that took shape in the 70s and consolidated through the 80s and the 90s.

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Advocacy planning approach: Bottom-up technocratic rationality

The advent of advocacy planning during the mid sixties in the United States marked the first departure from the instrumentally rationalist planning approach in that it argued for a shift from 'public interest' to the 'specific interest' of the affected population groups such as the poor and the minorities and creating a space for community groups in the urban planning process. Advocacy planning approach arose as a reaction to the sweeping changes in the wider distribution of power and fuller democratization that the USA witnessed in the 50s and the 60s when citizen participation in planning was legislatively mandated. It was also a time when communities which formed "neighborhood development corporations" and started demanding a direct control of resources without having to depend on 'intermediaries' such as planners, technicians and experts. These "para-governments" were to take over the legitimacy of the established community-wide institutions in decision making for specific populations thus threatening to erase the very legitimacy of the profession of urban planning (Blecher 1972).

It was at this critical juncture, the concept of advocacy planning was mooted by Paul Davidoff in 1965 to protect the legitimacy of both planning and planners. Davidoff rejected the notion of value-free planning and called for the development of a planning practice that "openly invites political and social values to be examined and debated". According to Davidoff, planners should be able to engage in the political process as 'advocates' of the interests both of government and of such other groups, organizations, or individuals who are concerned with proposing policies for the development of the community. If the planning process is to encourage democratic urban government in a pluralistic society, then it must operate so as to include rather than exclude citizens from participating in the planning process. Where plural planning is practiced, advocacy becomes the means of professional support for competing claims about how the community should develop. Advocacy planning provides citizens and client groups with their own resources, especially technical and professional, to enter in a new way into the activities underlying the urban decision processes. Advocacy planning is whereby the planner becomes an agent of social change who raises the consciousness of the underprivileged (ibid.).

Benvenista (1989) views advocacy planning as a perfected form of bottom-up comprehensive rational planning and cites many of its weaknesses as to why it fell from grace as a major planning theory. They are:

- Advocacy practice is not easily achieved since funding for advocacy planning is not always available and volunteers have a limited amount of time to give to this work;
- Planning issues are couched in a complex and abstract language that does not facilitate participation;
- Advocacy planning can have some impact on the distribution of power in society if the planners also happen to be at community organizing which is not always the case. Participation, renders the poor weaker by making them more dependent on the expertise of those who have access to knowledge. Therefore, power equalization depends more on organizing than on advocacy;
- Advocacy planning may show concern for the poor but have little power to achieve its goals; and
- Advocacy planning can easily become the name of an activity guided by the political interests of some planners.

Brooks (1996) notes that advocacy planning did very little to change the politics that governs the allocation of a community's resources.

Despite all its weaknesses, advocacy planning approach created a new of wave of thinking amongst the planners and emphasized the criticality of politics for planning, a reality which the planners had tended either to ignore, bypass or refuse to accept (Benvenista 1989).

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Incremental planning theory

The concept of incrementalism put forth by Charles Lindblom in 1965, implies that the political system is accepted as a given and planners need to work towards small incremental changes as minor changes is all that could be reasonably expected (Brooks 1996).

Lindblom construed effective decision making as an act of mutual adjustment involving small steps one at a time and argued that, "psychologically and sociologically speaking, decision makers can sometimes bring themselves to make changes easily and quickly only because changes are incremental and are not fraught with great risk of error or of political conflict" (in Benvenista 1989).

Incremental approach to planning is considered important for two reasons: It squarely places the responsibility for action on the planner and it includes both formal and informal approaches. A major criticism against incrementalism is that it might be suitable only in those situations where changes are slow and mutual adjustment is feasible but that more centralized efforts would be necessary if changes involving numerous units have to be carried out rapidly (ibid.).

Critical planning theory: Emergence of communicative rationality

The term "critical planning theory" is used to refer to a number of writings and activities concerned with the distribution of power in society and the extent to which planning reflects the distribution of power. The various strands of critical planning theory can be traced to Marxist assumptions, John Dewey's pragmatist school of thought, the theory of communicative action by Juergen Habermas[2] and so on. The main argument in critical planning theory irrespective of their philosophical allegiances is that planning is not merely a technically rational or professional activity but a mask under which powerful interests are able to maintain and justify their power. Critical planning theory seeks to demystify planning and urges the planners to redefine problems and mantle the role of political actors in close partnership with other political and economic institutions that represent the interests of the weaker sections of society. According to Yilmaz (2003), critical rationality based on self-reflection and rediscovery of the value of doubt sets the stage for a new debate on the possibility of a different planning paradigm. The concept of communicative rationality propounded by Habermas is considered as a very useful point of departure for not only a new paradigm in planning theory but also contemporary conceptualizations of civil society.

Concept of communicative rationality

Benveniste (1989) notes that the highlight of Habermas's concept of communicative rationality lies in the importance it accords to the demystification in the search for political consensus and the idealized vision it offers to planners who are expected to provide the communication channels that allow all participants in the planning process to express themselves without fear and with equal chances of being heard.

The concept of communicative rationality is based on inter-subjectivity and a free and equal participation of parties in a dialogue that is proposed as a way to reach consensus in a ideal speech situation without resorting to power and violence. Rather than being an input or ingredient for dialogue, rationality here is the end product of a discursive process in which participants conduct as equals. Communicative rationality draws particularly upon the practical and emancipatory sources of

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[2] Jürgen Habermas (1929) is a German philosopher and sociologist in the tradition of critical theory and American pragmatism

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knowledge rooted in power relations and driven by critical thought occurring in the framework of a 'life-world' providing some common elements and shared meanings for communication. Habermas uses 'life-world' vis-à-vis 'system' which is constituted by economic interests in the market and bureaucratic interests in the state. The concept of life-world goes beyond these systemic forces and provides some kind of a shelter for freedom and consists of individual experiences, family, small groups, neighborhoods, and various types of civil society organizations (Yilmaz 2003).

For Habermas, the language of the state and market is basically a technical language that is related to instrumental rationality where specific aims are followed by means of efficiency and optimization. The political community at large, on the other hand comprises the life world, which contains the potential for communicative rationality and a new planning paradigm based upon free communication among all parties in the context of future oriented collective action. This communicative, dialogical, argumentative or democratic planning aims at consensus among free subjects of a conversation as the standard for legitimate policy making (Blotevogel 2000; Yilmaz 2003).

In order to safeguard communicative rationality, ethics of discourse in the form of procedural rules are necessary such as conflicts should be resolved through the formation of consensus in discourse by all parties concerned; and the ideal of consensus will be conflicted by strategic behavior arising from one's responsibility towards a particular system and the resulting tension calls for a responsibility for a convergence of real conditions towards the ideal of argumentative conflict resolution (Blotevogel 2000).

Applications of the concept of communicative rationality

The concept of communicative rationality has found wide acceptance amongst planning theorists such as John Forester, Patsy Healy, Judith Innes etc. who are concerned with the eternal problem of dealing with the political power in relation to planning necessitated by the overarching need of including disempowered and disenfranchised groups in the planning process.

The writings of John Forester, which are, to some extent influenced by the theory of communicative action, address the issue of power for planners and policy analysts without succumbing to the modernist seduction of an ultimate truth or to the post modernist skepticism of Foucalt[3]. Forester shows how planners tacitly draw upon relations of trust, sincerity, comprehension and legitimacy in their conduct but then get tripped up or seduced by power relationships. The efficacy of practical social communion for Forester flows from the mediation between two distinct domains: the domain of community solidarity and the domain of control. Though both are necessary, the knowledge based on solidarity should call the shots (Hoch 1996).

Collaborative planning theory
Collaborative planning theory proposed by Patsy Healey in 1997 develops an approach to understanding and evaluating governance processes and especially those that focus on developing qualities of place and territory and argues that all planning activity involves some interactive relation and some kind of governance process. Since there are a variety of process forms, collaborative planning aims to ground the discussion of process forms in the context of economic, social and environmental dynamics and their translation into institutionalized processes of governance. By suggesting an approach to evaluate process forms in terms of their material consequences and effects on people's sense of their identities, Healy's (2003) collaborative planning approach seeks to expand the critical imaginative range of those designing new process forms beyond the well-known

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[3] Michel Foucault (1926 to 1984) was a French philosopher, historian and sociologist. His writings on power relations and dynamics has been widely used and debated.

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possibilities of manipulative politics, the rational-technical process, top-down command and control practices and bureaucratic rule-governed behavior. Collaborative planning approach is informed by a recognition of the multiplicity of social worlds, 'rationalities' and practices coexist in urban contexts and the complexity of power relations within and between them, resulting in typically dispersed or diffused power contexts. Yet despite the diversity, governance capacity could emerge through these struggles and interactions with sufficient power to challenge structural driving forces and to sustain them (ibid.).

Collaborative planning theory draws upon Habermas's discourse ethics and the concept of communicative rationality as a normative principle with which to evaluate and challenge the qualities of interactive processes. Collaborative planning explores the conditions under which particular forms of collaborative process may have the potential to be transformative, to change the practices, cultures and outcomes of 'place governance', and in particular, to explore how, through attention to process design, such processes could be made more socially just, and, in the context of the multiplicity of urban social worlds, more socially inclusive (ibid.).

Critique of communicative rationality: Criticality of politics and power

The relevance and application of Habermas's theory of communicative action in planning theory has been criticized on several grounds. The foremost of them relates to whether it is practical to achieve the philosophically ideal forms of speech and consensus in a world where power relations continue to exist and dominate while maintaining the secrecy serves distinct functions (Benveniste 1989). Habermas's emphasis on consensus for collective action is particularly problematic for democracy since democracy is based on dissent and opposition and eradication of opposition may threaten the very existence and meaning of democracy (Yilmaz 2003).

The most scathing criticism of communicative rationality has come from Bent Flyvberg and Tim Richardson from their comparison of the Habermasian concept of communicative rationality with the power analytics of Foucalt and their respective relevance for planning theory (Flyvberg and Richardson 2002). This is a sequel to Flyvberg's earlier work based on the study of Aalborg Project in Denmark, a scheme designed to integrate environmental and social concerns into city planning including how to control the car in the city. Flyvberg makes a compelling argument about how reason and rationality is shaped by power and how public discourse and technical analyses can be staged and manipulated and how institutions proclaiming to represent 'public interest' are deeply embedded in the hidden exercise of power and protection of special interests (Flyvberg 1998).

The main arguments of Flyvberg and Richardson (2002) against communicative rationality are briefly summarized here:
- Communicative planning theory fails to capture the role of power in planning and therefore is weak in its capacity to help an understanding of what happens in the real world and in serving a basis for effective action and change.
- Habermas's utopia of communicative rationality is oriented towards an ideal speech situation where validity claims are based on consensus amongst equal participants while the negative and distorting effects of power are removed. But according to other philosophers such as Nietzsche and Foucalt, communication is always penetrated by power and therefore, it is meaningless to operate with a concept of communication in which power is absent.
- For students of power, communication is more typically characterized by non-rational-rhetoric and maintenance of interests than by freedom from domination and consensus-seeking. In rhetoric, validity is established via the mode of communication by for e.g., eloquence, hidden control, rationalization, charisma and using dependency relations amongst participants rather than through rational arguments concerning the matter at hand. The basic question is whether one can

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meaningfully distinguish rationality and power from each other in communication and whether rationality can be viewed in isolation from power.

- The other important question is about the nature of 'better argument'. In non trivial situations, there are few clear criteria for determining what is considered an argument, how good it is and how different arguments are to be evaluated against each other and ways and procedures to deal with conflicts that cannot be resolved by argumentation.

- By acknowledging lack of 'crucial institutions', lack of 'crucial socialization' and 'poverty, abuse and degradation' as barriers to discursive decision making, Habermas creates a fundamental political dilemma in which only the ideal and the utopia are described but the path to achieve the same is not. Further, Habermas has very little to say about the relations of power that create these barriers and how power may be changed in order to begin the kinds of institutional and educational change, improvements in welfare and enforcement of basic human rights that could help lower the barriers.

- Communicative theory tends to overemphasize the importance of key communicative events in planning such as public meetings and public sphere, whilst failing to capture the importance of non-communicative processes and actions. Communication is part of politics, but much of politics takes place outside communication.

To address these crucial gaps in the understanding of the dynamics of power in relation to rationality, Flyvberg and Richardson (2002) urge the planning theorists to adopt an alternative approach based on Foucalt's power analytics which accepts power as unavoidable, recognizes it's all pervasive nature and emphasizes its productive as well as destructive potential. In this approach, theory engages squarely with policy made on a field of power struggles between different interests, where knowledge and truth are contested, the rationality of planning penetrated by power is exposed as a focus of conflict and where the focus shifts from what *should* be done or ideal speech to what is *actually* done. The Foucaldian approach to planning scores over Habermasian communicative approach in the following ways:

- By rejecting the implementation of ethical-totalitarian-uniform-utopian visions of the good of human kind which have produced more suffering among humans, the Foucaldian approach focuses on the socially and historically conditioned context as the basis for collective action.

- Foucaldian analysis highlights the crucial importance of power in the shaping and control of discourses, the production of knowledge and the social construction of spaces. Accordingly, discourse is a medium which produces and transmits power while at the same time it is also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy because not only does discourse reinforces power but it also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it.

- Foucalt's explanation of power as productive and local rather than oppressive and hierarchical suggests real opportunities for agency and change. Foucalt stresses substantive real micro politics in particular contexts where as Habermas emphasizes procedural, normative and universal macro politics.

The continued search for new rationalities: The concept of transverse reason

Despite criticisms about its alleged power-related weaknesses, the concept of communicative rationality continues to inspire hope and optimism amongst modernist planning theorists concerned with the growing onslaught on the very relevance of rationality which has apparently caused a crisis in traditional urban and spatial planning (Blotevogel 2000). This crisis has led to a search for alternative paradigms of communicative rationality such as transverse rationality which proposes that reasonableness is constituted by the interweaving of and transition between multiple rationalities. 'Reason' here means the ability to move within a multiplicity of transitions (Welsch: ibid.). One can and must subjectively decide between different rationalities and the scientific paradigms linked to

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them though it still does not solve the problem of heterogeneity as there can be no binding decision in the absence of a meta-criterion. But transverse reason clings to the ideal of discursive communication and consensus (ibid.).

According to Blotevogel (ibid.:133-134), four normative conditions have to be fulfilled for the successful conduct of discursive communication in the process of spatial planning. They are:
- Clear and binding rules are imperative to prevent social discourses from degenerating into power games dominated by the instrumental rationality of the pressure groups
- Communicative competence of all the parties concerned is crucial since discourse is can take place only when all the concerned parties work to build a climate of cooperation and to build trust. Communicative competence cannot be taken for granted since it is, as a rule, the result of learning processes and thus deeply anchored in the communicative culture of a society.
- Planners should not suppress their specialist competence and become neutral players. Rather, they must bring their technical knowledge into these processes, not with the hegemonic claim to scientific superiority, but as an inspiration and aid to the process of discursively arriving at results and consensus.
- In discursive planning, the planner retreats far into the background, initiates, stimulates and guides the processes, attends to the inclusion of all those affected and to adherence to the rules of discourse, works against the obscuring of discourses by organized groups representing particular interests and respects the results supported by consensus.

3.5.   Planning culture, political culture and civil society

Friedmann (2005) uses the concepts of 'planning culture' and 'political culture to highlight the inseparable relationship between politics and planning. He defines planning culture as the ways, both formal and informal, that community, city and regional or spatial planning in a given country and/or city is conceived, institutionalized and enacted. Because planning in this sense continues to be a primary responsibility of the state even as it draws upon other societal actors, it is deeply embedded in the embracing political culture of the country or city and as such is historically grounded. "Political culture" is a term used to denote the extent to which civil society is an active participant in public decisions particularly at the local level, the degree to which the political process is dominated by a single party or subject to political competition, the degree of openness in the political process and the role of the media, the legal traditions and the relative autonomy of local governments. Political systems differ with respect to the level of democracy they can accommodate. Planning as an integral component of the political system is conducted both as bureaucratic practice articulated through the institutional structures of the state and political practice which has its origin in the politically active community.

From a preliminary assessment of the emerging planning cultures across the world including India, Friedmann underscores the importance of the following issues in urban planning for posterity in the backdrop of globalization and rapid urban transition: a shift in approach towards strategic and dynamic action plan from a master plan is important for collaborative and inclusive planning processes; Planning needs to be conceived at multiple scales and for increasing cultural diversity of cities; social, political, economic and spatial inclusiveness and the rise of civil society (ibid.).

As the foregone review reveals, the debate on rationality in planning theory and the new approaches to planning such as collaborative planning have come to increasingly focus on the centrality of politics in planning and the need for expanding both the scope and space for inclusion of organized civil society in planning activities and processes. This change is marked by a shift from the stranglehold of instrumental rationality to communicative rationality and an acknowledgment of plurality of rationalities.

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4. The Concept of Civil society in Theory and Practice

4.1. The return of civil society to theory and practice

The concept of civil society has been termed as one of the most slippery in the development literature as it has been diversely interpreted and seen as assimilating ideas and concepts from a variety of disciplines such as political science, sociology, economics, behavioral sciences and development studies. Civil society has become a mantra of universal aspiration cutting across theorists and the world's political leaders owing allegiance to diverse intellectual and ideological orientations, traversing the third and the developed world alike while being embraced as the chief ingredient of human development by both totalitarian and democratic states. Having gone through a rollercoaster ride through the development discourse, the currently prevalent organizational forms of civil society have attained a wide array of nomenclature such as voluntary associations, non-government organizations, non-profits, the third sector, philanthropic foundations, pressure groups, advocacy organizations, community based organizations, development organizations, new social movements etc.

While tracing the reemergence of civil society in political theory, Chandoke (1995: 26-31) notes that, "across the world, the concept of civil society has become a crucial one in positing the normative desirability of an arena of individual freedom and rights and in laying down restrictions on the state. The civil society concept and argument has been resurrected whenever the power of the state has been challenged and sought to be controlled as, the states, it is asserted are inherently coercive, oppressive and destructive of the liberties of individuals".

Michael Walzer (2003: 79) succinctly captures the inextricable relationship between the state, civil society and democracy when he says, "only a democratic state can create a democratic civil society; and only a democratic civil society can sustain a democratic state". A logical corollary to this statement is that both the state and the civil society are not always necessarily democratic.

The positive thinking about civil society in the contemporary development theory is aptly summarized by John Keane. He says, "the emerging consensus that civil society is a realm of freedom correctly highlights its basic value as a condition of democracy; and where there is no civil society there cannot be citizens with capacities to choose their identities, entitlements and duties within a political-legal framework" (in Rudolph 2000).

The solidarity movement in Poland during the early 80s and the collapse of the communist regimes in many Eastern European nations including the Soviet Union are perceived as the most compelling sources of the resurgence of the civil society concept (Taylor 2003). Subsequently, as Elliot observes (2003:2), "the language of civil society was picked up by people's movements in large parts of the world as a kind of aspirational short hand for ideas of equity, participation, public fairness, democracy, civil rights, revolution etc. starting with the Chinese students in Tienanmen Square, advocates in Southeast Asia, the social movements in Latin America and the intellectuals in the Middle East".

Multilateral funding and development aid agencies like the World Bank and the United Nations are amongst the most powerful advocates of the civil society concept. The World Bank's introduction of the concept of 'good governance' in the early 90s into development practice sought to and continues to do so to harness associational venues in civil society founded on the much debated concept of 'social capital'. This grand 'project' is termed as a neo liberal agenda for service delivery and techno-bureaucratic efficiency aimed at rolling-back the state from the arena of 'public goods and services'.

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Civil society appears to be a panacea for all social ills and promises many things to a wide range of people in varying social, political and cultural contexts. And yet, as a concept, it evades a clear definition. Despite its enriching intellectual history in political theory, as Chandoke (1995:38) opines, "civil society has become a 'conceptual rag-bag', perhaps owing to its incipient and polymorphous character".

4.2. Historical antecedents of the concept of civil society

The term 'societas civilis' or 'civil society' was coined in the 13th century to depict a societal zone that was free from papal influence and governed by laws that were not of divine origin when the established Roman Catholic Church exercised considerable hegemony over social and political life (Mahajan 1999).The earliest theoretical formulations of civil society dates back to the political and philosophical thought of the 17th century Western Europe expressed in the writings of English philosophers Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. The civil society thought evolved in the 18th century through the works of French social thinker, Montesquieu and Scottish political economist Adam Smith. The writings of the 19th century German philosophers G.W.F. Hegel and Karl Marx and the French political thinker, Alex de Tocqueville have had a profound influence on the concept of civil society in current political theory. In the last century, the works of Italian political theorist Antonio Gramsci and the German philosopher Juergen Habermas have attained significance in theorizations of civil society. It is through this long evolutionary journey rooted in western intellectual tradition, the inseparable and the inherently political relationship of the state and the civil society and the importance of related concepts such as freedom, the regime of rights and citizenship have become illuminated. Some important strands of this thinking are provided here to serve as an illustration of the richness of the concept and the contradictions between the various theorizations.

State of nature vs. civil state: Hobbes and Locke

Commonly known as 'Contractarians', Hobbes and Locke, the seventeenth century, early modernity English philosophers were the first to establish a clear dichotomy between the human 'state of nature' as against civil or political state. The state of nature is where individuals were free and equal. For Hobbes, the state of nature was both pre-political and pre-civil in which uncontrolled human passions threatened the fundamental right of men to self-preservation. There could be, consequently, neither peace nor material comfort unless individual passions were controlled by an all-powerful sovereign. In order to safeguard this fundamental right, individuals gave up their natural liberties and consented to enter into a contract for creating a rule-bound peaceable society which Hobbes called as civil society (Chandoke 1995: 80).

In Locke's writings, the state of nature was marked by civil exchanges between free and independent propertied individuals guided by the rules of natural law. In the absence of a regulatory authority which could guarantee contracts and enforce mutual obligations, interactions between individuals were unpredictable. Society was natural to man but it needed to be regulated by socially recognized conventions and by the state. Only when the state and civil society had been set up, could the freedoms in the state of nature be actualized (Chandoke 1995). For Locke, the 'state of nature' was not devastating and violent as portrayed by Hobbes. It only lacked security. But otherwise, it is the scene of great progress and economic development (Taylor 2003).

For both Hobbes and Locke, civil society is an artificial construct created by contract amongst men in the 'state of nature'. The most significant contribution of contractarians to the concept of civil society is their notion of human beings as individuals gifted with natural rights. The main purpose of consent and contract for setting-up a rule-bound society was to protect these natural rights of individuals and to create conditions where these rights can be realized while enforcing mutual respect for the same. This

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posed a challenge to the natural supremacy and sovereignty of the absolutist monarchs prevalent in medieval Europe (Chandoke 1995; Taylor 2003). Inherent in this notion is also the importance of 'rule of law'. The notions of 'rights' and the 'rule of law' had tremendous influence on the subsequent conceptualizations of civil society and constitutional democracy (Mahajan 1999).

Hobbes and Locke differ in the extent to which rights bearing individual can set limits to the power of the state. This difference is discernible in the range of rights they respectively accord to individuals. Hobbes gave two sets of rights which the state has to respect. They are: right of the individual to self preservation including right to the means of subsistence such as access to food, water or medicine; and negative rights meaning rights in areas where law is silent and where the subject is free to do according to his own discretion (Chandoke 1995).

Locke, on the other hand, differed from Hobbes both in the array of rights and the emphasis on their protection and realization. According to Mahajan (1999), "Locke's civil society comes into existence only when men, possessing the natural right to life, liberty and estate, come together, sign a voluntary contract and constitute a common public authority, which then, has the right to promulgate and administer laws that are required to exercise and enjoy rights that are given to men of nature". Of foremost importance, as Chandoke (1995) notes is, Locke's enunciation of the sanctity of private property or the right to possess property and the right to dispose it off, which formed the central code within liberalism where property became identified with liberty and foundation of all rights.

The explicit focus of contractarians and particularly of Locke on the rights bearing individual and the domain or space within society where these rights are exercised and enjoyed, marks the beginning of a theoretical effort to delineate 'civil society' from the 'political society' while still retaining their inseparable relationship.

Preconceptions of the role of independent interme diary associations: Montesquieu

Montesquieu, an eighteenth century French social thinker is credited for conceptualizing the role of independent intermediary organizations in articulating freedom and dignity for the participant in absolutist monarch regime. Montesquieu assumes a strong monarchical government which is irremovable but which is checked and limited by the law as well as intermediary and independent bodies such as Parliaments, Estates like the nobility whic h have a standing in this law and are there to defend it. The rule of law and the 'corps intermediaries' mutually support each other and stand fall together. The free monarchy is in equilibrium between a powerful central authority and an interlocking mass of agencies and associations with which it has to compose. Central to these assumptions is the existence of a legal notion of subjective rights which Montesquieu draws from the tradition of Locke. He retains a thoroughly political definition of society but lays the ground for the civil society/state distinction by espousing a view of society as equilibrium between central power and a skein of entrenched rights (Taylor 2003).

Civil society as market and individualism: Advent of classical political economists

The conception of society as essentially an economic organization marked a major shift from the earlier theorizations of society as a political society. The works of Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson, both eighteenth century Scottish economists and philosophers have shaped this tradition known as the school of classical political economy which emerged as a product of The Enlightenment[4].

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[4] Beginning during the early eighteenth century, the period of Enlightenment is considered as an extremely crucial stage in the development of Western European scientific, political, social, intellectual and economic thought. Originating in France, Germany, Holland etc., the Enlightenment swept across Western Europe posing a

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In Chandoke's (1995:88-107) analysis of classical political economy from the civil society perspective, the following ideas emerge that are seen as the founding principles for liberal ideology of the state, civil society and democracy:

- Civil society is construed as a highly evolved form of society which is a self regulating economic organization or commercial society where individuals both as producers and consumers, as private, rational, self-interested, morally supreme or benevolent egoistic beings, participate to satisfy their wants and needs, to maximize profits and produce wealth and achieve progress based on the principle of mutual interdependence.
- Such a progressive civil society can evolve only when the state or political intervention is minimized, as state intervention would cripple the natural creativity of economic actors. State's main responsibility was only to protect the life, liberty and property of its citizens from external aggression and internal chaos.
- Market is privileged over the state as a regulatory institution to check the diverse set of actors and interests operating in the civil (commercial) society, since market allows the individualistic pursuance of interests and aspirations, allows reciprocal exchanges and social cooperation and leads to enhancement of productivity by promoting the division of labor and specialization of skills.
- Rights to and ownership of property such as land, capital, technology and labor is a crucial requirement to participate in the market.

Thus, individualism, free market, property ownership, and a minimal protective state become the structural defining features of civil society in the classical political economy which, subsequently, also became the defining features of classical liberalism and neo-classical economy, albeit in a narrower sense (ibid.).

The classical political economists have been criticized for placing supreme faith in the market's ability to produce and distribute collective good, while not considering the vulnerability of the working class without access to other forms of property such as land, technology etc. and the predominance of profit motives over the social good. It is alleged that these shortcomings permit legitimization of the domination of bourgeois society and their oppression of the working class (ibid.).

Civil society as a distinct societal domain: The Hegelian notion

Writing in the early nineteenth century, G.W.F. Hegel, the German philosopher is credited for his theoretical innovation that sought to bestow a domain for civil society that was distinct from the state (political society), the family and the economy (commercial society). Hegel's conception of civil society draws from the writings of Locke, Montesquieu and the classical political economists. Some of the key ideas embedded in the Hegelian notion as synthesized by Chandoke (1995:116-133) are summarized here:

- Civil society is a set of social practices which are constituted by the logic of capitalist economy and which reflect the ethos of the market, but which have an existence distinct from the economy.
- Civil society is an important stage in the transition from the family and the state where the unreflective unity of the family, the subjective particularity of civil society and the institutionalized universality of the state are dialectically related, negotiated and synthesized.
- Civil society is one of the moments of ethical life and there is a tension between the reproduction of the community as an ethical entity and the individualist ethos of civil society motivated by self

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direct challenge to the fundamental principles of political and moral authority which underlay the absolutist order. It replaced the divine by reason and scientific inquiry as the source of truth and substituted the God by nature as the regulative principle of the moral, social and political order.

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- interest and self aggrandizement. For this reason, civil society cannot be left alone, for then, it will deteriorate and disintegrate.
- Therefore civil society has to be organized pedagogically where the individual can be socialized into realizing that an ethical community is the only way in which his sense of freedom is actualized.
- The civil society also needs to be organized institutionally through mediating bodies which perform the task of relating the individual to the state. The individual self interest needs to be moderated by membership of associations and the relationship of the individual to the state has to be via these associations. The system of mediations consists of a range of controls which negotiate social relations and bring them into harmony with one and another. The system of controls is of two orders. Firstly the public authorities such as courts of law, welfare agencies and the police guarantee and safeguard lives and property and affirm the right of every person to livelihood and welfare while also regulating social exchanges. The second form of controls is through classes, estates and corporations. By the virtue of being the member of a social class, the individual is sensitized to common interests. Estates are the means by which articulated public opinion is brought to bear upon public affairs. Corporations are modes of moral socialization through which an individual gains both identity and a sense of belonging while also serving as modes of integration of many competing interests.
- The membership of these estates and corporations must possess skills and income, and authority and property. As a logical corollary, the working classes and the poor who did not have any of these attributes will be excluded from the membership and consequently remain outside the civil society, the state and then the universal human experience.
- The state is at the apex of the system of political mediations and control and is the condensed form of a rational, politically sovereign, ethical community. Thus civil society, the sphere of atomized and egotistic, and fragmented individuals is vertically and subordinately organized with the state, to help it realize that its ultimate interest lies in universality. It is this state control which ultimately ensures civility in civil society.

Considering that in the eyes of classical political economists, civil society had almost become a synonym for free market, unregulated competition or the pursuit of individual profits, the Hegelian notion of civil society is considered a breakthrough since it rescued civil society from the economic society and carved out a distinct domain for it. The Hegelian notion is also regarded as a crucial moment in the political discourse because it articulated a symbiotic relationship between civil society and the state which holds far reaching implications for democracy (ibid.).

Commending the Hegelian concept of civil society, Mahajan (1999) observes that for Hegel, "the state apparatus, in particular, the law and public authority, was a part of civil society and the spirit of freedom that civil society represents permeates the state. Civil society points to the existence of a particular kind of state and the law promulgated by the state regulates and secures the conditions which give civil society its distinct form. Civil society denotes a structure of relationships in which the rights of individuals receive primacy and are recognized and upheld by law. Civil society and the state are two moments of ethical life that were imbued by the same spirit".

However, Chandoke (1995) perceives this excessively close relationship between civil society and the state inherent in the Hegelian notion, "prevents civil society from emerging as a self-conscious entity that can organize itself by finding an integral principle from within, or by consciously distancing itself from the state to create an alternative public discourse. The Hegelian notion makes civil society a subsidiary and an appendage of the state as little freedom is provided for the individual or associations to challenge the state".

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The Hegelian notion of civil society has also come in for criticism because as Mahajan (1999) observes, "the concept of civil society, as it emerged in the writings of Hegel, was compatible with, if not supportive of, the bourgeois system". Hegel's theory excludes the poor and the working classes from being members of the institutions of civil society such as the estates or corporations, owing to their lack of access to land, technology, capital and other forms of property. The privileging of propertied classes as the active group of society is seen by Chandoke (1995:130) as, "reflective of Hegel's deep-rooted skepticism of any form of direct democracy that can either result in chaos, or in the subordination of the individual. For Hegel, the state was the answer to address the problems of civil society or the incivility in civil society".

Revolutionary transformation of civil society: Marxian thoughts

The writings of Karl Marx, a nineteenth century German philosopher, and social and political thinker are regarded as being amongst the most influential in shaping the modern political thinking and practices. The starting point of Marx's formulations on civil society was his critique of the Hegelian notion. Some of the key ideas embedded in Marx's theorization of civil society as highlighted by Chandoke (1995:134-146) in her analysis are:

- Marx rejected Hegel's universalizing attribute of the state and its ability to organize the civil sphere which has become uncivil and oppressive on account of the unlimited power of the bourgeois classes who dominate the civil society. Marx agrees with both classical political economists and Hegel that civil society is a product of industrialized and modern societies and perceives it is a sphere where greed, egoism, selfishness, corruption and exploitation continue to govern the life of the individual who cannot find any protection in the state, which with its modern apparatuses such as bureaucracy prevents access of the individual to the state. The modern individual is, therefore, not predominantly political. The state which has handed over a part of its authority to the propertied classes shares the same oppressive and exploitative character as the bourgeois dominated civil sphere and therefore cannot organize or transform the civil sphere. Hence the individual is not able to find the promises of the modern word either in the civil or the political sphere unless both are transformed.

- Marx's most profound theoretical innovation is his perspective of civil society from the point of the poor and the marginalized groups in society who in the Hegelian notion are not members of civil society given their lack of property. For Marx, it is the existence of a social order which excludes the poor from civil society membership and the contradiction in civil society, for him, is the one between the propertied and the non-propertied classes.

- The non-propertied class or the working class becomes his 'proletariat' which has a universal character because of its universal suffering. The proletariat is simultaneously a class of, and not a class of civil society. It is a class of civil society because it forms the backbone for the construction of a bourgeois society. It is 'not' a class of society since the proletariat has not shared in any of the material benefits that society has to offer. The reproduction of society is dependent upon this class, and yet it occupies marginal spaces within this society.

- The liberation and emancipation of the working class is possible only when it opts out of the production site and processes that is, when it abolishes itself as a class. This is made possible by the gathering together of the working class in large scale enterprises and the socialization of the labor process which gives the workers the power to paralyze the entire system of production. It also gives them the political perspective, that for exploitation to be abolished, the system itself must be abolished. This organized power of the working class within civil society creates the possibilities that the class will be able to liberate both itself and the civil sphere. Civil society, then, becomes a terrain not only for reproduction of dominant relationships but it can equally be the site where the disprivileged classes can fight for social and economic emancipation and revolutionary transformation becomes the organizational principle to civilize civil society.

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In Marx's analysis, the state and the political society has not much role in organizing and regulating the civil sphere as the civil society transformation is driven and led by the oppressed masses from within the sphere. The explicit focus on 'sites of production', 'labor' and the 'working class' organizing against the 'propertied class' (or capitalist class) all point out Marx's disregard for the role of the state and politics in civil society which is radically opposite to Hegelian notion which subordinates civil society to the state (ibid.).

Associational life as the third realm of society: Tocqueville's conceptions of civil society

Alexis De Tocqueville, a disciple of Montesquieu was a nineteenth century French philosopher who wrote in the liberal tradition. One of his widely acclaimed works is his study of the nineteenth Century American democracy which has left a profound and indelible mark on the contemporary conceptualizations of civil society.

In the context of America, De Tocqueville feared that excessive power in the hands of a democratically elected government has the potential to curb individual liberty and render the state both tyrannical and despotic. He therefore, argued that checks and balances are required to mitigate the excesses of the democratic state which give the legislature too much power. He saw the potential and possibility of limiting the state power through a plurality of voluntary social and political associations or intermediate institutions which are necessary to exercise countervailing pressure (Chandoke 1995; Gupta 2003).

As Gupta (2003:222) observes, "De Tocqueville was convinced that the immigrant population in the United States of America influenced as they were by the puritanical outlook of the Pilgrim Fathers had a mind-set characterized by a natural abhorrence towards centralization of power and other forms of aggrandizement which could be trusted to act as a deterrent against the American state becoming too powerful. Taking a cue from this, De Tocqueville clearly made the case that democracy required, atleast in the exemplary situation, a specific cultural make up in terms of customs and manners. This cultural factor was therefore prior to the establishment of the democratic state".

Though De Tocqueville argued for a clear distribution of power among the various institutions of government and periodical elections as other means to check the unmitigated power of the state, he reposed immense faith in voluntary associations as the most potent check. For liberal theory, voluntary membership associations was also the solution to the tension between an individual's right to privacy and the right to choose not to participate in societal or political project. For Tocqueville, associations brought isolated individuals together to participate in social and political life and helped cultivate civic virtues and inculcate democratic values amongst its members. Concerned with everyday activities, associations not only provided social learning opportunities where the individual comes to identify with the larger community but also guarded the autonomy and freedom of the civil sphere and protect the individual against the state power. De Tocqueville identified three realms of society: the state with its system of formal Parliamentary representation, courts, assemblies, bureaucracies and armies; the second region is the arena of private economic activity; and the third is civil society which draws upon the art of associations and includes parties, public opinion, churches, moral crusades, literary and scientific societies, professional and recreational associations. These associations with their super abundant force and energy can curtail the potential excesses of the centralized state, particularly in democratic societies (Chandoke 1995:107-111).

Promoting associational civil society based on social capital which has emerged as a dominant strategy in the current development practice claims allegiance to De Tocqueville's glorified account of the importance of associational plurality for democracy.

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Transformation of civil society through counter hegemonic revolution: Gramsci

The conceptualizations of civil society by Antonio Gramsci, an Italian political thinker have found reverberations in the East European political transformations in the early 70s as well as serving as an inspirational guide for the new social movements across the world. Gramsci's theory of politics draws from both Hegelian and Marxian theory, though the latter's influence is more profound.

Based on Chandoke's (1995:147-156) analysis, the salient features of Gramsci's conceptualization can be summarized as follows:

- There is a clear distinction between political society and civil society. Political society is the location where the coercive apparatus of the state is concentrated such as prisons, the judicial system, the armed forces and the police. Civil society is the location where the state operates to enforce invisible, intangible and subtle forms of power, through educational and religious systems and other institutions. The political society is coercive and disciplines the body through its penal codes and prisons where as the civil society disciplines the mind and the psyche to structure the consciousness of the individual in a manner which precludes open confrontation with the state and its apparatus thus legitimizing the state and its associated practices.
- Civil society as a set of social, cultural and ideological practices negotiates the structures of capitalist production and the superstructures of ideology and the state. It negotiates them in two ways: it is the sphere for the production of consent for the projects of the capitalist state meant to reproduce the power of the capitalist system itself; but it is equally the sphere where this consent can be subverted and overthrown and consent for a new form of political organization can be created and sustained.
- Hegemony becomes the organizing principle for the production of consent through the use of symbols and mythologies, institutions and practices. Hegemony as the moral and intellectual leadership of the dominant classes provides the ethical moment of political life. Hence civil society becomes the ethical moment where a fragmented society is held together by the moral vision and foresight of the leading class. The concept of hegemony permits to probe relations both at macro-structures such as state and society as well as micro structures such as family which becomes a site for the exercise of power. An individual is born into and conditioned by these power structures inculcates the habit of obedience and therefore readily accepts the power of the state.
- But civil society is not just a passive recipient of forces unleashed by the state and the dominant classes. It is a site at which the fundamental classes articulate class positions along with other social groups expressing their particular interests. It is also the terrain of contestation and transformation where the subaltern classes can challenge the power of the state and the dominant classes through counter hegemonic revolution in social, political and cultural domains, since it is not enough to just take over economic or state power. A counter hegemonic process has to contest nodal points of power at every site of social interaction. The emancipation of the individual requires that the processes of daily life with which he negotiates his existence be de-mystified and transformed. Counter hegemony also implies that the working class rids itself of all narrow economic considerations, and comes to identify with the aims and the needs of other national, social and popular forces.

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Civil society as a public sphere: Critical theory and Habermas

The concept of public sphere entered the debates and theorizations about civil society in the 1960s with the writings of Jurgen Habermas, a German Philosopher whose analysis of bourgeois society and politics in the 18th century Western Europe established him as a defender of the Enlightenment project of modernity. In particular, Habermas's "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" published in 1962 is considered seminal in articulating civil society as a public sphere where private citizens come together, constitute a public and engage in a rational dialogue and deliberate on common issues of concern and generate public opinion. His later works such as the theory of communicative action and communicative rationality have had a profound influence on planning theory as discussed in section three.

According to Chandoke (1995:162), the privileging of civil society as the sphere where democratic politics can be constructed involves the recognition that the right to hold states responsible and to ensure political accountability resides not only in institutions and constitutions, laws and regulations, but is part of the social fabric. As Michael Edwards (2004:54) notes, "the concept of a 'public', a whole polity that cares about the common good and has the capacity to deliberate it democratically is central to civil society thinking".

Habermas conceived public sphere as a theater in modern societies in which political participation is enacted through the medium of talk. It is the space in which citizens deliberate abut their common affairs, and hence an institutional arena of discursive interaction which is conceptually distinct from the state since the discourse can be critical of the state. The public sphere is also distinct from the official economy because it is not an arena of market relations but one of discursive relations for debating and deliberating rather than for buying and selling (Fraser 1992).

According to Rudolph and Rudolph (2003:383-4), the Habermasian public sphere was embodied in coffee houses, political clubs and literary journals. In these locations, persons who previously led separate lives in private spaces come together and become a public, transcending their private preoccupations and addressing common purposes. The communicative process directed at common questions creates a unified public. Public interest can only be arrived at through acts of reasoning that conform to formal notions of rationality and rules of deductive logic. That reason, thought and discussion produce the general interest is a line of argument that rejects consensus based on bargaining which implies a deplorable yielding to interest and which does not qualify as a legitimate component of virtuous opinion. For Habermas, such virtuous associational life marked by convivial social intercourse and by a relatively high standard of education engaging in rational consideration of public issues arises only in limited space and time for a brief, transitional eighteenth century moment. The decline begins thereafter, when the bourgeoisie loses its short-lived monopoly of opinion and begins to be pressed by a widening democratization of the public. Mass culture, consumerism, capitalism etc., the forces that obliterate communicative action supersede the pubic sphere (ibid.).

Situating her arguments in the context of late capitalist and stratified societies, Fraser (1992) criticizes Habermas's notion of public sphere as a bourgeois conception owing to its assumptions such as that it is possible for the members of a society to participate in the public sphere as equals by bracketing their status differentials both in terms of social and economic inequalities; that a single unified public sphere is good for democracy rather than competing multiple publics; that deliberation in the public sphere must be restricted to public issues and problems rather than private interests; and that there should be a clear line of demarcation between the state and the civil society in the public sphere.

Fraser argues that traditionally, a bourgeois conception of public sphere excluded women, plebeian men, and other subordinated groups from official political participation. In due course of time, these

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excluded groups both in stratified and egalitarian societies have emerged to constitute alternate publics or 'subaltern counter publics' with emancipatory potential aimed at correcting the power imbalances in the public sphere through mobilizational and agitational activities towards achieving participatory parity. This process has also entailed a reinterpretation of the meaning of 'private' and 'public', both inherently ambiguous terms. Domestic violence for e.g. was initially perceived as a private matter. But it eventually became a common concern and a topic of public discourse through sustained discursive contestation (ibid.).

Fraser warns that unless redefined, the Habermasian notion of public sphere loses its relevance for the current social and political context and may even serve to exclude the marginalized and the weaker sections from participation in the public sphere (ibid.).

Civil society conceptualizations in Western European philosophy: A summary

Set in an evolutionary perspective, this cursory review of civil society theorizations in Western European intellectual tradition based on interpretative and critical analyses by several scholars, reveals that the concept of civil society has multiple meanings some of which are radically different from others. Definitions vary depending on the theoretical and ideological lens one uses to view the state and civil society. It has normative as well as neutral and negative connotations. In order to summarize the foregone review, some of the salient features of the concept are encapsulated here:

- The state of civility is characterized by constitutionally guaranteed citizenship with in a regime of well defined fundamental human rights. The responsibility of protecting citizenship rights becomes a primary responsibility of the state.
- There is a reasonable agreement that the state, civil society and the economic society (market) are structurally distinct from each other but share an interdependent functional relationship which could either be cooperative or conflicting. Both the state and the economic society possess the propensity to be coercive and oppressive, and dominate the civil society. In other words, civil society can become a hostage to the hegemonic power of the state and the market.
- The institutional terrain of civil society is less differentiated and less defined compared to the state and the market institutions. There seems to be a general consensus that civil society represents a set of intermediate institutions in the form of secondary membership associations. They are intermediate in the sense that they are situated between the family and the state, though sometimes they may overlap with the institutions of economic society. The associations have diverse purposes, interests, ethnic roots, cultural bases and organizational forms and need not always be democratic in their functioning. The associations may also owe allegiance to the state or to the economic society.
- Public sphere though necessarily situated in the civil domain, serves as the site of interactions between the state, the market and the civil society. It is a site where a multitude of interest groups jostle with each other to carve out a niche and with the institutions of the state and the economy, to initiate public debate, mobilize public opinion and contest each other to influence laws, policies and decisions and hold the state accountable. Dominance of the public sphere by the state or the market institutions or by other sectarian interest groups will weaken the civil society and render it undemocratic and uncivil. The public sphere and the civil sphere can become sites of oppression and subjugation of the marginalized and subaltern groups by the dominant interest groups which may eventually lead to organization and counter mobilization among the subordinate groups resulting in the creation of counter public spheres that possess the potential to alter the existing power imbalances and transform the civil society.

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4.3.   The contemporary context: Civil society and democratization

The contemporary focus on civil society reflects a deep-rooted concern for preserving and promoting democratic state and civil society as a means to humane governance for equitable and sustainable human development. It has arisen in a context marked by the failure of the states and the markets to address wide spread poverty and social inequalities in the less developed countries. The call to democratize state and society has been spurred by the rising violence in public life and the growing religious fundamentalism and ethnic tensions across the globe which has posed a formidable threat to human liberty and freedom. Though the western intellectual tradition forms the basis for most of the current propositions on civil society in the third world, there is a growing body of scholarly thought which is trying to wean away from the western (intellectual) hegemony and develop a more culturally reflective and context specific conceptualization located in particular historical traditions.

In addition to the strictly western tradition, Carolyn M. Elliot (2003:7-35) identifies and provides critical perspectives on four other approaches towards civil society and democracy that are currently in vogue in debates and empirical work and which are mostly rooted in the western tradition. A summary of these approaches and their critique are provided here.

Civil society as a sector of associations
This approach is currently dominant in the development practice and owes its genesis to liberals like De Tocqueville, J. S. Mill, etc. Accordingly, civil society is defined as a space between the family and the state where people associate across ties of kinship, aside from the market, and independent of the state. It includes both relatively formal organizations including social movements and the informal array of friendships and networks of social life outside the family. The definition is problematic for various reasons such as:
-    There is no clarification about the purposes or organizational nature of these groups. One does not assume that groups are concerned with public purposes or that they are democratically organized.
-    A strict application of the definition from a western point of view poses additional problems whether to include intentional associations such as traditionally organized tribal groups, caste based groupings etc., or even informal networks located in everyday activities, under the rubric of civil society associations, though these groups may be addressing social inequalities.
-    The distinction between 'civil' and 'political' associations and those within and outside the legal framework is also blurred. Associations of slum dwellers in cities are generally outside the purview of the law but may be politically organized to address social inequalities and collectively organized for pursuing common interests.

Therefore, Varshney (in Elliot 2003:12) suggests that an associational conception of civil society as, "the dense array of self-generated, relatively sustained patterns of interaction connecting individuals and families facilitating the articulation of values and advancement of interests" as most useful to overcome such problems.

The recent upsurge of international interest in the associational forms of civil society owes much to Robert Putnam's propositions on social capital[5] which refers to features of social organization or associational ties such as norms of reciprocity and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for social benefit. Social capital enables government to get citizen cooperation more easily, enhancing its effectiveness and therefore its legitimacy. The concept of associational social capital has been translated into 'civil society promotion' in the international development policies and practices of the multilateral agencies such as the World Bank and the United Nations. The concept of social capital has come under criticism owing to Putnam's interpretations of Italian history which formed the basis of

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[5] A more detailed account of social capital is provided in subsequent sections.

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his initial conceptualization of social capital. Alleged avoidance of politics is considered as a far more serious critique of the social capital driven promotion of associational civil society (ibid.).

Civil society as norms and values
The normative approach to civil society based on values of civility such as tolerance, individual rights and discursive democracy is advocated by observers drawing from the major traditions of political philosophy such as Hegelian and the Habermasian concepts. The normative view of civil society is especially important to democratic theorists who are critical of a procedural view of democracy, who observe that democracy is a matter of culture as well as organization. They caution that overemphasis on procedures such as laws, elections, etc. impoverishes the understanding of democracy. For them, civil society is the source of virtues such as trust, tolerance, cooperation and equality that are essential to sustain democratic interactions. Some of them follow De Tocqueville in looking at associations as 'schools of virtue' where individuals learn citizenship skills and imbibe virtues. They argue at associations should be democratically structured so as to enable members internalize democratic values. The normative approach poses following problems: the insistence on democratically structured organization creates a circular problem for democracy and brings the role of the state into disciplining civil society which then risks the relative autonomy of the associations; an overemphasis on values make democratic politics difficult by rendering civil society organizations overly critical of patterns of negotiations and compromise needed for coalition building in political arenas; the normative emphasis on rational discussion risks excluding discourses and marginalized groups that would seem to be significant communications of a civil society; many critics of the normative approach perceive that the emphasis on values obscures structural underpinnings and holds out modern western society as the model of civility (ibid.).

Civil society, political society and citizenship
The political society approach concerns itself about 'democratic deepening' or in other words extending democracy to previously subordinated groups and distinguishes between civil society and political society to examine their different trajectories. Civil society in their view refers to self organized associations and social movements that may or may not attempt to influence power-holders, while political society comprises parties and other contestants for power in political institutions. Civil society grows organically and incrementally whereas political society can be created from the outside by extension of citizenship rights. Partha Chatterji (in Elliot 2003:25) privileges political society over civil society as the site of post-modern creativity in democracy and argues that parties and protest groups making up political society have greater capacity for bringing forward the concerns of marginalized people than modernized civil society. He forecasts an emerging opposition between modernity and democracy i.e. civil society and political society, as new groups claim entitlements that directly contradict the universalist 'modern' conventions of civil society.

According to Whitehead (in Elliot 2003:23), "political society poses three threats to civil society in different contexts such as: traditional family and particularist loyalties jeopardizing impersonal civic rights; interventionist states denying autonomy to civil society associations and the 'majoritarian incivility' characterizing many sectors of modern societies reflected in phenomena such as irresponsible media, organized crime, speculative financial markets etc".

In the third world, many fear that political democracy will empower social forces with no interest in the practices of culture of democracy. Where democratic procedures are in place, political society with practices such as elections, parties and campaigning may be dangerous for associational life often disrupting previous patterns of collaboration among social groups (ibid.).

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Civil society as an organic flowering from historical roots

This school of thought is led by theorists and political leaders who work on the assumption that civil society is defined by its historical sociology. They identify the bases of western civil society in specific features of European history suggesting that differing histories elsewhere make the development of civil society unlikely or impossible. The main arguments in this approach are that: on the one hand, western theorizations of civil society ignore that civil society was not a defining feature of European culture and society and that political stability was preceded by long periods of civil strife; on the other hand, it is biased and fails to recognize the historical, social and cultural realities prevalent in the third world societies in many of which one could find precursors of civil society in their history and culture such as habits of moderation, negotiation and tolerance and the presence of a variety of autonomous intermediate institutions. However, as critics argue, cultural resources provide only half of the equation since all these societies have lived under some form of authoritarian state, the possibility of civil society depend more on existing political settlements between the state and society than on cultural precursors (ibid.).

4.4.   Civil society in development practice: Promoting associational life

Given the different socio-cultural-political contexts, there is a wide diversity of associational landscape in democratic societies. However, in the contemporary development practice, an undifferentiated and normative treatment of associations as seed-beds of development and democracy has emerged as a dominant trend owing largely to the works of Robert Putnam, an American political scientist, whose concept of social capital has become one of the most celebrated but also controversial discoveries of development in the last decade.

Before Putnam, Pierre Bourdieu, Glenn Loury, James Coleman and others had used the concept of social capital in explaining socio-economic phenomena. Bourdieu (in Portes 1998:4) defined social capital as, "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition". In Coleman's terms, social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors whether persons or corporate actors within the structure (ibid.:5).

But it is Putnam's rediscovery of the concept with its normative emphasis that has spurred many empirical inquiries into the relationship between associational civil society and democratic governance. Some of them have highlighted the importance of the nature and purpose of associations in relation to democratic governance, while others have pointed to the criticality of the role of the state, political processes and socio economic contexts in shaping the associational activities.

Associations, social capital and democratic governance

According to Robert Putnam, 'social capital' refers to norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness and civic virtues inhering in social networks and voluntary associations. Drawing on Tocqueville's ideas of associations and based on his own research on Italian politics, Putnam concluded that democratic performance of public institutions in Northern Italy was significantly better than in the South due to greater social capital prevailing in the North. The measure of institutional performance was based on policy process, policy content and policy implementation and the measure of social capital was mainly derived from membership in horizontal associations such as amateur soccer clubs, choral societies, hiking clubs, bird-watching groups, literary circles, hunter associations, lions clubs, parent-teacher associations etc. Putnam also advanced a historical path dependence thesis according to which Southern Italy has been stuck in a *vicious spiral* for the last millennium due to lack of a strong civic

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community. While the Central and Northern Italy on the other hand, have experienced a long civic history in which the existence of networks of civic engagement and of norms of generalized reciprocity and trust have given rise to a *virtuous spiral* (Putnam 1993*;* Harriss 2001; Mouritsen 2001; and Defilippis 2001)

Social capital and civil society in development practice

Putnam's conceptualization of social capital and civil society as inhering in networks and membership of secondary associations and norms of generalized trust and reciprocity has been readily absorbed into the new development agenda of the 90s that evolved from structural reforms and a gradual narrowing down of the welfare commitments of the state. Many of the recent multilateral and bilateral reports claim an unequivocal relationship between building social capital, promoting community participation and poverty reduction on the one hand and democratization on the other. For instance, the World Development Report 1997 of the World Bank urges development practitioners to make greater efforts to take the burden off the state by involving citizens and communities in the delivery of core collective goods (Harriss 2001; Kakarala 2004).

Social capital in this new development agenda is seen as the 'missing link' in development and as a collective, cost effective good with beneficial outcomes and as a policy resource that must be operationalized and strengthened by its association with development projects and goals. The idea of missing link provides a strong conceptual support for programmes that emphasize such tasks as identifying pockets of social capital and then using them for participation to deliver projects or for programmes that identify the construction of social capital with an objective to encourage participation. These programmes mainly involve creation of civil society organizations in the form of networks of groups/ communities variously referred as user-groups, stakeholder groups, community based organizations, water-users association, self help or micro credit groups etc. In a decentralized institutional framework, the participation of local actors then, is not with the bottom-up planning process at the local politico- institutional level but rather with forging new forms of associations based on interests in order to demand for and participate in better management of resources and service delivery aimed at technical and bureaucratic efficiency (Harriss 2001; Hickey & Mohan 2004; Kakarala 2004).

Criticism of Putnam's social capital and its applications in development practice

While many academics and development practitioners regard the concept of social capital as eminently reasonable, desirable and sensible, the simplistic and normative application of the same in development practice has invoked criticism on several counts and inspired vast empirical research which has significantly contributed to a redefined focus on the political attributes of civil society and participation.

Historical path dependence or misinterpretation of history
Several Italian historians have pointed out that southern Italy was not always lacking in civility or associations and neither was the North always virtuous civic. Many authors note that the supposed associational legacy of northern Italy did little to thwart the rise of fascism in the early part of the 20th Century Italy. Further, voluntary horizontal associations like bird watching clubs, rotary clubs and choir groups conceptualized as civil society by Putnam have been found as neither advancing a social cause nor pursue policy change nor deal with political conflicts (Brucker, Sabetti & Putzel in Harriss 2001; Mouritzen 2001*).*

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Social inequalities, power relations and social capital

Empirical studies of projects that seek to create social capital across the developing world spanning rural, tribal and urban areas suggest that associations founded on strong group identities have the potential to create strong reservoirs of social capital within segments but inhibit creation of broad based trust which has the capacity to ensure responsive democratic government. Though social capital can facilitate access to basic services, under scarcity conditions however, access to social capital itself may also become an integral part of the traditional exploitative structure of social constraints created by gender, class, ethnicity and the power relations that mediate social interactions (Pantoja et. al; Evans, Heller and Beall in Harriss 2001; Molyneux 2001; Rudolph 2000).

The role of the state and politics in social capital and civil society

Putnam's conception of civic virtues and associational life as the seedbeds of growth and performance of democratic governments has been questioned by the Italian political scientists. They have pointed out that the civility in Northern Italy had its origins in popular politics of mass parties and social movement where as through out history civility in Southern Italy was repressed by the exploitative and colonial governments of the North. Furthermore, they argue that if Northern Italy had a long civic tradition, one would have expected a strong counter resistance to the rise of fascism during the early twentieth century which obviously was not the case. From a historical analysis of "how Americans became civic", Theda Scokpol observes that US civic associations were encouraged by the American Revolution, the Civil War and until recently, were fostered by the institutional patterns of the US federalism, legislatures, competitive elections and locally rooted political parties. Empirical research in other parts of the world such as Brazil, India and Central American countries have highlighted the criticality of the state and political institutions in shaping the effectiveness of civil society (Booth & Richards 1997; Skokpol in Harriss 2001; Baiocchi 2002; Heller & Chaudhuri 2002).

De-politicizing development

The concept of civil society and social capital are generally employed as if they denote an undifferentiated social fabric and inherently positive. There is hardly an acknowledgement of the inter-community tensions and conflicts, and the politics of power relations within civil society nor the moral radical idea of civil society as a means of protection from and opposition against the potentially hegemonic state. Participation of communities has been reduced to a means of undertaking or justifying specific projects aimed at technocratic efficiency in a political vacuum. Owing to these reasons, many theorists perceive this approach as de-politicizing and non-empowering i.e. viewing civil society as an instrumental middle without taking into account the dynamics of power politics driven by social inequalities not only with in it but also in relation to the state and market (Harriss 2001; Hickey & Mohan 2004; Kakarala 2004).

Emergence of alternative paradigm: Civil society as citizenship, rights, empowerment and political participation

The emergence of an alternative paradigm focusing on individual rights, citizenship empowerment and political participation owes its allegiance to the process of de-politicization in the contemporary development practice. The new paradigm for instance, lays emphasis on social movements that have emerged as an associational form of grass-roots socio-political agency in pursuit of collective action and political participation in the democracies of the developing world. In the new paradigm, civil society is conceptualized as constituted in terms of civility that individuals possess not merely by social and co-operative capacities but by the empowering, transcending and universalizing ethos of broader political identifications and citizenship (Kumar in Mouritzen 2001; Hickey & Mohan 2004).

A comparison of the two paradigms is diagrammatically depicted in Figure 4.1. The plus sign indicates the strength while the minus sign indicates the weakness of a given paradigm with respect to

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the seven parameters such as whether the driving force is local or imposed, the spatial level, functional mode, tendency to address social inequalities, type of participation in governance, impetus on rights, entitlements and empowerment and orientation to politics and the state. The dominant paradigm is weak with respect to five attributes as compared to the alternative paradigm which exhibits strengths with respect to all the parameters.
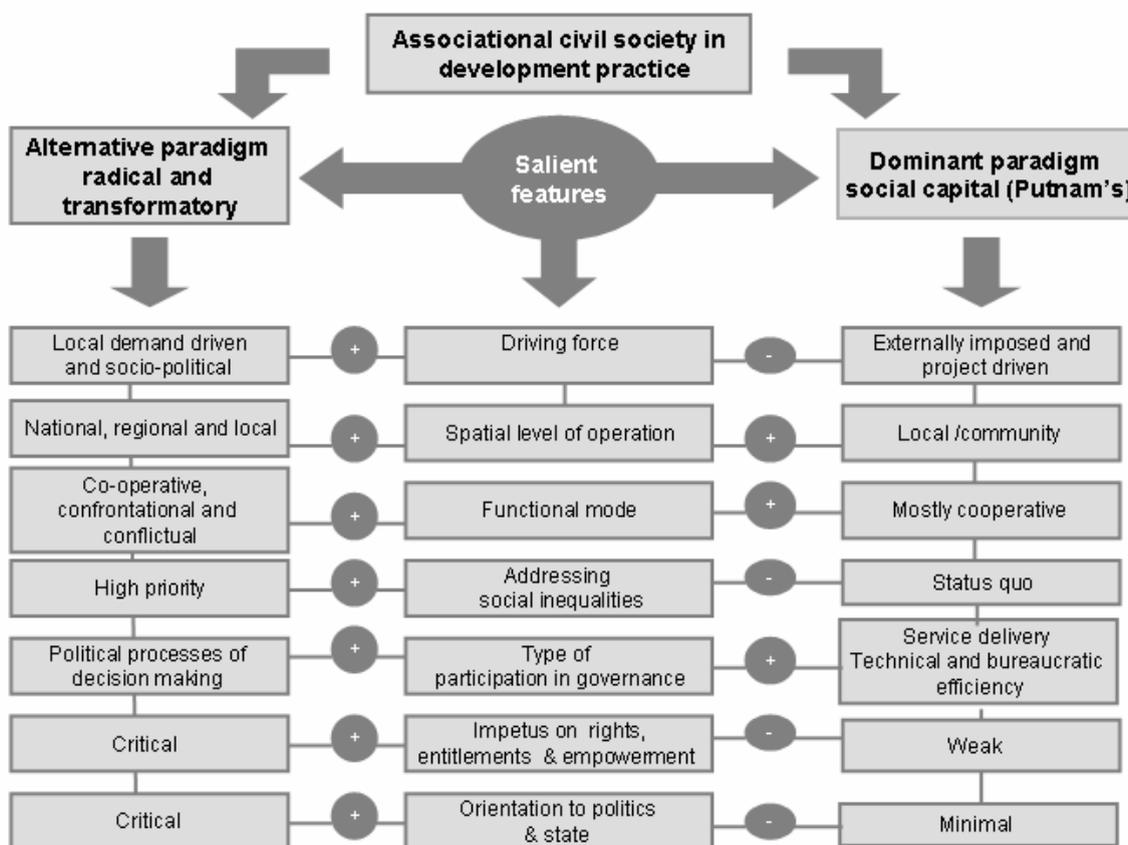
Figure 4.1: Civil society paradigms in development practice
(Source: Author's construct)

Citizenship in liberal theory and civic republicanism

The liberal theory tends to rely on legal definitions concerning the formal status of citizens and focus on narrow forms of political participation such as voting. Whereas, civic republicanism is founded on the collective and participatory engagement of citizens in the determination of the affairs of their community in which the citizen plays an active role in shaping the future of his or her society through political debate and decision making. Civic republican theory defines citizenship in terms of membership within a particular political community, consisting of a set of legal obligations and entitlements and practices through which individuals and groups formulate and claim new rights or struggle to expand and secure existing rights. Such a notion of citizenship has a dual vision: a participatory vision of democratic governance and a re-distributive vision of development that encompasses both involvement in decision making and acts of opposition based on assertion of rights (Hickey & Mohan 2004).

Collective action and empowerment

From their study of a vast array of participatory approaches to governance and development, Hickey and Mohan (2004) suggest that only those approaches or projects that were located within a political tradition and sought to empower citizenship based on rights and mobilization of collective action have achieved sustained success in terms of challenging socio-economic inequalities, redistributing

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resources and promoting social justice. In this context, empowerment is defined in terms of a process that involves the attainment of citizenship, human rights and dignity.

In support of their argument, they quote among others, the following examples: people's campaign for decentralized planning in Kerala, a south Indian state; participatory municipal budgeting initiative in Brazil; Regenerated Freirean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques (REFLECT), originally piloted by Action Aid and currently employed by 350 organizations in 60 countries; social movements such as the Zapatistas in Mexico for claiming citizenship rights for indigenous Indians; and the rural development initiatives driven by popular organizations in the Andes mountains of Latin America. Further, they observe that to achieve transformation such initiatives presuppose a degree of institutionalization without which the pursuit of individual liberties has limited impacts and in such cases citizenship can remain as an elusive and ideologically convenient label to mask socio-political inequalities. Once the political process has become institutionalized, claim making by advocacy groups and social movements seeking political participation and justice find a point of engagement for their collective action (ibid.).

The 'empowered deliberative democracy' model proposed by Fung and Wright (2001) based on a study of several cases including the ones studied by Hickey and Mohan is a useful point of reference. The model is based on reforms that aspire to deepen the ways in which ordinary people can effectively participate in and influence policies that affect their lives.

4.5.   Civil society and governance in India

With a population of around 1.1 billion, India is the second most populous country and perhaps, the largest, multiparty, federal and Parliamentary representative democracy in the world. An agricultural and a command economy by tradition, India is making rapid strides towards a free market economy as a result of liberalization and structural adjustment programme initiated in the early 90s. India is characterized by a wide socio-economic-cultural diversity in terms of caste, tribe, sect, region, religion and language.

Though it carries a risk of oversimplification, a brief description of the salient features of society and governance in India is provided as a background within which to better situate the contemporary Indian thought on civil society.

Society in India: Stratification and hierarchy

The 1100 million plus people of India are divided along multiple factors such as region, religion, language, sect, caste, tribe, wealth, occupation and education. The sheer diversity in Indian society can be grasped by the fact that all major religions of the world such as Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and others like Sikhism and Jainism are found in India; the Constitution of India lists 18 official languages[6]; and a report of the Government of India lists 3743 castes and tribes (Betielle 2007).

Caste system
The term 'caste' has different connotations across the various regions and therefore suffers from ambiguities. Caste is generally equated with 'jati', an endogamous group ranked in the local hierarchy based on particular characteristic patterns of behavior with assigned attributes such as specific occupation. According to Mandelbaum (1970: 29), the phrase, 'caste system of India' is best taken to refer to that set of ideas about society that many people of India share and that they systematically use

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[6] But there are hundreds of other dialects

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in governing their social relations. Salient among these ideas is the view, implicitly held and sometimes explicitly expressed, that most social relations should be hierarchically arranged". In this sense, the caste system can be understood as a set of social rules and practices not only among Hindus but also among Christians and Muslims in India and other South Asian societies as well.

Influence of ancient Hindu texts

The main organizational principle of Indian society was influenced by the sacred texts such as 'Vedas, Manusmrithi and Upanishads' which together constitute the religious beliefs and practices that are generally grouped under the rubric of Hinduism. The hierarchical stratification of the traditional Hindu society was largely based on the concept of 'Varnas' prescribed by 'Manusmrithi'. Accordingly, the Hindu society was divided into four ranked orders of Brahmin (scholars and priests as custodians of culture and religion), Khshatriya (warriors and patrons), Vaishya (merchants and traders) and Shudra (cultivators). The varna categories form the primordial make-up of the overall society into which local jatis and jati-clusters are fitted. The varna scheme excluded several other Hindu communities of birth (outcastes) including tribes. In any case, the principal functioning groups of the social order are jatis, jati-groups, families, lineage, village communities etc. and are not varnas as commonly mistaken (Mandelbaum 1970; Beteille 2000).

Main characteristics of the caste system

According to Dube (1996:1-2), the three basic characteristics of 'jati' which are still relevant in some form are, "exclusion or separation – the rules governing marriage and contact which maintain distinctions of caste; hierarchy - the principle of order and rank according to status; and interdependence - the division of labor which is closely tied to hierarchy and separation".

Deeply entrenched with these characteristics are, inequality in power relations and oppressive and exploitative forms of production which contributed to intensify feudalization of rural India through practices such as bonded labor, lifting of night soil etc. The sub-ordinate and discriminatory status accorded to women in the Indian society in social relations and economic activities is also inseparably linked to the caste system.

The practice of untouchability in social transactions based on the ancient Hindu concept of purity-pollution is another major characteristic of the caste system. Though currently on the wane, the practice of untouchability has played a tremendous role in deepening the social inequalities (Jayaram 1996; Beteille 2000).

Dalit identity and mobilization

Considered as untouchables, the members of the low caste/outcaste have acquired a distinct socio-political identity known as 'dalits'[7] .Articulation of dalit interests and mobilization of dalit communities began as part of the social reform movement that preceded the nationalist struggle for independence from the British colonial regime (Sreedhara and Tolpady 2003). After Independence, India adopted a federal Parliamentary democracy based on adult franchise and socialist planning and protective discrimination in favor of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. These policies and programmes have benefited the oppressed communities in improving their living conditions and socio-economic status but the inequalities continue to persist and manifest at various levels in myriad forms in both urban and rural areas of the country. As Beteille (2000:193) observes, "the caste system which dominated the structure of Indian society for thousands of years has been changing over the last

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[7] the term dalit literally means broken or oppressed and originated around the 1930s. In the present context it has come to imply, "those who have been broken and ground down by those above them in the social hierarchy in a deliberate and active way. Denial of pollution, karma, and justified caste hierarchy are inherent to the word itself (zelliot in Bharati 2002)

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hundred and fifty years, but has by no means disappeared. The sentiment of caste has acquired a new lease of life on account of its continuing involvement in electoral politics, and through it, in public life in general".

In post-independent India, the dalit mobilization and organization gained momentum in various parts of the country while also attaining a strong political fervor for assertion of their rights and fight against atrocities and exploitation. The dalit movement and those based on linguistic, religious, regional, feminist and other identities constitute the 'identity-based politics' of representation in contemporary India (Biswas 2006).

Governance and human development in India

The Constitution of India adopted in 1950 proclaimed India as a sovereign, federal democratic republic and provides for a clear separation of powers and authority and functional autonomy between the legislative, the executive and the judiciary. The constitution is an embodiment of fundamental rights that guarantee to all its citizens the Right to equality before the law; Right to particular freedoms such as freedom of speech and expression, freedom of association, freedom of movement and residence etc.; cultural and educational rights; Right to freedom of religion; Right against exploitation; and Right to constitutional remedies for the protection of civil rights,. The constitution outlaws the traditional system of social stratification based on caste and prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion, language, race, ethnic background, gender or place of birth (Sharma 2002).

Union government
The union government is at the apex of the federal structure. The key institutions of national governance are the executive composed of the president and the council of ministers headed by the prime minister, parliamentary bicameral legislature comprising of elected and nominated members of parliament and an independent judiciary called the Supreme Court. Decision making on public policy India is concentrated at the level of prime minister, his/her cabinet of ministers and high-level bureaucrats via their control of the various ministries of the government. The union government has exclusive authority on matters such as defence, foreign affairs, rail transportation, national highways, communication, interstate trade, commerce and finances. The national development policy is guided by the five-year plans prepared by the Planning Commission of India, a constitutionally mandated authority. Currently India is in the Tenth Five-Year Plan (2002-2007) phase.

State government
There are twenty eight federal states with their population ranging anywhere between 0.5 to 140 million. In addition, there are six union territories which are governed by the president through administrators appointed by him/her. The state government forms the second tier of government and has a structure similar to the union government with popularly elected state legislatures. The chief minister with his/her cabinet of ministers is the executive at the state level. The states have significant powers over 66 items that include public order, welfare, health, education, local government, industry, agriculture, land revenue etc. Both the union and the state governments have several sector-wise or line departments and parastatal bodies such as corporations and boards through which a multitude of development schemes and projects are implemented often through the local governments.

Local government
The last tier of the government consists of an array of constitutionally protected formal governance structures known as local governments, in both urban and rural areas. The local governments in cities and towns are called municipal bodies while their rural counterparts are called as Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs). The rural local government is further tiered into three levels at district, block (sub-district or taluk) and a cluster of villages. The local governments have authority over functions such as

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roads, sanitation, street lighting, drinking water, primary health care, regulation of local trade, primary education, poverty alleviation etc (Sharma 2002). Though the political autonomy of both rural and urban local governments is uniformly high, the degree of administrative and financial autonomy vary across the states.

Human development in India: Problems of governance

Despite its elaborate and constitutionally stipulated structures for democratic governance, India continues to be amongst the poorly developed nations of the world. About a third of Indian population is living in inhuman conditions with no or inadequate access to basic services such as health care, housing, education and safe drinking water. On the Human Development Index of 2005 published as part of the Human Development Report (HDR) by the UNDP, India was ranked 128th out of the 177 countries, one of the lowest in the medium development category. The Human Development Index is a combined measure of life expectancy at birth, adult literacy rate and per capita gross domestic product. According to the HDR 2005, only 30% of India's population has sustainable access to sanitation though 80% have access to improved source of drinking water. Further, India ranks as low as 98 out of 140 countries on both Gender Development Index and the Human Poverty Index (UNDP 2005).

On the Global Corruption Perception Index for the year 2005 published by Transparency International, India scored 2.9 on a scale of 0 (highly corrupt) to 10 (highly clean) and was ranked 88 out of the 158 countries (Transparency International 2005). Many studies have pointed out that the policy making and planning are divorced from the people and their needs; policies do not reflect public preferences; public accountability of legislators and bureaucrats is very low; public offices and their transactions are corrupt and non transparent; money and muscle power continue to dominate the electoral process; the stranglehold of patronage-clientelism-corruption has firmed its grip on public services; and citizen satisfaction with the quality of services continues to be abysmally low. Though there are interstate or inter-city variations, these problems, however, persist at all tiers of government across the country (Court 2001; Hadenius 2003; Paul et. al 2004).

Origins of civil society in India: Social reform movements and the nationalist struggle

Many scholars attribute the origins of civil society in India to the social reform endeavors which began in the middle of the nineteenth century and also to the emergence of the English educated middle classes and their seemingly secular institutions such as schools, universities, hospitals, banks etc., initially in the former presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras from where their influence spread to other parts of the country (Beteille 2000; Sreedhara and Tolpady 2003). The social reform movements aided also by the Christian missionary activities were led by enlightened social elite like Rajaram Mohan Roy, Keshavachandra Sen, Eshwarachandra Vidyasagar, Anne Besant, Dayananda Saraswathi, Shri Narayanaguru and so on who created several institutions such as Brahmo Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Dharma Paripalana Samithi, Theosophical Society etc. These endeavors were primarily concerned with eradication of social practices that were believed as perpetrating and deepening social inequalities to the disadvantage of women and communities of lower castes. Besides these social institutional responses, there were also agitational and protest oriented initiatives that sought to mobilize and organize caste and tribal communities under Jyothi Bha Phule in Maharashtra and Periyar in Tamilnadu which have significantly redrafted the social map of India (Sreedhara and Tolpady 2003).

The social reform activities dovetailed into the nationalist struggle for independence which took shape in the later part of the nineteenth century through the Indian National Congress. The first generation leaders of the freedom movement like Gopal Krishna Gokhale had emphasized the need for social change as a precursor to the achievement of freedom. The entry of Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) into the freedom struggle in the early part of twentieth century transformed and expanded the nationalist

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struggle which, till then, had been restricted to the educated middle-class elite, into a mass movement with social reform as its fulcrum (Sreedhara and Tolpady 2003; Rudolph and Rudolph 2003).

From a comparative investigation of the parallels and contrasts between the institution of 'ashram' founded by Gandhi first in South Africa and later in India, and the 'coffee house' which served as Habermas's public sphere in the eighteenth century Europe, Lloyd Rudolph and Susanne Rudolph (2003) observe that the Gandhian ashram:

- In contrast to the coffee house, sought to draw uneducated urban and rural, working and farming people into the public sphere in the context of mass politics.
- Expanded the concept of public sphere from emphasis on the discursive exchanges of educated men to exemplary enactment of the polity and society to which the movement aspired.
- Served as an academy for training in discipline of cadres for the large scale and life threatening political theater that was 'sathyagraha' (truth force, non-violent resistance).
- As a site of commitment to and practice of public service and where political met to deliberate on the next step in the movement.

Gandhi made concerted efforts to fight the inhuman practice of 'untouchability' and was one of the powerful advocates of integrating the low caste 'untouchables' whom he referred to as *harijans* (children of god) into the traditional Hindu society. Gandhi's ashrams and other activities served this cause in commendable ways. But it was Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (1891-1956), an 'untouchable' himself to begin with, and hailed as the 'architect of the Indian Constitution' who has left an indelible mark on the political mobilization of dalits and continues to be a universal icon of dalit identity in contemporary India.

Civil society in post-independent India: Disenchantment with the state

India attained independence in 1947 and subsequently became a 'socialist democratic republic' in the year 1950 with Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) as the Prime Minister. The Nehruvian model of modernization based on public sector driven industrial growth combined with the welfarist state approach governed India's development path for more than three decades following the independence.

The Nehruvian model did not result in any perceivable transformation of either the society or the economy leading to severe disenchantment with the Indian state which, by then, had not only become corrupt, inequitable and inefficient but also more oppressive than the British regime (Beteille 2000:173).

Omvedt writes, "by the late 1980s, the predominant feature of Indian politics had become the new social movements of women, dalits and low castes, peasants, farmers and tribals as well as ethnicity-based struggles for autonomy or independence on the periphery… The hegemony of the Congress party has been decisively broken and Nehruvian models of development discredited" (in Chandoke 1995:29).

As Chandoke notes, "the focus on civil society arises from a general agreement that since the consensual model represented by the Nehruvian state has exhausted itself, the solution to India's political, social and cultural problems lies in a politically conscious civil society". She is of the opinion that civil society represents in much of Indian thinking as a non-state domain of protest and challenge. She further states, "civil society in India is seen by most theorists as a fluid association of social groupings which are based on caste and kinship linkages, or on religious mobilization as much as on voluntary social associations". According to her, the failure to distinguish between associational life based on religious fundamentalism from that of voluntary and irrevocable relationship is problematic (ibid.:28)

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The disenchantment with the Indian state has led to divergent propositions on the state and civil society in India which are in one way or the other relates to Elliot's (2003) four contemporary approaches to civil society described earlier in the chapter.

Invoking traditional forms of collective life and social movements: Autonomous civil society
Rajni Kothari, considered as one of the most eminent and influential political scientists in India urged the civil society to invoke and build upon the democratic and collective ethos and values such as mutuality, tolerance of diversity, rooted in the Indian tradition. Kothari also argued that the Indian nation-state with its brutalizing tendencies cannot be trusted to provide humane governance and the reentry of civil society in the form of social movements such as the human rights movements, ecology movements and women's movements is the way forward towards human governance. D.L.Sheth, one of the best known early exponents of civil society in the post-independent India has also reposed faith in the ability of non-government organizations ((in Chandoke 1995; and Gupta 2003).

Mahajan (1999) sees civil society in Kothari's writings emerging as an alternative to the state and equated with non state, non-government organizations and associations through which people participate directly and manage their affairs.

Civil society as political society
Partha Chatterji (1997) construes the associational civil society institutions in India as projects of modernization rooted in the colonial regime and seeks to distinguish between the 'modernized' civil society implying that it is still elitist and middle class and the post modern 'new political society' which is a domain lying between the state and civil society, consisting of institutions and activities where several mediations between the state and the population, particularly the marginalized groups take place. While situating this distinction in the process of globalization, he conceptualizes the new political society as a site of transformation in the post-colonial regime, built around the framework of modern political associations such as political parties. Writing on the Hindu politics in India, Marc Robinson (in Elliot 2003) is wary of conflating civil society and political society since militant nationalist political parties are trying to capture the civil society space and its institutions through ideological indoctrination based on religious fundamentalism in order to create a vote bank for capturing political power.

Civil society as mediating institutions
Beteille's (2000) propositions on Indian civil society are contextualized in the deeply entrenched caste system and stems from his disenchantment with the Indian state. In articulating a sociological perspective, Beteille argues that the concept of civil society is antithetical to the caste system. He is therefore critical of the call given by scholars to invoke norms and values of mutuality and collectivity, diversity and tolerance rooted in the Indian social tradition which to him is still a prisoner of caste and religious groupings. In articulating his views, Beteille appreciates the role of state as the ultimate guarantor of the rule of law which is crucial in protecting and sustaining civil society but is suspicious of the totalitarian tendency of the state and argues for a clearly differentiated functional domain between the state and the society. Similarly, though Beitelle believes that civil society without the notion of 'equal citizenship' is simply impossible. At the same time, he is apprehensive of its relevance and fruitfulness in the Indian context when he writes, "the political and legal passage from subject-hood to citizenship does not lead automatically to the conversion of a society based on caste to the one based on citizenship" (ibid.).

In what is reminiscent of Tocquevillean perspective, Beteille's apprehensions about the ability of the state in ensuring equal citizenship leads him to make both the state, citizenship and democratic society contingent to the presence of a plurality of mediating between the citizen and the state institutions of

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various kinds in different domains which are well differentiated from each other besides being open, secular and relatively autonomous from the state in nature (ibid.).

Thus Beteille's notion of mediating institutions seeks to separate religious and caste groupings and political and state institutions from the civil sphere. They are open in the sense that membership in them is independent of such considerations as race, caste, creed and gender; selection to positions of respect and responsibility… are based, atleast in principle, on open national competition. They are secular in the sense that their internal arrangements are not governed by religious rules or religious authorities (cited in Mahajan 1999).

Critique of traditional and autonomous institutions: Centrality of the state and citizenship
Both Mahajan (1999) and Gupta (2003) in separate arguments are critical of their Indian scholarly counterparts who seek to equate civil society with the non-state, self organizing, autonomous intermediate institutions and associations. Gupta questions both the validity and relevance of the faith being reposed by Kothari and others, in the supposedly democratic forms of community life embedded in Indian history and tradition in a country that is "generally acknowledged to be the most hierarchical, rigid and oppressive among known human civilizations". Gupta views Beteille's mediating institutions such as the corporate structures of the economy, the judiciary, the municipality, the various institutions of local self governance, the university and so on, as modern rational-legal institutions operating on the principle of efficiency. Gupta opines that the emphasis on bureaucratic efficiency reflects instrumental rationality and can undermine equality of citizenship. He cites the example of expensive private schools and hospitals (implied as modern mediating institutions in Beteille's view) in India which should cater for the welfare of the citizens in general, instead, service only an affluent minority.

In articulating their notions of civil society, both Gupta and Mahajan invoke the Hegelian concept and argue that the state has the primary responsibility in creating a democratic civil society that can protect individual rights and liberty premised on citizenship.

'Who' should force the Indian state to perform?
According to Gupta (2003:235), the only real alternative to realize the democratic ideals and values is, "to force the state to respond to its citizens and not let it off the hook". But both Mahajan and Gupta do not offer any insights on 'who and how one could or should force the state to respond to its citizens'?. Chandoke (2003: 260-61) provides a small window of opportunity to overcome this rhetorical and circular argument in state-civil society debate. According to her, "the idea of civil society provides the preconditions of formal democracy which in turn provides the space for democratic elements both to challenge power equations in the civil or public sphere as well as to transform the sphere itself. Therefore civil society is not an exclusive sphere independent of the state but is mutually constitutive of the state and hence it is only ambiguously the source of democratic activism and a deeply fractured and hierarchically structured domain of social associations". Chandoke prefers to develop the notion of civil society as a process (rather than an institution) whereby the inhabitants of the sphere such as the democratic movements are vigilant and monitor the monopoly of power by constantly and critically looking at the state, market and themselves.

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4.6. Associational civil society in India

Regardless of the diverse theorizations and scholarly debates on the nature of civil society and its relationship with democratic governance, it appears that the associational legacy of Tocqueville has become the *lingua franca* for civil society in development policy and practice in India and else where. In recent years, India has witnessed a rapid proliferation of various forms of voluntary associations commonly known as non-government organizations (NGO), community based organizations (CBO), voluntary organizations (VO), non-profit organization (NPO) etc. (Srivastava & Tandon 2005; Biswas 2006).

Central to these terminologies is the notion that these organizations are separate from the state and the market. The term 'voluntary sector' most commonly used in government documents also conveys that the voluntary associations constitute a 'sector' that is distinct from the state and the market sectors (Planning Commission 2002).

These organizations are addressing various issues and problems of development and governance at different spatial levels using a diverse set of strategies in both rural and urban areas. They are either involved in policy and legal advocacy, research, awareness, mobilization, etc. and/or deliverers of basic services like health, education, water supply and sanitation, waste management, micro credit, housing and so on. Their constituencies include marginalized groups such as the poor, dalits, women, sex workers, construction workers, domestic workers, displaced communities, etc.

Size of the non-profit sector and typology of voluntary associations and organizations

A recent sample survey of non-profit organizations (NPO) in India by the Society for Participatory Research in India (PRIA) puts the number at 1.2 million. The definition of an NPO was based on five criteria such as institutional identity, distinctness from the government, non-profit distribution, self governing, and voluntary establishment. Of the 1.2 million NPOs, 51% were rural based and a majority of them were religious organizations followed by community/social services, education, sports, culture, health etc. According to the PRIA survey, about 50% of them were unregistered and about 88% of them were small in size either employing one or no paid employee though on the whole, the non-profit sector had managed to engage 19.2 million people, most of whom in voluntary capacity. The non-profit sector received a sum of INR 179,220 million (about Euro 3222 million) in the year 1999- 2000 of which: 51% was self generated through fees and charges, donations within the country and self contributions; 32% was received from the government sources; and only 7.4% was through foreign sources. Based on these figures, the PRIA survey claims to dispel several 'myths floating around' with regard to the source of funding. One of the 'myths' implied here is that most NPO funding is foreign, which according to PRIA survey is a popular misconception since only 7.4% of the receipts was from foreign sources (Srivastava & Tandon 2005).

An earlier study by PRIA has provided a typology of civil society associations/organizations based on the functional domain and the size of the constituency addressing various issues and problems of governance. This typology has also found entry in the documents of the Planning Commission of India which is the nodal authority to act as an interface between the government and voluntary organizations (Tandon & Mohanty 2002).

Traditional associations
Traditional associations exist around a social unit either defined by a tribe, caste and other ethnic identities and undertake a wide range of functions in the lives of those citizens. Besides mediating

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inter family relations traditional associations develop elaborate systems, norms and procedures for governing the use and protection of natural resources (ibid.).

Religious associations
Owing to a multiplicity of religions in India all of which advocate charity and help for the needy and poor in one way or the other, several voluntary associations representing different religious faiths have come up in India. They are active in areas such as health, education, water, afforestation, social welfare etc. (ibid.).

Membership associations
This category includes representative bodies such as trade unions, peasants organizations, business and traders' associations; professional associations of teachers, lawyers engineers etc; and Socio-cultural associations formed for recreational purposes related to sport, theatre, music etc. A major sub category under membership associations is constituted by self help groups (SHGs) which include large membership groups such as co-operatives as well as smaller groups like neighborhood committees, community based organizations, savings and credit groups, village education committees, forest protection committees and so on. Some of the latter have been set up at the instance of government, multilateral or other large NGOs (ibid.).

Intermediary associations
The intermediary associations serve various functions and are called as voluntary development organizations (VDO), non government organizations(NGO), not-for-profits and foundations. They serve various functions like service delivery, mobilize and organize local communities, provide support to other associations through research and capacity building, philanthropic, public advocacy and networking between other associations on a particular cause or with informal or formal federated organizational structures (ibid.).

Social movements
There are several mass based social movements working on a variety of issues such as ecological concerns, human rights, gender equality, social exclusion, anti- corruption, poverty, rights and entitlements, resistance to the global hegemonic economic order etc. These movements are described in the literature variously as grass roots movements, micro movements, non-party political processes, community or mass based organizations, social action groups or movement groups. The organizational form of these movements is that of a civil-associational group. They conceive politics and their activities in the direction of achieving two interrelated goals of re-politicizing development and reinventing participatory democracy (Sheth 2001; Tandon & Mohanty 2002).

Considering that an estimated 1.2 million voluntary groups exist in India as per its own estimates, PRIA's typology, elaborate as it is, does not seem comprehensive enough to capture the diversity and magnitude of the civil society in India. Therefore, one can expect a great deal of overlap between the different types and functions as a result of which, the conflation between the various abbreviated forms of civil society such as NGO, VO, NPO, CBO, GONGO will continue to be a recurrent problem. By including a wide range of associations under the rubric of civil society, the typology fails to provide any useful insights into the nature of organizational structures and practices within these associations and its relationship to democratic governance. Also, there is a lack of spatial dimension in the classification such as urban vs. rural or metropolitan city vs. small town etc. Nevertheless, PRIA classification is a pioneering initiative and serves as a useful reference point to view the associational landscape of civil society in India.

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Associational boom in India: Disenchantment with the state or enchantment with civil society?

The proliferation of voluntary associations and social movements in the late 80s was attributed to the growing disenchantment of the civil society with the state. However, with the policy of economic liberalization adopted since the 90s, the state appears to be enchanted with civil society. Globalization of the world's economy gained momentum in the late 80s in response to which India initiated structural adjustments within a broad policy framework of economic liberalization. Apart from restructuring the public sector through disinvestment and deregulation to encourage private sector enterprises, these policies also entailed a gradual but systematic withdrawal of the state from public service domain paving way for privatization and also creating space for NGOs (read as civil society) to participate in the delivery of services.

Voluntary sector in plans and policies
The role and involvement of NGOs and the voluntary sector in social services started gaining recognition in the Five-Year Plans through marginal budgetary allocations as early as in the 60s (Planning Commission 2002). But from the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1985-1990) onwards, allocations for NGOs took a quantum leap with a threefold increase (Chandoke 2005). At the same time massive foreign aid started pouring in through the IMF, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank conditional to the structural adjustment programme. Subsequently, the multilateral donors adopted the language of good governance, beneficiary participation and civil society capacity-building which they sought to operationalize through funding and collaboration with all kinds of NGOs. As a result, new forms of associations began to dot the civil society landscape such as water user's associations, village education committees, village health committees, village forest committees, self help groups etc. (Kakarala 2004; Biswas 2006). The Eighth and the Ninth Five-Year Plans continued the thrust on the voluntary sector which finds its full acceptance in the Tenth Five-Year Plan (2002-2007) which boldly acknowledges the expansion of the market and the civil society domain in some areas at the expense of the state and recommends strengthening of the role of voluntary organizations and other non-profit bodies as well as corporate organizations in social and economic development (Chandoke 2005).

The Tenth Plan also seeks to build the capacity of the voluntary sector and streamline the administrative procedure for voluntary organizations to receive government and foreign funds. By 2001, an estimated 250 development schemes were being implemented through voluntary organizations covering more than 20 ministries and departments such as forestry, rural development, environment, water supply and sanitation, renewable energy, health, education, tribal welfare, sports and culture, etc. The Planning Commission of India has been appointed a nodal agency to act as an interface between the government organizations and the voluntary organizations (Planning Commission 2002).

State supported civil society in urban governance
The launch of the 'Good Urban Governance Campaign" in 2001 and the National Urban Renewal Mission in 2005 by the Union Ministry of Urban Development is a reflection of this major policy imperative. Both the Campaign and the Mission lay emphasis on involving the existing civil society associations and creating new associational forms like citizen committees and self help groups in the provision of urban infrastructure, delivery of urban services and socio-economic development of the urban poor and slum dwellers.

The policy change is reflected in the states as well. The Karnataka Human Development Report published by the Government of Karnataka in 2005 speaks at length about the need for good governance and the role of voluntary sector and acknowledges that the, "the Government of Karnataka approach towards voluntary organizations is very much conditioned by the position taken by the central government". The government of Karnataka for e.g., has launched the Urban Stree Shakthi

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programme aiming to empower the urban poor women through self help groups for micro credit and savings. The Nirmal Nagar Yojane (clean city plan) seeks to create and promote the involvement of residents welfare associations in managing urban sold waste (Government of Karnataka 2006).

Proliferation of NGOs: A policy effect or disenchantment with the state?
From the foregone account, it therefore, appears that the proliferation of NGOs was not merely a result of the disenchantment with the Indian state. Observing that there has almost been a twenty-fold increase in the foreign funding of NGOs from Euro 41.4 million in 1986 to Euro 874 million in 2003-04, and a 250% increase in the number of NGOs, Biswas (2006: 4407) comments that, "far from being a spontaneous social phenomenon, the proliferation of NGOs in the 1980s and 90s in India has taken place in a specific historical context as a result of specific domestic and global policy changes towards economic liberalization and integration into a market-driven global economy". Such being the case, it is surprising to note the finding from PRIA's survey that foreign sources constituted only Euro 239 million (7.4%) of the total receipts (Euro 3222 million) of the non-profit sector in year 2000, whereas, the foreign contribution had already touched Euro 612 million (20% of receipts) in the year 1998-99 and increased to Euro 874 million (27%) in the year 2003-04 (ibid.). This apparent inconsistency in PRIA's findings attains significance in the current political context in which the (foreign funded) NGOs have been alleged as 'imperialist agents' by the political extreme left and as supporters of 'anti-Hindu agenda' by the extreme rightwing (Biswas 2006). Seen in this context, the gross underestimation of the foreign contribution and a possible overestimation of local contribution could be interpreted as a deliberate strategy by the NGO sector to ward off imminent political threat and thereby down play the 'foreign' role in the NGO driven development process.

The increasing partnership between the state and the voluntary sector aided by the international donors and the fast blurring of the boundaries between the state and the civil society has raised several concerns and questions. The most important among them are related to the impact of the state's withdrawal from its primary mandate to ensure citizenship, fair and equitable distribution of public goods and services; the undifferentiated treatment of voluntary associations who themselves can potentially resort to undemocratic practices, oppression, abuse of power and misuse of funds; and the autonomy and freedom of civil society to challenge the state and other forces of oppression like caste, race, religious fundamentalists and its ability to critically engage in transformative political processes (Chandoke 2005; Biswas 2006).

4.7.   Civil society and democratic governance in India: Empirical research

Given the relatively recent resurgence of academic interest in civil society and its relationship to democracy, and the concept of governance in development practice in the Indian context, empirical research in this field is yet to gain momentum. This section draws some examples from the available literature to identify broad trends and gaps in empirical research on civil society and governance. This review is neither comprehensive nor exhaustive.

Civil society and governance in India: A study by PRIA

The Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA) conducted a study of civil society and governance in India in the year 2000 as part of a global comparative research study. It is not only pioneering but perhaps one of the largest such endeavors in the recent times. The study explicitly states its bias towards disadvantaged sections of the Indian population in assessing the interaction between civil society and the three tiers of governance concerning three dimensions of good governance: public policy - inclusion, implementation and reform; accountability; and local self governance. Fourteen civil society organizations and initiatives were selected as case studies that covered issues like housing rights, tribal peoples' access to land, universal primary education, fisher-

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folk struggle, peoples' right over natural resources, air pollution, alternative budget analysis, decentralized urban governance etc. (Tandon & Mohanty 2002).

The study reveals that civil society organizations have influenced the various dimensions of the public policy process to benefit the marginalized sections of society. In the process of influencing the governance processes, different strategies were used: mobilization of local people, rights-based advocacy, alternative people-oriented budgets, creative use of mass-media, mass demonstrations, sensitization of government officials, provision of alternative services, corporate support and public interest litigations. The study further points out the importance of civil society coalitions and intermediary organizations in collective action and the need to sustain collective action beyond the immediate goal. One important finding relates to the presence of sympathizing responsive allies within the state structures who seem to have played a catalytic role in the policy change and implementation. On the flip side, are also instances of state repression to undermine the efforts of civil society associations (ibid.).

Though PRIA study is a pioneering effort in understanding the complex and diverse nature of interrelationship between civil society and governance in India, it is not without certain empirical weaknesses such as lack of a coherent empirical framework; failure to clearly demonstrate the relationship between the organizational attributes of the associations and the kinds of effects on governance; and given the diverse features of the selected cases, it is difficult to derive a coherent or comprehensive picture either of rural or urban local governance as the two significantly differ in terms of institutional arrangements, planning processes, spatial and economic contexts.

Social capital driven empirical research: Mixed results

Given the excessive emphasis on social capital and democratic governance, it has perhaps inspired maximum empirical focus than other themes and issues concerning civil society. In India, the social capital research shows mixed results. Hans Blomkvist's (2003) study, "social capital and degrees of democracy in India" compared associational life in terms of generalized trust, networks and political participation across five states of Kerala, Gujarat, West Bengal, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh in relation to democratic responsiveness measured by government performance. The study concludes that high degree of social capital in Kerala and Gujarat positively correlates with better performance of governments than in other states. The study also concludes that generalized trust between people, a central idea in social capital theory has no impact on government performance.

The supposed relationship between a high degree of social capital and better governmental performance (understood as democratic responsiveness) sounds rhetorical in the light of the events that unfolded in Gujarat just in a span of three years from the year of the said empirical research. The year 2002 witnessed one of the worst and most horrifying episodes of communal violence in Gujarat between two religious communities involving large scale arson, looting, rape and murders. An estimated 2000 people lost their lives in the carnage (Human Rights Watch 2003). This suggests that high degree of social capital is no guarantee for democratic responsiveness if democratic responsiveness has anything to do with protection of human rights and liberty regardless of religion and other ethnic identities.

A study of ethnic conflicts and civil society in the cities of Aligarh (Uttarpradesh), Calicut (Kerala) and Surat (Gujarat) by Ashutosh Varshney (2003) is far more revealing of the nature of associational ties and its relationship to civility and democracy. One of the major findings of the study is that inter-ethnic ties in terms of formal associational interactions as found in Calicut rather than informal intra-ethnic and day-to-day interactions evident in Aligarh are significant factors in promoting ethnic peace.

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In a compendium of studies of social capital and civil society in different parts of India edited by Bhattacharya et al (2004), the authors conclude that, "civil society in India is not a space occupied by free and equal citizens, it has within it unequal relations based on hierarchy, power and domination. Consequently, the relationship between social capital and democracy can be negative as well as positive. Thus these wider dynamics need to be investigated with care" (in Tornquist 2006:3406).

Civil society strategies for better public governance

In a compilation of 'good practices' developed and adopted by civil society organizations, Sadashiva and Balakrishnan (2004) provide a description of selected good practices and approaches of civil society organizations from across India in a Frequently Answered Question (FAQ) format. The basic objective of the compendium is to inspire and stimulate other civil society organizations to adopt and replicate such strategies in their own contexts. The selection was based on the innovativeness of a given strategy and the positive impacts it seems to have had on the various dimensions of governance. Six good practices are reported:
- Public interest litigations to seek policy changes and to correct injustice arising out of wrong policies.
- Citizen charters to demand for better quality public services
- Citizen election watch to enhance transparency and accountability in the electoral process and to counter the muscle-money power
- Jan sunwais (or Public hearings) on topical issues as mechanisms to hold public officials accountable and enhance citizen access to information
- Budget analysis and formulation of alternative budgets as a strategy to critique and influence state policy and the financial management practices of municipal governments
- Report card studies of public services based on citizen feedback to articulate collective voice of service users to demand better quality of services

The compendium serves as a useful guide on potentially effective set of strategies that civil society associations could adopt in their efforts and in particular contexts to influence public governance. However, the compendium does not provide any insights into the associational nature of civil society and its relationship to the political processes of decision making in local governance.

Associational civil society and urban governance in India

Going by the PRIA estimates one can assume that urban areas in India host atleast half a million voluntary associations of various types, registered and informal, small and big etc. PRIA survey also found that most of these voluntary associations were religious organizations (Srivastava & Tandon 2005). Grass roots organizations of various types and federations of the urban poor are also known to exist in bigger towns and cities. Empirical research on the impacts and effects of associational civil society on urban governance is mainly focused on metropolitan cities like Mumbai, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Calcutta, Chennai, etc. and the city-state of Delhi. In Mumbai, the Alliance formed by three civic organizations viz. SPARC - an NGO, the National Slum Dwellers Federation and Mahila Milan - a cooperative of women's savings groups in Mumbai has received considerable empirical limelight in the recent years. The various studies of the Alliance have highlighted it's key strategies such as precedent setting in housing and provision of other basic services to demonstrate the technical and economic efficiency; using and sharing the locally generated experiential knowledge and capacities between the various communities; maintaining horizontal democratic structures and processes in their transactions; tapping into international alliances and networks; and maintaining political neutrality in terms of non party politics and yet critically engage in the political process of negotiation and bargaining to seek policy changes (Appadurai 2001; D'Cruz and Sathierwhaite 2004;

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Burra 2005). Appadurai (2001: 23) refers to the alliance as, "instruments of 'deep democracy', rooted in local context and able to mediate globalizing forces in ways that benefit the poor".

A massive survey carried out in Delhi to study the magnitude of the problems people face in daily life, patterns of solving those problems and the agencies the people turn to for problem solving, reveals amongst other things, that people in general, across various socio-economic groups and residential areas still repose faith in the government and expect the state and its agencies to solve their problems, rather than resort to civil society organizations such as NGOs and CBOs. Grounded in a context marked by the increasing role of the voluntary sector in service delivery and infrastructure provision in Delhi, the said study throws up a significant revelation that even when the state is shirking away from its constitutionally mandated responsibilities by passing them over to civil society organizations, ordinary people are still looking up to the state as their main provider and solver of problems (Chandoke 2005; Harriss 2005).

Community based organizations, residents' welfare associations and NGOs are playing an increasingly active role in managing solid wastes in cities and towns of India. This trend gained momentum particularly following the outbreak of Plague in Surat, a coastal city in Gujarat. The waste collection initiative of EXNORA based in Chennai has been hailed as one of the most sustainable models of community-driven solid waste management in the country (Koeberlein 2005).

Associational life in urban governance of Karnataka
Most of the scarce scientific literature on associational life and urban governance in Karnataka is focused on Bangalore, perhaps owing to its metropolitan stature and its primacy in the urban scene of Karnataka. Dr. A. Ravindra (2004) reports the growing civic and media activism in the city of Bangalore over the last decade and the positive impact it seems to have had on the quality of public services. The civic activism has manifested itself in the form of numerous neighborhood voluntary associations and the city level intermediary associations organized around the different strata of society to demand better quality of services; speedy redress of grievances; check abuses of political and administrative power; question and resist detrimental policies; facilitate participatory governance; organize alternative services such as education, health care, housing and garbage management; and promote civic sense among the citizenry. Both collaboration and confrontation seem to characterize the relationship between civil society and urban governance institutions. A wide range of strategies have been used such as city level report cards, information campaigns, civic awareness, citizen monitoring, public interest litigation, mobilization of public opinion, municipal budget analysis, public hearings, innovative public communication tools, demonstrations and rallies etc.

Similar initiatives have been observed in other major cities of Karnataka such as Mangalore, Mysore, Hubli-Dharwad, Gulbarga and so on, where consumer movements have been active for a long time in challenging abuses of power and seeking to participate in the urban governance processes. In the year 2001, a city level NGO task force was formed in Mangalore to act as a deliberative vigilance group to critically engage in the planning and implementation of the Asian Development Bank funded urban infrastructure projects in the coastal cities of Karnataka (Budhya 2003).

Trends and gaps in empirical research on associational impacts on governance

Owing to the sheer diversity and magnitude of associational activities in the governance arena and the divergent theorizations of civil society, it is a complex challenge to map the same or expect a cogent theoretical foundation underlying the empirical research. Yet, as the foregone cursory review of literature points out, the empirical research has been driven both by social capital theory and the radical-transformative paradigm, though the former is more dominant than the latter. Research on associational impact on efficiency in service delivery is another growing trend.

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Lack of a comparative perspective in evaluating the differential impact of various types of associations on democratic governance appears to be a major gap. Owing to the emphasis on empowerment in current development practice, there is a growing body of empirical literature on women's empowerment particularly with reference to the self help groups for micro credit and savings being promoted by both the State and the NGOs. But as the brief review of empowerment related empirical literature provided in chapter nine shows, the lack of a comparative perspective in terms of the different dimensions of empowerment vs. constituencies vs. associational types comes across as a void again. The second serious gap pertains to a lack of coherent conceptual framework for an empirical analysis of: the different effects associations of different kinds have on their members and on policies and institutions of governance and the strategies they adopt and the constraints they face in the process of inducing those effects.

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5.   Institutional Setting for Urban Governance in Karnataka

Chapter five provides an overview of the multilevel institutional setting for urban governance in the state of Karnataka with reference to the federal system as a backdrop to chapter six and the subsequent chapters which deal with empirical analysis of urban governance in Mysore, the second largest city in Karnataka.

5.1.   Urbanization in India and Karnataka

Though India's population still remains substantially rural, she is emerging as one of the fastest urbanizing countries in the world. India already has a staggeringly large urban population, around 285 million, an increase of over 350 % in the last four decades. It is expected to increase to over 400 million by the year 2011 and 533 million by the year 2021. The graph of metropolitan and mega cities with a population of one million or more has continued to climb from 23 in 1991 to 35 in 2001. In the same vein, the growth of small and medium towns has also seen a sharp increase. According to the 1991 Census Report, there were around 5,000 small and medium sized urban centres. India's rapid urbanization has overwhelmingly been on account of an unprecedented urbanization of poverty. There has been significant migration of rural population to select urban centres in search of employment and livelihood. It is estimated that about a third of the urban population lives in informal settlements under squalid conditions. The urban governance has become an arduous task due to deficits in housing, power, public transport, water supply and sewerage; traffic congestion coupled with poor quality roads; environmental pollution; and alarming proportions of poverty making urban governance a really arduous task (Tiwari 2000; Government of India 2001; Hust and Mann 2005).
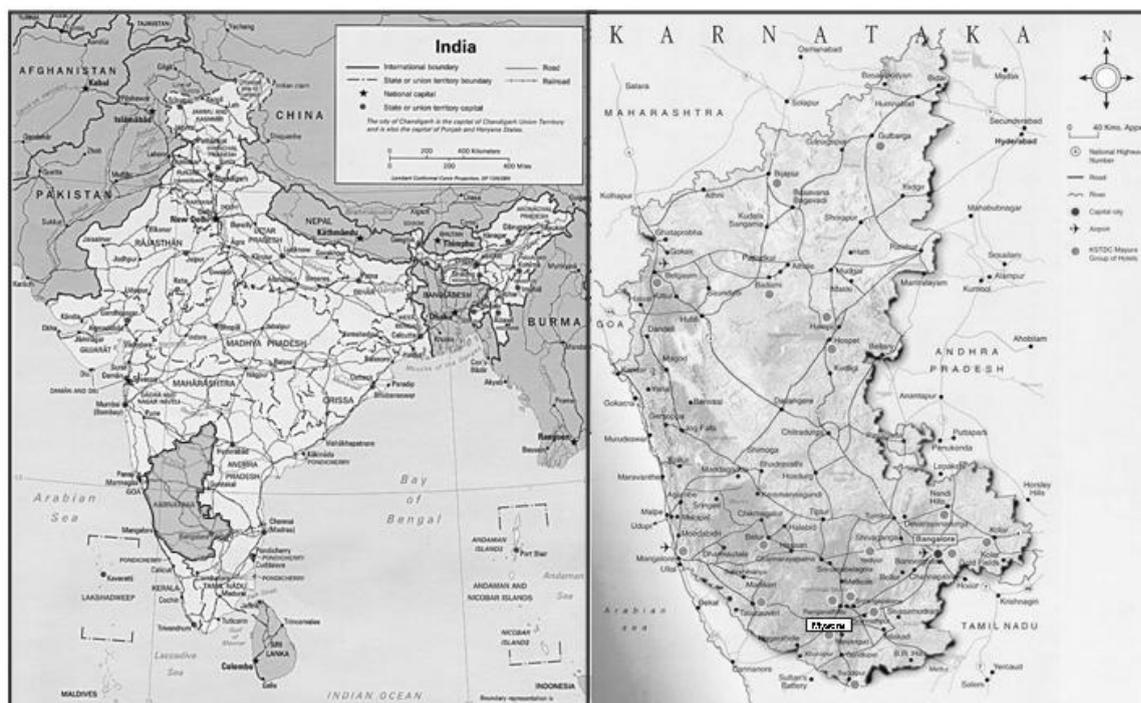
Figure 5.1: Location of Karnataka in India and Mysore in Karnataka
(Source:www.asianinfo.org; maps. Locateindia.com. last accessed on 10.12.07)

Karnataka, a south Indian state is the eighth largest, both in area and population and the fourth most urbanized state in India (see map in Figure 5.1). Out of a total population of 53 million, about 18 million (30%) are urban residents. Bangalore, the capital of Karnataka has a population of little over six million and enjoys absolute primacy in the state in terms of development interventions, followed

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by Mysore with one million, Hubli-Dharwad with 0.8 million and Mangalore 0.6 million inhabitants respectively (iDeCK 2005; Census of India 2001). About one third of Karnataka's urban population is below the poverty line. Karnataka is one of the better developed and a leading industrialized state of India. Several urban infrastructure development projects are in various stages of implementation in different parts of the state. Coexisting with these are also many central government schemes and externally funded NGO driven urban poverty interventions. Involvement of community based associations is a component common to both the state and the NGO interventions.

5.2.   Multilevel framework for urban governance and planning in India

Planning in India is a multilevel activity across the three tiers of government and primarily a function of the elite civil service at both the federal and state levels and was so designed to encourage separation between the political and administrative arms of the government.

Role of the central government
By providing the larger policy and legal framework, identifying thrust areas and sectors and allocating resources in the Five-Year Plans, the central government plays a crucial role in urban development. India is currently in the Tenth Five–Year Plan phase (2002-2007). In addition, the central government also designs, funds and implements schemes for urban development such as housing and basic services for the poor (Integrated Slum Development Programme and Valmiki Ambedkar Awaas Yojana), urban poverty alleviation (promotion of micro credit and savings groups), employment generation and provision of urban infrastructure. Besides, it also acts as the nodal sanctioning authority and often also as a guarantor for multi lateral funding of urban development projects. The centrally designed and funded schemes are implemented through the state and urban local governments. Though powers for urban land use planning and other forms of spatial development are largely in the domain of the state government, the spatial plans are required to be consistent with the prevailing Five-Year Plan.

Role of the state governments
The state governments play a far more critical role in urban development since they are vested with law making powers to regulate functional, administrative and financial autonomy of the local governments. The state government agencies either in the form of line departments and /or specialized agencies such as boards, development authorities, corporations etc. are entrusted with responsibilities for various tasks related to urban development. The chief executive officers of the urban local governments are appointees of the state government. Municipal budgets and urban land use plans for e.g. need mandatory approval of the state government. In addition to sharing revenue with the urban local governments either in the form of grants or budgetary allocations, the state governments also design and fund several schemes and projects that are implemented through the local governments.

Role of the urban local governments
The enactment of the Constitutional Seventy Fourth Amendment Act in 1992 (CAA74) by the National Parliament is considered as the watershed in urban policy reform of India. Besides bestowing constitutional protection to the urban local governments (ULGs), the CAA74 seeks to enhance the capacity and autonomy of urban local governments to provide efficient infrastructure and urban services and strengthen participatory democracy in urban areas. The CAA74 provides a basis for political, functional and fiscal empowerment of ULGs. Following the enactment of the CAA74, the state governments were given one year to make amendments to their existing municipal laws to bring them in conformity with the CAA74 (Tiwari 2002).

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Salient features of the Seventy Fourth Constitutional Amendment Act
Some of the salient features of CAA74 are (Sengupta 1995):
- The 12th Schedule to the Constitution which was added as part of the CAA74 stipulates a larger role for the urban local governments in functions such as urban planning, urban poverty alleviation, urban forestry, protection of environment and promotion of ecological aspects, slum improvement and up-gradation etc.
- Mandatory elections to be conducted by the State Election Commission for election of Councilors from a given number of electoral constituencies in ULGs known as wards.
- Reservation of one third of seats in the Council, each for women and persons from the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and other backward communities in ULGs.
- Constitution of Ward Committees as a fourth tier of government in urban areas with a population of 300000 and more, to ensure proximity of the citizens to elected representatives and to involve civil society organizations in municipal governance.
- Constitution of District Planning and Metropolitan planning committees as mechanisms to ensure integrated and coordinated planning of cities, towns and their rural hinterlands.
- Constitution of State Finance Commission to review the finances of rural and urban local bodies and recommend devolution of tax revenues and grants-in-aid.
- Provision for representation of members of the State Legislatures and the national Parliament as also members in urban local bodies.

Even after more than one decade since the enactment of CAA74, there are still wide interstate variations in the progress towards realizing the laudable goals and provisions of CAA74. Recognizing the tardy progress towards meaningful decentralization, the Tenth Five-Year Plan stresses the need for strengthening the ULGs as a means for sustainable urban development (Bagchi 2001; GOI 2003). One of the main reasons for the slow progress is the reluctance on the part of state governments to let loose their hold on the local governments for various political compulsions. Another reason is they enjoy wide discretionary powers that enable them make some cosmetic changes to the law or include some ambiguously worded provisions which in effect ensures status quo (Chamaraj and Rao 2006).

Other policy initiatives in the urban governance arena
Apart from decentralization of urban governance, the policy thrust is also on promoting public-private partnerships for improving efficiency and better service delivery; encouraging civic engagement through voluntary organizations; privatization of services such as solid waste management; innovative means of revenue raising; introduction of e-governance initiatives to streamline municipal administration; and improve management information systems and grievance redress mechanisms etc. (Government of India 2003; Hust and Mann 2005).

5.3.   Urban local governance in Karnataka

The urban local governance in Karnataka is not the sole prerogative of the legitimately elected urban local governments (municipal government) as there are a whole range of departments and para-statal agencies involved in urban planning, provision of infrastructure and services, monitoring pollution and environmental quality, urban poverty alleviation etc.

Legal instruments and institutions for urban governance in Karnataka

There are more than eighteen separate laws related to urban development in Karnataka which shows that urban governance is not an exclusive domain of urban local governments. Three of them are far

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more significant than other legal instruments[8] that govern urban planning and the functioning of urban local bodies are:

The Karnataka Town and Country Planning Act of 1961: Spatial planning instrument
The Karnataka Town and Country Planning Act (KTCPA) of 1963 lays down stipulations and procedures for the preparation of Outline Development Plan for the Local Planning Area and the Comprehensive Development Plan for the Conurbation Area which is a subset of the Local Planning Area. The plans are to be prepared by the statutorily constituted Planning Authorities. Preparation of the ODP precedes the CDP. Both are statutory spatial plans governing zoning and land use. The ODP has a long term perspective while the CDP generally has a five year perspective after which it has to be revised. In the year 2004, the Government of Karnataka enacted an amendment to the KTCPA to do away with the provisions pertaining to the ODP and CDP and introduced in their place the provision for a single Master Plan. In bigger cities such as Bangalore and Mysore, the Planning Authority is usually the respective Urban Development Authority which, in addition to the statutory spatial planning functions is also responsible for planning new residential layouts, provision of infrastructure such as roads, parks, market complexes etc. The Urban Development Authority acts as the local government (without elected representatives) in non-municipal areas within the larger conurbation area. The chief executive officer of the Urban Development Authority is an appointee of the state government.

Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act of 1976 for the six municipal corporations and the Karnataka Municipalities Act of 1964 for smaller municipal governments
Both these laws govern the structure and functioning of urban elected local governments and lays down detailed procedures for the same. The Municipal Corporations Act (KMC Act) governs the six municipal corporations whereas the Municipalities Act covers the other smaller municipal governments.

Anatomy of municipal governments

Karnataka is divided into four regions based on geographical configurations viz. Southern, Northern, Coastal and Malnad and has 27 districts that are dispersed across the four regions. According to the provisions of the municipal laws in Karnataka, the urban areas are classified into four types based on the size of population. As shown in Table 5.1, there are 222 urban areas distributed across the four types.

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[8] Source of information for laws of Karnataka referred to in this Section is:
http://dpal.kar.nic.in/ActsAlpha&deptwise.htm. , the Official web site of the Department of Parliamentary Affairs and Law, Government of Karnataka, last viewed on 16.12.07

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Table 5.1: Classification of urban local governments in Karnataka

Sl. no.	Category	Population range	Number of units
1.	Municipal Corporations	Above 300,000	6
2.	City Municipal Councils	Between 50,000 and 300,000	41
3.	Town Municipal Councils	Between 20,000 and 50,000	82
4.	Nagar Panchayats	Between 10,000 and 20,000	93
		Total	**222**

Source: Author's construct based on Annual report of the Ministry of Urban Development, Government of Karnataka 2004; and Centre for Policy Research 2001.

Since the present study focuses on the city of Mysore, one of the six Municipal Corporations in Karnataka, the structure and functions of Municipal Corporations are described in detail here as per the provisions of the Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act of 1976.

- Structure of Municipal Corporations: Municipal Corporations are divided into administrative units called wards which are also the electoral constituencies. The size of the ward varies from city to city. The voters in each ward elect a councilor for a term of five years. The councilors constitute the Council which in turn, elects a Mayor and a Deputy Mayor for a term of one year. Thus in a five year term, a Municipal Corporation has five Mayors and Deputy Mayors. Both the Mayor and the Deputy Mayor have very limited administrative powers.

  The KMC Act provides for eight Standing Committees in Bangalore Municipal Corporation and four in all other Corporations including Mysore. The Standing Committees act as sectoral plan making groups with in the Municipal Corporation and consists of seven councilors each with a chair person for a term of one year. Thus in a five year term, all Municipal corporations except Bangalore are witness to twenty Standing Committees. These Committees are constituted either through internal election or nomination by the Council. Each Standing Committee is responsible for preparing the annual plan with financial outlay for a given subject such as health and public sanitation; social justice; taxation, finance and appeals; and town planning and public works. The executive powers in a Municipal Corporation are vested with the Commissioner who is a state government appointee. The Council and the Commissioner are assisted by various municipal departments like health, education, engineering (public works), town planning, horticulture and revenue in preparing the annual plan and budget estimate and implementing the same. The operationalization of annual plan and the budget and other major policy decisions of the Corporations are subject to approval from the Urban Development Department of the state government.

- Functions of Municipal Corporations: The KMC Act specifies 31 obligatory functions and 23 discretionary functions. The obligatory functions include building and maintenance of streets, roads, bridges and storm water drains, public sanitation and safe disposal of solid waste, street lighting, pre-primary education, municipal water provision, regulation of trade and buildings. The

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discretionary functions include maintenance of reproductive health care facilities, urban poverty alleviation, tree planting, provision of parks and gardens etc.

- Sources of revenue for Municipal Corporations: The main sources of revenue are property tax, trade, building license and other miscellaneous fees, grants in aid from the state and central governments, compensatory grants for motor vehicle tax and entry tax etc. Municipal Corporations can also seek financial support from public financial institutions like Banks and multilateral aid agencies such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

Other boards, corporations, and departments in urban local governance

In addition to the Municipal Corporations and Urban Development Authorities, there are a wide range of other state agencies involved in urban local governance like the Urban Development Department, Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development and Finance Corporation, Water and Sewerage Board, Pollution Control Board, Housing Board, Transport Corporation, Slum Clearance Board, Office of the (District) Deputy Commissioner, City Traffic Police, the departments for Housing, Forests, Minor Irrigation, Tourism, Education, Health, and Women and Child welfare etc. The list does not end here since private contracting firms, central government departments, and multilateral funding agencies like the Asian Development Bank etc. also play an important role in urban governance from time to time.

5.4.   Problems with the existing institutional arrangements in Karnataka

The multilevel and multi-layered institutional arrangement poses several problems and challenges for effective urban local governance and at the same time reflect the severely restricted autonomy and functional space for legitimately elected urban local governments. Some of the problems and challenges are briefly discussed here. These are over and above the general problems of governance discussed elsewhere in this report.

Lack of integrated and coordinated urban planning

There are detailed guidelines for formulation and implementation of integrated urban development which stipulates a perspective plan for 20-25 years, a comprehensive development plan within the framework of perspective plan for a medium term of 5 years and an annual plan within the framework of development plan containing new and ongoing projects which the local authority intends to implement during the financial year. However, owing to fragmentation of functions and the resultant lack of co-ordination, local bodies often end up preparing annual plans in the form of budget estimates sans any long term perspective. Even these budget estimates need approval from the state government before they are operationalized. In addition, the constitution of Metropolitan Planning Committee and District Planning Committees has been a virtual nonstarter and so is the integrated and coordinated urban planning (Centre for Policy Research 2001).

Fragmentation of functional domain

The functional and financial autonomy of municipal bodies is severely restricted and their public accountability is blurred due to the presence of a multitude of institutions belonging to the state and the central government which also provide a backdoor entry to maintain control of urban local bodies by higher levels of government. While centrally planned poverty alleviation and urban development schemes continue to be imposed on city governments, the key urban functions such as water supply and sewerage, housing, spatial and land use planning, local economic development and public transportation are mostly divorced from them (Centre for Policy Research 2001).

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In this regard, the Planning Commission of India (2002:613) has rightly observed that, "urban governance today is characterized by fragmentation of responsibility, incomplete devolution of functions and funds to the urban local bodies (ULBs), unwillingness to progress towards municipal autonomy, adherence to outmoded methods of property taxation and reluctance to levy user charges. State governments continue to take decisions on such matters as rates of user charges, property tax, octroi, role of parastatals in water supply and sanitation services, etc., with little reference to the ULBs that are affected by these decisions".

Lack of direct citizen participation in urban planning and governance

Public participation in planning means the range of opportunities and mechanisms for the public to engage directly in the land use and environmental policy process, either as a form of politics or as a limited form of direct engagement in government. Only two such legally supported possibilities exist within the institutional framework of urban planning and governance in Karnataka.

The Karnataka Town and Country Planning Act (1961) for example, stipulates that the Planning Authority is required to publish the draft ODP and the CDP for public scrutiny for a period of one month and modify the contents of the plan in the light of comments and objections from the members of the public. Albeit a passive form of participation, this is the only existing mechanism for citizen participation in the plan preparation. As the experience has shown, this provision is only mechanically implemented without the required publicity nor the commitment. Since the law doesn't stipulate a mechanism to ensure that citizens' views are heard and considered, there is no transparency with regard to the action on public comments.

The second possibility for involvement of civic associations in municipal governance is related to the provision on Ward Committees. After much delay, Ward Committees were constituted but only in the city of Bangalore combining three to four municipal wards without clearly defined functions or financial powers. The delays, large jurisdiction of the Ward Committees, severely restricted functions and powers and the arbitrariness in the process of nomination of members defeats the participatory democratic ideals envisioned by CAA74 (Chamaraj and Rao 2006).

Hierarchical political party structure

Another key factor that limits the autonomy of the urban local body is the hierarchical and undemocratic internal structure of the political parties. If the same party is holding power both at the state and the local level, there is a greater potential for informal subordination of the local governments to the state government (Benjamin 2000).

Fragmentation and discriminatory political circuits of decision making

Drawing on a research study in Bangalore, Benjamin (2000) adds a new dimension to the presence of parastatals and the consequent fragmentation of the urban governance arena which he calls, 'discriminatory circuits' of decision making contributing to two distinct types of political economies. They are: local economies that involve the poor, other powerless people and local councilors and corporate economies that involve richer groups and lobbies centered around the state government institutions and state level ruling parties which enables those groups to gain greater access to land and receive a lion share of infrastructural investments through the state run parastatals. Benjamin relates this to an active effort to de-politicize urban management, alienating local society and distancing decision making from poorer groups, while opening a direct channel to corporate interests (ibid.).

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Fragmented urban governance arena: Implications for civil society and collective action

As evident from the foregone review, urban governance in Karnataka involves a complex web of institutions consisting of multilateral agencies like the Asian Development Bank, national ministries, state government departments and parastatals and the municipal bodies. It therefore, implies that civil society associations and collective action have to position themselves at multiple vantage points, seek multiple political opportunity structures distributed over an elaborate spatial and institutional hierarchy in order to influence governance, institutions, processes and outcomes.

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6. Conceptual Framework and Empirical Design

Chapter six develops a conceptual framework and a research design for an empirical analysis of the effects of civil society associations on urban governance in the city of Mysore in Karnataka.

6.1. Associational civil society and urban governance: Towards a conceptual framework for empirical investigation

The unwavering focus of the current scholarly discourse, development policy and practice, and the empirical research on associational forms of civil society provides the first entry point in the task of evolving a coherent conceptual framework for empirical investigation of the relationship between civil society and urban governance which is driven by three main concerns:
- Emergence of an alternative paradigm of civil society with its emphasis on citizenship rights, empowerment and collective action.
- Gaps in contemporary empirical research which highlight the need for assessing the nature and variability of impacts of collective action as a function of types of associations.
- Closed and fragmented institutional domain of urban governance and the presence of multiple interest groups and the challenges and barriers they together pose for associational collective action.

The conceptual framework is based on a synthesis of three main theoretical propositions:
- Marc Warren's (1999 and 2004) theory on types and effects of associations on governance.
- Susanne Hoeber Rudolph's (2000) articulation on associational types and their relevance for democracy.
- Kristian Stokke's (2002) proposition on the sources of political capacity of actors in local politics.

Marc Warren's theory on associational civil society and their effects on governance

Warren (1999 and 2004) defines civil society as, "the domain of social organization within which voluntary associative relations are dominant". The associative relations present in the domain of market constitute the 'economic society' and those in the state domain constitute 'political society'. He further postulates that these two mediating domains i.e. the political society and the economic society through their associational censors connect with civil society proper to affect both market and the states in pursuit of good governance. Public sphere in this sense becomes the venue of interaction between the associative relations from the three domains and a public space produced by these multiple flows of communication. Warren proposes that the associative venues of civil society contribute to three complementary dimensions of governance viz. empowering effects on individuals, public sphere effects and institutional effects (ibid.)

Empowering effects on individuals
Starting with De Tocqueville, many scholars have theorized that associations in civil society change the habits of mind, inculcate civic values and nurture democratic virtues among its members and other individuals. In Warren's terms, this realm of behavior is broadened and referred to as empowering or developmental effects:
- Efficacy: Through associative relations individuals (members) learn to be assertive and self confident and develop a habit of doing something about problems when they arise.
- Information: Associations provide key informational resources or act as conduits of information which empowers citizens to demand transparency and accountability of state and market institutions.

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- Political skills: Associations enhance political skills such as speaking and self-presentation, negotiation and bargaining, learning when and how to compromise and learning to recognize when one is being manipulated, pressured or threatened.
- Civic virtues: Concern for the common good and justice, interpersonal tolerance, willingness to participate, deliberate and listen, law abidingness and respect for the rights of others.
- Critical skills: Ability of individuals to reflect on their own interests and identities in relation to those of others.

Public sphere effects

The public sphere is a complex web of information flows and points of view where public opinion is formed and supported by the associational structure of civil society. The public sphere is integral to the democratic notion in that, a politically autonomous civil society can impose its needs, preferences and will upon the state. Some of the key public sphere effects are:
- Public communication and deliberation: Associations are particularly sensitive to emerging problems and difficulties and therefore can play key roles in communicating and deliberating matters of public concern within civil society and between civil society, states and markets.
- Representations of difference: Since the poor and the marginalized seldom have access to formal processes of dialogue, public representation of their needs and concerns is often a primary means through which they can have influence. The representation may take symbolic forms like demonstrations, protests, civil disobedience etc.

Though Warren's propositions draw from Habermas's concept of public sphere, there is no explicit mention about his concept of communicative rationality which has emerged as a dominant paradigm in the current planning theory. The increasing role accorded to civil society groups through approaches such as advocacy, collaborative and participatory planning implies that civil society has the potential to contribute to increased rationality of the planning processes.

Institutional effects

Warren doesn't specify his notion of 'institution' nor its characteristics. Beteille (2000: 185) defines an institution as, "a social arrangement with a distinct identity, a distinct internal structure and culture, and a life-span expanding well beyond the lives of its individuals". Implied in this definition is that institution is some kind of an entity.

Policy analysts define institutions as rules, norms and values that shape our behavior. They can be formal or informal, created as a result of deliberate political or policy decisions or may evolve over a period of time. Institutions are not the same as organizations like a government agency. Institutions are present at local, organizational, national and international levels (DFID 2001). In the context of public or urban governance, an example of organization would be the government agency such as the planning authority comprising of a group of officials and the institution would then mean the laws, rules, procedures, internal structure and culture that govern the behavior of the persons and the decisions of an organization.

Warren lists the following as effects of associational civil society on institutions of governance:
- Representation: Given that votes are very crude instruments of direction in a pluralist model, associational representation complements voting with information which makes the territorial organization to consider a broader range of interests for aggregation at higher levels.
- Subsidiarity: It means that units of collective action should be matched to the scale and nature of the problem. Because of their distance from social actors, states often have to resort to complex systems of inducements and monitoring to achieve results. In contrast, associations can often draw upon social resources such as the trust and good will of members which can stand in for regulation and monitoring.

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- Co-ordination and co-operation: Collective decisions and actions increasingly require negotiated co-ordination amongst a multitude of groups. The background of established forms of communication and collaboration associations provide enable parties to settle more rapidly and reliably on joint beneficial actions.

The effects on decision-making, policies and plans do not find an explicit mention in Warren's conceptualization, though they are governed by particular institutional rules, norms and culture. The norms that govern decisions and policies are implemented through institutions such as laws and regulations, and fiscal instruments like budgets, tax, subsidies etc. . Therefore, effects on policy and decision making could also be construed as institutional effects. Applying the good urban governance framework in this context reinforces the normative notions about the potentials and abilities of associations in facilitating political participation, collaboration, inclusion and transparency in the urban development process; bargaining a fair deal of resource allocation for the poor and the disadvantaged; improve the access of the poor to urban services; hold public authorities accountable for their decisions; and make them responsive to public needs and grievances.

Another question that arises in Warren's conceptualization is about the direction and nature of relationship between the various types of effects, though a complementary relationship is implied. Given the nature of public sphere effects and the institutional effects, it is assumed that associative actions in the public sphere are crucial to induce institutional effects on governance. For e.g. one would expect that deliberation and discourse on proposed plans and policies can influence the way plans are formulated and implemented. Similarly agitational but peaceful actions in the public sphere such as protests and demonstrations do impact public policies and decisions. At the same time, one can also assume that empowering effects on individuals and members enable their effective participation in the public sphere. If individuals are better informed and are confident to voice their concerns and views, their participation in the public deliberations would be more effective and meaningful.

Types of associations and their relevance for democratic governance: Propositions by Marc Warren and Sussane Rudolph

Warren (1999) proposes a relationship between the characteristics of associations and their effects on governance. Rudolph (2000) distinguishes between the different types of associations in terms of whether they are voluntary or ascribed, the degree of political orientation they exhibit and the internal structure and practices they adopt and conceives a relationship between such organizational attributes and their relevance for democratic governance.

Voluntary, ascribed and intentional associations
According to Rudolph, the notion of voluntary association implies a realm of freedom and choice, and is inherently positive for democracy. In contrast, an ascribed association based on birth and related to family, lineage, religion and ethnicity, could be a realm of restraint, imposed identities and therefore uncivil. For Warren the degree of voluntariness in an association is related to the ease of exit of its members and easy exit option makes it less necessary for associations to develop internal means of resolving political disputes. Therefore, voluntary associations tend to externalize conflicts and attain a relative purity of purpose and thus strengthen public voice in the public sphere. But they may not be able to provide opportunities for their members to experience political resolution of conflicts. Whereas, the involuntary associations find it difficult to externalize the conflicting purposes and hence called upon to serve a variety of purposes as a result, their voice in the public sphere is weakened. But when involuntary associations use democratic approaches for conflict resolution, the members may have more enriching political and developmental experiences. This particular aspect of Warren's involuntary association shares similarity with Rudolph's notion of 'intentional association' that combines an ascribed identity with social and political choice to challenge the ritual social hierarchy

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and gain access to policy processes. Rudolph cites the example of dalit movements and associations in India formed by traditionally marginalized communities belonging to lower caste which are involved in social and political struggle to secure their rights and citizenship (ibid.).

Vested or non-vested association
Vested associations such as for e.g., the industrial associations are functionally integrated into their systems and tend to be stakeholders to maximize their vested interests. Interest oriented associations might represent organized expression of the private sphere and would negate the requirement of deliberating on matters of general interest. Non-vested associations, in contrast are better able to purify their goals and pursue them strategically in the public sphere because they have few vested interests to compromise (Warren 1999 and 2004).

Hierarchical or egalitarian association
In associations founded on egalitarian principles members participate in formulating goals, carrying out purposes and share power and status and are thus empowered to participate in democratic governance. Whereas in hierarchical associations, members relate to patrons or leaders as dependents and clients and are habituated to comply with and act on the directives of those in authority. Therefore, hierarchical associations are not likely to create the sort of psychological and moral preconditions that create individuals who feel empowered to participate in democratic governance (Rudolph 2000).

Political or non-political association
Political associations are the pre-condition for deliberative communication in a democracy. The source of communicative power is often located in political associations such as new social movements and rights based advocacy groups that provide the connections between individual's needs and problems and public voice by working to bring issues before the public, to provide arguments for their positions-constituting issue-agendas and discussions that extend over time and space. They specialize in gathering and communicating information about the undemocratic activities of governments and businesses and must rely on communicative power of argument, rhetoric and demonstration to achieve their objectives (Warren 1999 and 2004; Rudolph 2000*)*

Associational mixes or associational ecology
Warren concurs that no single type of association can produce every desired effect on democratic governance and argues that a balanced mix of different associational types that operate in mutually complementary terms is a precondition for associational democracy and suggests that politically oriented and non-vested associations combined with low exit are likely to have a stronger effect on public sphere.

Is it enough if associations are egalitarian, political, non-vested and voluntary?
The assumption that associations that are egalitarian, voluntary, political and non-vested in nature induce empowering, public sphere and institutional effects, still leaves some empirically valid questions unanswered such as how do such associations are able to inducing effects on individuals, public sphere and the institutions? In other words, how do they acquire capacity to influence public sphere and decisions? What strategies they adopt? How do they overcome challenges posed by the state and other conflicting interest groups? And what constrains their actions? Similarly in relation to social movements, Olle Törnquist (in Stokke 2002) poses three questions as central to the analysis of collective action. They are: where in the political terrain actors choose to work; what issues and interests they promote and politicize; and how people are mobilized into political movements and the political sphere. Kristian Stokke's (2002) conceptualization on the capacity of actors in local politics provides some directions to unravel this puzzle.

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Sources of political capacity for collective action

Using Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of field, forces and capital and also drawing ideas and concepts from other scholars of social movement literature such as Sydney Tarrow, Bert Klandermanns etc., Stokke (2002) articulates a theoretical framework for concrete research on the political capacity of actors in local politics in developing countries.

Bourdieu's concepts: Political field and the struggle over symbolic capital

Prior to an understanding of the political field and symbolic capital, it is important to understand concepts such as habitus, force, field and capital.

In relation to individual actors the habitus is defined as "a system of lasting and transposable disposition which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciation and actions and makes it possible to achieve infinitely diversified tasks".

Capital presents itself in three fundamental forms:
- Economic capital: Material wealth in the form of property, money, shares etc.
- Social capital: Social resources in the form of networks and contacts based on mutual recognition.
- Cultural capital: Informational assets in the form of knowledge and skills acquired through socialization and education.

Field is a relational space and a structured system of social and power relations or forces based on positions occupied by actors. Both positions and power relations are defined by the three forms of capital. The habitus, capital and the field interact to generate social practice. One form of capital can be converted into another. For e.g. the educational qualifications (cultural capital) or social networks (social capital) can be converted into an attractive job (economic capital). The most powerful conversion to be made is to a fourth form of capital called symbolic capital expressed as legitimate authority in the form of prestige, honor, reputation and fame. Such a position carries with it the power to represent common sense and the power to create an official version of the social world. Political capital is a form of symbolic capital that dominates the political field which serves as a site of struggle to gain control over symbolic power. It is a field where the members of political institutions or professionals continuously compete and struggle with each other as legitimate 'spokespersons' to reframe alternate realities and normalize a representation of the world that suits their own interests (in Stokke 2002: 7-14).

Political opportunity structures, mobilization structures and symbolic capital

Stokke uses Bourdieu's ideas on social capital, political field and symbolic capital as starting points in identifying three prominent sources of political capacity for collective actors and while doing so, he also draws upon Tarrow's and Klandermanns's conceptualization of political opportunity structures. The three sources of political capital are diagrammatically depicted in Figure 6.1.

Constellation of forces within the political field and political opportunity structures
Tarrow observes that there are complex relationships between social movement organizations, state actors and other institutions which create complex and dynamic political opportunity structures that social movements utilize to achieve their goals. Political opportunity structures are determined by three key factors (in Stokke 2002):

- The relative openness or closure of the institutionalized political system: The legal and institutional structures within the political system such as the presence of constitutionally

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protected economic, social and political rights and institutions upholding these rights. This provides a formal framework for political participation.
- Elite alignments and allies that typically underlie a polity: These are formal and informal channels of access, control and contestation of policy formulation and implementation. These political channels may be decisive for actual access to and transformation of rights and institutions.
- The state's capacity and propensity for repression of collective action

Supplementary to these opportunity structures are the existence of complex alliance and conflict systems among movement organizations and in regard to other actors such as state institutions and international NGOs (Klandermans in Stokke 2002):
- Alliance system that consists of enabling actors in society and /or within the state and supports collective movement through organizational resources and through expanded political opportunity structures.
- Conflict system on the other hand, undermines organizational resources and reduces the political space for collective action.

Mobilization of social capital[9]
The second source of political capacity is a movement's ability to organize and mobilize society which includes:
- Social networks and institutions that may not be aimed at mobilization but nevertheless serve as an important arena for collective mobilization.
- Multiple organizational forms within a movement such as enabling networks and institutions within the social movements.

Struggle over symbolic capital
The third source of political capacity is a movement's ability to participate in the struggle over symbolic capital or the cultural framing of rights, responsibilities, policies and implementation of decisions. Collective actions are based on a continuous construction of alternative systems of meaning. Therefore means of mass communication are crucial resources for collective mobilization. Individual participation in collective action is not based on an objective reality but rather perceptions and interpretations of it and social movements themselves play an active role in constructing and communicating interpretations of society (Klandermans and Melluci in Stokke 2002).

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[9] It is Bourdieu's relational concept of social capital.

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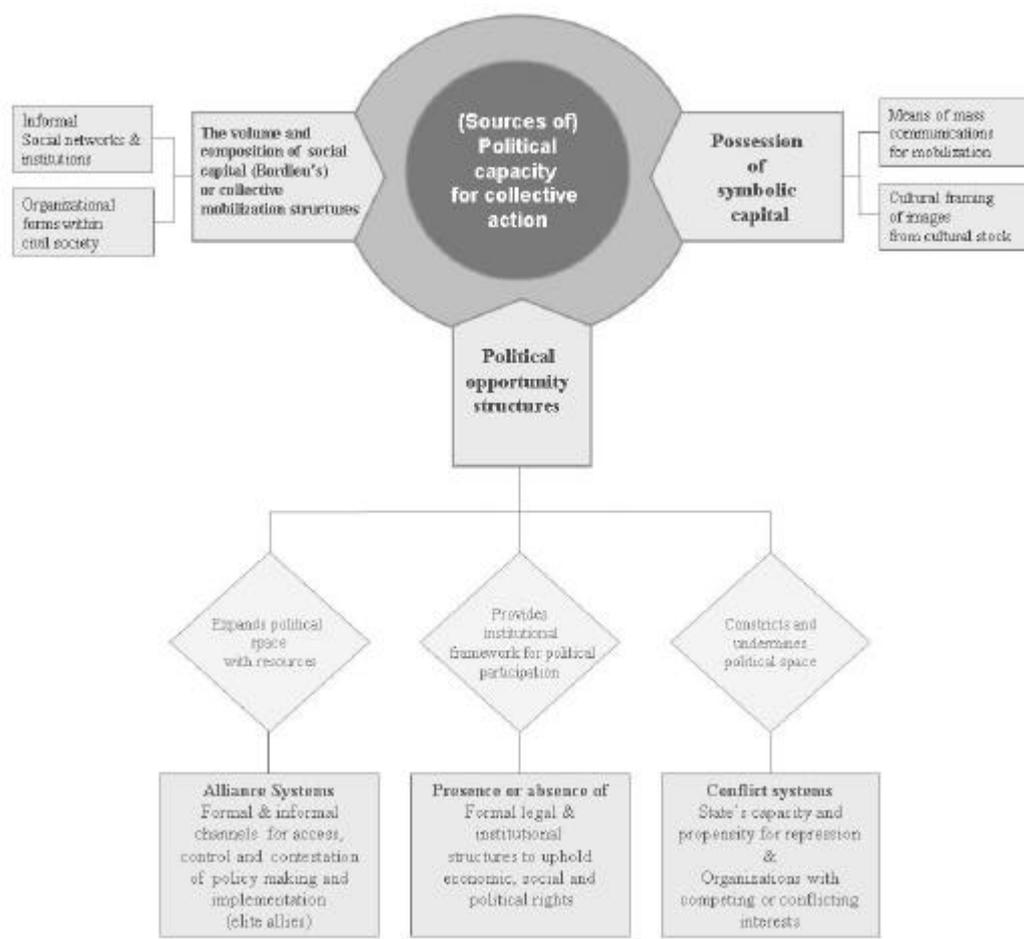
*Figure 6.1: A schematic representation of the sources of political capacity for collective action
(Source: Author's construct based on Stokke 2002)*

Public sphere -rationality vs. political field - symbolic capital: Conceptual congruence?

It appears there is a congruence between the concept of public sphere[10] where rationality is constructed and reconstructed and the concept of political field which serves as a site for the struggle to gain control over symbolic capital. Both rationality and symbolic capital imply a process of interactions occurring in a public space between various interest groups who differ in the relative political power they enjoy. Stokke's conception of sources of political capacity provide a framework that allows, at least in theory, the space, resources and strategies for marginlized /oppressed groups to participate in the public sphere and compete in the struggle to gain control over symbolic capital which, to some extent, means affecting the rationality behind public policies, plans and decisions.

Combining associational types with sources of political capacity for effects on urban governance: Completing the conceptual loop

By combining and synthesizing Warren's and Rudolph's concepts on associational types and effects with Stokke's concept of sources of political capacity, a more coherent conceptual framework can be articulated for an empirical assessment of the effects of associational civil society on urban governance. As represented schematically in Figure 6.2, the framework leads to the formulation of a broad hypothesis that the associational characteristics or typology combined with the three sources of

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[10] Not the bourgeois conception of public sphere but Nancy Fraser's (Chapter 4) alternative conception
 of public sphere where multiple publics and counter public participate.

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political capacity act as independent determinant variables for inducing: empowering effects on individuals such as civic awareness, enhancement of political and other critical skills etc.; public sphere effects such as public deliberation, increased rationality and representation of interests; and institutional effects on urban governance like influence on institutional arrangements, decision making structures and processes, changes in policies, plans and budgets etc., and on access to public services. It is further assumed that the process of empowerment, the actions and events in public sphere and institutional change share a complementary cause-effect relationship which may or may not be a linear one.
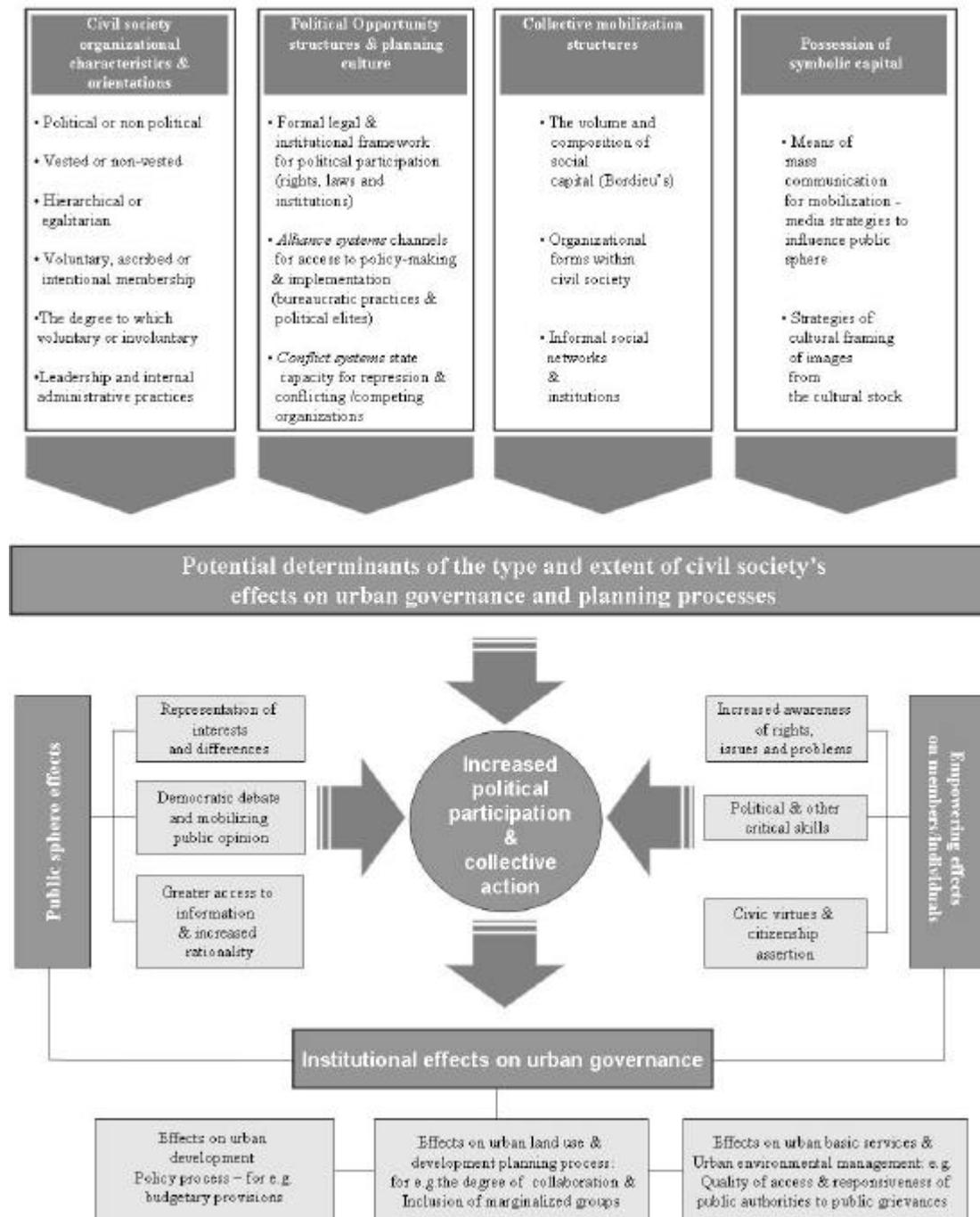
Figure 6.2: Conceptual framework for empirical assessment of civil society effects on urban governance (Source: Author's construct based on Warren 1999 and 2004; Rudolph 2000; Stokke 2002).

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6.2.   Empirical design and methodology

With in the current policy arena for urban governance and civil society and the broad conceptual framework for an empirical analysis of the effects of civil society associations on urban governance in Karnataka as articulated in the previous sections, the research design was aimed at formulating measurable hypotheses; selecting the locale for field research; articulating research questions; envisaging the research process; and identifying plausible methodological tools.

Formulation of hypotheses

Two main hypotheses were formulated based on the assumption that the associational attributes combined with sources of political capacity act as causal or independent variables for inducing 'effects' on urban governance which operate as dependent variables (see Figure 6.2).

Civil society-empowerment effect hypothesis
Civil society associations induce empowering effects on their members and the level of empowerment varies as a function of associational attributes

Civil society-institutional effect hypothesis
Civil society associations induce institutional effects on urban governance such as changes in policies, plans, decisions and institutional arrangements and the nature of institutional effects varies as a function of associational attributes and the sources of political capacity.

The effects on public sphere such as representation of interests, influencing rationality of decision processes either through dialogue or through confrontational strategies, and gaining control over symbolic capital were considered as intervening variables for institutional effects. It was further assumed that public sphere serves as a site where associational constituents through their participation in public actions actually experience the sense of being 'empowered'. Therefore, the effects on public sphere were not formulated as a separate hypothesis.

Selecting the locale for empirical research

The city of Mysore, situated in the South Eastern part of the state of Karnataka was selected as the locale for empirical research (see maps in Figures 5.1 and 7.1). With a little over one million inhabitants, Mysore is the second largest city and one of the six municipal corporations in Karnataka. Mysore is the second most industrialized city in the state and was the capital of the erstwhile Wodeyar dynasty that ruled parts of Karnataka for over three centuries. Mysore was one of the first few cities in Karnataka that were taken up for comprehensive development of urban infrastructure funded by the Asian Development Bank. Given its close proximity to Bangalore, the state capital and researcher's hometown, selection of Mysore was also driven by logistical concerns and the limited resources. Mysore was preferred over Bangalore mainly to enhance the objectivity of the empirical research which might have otherwise suffered due to possible biases on account of researcher's long stint as an active member of the civil society arena in Bangalore.

Articulation of research questions

A set of broad questions were framed to not only help identify the variable sets and the data needs but also the methodological tools for empirical research which were further refined and specified during the subsequent phases of research process.

-    What are the salient features of urban development in Mysore?

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- What are the institutional arrangements for urban planning, urban management and delivery of public services in Mysore?
- What is the nature of (urban) planning culture in Mysore?
- How conducive is the local political environment for the participation of citizens and civil society associations in urban governance? For e.g. how do the local elected representatives perceive citizen participation and associational activities in Mysore?
- Which are the different types of civil society associations operating in the urban governance arena in Mysore in terms of their organizational attributes, geographical area, constituencies, issues and problems they focus upon, resources and strategies?
- What are the different dimensions of empowerment in the context of civil society vis-à-vis urban governance in Mysore?
- How empowered are the members of various types of associations? And in what ways members differ from non-members with regard to level of empowerment?
- Are there instances of associational impacts or effects on the institutional arrangements, decisions, policies, laws, budgets, processes concerning urban planning and management in Mysore? If so: what was the nature of collective action?; what strategies did the associations use in inducing those impacts?; how did they derive political capacity for collective action?; what kind of challenges did they face from the state agencies? What was the nature of the political opportunity structures in terms of alliance and conflict systems? How did they affect the collective action by associational civil society? What was the nature of mobilization structures? Was there a struggle to gain control over symbolic capital in the public sphere? If so what was the nature and outcome of the struggle? what kind of actions and events were witnessed in the public sphere in relation to these specific instances?
- How effective is the conceptual framework in explaining the empirical phenomena?

An overview of research methods

A non-experimental research design that combined a wide range of research techniques, both qualitative and quantitative, were used to collect both primary and secondary data to address the various research questions and the testing of hypotheses. For instance, the primary qualitative data collected through key informant interviews as part of the case study method was supplemented with quantitative secondary data in the form of statistical reports etc. In the same way, the quantitative data collected through survey was combined with qualitative data from the focus group discussions case study is a qualitative method, The application of methods was guided by elucidation of variables at successive stages of field research and a continuous refining of methodological instruments. Wherever necessary, appropriate statistical tools were used in the analysis of the data. Spuriousness and bias in the qualitative data was minimized through cross verification across different actors. For e.g. claims made by civil society associations about impacts were cross verified either through documented secondary data and/or with the concerned government agencies and officials.

Qualitative methods
- Primary data: Structured, semi-structured, and narrative (unstructured) key informant interviews; focus group discussions; and participant observation.
- Secondary data: Content analysis of the existing data bases; official reports in the form of plans documents; newspaper reports; letters and correspondence; and campaign materials.

Quantitative methods
- Primary data: Sample survey based on investigator-administered questionnaire was used.
- Secondary data: Census reports; budget documents; and statistical data; reports from previous studies.

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Multiphase research process

The research process was conceived in multiple interrelated phases and was guided continuously by literature review as depicted in Figure 6.3.

Exploratory phase
- To understand the general social, political and cultural environment of Mysore in its historical context
- To explore and understand the institutional arrangements for urban planning and governance in Mysore
- To ascertain the relative openness of the local political environment with regard to participation of citizens and associations
- To map the associational civil society arena in Mysore
- To prepare for the empirical phase

Empowerment phase
Testing of civil society-empowerment effect hypothesis through sample survey, analysis of associational attributes and analysis of secondary data.

Institutional Phase
Testing of civil society-institutional effect hypothesis through case studies of selected associations and their initiatives.
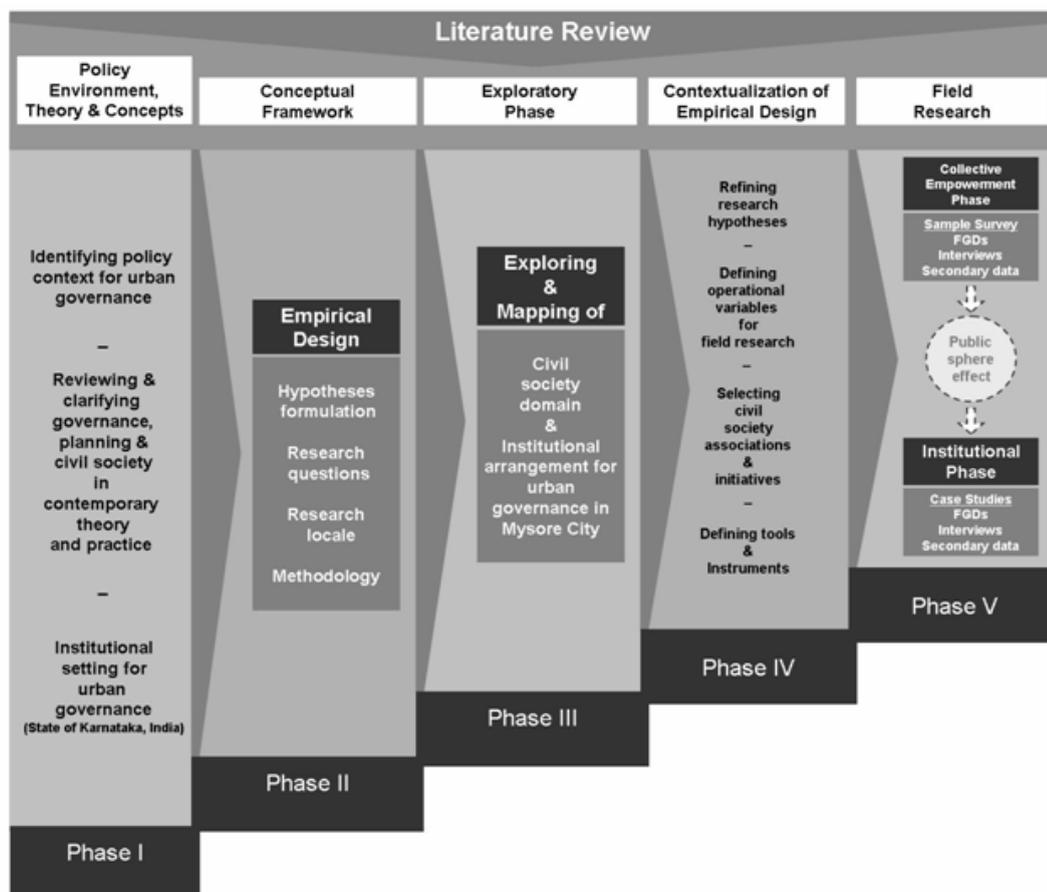
Figure 6.3: An overview of the multiphase research process
(Source: Author's construct)

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7. Urban Governance and Local Political Openness to Civil Society in Mysore: An Overview

Chapter seven gives an overview of Mysore city and the institutional arrangements for urban governance. Based on structured interviews with the municipal councilors of Mysore, this chapter also discusses how open or closed is the local political environment for participation of citizens and civil society associations in the urban governance of Mysore.

7.1. Urbanization in Mysore: Demographic, social and economic attributes

Mysore is located 770 meters above the Mean Sea Level to the south west of Bangalore, the state capital at a distance of 140 km. In geo-administrative terms, Mysore city is an urban agglomeration consisting of two parts, the municipal jurisdiction consisting of an area of 128 sq. km. which is under the Mysore City (Municipal) Corporation and the conurbation area that forms the periphery of the municipal boundary covering an area of 30 sq. km under the jurisdiction of the Mysore Urban Development Authority.
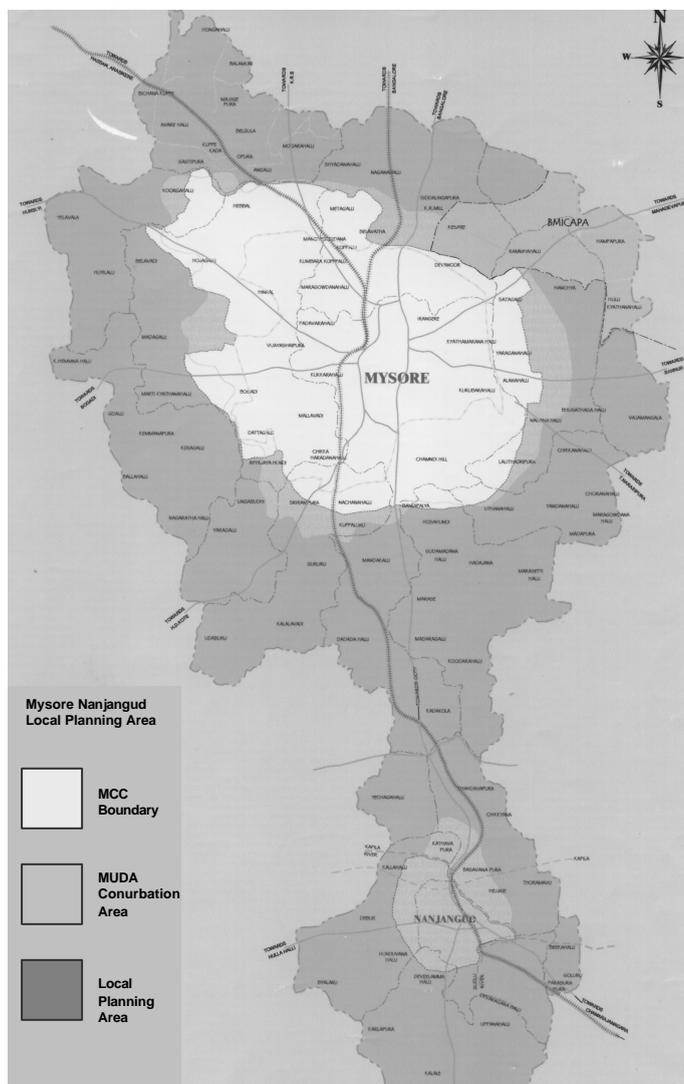
Figure 7.1: Map of Mysore
(Source: Mysore Urban Development Authority 1997)

Mysore city is the headquarters of Mysore district which is one of the 28 districts in Karnataka. Mysore district is divided into seven administrative units or sub-districts called taluks including the Mysore taluk. The taluks are further administratively divided into villages or clusters of villages. The Mysore Urban Agglomeration is part of Mysore taluk.

According to the Census of India 2001, the Mysore municipal area had a population of 0.79 million (DCO 2005). The current population in the municipal area is estimated to be around 0.9 million. Including the conurbation area which is almost urbanized, the total population in the Mysore Urban Agglomeration is estimated to be little over 1 million. Census data is available only for the municipal area where as for the conurbation area, the census data is distributed across other administrative units like villages or taluks (sub-district).
Mysore recorded its highest decadal growth in population (63%) between 1941 to 1951 followed by 40% between 1961 to 71, 35% between 1971 -91 and 20% between 1991-01. Based on the last decadal growth rate, Mysore municipal area is expected to reach a population of 1.7 million by the year 2030. The high growth rate during the 60s till the 90s is attributed to the growth in

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industrialization attributable to engineering and automobile, spiritual tourism, cultural tourism etc. The last decadal growth is attributed to growth in information technology industry. The current population density is estimated to be 6129 per sq. km. Mysore. The rate of literacy in the municipal area is 82.8% which is higher than the state average of 62. %. Female population per 1000 males is 967. The Persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes constitute about 16% of the total population of Mysore (iDeCK 2005).

As per the 1998 Government of Karnataka statistics, Mysore's share in the state's Gross Domestic Product was 7.1%. Currently, textiles, automobile, information technology and manufacturing sector based on silk and sandalwood constitute the industrial sector. Its fame as a heritage city has made Mysore one of the most sought after tourist destinations in the country. The main tourist attractions are the Mysore Palace, Art Gallery, the Mysore Zoo, Brindavan Gardens and the Chamundi Hills which is also a major pilgrim centre. Mysore is host to about 2.5 million tourists annually. Tourism is a major contributor to the city's economy (iDeCK 2005).

7.2   Mysore: The heritage city

Mysore has a long history and a rich heritage dating as far back as 10th Century A.D. It grew and prospered as a kingdom during the reign of Wodeyar dynasty whose kings ruled Mysore from the mid-fifteenth century for more than five and a half centuries, except for a brief period of disruption during the 18th century. Mysore's growth as a modern urban center began from the early nineteenth century till the mid twentieth century, a period which saw developments on several fronts. Railways, roads, dams, schools and colleges were established. Many tanks (artificial lakes) were constructed during this period. Mysore palace and the old city were constructed in 1800-01. Mysore lost its status as the administrative centre of the Kingdom in 1831 when the British moved the capital to Bangalore. It regained its status as the capital in 1881. The city Municipality was formed in the year 1888 with eight administrative wards for improvement and maintenance of the city. The City Improvement Trust Board was established in 1902 for town planning, the second such institution in India after Bombay. The first ever hydroelectric project in Asia was commissioned in 1906 to supply drinking water to Bangalore and Mysore The capital was moved to Bangalore after India achieved independence in 1947. Given its royal legacy and several palaces, Mysore is popularly known as the 'City of Palaces'. It also enjoys the official status as a heritage city owing to several heritage structures built in Indo-Sarcenic, traditional Hindu style and the European Classical style. Some of the less known structures have disappeared to make way for new buildings while others are part of a heritage conservation plan currently being implemented under the National Urban Renewal Mission (Narasimhaiah & Srinath 2004; iDeCK 2005).

7.3   Institutional arrangements for urban governance in Mysore

Institutional arrangements in Mysore are embedded in the general framework of urban governance in Karnataka described in chapter five and appears as a complex web of agencies often working at cross purposes without coordination and integration. The case studies in the subsequent chapters provide a deeper analysis of the institutional arrangements with respect to specific urban services.

Mysore City Corporation: The urban local government

The elected local government in Mysore is called the Mysore City Corporation (MCC). The municipal area is divided into 65 wards which serve both electoral and administrative purposes. The population of a ward ranges anywhere from 4625 as for e.g. in ward no.3. to 35240 ward no.34 (DCO 2005). Every ward elects a councilor for a term of five years and the councilors together constitute the Council which meets once in a month to transact its business. There are four Standing Committees in

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MCC comprising of seven councilors each. They are: Taxation, Finance and Appeals; Health and Sanitation; Town Planning and Engineering; and Social Justice. The Standing Committees prepare annual plans for their respective subjects which are basically nothing more than annual budget estimates. The practice of long term planning and policy making is absent in municipal bodies in general. The Mayor and the Deputy Mayor are elected for a term of one year with limited powers. In MCC, like in any other Municipal Corporation, the executive powers are vested with the Commissioner, who is an appointee of the state government. The main departments in MCC are: Health Department for solid waste management, regulation of trade, prevention of communicable diseases etc; Engineering department for roads, footpaths, storm water drains, street lights; Horticulture Department for parks, gardens and greening; Town Planning Department for enforcement of land-use plans and building regulations; and Revenue Department for collection of property tax, conduct of elections etc. A separate wing of MCC called Vani Vilas Water and Sewerage Works is responsible for water supply and sewerage (MCC 2004; iDeck 2005).

Mysore Urban Development Authority: Urban planning

Urban planning in terms of preparation of land use plans with zoning regulations is the sole responsibility of the Mysore Urban Development Authority (MUDA), a parastatal body reporting to the Ministry of Urban Development, Government of Karnataka. MUDA is also entrusted with the task of planning residential layouts and providing necessary infrastructure to manage the future growth and expansion of Mysore. The residential layouts and other infrastructure developed by MUDA in the peri-urban areas are handed over to the municipal corporation for upkeep and maintenance (iDeck 2005). A more in-depth analysis of urban planning in Mysore is provided in Chapter eleven.

Karnataka Slum Clearance Board: Slum rehabilitation

Around 0.15 million people (19% of the total population) are estimated to be Below the Poverty Line (BPL) in Mysore of which about .09 million people are slum dwellers. There are 75 slums in Mysore of which 59 are recognized and under various stages of development. The task of slum improvement and rehabilitation is vested with the Mysore Subdivision of the Karnataka Slum Clearance Board (KSCB), a parastatal agency of the state government. Through its various schemes and projects, the central government, like in other states, is the largest contributor of funds for slum improvement programmes implemented by KSCB. The other institutions involved in slum improvement are MCC, Karnataka Housing Board, Rajiv Gandhi Housing Development Corporation, MUDA etc.

Other agencies, providers and regulators

The institutional arena for urban governance in Mysore is fragmented on account of several other state government agencies involved in the provision of services and infrastructure and regulatory activities such as:
- Electricity supply: Chaumdeshwari Electricity Company;
- Public transport: Karnataka State Road Transport Corporation;
- Education: Office of the Deputy Director of Public Instruction;
- Environmental quality, water and air pollution: Regional Office of the Karnataka State Pollution Control Board;
- Traffic control and road safety: Mysore Police;
- Public distribution system: Joint director of Food and Civil Supplies;
- Tourism: Department of Tourism;
- Health: MCC and District health Office; and
- Lake conservation: Forest department, MUDA, MCC, Pollution Control Board, Minor Irrigation, Major Irrigation, DCs Office are to name a few.

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Like its counterparts elsewhere, the Office of the Deputy Commissioner of Mysore district functions as the district branch of the state government secretariat and plays a coordinating and supervisory role with respect to the functioning of other departments and agencies in Mysore district. By virtue of usually being the highest ranking officer of the civil service, the Deputy Commissioner commands respect as well as plays a major role in coordinating the various departments and agencies

The role of political bigwigs

In addition to the municipal councilors, the others who wield a considerable influence in the matters of urban governance in Mysore are the three Members of the State Legislative Assembly elected from Mysore who are usually referred to as MLAs; one nominated Member of the State Legislative Council called MLC; one Member elected to the national Parliament (MP); and the Mysore district-in-charge Minister of the Government of Karnataka.

7.4.   How open is the local political environment for civil society associations?

The question about the openness of the local political environment for the participation of civil society associations and citizens becomes relevant for three reasons:
- The current policy impetus on civic engagement in urban governance and harnessing of associational venues for service delivery.
- A fragmented arena of urban governance and limited autonomy of the urban local government constituted mainly by councilors, duly elected representatives of people at the ward level
- Local political impediments to voluntary collective action.

The assessment of the openness of local political environment vis-à-vis participation of civil society associations in urban governance was carried out through interviews of a sample of municipal councilors in Mysore using a structured interview schedule to elicit their views, perceptions and experiences. The councilors were chosen as respondents since they are legitimate representatives of the institutional arrangements for local urban governance even though at times, they are sidelined in the complex web of institutions.

Methodology

The methodology consisted of two steps viz. design of the interview schedule and sampling of councilors for the interviews.

Structured interview schedule
A structured interview schedule consisting mostly of close-ended questions was designed in local language to collect data. Additional information provided by the councilors was recorded in the respective schedules to be used as a supplement for the final interpretation of the findings. Apart from the six items on personal information such as age, gender, political party affiliation etc. the interview schedule consisted of 13 coded items meant to elicit councilors' awareness, views and experiences with regard to civil society associations and citizen participation in the process of urban governance in Mysore. An English version of the interview schedule is provided as Appendix 14.1.

Sampling of councilors
Structured interviews were conducted with a sample of 30 councilors who constituted 46% of the total number of councilors (N=65). Since the municipal wards are distributed across the three state legislative constituencies, stratified random sampling was used to derive a representative sample of the councilors for interviews. In the first step, the councilors were classified into three strata based on the

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distribution of municipal wards across three electoral constituencies of the State Legislative Assembly namely Narasimharaja (NR) constituency covering North and North west of Mysore which has 40% of the wards; Krishnaraja (KR) constituency covering East and North east of Mysore with 30% of the wards; and Chamaraja (CR) constituency covering South of Mysore with 30% of the wards. In the second step, councilors in the three strata were further classified based on affiliations to three major political parties. viz. the Indian National Congress (or Congress), Janata Dal Secular (JD-S) and Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). In the third step, the councilors under each party were classified according to their gender. The final selection of councilors was then based on proportionate random sampling both according to their party affiliations and gender. Amongst the 65 elected councilors, 35% represented the Congress party, 28% were affiliated to the JD-S, 25% to BJP and 12% were either Independents or belonged to other parties. Of the 65 Councilors, 37% were women and 63% men. The interviews were conducted in the month of May 2006, the penultimate month of councilors' five year term in office (July 2001 to June 2006).

Profile of the interviewed councilors

As shown in Table 7.1, the interviewed councilors were more or less equally distributed across the three State Legislative constituencies with 30% in KR, 33% in CR and 37% in NR which is the largest amongst the three in terms of area and number of municipal wards. In terms of gender, 30% of the councilors (N= 30) were women and 70% men. A large percentage of councilors (73%) were distributed in the age groups of 31-40 and 41-50 years, while 23% of them were in the age group of 51-60 years. About 47% belonged to the Congress party which was the ruling party of the elected Council at the Mysore City Corporation followed by BJP 23% and from Janata Dal (Secular) 20%. All councilors were illiterates. About 57% of them were graduates or post graduates while the remaining had completed either secondary or senior secondary school.

Key inferences from the councilors' interviews

The key findings of the councilors' interviews are discussed in relation to their awareness of the Civil society associational activities in Mysore, their views on the importance of citizen participation and consultation in the process of municipal governance and their perceptions on the role of civil society associations. The analysis of data is provided in Table 7.2.

Awareness of civil society associations
About 83% of the councilors interviewed were aware of city-wide associations such as the Mysore Grahakara Parishat, Association of Concerned and Informed Citizens of Mysore, Rural Literacy and Health Programme etc. while only 56% of them were aware of neighborhood level associations

Perceptions on the role of civil society associations
The respondents were asked to first endorse a set of affirmative statements followed by a set of negative statements about the role of civil society associations in the planning, development and management of Mysore. On an average, about 63% of the respondents endorsed affirmative statements such as for e.g. associations voice people's needs; they provide services to the poor and the needy; they help check abuses by the government; and assist in monitoring the public works. However, about 74% of respondents also endorsed negative statements such as for e.g. associations are not representative of all sections of society; they lack legitimacy; they are also corrupt; and they oppose government on flimsy grounds. This indicates that councilors' perception about civil society associations is more negative than positive. The responses of some of the respondents echoed a sense of competition and resentment reflected in strong statements such as, "associations are trouble makers, they lack accountability, they have selfish motives, they only seek publicity etc." Nevertheless, a few

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respondents were also in favor of civil society associations for their role "as a bridge in social reengineering and their ability to bring problems and constraints to the attention of authorities" etc.

Perceptions and practices related to citizen consultation in planning and decision making
Only 40% of the respondents perceived citizen consultation as important in planning, decision making and municipal budgeting where as 90% of them reported consultation with and involvement of citizens in plan implementation and service provision as important. 70% opined that citizen participation in planning and implementation must be made legally mandatory. However, only 47% reported having consulted citizens or their associations in planning and implementation of development works in their respective wards though none of them could provide details such as the year and purpose of such consultation or the name of the association they had consulted etc. The results convey a sense of ambivalence and apprehension amongst the councilors with regard to citizen/association consultation and participation in municipal affairs and indicate a mismatch between their perceptions and actual practices. During the course of the interviews, it was observed that a majority of them had understood problem resolution in their wards in response to citizen's complaints as tantamount to citizen consultation and participation.

Constraints for citizen consultation and participation
During the casual post-interview talks, some of the respondents highlighted shortage of funds and the lack of a systematic or rational method of ward wise planning and allocation of available resources as a main constraint for consultation and involvement of citizens and associations. They reported (almost complained) that the quantum of ward wise allocation of municipal funds was a function of the strength of a given councilor's relationship with the Commissioner, a state government employee who acts as the CEO and to the political party a councilor is affiliated to. It was alleged that wards with ruling party councilors enjoyed a better allocation than those with councilors from the opposition parties. From the responses of the interviewed councilors, it can be concluded that limited funds, multiple and diverse demands of citizens coupled with disproportionate and erratic allocation of funds have rendered citizen consultation a problematic issue.

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Table 7.1: Demographic attributes and distribution of the sampled councilors across parties and MLA constituencies

Profile features		Number	Percent
State Legislative Assembly Constituency	NR	11	37
	KR	9	30
	CR	10	33
	Total	**30**	**100**
Age group (in years)	20-30	1	3
	31-40	10	34
	41-50	12	40
	51-60	7	23
	Total	**30**	**100**
Gender	Female	9	30
	Male	21	70
	Total	**30**	**100**
Education	Secondary and senior secondary	13	43
	Graduate and above	17	57
	Total	**30**	**100**
Political party affiliation	Congress	14	47
	BJP	7	23
	JD-S	6	20
	Others	3	10
	Total	**30**	**100**

Source: Author's construct

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Table 7.2: Analysis of data from councilors' interviews

Awareness, perceptions and practices of councilors with regard to citizen participation and civil society associations		Percentage (N=30)
Awareness of civil society associations	City level	83
	Neighborhood	56
Endorsement of statements about the role of civil society associations in the urban governance of Mysore	Affirmative	63
	Negative	74
Importance of citizen consultation and participation in:	Planning and budgeting	40
	Service delivery and implementation	90
Should citizen participation be mandated by law	Yes	70
	No	30
Incidence of citizen or associational consultation by councilors		47
Recall of details pertaining to such 'consultations' or 'involvement'		nil

Source: Author's construct

7.5.   Conclusions

The local political system of which the councilors form a dominant component appears resistant to consultation with and participation of citizens or their associations in municipal governance. Associations are perceived by councilors with a sense of suspicion, cynicism and resentment. Notwithstanding the existing problems in ward wise allocation of municipal funds, that none of the councilors had made any effort to inform and discuss those problems and issues with the citizens (voters) or their associations who elected them to the seat of power is illustrative of the feudal characteristic of the local political culture. The findings also show that councilors are likely to resist the state policy of involving the local civic associations in urban management and the delivery of public services.

The fragmented institutional arena for urban governance, limited financial and administrative autonomy of the local government, and lack of empowering spaces for citizens to make their voice heard in the corridors of power have all combined to pose a formidable challenge for civil society associations in Mysore.

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8. Exploring the Civil Society in the Urban Governance Arena of Mysore

8.1. Objectives of the exploratory field research

The key objectives of the exploratory field research were:
- To generate a list of civil society associations and actors in the urban governance and planning arena of Mysore
- To broadly ascertain the nature of civil society associations, other actors and their actions in addressing problems and issues of urban governance in Mysore and thereby create a typology of associations
- To identify prospective associations and their significant initiatives and interventions for further empirical research

8.2. Conceptualization of urban government for empirical analysis of civil society in Mysore

For the exploratory research and the overall empirical framework, urban government was conceptualized structurally as being a major component of the broader arena of urban governance embodied in multiple (state) institutions at different levels vested with legitimate power for policy and plan formulation, decision making, resource mobilization and allocation, and plan implementation in Mysore. Functionally, urban government was conceptualized as consisting of the following domains: preparation of Comprehensive Development Plan and its implementation (land use plan with zoning regulations for Mysore); planning, provision and management of urban services such as health, education, housing, water supply, sanitation, solid waste, traffic, public transport, roads, streetlights, storm water drainage etc.; urban environmental management including conservation of lakes, protection of lung spaces like parks and gardens, pollution monitoring and control etc.; and urban poverty alleviation and slum improvement. Mysore being a city of historical importance with several heritage monuments, heritage conservation and tourism activities were also included as functional domains of urban governance. The normative principles and themes of 'good governance' such as transparency, public accountability, citizen participation, equity, efficiency etc. were construed as qualitative parameters for assessing the interplay between structural and functional dimensions of urban governance.

8.3. Conceptualization of civil society in the urban governance arena for exploratory field research

Set in the context of urban planning and governance as defined above and based on the conceptual framework for empirical design articulated in Chapter six, civil society was conceptualized structurally as embodied in associations. Notwithstanding the myriad meanings attributed to the term 'civil society' in varied social, cultural and political contexts and the definitional problems associated with it, the associational form of civil society was selected as a unit of empirical analysis. This was necessitated primarily by the need to locate a starting point for exploring the civil society arena in Mysore and also because of lack of any other viable alternative though the exploratory research subsequently revealed that civil society arena in Mysore is not only constituted by associations but also 'expert-activists' and other individuals with or without associational affiliation.

For better clarity and specific to the context of Mysore within the conceptual framework, a civil society association was operationally but flexibly defined in terms of structure and process as any association informal or formal that:

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- Is constituted by voluntary membership which is not restricted to any particular linguistic, religious or ethnic identity with the possible exception of context-specific associations of traditionally marginalized or disadvantaged sections of society such as Hindu lower caste groups, tribal communities or religious minority groups);
- Is not affiliated to a particular political party and /or to a particular agency of the state though it may be politically oriented in its struggle and frequently interacts with the state and the polity in realizing its goals and objectives;
- Is not grounded to or driven by a particular religious faith;
- Is not a family or business enterprise; and
- Works for the 'common good' without profit motives or vested interests while adopting non-violent and inclusive (as against subversive or divisive) means of achieving its aims and objects though certain forms of non-violent protest such as hunger strike or taking out a procession (thus hindering the flow of traffic and infringing on the rights of other citizens) may not be in conformity with the rule of law. Positioned in relation to the functional domains of urban governance described earlier, the 'common good' was construed as the 'good' of a particular locality or neighborhood or the entire city as a whole or the 'good' of a particular marginalized group like poor women, slum dwellers, communities belonging to lower Hindu castes and other minority groups etc.

The enlisting of civil society associations based on a normative conceptualization such as highlighted above was rendered problematic by the wide diversity in the associational groupings observed in Mysore. Therefore, positive bias was used for e.g. to include associations of the poor and marginalized groups such as caste based identity associations purporting to serve the cause of traditionally discriminated communities like the Scheduled Castes and Tribes etc. (Rudolph 2000). The labor and workers unions in the organized sector for e.g. were not included but their counterparts in the unorganized sector such as the federations of domestic workers and construction workers etc. were considered owing to their poor conditions and a chronic history of victimization on account of discriminatory practices. Associations with a purely charitable objective were also not included in the enumeration. Special emphasis was placed on generating referrals of associations that exhibit a greater degree of political orientation in their work in terms of advocacy, lobbying, awareness and mobilization of communities to address problems in local governance related public services, infrastructure, urban environmental management etc.

8.4. Methodology for exploratory field research

The methodology consisted of key informant interviews (KII) using the snow ball sampling technique and analysis of the secondary data generated as a byproduct of the key informant interviews.

Snowball sampling technique
Key informants for the exploratory phase in Mysore were selected using the snowball sampling technique. Snowball sampling may be defined as a technique for finding research subjects, where every unit that is sampled is asked to give referrals to other units that meet the criteria for being within the population. The researcher identifies one member of some population of interest, speaks to him/her, then asks that person to identify others in the population that the researcher might speak to. This person is then asked to refer the researcher to yet another person, and so on (Vogt 1999). The sample built up in this way is analogous to rolling a snowball that picks up more and more snow while in motion. Snowball sampling is primarily used as a means of accessing vulnerable, deprived and more impenetrable or hidden social groupings and suffers from lack of representation and selection biases.

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KIIs based on snowball sampling were used in the exploratory phase mainly to locate neighborhood level organizations which are usually obscure in the public domain, and to overcome the absence of systematically maintained database on civil society actors and associations in Mysore.

Key informant interviews

Key informant interviews (KIIs) are qualitative, in-depth interviews of persons selected for their first hand knowledge about a topic of interest. The interviews are loosely structured relying on a list of issues to be discussed. KIIs resemble a conversation among acquaintances, allowing a free flow of ideas and information. Interviewers frame questions spontaneously, probe for information and take notes which are elaborated later. The advantages of KIIs are that they provide information directly from knowledgeable people and provide flexibility to explore new ideas and issues not anticipated. Whereas the disadvantages are that they are susceptible to interviewer biases and it may be difficult to prove the validity of findings (USAID 1996).

8.5. Key informants for the exploratory research

The exploratory study was conducted during the months of August, September and October in the year 2005. In all, 63 persons were interviewed through the mode of snowball sampling who can be categorized into five groups viz. representatives of civil society associations; academics & professionals; political leaders and local government officials; media representatives; and representatives of business and industry. Such a wide distribution of respondents helped not only to generate a fairly comprehensive database of associations and actors but also to cursorily trace the evolution of civil society associations in Mysore and gain general insights into the arena of urban governance in Mysore. Leaders and representatives of civil society associations expectedly constituted the largest proportion of KII informants. The percentage and number of respondents across the five categories is enumerated in Table 8.1 while the details of the interviewees are provided in Appendix 14.2. About 84% of the respondents were males and 16% females. The huge gender difference in the number of key informants is an indication of the prevalent dominance of males in civil society associations as also in the collective action in the public sphere

Table 8.1: Percentage break-up of key informants according to categories

Key informant category	Number	Percent
Civil society associations	37	58
Academics /professionals	10	15
Political leaders/ local government	10	15
Print mass media	4	6.5
Business/industry	2	5.5
Total	**63**	**100**

Source: Author's construct

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8.6 Key informant interview format and process

The interviews were loosely structured and self propagated with spontaneous questions. The questions were primarily formulated to:
- Elicit information on the respondent's awareness and knowledge of civil society or citizens' associations at different spatial levels, addressing a multitude of issues and problems of urban governance targeting different strata of the population; and
- Facilitate the recall of noteworthy civil society initiatives like advocacy campaigns etc. in the urban governance arena in a retrospective time frame of five to seven years for deeper empirical inquiry.

The interview questions were altered based on the category of the informant. When the informant was an office bearer of a civil society association, additional questions were asked about the activities of his/her association. The interviews ranged from 15 minutes to two hours depending on the level of informant's enthusiasm, experience, professional background, though the most relevant information (such as for e.g. the referrals about civil society associations or recall of significant events in the civil society arena) was usually obtained within the first ten minutes of the interview. Some respondents were also helpful in securing secondary data in the form of already compiled list of associations. The snowball was set rolling by a retired Professor of political science who is also a member of a local association called Prajna and leaders of the Mysore Grahakara Parishat with whom the researcher had prior acquaintance.

8.7. Collation and analysis of secondary data

The process of Key informant interviews also generated referrals to the following five existing databases of civil society associations in both Mysore city and the district though none of them produced information relevant to the exploratory field research:
- *Directory of voluntary organizations for the districts of Mysore and Chamarajanagar,* compiled and published by Rangsons Trust in 2001 and 2004, a charitable trust supported by Rangsons Group of companies headquartered in Mysore.
- *Documentation of the third sector or non-profit sector organizations* undertaken by the Third Sector Research Institute affiliated to Mysore University in 2003. This effort was based on sieving the voluminous record books of registered associations at the Office of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies in Mysore. Owing to the sheer magnitude of the data and lack of management information system, the attempt was prematurely terminated.
- *The list of non-government organizations registered with the Union Home Ministry*, Government of India, to obtain permission for receiving foreign funding as required under the Foreign Contributions Regulation Act (FCRA), available on its web site, www.mha.nic.in/fcra/query/distget.asp - accessed on 29.09.05.
- *A Directory of NGOs in India, Volume X – Karnataka*, Published by Development Alternatives, New Delhi, in 1998.
- *Profile 500 – A directory of voluntary organizations in India*, published by Murray- Culshaw Advisory Services, Bangalore, 2002.

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8.8. Formal status of voluntary associations in Karnataka

Freedom of association is a fundamental right under Article 19 of the Constitution of India. In Karnataka, non-religious and non-profit voluntary associations can have two types of formal status[11]:

- Registered Society: This is the most common type of formal status amongst the voluntary associations. To attain the status of a registered society, an association has to register under the provisions of the Karnataka Societies Registration Act of 1961 with a memorandum of association stating the aims, objectives, bylaws and statutes governing the transaction of business and conduct of proceedings. A registered society consists of a governing council of seven or more office bearers or the board of directors elected from amongst the general body of members to act as the executive.
- Public Charitable Trust: Under the provisions of the Indian Charitable and Religious Trusts Act of 1920, two or more persons can register as trustees with a deed of trust stating the aims, objectives, bylaws governing the transaction of business and conduct of proceedings to form a trust for furthering public charitable causes. The definition of 'public charitable' is flexible enough to permit a wide range of activities such as running private schools to selling toys, books and other products.

Under the Indian Income Tax Act, both the trusts and societies are eligible to seek exemption from payment of income tax for the funds they receive as donations and grants while the donors are also eligible to claim exemption from paying income tax for the donations they contribute to such trusts and societies. Both are required by law to submit annual audited statement of accounts and are eligible to receive foreign donations after obtaining clearance from the Union Home Ministry under the provisions of the Foreign Contributions Regulation Act (FCRA).

Structurally a trust is less democratic than a society since the former is not a membership association and therefore not legally required to hold internal elections. However both trusts and societies are not subject to strict scrutiny or monitoring by the public authorities. This, coupled with the apparent loopholes in the laws and procedures, gives scope for manipulation and abuse of powers in both the trusts and the societies.

8.9. Key findings of the exploratory field research

The findings of the exploratory field research are described beginning with the recall ratings for associations and initiatives followed by an overview of the salient features of civil society arena in an evolutionary perspective and concludes with a classification of associations situated in the urban governance and planning arena of Mysore.

Associations and initiatives with significant recall rate

In addition to referrals, the key informants were also asked to name associations whom they considered as most active and recall significant campaigns of collective action in the urban planning and governance arena of Mysore. As shown in Table 8.2, two associations and a public-private partnership committee received considerably higher ratings.The Mysore Agenda Task Force (MATF)

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[11] Source of information for Societies Registrations Act 1961 and the Charitable and Religious Trusts Act of 1920. http://dpal.kar.nic.in/ActsAlpha&deptwise.htm., the Official web site of the Department of Parliamentary Affairs and Law, Government of Karnataka, last viewed on 16.12.07. Source for FCRA is: http://www.mha.nic.in/acts_rules.htm.

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received 62 percent rating, followed by Mysore Grahakara Parishat with 57% and Rural Literacy and Health Programme (RLHP) 25%. RLHP was the only association recalled as working with the urban poor and slum dwellers. The higher recall rate for MATF, which was a government-civil society-business partnership forum was because of its frequent appearance in the local press mostly for wrong reasons that are discussed subsequently. The relatively higher recall rate for MGP, a voluntary association, is because of its intensely vigilant role on account of which it is frequently cited in the local press. The citizen's campaign that received the highest recall rate was the 'Save Lingambudhi Lake Campaign' that spanned a period of three years from 1998 to 2000 when a confluence of civil society associations had waged a concerted battle against the authorities and succeeded in saving the lake from the alignment of the Outer Ring Road.

Table 8.2: Associations/initiatives with significant recall rates

Key informant category (N=63)	Associations/ initiatives with significant recall rates (values in numbers excluding office bearers of the respective associations)			
	MATF	MGP	RLHP	Save Lingambudhi Lake Campaign
Civil society associations (N =37)	20	19	8	26
Academics /professionals (N=10)	6	7	3	6
Political leaders/ local government (N=10)	8	6	4	5
Print mass media (N=4)	4	3	1	3
Business/industry (N=2)	1	1	0	1
Total	39	36	16	41
Percentage of total key informants (N=63)	**62**	**57**	**25**	**65**

Source: Author's construct

Salient features of civil society associations in Mysore : An evolutionary perspective

There is no known documented and published history of civil society associations in Mysore or their involvement in the urban governance of Mysore. It was learnt that public charitable organizations linked to religious institutions existed in Mysore even in the pre independence days prior to 1947. Like in many other Indian cities, the societal mobilization for public cause was first witnessed in Mysore during the national freedom struggle that spread across the length and breadth of the country in the

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early part of the 20th century. The national struggle for independence from the British colonial regime is considered as the genesis of both democracy and modern civil society in India.

Rate Payer's Association in Mysore: Pioneers of associational interface with urban governance
The first associations to have addressed problems of urban governance in Mysore appear to have originated in the mid 60s in the form of Rate Payers' Associations (RPAs) in the then newly formed residential neighborhoods. The Jayanagar RPA for e.g. was founded in 1965. These were registered voluntary membership associations of citizens at the neighborhood level to advocate and seek better civic amenities and redress day-to-day public grievances of residents. The main premise of RPAs was assertion of citizenship rights as tax or ratepayers. In the late 70s an effort to bring several such RPAs on a common platform led to the formation of the Federation of RPAs in Mysore. The Federation is still active but its membership base has gradually eroded as many of the RPAs have become defunct. Nevertheless the RPAs were the precursors of Residents Welfare Associations (RWAs) that are now existing in several middle and upper income neighborhoods of Mysore.

Educating and mobilizing the urban poor: Rural Literacy & Health Programme
Anecdotal narratives have it that nuns affiliated to an Italian congregation attached to a local church were the first interventionists in Mysore's slum areas. Their concerns and services were largely charitable in nature that took the form of providing food, health services, and other basic necessities. Efforts to educate and mobilize slum dwellers and the urban poor in general gained momentum when the Rural Health and Literacy Programme (RLHP) was founded in 1982. Registered as a voluntary Society, RLHP started its work in Jyothinagar slum, the first of the 56 slums across three districts that RLHP is currently involved. RLHP has a holistic and empowering approach to slum improvement and development of the urban poor. It has made concerted efforts to strengthen associational life in slums and mobilize them to fight for their rights and participate in policy formulation and implementation processes. RLHP was instrumental in the creation of Mysore Slum Dwellers Federation for community development associations from individual slums, Dhwani Women's Federation for women's associations and Kirana Federation for women's self help groups formed for micro credit.

With the establishment of the Organization for Development of People (ODP) in 1984, another voluntary registered society, civil society interventions for the upliftment of the urban poor received a further boost. Since then, several associations have come up in Mysore, each with their own agenda and strategies to help the poor seek social justice and create opportunities and space for their political participation and economic development.

The Mysore Amateur Naturalists: Torchbearers of environmental conservation in Mysore
Mysore Amateur Naturalists (MAN) was founded in 1986 by a group of youngsters inflamed by their 'love' for nature and concerned with conservation of biodiversity and natural environment in and around Mysore. MAN is a registered society with voluntary membership. Ever since its formation MAN has served as a nursery for several individuals to emerge as 'environmentalists'. MAN has spearheaded many campaigns for conservation of urban lakes. MAN's most notable contribution has been towards conservation of natural habitats for avifauna. MAN has been conducting annual midwinter bird censuses as part of the Asian waterfowl Census and continues to be an active member of the urban environmental scene in Mysore. Over the years, several other groups have sprung up to fight for environmental conservation.

Mysore Grahakara Parishat: The first advocates of consumer rights
The Mysore Grahakara Parishat (MGP) founded in 1988 is one of the most popular civil society associations in Mysore and one of the pioneering organizations for espousal and protection of consumer rights in Karnataka. Armed with the provisions of the Consumer Protection Act enacted by the Parliament in 1986, MGP has served as a forum for several similar initiatives that have evolved

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into independent associations. MGP is a registered Society with about 700 subscribed members though only about 10-15 are currently active. Since the mid 90s, MGP has consciously broadened its focus and mandate to include other issues and problems of governance such as the preparation of Comprehensive Development Plan, violations of the plans, water supply, urban environment, solid waste management, electoral campaigns, municipal budgeting, heritage conservation, power supply, Right to Information etc. Some of the activities that have earned them a name are their campaigns against adulteration of food and petroleum products, and campaigns against illegal buildings and violation of building bylaws. MGP also played a crucial role in the second "Save Lingambudhi lake campaign" launched in 1998 to protect the lake from the proposed alignment of the Outer Ring Road.

Excepting slum improvement, MGP has touched all other problems and domains of urban local governance in Mysore. Due to its intensely vigilant, vocal and activist orientations, MGP is even somewhat feared by authorities and politicians in Mysore. Lack of consistent focus on a given issue/ problem and weak mobilization of grassroots support are two of their major weaknesses. MGP's membership base is fast eroding while enrollment of new members has become a daunting task. Some formerly active members of MGP have branched off and founded their own associations. Notable amongst them is the Association of Informed and Concerned Citizens of Mysore (ACICM) which is led by an educational entrepreneur. With consistent backing from a section of the local press and popular support, ACICM is emerging as a major force to reckon within the urban governance arena of Mysore.

Apart from MGP, there are several other consumers associations like the Karnataka Consumers Forum, Akhila Bharatiya Grahakara Panchayat etc. who have been playing a significant role in redressing consumer problems.

Mysore Heritage Trust: Towards heritage conservation
The Mysore Heritage Trust founded in 1990 and the Mysore Chapter of the Indian National Trust for Culture and Heritage (INTACH) have done their bit towards keeping alive the concerns and interest towards preservation of cultural heritage and monuments. The Mysore Heritage Trust is also credited for a pioneering effort in 1991 that sought to articulate citizens' concerns and aspirations in the process of preparing the Revised Comprehensive Development Plan (RCDP) for Mysore. The Mysore Heritage Trust is currently not so active.

Mysore Agenda Task Force: The first public-private partnership initiative
The Mysore Agenda Task Force (MATF) was a public-private partnership forum created in 2002 to facilitate proactive and synergetic relationship between the government, corporate and civil society for steering Mysore towards sustainable development. Inspired by a similar initiative in Bangalore, the state capital, civil society leaders particularly from MGP spearheaded a major advocacy effort to persuade the then Chief Minister to constitute MATF. The Bangalore Agenda Task Force was a prestigious initiative for the then Chief Minister of Karnataka and was led by corporate leaders and top level government officials. On the other hand, the MATFwas primarily led by civil society leaders without much corporate support and was often at loggerheads with the local bureaucrats and political leaders. Therefore, it eventually attained the identity of an advocacy forum and frequently in news more on account of its conflicts and bickering with the local government than for any constructive initiatives. The deliberations of the various working committees of MATF have produced excellent proposals for the future development of Mysore. With the change of regime at the state government the MATF was terminated in 2005.

Individual actors in the civil society arena: Civil society is not just associational
The key informant interviews also revealed that there were several 'individuals' of eminence, consistently involved in collective action and contributing in their own way towards creating public

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awareness and influencing decision making processes. Though they were/are not official members of any association, they had often involved with associations during campaigns and other activities. A majority of the key informants in the civil society category perceived associational identity as a vital factor for collective action to influence the mass media and the agencies of the state. Some of the notable personalities in the recent years were/are: Late Prof. C.D. Narasimhaiah, acclaimed as a literary genius; Late Prof. Ramadas, a renowned social thinker; Late Sri Jayachamaraje Urs; Sri T.S. Satyan, a noted photo journalist; Sri. S. Chary, a former Ambassador and so on.

Associations of members with ascribed identities
Local associations of individuals belonging to Scheduled Castes and Tribes were observed particularly in slums either affiliated to a city level federation such as the Mysore Slum dwellers Federation (MSDF) or a state level federation like the Karnataka Kolache Nivasigala Samyuktha Sanghatane (KKNSS) or to a state wide Movement organization such as Dalit Sangharsh Samithi or Akhila Bharat Jana Jagruthi Samithi etc. The associations affiliated to MSDF that were more intensely oriented towards seeking recognition of their slums and obtain access to basic services than others, also outnumbered all other types of local associations in slums.

State sponsored local associations and groups
In line with the current global trend and national policy initiative, the state and its agencies were also found using associational strategy to implement urban poverty alleviation schemes such as the centrally sponsored 'Swarna Jayanthi Shehri Rozgar Yojana' (SJSRY) or Urban Employment Scheme and the state government sponsored 'Urban Stree Shakthi' (USS) schemes. Both SJSRY and USS aim to alleviate urban poverty by empowerment of women through Self Help Groups (SHGs) for micro credit and savings. More than 800 SHGs have been formed in Mysore under the two programmes of which 50% were facilitated and being coordinated by the Project team attached to the Mysore City Corporation (MCC) while the remaining have been entrusted to Zilla Saaksharatha Samithi (District Literacy Committee), a quasi government body and two professionally managed non-profit associations. Though created under a government programme, the SHGs are considered as voluntary associations of poor women and therefore, SHGs were also enlisted during the exploratory field research.

The Nirmala Nagara Yojane (NNY) is another state government scheme that aims to facilitate Residents Welfare Associations (RWAs) in every municipal ward for managing solid wastes. At the time of the study, about 32 RWAs had been formed covering 25 out of the 65 municipal wards. In most cases, the members of SHGs created under USS-SJSRY schemes were harnessed to form waste management committees with 10 members each. Thus, though they were called as Residents Welfare Associations, most of them were actually committees of 8 to 10 members (largely from SHGs) with a jurisdiction of 500 households, exclusively formed to provide door-to-door waste collection service. A Member of the State Legislative Council who represents a major political party is one of the driving forces behind the implementation of NNY in Mysore. The same member has also fostered the creation of Federation of MCC Ward Parliaments to bring all the waste management committees and associations under one umbrella. Owing to political developments in the state of Karnataka, the Federation currently appears to be maintaining a low key.

The latest effort (as recent as November 2007) in this direction is a proposal to constitute 680 local Citizen's Committees in Mysore under the centrally sponsored Jawaharlal National Urban Renewal Mission for decentralized management of urban services and to purportedly promote citizens participation in the development process.

As observed in Mysore, the state intervention in the civil society arena is perhaps a reflection of the current global policy on good urban governance that has been criticized as a neo-liberal strategy to

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minimize the role of the state by harnessing the associational venues in civil society for efficiency of service delivery. Given the recency of these initiatives, it is rather premature to comment on the effects of what seems to be a state encroachment of the civil society arena in Mysore.

The role of proactive local print media in civil society action
Mysore has a long and strong tradition of exclusive local newspapers both in English and Kannada, the local language. Some of the local dailies enjoy a better circulation in Mysore than the national dailies and have been playing a major role in shaping public opinion on topical issues and problems as well as supporting civil society initiatives. Star of Mysore, Mysore Mail, Andolana, Mysore Mitra and Prajanudi are some of the notable local dailies in Mysore.

Towards a typology of associations in Mysore

The civil society arena in Mysore presents itself in many hues and colors, interwoven by diverse organizational features, strategies, resources and functional domains, and operating at different spatial levels. Creating a distinct typology with limited information was therefore problematic and a classification system based on attributes such as formal status, programme objectives, degree of political orientation, source of funding, geographic location, number of members, functional domains etc. was bound to have overlapping sub types. In order to minimize this problem, the spatial level and the socio-economic focus/status of association and its members were used as criteria to evolve a typology of associations for empirical analysis. Accordingly, the civil society associations were classified into three broad types and three sub types as follows:

Type I- Broader or city wide focus
General problems and issues with a bias towards better serviced localities where generally middle/upper income families reside.

Type II- Neighborhood focus: Middle / upper income residents
- Type II A -federated neighborhood associations: Some of these associations are a subset of women's SHGs categorized under Type III A while some are Residents Welfare Associations categorized as Type II B.
- Type II B: Non-federated neighborhood associations.

Type III – Broader or city wide focus: Problems and issues of the urban poor and slum inhabitants
- Type III A- local or sub-local level associations and groups in slums and poorly serviced localities promoted by Type III associations and almost all of them are federated.

As shown in Table 8.3, the key informant interviews generated a list of 25 associations with broader or city wide focus either oriented towards general problems and issues or those concerning middle and upper income areas or those concerning urban poor, slum dwellers and other marginalized and disadvantaged groups. Associational life at the neighborhood level irrespective of the socio-economic status appeared dense with more than a hundred residents welfare, community development and women's associations and about 1400 women's self help groups.

The general profile of associations

The profile of associations for types I and III are provided as Appendices 14.3 and 14.4 respectively, while profile of types IIA and III A both of which are federated local associations are provided in Appendix 14.5. The non-federated neighborhood associations (Type IIB) are believed to exist in most of the 65 municipal wards as well as non municipal residential layouts. Only 24 type IIB associations are listed in Appendix 14.6 as data on others was not available.

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The profile was constructed based on limited data generated during key informant interviews and secondary data sources. It is meant to be illustrative of the density and diversity of associational life in the urban governance arena of Mysore and help select appropriate associations for deeper empirical analysis of the collective empowerment effects on their members and also effects on state institutions and decision processes in urban planning and governance. Conceived within the conceptual framework, the profile consists of the functional domain, strategies, membership attributes and the degree of political orientation.

Of all the type I associations focused on general issues and problems of urban governance in Mysore, the Mysore Grahakara Parishat was observed as the most active association with a broader mandate and policy orientation. However, lack of a mass membership base and grass roots support were MGP's major weaknesses. MGP's efforts at mobilizing grass roots support was both episodic and weak.

Most of the type II-B RWAs are registered societies with voluntary membership and own sources of funding. Typically, each RWA has a committee of 5 - 15 active and committed members who share responsibilities, even though they have hundreds of members on their list. Most of them have taken up cudgels for the upkeep of their respective localities and resolving day-to-day problems pertaining to water supply, garbage clearance, underground drainage, encroachment of civic amenity sites or parks, street lighting, roads etc. In addition to these core functions, they have also organized health camps for the needy, sports and cultural events for children and programmes to commemorate national festivals such as the Independence Day etc.

Through prolonged struggle, some of these non-federated organizations have achieved tremendous success in obtaining basic civic amenities for their localities particularly in the newly created residential layouts that are under the jurisdiction of Mysore Urban Development Authority (MUDA). There are others who have set an example in efficient management of waste at the neighborhood level. In the MUDA and privately developed residential layouts that were yet to be handed over to the Mysore City Corporation, the RWAs were grappling with problems of access to basic services and amenities and dealt directly with the authorities or brought pressure from the state level political leaders and ministers, bypassing the local political leaders. The RWAs in municipal areas had to contend with the elected councilors since the municipal officials were found to be more responsive to problems represented by councilors.

Most of the federated neighborhood Rate Payers Associations (RPAs – type IIA) which were very similar to their non-federated counterparts in terms of organizational attributes, had become increasingly less active with declining membership. The Federation of Ward Parliaments of Mysore City Corporation with the membership of SHG-waste management committees also classified as type IIA, had not yet attained a clear and established organizational identity but was already facing a threat on account of political developments.

Of all the city wide associations working with the urban poor and slum dwellers (type III), the Rural Literacy and Health Programme (RLHP) is the one with a holistic approach to the development of the urban poor and slum improvement driven by the twin strategies of awareness and mobilization. The Mysore Slum Dwellers Federation affiliated to RLHP was the only federation with a wider presence (34 of the 75 slums), an explicit focus on slum recognition and access to basic services, and orientation to political mobilization and action.

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Table 8.3: Typology of civil society associations in Mysore

Type	Spatial level	Socio-economic focus	Number of associations/ federations
Type I	Broader than a neighborhood or city wide or state wide presence	General problems and issues or biased towards middle or upper income interests and localities which are better serviced than slums and other poorer localities	11
Type II A	Federated neighborhood level	Better serviced middle or upper income areas *(overlaps with types II B and IIIA)*	Two federations with about 55 associations
Type II B	Non federated neighborhood level	Better serviced middle or upper income areas	Listed only 24
Type III	Broader than a locality or a slum or citywide	Problems and issues of the urban poor, slum dwellers, other marginalized and dis advantaged sections or sectoral focus such as economic empowerment, education, health etc. *(overlaps with Type III A groups and associations)*	14 associations and one network organization
Type III A	Locality, neighborhood or sub neighborhood levels Federated	Problems and issues of the urban poor and slum dwellers	13 federations with about 1400 women's SHGs, 40 community development associations and 30 women's associations

Source: Author's construct

8.10. Selection of associations and initiatives for empirical phase

The recall rate of key informants for associations and campaigns also suggest selection of two associations for the empirical phase for testing the hypothesis related to institutional effects of civil society. They are: Rural Literacy and Health Programme (RLHP) working with the slum dwellers of Mysore and the Mysore Grahakara Parishat (MGP) working as a citizens' vigilance group on a wide range of governance issues. Since MGP was also actively involved in the prolonged collective struggle to save the Lingambudhi lake from the alignment of a part of the Outer Ring Road, the "Save Lingambudhi Lake Campaign", offers an unique case to study how diverse associations and individuals participate in a collective effort in the urban governance arena. The Save Lingambudhi Lake Campaign also received the highest recall rate as one of the most significant landmarks in the history of civil society action in Mysore. The Outer Ring Road project was part of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) financed Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development Project. The campaign to save the lake was launched in 1998 lasting three years till 2000. It not only succeeded d in saving the lake but also in securing additional funds from the ADB for rehabilitation of five lakes in Mysore.

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8.11.   Conclusions

The conclusions of the exploratory research are summarized as follows:
- The civil society associational arena in Mysore is both dense and rich in diversity comprising of associations operating at different spatial levels with different socio-economic groups on a wide range of issues and problems, using multiple strategies. Therefore classification and nomenclature was problematic.
- The conceptual criteria used for enumerating the associations had to be flexibly applied to include for e.g. caste-based identity associations of particular Hindu caste groups mostly found in slums and the associations being promoted under government schemes and programmes.
- It appears that associational groupings amongst members of religious minority groups particularly amongst Muslims is rather weak as only one referral was obtained in this regard.
- Men seem to dominate collective action in the public domain while also occupying leadership positions in most of the larger associations.
- There is a clear isolation of associations working with the poor or composed of members who are poor, from those working on general issues or catering to middle/upper class problems and interests.
- Lack of a common active platform for dialogue and deliberation amongst associations working with similar objectives has had a 'scattering effect' on their efforts thus weakening their collective voice in the public domain.
- With the possible exception of a few such as MGP, RLHP, MSDF which have a broader mandate and a more comprehensive approach to address the problems and issues of their respective constituencies, most others were either single issue or sector based associations with restricted membership.

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9. Civil Society Associations and Collective Empowerment

Based on the review of literature pertaining to civil society and governance, a broad hypothesis was formulated as part of the conceptual framework (chapter six) stating that "civil society associations induce empowering effects on their members and these effects are influenced by their organizational attributes". Chapter nine provides a brief review of literature related to empowerment aimed at clarifying the various meanings attributed to it in the current development practice and for elucidating measurable variables, and describes the collective empowerment survey carried out in Mysore during January-April 2006 for testing the civil society-collective empowerment hypothesis.

9.1. The meaning and definition of empowerment

An exploration of the meaning of empowerment in various social, political and cultural contexts reveals several terms such as self strength, control, self-reliance, choice, autonomy, self-power, life of dignity in accordance with one's own values, capacity to fight for one's rights, freedom, being independent, awakening, own decision making, capability and so on (Narayan 2002).

Two streams of definitions
Two steams of definitions of empowerment can be found in the literature. One related to women's empowerment and the other to the empowerment of the poor and the marginalized groups in general. Both emphasize that empowerment is a process of altering the dominant power equations in favor of the weak and the marginalized in order to enhance their assets and capacities to make choices and influence decisions and institutions that affect them. This is evident in some of the examples below where empowerment is defined as:
- A process that involves the attainment of citizenship, human rights and dignity (Friedmann in Hickey and Mohan 2004);
- The degree of influence people have over external actions that matter to their welfare (Batliwala in Malhotra 2002: 6);
- a process whereby women (poor people) become able to organize themselves to increase their own self-reliance, to assert their independent right to make choices and to control resources which will assist in challenging and eliminating their own sub-ordination (Keller et. al in Rowland 1995:102);
- the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them (Kabeer 2001);
- altering relations of power which constrain women's options and autonomy and adversely affect health and wellbeing (G. Sen in Malhotra 2002:5);
- the enhancement of assets and capabilities of diverse individuals and groups to engage, influence and hold accountable the institutions which affect them (Bennet in Malhotra 2002); and
- The expansion of assets and capabilities of the poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives (Narayan 2002).

For the purpose of this study, the definitions offered by Bennet and Narayan appear more relevant since they seem to imply capacities of communities for collective action to influence institutions of governance. In Narayan's (2002) definition, assets refer to material assets, both physical and financial that include land, housing, livestock, savings, jewels etc. Capabilities, on the other hand, are inherent in people and enable them to use their assets in different ways to increase their well-being. Human capabilities include good health, education and life enhancing skills. Social capabilities include social belonging, leadership, relations of trust, a sense of identity and the capacity to organize. Political capability includes the capacity to represent oneself or others, access to information, form associations and participate in political life of a community or country. Assets and capabilities can be individual or collective and there is a mutually reciprocal relationship between individual assets and capabilities and

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the capacity to act collectively. For poor people, the capacity to organize and mobilize to solve problems is a critical collective capability that helps them overcome problems of limited resources and marginalization in society. Intermediate civil society groups such as non government organizations and advocacy groups have critical roles to play in supporting poor people's capabilities, translating and interpreting information to them, and helping link them to the state and the private sector (ibid.).

9.2.   The empowerment approach to development

Over the last decade, 'empowerment approach' has gradually emerged to become an integral part of the poverty reduction strategies aimed at political transformation of the marginalized sections of society. While signaling a departure from the traditional top-down approach where people were conceived as passive recipients of the fruits of development, the empowerment agenda marks a transition towards enabling people to be active participants in their development process. As Sabine Alkire notes, "it has almost become a truism to advocate participation and empowerment of persons in many dimensions such as the inculcation of democratic practice so that communities and marginalized groups are able to articulate political demands and make their voices heard in the planning and decision making processes" (Alkire 2005: 217).

The growing importance of empowerment can be gauged by the fact that Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) has become a prominent feature of the Human Development Index published annually by the United Nations Development Programme. GEM is a composite/aggregate measure of gender equality in three key areas such as political participation and decision making measured by the percentage of seats in Parliament held by women; economic participation and decision making measured by the percentage of female administrators and managers, professional and technical employees; and women's power over economic resources.

Development literature is abound with several of examples of empowering approaches initiated by people themselves, civil society organizations and the government. An empowerment approach to development promotes capacity building of heterogeneous individuals who have shared interests and concerns and strengthens their sense of struggle and community activism. This is reflected in their ability to move toward small group activities, organizational structures and links with others outside the community, along with an increased awareness of the broader social and political causes of their disempowerment. Taylor (200) observes that genuine development practitioners are not simply engaged in delivering resources and services to those in need since they initiate processes that result in people exercising more control over the decisions and resources that directly affect the quality of their lives.

Four dimensional empowerment approach
The four dimensional empowerment approach to development is a reflection of the conceptualization of power itself and emphasizes four attributes viz. ability, access, awareness and perceived self-efficacy as the key to empowerment (Zenz 1999):
-    1D: To develop the ability to access and control material and non-material resources and to effectively mobilize them in order to influence decision outcomes.
-    2D: To develop the ability to access and influence decision making processes on various levels in order to ensure a proper representation of one's own interests.
-    3D: To gain an awareness of dominant ideologies and of the nature of domination that one is subjected to in order to discover one's identity, and ultimately develop the ability to independently determine one's own preferences and act upon them.
-    4D: Psychological empowerment or perceived self efficacy

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Key elements of empowerment approach and the influential conditions
Access to information, inclusion and participation, ability to hold public offices, political representatives or even private employers accountable, and local organizational capacity are considered as four key closely intertwined elements of an empowerment approach (Narayan 2002; Kilby 2003). The interplay of these key elements are in turn influenced by five conditions prevalent in various social and political contexts such as the nature of public action; patterns of social exclusion and conflict; extent of decentralization; strength of local level institutions and civil society; and the extent of political freedom (Narayan 2002).

9.3.   Measuring empowerment as a process and outcome: Degrees, domains and levels

The multiple meanings attributed to empowerment and the normative values advocated by the several approaches to foster empowerment in the development process can be articulated better by looking at issues and concerns associated with measuring empowerment, though, across the different social and political contexts, most studies are focused on measuring women's empowerment.

Measuring the degrees, domains and levels of empowerment
Based on a five-country study and a comprehensive review and documentation of the existing efforts, Aslop et. al. (2005) provide a framework for measuring empowerment consisting of degrees, domains and levels of empowerment. They postulate that if a person or group is empowered, they possess the capacity to make effective choices and can translate their choices into desired actions and outcomes. This capacity to make effective choices is primarily influenced by two factors: Agency and opportunity structure. Agency is defined as an actor's ability to make meaningful choices i.e. the actor is able to envisage options and make a choice. Agency is measured using asset endowments, which can be psychological, informational, organizational, material, social, financial or human. Opportunity structure is defined as the formal and informal contexts or rules of the game within which actors operate. These include the laws, regulatory frameworks, norms governing people's behavior, customs and traditions etc. and determine whether individuals and groups have access to assets, and whether those can use the assets to achieve desired outcomes. Measurement of assets and institutions provide intermediary indicators of empowerment. Where as measuring the degrees of choice is a more direct measure of empowerment: existence of choice –whether an opportunity to make a choice exists; use of choice - whether a person actually uses the opportunity to choose; and achievement of choice - whether the choice resulted in the desired result.

A person's capacity to make effective choices vary according to what he or she is doing. For example, an Indian woman will experience a form of empowerment when she is trying to exercise choice over domestic resources within the household different from that which she will experience when in a bank trying to access loan. Thus there are different *domains* of empowerment. Her experiences will also differ according to whether she is trying to operate in her village, at a market or office located at a distance form her village or in a capital city, which constitute the *levels* of empowerment. Aslop et. al identify three main domains and eight sub domains in which the individual actor experiences a certain degree of empowerment. The three main domains are: state domain in which a person is a civic actor; market domain in which a person is an economic actor; and societal domain in which a person is a social actor (ibid.).

People experience domains and sub-domains at different levels. A level is defined as an administrative boundary. Three levels are common in most countries: the local level will comprise the immediate vicinity of a person's everyday life; the intermediary level will comprise a vicinity which is familiar but which is not encroached upon on an everyday basis; and the macro level will comprise a vicinity, which is the furthest away from the individual and is likely to be the national level (ibid.).

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Malhotra et. al (2002) identify economic, socio-cultural, familial/interpersonal, legal, political and psychological as commonly used dimensions of empowerment and household, community and broader areas as levels at which these dimensions can be potentially operationalized .

Endogenous and exogenous empowerment
Whether empowerment is viewed as exogenous or endogenous has implications for its measurement. Exogenous empowerment is something outsiders can bestow upon or deliver to the people whereas proponents of endogenous empowerment view it as a process where only people can empower themselves and that outsiders should merely be facilitators and create enabling conditions for people's actions (Garba in Zenz 1999).

Paulo Freiere observes that the liberating or empowering actions of people must be based on their own critical reflection on the nature of their situation. The focus is not just on actions but also on the interaction between two parties, which should be dialogical in order to be empowering. A dialogue requires the unity and presence of both reflection and action. If the ability to reflect and act is an indication of empowerment, then one's state of awareness can be considered as an outcome of the process of empowerment because without awareness, there can be no reflection. Thus measurement of empowerment here is two fold. It can be evaluated as a process by looking at the extent to which outside agent restrict its role to that of a facilitator or enabler rather than acting on people's belief or conversely the extent to which people reflect and act themselves. It can be evaluated by measuring the awareness people gain in the empowering process (in Zenz 1999).

Is empowerment an end or a means to an end?
Khwaja (2004) notes that to develop a general framework for measuring empowerment, one needs to clarify whether empowerment is construed as an end in itself or as a means to an end or both. Empowerment is sometimes understood as a means to a specific end, such as increased welfare of the empowered agent. It is also often conceived as an end valuable for its own sake. The distinction here is whether the empowerment effect is true by definition, that is empowerment is defined as a component of welfare or utility or whether it is true by causation, that is empowerment influences a component of welfare such as the agent's income or health.

From their review of 45 studies on women's empowerment, Malhotra et. al (2002) reveal that about $1/3^{rd}$ of the studies examine empowerment itself as the outcome of interest where as $2/3^{rd}$ of them measure empowerment as a variable affecting other outcomes of interest. A significant number of studies examining empowerment as the outcome of interest incorporate a combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques and about 60% of all the studies reviewed use individual/household as level of analysis and aggregation.

They further argue that measurement of empowerment as an outcome might not take into account the processes involved in it such as capacity building, developing competencies, skills and critical awareness. The outcome gained can also mean different things to different people in a given context and it is likely to be incremental and often relative to the interpersonal relationship of the person concerned. Outcomes may also fluctuate and depend on circumstance, where people may experience empowerment in one setting but not another, at one time and not another. Thus, measuring the outcome of empowerment is limited by its long time frame and contingent nature. Whereas, measuring empowerment as a process enables to monitor the interaction between capacities, skills and resources at the individual and organizational levels and therefore generate effective representations of human agency. The indicators of empowerment based on survey questions referring to very specific, concrete actions represent power relationships and are meaningful within a particular context (ibid.).

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Measuring components of the empowerment process
According to Kabeer (2001), empowerment as a process and 'choice' comprises three interrelated components viz. resources which form the conditions under which choices are made; agency which is at the heart of the process through which choices are made; and achievements which are the outcomes of the choices. Malhotra et al (2002) note that resources and agency were the two most common components of empowerment process. They propose that resources – economic, social and political be treated as enabling factors or as potentially critical inputs to foster an empowerment process rather than as part of empowerment itself. Many of the variables that have been traditionally used as proxies of empowerment such as education and employment might be better described as enabling factors or sources of empowerment. They conclude that agency is the very essence of empowerment process, "when women or poor people lack agency in a broader sense, they cannot be considered as making empowered choices".

8.4.   Subjective measures of human agency or individual empowerment

Agency has been accorded paramount importance in the empowerment process and its measurement. In her review of various efforts to measure agency based on Amartya Sen's concept of agency and freedom, Sabine Alkire (2005: 222), notes that many definitions of empowerment view it as an increase in certain kinds of human agency that is deemed particularly instrumental to the situation at hand. She proposes that empowerment is a subset of human agency, and that, increases in empowerment would be reflected in increased agency but not necessarily vice-versa. Agency measures are often associated with psychological dimensions of wellbeing such as freedom, autonomy, self direction, self determination, self efficacy etc (ibid.).

Freedom, joint forms of agency and democratic participation
According to Dreze and Sen (1997), the term human agency represents people's ability to act on behalf of goals that matter to them and this aspect of freedom is a core ingredient of positive social change. They define agency freedom as what a person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important. Agency may be exercised at the individual level, or in groups or through democratic participation. Participation is identified as an expression of agency which can have intrinsic value, "indeed being able to do something not only for oneself but also for other members of society is one of the elementary freedoms which people have reason to value". They contend that "the popular appeal of many social movements in India confirms that this capability is highly valued even among people who lead very deprived lives in material terms". In addition to intrinsic importance and instrumental value, joint forms of agency also have a constructive importance because information and perspectives people exchange can change values and preferences. "The practice of democracy gives citizens an opportunity to learn from one another and helps society to form values and priorities".

Agency and political transformation process
Hirschman argues that, "the traditional view that poor women only organize around economic issues in a passive and defensive way denies them agency and consciousness and the understanding that the struggle itself can be a politically transformative process" (in Kilby 2003:6).

Dimensional expression of agency
Alkire (2005:226) is of the view that agency is often exercised with respect to distinct dimensions. For e.g. a person who is empowered as a wife and mother may nonetheless be hesitant to participate in village meetings because of her low educational and social status and excluded from the labor market because of her gender. Alkire observes that psychologists, therefore, focus on enabling persons to develop inner global agency resources for coping with a variety of external circumstances so that they

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are able to address external constraints that inhibit agency such as legal, economic, social, or political barriers (ibid.).

Agency and the theory of self-direction
From the set of nine comprehensive value dimensions proposed by Schwartz et. al such as power, achievement, hedonism etc. Alkire (2005:28) identifies self direction as the one related to autonomy and agency, expressed as independent thought and action and the ability to think, act, choose, create and explore.

Mass liberty aspirations: Political agency and freedom
The mass liberty aspirations approach by Welzel and Inglehart (in Alkire 2005) probes people's agency aspirations with respect to public space. The mass liberty aspiration index was created in order to evaluate how changes in individual aspirations relate to formal democratization processes. Implicit in this is the description of political agency as a dimension of well being. The questions in the mass liberty aspirations index raise issues such as perceptions of free choice and control, perceptions of the freedom to make decisions in the work place, attitudes towards change, freedom of speech, giving people more say in government decisions etc. Alkire is critical of one draw back in this approach related to freedom of speech which reflect to some extent the individualism vs. collectivism of the particular culture and therefore argues that agency measures be treated distinctly from measures of individualism (ibid.).

Domains of psychological wellbeing and agency
From the six domains of wellbeing proposed by Ryff, Alkire identifies environmental mastery and autonomy as related to expansions of agency freedom or empowerment.. Environmental mastery is the ability to manage demands of life and effectively use opportunities in the external environment while autonomy is the ability to follow one's own convictions or having confidence in one's abilities and decisions (ibid.).

Self efficacy and empowerment
The self-efficacy theory proposed by Albert Bandura (2000) argues that people's perceived self-efficacy, as an expression of agency forms a key determinant of people's motivation, their level of effort, and their perseverance in a task. Perceived self-efficacy is people's beliefs in their capabilities to exercise control over their own functioning and over certain events that affect their lives. According to Bandura, "if people perceive themselves to be more capable of accomplishing certain activities they are more likely to undertake them and because judgments and actions are partly self-determined, people can effect change in themselves and their situations through their own efforts" (ibid.).

Perceived self efficacy is empirically measured using a scale comprising of 5-20 items. Respondents are asked to rate the strength of their perceived self-efficacy, or their perceived capability to execute a certain activity pertaining to specific domains such as handling activities in family, in partnership, at work, managing personal finances and health etc. The social cognitive theory of Bandura distinguishes between personal and proxy, and collective forms of agency. The perceived collective efficacy is defined as a group's shared belief in its conjoint capabilities to organize and execute the course of action required to produce given levels of attainments or capabilities of a society or a group operating as a whole to effect desired improvements (Bandura 1997 & 2000).

Self-efficacy scales have been criticized for not being able to distinguish between activities that agents undertake because they pertain to the agent's conception of the good, and the activities they feel coerced or seduced into doing. A survey of 20 studies by Klassen (in Alkire 2005) found that efficacy beliefs operate differently in non-western countries than they do in western countries as efficacy

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scores were lower in collectivist cultures than in individualist cultures. This led to his conclusion that, "it may be that collective efficacy scales should replace self efficacy in some cultural settings".

Agency and the self-determination theory
The self-determination theory propounded by Deci and Ryan (in Alkire 2005) identifies three psychological nutriments as prerequisites to well being across cultures: Autonomy, competence and relatedness. Alkire suggests autonomy as particularly important in the context of human agency which is defined thus: "A person is autonomous when his or her behavior is experienced as willingly enacted and when he or she fully endorses the actions in which he or she is engaged and /or the values expressed by them" (ibid.).

9.5. Political action and collective empowerment

In the context of better and inclusive governance, individual empowerment is seen as a part of the process of community empowerment, which allows individuals, and groups to organize and mobilize themselves towards commonly defined goals of social and political change. Oxal and Baden argue that, "to the extent that mainstream development discourse views empowerment as an individual rather than collective process, it emphasizes entrepreneurship and self-reliance rather than co-operation and collective action to challenge power structures" (in Malhotra et al 2002).

The discourse on social inclusion also sees the potential for empowerment in a collective form whether it is through political, economic, or social mobilization of groups. Community level social norms, such as those constraining women's freedom of movement, access to economic resources, and voice in the local community, may become more egalitarian as a result of strategic collective action by groups of women. Collective action in the social, economic and political spheres such as unionization, advocating for certain law etc. can lead to empowerment in the form of expanded legal rights and political representation at various levels of society.

Kabeer (2001) believes that the project of women's empowerment, requires collective action in the public sphere. Kilby (2003) proposes that empowerment encompasses more than material/economic objectives to include broader personal psychological and capacity dimensions and also a community dimension. Empowerment lies in the relationship with the people and institutions with which the poor interact, and how these institutions influence this relationship. The outcomes of these processes are a raised level of personal empowerment for political action and a redistribution of resources and/or decision making (Calman & Rissel 1994 in Kilby 2003).

Laverack et. al (2001:180) argue that, " it is only by being able to organize and mobilize oneself that individuals, groups and communities will achieve the social and political changes necessary to redress their powerlessness. This is the domain of community empowerment as a political activity that enables people to take control of their lives".

Drawing from their research on development initiatives across many parts of the world, Hickey and Mohan (2004) conclude that only those approaches or projects that were located within a political tradition and sought to empower citizenship based on rights and mobilization of collective action have achieved sustained success in terms of challenging socio-economic inequalities, redistributing resources and promoting social justice.

Dimensions of personal–collective continuum
Spreitzer et al (in Kilby 2003) identify five dimensions of empowerment along the personal-collective continuum. They are: meaning i.e. beliefs, values and behaviors; competence or self-efficacy i.e. being able to carryout particular tasks or roles; self-determination i.e. the ability to initiate or regulate

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actions; impact or how the outcomes of others are influenced; and how people understand and relate to their social environment and the role of collectives in community life.

Community empowerment is most consistently viewed in the literature as a process in the form of a dynamic continuum, involving personal empowerment; the development of small mutual groups; community organizations; partnerships; and social and political action. The potential of community empowerment is gradually maximized as people progress from individual to collective action along this continuum (Jackson *et al.*; Labonte; & Rissel; in Laverack and Wallerstein 2001:182). As an outcome, community empowerment is an interplay between individual and community change with a long timeframe, at least in terms of significant social and political change, typically taking seven years or longer. An example of this type of outcome would be a change in government policy or legislation in favor of individuals and groups who have come together for community action. At an individual level, people may experience a more immediate psychological empowerment such as an increase in self esteem or confidence as an outcome of collective action Though partially measured as self esteem or self efficacy, psychological empowerment is a construct that incorporates the person's perceptions and actions within their social context (ibid.).

It is worth recalling here, Bandura's (2000) concept of perceived collective efficacy which is defined as, "a group's shared belief in its conjoint capabilities to organize and execute the course of action required to produce given levels of attainments or capabilities of a society or a group operating as a whole to effect desired improvements".

For the purposes of this study which seeks to assess empowerment effects of associations in the urban governance arena, the foregone review of literature throws up many critical issues such as:
- Collective and political action in the public sphere holds key to collective empowerment and thus to inclusive and participatory local governance.
- There is a reciprocal relationship between individual and collective political action, political empowerment, personal empowerment and community empowerment.
- Collective political action requires access to information and local organizational capacities including the existence of a dense network of civil society associations.
- Socio-cultural and legal/constitutional/administrative opportunity structures influence the nature of collective political action.

Measuring political empowerment
Politico-legal and community empowerment have been identified as key dimensions of collective empowerment in the development literature and as preconditions for inclusive governance and planning processes. From their review of 45 studies on women's empowerment, Malhotra et. al (2002) document the usage of several indicators of legal and political empowerment as shown in Table 9.1. They also note the tendency of researchers to operationalize indicators of politico-legal empowerment at higher levels of aggregation such as provincial or national level usually in terms of political representation of marginalized communities in Parliament or enactment of laws and formulation of policies etc. Since a large number of studies on empowerment tend to focus at the level of individual or household, the indicators of politico-legal empowerment have been used less frequently at the household /individual or community level as compared to personal, familial, or economic indicators (ibid.).

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Table 9.1:Indicators of politico-legal empowerment at different levels

Dimension	Household/individual level	Community level	Broader level
Legal	Knowledge of legal rights; domestic support for exercising rights	Community mobilization for rights; campaigns for rights awareness; effective local enforcement of legal rights	Laws supporting women's rights, access to resources and options; advocacy for rights and legislation; use of judicial system to redress rights violations
Political	Knowledge of political system and means of access to it; domestic support for political engagement; exercising the right to vote	Women's involvement or mobilization in the local political system/campaigns; support for specific candidates or legislation; representation in local bodies of government	Women's representation in regional and national bodies of government; strength as a voting bloc; representation of women's interests in effective lobbies and interest groups

Source: Malhotra et. al (2002: 5)

By including the political dimension in addition to personal, familial and economic dimensions, Handy and Kassam (2004) posit that women's empowerment measures should include women's participation in systemic transformation through political action. In their study of a rural NGO's empowerment effects on women in the northern India, they have constructed an empowerment index by combining personal autonomy index, family decision making index, economic-domestic consultation index and political autonomy index. The political autonomy index comprises of five items viz. voting according to own decision, awareness of political issues, participating in public protest, political campaigning, and contesting elections. Amongst the eight indicators used by Hashemi (in Malhotra 2002) to measure women's empowerment in Bangladesh, two are political in nature viz. political and legal awareness and involvement in political campaigning and protests.

It appears that measurement of political empowerment is confined to electoral issues and participation in protests. One of the few possible exceptions is the framework articulated by Aslop et.al (2005) which includes politics along with service delivery and justice as the sub domains under the domain of State. Further, they define political capability as the capacity to represent the self or others; gain access to information; to form associations; and participate in the political life of a community or country (ibid.). However, the ability to form associations and participation in community activities are grouped under the domain of society. This is illustrative of a considerable overlapping of domains at the individual/household level. Regardless of the domain, the notion of political capacity as a form of collective capacity itself needs to be broadened to include parameters such as people's ability to demand improved access to and quality of public services, their participation in the planning and provision of services, political skills of negotiation and bargaining etc.

9.6. Civil society and collective empowerment in urban governance: Conceptual inputs for an empirical framework

In the context of collective and political action for inclusive and participatory urban governance, the definition of empowerment as, "the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives" (Narayan

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2002) appears to be more useful and relevant than others. Civil society associations in their myriad forms have been attributed a catalytic role in the process of collective empowerment. Frequent references are found in the literature on the importance of the role of civil society associations both in the form of intermediary and local community based people's associations in freeing the information barriers, educating and mobilizing individuals to assert their rights and articulate their voice in the planning and decision processes and demand accountability from institutions that matter to their lives.

Effects of associational membership on empowerment

The empowerment component of the conceptual framework articulated in chapter six based on Warren's (1999 and 2004) and Rudolph's (2000) propositions are reproduced here. According to Warren, the associative venues of civil society induce empowering effects on their members such as:

- Efficacy: Associations train individuals to be assertive and self confident and develop a habit of doing something about problems when they arise.
- Information: Associations provide key informational resources or act as conduits of information which empowers citizens to demand transparency and accountability of state and market institutions.
- Political skills: They include speaking and self-presentation, negotiation and bargaining, learning when and how to compromise and learning to recognize when one is being manipulated, pressured or threatened.
- Civic virtues: Concern for the common good and justice, interpersonal tolerance, willingness to participate, deliberate and listen, and respect for the rights of others and rule of law.
- Critical skills: Ability of individuals to reflect on their own interests and identities in relation to those of others.

Civil society associational attributes and empowerment

The empowering effects of associations on its members are further influenced by organizational attributes such as to what extent an association is voluntary or involuntary; if an association is voluntary, ascribed or intentional; if an association is hierarchical or egalitarian; if an association is vested or non vested; and if an association is political or non-political in its orientation to governance (Rudolph 2000; Warren 2004).

Based on their research on community empowerment in health promotion, Laverack and Wallerstein (2001:181) propose nine (civil society) organizational variables such as participation, leadership, problem assessment, organizational structures, resource mobilization, linkages to other actors, "asking why", programme management and the role of outside agents as exuding powerful influence on community empowerment.

The effects of NGOs on the level of empowerment

In order to investigate the institutional factors that affect women's empowerment and the possible role of managerial processes therein, Kilby (2003) conducted a comparative analysis of fifteen non government organizations (NGOs) working with women's self help groups operating across two states in Southern and Western India. Women's empowerment was studied as a dependent variable and the data on empowerment was based on the reported changes that women have experienced and how this had translated into agency i.e. the increased opportunities and choices and the ability to act on those choices. The women under study identified their ability in relation to the following as important changes in their lives: to go out of the house; meet with the officials; travel independently outside the village; attend village meetings; and enter political processes. The independent variables influencing these empowering changes were identified as the accountability of the NGO to the groups; the endowments of group members in terms of caste, education levels and land holdings; and the number of years the groups had been meeting. Kilby's study found that the downward accountability within

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the NGO and the number of years the group had been meeting as the two statistically significant variables affecting empowerment. Higher the perceived accountability and level of formal accountability mechanisms and the maturity in terms of the number of years, greater was the level of empowerment (ibid.).

9.7. Formulation of hypotheses and elucidation of measurable variables

Based on the literature reviewed thus far, one main hypothesis and two sub hypotheses were formulated in the context of urban planning and governance in Mysore. The experimental hypotheses were formulated after selection of study associations.

Main hypothesis
Civil society associations induce collective empowerment effects on their members and the empowerment effects are determined by organizational attributes such as the degree of voluntarism, mobilization and awareness strategies, downward accountability and individual attributes such as maturity of membership, level of education, age, gender, income, ethnic identity etc. As a corollary to the main hypothesis, two sub hypotheses were formulated as follows:
- Sub hypothesis one: The members of civil society organizations differ from non-members in their level of collective empowerment.
- Sub hypothesis two: The level of collective empowerment varies as a function of the type or nature of civil society organization.

Elucidation of measurable dependent variables
Collective empowerment in this context was construed as a process rather than an outcome and was conceptualized as a composite dependent variable consisting of the six interrelated individual measurable dependent variables (MDV) encompassing collective agency, awareness and political attributes :

- MDV 1 – associational mode of individual and community problem solving: MDV-1 variables refer to the extent to which individuals in a community solve their problems pertaining to basic services and amenities through collective efforts or through associations.
- MDV 2 - perceived collective efficacy: Collective efficacy refers to a group's shared belief in its conjoint capabilities to attain their goals and accomplish desired tasks. It involves the belief or perception that an effective collective action is possible. Some of the typical questions in this regard are whether individuals believe in the efficacy of collective action; perceive that they are capable of effectively contributing to social and political change; and believe that they are capable of exercising control over given events in the domain of local governance.
- MDV3- participation in political actions: MDV-3 variables refer to the participation of individuals in political actions such as protests and demonstrations organized either by community associations, intermediary civil society organizations like NGOs or political parties.
- MDV4- perceived efficacy of political actions: MDV-4 variables relate to the efficacy of political actions such as protests and demonstrations as perceived by those participate in them.
- MDV5- level of political and civic awareness: MDV-5 variables refer to the level of individual's awareness with regard to service providers, plans, schemes, projects, laws, elected representatives and constitutional rights.
- MDV6- political participation: MDV6 variables refer to the nature and quality of participation of individuals in elections in terms of free and fair exercise of franchise.

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Elucidation of independent variables for collective empowerment
The independent variables assumed to influence the dependent variable of collective empowerment are:
- Socio-demographic variables such as age, gender, caste, education, income, occupation etc.
- Maturity of members in terms of age of membership.
- Organizational attributes: Grass roots voluntary associations, women's self help groups created by various intermediary NGOs, community development associations affiliated to city or district level federations, state sponsored associations, awareness strategies, extent of mobilization and political orientation and internal organizational practices and downward accountability mechanisms. For e.g. if the association is hierarchical or egalitarian in its structure and so on.

The interplay of dependent and independent variables in the context of urban planning and governance is diagrammatically represented in Figure 9.1.
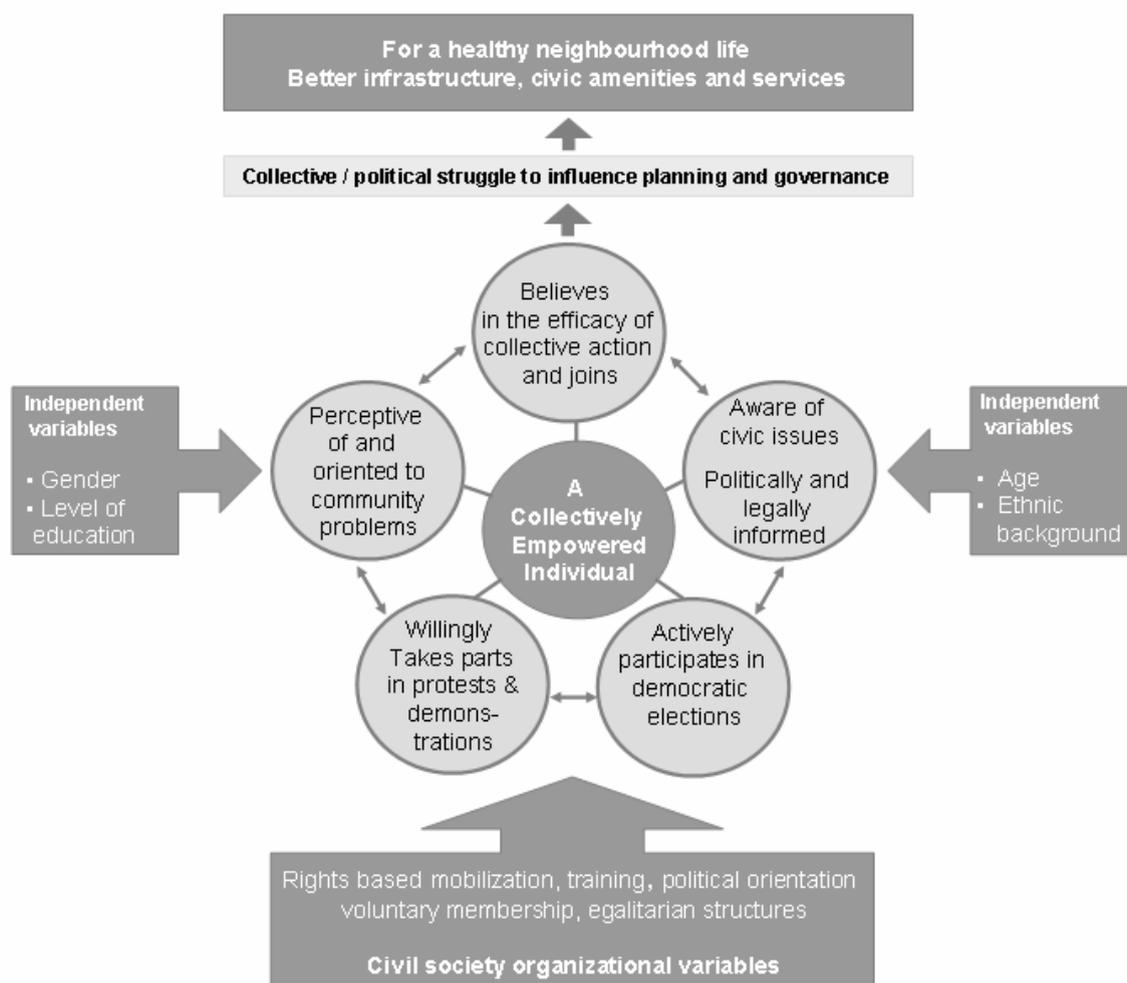
Figure 9.1: Interplay of variables for collective empowerment in the context of urban planning and governance (Source: Author's construct)

9.8. Methodology

A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was used to measure and assess the dependent and independent variables. The methodology is elaborated step-by-step in the subsequent sections.

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Quantitative methods

A questionnaire based sample survey was conducted to measure collective empowerment as a composite dependent variable consisting of six separate variables and the independent variables like social and demographic attributes. The survey questionnaire was administered to the respondents by a team led by the researcher assisted by five trained investigators.

Qualitative methods

The survey data was supplemented by daily field observation reports filed by the investigators, interviews with the key office bearers of the surveyed organizations, group interviews with the field level staff and analysis of secondary data in the form of documents and reports. The qualitative methods were primarily used to generate data on independent variables like organizational attributes.

Survey instrument

The questionnaire was designed so as to enable easy administration to both literate and illiterate respondents and included 121 bilingual, coded and multiple choice questions and items categorized into six sections. A copy of the questionnaire is provided in Appendix 14.7. Prior to the implementation of the survey the instrument was pilot tested on 15 members and 5 non members across three different localities for correcting inconsistencies and gaps. Special items were incorporated into the instrument for respondents of slums. An overview of the survey instrument is provided in Table 9.2.

Table 9.2: An overview of the survey instrument

Sections	Category & sample items	Items, sub items & code
A	General information – age, gender, income, education, etc.	17; A1-17
B	Associational attributes (applicable only for respondents in the member category) - name, purpose and organizational practices	15; B1-15
C	Problem solving and collective efficacy- presence or absence of services and amenities; problem incidence; problem solving approach and perceived collective efficacy	52 items and sub items C1-16
D	Political and collective action – protests and demonstrations	8; D1-4
E	Civic and political awareness – awareness of plans, projects, schemes, rights, and agencies	19; E1-16
F	Political participation – nature of electoral participation	10; F1-10
	Total	**121**

Source: Author's construct

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9.9.   Sampling of survey respondents

Two population groups were identified for sampling the survey respondents. Individual members of civil society associations formed the experimental group while individuals not affiliated to any civil society associations (non-members) constituted the control group.

Stratified multistage random sampling of member respondents

Given the potential linkage between problem solving at the neighborhood level, associational life and collective empowerment, the member respondents were chosen only from membership associations and groups existing at the neighborhood or community levels. 'Community' in this context is construed as a group of house holds in a given locality including slum areas.

Stratified multistage random sampling method was used to select the member respondents in order to capture the diversity in the typology of associations and groups operating at the community/neighborhood level. Stratified random sampling involves dividing the population under study into homogenous sub groups or strata and then taking a simple random sample in each strata or sub group. Stratified multistage sampling is where only a random sample of lowest hierarchical level subjects are selected. Multistage sampling is a continuous process where the population is divided into strata which are then sampled followed by stratification of the sampled strata into sub-strata which are further sampled and stratified and thus repeating the process until the ultimate sampling units are selected at the last of the hierarchical levels.   When the strata are geographic units, this method is sometimes called *area or cluster sampling*. The greater the heterogeneity of the strata and finer the stratification (that is, the smaller the clusters involved) depending on the topic of study, the greater the precision of the results (Trochim 2005).

Drawn from the mapping and broad stratification of civil society organizations in the city of Mysore carried out during the exploratory field phase (Chapter seven), the list of membership associations and groups at the local/community level formed a sub set of the general population pool of civil society organizations addressing various issues of urban governance. The sub-set was stratified in multiple stages as shown in figure 9.2. The distribution of sample across the different substrata is provided in Table 9.3. At the final stage of stratification, the member respondents were selected from six super-substrata derived from four main substrata linked to two main strata of civil society organizations in Mysore. The civil society associations in Mysore can be classified in various ways. From a socio-economic-spatial perspective, two broad categories can be identified viz. local membership associations/groups of poor people (mostly in slums); and local membership associations of the middle and upper income people (mostly better served localities).The organizational attributes of the each selected stratum is described in Table 9.5.

Local membership associations /groups of the poor people
The local membership associations/groups of the poor people can be stratified into three sub strata:
- Substratum1: Women's self help groups (SHGs) comprising of twenty members each with micro credit, savings or income generation as the main strategy for urban poverty alleviation promoted by intermediary city wide civil society associations in Mysore such as the Organization for Development of People (ODP)- 100 federated SHGs; Mysore Rural Development Agency (MYRADA) – 300 federated SHGs; Group for Urban and Rural Development (GUARD) – 225 weakly federated SHGs; ENEDSA – 30 SHGs; Prasthuthi – 125 poorly federated SHGs, etc. In general, the self help groups are rudimentary in their organizational attributes consisting of group leaders and treasurers and derive their associational strength from affiliation to their respective federations and the promoting organizations. Regular meetings and book keeping are common features. The SHGs have been observed to take part in protests and demonstrations as well as to

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get involved in local problem solving activities while their leaders tend towards informal alliances to political parties during elections. From substratum1, ODP and GUARD were selected for sampling member respondents.

- Substratum 2: Women's SHGs comprising of twenty members each with micro credit and savings as the main focus promoted by state government and quasi government agencies in Mysore such as the Mysore City Corporation – around 600 weakly federated SHGs and Zilla Saaksharatha Samithi (ZSS- District Literacy Committee) – about 200 weakly federated SHGs under the Urban Stree Shakthi scheme of the Karnataka State Government and the central government sponsored Swarna Jayanthi Shehari Rozgaar Yojane (SJSRY- an urban employment scheme). Both ZSS and MCC promoted groups were selected for sampling member respondents. Though state promoted grass-roots civil society associations appear antithetical to the very notion of civil society, they were selected mainly to generate empirical feedback on one of the current policy directives that seeks to nurture and harness associational structures with in society as a means to achieve good urban governance. In addition to the attributes described above, the SHGs of MCC and ZSS are known to be subject to influence by municipal councilors and receive donations from electoral candidates.

- Substratum 3: Community development associations and youth groups comprising of both men and women as members in the slums of Mysore either self initiated or promoted by intermediary civil society associations. The most active amongst them is the Rural Literacy and Health programme (RLHP) which is currently working in 34 slums of Mysore and has setup more than 100 women's SHGs, about 30 women's associations for improving health and educational status, 15 youth groups and 30 community development associations (comprising mainly of men as active members). RLHP has an integrated approach to slum rehabilitation and envisages women's credit groups as only one part of this holistic approach. The people's associations facilitated by RLHP are registered societies federated under three federations namely, the Mysore Slum Dwellers Association, Dhwani Mahila Okkoota and Kirana. Selection of the RLHP combine was an obvious choice given it's holistic and empowering approach to the development of the urban poor. The associations of RLHP exhibit strong political orientation both in their advocacy strategy and electoral participation.

Local membership organizations of the middle/upper income people
This stratum consists of an estimated 30-40 voluntary associations of citizens in various middle and upper income localities of Mysore called as Residents Welfare Associations (RWAs) or Rate Payers Associations (RPAs). While the RWAs are not federated, the RPAs are weakly organized under the Federation of Rate Payers Associations of Mysore. Irrespective of the nomenclature, these associations have a distinct geographical territory and are leader-driven groups. The membership, either annual or life time is generally restricted to the residents of a given locality who pay a nominal membership fee. Their main focus is on civic problems in their respective localities. Legally, most of them are registered societies with a governing council or executive committee consisting of chief office bearers such as the president, secretary, treasurer etc. who are also the most active members in the day-to-day functioning of the association. They interface with political representatives as well as the state agencies in their efforts to improve civic infrastructure and services in their localities. The RWAs are prevalent in both municipal jurisdiction as well as the peri-urban areas governed by the Mysore Urban Development Authority. RWAs and RPAs must not be confused with SHGs promoted by MCC in selected localities which are are also being promoted as residents' welfare associations for providing door-to-door garbage collection services under Nirmala Nagara Yojane, a scheme supported by the state government.

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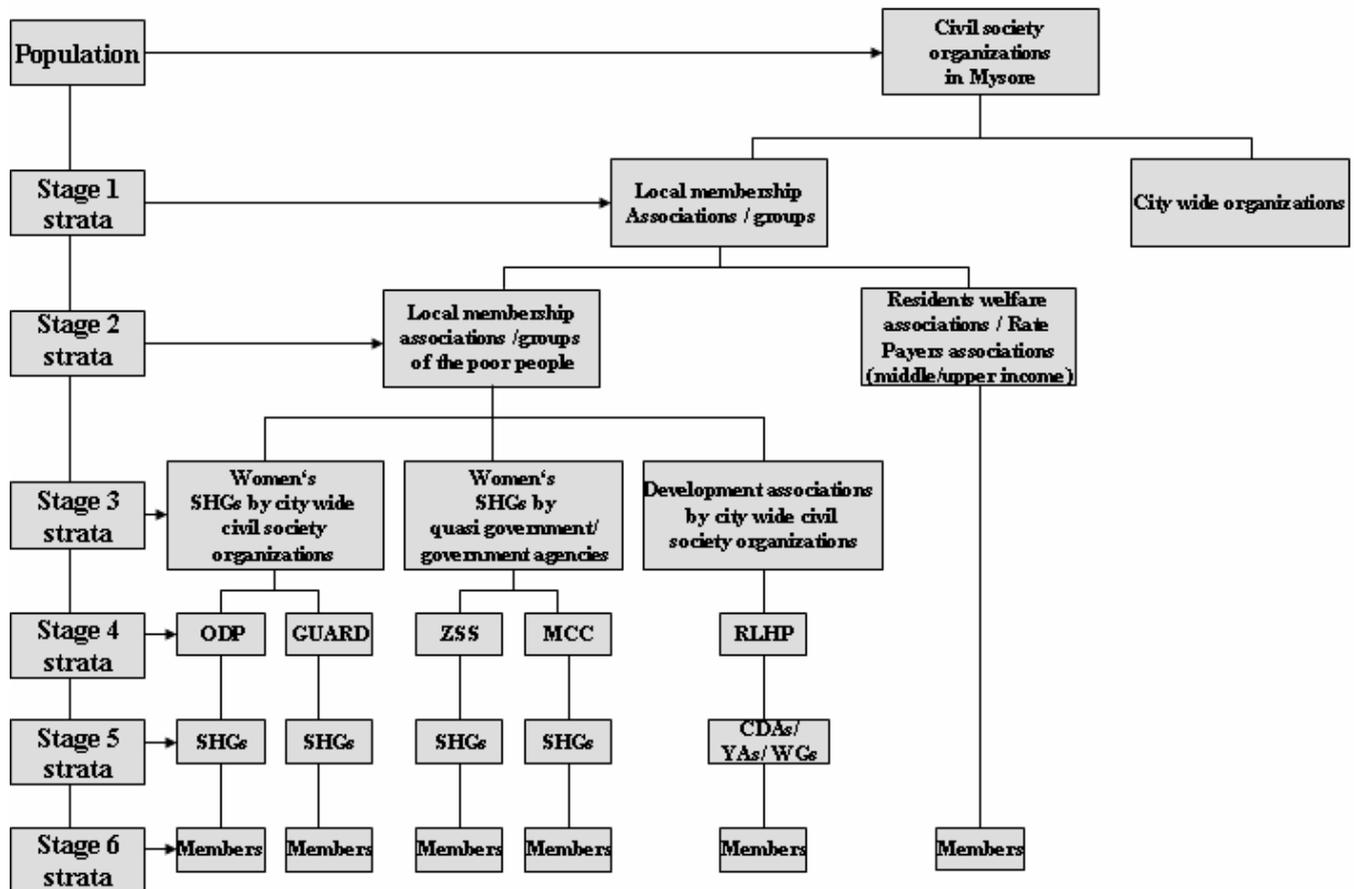
Figure 9.2: Stratified multi stage random sampling process
(Source: Author's construct)

Sampling steps, tasks and constraints

After selecting the six substrata viz. RLHP, RWAs, ODP, GUARD, ZSS and MCC through multistage stratified random sampling, the total number of respondents for each substratum was fixed proportionally to the diversity between the various substrata. The number of respondents for each selected substratum was to some extent also determined by the limited scope of the research and the available resources in terms of time and funds. The sampling plan is depicted in Table 9.3. Nevertheless, care was taken to ensure the number of respondents for each substratum that was considered appropriate[12] for statistical analysis. The actual member respondents were selected using simple random method to render the sample relatively representative of the population of each sub-stratum.

-   The lists of SHGs and the list of SHG members were obtained from the offices of GUARD, ODP, ZSS and MCC.
-   The list of community development associations, SHGs and youth associations as well as the name lists of SHG members were obtained from the RLHP office.
-   For RWAs, the list generated during the exploratory research phase was used.
-   Since each group/association had an active membership not in excess of 20, five members were randomly selected from each group/association under each substratum.
-   In the first step, the groups/associations were chosen based on the total number of respondents fixed for each substratum. For e.g. the substratum ODP was assigned a total number of 70 respondents. Therefore, 15 SHGs (15 SHGs multiplied by 5 respondents in each SHG is equal to

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[12] In the statistical practice, it is a thumb rule to use a minimum sample size of N=30 to achieve meaningful results from statistical analysis

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70) were chosen from the ODP list of 110 groups. The 15 groups were chosen randomly by selecting every seventh group from the list of 110 groups. (the total of 110 groups divided by the required number of 15 groups is equal to 7.3. Therefore every seventh group was selected). Each group had twenty members and since the requirement was only five from each group, every 4ʰ member on the list was selected as the respondent (the total of 20 members divided by the required number of 5 is equal to 4).

- Since the name lists of members were not available for RWAs, the community development/youth associations of RLHP, and some SHGs of GUARD, MCC and ZSS, member respondents for such groups were chosen as per the instructions of the leaders of the groups or the field staff of the promoting organizations.
- Some of the RWAs originally chosen from the list were either not willing to partic ipate in the survey or feigned non-availability of members. The process of random selection of RWAs was therefore constrained. But a certain degree of spatial distribution was introduced to ensure variability.
- On some occasions more than five members per SHG had to be accommodated as respondents, since the designated respondents had brought along other members who couldn't be disappointed. On other occasions the entire SHG with twenty members was made to assemble at the venue due to miscommunication between the field staff of the organizations and the leaders of the SHGs.

Sampling of non-members

The non-members were selected in proportion to members in a ratio of 5:3 i.e. for every five members per group/association surveyed, three non-members residing in the same locality as the members, were surveyed. The non-members were located and identified on the spot with the help of members. Given the vastly large number of non-members, their selection was not based on a random principle and therefore bias in sample selection could not be ruled out. But efforts were made to minimize the bias by distributing the non-members either across streets or age groups. There were also localities, though handful, where most of the women were organized under one or the other groups which made it difficult to sample adequate number of non-members. In such cases, the numbers were compensated in localities where non-members were more easily accessible. Owing to these field adjustments, the total non-members surveyed increased by about 10% and the members by about 3% compared to the original plan.

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Table 9.3: Distribution of sample across the substrata

Substratum		Number of groups listed	Number of groups sampled	Member-respondents		Non member-respondents[13]	
				Frequ-ency	Percent of total member sample	Frequ-ency	Percent of total non member sample
RLHP[14]	**CDAs in slums**	**25**	7	36	8	25	8.3
	Youth groups	14	3	15	3.3	12	4
	SHGs in slums	220	11	55	12	40	13
RWAs		40	15	80	17.7	53	17.6
ODP -SHGs		110	15	75	16.6	48	16%
GUARD -SHGs		225	12	62	13.7	40	13
ZSS -SHGs		200	12	65	14.4	42	14
MCC- SHGs		600	12	62	13.7	41	14
Total		**1434**	**87**	**450**	**100%**	**301**	**100%**

Source: Author's construct

9.10. Survey implementation

The survey was implemented over a period of four months between January and April of year 2006 and entailed the following steps to ensure proper administration of the questionnaire:

- *Field investigators:* Four female and one male personnel were hired and trained as field investigators to conduct the survey. Of the five investigators, two were students of law, one was a part time employee of an accounting firm with a Bachelors degree in business management, one was a part time employee of an intermediary civil society organization[15] involved in the promotion of SHGs and one was a Bachelor of Arts.
- *Briefing note:* A briefing note as provided in Appendix 14.8 was prepared to serve as an instruction guide for administration of the instrument.

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[13] for statistical analysis, and to narrow down the same to the scope of the empirical framework, the non member category (N= 301) was considered as one population group.

[14] For statistical analysis, members across all the RLHP groups were considered as one group of members

[15] Prasthuthi – which was not part of the surveyed organizations

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- *Field trials*: As part of the training, each investigator was made to conduct three field trials (interviews) to familiarize them about the Do's and Don'ts of survey research. This further helped in the refinement of the survey instrument.

- *Place of survey*: Beginning with ODP, the substrata were surveyed one after another. All the groups were given prior notices about the date and time of the survey. The five member respondents of the SHGs were invited to assemble either at the community hall in their locality or at the residence of the group leader and were each surveyed separately by each of the five investigators. On some occasions, interviews were carried out on streets, under the tree or the street light as the respondents were embarrassed to have the investigators inside their houses due to conditions of poverty. The non member respondents were usually surveyed at the place of their residence which was also the case with the respondents from the RWA substratum. During the early stages of the survey, the average time taken per respondent was between 20-25 minutes. But as the investigators became familiar with instrument and the procedure for administration, the average time taken reduced to 15 minutes.

- *Field walks and back checks:* While the interviews were in progress, the researcher usually undertook 'walks' in the area, for casual chats with the shopkeepers or other curious onlookers to ascertain and document the condition of civic infrastructure and basic services and to use it as a 'back check' to the survey responses. In addition, twenty random back checks (four each per investigator) were carried out by the researcher to verify the veracity of the data and also to ensure adherence to the survey procedure.

- *Field observation notes:* The investigators were instructed to prepare a hand written field observation note for every group surveyed to record their impressions, the status of basic amenities, special remarks of the respondents and their behavioral attributes such as the level of confidence, and broader awareness, leadership qualities etc. Of the 87 groups surveyed, notes were filed for 80 groups spread across more than 30 localities including both slum and non-slum areas.

- *Scrutiny and feedback*: Feedback sessions were held with the field investigators almost on a daily-basis in order to scrutinize the filled up survey questionnaires, correct mistakes in the recorded responses and seek clarifications about dubious entries if any. These meetings were generally held in the public parks or in the premises of the Mysore Palace.

9.11. Organizational attributes of the surveyed organizations

Based on the literature reviewed, five attributes were considered for organizational analysis viz. attribute A- hierarchical vs. egalitarian organizational structure; attribute B- nature of membership on the voluntary-involuntary continuum; attribute C- organizational emphasis on awareness of Constitutional rights, laws, government agencies, plans and schemes; attribute D- mobilization of members and communities for problem solving in the neighborhood; and attribute E- the degree of political orientation as reflected in the interactions between communities and the state agencies and also propensity for protests and demonstrations as a means of demanding better access to services and amenities. Attributes C, D and E are interrelated since mobilization of communities and members involves awareness creation and orienting them politically to the state.

Methods of collecting data on organizational attributes
The data on organizational characteristics that are known to act as independent variables affecting the level of collective empowerment, were collected through group interviews with the field level staff of the intermediary promoting organizations and also individual interviews with their heads or the members of the senior staff. Secondary sources in the form of information brochures and annual reports were also used as data supplements. The interviews and discussions were conducted while the implementation of the survey was underway. The list of group and individual interviews is provided

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in Table 9.4, the interview formats used are provided as Appendix 14.9. The data and the analysis are summarized in Table 9.5.

Analysis of organizational attributes
- Attribute A- the degree of hierarchy vs. egalitarianism in organizational structure

   Complete egalitarianism appears to be an unrealistic expectation. None of the associations under study were egalitarian in their structure. Even voluntary associations such as RWAs with their rudimentary structures were only less hierarchical compared to others since their leaders usually decided on issues and problems. Hierarchy is understood as a structure characterized by top-down control and strong vertical relationships with low degree of freedom and restricted information flow at the bottom most level of the organization. Egalitarianism in this context is construed as a more open work environment with space for all its constituents to air their views and grievances fearlessly and where people at the bottom have a sense of autonomy in carrying out their tasks. The field staff in all the five except RWAs had a marginal role if at all in the overall decision making process of their organizations. None of the field level staff of RLHP, ODP and GUARD had knowledge of the financial situation of their organizations or had access to annual reports or budget estimates. The filed staff of ZSS and MCC both of which are governmental organizations, the field staff had but no choice to strictly follow the project guidelines and instructions.

- Attribute B- nature of membership on the voluntary- involuntary continuum

   Voluntary membership was observed only in RWAs, and community development associations and women's groups in slums promoted by RLHP where participation in the proceedings was not mandatory and members enjoyed greater freedom to air their views without fear of being reprimanded or repressed. Members of RWA appeared to enjoy the highest degree of freedom, though RWAs have a limited membership and their activities are mainly driven by a handful of leaders. The membership in SHGs, participation of members in SHG meetings and SHGs' affiliation to their promoter organizations like GUARD, ZSS, MCC, ODP etc. is mandatory and therefore less voluntary, since the SHGs are bound by financial relationship amongst members and with their promoters in terms of savings and borrowings.

- Attributes C, D and E - awareness, mobilization and degree of political orientation

   Both RLHP and RWA substrata differ from others in terms of their greater emphasis on creating awareness on constitutional rights, relevant laws and government schemes, and their tendency to mobilize members and communities for solving neighborhood problems (attributes G and H). They also differ from others in their higher degree of political orientation (attribute F) reflected not only in more frequent interactions with government agencies and political representatives but also in their tendency to organize and participate in protests and demonstrations as a means to demand better access to services and infrastructure in their respective localities. For e.g. RLHP staff recalled having organized in association with MSDF and Dhwani federation city wide protests over the last 13 years on at least eight occasions and several small scale demonstrations at the slum level in addition to training programmes for both men and women leaders from slums on the importance of community solidarity and collective bargaining. Similarly, all the three RWAs interviewed narrated having organized protests and demonstrations either for seeking amenities such as parks, roads, water supply, etc. (RWA1 and 2) and against incidents like encroachment of land reserved for parks and other civic amenities by vested interests (RWA2), contamination of drinking water with sewage (RWA 3) etc.

   Like MCC, GUARD, and ZSS, though ODP is also exclusively focused on promotion of women's SHGs, it differs from the other three in terms of its slightly greater impetus on creating awareness on rights and entitlements and mobilizing the communities to participate in protests and demonstrations, though however, not as robustly as RLHP and RWAs. For e.g. the senior staff of

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ODP recalled having organized protest against unfriendly behavior of medical staff at a public hospital and also against non-issuance of ration cards meant for poor people's access to subsidized food grains and other essential commodities. Therefore, in terms of attributes F, G and H considered as important in the empowerment process, ODP falls somewhere between RLHP and RWA on the one side and GUARD, ZSS, and MCC on the other. The latter three did not recall a single instance of mobilizing communities for problem solving or for collectively redressing their grievances.

Table 9.4: Modes of collecting data on organizational variables

Name of the organization	Group interviews	Individual interviews	Secondary data
RLHP	With five field level staff	Interviews with three senior staff	Annual Report 2002 and other publications
RWAs	_____	Interviews with leaders of three RWAs: Madhuvana RWA (1) Vijayanagar 5th Stage RWA (2) Bhogadi Jana Hitha Rakshana Vedike (3) Interview with the President of Federation of Rate Payers Association	Annual report of Vijayanagar 5th Stage RWA-2005
ODP	With four field level staff	Interview with two senior staff	Special Report commemorating 17 years of ODP work
GUARD	With four field level staff	Interview with the Secretary	Information Brochure
ZSS	_____	Interview with one senior and one field level staff	_____
MCC- USS	With six field level staff	Interview with the Project Leader	USS project guidelines

Source: Author's construct

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Table 9.5: Organizational attributes of the six substrata of member respondents

Attributes	RLHP	ODP	RWAs	GUARD	ZSS	MCC-USS
Mission/ Programme Focus	Poor people's associations Holistic approach Child oriented	Integrated human development; Women's empowerment NRM[16]	Local area development & Problem solving	Community development People's institutions Women's empowerment	Literacy and skill training	Economic empowerment of women
Legal Status	Registered Society	Registered Society	Registered society	Registered society	Quasi government	State govt. (Municipal Corporation)
Source of funding	Foreign donors & government But, associations through fee	Church and Government	Membership Fee and local private sponsors	Foreign donors and government	Government	Government
(A) Hierarchical vs. Egalitarian structure	Hierarchical	Hierarchical	Partly egalitarian	Hierarchical	Hierarchical	Hierarchical
(B) Voluntary-Involuntary dimension	Less voluntary But their associations are voluntary	Less voluntary But their women's groups are voluntary	Voluntary	Less voluntary	Less voluntary	Less voluntary
(C) Emphasis and Awareness on constitutional rights	High	High	High	Moderate	Low	Low
(D) Awareness and Mobilization of communities for problem solving	High and mass based	Moderate	High and community based	Low	Low	Nil
(E) Degree of political orientation	High	Moderate	High	Low	Low	Nil

Source: Author's construct based on individual and group interviews and secondary data

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9.12. Analysis of survey data and findings

Version 14 of the Statistical Programme for Social Sciences (SPSS) for Windows was used to record the data and perform statistical operations. After the data entry, frequency tables and cross tabulations were generated to compute a demographic profile of various categories of respondents to show that the sample adheres normal distribution characteristics. This was followed by computation of the Collective Empowerment Score (CES) as a measure of the level of collective empowerment exhibited by the respondents. The interrelationship between the individual variables that were assumed to constitute the composite variable of collective empowerment was determined using Pearman's correlation method. In order to verify the null hypothesis, the statistical significance of mean CES across various categories was calculated using the 't' test. Finally, multiple regression analysis was performed to delineate independent 'predictor' variables for the dependent variable of collective empowerment.

General demographic profile of respondents

The data on some of the key demographic attributes of the respondents are cross tabulated and summarized in Appendices 14.12, 14.13 and 14.14. Apart from the six substrata of members, non-member groups, slum and non-slums, and male and female categories were also considered for demographic profiling and advanced analysis.

Distribution of sample across member-nonmember, gender and type of area
Since the sampling design was based on a 5:3 ratio for members and non members, of the 751 respondents totally surveyed, members constituted 60% of the sample while non-members 40%. Across the six substrata of members, the respondents are proportionately distributed according to the diversity of associations with highest in RLHP (14%) followed by 11% in RWA, 10% in ODP and about 8.4% each in GUARD, ZSS and MCC. Since women-only groups and associations outnumber other types of associations, women constituted about 70% of the total sample. It is estimated that only about 11% of Mysore's population are slum dwellers and yet they constituted almost half of the total sample owing to the presence of a disproportionately large number of associations and groups in slums than in non-slum areas. All the respondents of RLHP and about 75% of ODP respondents were slum dwellers given their exclusive focus on slum dwellers. All the RWA respondents were residents of non-slum areas while a majority (about 70%) of GUARD, ZSS and MCC respondents were also non-slum residents though their mission statements and programme objectives claim exclusive focus on empowerment of poor people in general and women in particular. This suggests that all the poor people are not slum dwellers. But it may also be an indication of wrong targeting of beneficiaries for the government sponsored micro credit schemes.

Age of the respondents
Roughly half of the respondents were in the age group of 18 to 35 years and about a third in the age group of 36 to 50. For the overall sample, about 92% of women are distributed over 18-35 and 36-50 age cohorts as against 70% male for the same cohorts. A similar pattern is observed for distribution of respondents by age across slums and non-slums with about 95% of the slum sample in the 18-50 cohorts as compared to 75% of the non slum sample. This is reflected to some extent in the sharp contrast observed between RLHP, an all-slum group of which a majority of them (68%) are in the 18-35 age cohort and RWA, an all non slum group where 60% of respondents are in 51-65 cohort. RLHP has almost equal number of slum associations with men and women as members in addition to youth groups and most of the women members are relatively younger than men. In RWAs that are prevalent in middle/upper income areas, active members are generally older and retired men and in general, the membership is limited.

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Literacy , education and the habit of reading newspapers
About 80% of the total sample were literates which corresponds closely with the literacy rate of 84% for the entire city of Mysore (DCO 2005). Members had marginally more number of literates than non-members. Amongst the literates about 65% were distributed across primary, high school, and senior secondary levels of education and about 15% were graduates and above. More illiterates were among women compared to men which confirmed the general demographic trend in Mysore while slums had a larger share of illiterates (30%) than non slum areas (10%). Across the member substrata, RWAs had 100% literates of which 75% were graduates and post graduates. Amongst the other five substrata the ZSS respondents had a considerably higher share of literates/educated (88%) owing to ZSS's focus on enhancement of literacy. Since a majority of the respondents of RLHP and ODP were slum dwellers living in poorer conditions, they had a larger share of illiterates (about 33%) than all other substrata.

The item on newspaper reading was included in the questionnaire because of its presumed importance in the level of general awareness and therefore in the level of empowerment. About 74% of all those who reported being educated or with literacy skills (N=598) also reported to be in the habit of reading newspapers. Newspaper reading appears to correspond with literacy rates as it was more prevalent amongst males (85%) than females (67%) and in non-slum areas (81%) than slum areas (61%). The There was only a marginal difference between members and non-members. Across the six member substrata, RWAs recorded 96%, the highest with 100% literacy rate followed by ZSS (82%) which recorded the second highest literacy. ODP respondents who recorded highest illiteracy rate also recorded lowest percentage for newspaper reading.

Monthly household income
In survey research, it is generally observed that respondents are hesitant to reveal true values of their income. Therefore questions on income are generally optional and designed to sound less obtrusive. Instead of asking the exact income, respondents were given four options or income brackets in the ascending order and asked to indicate the bracket applicable to them. About 75% of the respondents reported a monthly household income of less than €100, 13% in the income bracket of €100 to €200 and 8% in the bracket of above €200. The non disclosure rate was only 4%. The pattern was similar for both members and non-members. Amongst the members, about 90% of RLHP and ODP respondents who are primarily slum dwellers reported a monthly household income of less than €100 whereas about 76% of the RWA respondents who are residents of middle/ upper income areas reported a monthly income above €100 and even €200. Therefore the data on income can be taken to be in conformity with the general expectations.

Only 77% of the ZSS and 86% of the MCC respondents reported a monthly household income of less than €100. Both ZSS and MCC are implementing the Urban Stree Shakthi programme, a state government scheme on micro credit explicitly meant for economic empowerment of women from families who are Below the Poverty Line (BPL) which is fixed at a per capita monthly income of about €5.5. Considering that the average family size for the entire sample is 5.5 with usually two adult working members, and assuming a per capita monthly income of even €25, which is way above the stipulated poverty line, the total household income for all the ZSS and MCC respondents was expected to be still in the < €100 income bracket. However, that 23% of the ZSS and 11% of the MCC respondents have reported an income above €100 points towards faulty targeting of beneficiaries under the micro finance schemes. Given that about 90% of ZSS members had been members for less than three years, it is unlikely that financial situation of some of these families improved in such a short span of time.

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Distribution across religious and caste groups
The distribution of the sample along religious groups closely follows that of the general demographic trends in Karnataka with about 81 % of the sample being Hindus, 16% Muslims and 3 % Christians. A similar pattern is observed between members and non-members. 95% of respondents in non-slum areas were Hindus. However the slums had 61% Hindu and 31% Muslim respondents. Across the member sub strata, MCC and RWAs had the largest share of Hindu respondents followed by ZSS and RLHP whereas ODP had the largest share of Muslim (44%) respondents owing to their extensive work in slums that have a high concentration of Muslims. Amongst Hindus, 31% belonged to Scheduled Castes (SC) and Tribes (ST) which is double than what is observed in the overall population of Mysore city. This can be explained by the fact that SC and ST respondents constitute about 52% of the total slum sample and slums which form the focus of RLHP and ODP are also sites of intensive associational activities.

Age of membership
About 50% of the members appear to be recent entrants to the associational arena as their membership was less than three years. It is due to a high percentage of GUARD (87%), ZSS (95%) and MCC (63%) respondents coming under the cohort of below three years of membership. About 33% of the sample had been members between 3 to 5 years and about 17% had six or more years of membership. Across the substrata, ODP had the largest concentration (65%) in the 3 to 5 year cohort followed by RLHP with 42%. Further high on the age ladder are RWAs , 45% of whose respondents are in the 6l years and above cohort. This is also related to the a higher concentration (60%) of RWA respondents in the age cohort of 51 years and above. Amongst all the substrata, the RWA category had the highest number of respondents in the age cohort of 51 years and above.

Availability of household services and community facilities

The questions on availability of services were included primarily to elicit responses on the mode of community problem solving as related to perceived collective efficacy and therefore to collective empowerment. Respondents were asked to simply respond 'yes/no' or don't know/can't say to the question on whether a particular service or facility was available. The 'Yes' respondents were further asked if they perceived problem (s) with the reported service or facility. Ten community services and three household services were included. The slum respondents had an extra question about the legal status of their slums. Also the selection of areas/localities for survey was determined by the selection of SHGs/associations and not by the type of locality. Nevertheless, more than 20 slums and 30 non-slum localities spread across Mysore were covered in the survey. And yet, the data on availability of services was expected only to provide a glimpse of the differential access across slums and non-slum areas and not a general picture representative of Mysore city. Only for illustrative purposes, data on three household services and five community services are cross tabulated and summarized in Appendices 14.15 and 14.16. The perception of problems pertaining to these services will be discussed in the subsequent sections.

Household services
In all, 85% of the respondents reported availability of piped water supply, 92% reported availability of underground drainage and 94%, the availability of power supply. The difference was apparent between slums and non-slum areas with the latter enjoying almost cent percent availability of the three services. Only 73% of the slum respondents reported availability of piped water supply at the household level which is also reflected in lower percentage of RLHP and ODP respondents reporting availability of water supply, a majority of whom are slum dwellers. A similar pattern is observed with regard to underground drainage and power supply. RWA respondents who are residents of middle/upper income localities expectedly reported 100% availability of all the three services.

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Community services/amenities
In general, around 90% of the non-slum respondents reported availability of all the five services viz. street lights, storm water drainage, paved access roads, garbage clearance and connectivity to public transport. On the other hand, only 50% of the slum respondents reported availability of garbage clearance and 71%, connectivity to public transport. For street lighting, storm water drainage and paved roads, the slum percentages were 93%, 80% and 81% respectively. The lower percentage of reported availability of community services by slum respondents is also reflected in the lower figures for ODP and RLHP respondents, a majority of whom are slum dwellers as for e.g. only 37% of the ODP and 50% of the RLHP respondents reported garbage clearance facility in their localities. 100% of the RWA respondents reported availability of street lighting, paved roads and connectivity to public transport closely followed by ZSS, GUARD and MCC respondents. Garbage clearance facility was the lowest reported amongst the five community services. There was no perceptible difference in the reporting between members and non members and between males and females. Like household services, the data for community services also indicates differential availability of community services in slums and non-slums.

Computation of collective empowerment score

Collective empowerment was construed as a composite of variables V1 to V6 and was called as Variable 8 or V8.For the purpose of arriving at the overall score of collective empowerment (CE), the following steps were carried out. The details and the results are summarized in Table 9.6.

Identification of items for scoring
Since all items under a given variable set were not directly related to the measure of CE, the items considered as relevant for scoring were sorted out. For e.g. under section C of the instrument, items 3a to 3k and 4a to 4k were not considered for scoring since they were related to availability of services whereas items C5a to 5k were considered as they were related to the mode of problem solving. Table 9.6 provides the details of all the items considered for scoring.

Computing the raw score
The response to each question identified under each variable for each respondent was assigned a score of either 1 or 0 as the case was. For e.g. items C5a to C5k under V1 sought to know the mode of resolving community problems. If the response was 'local association' or 'local association' through the municipal councilor, the item was scored as '1', if not '0'. Similarly for item E2 under V5 "do you know which agency is responsible for preparing the Comprehensive Development Plan for Mysore", if the answer was 'MUDA' it was recorded as correct and scored '1' if not it was recorded as incorrect and scored '0'. After scoring each selected item thus, all the '1's were summed up separately under V1 to V6 to obtain raw scores for V1 to V6. The maximum possible raw score under V1 to V6 is provided in Table 9.6.

Adding weights to raw scores: Rationale and procedure
The main objective of adding weights to the raw scores was to correct the effect of minor imbalances in the values of individual variables on the composite variable in accordance with their presumed importance. Adding weights either increases or decreases the value of variables in relation to others depending on the quantum of weights.

Human agency is accorded critical importance in the literature pertaining to studies on empowerment. In the instrument designed and used for the survey on collective empowerment, V2 which relates to respondent's collective self efficacy is considered as one of the most precise measures of agency. Since only four items on collective self efficacy were included in the instrument, it was given the maximum weight of 35% resulting in doubling of its value in the composite score.

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V5 which relates to awareness on rights, laws, schemes, and state agencies concerned with planning and development of Mysore city. Awareness of individuals is considered as a more direct measure of associational impact compared to others. Therefore the raw score on V5 was accorded 20% weight resulting in increasing its value by about 20%.

The items under V1 sought to measure a respondent's overall belief and perception in the ability of the local association to initiate efforts towards community problem solving as a sum total of past experiences and future expectations. On the one hand, the V1 items are closely related to the agency as measured by items under V2 and on the other hand, to the impacts of associational action. Therefore V1 raw score was accorded 15% weight in order to retain its relative importance and yet mildly alter its actual position on the composite score.

The V3 and V4 items are closely interrelated and measure to some extent the degree of political orientation in terms of participation in protests and demonstrations and perceived efficacy of these actions. Since all the six items only sought to know if the respondent had participated in a protest/demonstration in the past and whether he/she perceived it as important and effective and since the degree of political orientation is partly addressed by all the other variables, the raw scores for V3 and V4 was accorded a net weight of 15% thus bringing down their overall value by about 50%.

The raw score for V6 items which measure electoral participation was given 15% weight to more or less retain its relative value since it has been consistently regarded as an important indicator of empowerment in the numerous studies on women's empowerment.

Adding weight to the raw score of a given variable involved multiplying the raw score by the weight and the total number variables as shown below:

Weighted score = $\dfrac{\text{individual raw score x weight x 6}}{100}$

for e.g.

Maximum weighted score for V2 = $\dfrac{\text{4 (raw score) x 35 (weight) x 6 (total no. of variables)}}{100}$

$$= 8.4$$

Collective empowerment, the composite variable was then computed by adding up the individual weighted scores. As shown in Table 9.6, the maximum weighted score is 62. Though the maximum possible weighted score appears very close to the maximum raw score of 64, the relative values or positions of the individual variables within the weighted score are altered as compared to the raw score.

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Table 9.6: System of computing collective empowerment score

Variables	Components	Set of questions *(from the survey instrument)*	Total number of scored items	Maximum Possible raw score	Weights	Maximum weighed score
V1	Community and household problem solving initiative through local associations including when they approach the local municipal councilor	C5 a to C5 l & C10 a to C10 d	16	32	15%	**32 x 0.15 x 6** *= 28.8*
V2	Perceived collective self efficacy	C13 to C16	4	4	35%	**4 x 0.35 x 6** *= 8.4*
V3	Participation in protests and demonstrations	D3 a to D3c	3	3	10%	**3 x .10 x 6** *= 1.8*
V4	Perceived effectiveness of protests	D4 a to D4c	3	3	5%	**3 x 0.05 x 6** *= 0.9*
V5	Level of civic, political and legal awareness	E1 to E16 & F 2, 3 & 5	14	14	20%	**14x 0.20 x 6** *= 16.8*
V6	Political (electoral) participation	F1, 4, 6, 7, 8 & 9	6	6	15%	6 x .15 x 6 *= 5.4*
V 8	**Collective empowerment**	**Total**	**46**	**64**	**100%**	**62.1**

Source: Author's construct

Correlation between the individual variables and the composite variable

As the individual variables V1 to V6 were assumed to be interrelated and together constitute the composite variable V8, correlation amongst V1 to V6 and between them and V8 was measured using Pearson's product-moment correlation. If the constituent variables do not positively correlate amongst them and with the composite variable, then the validity of the assumption and therefore, the premise of hypothesis testing itself become questionable. Computation and interpretation of Pearson's is provided in Appendix 14.10.

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Results of Pearson product-moment correlation for variables in the empowerment survey
The mean scores were computed for the individual dependent variables V1 to V6 for determining correlation between one another and with final mean score for V8 designated as the collective empowerment score. The results are shown in Table 9.7.

For the overall sample (N=751), the mean empowerment score for V8 shows a significant positive and strong correlation with its individual constituent variables V1 to V6. The significance is at *p*- .01 level which means that only one out of 100 times, this positive relationship is likely to be due to chance alone. All the individual variables V1 to V6 also show a significant positive correlation between each other except between V1 (associational mode of problem solving) and V5 (civic, legal, political awareness) which shows an insignificant ($r = -.051$ is only 5% of $r = -1$ which denotes a perfect negative correlation) negative correlation. This may be suggestive of the effect of other independent variables such as level of education on the level of awareness. Though correlation ($r = .080$) between V1 and V6 (electoral participation) is positive and significant at .05 level, it appears weak indicating that the effect of associational mode of problem solving on the pattern of electoral participation may be limited. Since the sample size is relatively large and considering that the data pertains to more complex social phenomena as against purely scientific data captured with laboratory precision and control, both these exceptions can be ignored in assuming that the final mean collective empowerment score is indeed strongly representative of the sum of individual variables. It can also be concluded that the survey instrument has a higher degree of validity in terms of what it intended to measure.

Table 9.7: *Results of Pearson product-moment correlation between individual variables V1 to V6 and the final variable V8*

Variables	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V8
V1	1	.225(**)	.279(**)	.279(**)	.051	.080(*)	.583(**)
V2	.225(**)	1	.329(**)	.329(**)	.132(**)	.171(**)	.656(**)
V3	.279(**)	.329(**)	1	1.000(**)	.149(**)	.276(**)	.627(**)
V4	.279(**)	.329(**)	1.000(**)	1	.149(**)	.276(**)	.627(**)
V5	.051	.132(**)	.149(**)	.149(**)	1	.387(**)	.573(**)
V6	.080(*)	.171(**)	.276(**)	.276(**)	.387(**)	1	.481(**)
V8	.583(**)	.656(**)	.627(**)	.627(**)	.573(**)	.481(**)	1
N	751	751	751	751	751	751	751

** significant at .01 level / * significant at .05 level

Source: Author's construct

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Formulation of null hypotheses

Formulation of the null hypothesis is a vital step in testing statistical significance. A null hypothesis is a hypothesis set up to be nullified or refuted in order to support an alternate hypothesis. Null hypothesis is presumed true until statistical evidence from the hypothesis test proves contrary to the presumption. It essentially means that no difference exists between the groups being comparatively studied for the dependent variable in terms of mean scores. The null hypothesis is expressed as:

$H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2 = \mu_3 \ldots$

Where,

H_0 = the null hypothesis

μ_1 = the mean of population 1,

μ_2 = the mean of population 2, and

μ_3 = the mean of population 3 and so on.

Acceptance of null hypothesis after testing for statistical significance also means that the random samples being compared are drawn from the same population and the variance and shape of distributions are equal as well as the means and that the dependent variable in question is not affected by variance in independent variables.

The alternative hypothesis on the other hand, predicts based on some theoretical assumptions that a particular factor will produce an effect on the dependent variable and expects a significant difference in the mean scores of samples being studied. Alternative hypothesis is expressed as:

$H_1: \mu_1 > \mu_2 \text{ or } \mu_1 < \mu_2$

Where,

H_1 = alternate hypothesis

$\mu_1 > \mu_2$ = the mean of population 1 is significantly higher than population 2, and

$\mu_1 < \mu_2$ = the mean of population 1 is significantly higher than population 2

After statistically testing the significance, it is an usual practice to give final conclusion in terms of null hypothesis. Either the "null is rejected in favor of alternative hypothesis" or the "null is not rejected". One does not 'reject or accept alternative hypothesis'. The null "not rejected" does not necessarily mean that the null hypothesis is true , it only suggests that there is not sufficient evidence against null in favor of alternative hypothesis. Rejecting the null hypothesis then, suggests that the alternative hypothesis may be true.

t - test as a measure of hypothesis testing: The significance of difference between mean scores
The t-test assesses whether the means of two groups are statistically different from each other. This analysis is appropriate whenever a researcher wants to compare the means of two groups. t-test is an inferential test that determines if there is a significant difference between the means of two data sets. In other words, a t-test decides if the two data sets come from the same population or from different populations

The formula for the t-test is a ratio. The top part of the ratio is the difference between the two means or averages. The bottom part is a measure of the variability or dispersion of the scores. The t test involves computing the 't-statistic' based on the difference of the two sample means. The t-statistic will be positive if the first mean is larger than the second and negative if it is smaller. Once the t-statistic is computed, one has to look it up in a table of significance to test whether the ratio is large enough to say that the difference between the groups is not likely to have been a chance finding. To test the significance, a risk level called the alpha level has to be set and the degree of freedom (df) must be determined.

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The alpha level a represents the number of times out of 100 a researcher is willing to be incorrect if one rejects the null hypothesis. In most social research, the "rule of thumb" is to set the alpha level at .05. This means that five times out of a hundred the researcher would find a statistically significant difference between the means by chance. Only those five times, both means would come from the same population suggesting not to reject the null hypothesis. Conversely it means that 95 times out of 100, the researcher will be correct because of the likelihood of means coming from two different populations and

The t-critical value is the cutoff between rejecting or not rejecting the null hypothesis. The degrees of freedom or df is the sum of the persons or the number of data points in both population groups minus 2. The t-critical value is required because of the differential t-distribution curve for each df. Whenever the t-statistic is farther from 0 than the t-critical value, it means that the t-value is large enough to be significant and the null hypothesis is rejected in favor of alternative hypothesis and one can conclude that the difference between the means for the two groups being compared is significantly different even given the variability. Otherwise, the null hypothesis is not rejected.

Null and alternative hypotheses for the collective empowerment score(V8)
For the dependent variable in the current study, the null hypotheses were formulated as follows:
- Null hypothesis one : The mean collective empowerment score of members will be the same as the mean collective empowerment score of non-members
- Null hypothesis two: The mean collective empowerment scores of RLHP, RWAs and ODP will be equal to the mean empowerment scores of GUARD, ZSS and MCC

Based on the literature reviewed and the study of organizational attributes, it was presumed that on the whole members across the six substrata of associations surveyed would exhibit higher level of collective empowerment than the non-members. As a corollary to this, it was further assumed members belonging /affiliated to associations which are focused on awareness and mobilization for problem solving, more politically oriented, whose membership is more voluntary in nature, and are more egalitarian in their organizational structure would exhibit a higher level of collective empowerment than others. Therefore the alternative hypotheses were formulated as:

- Alternative hypothesis one: The mean empowerment score of members will be higher than the mean empowerment score of non-members
- Alternate hypothesis two: The mean empowerment scores of RLHP and RWAs will be higher than the mean empowerment scores of ODP, GUARD, ZSS and MCC

Null hypotheses testing

The mean collective empowerment scores (V8) for members and non-members and across the six substrata of members along with mean scores for individual variables are summarized in Table 9.8. The results of the t-test to verify the statistical significance of the mean collective empowerment scores are provided in Tables 9.9 and 9.10.

Verification of null hypothesis I: Members score higher than non-members
Since the mean empowerment score (19.00) of members is significantly higher than that of non members (12.54) at p = .05 level, null hypothesis I is rejected in favor of alternate hypothesis 1 as indicated by the t-statistic value that is farther away from zero compared to t-critical value. This indicates that the mean scores come from two different population groups. This means that members on the whole have scored higher collective empowerment score than non-members suggesting that members show greater degree of collective empowerment than non-members, as measured by the survey instrument. It doesn't mean that non-members are collectively disempowered. The difference is

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only in terms of degree of empowerment. This difference is reflected in the perceivably higher score of members on V1 – associational mode of problem solving, V2 – perceived collective self efficacy, V3 and V4– participation in protests and demonstrations and V5 – political, legal and civic awareness. On variable V6 which is electoral participation, the difference doesn't appear significant since electoral participation is influenced by several factors such as political parties, family members, peers etc. Nevertheless, the results show that in the context of urban governance and planning in Mysore, members of civil society associations do manifest greater degree of collective empowerment than non-members. Since there is no established benchmark in numerical terms on what would be a critical score on the level of collective empowerment, it is difficult to argue if the members are 'adequately' empowered to participate in the policy making, planning and management of services. However, considering that the members score is only 30% of the maximum possible or the ideal score of 62, either indicates that members too are still way far from achieving collective empowerment or that the empowerment scale (survey instrument) used itself is rather unrealistic. Therefore, further comparative research involving more cities and towns in diverse settings and with more diverse associations is recommended to set benchmarks as well as to test the reliability of the instrument.

Verification of null hypothesis II: Organizational attributes do influence collective empowerment
Since the mean collective empowerment scores of members of RLHP (22.67), RWAs (22.39) and ODP(20.97) are significantly higher than that of GUARD (14.25), ZSS (14.46) and MCC (15.47) at $p = .05$, null hypothesis II is rejected in favor of alternative hypothesis II. This is indicated by their respective t-statistic values which are farther away from 0 than their t-critical values. Further there is no significant difference between the mean empowerment scores of GUARD, ZSS and MCC signaling that the mean empowerment scores of RLHP, RWAs and ODP come from the same population as against the mean scores of GUARD, ZSS and MCC which come from a different population. RLHP mainly gains from a higher score on V3 and V4 (political action) and is on par with RWAs and ODP on all other variables except V5 (awareness) where RWAs gain the highest. This can partly be attributed to RWAs' larger share of better educated members. V1 (associational mode of problem solving) is where ODP and RLHP score the highest. All the member groups are by and large on par with regard to V2, (perceived collective self efficacy) suggesting that associational activities do have a positive influence on collective agency if not the level of awareness. Infact, it is the score on V2 that separates members of GUARD, ZSS and MCC from non-members otherwise their scores are rather similar to or even lower than scores of non members on all other variables.

The results tend to point towards the importance of organizational attributes for collective empowerment such as the degree of voluntarism, the degree of political orientation, mobilization and awareness creation for problem solving on which RWAs, ODP and RWAs differ considerably from the other three member groups. The field observation reports of the survey investigators suggest that economic gain was the primary incentive of membership amongst GUARD, MCC and ZSS groups in contrast to RWAs, RLHP and ODP groups. It was also observed that many of the GUARD, MCC and ZSS groups had officially accepted donations from electoral candidates promising 'votes' in return and seldom discussed civic problems in their neighborhoods or participated in protests and demonstrations for better civic amenities. A few of them had even experienced conflicts due to misuse of funds by their leaders. In the light of these findings, it can be argued that apart from the problem of mis-targeting of beneficiaries, narrow micro-credit approach for organizing poorer communities or marginalized groups may not be effective in fostering collective empowerment in the context of urban governance. This holds good for both the state (MCC and ZSS) and NGO (GUARD) sponsored self help groups which are in sharp contrast to SHGs organized by ODP which had a greater orientation to neighborhood problems although their primary purpose too was credit and savings.

A counter argument to this can arise from the fact that a majority of ODP groups were in slums where one would expect more civic problems than in non-slum areas. But then, both GUARD and MCC also

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had many SHGs in slums. For instance, the communities in the slums of Kailasapuram and Channagirikoppal where MCC was active, appeared more disorganized and suffering from problems such as inadequate water supply, lack of housing, proper access roads and drainage compared to the many slums intervened by RLHP. Conversely, members of RWAs who are mostly residing in non-slum but much better off localities than those of members from all other groups also reported more problems than those of GUARD, ZSS and MCC. This suggests a possible linkage between the perceptiveness or sensitivity to community problems as a proxy behavioral indicator of the level of collective empowerment shaped by associational activities.

Perceptiveness to community problems: A proxy indicator of collective empowerment?
Since perceptiveness to problems emerged only as an inferential variable from the analysis of survey, it was not included in the instrument as a measurable dependent variable and therefore not part of the mean collective empowerment score. The percentage of reported problems pertaining to community services is summarized in Table 9.11 and those for household problems in Appendix 14.15. For both household and community services, members in general, report more problems than non-members. But the difference is sharp in the case of community problems as for e.g. 49% members report problems about streetlight as against 39% non-members, 53% members vs. 42% non-members for storm water drainage and 13% members vs. 4% non-members for connectivity to public transport. Amongst the member substrata, a larger percentage of RLHP and ODP respondents (who are mainly slum dwellers) report more problems than others for all household and community services. This is true of even the RWA respondents most of whom are residents of better-serviced localities than others. Therefore, perceptiveness to community problems appears more a function of the type of association manifested in terms of greater awareness and higher expectations rather than to the type of locality. Whereas perceptiveness to household civic problems does not appear to be significantly different between members and non-members because, regardless of the respondents' status, one would expect a greater sensitivity to one's household problems than to community problems.

Since RLHP, RWA and ODP respondents with apparently greater perceptiveness to community problems have also obtained significantly higher collective empowerment scores and vice-versa is true for members of GUARD, ZSS and MCC, it can be argued that perceptiveness to community problems is positively related to the level of collective empowerment. The statistical significance of which can be determined in future research by including perceptiveness as a dependent variable and as part of the collective empowerment.

Is the level of community empowerment adequate enough?
The most desirable outcome of collective empowerment is to have enlightened communities who believe in their collective efficacy to address their civic problems in a cohesive and equitable way by purposefully engaging with the state and the polity. This being the case, it is still important to ask whether the combined average score of 22 for RWA, RLHP and ODP which is only 35% of the maximum possible score of 62 indicate an adequate level of collective empowerment to meet the foresaid objective. This question has partly been addressed in the subsequent chapters that focus on an empirical analysis of institutional effects that civil society associations induce on urban planning and governance. RLHP, which is the highest scorer on the collective empowerment scale was chosen as one of the case study association to analyze their effects on inclusive governance for the slum dwellers in Mysore. The other case study which focuses on conservation of an urban lake looks at the role of citywide voluntary associations which harness grass-roots local associations such as the RWAs in their efforts.

However, within the limited scope of the current survey and in the absence of established benchmarks, a comprehensive answer or analysis to the question on the adequacy of the level of empowerment would be difficult. But drawing an analogy from the school examination system in Karnataka a score

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of 35% for e.g. is evaluated as "just pass", suggests that even RWAs, RLHP and ODP have miles to cover in empowering their respective communities. The relatively 'low' score may be justifiable if one construes the standards set by the survey instrument as rather high and therefore idealistic in the given context. A part of the answer, however, is also related to an earlier finding that none of the associations surveyed were rated as egalitarian in their structure and functioning. It may be unrealistic to expect that associations can quickly transcend from a hierarchical mode to that which impinges on a more robust internal democracy.

On the whole nevertheless, the results of the present survey corroborate the findings of earlier studies about the importance of the organizational/ associational attributes in enhancing the level of collective empowerment. Further research is recommended to develop a standardized "collective empowerment scale" with more precisely defined dependent variables and to capture the diversity of associations operating in the governance arena in multiple social and political milieu.

Table 9.8: Mean empowerment scores across the six member substrata and nonmembers for individual variablesV1-V6 and composite variable V8

Group Category		Variables							V8 (total X6)
		V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	Sub total	
ODP	**Mean**	.9200	1.2880	.0720	.3600	.4720	.3840	**3.496**	**20.9760**
RLHP	**Mean**	.9028	1.1491	.0877	.4387	.7906	.4104	**3.779**	**22.6755**
RWAS	**Mean**	.4444	1.0894	.0488	.2438	1.4425	.4631	**3.731**	**22.3913**
GUARD	**Mean**	.3629	1.0952	.0194	.0968	.4935	.3073	**2.375**	**14.2500**
MCC	**Mean**	.3097	1.0669	.0177	.0887	.7097	.3871	**2.579**	**15.4790**
ZSS	**Mean**	.2469	1.1254	.0046	.0231	.6677	.3438	**2.415**	**14.4692**
Member	**Mean**	.5733	1.1394	.0471	.2356	.7836	.3883	**3.167**	**19.0040**
Non-member	**Mean**	.3344	.7244	.0209	.1047	.5860	.3199	**2.090**	**12.5422**
Overall	**Mean**	.4776	.9731	.0366	.1831	.7044	.3609	**2.734**	**16.4141**

Source: Author's construct

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Table 9.9: Results of the t-test for significance of difference between mean empowerment scores

Pairs of groups		Mean Empowerment scores (V8)	t-statistic value	t- critical value	Whose scores are significantly higher ?
1.	Members	19.00	12.99	1.96	Members
	Non-members	12.54			
2.	ODP	20.97	8.00	1.98	ODP
	GUARD	14.25			
3.	RLHP	22.69	8.79	1.97	RLHP
	GUARD	14.25			
4.	RWAs	22.37	9.9	1.97	RWAs
	GUARD	14.25			
5.	SJSRY	15.47	1.35	1.98	No significant difference
	GUARD	14.25			
6.	ZSS	14.46	0.24	1.98	No significant difference
	GUARD	14.25			
7.	RLHP	22.67	1.82	1.97	No significant difference
	ODP	20.97			
8.	RWAs	22.39	1.79	1.98	No significant difference
	ODP	20.97			
9.	ODP	20.97	6.22	1.98	ODP
	SJSRY	15.47			

Source: Author's construct

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Table 9.10: Results of the t-test for significance of difference between mean empowerment scores

Pairs of groups		Mean empowerment scores (V8)	t-statistic value	t- critical value	Whose scores are significantly higher ?
10.	ODP	20.97	7.49	1.98	ODP
	ZSS	14.46			
11.	RLHP	22.67	0.31	1.97	No significant difference
	RWA	22.39			
12.	RLHP	22.67	7.22	1.97	RLHP
	SJSRY	15.47			
13.	RLHP	22.67	8.35	1.97	RLHP
	ZSS	14.46			
14.	RWAs	22.39	7.98	1.98	RWAs
	SJSRY	15.47			
15.	RWAs	22.39	9.31	1.98	RWAs
	ZSS	14.46			
16.	SJSRY	15.47	1.08	1.97	No significant difference
	ZSS	14.46			

Source: Author's construct

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Table 9.11: Perception of community problems by category of respondents

Respondent Categories	Perception of problems with community service/ facility (all values in percentages)				
	Street lighting	Storm water Drainage	Roads/ streets	Garbage clearance	Public transport
Member groups					
RLHP (N = 106) [17]	76 (N[18]102)	73 (N81)	50 (N84)	49 (N53)	26 (N92)
ODP (N = 75)	53.6 (N69)	43 (N63)	57 (N54)	53 (N28)	15 (N46)
RWA (N = 80)	38.8 (N80)	60 (N74)	55 (N80)	19 (N70)	19 (N80)
GUARD (N = 62)	43.3 (N60)	43 (N54)	34 (N56)	17 (N44)	2.0 (N50)
ZSS (N= 65)	32.3 (N65)	41 (N59)	24 (N=63)	26 (N61)	2.0 (N58)
MCC (N = 62)	34.5 (N58)	51 (N53)	50 (N57)	13 (N54)	0 (N61)
Total members (N = 450)	49 (N434)	53 (N384)	45 (N394)	27 (N310)	13 (N387)
Total Non-members (N = 301)	39 (N289)	42 (N259)	35 (N272)	24 (N216)	4 (N258)
Male (N = 226)	44 (N223)	48 (195)	38 (N211)	24 (N175)	10 (N218)
Female (N = 525)	46 (N500)	49 (448)	43 (N455)	26 (N361)	9 (N427)
Slum (N = 354)	60 (N330)	61 (282)	46 (287)	41 (N177)	16 (N253)
Non slum (N = 397)	33 (N393)	39 (N361)	38 (N379)	18 (349)	5 (N392)

Source: Author's construct

Predictor variables of collective empowerment

Besides whether an individual is a member or a non-member and the type of association, as the literature review has revealed, other independent variables such as age, gender, education, religious identity, age of membership etc. are also understood to be related to the level of collective empowerment, the dependent variable. This is further supported by the observed variance in the mean

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[17] N here is the total sample in the category.
[18] N here is the total no. of respondents who reported availability of a given community facility

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collective empowerment scores across, level of education, type of area, age of membership, the habit of newspaper reading, caste groups etc as shown in Table 9.12.

Table 9.12: Mean empowerment scores for categories of independent variables

Independent variables		Mean collective empowerment scores
Age	18 to 35 years	15.70
	36 to 50 years	16.63
	51 to 65 years	17.95
	Above 65 years	19.81
Gender	Female	15.08
	Male	19.49
Education	Illiterates	15.53
	Up to senior secondary	15.65
	Graduates and above	21.19
	Less than 3 years	16.56
Age of membership	3 to 5 years	19.90
	6 years and above	24.52
Type of area	Slum	17.76
	Non slum	15.20
News paper reading	Readers	18.54
	Non readers	14.27
Religion	Hindu	16.47
	Muslim	16.20
	Christian	15.64
Hindu caste groups	Scheduled Caste	18.13
	Scheduled Tribe	18.09
	Other backward castes	13.97
	Others	16.92
Total (N = 751)		**16.41**

Source: Author's construct

As shown in Table 9.12, respondents who have obtained higher scores include males, respondents of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, residents of slums, newspaper readers and those who are better educated. Age appears to be directly proportional to the mean empowerment score and the same is true for age of membership. Religion as such doesn't seem to have an effect on the mean empowerment scores similar to other variables such as watching television, type of dwelling, income etc. Multiple regression analysis was carried out in order to explain this variance caused in the dependent variable (collective empowerment) by the independent variables and to ascertain their power in predicting collective empowerment.

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Multiple regression analysis

The term regression was first used by Pearson in 1908. The purpose of multiple regression is to learn about the relationship between several independent or predictor variables and a dependent or criterion variable. Uni-variate regression uses a single predictor variable, which is often not sufficient to precisely model a property. But multivariate regression takes into account several predictor variables simultaneously where a set of predictor variables $X_1, X_2, \ldots, X_n$ is used to explain variability of the criterion variable Y.

Regression analysis is used to predict a continuous dependent variable from a number of independent variables which can either be continuous such as age, education etc. or dichotomous (categorical) such as male vs. female, member vs. non-member, slum vs. non-slum etc. Unlike age, gender for e.g. doesn't increase or decrease and that's why it is called a dichotomous variable. When dichotomous variables are used they must first be converted into variables that have only two levels. This is called dummy coding and the method of interpreting regression coefficients for dummy variables is different from that of continuous variables.

The method used in developing the regression model in SPSS is Enter: All the predictors are entered in a single step. It is the default method.

Multiple regression analysis for the dependent variable collective empowerment

Multiple regression analysis was carried out for two data sets viz. overall sample (N=751) and for members (N=450). The results of the regression analysis are described below.

Multiple regression for the overall sample

Table 9.13: Model summary (SPSS output)

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.635(a)	.403	.395	6.71980

a Predictors: (Constant), Do you watch television ? member-nonmember, Religion, No. of years of residence in this locality , Gender of the Respondent, Do you read news papers?, Age of the respondent in completed years, Caste, type of area (slum or non slum) and Education

Ten predictor variables were entered for the analysis. Of the ten variables, four were dichotomous variables such as gender, member & non-member, slum and non-slum (type of area), and caste (SC/ST and other) and the rest were continuous variables.

Predictive power of the model: Squared multiple correlation or R Square
R^2 also called *multiple correlation* or the *coefficient of multiple determination*, is the percent of the variance in the dependent explained uniquely or jointly by the independents. The R square denotes the amount of variance in the dependent variable that can be explained by the joint predictive power of knowing the other variables. R Square can be directly interpreted in terms of percentage of accountable variation. R Square may be overestimated when the data sets have fewer cases (n) relative to number of predictors (k) therefore R square has to be adjusted. The adjusted R square can be computed as:

$$Adjusted\ R^2 = 1 - (1 - R^2)\frac{n-1}{n-k-1}$$, where n = sample size and k = number of predictors

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Data sets with a small sample size and a large number of predictors will have a greater difference between the obtained and adjusted R square. The standard error of estimate indicates the accuracy of a prediction model. The smaller the standard error of estimate, the better the prediction. For the overall sample (N=751), the R Square is 0.395. This means that about 40% of the variance in the collective empowerment can be explained by knowing a respondent's age, education, gender, type of area, caste, religion, whether he/she is a member of association, the number of years of residence in a given locality, habit of reading newspaper and watching television

Level of significance of the predictive power of the model
The ANOVA output of the SPSS tells if the regression model allows prediction of a person's level of collective empowerment at a rate better than chance. In other words it answers the question if the regression model with ten predictors is significantly related to the criterion variable collective empowerment and is expressed in the form of F-ratio. If the F is significant at p (probability) =.05 level or below, then the model is fairly good at predicting the collective empowerment. It means that there is only a 5% probability that the relationship between the criterion variable and the predictor variables is a chance. The F ratio is expressed in terms of the proportions of variance accounted for and not accounted for.

$$F = \frac{R^2 / k}{(1 - R^2)/(N - k - 1)}$$

where k is the number of predictor variables and N is the sample size. The F ratio of 49.85 for the overall sample is significant at .000 level suggesting that the ten predictors are significantly correlated to collective empowerment.

Table 9.14:ANOVA (SPSS output Analysis of Variance)

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
	Regression	22519.417	10	2251.942	49.871	.000
	Residual	33415.254	740	45.156		
	Total	55934.671	750			

a Predictors: (Constant), Do you watch television ? member-nonmember, Religion, No. of years of residence in this locality , Gender of the Respondent, Do you read news papers?, Age of the respondent in completed years, Caste, type of area (slum or non slum) and Education

Individual regression coefficients
The individual regression coefficient for a given predictor variable indicates the amount of change one would expect in the dependent variable given a one unit change in the value of that variable given that all other predictor variables in the model are held constant. The raw coefficients are interpreted in actual units which do not convey the relative strength with reference to one another. Therefore, Beta coefficients are used to compare the relative strength of the various predictors in the model since they are all measured in standard deviations, instead of the units of the variables. The interpretation of coefficients for continuous variables is different from that of dichotomous variables. The t-value for each co-efficient is the test of significance at either p -.05 or .o1 level. If a co-efficient is significant at either .05 or .01 level, it means 95 to 99 times out of 100, one would expect that particular independent variable to be a accurate predictor of the dependent variable.

Significant predictors of collective empowerment
The regression coefficients for the collective empowerment are provided in Table 9.15. In the context of urban governance in Mysore, six variables (all the highlighted) emerge as significant predictors of collective empowerment of which four are categorical variables viz. type of area, membership, gender

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and newspaper reading and two are continuous namely, age and education. Membership variable which has the highest beta co-efficient (.415) explains the highest proportion of variance in the collective empowerment and age of the respondent with lowest co-efficient (.067) explains the lowest proportion of the variance.

Table 9.15: Regression co-efficient (SPSS output for overall sample)

	MODEL	**Raw co-efficient**		**Standardized co-efficient**	**t-value**	**Significance.**
	Predictor variables	**B**	**Std. Error**	**Beta**		
1	(Constant)	8.059	1.628		4.951	.000
2.	**Type of area**	**3.883**	**.700**	**.225**	**5.549**	**.000**
3.	**Member or non member**	**7.303**	**.516**	**.415**	**14.159**	**.000**
4.	**Age of the respondent in completed years**	**.067**	**.023**	**.098**	**2.968**	**.003**
5.	**Gender of the Respondent**	**-5.464**	**.608**	**-.290**	**-8.982**	**.000**
6.	**Education**	**.260**	**.077**	**.154**	**3.395**	**.001**
7.	Religion	.963	.808	.043	1.192	.234
8.	Caste	1.191	.715	.064	1.666	.096
9.	No. of years of residence in this locality	.024	.022	.034	1.116	.265
10.	**Do you read news papers?**	**2.686**	**.716**	**.153**	**3.754**	**.000**
11.	Do you watch television ?	.399	.706	.017	.566	.572

Source: Author's construct

- Membership: Member was dummy coded 1 and entered and non-member coded as 0 and used as a reference group. The raw coefficient is 7.30 suggesting that the collective empowerment score of members will be 7 units higher than the non-members when all the other significant predictors like type of area, gender, newspaper reading, education and age are held constant. It also means that members are a significantly different group than non-members on collective empowerment which is in conformity to the earlier findings.

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- Gender: Female was coded 1 and entered and Male as 0 used as a reference group. The raw co-efficient is negative – 5.46. This means that the collective empowerment score of female persons will be 5.46 units lower than those for males, when all the other significant predictors like type of area, membership, newspaper reading, age and education are held constant and males are a significantly different group than females on collective empowerment. This can be explained by the more advantageous status in society and politics enjoyed by men in terms of opportunities to participate in the collective arena and particularly in political action.

- Type of area: Slum was coded 1 and entered and non-slum as 0 and used as a reference group. The raw co-efficient of 3.88 suggests that the collective empowerment score of slum respondents will be 3.8 units higher than that for non-slum respondents when all other predictors are held constant and the slum inhabitants are a significantly different group than their counterparts as far as the collective empowerment is concerned. This is related to higher problem incidence, greater political orientation and denser associational life in slums than in non-slum areas as described in earlier sections.

- Newspaper reading: Readers were coded as 1 and entered and non-readers as 0 and used as a reference group. The raw co-efficient of 2.6 suggests that the collective empowerment score of those who read newspapers will be 2.6 units higher than those who do not read when all other predictors are held constant. The readers are a significantly different group than the non-readers. News paper reading is partly related to the educational status which is also a significant predictor and is reflected in the heightened general awareness of individuals and also implies a greater interest in public affairs. It is not assumed that all newspaper readers in Mysore would be interested news about issues and problems of local governance in Mysore since individuals have diverse interests and reasons for reading newspapers. This also corroborates the fact that Mysore has a unique tradition of local dailies explicitly focused on local news with a far more wider readership than the national dailies.

- Age: The raw co-efficient of 0.67 suggests that for every one unit increase in age, there will be a corresponding increase of 0.67 units in the collective empowerment score when all other predictors are held constant. This means that one can expect a higher level of collective empowerment with increasing age.

- Education: The raw co-efficient of 0.26 suggests that for every one unit increase in the level of education, there will be a corresponding increase of 0.26 units in the collective empowerment score when all other predictors are held constant. This means that one can expect a higher level of collective empowerment with increasing level of education since civic and political awareness is partly related to the educational status of an individual.

Multiple Regression analysis for members only sample: Age of membership is a significant predictor

Multiple regression analysis was carried out using the data set for members (N=450) primarily to check if age of membership was a significant predictor of collective empowerment. The SPSS outputs are provided as Appendix 14.11. The predictive power of the model (F ratio of 26.7) with 10 predictor variables is significant at p = .01 level as it is able to explain about 37% of the variance (R square = 0.367) observed in the collective empowerment scores of members. Like in case of the overall sample, gender (female members score lower), type of area (slum members score higher) and newspaper reading (readers score higher) are significant predictor variables for collective empowerment amongst members. Education is a marginal predictor (p= .052 level of significance). The general age of the members is not a significant predictor where as the age of membership i.e. the

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number of years a person has been a member is a significant predictor (p = . 01 level of significance). For every one unit increase in the age of membership, there will be a corresponding increase of .25 units in the collective empowerment score. This corroborates the findings of an earlier study where age of membership across women's groups promoted by 15 non government organizations was positively correlated to the level of empowerment (Kilby 2003). Growing maturity of membership is presumed to contribute towards increased general political awareness, confidence and a stronger sense of collective efficacy. The findings are also reflected in the demographic profile of respondents where a larger percentage of members of RLHP and RWAs are in the 35 plus age group as compared to other groups.

9.13. Conclusions

The results of the multiple regression analysis as well as the other statistical tests support the hypothesis that civil society associations contribute significantly to increased level of collective empowerment in tandem with other independent variables such as level of education, age, gender etc. The members are significantly different from non members in the level of collective empowerment. The non members are not collectively disempowered but are only lower on the ladder suggesting that collective empowerment is a process that matures with age.

The organizational attributes such as degree of political orientation, awareness on rights, laws, and schemes and also the degree of voluntarism and problem orientation play a vital role in fostering collective empowerment along with gender, age of membership and education. The possible relationship between the level of collective empowerment and enhanced perceptiveness to community problems as inferred from the findings needs further scientific enquiry.

The gender relatedness of the collective empowerment points out that collective action in public sphere in the context of urban governance and planning in Mysore is far from being egalitarian. It suggests that projects aimed at economic empowerment (financial autonomy) or social empowerment (enhancing women's status in family settings) of women does not necessarily result in increased opportunities for them to participate in community life or public sphere in general which is still largely dominated by men. It also points out that the present approach towards organizing women either as self help groups or otherwise, in Mysore or that matter in Karnataka has to probably broaden its scope and strategy in terms of training, awareness and political mobilization to orient poorer communities in general and women in particular towards neighborhood quality of life by creating adequate opportunities and spaces for such participation.

Assuming that the survey instrument has a high content validity, the overall level of collective empowerment amongst members still appears relatively low suggesting that the intermediary civil society organizations promoting associational activities and collective action need to review their strategies and broaden their membership base. The policy and the programmes of the state aimed at empowerment of the urban poor that seek to promote and harness associational strategies also needs a thorough review since members of such associations do not appear to be significantly different from non-members with regard to the level of collective empowerment. This raises a further question whether the state should limit its role to creating enabling conditions for communities to associate and participate in public life or get involved in the project of organizing society. In a sense, it seems antithetical to the concept of collective empowerment and the dominant notion which views civil society as positioned vis-à-vis the state to protest against its atrocities and abuses of power and to hold it accountable for its actions and inactions in the public domain.

The expression and assertion of collective agency in the form of perceived collective efficacy is stronger amongst members than non-members. From the field observation reports compiled during the

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survey implementation, it is inferred that several non-members particularly women from the poorer households, who were desirous of becoming members of associations faced several constraints such as restrictions imposed by spouses and/or elders, shortage of time due to household responsibilities and the daily need to earn income etc. On the other hand, the non-members in better-serviced localities were mostly cynical of the effectiveness of associational life owing to their eroding faith in the government machinery and politicians while some seemed enjoying the "free rider" status reflected in statements like, "anyway they (active members) are doing something for the locality so no need for me to waste my time and energy".

These observations raise several vital questions such as why do some individuals join associations and some do not? And why do some volunteer for public causes and others do not?; is this variation on account of specific psychological attributes or economic constraints like poverty or societal constraints like family, caste, religion, linguistic identities? or are the administration and polity so ineffective that citizens in general have increasingly less faith in systemic improvements and therefore in the efficacy of collective action?; what are the external costs of participation in associational activities? etc.

Further scientific research is recommended to investigate these and many other questions that have arisen during the analysis of survey data and the interpretation of findings.

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10. Civil Society and Inclusive Governance for Slum Dwellers in Mysore

10.1. Empirical analysis of the second hypothesis

Two main case studies were conducted for an empirical study of the second hypothesis which was articulated (in Chapter six) as, "civil society actors induce institutional effects on urban planning and governance and the nature of the institutional effects is determined by the organizational attributes of the civil society actors, and the capacity they gain from political opportunity structures, mobilization of social structures and the struggle over symbolic capital".

The first main case study which forms the subject of Chapter ten was an inquiry into the institutional effects of civil society associations on inclusive urban governance for the slum dwellers in Mysore where as the second main case study was an investigation into the institutional effects of civil society actors on the conservation practices related to an urban lake in Mysore which is described in Chapter eleven.

The findings of the collective empowerment survey (Chapter nine) reveals that the level of collective empowerment of associational members is a function of organizational attributes of the association, awareness building, rights-based mobilization of social structures and other variables like educational background, age, gender etc. Moreover, the case study on inclusive urban governance was focused on Rural Literacy and Health Programme and two other associations affiliated with it whose members secured significantly higher collective empowerment score than others. Therefore, the level of collective empowerment as a mediating factor in inducing institutional effects was not included as a separate theme of analysis for empirical validation of the second hypothesis.

10.2. The meaning of inclusive urban governance

Promoting "inclusive city" is in fact, the theme of the global campaign for good urban governance and inclusive decision making is at the heart of good urban governance. The emphasis on inclusive city is driven by a growing realization that cities often fail to integrate excluded groups like the poor who are often characterized by their gender, ethnicity and religion. Exclusion and marginalization creates and reinforces poverty in urban society and denies access to services that will enable them to engage fully in the economy and society. The Global campaign for inclusive city is premised on achievement of four goals viz. decentralization and local participatory democracy, efficiency, equity and security (Taylor 2000).

According to UN-Habitat (2001), "inclusive governance means promoting growth with equity. An inclusive city is a place where all citizens, regardless of their economic means, gender, race, ethnicity and religion, are enabled and empowered to fully participate in the social, economic and political opportunities that cities have to offer. Participatory planning and decision-making are at the heart of an inclusive city".

Basic elements and outcomes of inclusive governance for the urban poor

Some of the commonly identified socio-political elements of inclusive governance for the urban poor include citizenship, voting rights, representation at the sub-city levels of government, the extent to which the poor can influence the government, access to justice, gender equality, affirmative actions like reservations for inclusion of certain sections of society hitherto were historically marginalized, right of access to information, and the presence of consultative mechanisms and partnership arrangements between the various tiers of government and the civil society organizations.

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Though it is a complex task to define an universally applicable set of outcomes of inclusive governance for the urban poor, Celine D'cruz and David Satterthwaite (2004:11) identify improvements in five areas as more significant than others. They are:
- Housing quality and more space per person.
- Secure tenure (for renters/tenants as well as owner-occupiers).
- Basic infrastructure and services (including safe and sufficient water, adequate provision for sanitation, drainage and solid waste collection, and access to schools and health services).
- Citizen entitlements that are linked to "the house", including an official address, police services and the rule of law, and emergency services available in their neighborhood.
- Removal of "exclusion" and discrimination for the poor and particularly slum dwellers, which includes getting the kinds of relationships with government agencies and institutions and government services that non-slum dwellers receive.

Civil society associations and politics of inclusive urban governance

In the context of civil society and urban poverty, Diana Mitlin (2001:151) refers to governance as, "the process whereby institutions govern themselves, be they nation states or community organizations. In the case of nation state, the process of governance refers primarily to relations between citizens (either individual or collectively) and their governments. In the case of membership organizations, it also includes relations between members and leaders".

Inclusive urban governance places a special emphasis on poor people's organizations and the NGOs that support them. The poor people's organizations comprise mainly of representative organizations and women's savings groups at the community level and their city level federations. The urban poor federations which are founded on the membership of savings groups and other community representative organizations, adopt a diverse set of tools such as savings and credit programmes, indigenous knowledge and local solutions, surveys and mapping, precedent setting, house modeling, community exchanges, and networking. Through these strategies the federations seek to advocate pro poor policies and programmes, make governments effective, and promote beneficial changes in the relationship of the urban poor with government agencies and other external institutions (D'Cruz and Satterthwaite 2005).

Empirical studies about the functioning of these organizations and effects they have on both the communities and the governments highlight the complexity of the socio-political context and the constraints under which they operate. Mitlin (2001:161) observes that, "across all sectors and geographical regions, politicians may try to establish patron-client relationships to further their own advantage with community leaders and through them, with their organizations". The clientelistic relationship is furthered by the fact that grassroots organizations seldom have formal rules and regulations to ensure internal democracy and accountability. As a result, the very legitimacy of these associations becomes problematic. Drawing from a wide review of literature, Mitlin notes that the relationship between grassroots organizations and supporting NGOs and the state is characterized by a complex set of social relationships involving community leaders working with either the state officials or the politicians or both to secure access to land, infrastructure and basic services. For the most part, such strategies and activities do not challenge the system or the rules by which the state operates. Instead, they seek to ensure that the state offers more, rather than less, to the urban poor. And in return for the services they offer, both politicians and state officials commonly seek a variety of personal and political benefits (ibid.).

Based on empirical studies of urban poverty and politics in the three Indian cities of Bangalore, Ahmedabad and Vishakapatnam, Carol Rakodi (2004:92) observes that civil society organizations

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working with/in slums and political leaders and parties share a relationship characterized either by "balanced clientelism" or "lobbying and pressure". The basis of inclusion is to get "group favors" either by exchange of votes or by lobbying and pressure.

Federating at various levels seems to be a strategy to prevent fragmentation on account of patronage politics. The urban poor federations are known to act as a formidable force against politics of patronage by either remaining neutral to party politics and yet mobilize proactive participation of member communities in the political processes including elections or by seeking political representation for the poor by entry into mainstream electoral politics (D'Cruz & Satterthwaite 2005; Harriss 2006).

Resisting and bypassing the politics of patronage, therefore, appears to be a key challenge for civil society organizations in fostering inclusive governance. Such a challenge would also entail transforming the poor people from mere "beneficiaries" and "clients" to active agents in their process of development. Building strong and politically oriented membership organizations at the grass-roots can tilt the balance of power in favor of poor communities through a more meaningful and proactive political participation in the electoral politics.

10.3. Slums and the urban poor: Definitional issues

All the urban poor do not inhabit areas defined as slums and all slum dwellers cannot be categorized as the urban poor. For the sake of simplicity however, in international parlance, the urban poor are equated with slum dwellers. The "Global Report on Human settlements-2003" sums up the condition of the urban poor succinctly, "the urban poor are trapped in an informal and 'illegal' world – in slums-that are not reflected on maps, where waste is not collected, where taxes are not paid and where public services are not provided". It is estimated that one out of every three city dwellers is a slum dweller who together constitute a billion people and a sixth of world's population. Currently, over 90% of slum dwellers are in the developing world with South Asia accounting for a major share and where 56% of the region's urban population lives under slum conditions. China and India together have 37% of the world's slums (UN-Habitat 2003: 6&15).

The term 'slum' has diverse connotations across different international contexts and even across different regions in a given country. The term "slum" is derived from an old English word meaning "a poorly drained place" and was applied to the cheap rental housing that developed around the factories and close to the canals in the early Industrial Revolution in the UK. Since its first appearance during the 1820s in London, 'slum' was also perceived as refuge for marginal activities including crime, Vice and drug abuse and a likely source for many epidemics (ibid.:9).

At its simplest, a slum is a heavily populated urban area characterized by substandard housing and squalor. Dwellings in such settlements vary from simple shacks to more permanent structures and access to basic services and infrastructure tends to be limited or badly deteriorated. The definition of the term 'slum' includes the traditional meaning i.e. housing areas that were once respectable or even desirable, but which have since deteriorated as the original dwellers have moved to new and better areas of the cities. Slums have, however, also come to include the vast informal settlements that are quickly becoming the most visible expression of urban poverty in the cities of the developing world, including squatter settlements and illegal subdivisions. Terms such as slum, shanty, squatter settlement, informal housing and low income community are used somewhat interchangeably by agencies and authorities (ibid.:8).

As D'Cruz & Satterthwaite (2005:7) note, "the catch-all term slum is loose, deprecatory and is banned from many of the more sensitive, politically correct and academically rigorous lexicon. However, the

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term 'slum' has gained more legitimacy, as in some nations, organizations formed by those living in poor quality and often insecure accommodation referred to themselves as "slum dweller" organizations, although this was in response to governments who classified their homes or neighborhoods as slums".

The United Nations Expert Group Meeting held in 2002 recommended the operational definition of a slum as an area that combines to various extents, the following characteristics:
- inadequate access to safe water,
- inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure;
- poor structural quality of housing;
- overcrowding; and
- insecure residential status

The operational definition is restricted to the physical and legal characteristics of the settlement and excludes the more difficult social and political dimensions (UN-Habitat 2003:12).

10.4. Slums and slum dwellers in India

There are huge regional variations in both urban and slum populations in India. According to Census reports, slum dwellers constitute 16% (42.6 million) of the estimated 280 million people living in Indian cities. Karnataka has a total urban population of about 18 million of which 3.6 million (20%) are slum dwellers. Migration from rural to urban areas has played a significant role in the rampant growth of cities in India which has resulted in the transfer of rural poverty to urban areas. The rapid increase in slums has been due to the increased demands on housing and other basic infrastructure and services caused by unchecked migration that has forced the migrants to explore informal solutions to their day-to-day problems. Slums are a constant reminder of the stark socio-economic inequalities. Though slums contribute significantly to both formal and informal economies, the inhabitants often live in inhuman conditions due to a lack of cohesive and coordinated policy on slum redevelopment as well as non responsive and fragmented institutional apparatuses (Census of India 2001).

In India, slums are referred to by various names depending on the region and local traditions. In Delhi for e.g. slums are called as "chawls" and in Mumbai as "bustees" meaning poor quality housing or hutments. In Karnataka slums are generally known as "Kolegeri" meaning an area without proper sewerage system and garbage removal facility. Even in the official parlance, slums are called as "Kolache Pradesha" which means the same as 'Kolegeri'. As per Section 3 of the Karnataka Slum Areas (Improvement & Clearance) Act of 1973 an area is considered as a slum:
- If it is or is likely to be a source of danger to health, safety or inconvenience of the public of that area or of its neighborhood, by reason of the area being low-lying, insanitary, squalid, overcrowded or otherwise OR
- If the buildings in any area, used or intended to be used for human habitation are in any respect unfit for human habitation or by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement and design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors, detrimental to safety, health or morals.

The legal definition of slum in Karnataka differs from the operational definition recommended by the UN-Habitat in that, it does not include inadequate access to safe drinking water and other infrastructure, and insecure residential status as criteria for considering an area as a slum. The legal definition is, nevertheless, wide enough in scope to consider as slums, both the inner city areas as well as erstwhile villages that are subject to gradual decay due to overcrowding and unregulated expansion. The Karnataka Slum Areas (Improvement & Clearance) Rules were amended in 2003 to make provision for the issuance of housing sites and dwelling units and also title deeds to slum dwellers for securing their tenurial rights (Government of Karnataka no. DOH 102 SBM 2002 dated 18.10.2004).

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Origin and spatial distribution of slums in Mysore

According to anecdotal narratives, several families belonging to a particular Hindu caste were brought by the erstwhile kings of Mysore in the 1930s from the neighboring state of Andhra Pradesh to work as street sweepers and sanitary workers. These families multiplied and expanded over the years and distributed across different parts of the city living in temporary shacks on public land and deprived of basic services. These areas came to be identified as the earliest slums in Mysore. The geographical grouping of families in these slums was based on traditional and hierarchical kinship ties as existed in villages prior to their migration (Interview: Mrs. Philomena Joy, Director RLHP 10.08.2005;
Mr. Yethiraj, MSDF leader 21.09.2005).

Some slums were formed in the late seventies by the poor families from neighboring villages and districts who had migrated to Mysore in search of livelihood opportunities (Interview: Mr. Kapini Gowda, AEE-KSCB 16.02.07). The list of slums grew longer with some of the villages in the periphery of Mysore getting engulfed by the ever expanding city as well as due to the overcrowding and the subsequent urban decay witnessed in certain inner city areas in the north of Mysore. By the year 1995, as reported in the Revised Comprehensive Development Plan for Mysore-2011, 30 slums had been listed of which only 15 had attained the 'recognized' status while 29 revenue pockets of land had been identified as areas with unauthorized constructions (MUDA 1996). It appears that the 29 areas identified with unauthorized constructions eventually became part of the current official list of slums.

Of the 49 slums declared till 2004, about 60% are located in the northern part of Mysore, which is relatively older and closer to the city centre compared to the southern part which has witnessed most of the city's growth in the last two decades and also hosts a large number of relocated slums. Two of the largest slums which together account for about 40% of the total slum households are also located in the northern part (KSCB-Mysore 2004; iDeCK 2005).

Demographic features of slums in Mysore

There are 80 slums in Mysore of which 59 are officially recognized (up to 2006), five have been dropped from the official list and 16 are yet to be declared. Of the 59 recognized slums, some demographic data was available for 49 slums that were declared up to 2004. For the ten slums that were declared in the year 2006 and the 16 undeclared slums, neither population estimates nor socio-economic data were available (iDeCk 2005; Interview: Mr. Kapini Gowda AEE-KSCB 16.02.07).

As per the Census of India 2001, the number of persons living "Below Poverty Line" (BPL)[19] in Mysore was estimated to be around 0.16 million or 19% of the 0.79 million total population. In 2006, the population of Mysore was estimated to be around 0.9 million of which about 81000 (9.5%) people are residing in the 49 declared slum, thus indicating that not all BPL families in Mysore are slum dwellers (iDeCK 2005).

The total number of households as per one of the official records is 6,463 (KSCB-Mysore 2004), whereas another document puts the number at 18,404 (iDeCK 2005). The KSCB list dated 2004 includes only those slums where housing or upgrading of existing houses either in situ or relocated

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[19] The Government of India guidelines stipulate a poverty line for the urban areas as Rs. 296 per person per month and for rural areas as Rs. 276 per month. The World Bank's Poverty Line for countries like India is US$365 per year or US$1 per day per person. At current exchange rates the government of India Poverty line works out to about US $70 per year which is 1/5th of the World Bank's poverty line criterion (http://www.wakeupcall.org/administration_in_india/poverty_line.php. last visited on 16.12.07).

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areas was/is being undertaken. The iDeCK document of dated 2005 includes larger slums that were former inner city areas where house upgrading was not a priority as for e.g. in the case of Ghousianagar, Shantinagar and Bademaakhan which together account for more than 8000 households. Excluding these large slums, the average number of households per slum in Mysore is in the range of 130 to 150 with an average household size of five members.

The number of slum households in Mysore deprived of basic services has assumed alarming proportions in the recent past. Based on the data from the National Sample Survey, it has been estimated that in Mysore (iDeCK 2005):
- 64% of the slum households lack access to sanitation
- 50% lack access to waste collection services
- 70% lack access to durable and good quality housing and
- 60% lack easy access to water supply (within 50 meters)

One of the salient features of Mysore's slums is their ethnic composition based on which slums can be classified as single-ethnic and multi-ethnic. Most of the single-ethnic slums are composed of either a particular religious minority group or a particular Hindu caste group considered 'lower' in the caste hierarchy. In legal and administrative parlance, these lower castes are referred to as Scheduled Castes (SC). There are also people belonging to various tribes who are categorized as Scheduled Tribes (ST). According to Census of India 2001, 12.8% of the total population of Mysore is identified as belonging to the SC category. For all India, about 17% are believed to be inhabitants of slums. The census report lists 101 Scheduled Castes and 49 Scheduled Tribes in Karnataka (DCO 2005; Census of India 2001). The multi-ethnic slums are usually composed of different Hindu caste groups and/or other religious minority groups such as Christians and Muslims.

Statistical data on the economic activities of slum households in Mysore was not available. According to Rural Literacy and Health Programme (RLHP), a civil society association working in several slums of Mysore, most of the slum dwellers are in the unorganized sector earning daily wages as construction workers, building painters, porters in markets, railway and bus stations, domestic workers, or involved in petty trades as street vendors of vegetable, fruits and flowers or as waste pickers (Interviews: Mrs. Philomena Joy, Mr.Venkatesh and Mr.Nagendra, staff of RLHP December 2006).

Inclusive urban governance for the poor in Mysore: An operational definition for empirical analysis

Excepting slums which were former inner city areas or erstwhile villages, all other slums are considered as extralegal as they are invariably located on either private or public land and are hence considered unauthorized and unrecognized. Irrespective of this, it is mandatory for all slums to be 'declared' or 'notified' as per the provisions of the Karnataka Slum Areas (Improvement & Clearance Act) 1973, in order for them to gain access to basic amenities including housing and to government sponsored development schemes and projects and thereby become part of the legal and administrative framework. Declaration of slums is the first and foremost step in achieving inclusive governance and serves as an entry point for all other development interventions by the government.

For the purpose of empirical analysis, inclusive urban governance in the context of Mysore's slums was defined as "processes, mechanisms and efforts involved to seek declaration (or recognition) of a slum in order to include the slum dwellers in the state sponsored development plans, schemes and projects and thereby enable them access the basic amenities such as housing, water supply, sanitation, power supply, roads, street lights, community hall, schools and health facilities".

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10.5. Institutional arrangements for slum improvement in Karnataka

There are several legal instruments and state agencies directly or indirectly concerned with slum improvement and rehabilitation in Karnataka. The Karnataka Slum Areas (Improvement & Clearance) Act, 1973 (KSAIC Act) is the only instrument directly concerned with slum redevelopment. The KSAIC Act of 1973 stipulates the procedures and rules for declaration or notification of a slum and all the other related procedures for slum improvement and rehabilitation and lays down the constitution of the Karnataka Slum Clearance Board (KSCB), the agency exclusively entrusted with the responsibility of slum improvement and rehabilitation. The second law that has significant implications for the lives and livelihoods of slum dwellers is the one that deals with evictions known as the Karnataka Public Premises Eviction of Unauthorized Occupants Act 1974.

Karnataka Slum Clearance Board

Set up in 1975, the KSCB is mandated to cover all the declared slum areas existing in the jurisdictions of the City Municipal Corporations, City Municipal Councils, Town Municipal Councils and Town Panchayats in the State for improvement, clearance and rehabilitation of the slum dwellers. The main objectives of KSCB are to (KSCB 2004):
- Take up environmental improvement, clearance and redevelopment of the slums.
- Enable slum dwellers to live in hygienic conditions by providing basic amenities like drinking water, toilets, street light, drains, roads, community bath rooms, community toilets.
- Construct new houses for the slum dwellers and to upgrade their existing houses.
- Identify and declare the slum areas in accordance with the provisions of KSAIC Act of 1973.
- Take up socio-economic survey in the slum in order to improve socio economic conditions of the slum dwellers.

Organizational structure of KSCB
KSCB is under the supervision of the departments of housing and urban development of the government of Karnataka. The Chairperson of the Board is a non-official and usually an elected representative or some other political appointee. Apart from the Chairperson, the Board consists of eight official members including a Commissioner as the Chief Executive Officer and representatives of various state government departments like finance, town planning, family welfare, housing etc. There are five non-official members as nominees of the government of which one is a woman and one is a person belonging to the Schedules Castes (ibid.).

The Headquarters of the Board located at Bangalore has eight wings such as technical, revenue, statistics, engineering, accounts, town planning, law and administration. Under these wings are five divisional offices which function as regional offices located in Mysore, Bangalore, Davanagere, Gulbarga and Hubli and are headed by Executive Engineers or Technical Directors. Under the Divisional Offices are 15 sub-divisions, each covering one or more districts and headed by Assistant Executive Engineers. Mysore's slums come under the Mysore Sub-Division of the Mysore Division (ibid.).

Procedure for declaration of slums
The procedure for declaration of slums is stipulated by the provisions of the Karnataka Slum Areas (Improvement & Clearance) Act of 1973. Slums are identified through various sources such as periodical surveys by the KSCB, and petitions by political representatives, community organizations and other non governmental organizations. After identification of a slum area for declaration and satisfying itself that the said area fulfills the provisions under Section (3) of the KSAIC Act of 1973, the KSCB carries out the following steps in the process of declaration. The administrative steps, simplistic as they seem, are actually quite time consuming and involves movement of files/documents

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across several departments and agencies (Interview: Mr. Kapini Gowda AEE-KSCB 16 February 2007):

-   Spot inspection by local KSCB officials to ascertain ground realities and status of basic amenities
-   Seeking the mandatory "No Objection Certificate" (NOC) from the concerned Municipal authority, the urban local government.
-   Verification of land ownership details through the Revenue Department, the official custodian of land records.
-   Seeking NOC from other public authorities if the ownership of the land in question is vested with one of them as the case may be.
-   Verification of voter's list to confirm atleast 50 % of the residents of a slum have been residing in the said area for the preceding 10 years.
-   Preparation of a revenue sketch or boundary statement of the slum indicating the boundaries of the slum.
-   Preparation of an inventory of socio-economic data of the families living in the slum area.
-   Preparation of a final report and presentation to the Board for resolution on declaration.
-   Submission of the Board's resolution along with a copy of the final report to the Office of the Divisional or Deputy Commissioner of the concerned Division or district (DCs Office)as the case may be with a recommendation for declaration of the slum.
-   After satisfying itself that the proposal for declaration proposal fulfils all the statutory requirements, the DC's office publishes a preliminary notification and invite objections to declaration if any from the general public with a time line of 30 days.
-   The objections if any will be scrutinized and if found valid, declaration is withheld and the proposal will be returned to the Board for further action.
-   If there are no objections within the stipulated period, subject to DC's discretion a final notification is published in the state gazette.
-   Upon publication in the state gazette, a slum is deemed as 'declared' and becomes eligible to obtain benefits under the various schemes implemented by the KSCB.

Whether a slum is declared or not does not prevent other agencies like municipal authorities to undertake slum improvement activities. Slums are accorded declaration even when they are located on private lands, in which case, the slum is usually relocated to an alternative site. If the slum is to be relocated, the KSCB is required to identify suitable government land, obtain the necessary sanctions for acquisition of the land and submit a requisition to the DC's office for notification (ibid.).

Once a slum is declared, subject to budgetary provisions and the prevailing schemes, the KSCB prepares a work plan and financial estimates for the slum for provision of housing and other basic amenities. Distribution of an identity card or a registration certificate to each household is the first step in the process of issuing the title deeds either by the KSCB or the concerned Municipal authorities if the slums are on municipal land (ibid.).

Most slum dwellers are beneficiaries of subsidized housing schemes and have to surrender their title deeds till the completion of mortgage agreements. Issuance of title deeds which the slum dwellers hold dearer than their lives appears to be a tedious process. The Civil Audit report for Karnataka for the financial year ending 31st March 2006, notes that between 2001 and 2005, though 25,841 houses were built for slum dwellers in Karnataka under a central government housing scheme called VAMBAY, the title was transferred to the beneficiaries only in 96 cases (CAG 2006: xii).

A declared slum continues to be listed as a 'slum' until it attains access to all the basic amenities after which it is handed over by the KSCB to the concerned municipal authorities for future upkeep and

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maintenance. That, all the 49 declared slums in Mysore still continue to be on the official list is an indication of the slow pace of development works in the slum improvement arena.

Definition of 'slum dweller': Eligibility criteria for a site or dwelling unit
According to the Karnataka Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Amendment Rules 2004, only the persons defined as slum dwellers as per the following criteria shall be eligible to be considered for allotment of a site or dwelling unit (Government of Karnataka letter no. DOH 102 SBM 2002 dated 18.10.2004):
- A person whose name is included in the list prepared after a socio-economic survey by the KSCB, soon after the declaration of the slum area or
- A person who possesses identification card or registration certificate issued by the Board or,
- A person who has lived in a slum area for more than ten years on the date of coming into the force of the Karnataka Slum Areas (improvement and Clearance) Amendment Rules 2004 and who produces satisfactory proof in respect of his occupation in a slum area.

Schemes and projects implemented by KSCB
The KSCB is a para-statal agency entirely dependent on funds and grants allocated by the state and central Governments and loans extended by the multilateral agencies. The governmental grants and loans are invariably tied to various pre-designed schemes that perpetuate the conventional piece-meal approach to development and limit the autonomy of KSCB in evolving a comprehensive and integrated approach to slum improvement and rehabilitation. Until the launch of VAMBAY in 2001, there was no comprehensive central sector housing scheme for the slum dwellers.

Between the late 80s and 2004, the KSCB has implemented the following schemes and programmes (KSCB 2004; CAG 2006):
- Subsidized housing programmes with financial assistance from HUDCO, a central government undertaking for housing and urban development;
- National Slum Up-gradation Programme (NSDP), a central government scheme primarily meant for environmental improvement for urban slums;
- Housing and slum up-gradation programme in 10 slums of Mysore under the Asian Development Bank funded KUIDP between 1998 and 2004;
- Valmiki Ambedkar Malin Basthi Yojana (VAMBAY) launched in 2001 and considered as the first central sector comprehensive subsidized housing scheme;
- Slum Upgradation and Development Programme (SUDP), jointly funded by the Karnataka state government and HUDCO launched in 2001 for 21 cities and towns each having more than 100,000 population; and
- Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan, a sub-component under VAMBAY for construction of toilet complexes in slums and Nirmal Jyothi scheme also meant for sanitation infrastructure.

The schemes generally aim at providing one or more of the services such as housing, water supply, sanitation, electricity, storm water drains, roads etc suffer from duplicity of objectives. Many irregularities such as implementation delays, targeting non declared slums, lack of transparency in contracting the works, poor quality works etc. have been reported for e.g. in the execution of VAMBAY and SUDP in Karnataka (CAG 2006: 57-68). The components of the schemes also keep changing periodically and the schemes themselves keep resurfacing with new names. Two major schemes currently being implemented by the KSCB are:

- Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM): Hailed as the single largest and comprehensive urban sector programme under taken by the central government to date, JNNURM was launched in 2005 to foster comprehensive and integrated development of select cities with a major emphasis on fast track urban sector reforms with a time horizon of 25 years (2005-2030).

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The Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP) , a major component of JNNURM promises to be the most integrated and comprehensive approach ever in India for slum rehabilitation and improvement and includes provision of housing, water supply, street lighting, sanitation, underground drainage, storm water drain, community centres, and skill up-gradation programmes. Sixty three cities across India have been selected as mission cities under the JNNURM of which Mysore and Bangalore are the only cities from Karnataka. Ten slums in Mysore were recently declared on a fast track basis to enable their eligibility for the JNNURM. In Mysore, about 2800 households have been identified as beneficiaries across twenty declared slums for the first phase of JNNURM to be implemented at an estimated cost of US$ 9 million. In the second phase, infrastructure improvements are proposed in 41 slums (iDeCK 2005).

- Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme (IHSDP): Launched in 2005, IHSDP aimed to achieve convergence of all the other existing schemes in operation. It is a centrally funded scheme for housing and provision of basic services such as water supply, sanitation, street lighting, underground drainage etc. The housing component is covered under VAMBAY. All cities and towns except those already covered under JNNURM are eligible to avail benefits under the scheme (MHUPA 2005).

Role of Mysore City Corporation in slum rehabilitation

The Mysore City Corporation is the implementing agency for centrally funded "Swarna Jayanthi Shehari Rozgaar Yojana" and the state government funded Urban Stree Shakthi programme, both of which aim to empower urban poor women through formation of savings and microfinance groups. MCC plays an important role in the slum declaration process since it is entrusted with the authority to issue a 'No Objection Certificate' for slums coming under its jurisdiction. According to a recent amendment to the Karnataka Slum Areas (Improvement & Clearance) Act of 1973, MCC is now authorized to issue title deeds to slums located on its properties. MCC is required to allocate18% of its annual budget towards the welfare of communities and persons belonging to one of the Scheduled Castes (SC). Since a large number of slums are composed of people and communities belonging to SC, they receive a part this budgetary allocation which is popularly known as '18%'. MCC also undertakes construction of houses and provision of basic services in slums out of its own budget from time to time. MCC is the implementing agency for the "Nirmal Nagar" (clean city) Scheme which aims to harness the self help groups created under the "Urban Stree Shakti" (women power) programme for solid waste management in cities and towns (Interviews: Dr. Nagaraj, MCC Health Officer MCC 13.08.05; Mr.Lokesh, MCC Project officer for Urban Poverty Alleviation on 17.08.05).

The elected councilors of the MCC act as the informal nodal points of interaction between the slum dwellers and the MCC and in mediating the accrual of benefits to select slum communities. The involvement of councilors and/or councilor aspirants and through them their parties in the slum redevelopment process has fostered patron-client relationships between local political leaders and slum leaders (Interviews: Mr. Venkatesh and Mr. Nagendra of RLHP 16.01.2007).

Slums in city plan documents

The Revised Comprehensive Development Plan for Mysore (RCDP) prepared by the Mysore Urban development Authority in 1996 makes only scant references to slums and their rehabilitation. Slums are listed under subsection (A) of Chapter III of the RCDP titled "slums and unauthorized constructions" where 30 declared slums are listed followed by a list of 29 areas as unauthorized constructions on government land which however have made their entry into the current official list of slums maintained by the KSCB. Under Subsection (B), titled "main problems of the city", slums are listed as one of the main problems (MUDA 1996). It is not clear whether estimates of housing stock

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required in Mysore include slums as part of the demand assessment. The very notion of slums as "problems and unauthorized constructions" as recorded in the RCDP report leads to infer that slums are by and large excluded from the prevailing formal planning processes.

Other laws, agencies and schemes for slum rehabilitation and improvement in Mysore

Apart from the KSCB and MCC, the following agencies of the Government of Karnataka also play a significant role in slum housing and basic infrastructure. They are:
- Mysore Urban Development Authority (MUDA) is responsible for construction of houses for Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) under "Ashamandira" housing scheme (MUDA 1996).
- Karnataka Housing Board (KHB) and the Rajiv Gandhi Housing Development Corporation for construction of EWS houses under "Ashraya" housing scheme.
- Chamundeshwari Electricity Supply Company for household electricity and street lighting
- Department of Primary Education for schools.
- Department of Health for primary health care centres.
- Department of Women and Child Welfare for "Anganwaadis" (day care centres) and nutritional programmes for children in slums.
- Department of Social Welfare for vocational and skill training.

Slum Improvement Cess
The Government of Karnataka introduced Slum Improvement Cess (SIC) in 1996 to be collected by development authorities and municipal bodies at the time of approving building plans, commercial complexes and group housing schemes as a revenue generation measure for slum rehabilitation. Accordingly, a Slum Development Fund has been set up in Mysore in the form of joint bank account operated by MCC, MUDA and the KSCB to which both MUDA and MCC are mandated to transfer 70% of the SIC collected on an annual basis. The KSCB is authorized to utilize these funds for slum redevelopment projects in Mysore. Both the MUDA and the MCC are allowed to utilize the remaining 30% for administrative expenses as well as towards slum improvement activities on their own (Government of Karnataka notification no. UDD:812: MIB:95 dated 8.07.96).

Slum improvement arena: A multi institutional and schematic terrain

As is evident, the slum improvement and rehabilitation in Mysore lacks an integrated approach driven by a multitude of institutions and schemes with out appropriate mechanisms for interagency coordination. More than fourteen agencies or line departments are involved in slum improvement and rehabilitation either directly or indirectly such as MCC, KSCB, MUDA, CHESCOM, DC's Office, KHB, RGHDC, State Government Ministries and the departments of housing, urban development, revenue, education, health, women & child welfare, social welfare etc. Each one of them is entrusted with the task of implementing one or the other scheme. The problem of institutional multiplicity is not limited to the state alone. The numerous civil society organizations, caste-based identity groups, local community groups, and public charitable organizations etc. active in slums have rendered the slum improvement arena into a complex terrain.

10.6. Civil society associations and slum rehabilitation in Mysore

From the database of civil society associations generated during the exploratory phase of field research and based on the findings of the collective empowerment survey, one external and professionally managed civil society association and two of its affiliates that are community based federated associations were identified and selected as the case study associations. The term 'external' in this context means organizations which are not founded on community membership. They may be voluntary or externally funded with fulltime paid staff etc. The Rural Literacy and Health Programme

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(RLHP), an external association and the Mysore Slum Dwellers Federation (MSDF) and Dhwani Mahila Okkoota (DMO, a federation of women's groups in slums of Mysore), both founded by RLHP were chosen as the case study associations to study the nature of the institutional effects they induce on inclusive governance for the slum dwellers in Mysore.

Rationale for selection of case study associations

There are several external civil society associations intervening and operating in the slums of Mysore. RLHP elicited the highest recall rate (25%) during the exploratory phase of the field research for all associations working with the urban poor. Amongst all the associations documented during the exploratory phase, RLHP emerged as the only association which appeared to have adopted an integrated and holistic approach to slum improvement and rehabilitation not only in Mysore but also in the two neighboring districts (Section Seven). RLHP is currently working in 56 slums across three districts with 34 slums in Mysore city alone. RLHP is also active in the policy arena and acts as an interface between the state institutions and the slum communities. RLHP was instrumental in the creation of MSDF as a federation of community-based associational representatives from various slums to function as a sustainable grassroots people's institution and as a legitimate voice of the communities. Similarly DMO was also created by RLHP as a forum of representatives of women's groups in slums. RLHP, MSDF and DMO will henceforth be referred to as the 'RLHP Combine' (Interview: Mrs. Philomena Joy, Director RLHP 01.03.07).

One of the most compelling reasons for selecting the RLHP Combine for empirical analysis is provided by the findings of the collective empowerment survey in which the community members across the fourteen sampled slums intervened by RLHP attained significantly higher empowerment scores than four other associations working with the urban poor including slum dwellers (Chapter eight).

Associations such as GUARD, Pratham and ODP are focused on providing specific services in the areas of education, health services, savings and micro-credit etc. The Karnataka Kolache Nivasigala Samyuktha Sanghatane (KKNSS), a state level federation of slum dwellers headquartered in Bangalore, the state capital, is also active in several slums of Mysore, though its presence is rather scattered and its approach, less holistic than the RLHP combine. The caste-based identity associations like Dalit Sangarsh Samithi (DSS), Akhila Bharatha Jana Jagruthi Maha Sabha (AJMS) etc. are involved in mobilizing the members of the Scheduled Castes on a range of issues and are also known to have significant impact on community life in slums. However, declaration and rehabilitation of slums is of marginal importance in their activities.

10.7.   Questions and methodology for empirical analysis

The empirical questions were formulated so as to capture the intricacies and dynamics of the processes of community mobilization, the interactions between communities, external associations, local political and other interest groups, and state agencies and their combined effects on declaration, improvement and rehabilitation of slums. They are:
-    What are the city level institutional effects of the RLHP Combine vis-à-vis urban poor living in slums? For e.g. the cumulative or incremental effects on policy, institutional arrangements, socio-economic parameters such as Infant Mortality Rate, literacy rate, extent of alcoholism and domestic violence etc.
-    What is the nature of political opportunity structures in terms of conflict and alliance systems?
-    What is the nature of grass-roots community organizations existing in the slums of Mysore? Which forces drives them, binds them and restrains them?

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- What is the nature of relationship between RLHP-MSDF-DMO and local communities and their organizations?
- What is the role of community organizations and the RLHP-Combine in the process of declaration of slums and gaining access to physical and social infrastructure?
- What are the forces/factors that drive and restrain inclusion of slums into formal processes and structures of planning and service delivery?

Case study methodology: Exploring actors, variables and indicators for analysis of empirical questions

The empirical research was carried out during December 2006 and June 2007. The methodology was designed so as to elucidate operational variables and a set of indicators to assess the role and effects of the RLHP Combine in fostering inclusive governance for the slum dwellers in Mysore. The methodology also aimed at:
- Identifying potential actors in the slum arena, the structural relations they share with each other and the effects of their interactions on the process of declaration and rehabilitation of slums.
- Selecting specific case study slums for a detailed examination of the operational variables and relations between the actors.

Focus group discussions
One focus group discussion (FGD) each was conducted with the following groups:
- Seven leaders of DMO;
- Six leaders of MSDF;
- Six leaders of Vasanthnagar slum community (in situ); and
- Five leaders of P.K. Sanitorium slum community (in situ).
The formats used for FGDs discussions are provided as Appendix 14.20 and 14.21 and the case study inventory for two slum communities is provided as Appendix 14.22.

Key informant interviews
Sixteen key informants were interviewed using semi-structured interview schedule as follows:
- Five staff of KSCB: two Assistant Executive Engineers, two Assistant Engineers and an Accountant of the Mysore Sub divisional Office of the Karnataka Slum Clearance Board.
- A former Deputy Commissioner of Mysore district currently serving as the Principal Secretary to the Department of Education, Government of Karnataka.
- One ex-municipal councilor.
- Three staff members of RLHP: the Director, Assistant Director and a Field Coordinator
- Five leaders of MSDF: the Honorary President, the Working President, Secretary, Treasurer and two Executive Committee Members.
- The President of DMO.
The interview schedules for the RLHP staff is provided as Appendix 14.23 and that for the KSCB officials and DC's office as 14.24. The details of the interviews and FGDs are given as Appendix 14.25. Wherever found appropriate, relevant data from the key informant interviews, conducted as part of the exploratory phase of field research was also used (Chapter eight).

Participant observation
The researcher participated as an observer in the following events to gain deeper insights into the Combine's mobilizational strategies and also the dynamics and processes in the community:
- A Convention of domestic workers, jointly organized by the RLHP Combine and the Karnataka Domestic Workers Movement on the 5th of January 2007.
- A protest march organized by the RLHP Combine on the 24th of January 2007.
- In situ community meeting in P.K. Sanitorium slum on the 11th of February 2007.

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Analysis of secondary data

Secondary data such as laws, official reports and records, interagency correspondence, news paper reports, information brochures, and memoranda were used as adjuncts in the empirical analysis.

10.8. Description of case study associations

The second case study is an assessment of the institutional effects of the RLHP Combine on inclusive governance for the slum dwellers in Mysore. The RLHP Combine comprises of RLHP, an externally funded, non-governmental, non-profit, registered association, the Mysore Slum Dwellers Federation and the Dhwani Mahila Okkoota. The description of the case study associations is based on interviews with RLHP staff, leaders of DMO and MSDF, FGD with the latter two and review of secondary data such as reports, newspaper clippings, information brochures etc.

Rural Literacy and Health Programme

The initial mission of RLHP was to promote rural health and literacy. Even though RLHP shifted its focus to urban areas, the name was still retained for administrative reasons. RLHP was founded by a husband-wife duo, qualified as a sociologist and a nurse respectively, with the support of a few Italian Catholic nuns who were already involved in social welfare activities for the poor in Mysore district. Before their relocation to Mysore, the couple had work experience in a slum in Mumbai called Dharavi, known as the largest slum in Asia. With the husband currently involved as a member of the Governing Council and the wife as the Director, the Couple continue to be RLHP's prime moving force. Though RLHP had commenced work in Jyothinagar slum as early as 1982, it was formally registered as a Society only in 1984 and is known to be the first ever external civil society association to have intervened in Mysore's slums (Interview: Mrs. Philomena Joy, Director RLHP 01.03.07).

Currently RLHP has a team of 40 staff, both part and full time and works in 56 slums spread across three districts of Karnataka namely Mysore, Mandya and Chamarajanagar. From amongst the three senior most staff, one works as the Assistant Director and the other two as Programme Coordinators of various projects and as supervisors of field-level coordinators n charge of activities in various slums. The three senior staff and the Director together constitute the Core Group for day-to-day decision making. RLHP has a Board of Directors comprising of nine members who are appointed from time to time through the process of nomination . The Board of Directors meets either biannually or annually to review the activities, financial practices and audit reports. The Board members have diverse backgrounds and hold a honorary position. The Board which is also the Governing Council acts as a policy guidance group. RLHP is not a broad-based membership association. That, many of its Board members like the current President and the Secretary have served more than one term is an indication of a rather weak internal-democracy (ibid.).

A major share of RLHP's finances comes from international donor organizations such as Miserior, Ter des homes, SKIP, SKN etc. The perpetual dependency on foreign donors caused by the need to manage a relatively large organizational structure has over the years diminished its autonomy and compelled a change in its priorities and focus areas. Currently RLHP proclaims to be a child-centered social change organization. Nevertheless, RLHP has consistently supported political mobilization of slum communities in their struggle for land tenure and access to basic services despite they are not donor priorities. RLHP has a relatively better staff retention rate compared to the high attrition rate prevalent in NGOs and is currently witnessing the emergence of second generation executive leadership (ibid.).

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Mission and focus areas of RLHP

RLHP's stated mission is, "to bring about positive changes in the lives of poor people in slums, especially women and children and help them lead their lives with dignity". The present focus is on four areas: people's development through building people's associations; child rights and child protection; women's empowerment through women's groups and self help groups for savings and micro-credit; and community health (RLHP 2002).

Scaling up

Over the years, the scope of RLHP's intervention has expanded from a single slum in 1984 to 14 slums in 1989, 24 slums by 1992, 30 slums by 1996, 46 slums by 1999 and 56 slums as on date. The transformation of Jyothinagar slum (the first slum RLHP intervened) into a healthy and vibrant neighborhood spread the word around and attracted other slums to their fold (RLHP 2004; Interview: Mrs. Philomena Joy, Director RLHP 02.03.07).

RLHP strategies towards empowerment and holistic development

RLHP has an integrated approach to slum redevelopment that encompasses a focus on all aspects of a community life starting with declaration of slums and provision of basic amenities such as housing, water supply, street lights, underground drainage, sanitation, electricity, schools, community halls, community health, socio–economic empowerment of women, vocational training for youth and women, eradication of child labor, domestic violence, alcoholism etc. RLHP's main strategy is to help the community help themselves. The emphasis is on capacity building of communities through training of community leaders on effective leadership, human rights, gender issues, environmental awareness, awareness of government schemes and projects. Their approach to non-formal education has won accolades from various quarters. RLHP encourages the community to fight for their rights and entitlements by facilitating a dialogue between the service providers and the communities, thus empowering them in the process. Confrontation as a strategy is selectively used to open the doors for negotiation. By and large, RLHP acts as a facilitator to stimulate the communities to help themselves except in rare, distressful situations caused by natural calamities or accidents, it also becomes a service provider (RLHP 2002 and 2004).

Facilitating people's associations and federations: A collective voice

In its endeavor of empowering people, RLHP has adopted an associational approach to the development of communities by facilitating creation of people's organizations and their federations through which to negotiate, bargain and advocate inclusion of the urban poor in the formal planning and service delivery structures and processes. Apart from facilitating formation of community development associations, women's associations, youth associations and women's self help groups in slums, RLHP also fostered formation of federations of these associations. The Mysore Slum Dwellers Federation (MSDF) was formed in 1991 initially with 13 community development associations each representing a slum. Dhwani (Voice) Mahila Okkoota (DMO), a federation of women's associations was established in 1993. *Kirana,* a federation of women's self help groups for savings and micro-credit was created in 1995. These federations have lent a collective voice to the problems and issues of slum dwellers. All the federations are formally registered and membership based organizations with a Board of Directors elected from amongst members annually or once in two years. None of the federations have paid full time employees. Of particular importance is MSDF which is far more actively involved in mobilizing various communities in the process of declaring slums and gaining access to government schemes and projects (RLHP 2004).

Mysore Slum Dwellers Federation

The membership of Mysore Slum Dwellers Federation (MSDF) is currently estimated to be around 40,000 and the General Body comprises of members of various local community development

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associations working in slums as well as those from the two women's federations. Beginning with 13 associations, MSDF has gradually widened its membership base to more than 50 slums. Elections are held either annually or once in two years to elect the office bearers like president, working president, treasurer, secretary etc. The governing council comprises of 20 to 25 members. Though the governing council has traditionally been male heavy, women's representation on the Council has gradually increased from none in 1991 to seven in 2003. The financial needs are met with membership fee which is supplemented through periodical contributions by RLHP. Book keeping and financial audits are fairly regular which are presented to the Annual General Body for approval (MSDF 2004; FGD with MSDF leaders 24.01.07).

Community mobilization, protests, demonstrations and conventions: Actions in the public sphere
MSDF has used protests and demonstration as an effective strategy in attaining its objectives. With the support of RLHP, the MSDF, in tandem with DMO has been instrumental in mobilizing the communities in slums through the local associations and women's groups to not only help them organize themselves but also to participate in protests and demonstrations from time to time. Ever since its inception, the RLHP Combine have organized seven city level and several community level protests and demonstrations against arrack (cheap liquor) shops, domestic violence, child abuse, police atrocities, evictions, lack of basic services etc. MSDF has also supported protests by local associations at the slum level. Two large conventions were organized in 1993 and 2004 respectively which saw participation of more than 5000 slum dwellers each time. These conventions and protests have helped MSDF gain identity in the public sphere and strengthen its mass base in individual slums. MSDF has intervened in the process of slum declaration on several occasions and helping local associations to gain access to government schemes for slum improvement through mass contact programmes with officials (ibid.).

Political orientation, caste factors and rifts in leadership
MSDF leaders and members periodically participate in training programmes on leadership, community building, human rights and other issues conducted by RLHP. One of the earliest leaders of MSDF who continues to be its Honorary President has served as the Mayor of Mysore City Corporation for a term of one year and as an elected Councilor for two terms of five years representing a national political party. Eleven men and five women affiliated to MSDF have served as elected representatives in Municipal bodies other than Mysore. As such, MSDF does not have an explicit or formal affiliation to any political party. But some of its frontline leaders are known to forge informal alliances with political parties to mobilize voters during elections. Having a former Mayor in their ranks has helped MSDF gain political mileage for its advocacy campaigns and protests. A former Deputy Chief Minister of Karnataka and a local Member of the State Legislative Assembly have reportedly been consistent supporters of MSDF and RLHP activities. The RLHP Combine has also enlisted the support of eminent people in Mysore like writers, academicians, 'intellectuals' literary-activists, and so on. in its quest for equitable human development (ibid.).

Initially the membership of MSDF was predominantly constituted by single-ethnic slums which has over the years evolved to become multi-ethnic, though a sizeable number of its active leaders still belong to a particular caste group. The political undercurrents and caste factors have eroded to some extent its membership base in some slums where community development associations were either not formed, or if formed are weak or have become defunct. Weakening of membership base has led to financial problems. Instances of power conflicts between the frontline leaders and misuse of funds have also been reported in the past (Interviews: Mr. Nagendra, Field Coordinator RLHP 17.01.07; Executive Committee Member of MSDF from Vasanthnagar 27.01.07).

Despite RLHP's insistence on self-reliance, MSDF's excessive dependence on RLHP for financial support remains one of its main problems. RLHP's indications of withdrawal of financial support has

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led to a sense of fear of "what next" amongst some of the frontline MSDF leaders (FGD with MSDF leaders 24.01.07; Interview Mrs. Philomena Joy, Director RLHP 02.03.07).

Dhwani Mahila Okkoota

Like MSDF, Dhwani Mahila Okkoota (DMO) is a federation of local women's associations in the slums and has emerged as a strong forum fighting for women's issues. DMO is formally registered as a society with an elected governing council and rotating frontline leadership with more than 10000 members from 56 slums across three districts. DMO has played an active role in resolving family disputes, restoring women's rights and complimented MSDF's efforts in securing access to basic amenities and services and education of children. In some slums, the member associations of DMO have been instrumental in fostering solidarity and stimulating the male leaders to form community development associations. While the caste factors have not yet assumed divisive proportions, the political orientation of DMO is largely influenced by that of MSDF. DMO leaders who represent various slums exuded more confidence than their MSDF counterparts about achieving self reliance for sustaining their struggles (RLHP 2004; FGD with DMO leaders 20.01.07).

10.9.   Elucidation of variables and indicators of institutional effects on inclusive urban governance

As a first step towards analyzing the institutional effects of the RLHP-Combine, the operational cause-effect-variables were elucidated based on the FGDs with MSDF and DMO leaders and key informant interviews with RLHP and KSCB officials. The process of elucidation itself was based on analysis of both primary and secondary data. The Institutional cause and effect variables manifest at both aggregated and disaggregated levels in varying degrees.

Effects on human development: Socio-demographic indicators
Literacy rate, school enrollment rate, infant and maternal mortality rates, prevalence of child labor, prevalence of alcoholism and domestic violence etc. amongst the community members in slums intervened by RLHP.

Effects on declaration of slums and their access to basic amenities and services
Two subsets of mutually related effect variables were identified according to the level at which they lend themselves most appropriate for empirical analysis.

- City level institutional effects: Four types of city level institutional effects were elucidated viz. the number of declared slums, the development status across slums with respect to housing and other basic services, policy, legal and procedural changes related to declaration and provision of services, and decrease (if any) in the number of unwarranted evictions. The presence of special institutional arrangements for inter-agency coordination, and the time taken for declaring slums and provision of basic amenities were considered as proxy indicators of the city-wide institutional effects.

- Community level effects: For the purpose of this study, the term 'community' was construed as encompassing all the households living in a slum regardless of their ethnic identity, level of income or language. Community solidarity was unanimously accorded the highest prominence as a determinant variable in terms of a community's ability to obtain declaration for their slum and eventually gain access to housing and other basic services. The criticality of this variable can be gauged from some of the statements made by the leaders of MSDF and DMO during the FGDs and interviews, which was also corroborated by the RLHP staff:, with out solidarity amongst us, it is very difficult to deal with the government; if we are united, we can achieve anything; we should

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not look at which caste I or she belongs to; we should fight for our rights together else politicians and officials will take us for a ride; and because we stood united, we were able to distribute plots to families in our area without any conflicts".

Indicators and influential factors of community Solidarity

Community solidarity is defined in the context of this study as, "a community's capacity to organize itself as a united and cohesive unit with appropriate conflict resolution mechanisms to effectively overcome the barriers posed by caste-identity groups, vested-political-interest groups and non-responsive institutional arrangements" (Author's construct).

Collective empowerment: An indicator of community solidarity

As a composite variable, the level of collective empowerment is constituted by five inter-related individual variables two of which are indicative of community solidarity viz. the associational mode of solving community's problems and collective self efficacy which is an individual's belief in the efficacy of collective action in a geographic locale.

The level of community empowerment was measured through a comparative sample survey of community members affiliated to or intervened by five types of civil society associations categorized into three types using a questionnaire. That, the community members across 14 sampled slums intervened by RLHP achieved the highest collective empowerment score suggests that community solidarity may be relatively higher in the slums intervened by the RLHP Combine than in others (Chapter nine).

Ethnic composition, community solidarity and locale of rehabilitation

From the point of view of community mobilization and solidarity, slums can be categorized as 'single-ethnic' comprising of either a single Hindu caste group or a religious minority group and 'multi-ethnic' comprising of more than one Hindu caste group and/or other religious groups. From the 2004-KSCB list of 49 declared slums, 57% are multi-ethnic and 43% are single-ethnic as shown in Table 10.1. which is based on the analysis provided in Appendix 14.18 and 14.19. The members of the RLHP Combine opined that it was relatively easier to accomplish community solidarity in a single-ethnic slum than a multi-ethnic slum. In a single-ethnic slum the community is bonded by traditional ties of family/kinship, cultural values and practices. Whereas in a multi-ethnic community, members have a tendency to align along caste or sub-caste identities. Though, external caste-based identity associations that tend to mobilize communities on caste-based identity may exert significant influence in both the types of communities, it appears to be more acute and divisive in the case of multi-ethnic slums. On the other hand, examples of strong community solidarity are found also in multi-ethnic communities suggesting that ethnic composition may operate as a bidirectional variable (FGD: DMO leaders 20.01.07 and MSDF leaders 24.01.07; Interviews: RLHP staff December 2006 to March 2007).

Ethnic composition also appears to be related to the locale of slum rehabilitation. As given in Table 10.1, of the 49 declared slums, 41% are relocated and 53% are in situ rehabilitated and 70% (N=20) of the relocated slums are multi-ethnic as compared to 30% single-ethnic, thus suggesting a possible relationship between ethnic composition and the locale of rehabilitation. Slum communities in general are averse to relocation and show a strong preference for in situ rehabilitation. Therefore it was assumed that single-ethnic communities, on account of their greater solidarity would pose a stronger resistance to relocation decision of the authorities as compared to multi-ethnic communities. In order to eliminate the potential effects of other factors, it was further assumed that relocation decision was significantly more likelier if the slum was/is located on privately owned land and also if the density of

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a slum is relative higher i.e. there is an inverse relationship between the total number of households and the available total land.

From Table 10.1, three types of land ownership can be observed across which the 49 declared slums are distributed. Only 14% of the slums are located on private land while a large proportion viz. 73.5% are on municipal land and 12.5% on other government lands such as those belonging to the Departments of Railways, Public Works etc. The proportion of slums on private lands is considerably smaller than those on public lands. Three out of the seven slums on private land are relocated and all of which are multi-ethic slums. Of the 36 slums on municipal lands, 41% are relocated and 52% are in situ rehabilitated, but of the 15 slums on the municipal land that were relocated, 60% are multi-ethnic and only 40% are single-ethnic. Two out of the six slums on other government lands are relocated and both are multi-ethnic. Therefore it can be argued that the type of land ownership has not had a significant bearing on the relocation decision.

Table 10.1: Ethnic composition, locale of rehabilitation and nature of land ownership for the list of 49 declared slums

	Relocated (including the slums under relocation)			Rehabilitated in situ			Status unknown			Total	Per-cent
	P	**M**	**OG**	**P**	**M**	**OG**	**P**	**M**	**OG**		
Single-ethnic	0	6	0	2	8	3	1	1	0	**21**	**43%**
											57%
Multi-ethnic	3	9	2	1	11	1	0	1	0	**28**	
Sub total	**3**	**15**	**2**	**3**	**19**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**49**	
											100%
Percent	**15%**	**75%**	**10%**	**11.5%**	**73%**	**15.5%**					
Grand total	**20 (41%)**			**26 (53%)**			**3 (6%)**			**49**	

Total slums on private land (P): 7 (14.2%)
Total slums on municipal land (M): 36 (73.4%)
Total slums on other government land (OG): 6 (12.4%)

Source: Author's construct based on "Status of Slums in Mysore District", an Internal Report Prepared by the Mysore Sub-division of the Karnataka Slum Clearance Board 2004. Also see Appendix 14.18 and 14.19.

With regard to the relative density of a slum i.e. the size of the land and the total number of households as shown in Table 10.2, the average size of the slum in the relocated category is 0.64 Ha. and the average number of households per slum is 120. In the in-situ rehabilitated category, the average size is 0.70 ha. and the average number of households is 140 per slum. The average size of the household for both the categories is five persons. Since there doesn't appear to be a significant difference in the density of the slums i.e. average size of the land and the average number of households between the relocated and the in-situ rehabilitated categories, it can be argued that the size of the land in relation to the number of households might not have had a significant impact on the relocation decision.

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Table 10.2: Average size of the slum and the number of households for the list of 49 declared slums

Type of slum	Average size of the land per slum (in Ha)	Average number of households per slum	Average household size
Relocated slums **(N=21)**	0.64 (min. 0.04 to max. 11.07)	120	5
In situ rehabilitated **(N= 28)**	0.70 Ha (min.0.02 to max. 4.36)	140	5

Source: Author's construct based on official records of KSCB Mysore Sub-division 2004. Also see Appendices 14.18 and 14.19.

Eliminating the possible effects of land ownership and the relative density of the slums on the relocation decision strengthens the argument for a stronger relationship between ethnic composition and the locale of rehabilitation with the intervening variable as community solidarity expressed in terms of the extent of resistance posed by a community to a decision to relocate it. Since the analysis is based on secondary data, there is a need to supplement these findings with more rigorous empirical inquiry.

Driving forces for community solidarity

Quality of community leadership, community awareness and mobilization, and the nature and timing of intervention of external civil society organizations were identified as precursors of a strong membership association in slums as shown in Figure 10.1. Leaders committed to the community cause and resistant to short term benefits offered by political patrons and the presence of an external civil society association that has a holistic, integrated and empowering approach to community development are correlated with stronger community solidarity. A holistic and empowering approach in this context means that the focus is on fostering awareness among members of a community about their rights and entitlements, relevant laws, state policies and schemes and administrative procedures; mobilize and train community members to organize themselves into legitimate associations to fight for securing their rights; and creating spaces for women, children and youth to participate in those organizations. It also entails an approach to problem solving approach that is more comprehensive and the one that integrates socio-economic-political-cultural-ecological dimensions based on principles of equity and equality. Crisis situations may unite the members of an otherwise divided community, but in the absence of other binding forces, the community may revert to its original level of solidarity after the crisis is resolved.

Restraining forces for community solidarity

The restraining forces tend to restrain a community from becoming mobilized, organized and empowered. Patron-client relationships observed in slums between political leaders and vulnerable community leaders is one such potentially divisive force. Most common are relationships between prospective electoral candidates of political parties and selected vulnerable leaders which the former harness for electoral gains. To begin with, rapport is established with vulnerable leaders who are influential men in the community which is then followed by informal arrangements for vote trading. Communities are promised of amenities and services whereas the selected clients (leaders) are assured of favors and gifts either in the form of cash or a preferential beneficiary status in a given government scheme. Most often the promises made to the community are not fulfilled whereas those to clients are fulfilled in some form. In addition to the pre-election promises, the practice of wooing individual of voters in the community with 'gifts' either in cash or kind also appears to be rampant in slums.

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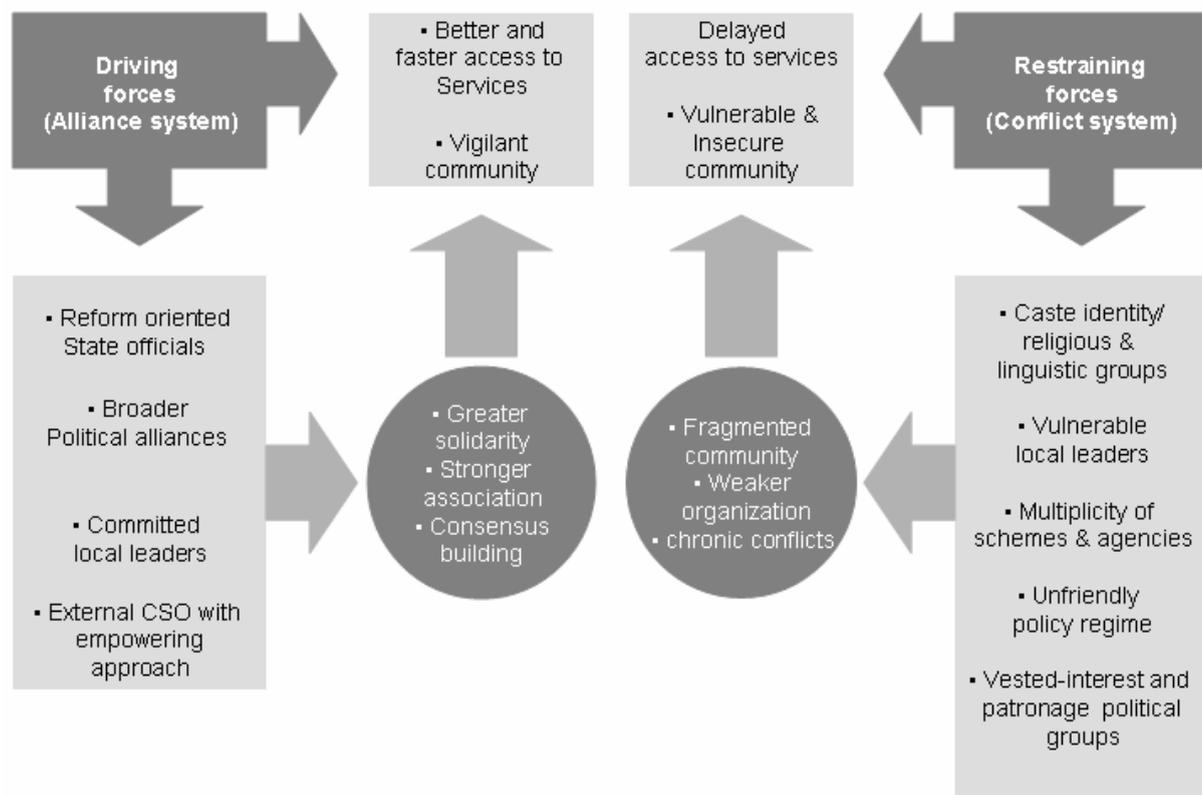
Figure 10.1: Driving and restraining forces for community solidarity in slums
(Source: Author's construct based on FGDs with the leaders of MSDF, DMO and interviews with the staff of RLHP)

Caste-based identity associations, and religious and linguistic fundamentalist groups were identified as the second most potential restraining force for solidarity particularly in multi-lingual and multi-ethnic communities. These external special identity groups tend to divide a community either along caste, religion or linguistic orientations. However, not all caste-based identity groups are divisive or uncivil as some of the caste-based social movement organizations have been credited for their crucial role in organizing and mobilizing the traditionally discriminated, exploited and marginalized people belonging to castes regarded as the lowest in the caste hierarchy.

Certain government schemes favoring a particular Hindu caste group like for e.g. the 18% grant for the welfare of persons belonging to Scheduled Castes were perceived to be detrimental to community solidarity in a multi-ethnic community by providing scope for manipulation by community leaders and political interest groups to further strengthen patron-client relations in slums.

Sources of political capacity for fostering community solidarity:
Application of the conceptual framework for empirical analysis (Figure 6.2 Chapter six) from the perspective of facilitating community solidarity for enabling a community's access to basic services, the political opportunity structures for civil society associations in the slum improvement arena of Mysore consists mainly of the constitutionally guaranteed fundamental freedoms that allows for organization and mobilization of the urban poor; the institutional framework for slum improvement; and the alliance system represented by the driving forces and the conflict system represented by the restraining forces as shown in Figure 10.1.

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Actors and their structural relations hips in the slum improvement arena

Based on the data generated during elucidation of variables and indicators, the constellation of potential actors impacting a slum typically intervened by the RLHP Combine was visualized as shown in Figure 10.2.

RLHP has a multi-pronged approach to slum redevelopment and rehabilitation:
- At first, RLHP establishes direct link with the community by facilitating the formation of community development association (CDA) and women's group.
- It then fosters linkage between CDA and MSDF, a federation of CDAs and between women's group and the DMO, a federation of women's groups.
- It strengthens the MSDF and DMO through capacity building programmes and by providing resource support.
- Together with MSDF, DMO, CDA and women's group, it acts as a pressure and advocacy group thus forming an alliance system to persuade and negotiate with the state agencies for according recognition and provision of basic services to a given slum.

In the process of executing its multi-pronged approach, the RLHP Combine contends with other actors such as political patrons and caste-based identity groups that are known to exert profound influence on the frontline community leaders who in turn can significantly influence development interventions in slums. The caste-based identity groups aim to foster solidarity amongst members belonging to a particular caste group and can therefore divide a multi-ethnic community along caste lines. Whereas the political interest groups build patron-client relationships with vulnerable leaders in the community particularly for electoral gains. Patronage politics and special interest groups together act as a conflict system and pose tremendous challenge to the development interventions made by both the state agencies and civil society associations.
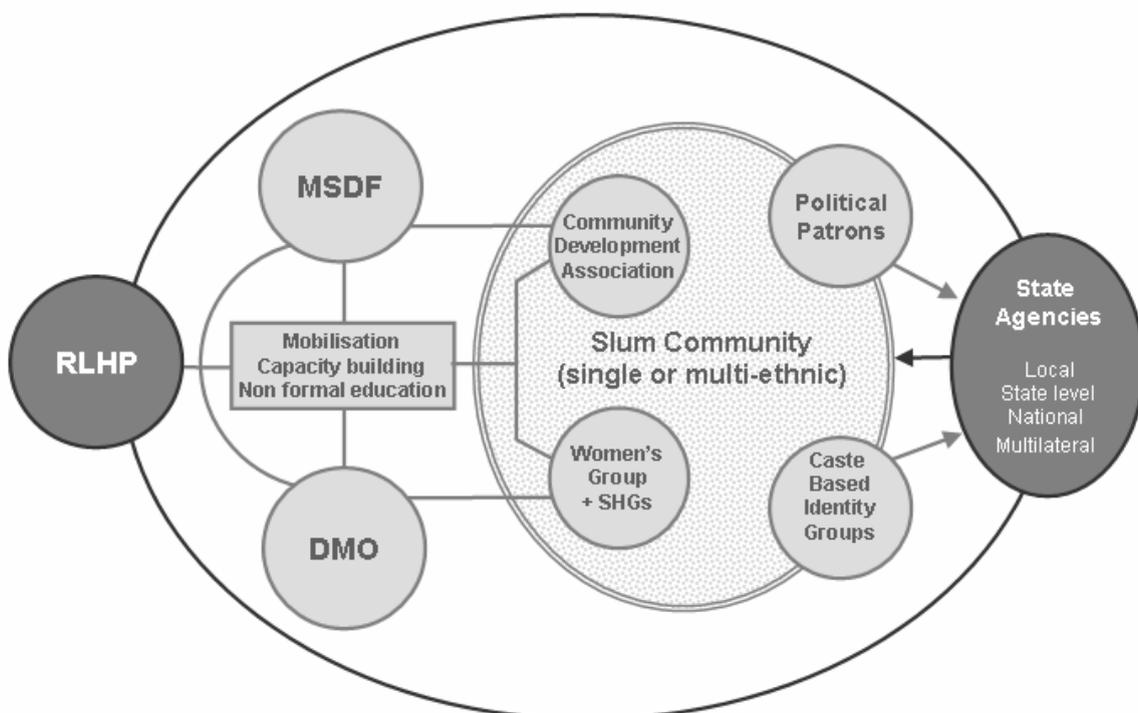
Figure 10.2: Actors and their structural relationships in the slum improvement arena
(Source: Author's construct)

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10.10. City level analysis of institutional effects of the RLHP Combine

Three types of effects are analyzed to provide a macro perspective of the institutional effects of the RLHP Combine with specific emphasis on RLHP's efforts. The analysis was primarily based on secondary data, supplemented by field visits, interviews and focus group discussions. Comprehensive quantitative analysis was constrained by the incompleteness, inconsistencies and probable inaccuracies of the data made available due to lack of process documentation and poor institutional memory on the part of case study associations. Given the limited scope and resource constraints, primary data collection using rigorous and quantitative methods could not be carried out. Also, since some of the conclusions had to be drawn from 'perceptions' of key informants and FGD participants, 'bias' might have crept into the analytical process. Nevertheless, key empirical issues arising out of the analysis were independently cross verified across different categories of respondents to ensure a certain level of validity and reliability.

Effects on human development

The data was available only on some of the social indicators of human development as depicted in Table 10.3, and was extracted from both the open ended interviews and structured interviews with the staff of RLHP and a study of their documents such as conference presentations and annual reports. Data on economic indicators was not available.

Table 10.3: Social indicators of human development in slums intervened by RLHP

Social indicators	Pre 1995	2003-04
Overall school enrollment of children & literacy rate	3%	95%
School enrollment ratio for girls	1%	90%
Adult Literacy rate (only for 14 out of 34 slums)	-	67%
Maternal mortality rate	-	Almost nil
Infant mortality rate	35%	1%
Alcoholism	-	30%
Number of 100% child labor free slums (for three districts)	All (56)	39
Early marriages amongst girls	75%	15%
Incidence of domestic violence against women and children	-	10%

Source: Author's construct based on RLHP Annual Report 2002; RLHP Power Point Presentation 2003; and Hosa Badukinedege (Towards a new Life) published by RLHP in 2004.

In general, the representatives of MSDF and DMO and the communities in one of the case study slums (Vasanthnagar community) endorsed RLHP's claims about positive trends in the various socio-demographic indicators in slums intervened by RLHP, though the veracity of numbers and percentages couldn't be cross validated. The sharp increase in school enrollment rate for children, significant decrease in birth rate and the sharp decline in infant mortality rate were particularly highlighted by the members of MSDF and the DMO. These favorable demographic and social changes were attributed to an integrated, gender empowering and child-centered approach adopted by RLHP to slum improvement that entails enabling community's access to schools and basic health services including child and reproductive health. These findings also corroborate the current emphasis on child and women-centered approach to human development that characterizes the international development agenda (FGDs with the leaders of DMO and MSDF on 20th and 24th of January 2007 respectively).

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Factors influencing the slum declaration process

Declaration of a slum is a time consuming and long drawn bureaucratic process involving multiple agencies complicated by different types of land ownership. Some of the factors influencing the declaration process are enlisted here.

Nature of land ownership
Whether the land on which the slum was originally located is privately or publicly owned seems to have a bearing on the time taken for declaration. Three types of land holdings based on public ownership are observed viz. land belonging to state government agencies including the revenue lands, municipal lands and the railway land. Slums located on private lands usually lead to legal disputes either prolonging the declaration process to the point of infinity or instant declaration followed by relocation (KSCB-Mysore 2004).

Policy changes and implementation of new schemes
The pace of declaration process gains momentum when the KSCB is under pressure to implement a state or centrally sponsored slum rehabilitation/redevelopment scheme like for e.g. e centrally sponsored JNNRUM launched in 2006. Twelve slums whose declaration petitions had been languishing for some time were instantaneously declared in 2006 to enable their inclusion in the Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP) component of JNNURM (Interview: Mr. Kapini Gowda, AEE-KSCB 05.04.07).

Responsive and proactive senior officials
Declaration is also speeded up when senior officials are proactive and responsive. The respondents recounted a few former DCs of Mysore who had taken special initiatives towards slum declaration and rehabilitation (Interview: Mr. Narayan, Honorary President MSDF 20.02.07, FGD with MSDF leaders 24.01.07).

Role of community and external civil society organizations
The respondents from the KSCB contended that the presence of strong community associations (CA) in slums either supported by external associations or otherwise influence the declaration process in many ways (Interviews: Officials of the KSCB Mysore sub-division on 18.02.07 and 20.02.07):
- CAs can prepare the ground for smoothening administrative processes. For e.g. CAs are instrumental in obtaining ration cards for their members to access subsidized food grains and other essential commodities; helping the eligible citizens register on the electoral roll (voters list); and preparing a comprehensive data inventory of slum inhabitants. The ration card, voters list and data inventory are important requirements for processing the application for declaration.
- CAs act as interface between the officials and the community members and create consensus on vital but potentially conflicting decisions such as displacement from the original site of residence and relocation to a new site etc.
- CAs build and sustain pressure on the concerned authorities through regular follow-up visits and other means to persuade and demand speedy disposal of application and files pertaining to slum declaration and provision of services.

Analysis of effects on slum declaration

Given the paramount importance attached to declaration of slums as a means of inclusion of slum dwellers in the structures and processes of urban governance, the effects of the RLHP Combine were analyzed in terms of both the number of slums declared in a time-interval of every five years and the pace of declaration process measured in the average number of years taken.

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Chronological increase in the number of declared slums

There are an estimated 80 slums in Mysore city of which, 59 slums are declared, 16 slums are in various stages of declaration process and five slums were dropped from the official list. Of the 59 declared slums, 12 were declared on a fast track basis in the year 2006 at a single instance for inclusion in the JNNURM project and were therefore not considered for analysis. The process of declaring the other 49 slums commenced in the year 1975 and continued till the 49th slum was declared in 2004. RLHP is working in 31 declared and three undeclared slums in Mysore.

Table 10.4: Time periods and the corresponding number of notified slums

Time period for declaration	No. of slums notified
Prior to 1985	3
Between 1985-90	10
Between 1990-95	02
Between 1995-00	15
Between 2000-05	19
Total	49

Source: City Development Plan of Mysore for JNNURM, iDeCK 2005

As table 10.4 shows, the number of slums declared over every five year intervals has increased since 1985 except during the period 1990-1995, when the Revised Comprehensive Development Plan for Mysore was under a prolonged process of preparation and approval. Amongst other factors, this general increase can also be attributed to the increased pressure from RLHP and other community based associations including a few caste-based identity groups. The MSDF created by RLHP in 1991 with 14 member slums had started holding regular interactions with KSCB and the DCs office to press for speedy declaration and provision of services. Given the multiplicity of agencies involved in the process of declaration and provision of services and lack of coordination between them, the MSDF had even impressed upon the then DC in 1995 to hold regular quarterly meetings involving all the concerned state agencies and the civil society associations as a means to facilitate inter-agency coordination. Other advocacy measures such as protests and conventions on slum dwellers were organized from time to time to mount pressure on the authorities for declaration of slums. In addition, The RLHP Combine had also organized mass contact programmes between the officials and communities in several undeclared slums. The respondents recalled atleast five such occasions during 1995-2000 when slums whose petitions for declaration had been pending for long were accorded instant declaration status. The officials of the KSCB also pointed out a progressive increase in the number of visits to their office by the representatives of various community organizations for a follow-up on pending declaration applications (FGD with MSDF leaders 24.01.07; Interview: Mr. Narayan, Honorary President MSDF 20.02.07 and Mr. Kapini Gowda, AEE-KSCB 05.04.07).

Pace of declaration: Average number of years

Of the 49 declared slums, data was available only for 29 of which 21 were RLHP intervened slums consisting of 13 multi-ethnic and 8 single-ethnic slums. Of the 21 RLHP intervened slums, data was available only for 18 slums with regard to the year of declaration and of these, seven were declared prior to and eleven after RLHP's intervention (Table 10.5 pp. 165).

The time taken for declaration of each of the 29 slums was calculated by counting the number of years between the date of the first official document pertaining to a given slum (which is usually either the petition by a local community association /federation or a letter by the KSCB to the municipal

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authorities seeking No Objection Certificate, and the notice of the final declaration by the DCs Office. Given the importance of ethnic composition in community solidarity, it was assumed that single-ethnic slums would have taken less number of years than the multi-ethnic slums. The average number of years for declaration of RLHP's multi and single ethnic slums is 6 and 5.75 years respectively suggesting no possible effect of ethnic composition on the pace of declaration process. The combined average for RLHP's 21 slums is about 5.9 years whereas the average for all the 29 slums is also around 6 years indicating that there may not be any significant difference between RLHP and non-RLHP slums in terms of the time taken for declaration which still appears to be a function of the multiplicity of agencies and the lengthy bureaucratic procedures on which external associations are yet to make any significant impact.

Analysis of the effects on slum improvement and rehabilitation

Based on the interviews with the staff of RLHP coupled with visual observations made during field visits and the official documents, the 34 RLHP slums were first categorized across three pairs of variables followed by assignation of developmental status to each slum (Interviews: Mr. Venkatesh & Nagendra 16.01.07, 17.01.07 and 18.06.07).

Categorization of slums across three pairs of variables
As shown in Table 10.5, the slums intervened by RLHP were categorized across three pairs of variables. They are:
- Ethnic composition (N=34): 35% single-ethnic and 65% multi-ethnic;
- Locale of rehabilitation (N=32): 53% in situ and 43% fully/partially relocated; and
- Community solidarity (N=33): 51.5% strongly organized and 48.5% weakly organized.

Strongly organized includes slums in which both the community development association (CDA) and the women's association are active, have a wide membership and are affiliated to the MSDF and DMO respectively. Weakly organized includes slums in which the community development association doesn't exist or if exists it is either nascent and less active, does not have a wide membership and/or not affiliated to MSDF. Community solidarity is difficult to achieve in the absence of a strong CDA even though a slum may have a strong women's association. The three undeclared RLHP slums also fall into the category of weakly organized.

Assignation of developmental status to slums
The total public investment inflow into RLHP slums over the last twenty years for providing housing and other basic services is claimed to be around US $20 million. But the absence of details and comparative figures makes it difficult to verify these claims (MSDF 2004). The task of assigning developmental status was made difficult by the lack of quantitative data on slums and had to be drawn from the field knowledge and perceptions of the RLHP staff. Though the visual observation reports and other data for 14 RLHP slums drawn from the empowerment survey appears to be consistent with the data recalled by the RLHP staff, the problems of arbitrariness and bias cannot be overruled.

The condition of housing and access to other basic services such as drinking water - household or public facilities, sanitation - individual or community toilets or no toilets, underground drainage, access roads, storm water drain and household electricity supply were considered as criteria for determining the developmental status of a slum. More weight was given to the condition of housing and security of land tenure since it was identified as the most important priority for the slum dwellers during FGDs and interviews. The term 'access' in this context is understood as mere availability of concrete houses and infrastructure facilities for basic services without regard to quality, problem incidence and the efficiency of grievance redress mechanisms. It was noted that all the slums have access to street lighting and public taps for drinking water. In accordance with the developmental

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status, the 33 slums were distributed across three types of developmental status as shown in Table 10.6:

- Satisfactory access to housing and basic services: 48% (for e.g. most of the families are living in concrete houses with secure land tenure and infrastructure for basic services).
- Partially satisfactory access : 24.5% (only half or less than half of the families are living in concrete houses and the slums are deprived of infrastructure for some basic services).
- Poor access : 27.5% (less than one third or none of the families are living in concrete houses with lack of infrastructure for most basic services).

Table 10.5: Salient features of slums intervened by RLHP

Attributes	Numbers	Percentage
Total no. of slums being intervened by RLHP	**34**	-
Declared [20]	**31**	99%
Undeclared	3	1%
Total single-ethnic (all are declared) N= 34	12	36%
Total multi-ethnic slums (3 are undeclared) N = 34	22	64.7%
Relocated single-ethnic slums (N=12)	2	18%
Relocated multi-ethnic slums (N=19)	12	66%
In situ rehabilitated single-ethnic slums (N=12)	10	82%
In situ rehabilitated multi-ethnic slums (N=19)	6	33%
Total in situ rehabilitated slums (N=32)	16	53%
Total relocated slums (N=32)	14	47%
Average no. of years for declaration for multi-ethnic slums – Max.10 years to Min. 2 years (data available only for 13 out of 18 RLHP slums)	6 years	
Average no. of years for declaration for single-ethnic slums – Max. 13 years to min. 2 years (data available only for 8 out of 12 RLHP slums)	5.75 years	
Combined average no. of years for declaration of both single & multi-ethnic slums (for 21 slums)	5.9 years	
Total no. of slums declared prior to RLHP's intervention (from the available data for 18 slums)	single-ethnic -3 multi ethnic -4 **Total 7**	
Total no. of slums declared after RLHP intervention (from the available data for 18 slums)	single-ethnic -5 multiethnic -6 **Total 11**	
Land ownership for the 14 relocated slums Municipal land	9	
Other Govt. land	2	
Private land	3	

Source: Author's construct based on various sources of data provided by RLHP (see Appendix 14.17)

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[20] The declared slums intervened by RLHP forms a subset of the overall 49 slums declared thus far in the city of Mysore

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Table 10.6: Associational strength in relation to status of access to housing and services

Attributes	Satisfactory access	Partially satisfactory access	Poor access	Total	Percentage (N=33)
Strongly organised	16	1	Nil	17	51.5%
Weakly organised	Nil	7	9	16	48.5%
Total	16	8	9	33	100%
Percent (N=33)	48%	24.5%	27.5%	100%	

Source: Author's construct based on various sources of data provided by RLHP ((see Appendix 14.17)

Developmental status of slums in relation to ethnic composition, community solidarity and locale of rehabilitation

As shown in Table 10.7, about 75% of the single-ethnic slums (N=12), are identified both as strongly organized and having satisfactory access to housing and other basic services while 16% were identified as weakly organized with either partially satisfactory or poor access. Of the 22 multi-ethnic slums, only 32% were identified as both strongly organized and having satisfactory access to housing and other basic services whereas 63.5% were identified as weakly organized which are equally distributed across the two categories of partially satisfactory and poor access. On the whole, all the strongly organized slums except one have satisfactory access and all the weakly organized slums either have partially satisfactory or poor access. Thus, the findings suggest a positive relationship between single ethnic slums, greater community solidarity and satisfactory access to housing and basic services. They also imply that the RLHP Combine has been far more effective in organizing the communities in single ethnic than the multi ethnic slums. Considering that 22 out of the 34 RLHP slums are multi ethnic of which eight (36%) are strongly organized shows that multi ethnic composition is not necessarily a barrier for organizing the communities. A deeper analysis of the driving and restraining forces of community solidarity is provided in the subsequent sections through a comparative case study of two multi-ethnic slums.

Table 10.7: Status of access to housing and services in relation to associational strength

Attributes		Number	Percent
Multi ethnic (N=22)	Strongly organised and satisfactory access	7	32%
	Weakly organised and partially satisfactory access or poor access	14	63.6%
	Strongly organised and partially satisfactory access	1	4.5%
	Total	22	100%
Single ethnic (N=12)	Strongly organised and satisfactory access	9	75%
	Weakly organised and partially satisfactory access or poor access	2	17 %
	Data not available	1	8 %
	Total	12	100%

Source: Author's construct based on various sources of data provided by RLHP (see Appendix 14.17)

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With regard to the site of rehabilitation, Table 10.8 shows no significant difference between in situ and relocated slums in terms of the developmental status and community solidarity though the in situ category has slightly more number of organized communities and slums with satisfactory access. Both in situ and relocated slums are more or less equally distributed across the two pairs of variables viz. strongly organized - satisfactory access and weakly organized - partially satisfactory/ poor access.

Table 10.8: Status of access to housing and services for RLHP slums in relation to the site of rehabilitation

	Attributes	Number	Percent
In situ Rehabilitation (N= 17)	Satisfactory access	9	56.3%
	Partially satisfactory access or poor access	7	43.7
	Total (*data for one slum not available*)	16	100%
	Weakly organised	7	41%
	Strongly organised	10	59%
	Total	17	100%
Relocated and proposed for relocation (N=15)	Satisfactory access	6	40%
	Partially satisfactory access or poor access	9	60%
	Total	15	100%
	Weakly organised	7	50%
	Strongly organised	7	50%
	Total	14	100%

Source: Author's construct based on various sources of data provided by RLHP (see Appendix 14.17)

Analysis of the effects on slum improvement policy

The term 'public policy' can be generally defined as a system of laws, regulatory measures, courses of action, and funding priorities concerning a given sector, theme, subject etc. promulgated by a governmental entity or its representatives with a long term perspective. Advocacy in this context can be defined as attempting to influence public policy through education, lobbying, or political pressure. Interviews with the office bearers of the RLHP Combine and a study of their official documents reveal that sustained advocacy for policy changes in slum improvement and rehabilitation either at the state or national level doesn't figure prominently in their list of priorities. The conventions, mass protests and demonstrations organized by the Combine have been effective in mobilizing slum dwellers and educating the general public at the district level but have not been instrumental in bringing about major policy changes at the state level. Though the Combine appears to have enjoyed the good will and support of a former Deputy Chief Minister[21] and a few members of the Karnataka State

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[21] The Minister has consistently participated in conventions and other public discourses organized by the Combine over more than a decade and has even gone to the extent of issuing public statements favoring the appointment of MSDF's Honorary President as the Chairperson of Karnataka Slum Clearance Board (News report: Bangalore edition of Samyuktha Karnataka 21.11.04).

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Legislative Assembly from Mysore, it has not succeeded in converting the political goodwill into policy changes for an integrated and participatory slum rehabilitation approach. The lobbying and advocacy efforts have thus far largely focused on inclusion of slum dwellers into prevailing schemes and projects being implemented in a piece-meal manner within the existing legal and administrative framework rather than changing the "rules of the game".

At the city level, the RLHP Combine has been actively lobbying for securing a minimum of 60 sq. m as the plot area per family/household in relocated slums. In the in situ rehabilitated slums, the size of the individual plot is a function of the density of the slum. In most of these densely populated slums the individual plot size which is usually fully built-up, varies from 15 to 33 sq. m. for a family of five to six members[22]. Since slum dwellers generally tend to resist relocation as well as multi-storied dwelling units, the authorities have no choice but to persuade or use coercive means to relocate the late settlers in order to provide atleast a proportion of the households with individual house units with in the available land. Such being the case, active lobbying by the RLHP Combine has succeeded in securing an individual plot size of 60 sq. m. in relocated slums such as Vasanthanagar, Roopanagar, etc. and insuring the households against future expansions in the size of the family. But the built-up area of the house is still around 26 sq. m. to accommodate a family of five to six members (Interview: Mr. Narayan, Honorary President MSDF 20.02.07, FGD with MSDF leaders 24.01.07).

The RLHP combine has also been lobbying to resist multi storied dwelling units but in vain since the BSUP component of JNNURM being currently implemented in Mysore stipulates three storied buildings consisting of three dwelling units, each with a built -up area of 25 sq. m regardless of the locale of rehabilitation. As a matter of fact, the BSUP proposal for Mysore even assumes that "the slum dwellers do not need open space and that the multi storied dwelling units enjoys their acceptance" (iDeCK 2005:112; Proceedings of the meeting at the Mysore DC's office with representatives of MSDF and other civil society associations held on 22.02.07 in Office of the DC-Mysore document no. Munici (2) C.R. Meeting 2/2006-07).

Evidently the Combine's advocacy even at the city level has only met with limited success. Several reasons can be cited for this strategic weakness in policy advocacy. At the first instance, the policy arena is not only insensitive to the needs and problems of the slum dwellers but is also multi-institutional and multi-schematic and therefore poses difficult challenges for policy advocacy. Secondly, the RLHP Combine is not an active member of the national or state level federations/networks of civil society organizations focused on slum rehabilitation, though such networks are far and few in number. Even the few active at the state level are fragmented from one another based on ideological principles, or political orientations and relate to each other with a sense of 'competition' rather than a collective spirit.

The last and the most important reason has been the gradual diversion of RLHP's focus from building people's associations and slum rehabilitation towards child-centered development approach driven largely by international donor priorities. This is reflected in the expansion of it's sector specific activities in the areas of primary education, child and reproductive health, economic empowerment of women, eradication of child labor, shelter for street children, employment generation etc. RLHP had even hosted the National Secretariat for the Campaign Against Child Labor (CACL), a national level network of organizations committed to a systemic approach towards eradication of child labor. These changes have to some extent fragmented RLHP's functional domains and resources. The two people's federations RLHP has labored hard to create are currently experiencing resource constraints and

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[22] VAMBAY, one of the slum housing schemes, sponsored by the Central Government stipulates a minimum plinth area of 15 sq m for a dwelling unit.

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gradual erosion of grass roots support base and do not seem equipped for policy advocacy particularly given RLHP's insistence on their financial self reliance (Interview: Mrs. Philomena Joy, Director RLHP 03.03.07).

Analysis of effects on institutional arrangements: The practice of quarterly co-ordination meetings

RLHP's advocacy activities from the early 80s till the beginning of 90s were scattered and lacked a collective dimension. With the formation of Mysore Slum Dwellers Federation in 1991 comprising of community development associations from 13 slums, advocacy attained a collective voice. As a means to overcome problems of interagency co-ordination, the RLHP Combine succeeded in persuading the then Deputy Commissioner (DC) to convene a meeting of all the agencies concerned with provision of basic amenities and services in slums. The said meeting not only deliberated upon the problems faced by the various slums but also fixed time frames for their resolution. It was the first ever meeting in the history of Mysore when representatives of all the state agencies concerned with slum improvement were brought face to face with representatives of the civil society organizations. The meeting provided a forum for reconciliation and helped foster mutual understanding of issues and constraints.

Owing to sustained pressure, the DC organized the second meeting after three months to discuss the progress and actions taken on the commitments made during the first meeting by the representatives of various agencies. Then, the third meeting was organized in the next quarter and the fourth and so on until it became a regular practice to hold quarterly coordination meetings. The then DC who is currently serving as the Principal Secretary to the Government of Karnataka in the Department of Education recalled during an interview, the Combine's initiative in persuading his office to regularly hold the quarterly meetings (Interview: Mr. T.M. Vijay Bhaskar, former DC Mysore 27.06.07).

With the transfer of the said DC in 1995, the practice of quarterly meetings suffered an immediate setback until it was revived again in 1998. Of the seven officials who have served as DCs of Mysore during the last thirteen years, only three were identified as supportive of the practice of quarterly meetings. The last DC who assumed office in 2004 and had not convened a single meeting despite repeated appeals and was finally forced to hold two meetings one each in February and June 2007 owing to a mass protest march organized by the Combine in January 2007 (Interview: Mr. Nagendra RLHP 22.06.07).

Unabated coercive actions of the state agencies like demolitions and evictions on the one hand and protests and demonstrations[23] by the civil society associations on the other, indicates that the interactions between the state and the civil society associations in the slum improvement arena of Mysore is still largely confrontational in nature. Amongst other reasons, this is also a probable reflection of the irregularity in the practice of the quarterly co-ordination meetings at the DCs Office.

10.11. Analysis of community level variables

Two multi-ethnic slum communities viz. the Vasanthnagar and the P.K.Sanitorium slums intervened by the RLHP Combine were selected for a comparative community level analysis in order to gain deeper insights into the driving and restraining forces behind community solidarity, particularly given its crucial and enabling role in gaining satisfactory access to housing and other basic services.

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[23] The incident of forced eviction of a slum in Mysore was last reported during the end of 2004 while the last mass protest was reported in January 2007 (News reports: Mysore edition of Deccan Herald 24.01.04 and The Hindu 28.01.07)

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Owing to following reasons, only multi-ethnic slums were selected for community level analysis:
- They constitute 65% of the slums (N=34) intervened by the RLHP Combine;
- Multi-ethnic slums are perceived to pose far more difficult challenges for community solidarity than single-ethnic slums in terms of the complex interplay of actors such as civil society, caste, religious, linguistic, and political-interest groups; and
- In terms of the developmental status, about 75% (N=12) of the single-ethnic slums were rated as having satisfactory access to housing and basic services as against a mere 32% (N=22) of the multi-ethnic slums.

Of the seven slums rated as strongly organized with satisfactory access, the Vasanthanagar slum was chosen mainly because of the researcher's familiarity and rapport gained during the empowerment survey. The selection of P.K.Sanitorium slum, rated as weakly organized with poor access was driven by an unique opportunity to participate as an observer in a land mark meeting of the P.K. Sanitorium community. At the time of the field research, the P.K. Sanitorium slum was also reported as poised towards a positive change particularly in the light of its chronic history of internal conflicts and tensions. Therefore, it was expected to provide deeper insights into community processes. A comparative analysis of these two contrasting communities was also expected to shed light on the varied effects of driving and restraining forces on the political capacity of civil society associations in the slum improvement arena and their implications for community solidarity.

The community level analysis was carried out through a reconstruction of the developmental history of the two slums based on anecdotal narratives, focus group discussions and participant observation of community meetings and the data made available by RLHP office.

Profile and developmental history of Vasanthnagar resettlement slum

The developmental history is structured chronologically along the significant mile-stones in its developmental path as identified by the active members of the community (FGD: Vasanthnagar leaders 07.04.07).

Origin
Located in the western part of Mysore, nearly 8 km from the city centre, Vasanthanagar resettlement slum was formed when two communities living in separate declared slums situated on private lands were merged and resettled in 1989 namely, the Govindrao Memorial Hall slum[24] (GMH slum) and Regional College slum (RC slum). GMH slum had 120 and RC Slum had 56 families. Both the slums were created in the mid 70s by families from the neighboring states of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh as well as other districts in Karnataka such as Chamarajanagar, Tumkur, Bellary, etc. who migrated to Mysore in search of livelihoods. The GMH slum was declared in 1987 and the RC slum in 1988. The declaration and immediate relocation was necessitated due to the pressure brought forth by the private landowners.

RLHP had established contact with the GMH slum as early as in 1986 when it had helped the community members obtain ration cards[25] while also strengthening the existing community organization that was incipient in nature.

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[24] Slums in Mysore are usually identified as situated 'next' to or 'behind' a particular landmark building. Therefore these buildings become the prefix to the name of a slum. Govindrao Memorial Hall is a land mark building in Mysore and the slum situated next to it came to be called as Govindrao Memorial Hall slum. Same is the case of
[25] Ration cards entitle families identified as Below the Poverty Line to access the public distribution system for food grains and other essential commodities at subsidized prices.

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Soon after declaration, the KSCB constructed 176 houses in 1989 with a subsidized housing loan from HUDCO [26] on notified government land measuring 1.6 ha in the erstwhile village of Bhogadi situated in the western part of Mysore for rehabilitating the 176 families settled in GMH and RC slums. These families have grown into a community known as Vasanthnagar resettlement slum. Even after relocation it remained a slum for several years, since, except for houses each with a built-up area of 22 sq. m. on a plot size of 63 sq. m. and two hand pumps for drinking water, it was deprived of all other basic amenities such as community toilets, electricity supply, water supply, street lights, sewerage and storm water drainage etc. Nevertheless, over the last 18 years, Vasanthnagar has evolved from a slum into a functional neighborhood with all the basic amenities including household toilets, a community hall, two schools and connectivity to the public transport system.. Those community members who have made full repayment of the housing loan have obtained title deeds while others are in the process. Figures 10.3 and 10.4. provide a glimpse of the physical infrastructure in Vasanthnagar.

*Figure 10.3: Access road in Vasanthnagar
(Source: Author, February 2006)*
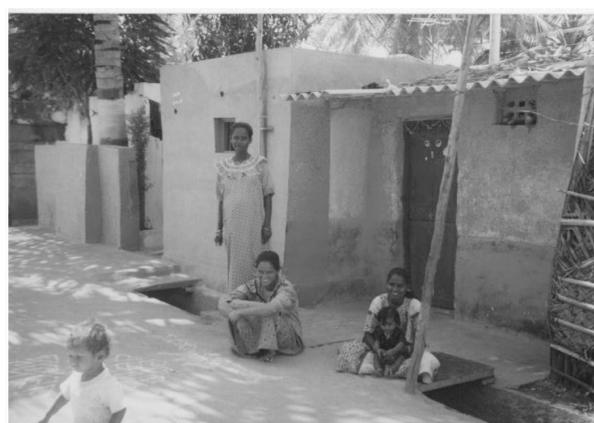
*Figure 10.4: Housing in Vasanthnagar
(Source: Author, February 2006)*

Ethnic composition, linguistic and occupational status
Out of the 176 families, 53% are Hindus, 36% are Muslims and 11% are Christians. Of the 91 Hindu families, 71% belong to the *Adi Dravida* category of the Scheduled Castes. In Mysore, the men and women belonging to *Adi Dravida* caste have been traditionally performing the role of street sweepers and sanitary workers. In common parlance, they are often referred to as, "sweeper caste". The other 29% Hindu families are distributed across other backward caste groups like *Upparashetty, Vokkaliga* and *Kumbara.* Spatially the slum consists of two parts separated by a main street. One part consists of the Hindu and Christian families and the other of the Muslim families. The community can be classified into four linguistic groups: Kannada, Telugu, Tamil and Urdu.

About half of the male labor force work as daily wage workers either in the construction industry or small scale manufacturing firms. About a quarter are employed as sweepers at the Mysore City Corporation. The rest are either employed by other government departments or self employed as petty traders like vegetable vendors, snake charmers etc. Most of the female labor force is engaged in providing domestic services to middle/upper income households while a small percentage is self employed.

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[26] HUDCO is a central government undertaking for housing and urban development. Compared to the loans under the present housing schemes like VAMBAY that give up-to 50% subsidy for the urban poor, the HUDCO loans had only 15% subsidy in 1989 when houses in Vasanthnagar were constructed.

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Chronology of developmental events: Role of the Community Development Association

1990: With the support of RLHP, the Vasanthnagar Community Development Association was formed as a registered society with twelve Executive Committee members representing the various religious and caste groups. Every family by default is considered as a member of the development association. The current membership fee is Rs.2/- per month. As expressed by one of the leaders, the proportional representation of different ethnic groups in the Executive Committee "helps prevent multiple nodes of leadership and acts as a safeguard against inter-caste/religious conflicts" (Interview 27.01.07: Executive Committee Member MSDF).

1991: The Vasanthnagar Community Development Association became affiliated to MSDF as one of the founding members. During the same year, the works for chip carpeting of the roads and construction of 'L' shaped box type storm water drain were taken up.

1992: Shakthi Mahila Sangha, the women's association was formed initially to oversee community awareness activities with regard maternal and child health. Subsequently the women's association has become an integral part of all other development activities in the slum.

1993: The women' association became affiliated to Dhwani Mahila Okkoota, a federation of women's associations created by RLHP. Streetlights were installed followed by provision of electricity connections to households and construction of the underground drainage system.

1994: Due to sustained petition by the Community Development Association, the Mysore City Transport Service created a new transport route number 52 and commenced plying of buses on this route thus providing public transport connectivity to the residents of Vasanthnagar.

1995: The Community Development Association succeeded in getting a primary school for the slum and also availed funds from the Mysore City Corporation for construction of individual household toilets for the 65 families belonging to the Scheduled Caste under the 18% grant for the welfare of Scheduled Castes.

*1997:*A new slum consisting of 18 huts put up by families who were relatives (extended families) of the Vasanthnagar community members made its appearance on the vacant land next to the Vasanthnagar. The new slum which was believed to have enjoyed the support of some leaders of the Vasanthnagar slum grew in time to host 97 families by 2004. The creation of a new slum is understood to have created a rift amongst the senior leaders of the association.

1998-2000: A community hall was constructed for holding community meetings and other public functions. Paving of streets and construction of individual household toilets for the remaining 110 families were taken up and completed under the KUIDP funded by the ADB. During this period three women's self help groups were formed for savings and micro credit which became affiliated to *Kirana* a federation of women's self help groups promoted by RLHP. Also an Urdu (medium) Primary School was constructed for children of religious minority groups.

2001: The individual households were provided piped water supply. A neighborhood Citizen-Police Committee was formed to prevent unwarranted harassment of the community members by the police officials.

2004: The new slum was demolished by MUDA since it was an encroachment upon the land allotted for a private housing lay out and the process of resettlement of slum dwellers is currently underway.

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2005: The community association succeeded in raising donations to the tune of US $ 17,000 for the construction of a temple.

2006-07: During the by-elections to the Chamundeshwari Assembly constituency of which Vasanthnagar is a part of , there were rumors and allegations against some senior leaders of indulging in discriminatory practices with regard to the distribution of money collected from the political parties as incentives to vote in their favor. This is believed to have triggered off a rift between the senior and some of the youth leaders in the community.

Community solidarity in Vasanthnagar slum: Effects of the RLHP Combine
It is noteworthy that despite an active association and the support of the RLHP Combine, the Vasanthnagar community had to struggle more than a dozen years to gain access to basic services. These twelve years have nevertheless been relatively free of community conflicts over development priorities or selection of beneficiaries and inter-caste or inter-religious tensions.

RLHP's prior rapport with one of the resettled communities had paved the way for its active involvement with the community at large in the post resettlement phase. RLHP identified the influential members of the community representing the dominant religious and caste groups and engaged them in a process of dialogue, strengthened their capacity and prepared them for the endeavor of building a strong and cohesive community association. Intervening in the slum before either caste alignments or politics of patronage could make inroads into the community arena in Vasanthnagar seems to have strengthened RLHP's relationship with the community and to ward off any imminent danger of religious/ethnic conflicts or from other vested interests.

Ever since its formation, the community development association has grown in strength and has been successful in obtaining access to all the basic amenities by legitimate means and through a process of constant struggle that has lasted more than a decade. Interactions with the concerned government agencies in a collective voice has ultimately helped in the endeavor of transforming a slum into a healthy neighborhood.

Community members who were part of the FGD were unanimous in acknowledging the crucial role of RLHP in: Highlighting the importance of solidarity; creating awareness on rights and entitlements; awareness on the need for hygiene and public health and importance of children's education; and leadership training and guidance to the executive members of the association in carrying out its mandate. As some respondents expressed, "without RLHP it would have been very difficult for us to come this far, RLHP's biggest contribution to us has been their awareness building, training and community organizing activities"(FGD: Vasanthnagar leaders 07.04.07).

Commenting on the social and economic benefits accrued to the community ever since RLHP's intervention, the FGD participants reported the following trends such as significant decline in maternal and infant mortality rates, sharp increase in school enrollment, marked improvement in public sanitation and cleanliness, decline in the incidence of alcoholism and domestic violence, skill improvement amongst youth, increased participation of women in community issues and improved economic status of women. One of the women leaders from Vasanthnagar has even served as the President of the DMO during 2003-2004 and has also been an office bearer in the Governing Council of MSDF for various terms. The Association leaders also contended that their affiliation to MSDF has strengthened their resolve in their struggle to obtain basic amenities while also effectively resisting the influence of divisive forces (ibid.).

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Ethnic composition is not a restraining force for solidarity in Vasanthnagar
Though the community is multi-ethnic comprising not only of different religious and caste groups but also of two communities which had settled in two distinct geographical locations prior to resettlement, it was still able to achieve a greater degree of solidarity and cohesiveness owing to factors such as conscientious and committed leadership within the community, proportional representation of all the religious and caste groups in the association, and sustained intervention of RLHP driven by its focus on community empowerment and integrated approach backed by multi-pronged strategy. that 71% of the Hindu families represent a single sub-caste may have lessened the scope for caste conflicts. The community members proudly recalled two events as testimony to their solidarity.
- When communal tensions had gripped the entire country following the demolition of a Mosque in northern India in 1992, the Vasanthnagar resettlement slum where 60 Muslim families coexisted with 95 Hindu families remained completely peaceful, though several similar areas in the city witnessed rioting, arson and looting. The Hindu leaders in the community had effectively shielded the other vulnerable families from disruptive elements that had vowed to disturb peace.
- The community development association had availed funds from the MCC in 1995 under the 18% SC grant for constructing individual toilets for the 65 families belonging to the Scheduled Caste (SC). This selective treatment did not cause rift, animosity or mistrust within the community or its ranks though the remaining two-thirds of the families had to wait for three years to get individual toilets under the ADB funded KUIDP.

Patronage politics, electoral behavior and community solidarity in Vasanthnagar
In relation to community solidarity, two patterns of electoral behavior are observed in Mysore's slums:
- In a community which is either weakly or not at all organized, the influential community leaders owing affiliations to various political parties tend to woo their followers to vote in favor of their respective candidates. It is usual for one or the other candidate to get involved in slum improvement activities during the pre election stage either through personal funding or by linking select community members as beneficiaries to some government scheme or project in order to set up "vote bank" in the community. Assurances and promises are inevitable part of the deal. The winning candidate then selects the leaders and their followers who had "helped" in garnering votes for "returning " favors whereas the candidate's promises and assurances to the community as a whole may or may not be fulfilled.

- If a community is strongly organized as in the case of Vasanthnagar, then voters may be called upon to vote *en masse* in favor of a particular candidate even though individual voters may readily accept gifts and incentives from all the contesting candidates/parties. The phenomenon of "en masse" voting for a particular candidate/party is primarily driven by a concern to conserve the solidarity within the community from the differential alignment to political parties particularly when a community is yet to attain satisfactory access to basic amenities and services. Whether the individual voters actually obey the mandate of the community leaders is empirically difficult to prove although such a practice may appear antithetical to the democratic principle of free and fair elections.

Even after repeated interference by political parties and their leaders motivated by electoral gains, the Vasanthnagar community has by and large managed to withstand patron-client relationships. The association has largely focused on the regular administrative process as a legitimate means of availing benefits under prevailing government schemes and projects rather than seek favors from political patrons. At the same time, the association has time and again exploited the political clout enjoyed by the Honorary President of the MSDF who is also an Ex Mayor of Mysore city in its quest for better access to civic amenities and services.

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Internal democracy in Vasanthnagar community: Some worrying trends
The associational life in the community is both vibrant and dense with development association, women's group, self help groups, youth association etc. Though they share a synergetic relationship amongst them, the senior (male) office bearers of the development association seemed dominant in all aspects of the community life. This has led to a rebellious tendency amongst the younger leaders. The growing rift within the community has been exacerbated by the alleged discrimination in the distribution of "pre-election gifts" amongst the community members during the recent by-elections to one of the constituencies of the State Legislative Assembly held in 2006. The internal democracy in the association seems on the wane on account of non-elections to the executive committee and non – renewal of membership since the last twelve years. The participation of community members in community activities is also on the decline. The current preoccupation of the office bearers of the association with activities such as 'mass-marriages' and religious ceremonies restricted to a particular caste-group indicates not only a distortion of priorities and but also signs of potential community conflicts. These developments raise questions about the nature of relationship between community solidarity and the democratic principles of equal representation and active participation and suggest that solidarity is not a linear phenomenon but operates in cycles of ups and downs. Attaining satisfactory access to the basic amenities marked by a prolonged collective struggle seems to have had a "saturation effect" on the community organization (Interviews: Executive Committee Member of Vasanthnagar CDA 27.01.07; RLHP staff 14.05.07).

Profile and developmental history of P.K. Sanitorium slum

The developmental history and the chronology of P.K. Sanitorium which is more complex and eventful than the Vasanthnagar slum, is presented here in the form of an analytical narrative. The reconstructed developmental history of the slum based on the anecdotal narratives of the community members is saddled with inter-caste conflicts and instances of political patronage (FGD: P.K. Sanitorium slum leaders 20.02.07).

Origin
The prefix "P.K. Sanitorium" attached to the slum derives from its location behind the Government hospital for Tuberculosis called T.B. Sanitorium in the western part of Mysore on the K.R.S. Road. P.K is an abbreviation of "Poura Karmika", the local term for Municipal street sweepers. Since a group of Poura Karmika families were the original inhabitants of the slum, it came to be called as the P.K. Sanitorium slum.

Spread across 0.45 Ha of Municipal land, the P.K. Sanitorium slum currently consists of about 113 families grown incrementally over a period of 30 years since 1974. After the slum and the Sanitorium were separated by a new road called Contour Road the ownership of the slum land shifted hands first from the Revenue Department to the City Improvement Trust Board (now known as MUDA) and then finally to the Mysore City Corporation. The 30 *Poura Karmika* families who were amongst the original inhabitants of the slum were relocated in 1985 leaving the remaining other 16 families belonging to *Madiga,* a Scheduled Caste as the main residents of the slum. From 16 families in 1985 the slum has grown in size accommodating families from other sub castes to reach 113 households. The families were originally from neighboring districts as well as from the neighboring states of Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh.

Socio-economic characteristics and linguistic status
Except for the two Muslim and Christian families each, all are Hindus. About 64% (N=109) of the Hindus belong to three Scheduled Castes whose break up is: 38 families belong to *Madiga* also known as *Adi Jambhava* Community; four to *Holeya*; and 28 to *Bhovi*; About 24% of the Hindus are Mudaliyars, a backward community. The remaining 12% are made up of Lingayaths, Vokkaligas and

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Nayakas. Linguistically, the community can be classified into four groups: Kannada, Urdu, Tamil and Telugu.

About two thirds of the male labor force are employed as daily wage workers either in the construction industry or small scale manufacturing firms. About a third are self employed as vegetable and balloon vendors. Most of the female labor force is engaged in providing domestic services to middle/upper income households.

Declaration, land tenure and housing
The slum was declared in the year 2001 after a prolonged spanning seven years. Until recently, the slum had by and large remained. For various reasons like caste tensions, political interference, corrupt and ineffective leadership, the slum had by and large remained outside the ambit of formal administrative framework. Meanwhile the residents have gone about constructing houses through their own resources with the support of political leaders. Currently about 50 families have fully constructed houses, 40 are under construction and 25 are yet to commence construction.

Figure 10.5: Views of the Sanitorium slum (Source: RLHP 2007)

Topography and the status of basic services
At a first glance, the slum appears like a dense maze unfit for human habitation with concrete houses and those under construction and hutments abutting each other without setbacks in a haphazard manner with muddy, uneven passage ways littered with garbage. The eastern side of the slum is bound by a huge open drain carrying a part of city's sewage and the western side by the Contour Road. On the northern side of the slum is a neighborhood called Kumbarakoppalu, an erstwhile village predominantly composed of an upper caste community while the southern side is bound by a small piece of vacant land. The slum has two hand pumps, a community hall, partial access to electricity, pit latrines for a few households and street lights. The following amenities are lacking in the slum: Paved streets, piped water supply, primary storm water drains, underground drainage, proper toilets, retaining wall to prevent flooding from the abutting open drain. Figure 9.5 provides a view of the P.K.Sanitorium slum from the western side.

Chronology of developmental events

Through out its history, the community has been under constant pressure and tension triggered by external elements. The "Madiga" families that remained after the relocation of the 30 "Poura Karmika" families which were growing in numbers, were organized for the first time during the late 80s, by a young student leader from the community. The youth leader owed allegiance to AJMS, a caste-based identity organization whose frontline leadership had reportedly adopted aggressive and coercive strategies for securing social justice for the lower caste communities. Subsequently the youth leader became the head of the local sub-branch of the AJMS. The "Bhovi" families who had settled in

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the slum by then had begun to feel discriminated particularly during religious ceremonies etc. and were under a state of fearful subjugation to the Madiga families. With the arrest of the main leader of AJMS in Mysore a few years ago followed by the removal of the AJMS signboard from the slum, the *Bhovi* families are believed to have become more assertive in the community life.

1993: Fire in the slum and entry of political party leaders

The fire incident was perceived by some community members as a conspiracy by the upper-caste middle-income residents of the neighboring area, as an act of revenge against the slum dwellers for their suspected involvement in the theft of valuables in a temple. The fire breakout was also attributed to a land grabbing ploy by the same elements. The local Member of the Karnataka State Legislative Assembly (MLA) went to their rescue and organized relief operations through the DC's Office that lasted for 11 days. The land was ultimately restored to the slum dwellers who rebuilt their huts to resume their life in the slum.

1994: RLHP attempts to organize the community in vain

The RLHP Combine made its first attempt to mobilize the community in 1994 towards forming a development association and despite being an undeclared slum, had offered financial assistance for construction of houses. RLHP's efforts were thwarted by the community leaders owing allegiance to AJMS who perceived no need for a new association since it was felt that as a sub branch of AJMS, they were already organized. The sub branch however was neither democratic in its organization nor operations. It was not a community membership organization and apart from a handful of leaders, community members had no say in the functioning of the sub branch. Protection from the alleged harassment of the Police and immunity against eviction were cited as the benefits of being affiliated to the AJMS.

1995: Initiation of declaration process and strengthening of political patronage

The local MLA who had assisted the community during the fire accident used his political clout to summon the KSCB officials to the slum in 1995 for initiating the process of declaration. Due to lack of follow-up, both by the MLA and the community members, the declaration process lay dormant.

1996:RLHP's renews its strategy and establishes rapport with women

After its unsuccessful attempt to gain entry into the community through men folk, RLHP deputed one of their women staff who paid regular visits to the slum and had started building rapport with the women. The initial interactions focused on problems and issues related to maternal and child health, the importance of literacy and school enrollment. RLHP's activities went unnoticed.
RLHP's presence went noticed by the male leaders since these interactions were seemingly innocuous to the power relations dominated by the male members in the community.

1998: Community clashes and political intervention due to sudden appearance of new huts

In June 1998, the community members woke up one morning to see nearly 45 new huts in the land adjacent to their slum. This was perceived as yet another 'conspiracy' by the upper caste residents of the neighborhood to "chase" them away and usurp the land. Clashes had ensued when the occupants of the newly created huts had begun fencing their area. Political leaders intervened to broker a truce between the two groups. The incident brought also the local municipal councilor to the scene who assured he community of expediting the declaration process. It is observed that at times of crisis when the community feels threatened by external forces, internal differences are set aside to stand united to fight the external enemy.

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1998: Selection of beneficiaries for a sanitation project deepens the caste division
Since the slum consists of 70 SC families belonging to three sub-castes, the selection of 30 families all from a single sub caste as beneficiaries for construction of pit latrines under the ADB financed KUIDP is believed to have deepened the inter-caste animosities within the community. The selective treatment allegedly engineered by a dominant leader with the support of the local MLA had led to wide spread discontentment amongst families of other castes and sub-castes and further deepened the divisions in the community. Located adjacent to the haphazardly arranged huts in an area which was heavily congested, the latrines have been demolished one by one due to scarcity of space caused by increased house building activities. That an undeclared slum was even chosen in the first place for a government project funded by a multilateral agency owing to political pressures indicates that the selection of slums was done in a non-transparent manner.

1999: Formation of a women's association marks the first steps towards solidarity
After three years of persuasive efforts, RLHP finally succeeded in convincing some of the women to form an association in 1999 named Ramabhai Women's Association as a registered society. The association became affiliated to DMO, a federation of women's associations. Formation of the women's association had dismayed the dominant male leaders who feared a threat to their "hold" and influence on the community. The installation of a sign board with the name of the association near the community hall is a much cherished moment for the members of the women's association. Apart from creating community awareness on health, education and savings/micro credit, the women's association also forayed into pressing issues such as slum declaration. The association members even persuaded their male counterparts to visit the concerned office more frequently to expedite the process of declaration. The association has gradually assumed a neutralizing force in an environment charged with caste and political tensions. One of the members is currently serving as the President of DMO (Interview: DMO President 11.02.07).

2001: P.K. Sanitorium slum is finally declared
Due to frequent follow-up by the leaders urged on by the women's association, the Office of Divisional Commissioner of Mysore declared the P.K. Sanitorium slum through a gazette notification dated 23rd of August 2001 (Office of the Mysore Divisional Commissioner: Karnataka Gazette notification no. MUN (4) KSCB/16/2000-2001 dated 09.08.01 and published on 23. 08.01).

2002: Unauthorized tapping of electricity
Instigated and led by one of the dominant leaders, some of the families started unauthorized tapping of electricity from the overhead transmission lines using dangerous methods. This practice continued for three years until 2005 when the Chamundeshwari Electricity Company agreed to regularize the electricity connections subject to community's consent for installation of electricity meters and remittance of user charges.

2002: Housing proposal by the authorities: A bundle of contradictions
VAMBAY is a central government subsidized housing scheme with a 50% beneficiary contribution and a ceiling of US$1100 per dwelling unit as construction assistance. KSCB is the implementing agency for VAMBAY in Karnataka. After the KSCB decided to construct houses in P.K. Sanitorium slum under the VAMBAY scheme, it accepted the initial deposit of about US $110 each from 45 households and photographed the families with their huts in the background as a proof of identity. The next six months passed without any action. Then, during a spot inspection by the KSCB officials, they concluded that the soil was unstable for house construction and decided to relocate the slum while not informing community at large about their contentions. Subsequently, it was alleged that the KSCB, in a complete reversal of its earlier stance, went back to the community offering to construct two storied dwelling units being fully aware of community's aversion to multi-storied dwelling units. Owing to community's insistence on individual houses, the KSCB then sought extra money from individual

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beneficiaries to supposedly take care of the 'loose soil' problem The community which was unwilling to pay the extra amount demanded and secured their initial deposit from the KSCB, thus ending the fiasco. Centered around VAMBAY, loose soil theory, deposits, and two storied dwelling units , these interactions caused wide spread community resentment against the government. Some community leaders perceived this as yet another 'conspiracy' for land-grabbing by vested interests from amongst their upper caste neighbors.

2004 -2007: Complex interplay between political, civil society and caste forces

During the last three years, the P.K. Sanitorium community has witnessed and partaken in a complex interplay between political, caste and civil society forces which, in the ultimate analysis, appears to have yielded positive outcomes.

Boycott call for elections to the Parliament and the State Legislative Assembly
During the run up to the parliamentary and Assembly elections, the leaders of the P. K. Sanitorium slum joined hands with a few other slums in a bid to boycott elections. Blaming the official and political apathy for their plight, the press release issued by the slum leaders threatened to keep away from elections. Since the boycott call had received wide coverage in the local press, leaders from various political parties visited the slum (s) with fresh promises and new assurances and persuaded the leaders to withdraw the boycott call. Eventually the boycott call was called off paving the way for community's participation in elections. These developments also led to differential alignment of leaders along party lines (News Report: Prajavani 10.04.04: "Decision to Boycott Elections: Slum-Dwellers Disillusioned").

A model housing project mooted: Patronage scales new heights while leaders play foul
Following the elections, the community leaders who had aligned with a leading political party succeeded in getting the party's local leaders to launch a "model housing scheme" for the slum. The scheme was inaugurated in August 2004 by a Member of the Karnataka Legislative Council who was also the head of the Mysore city branch of the said party. The event received wide publicity in the local media. The event also served to neutralize the tensions between the upper caste residents of the neighboring area since many of their leaders participated in the event and pledged their support to the model housing project. Thus began the community's self help effort towards fulfilling their housing needs (Andolana News Report 15.09.04: "Model Urbanization Housing Scheme Inaugurated").

Allotment of sites to the households was one of the major highlights of the launch ceremony. Under the leadership of the political leaders, about 110 families were allotted a site, each measuring between 20 to 30 sq. m., but without any legal entitlement. Some of the leaders were alleged to have manipulated the allotment process by earmarking to themselves, sites with larger dimensions and/or facing the main road. The thirty latrines built in 1998 under the ADB assisted KUIDP were demolished to suit the altered dimension of the sites. Some families commenced construction in September 2004 through their own resources supplemented with the contributions by the Block President of a political party in the form of construction materials such as cement, bricks, sand, zinc sheets etc. Subsequently, starting December 2005, the same political leaders also helped 60 SC families obtain 4000 bricks each under the 18% SC grant from the Mysore Municipal Corporation. In both the cases, the first beneficiaries to receive this largesse were always leaders and other families of the dominant sub-caste followed then, by families of other sub-castes. It was also alleged that the leaders had extorted commission from the brick supplier as well as the beneficiary families. On the whole, the model housing scheme appears to have deepened the caste divisions while also eroding the credibility of the leaders (Interview: RLHP Staff 16.06.07).

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In 2006, the political leader involved in the model housing scheme also brought forth pressure on the Mysore Municipal Corporation to lay pipes for water supply and underground drainage system and the work is still under progress.

Youth association backed by a rival political party: Tensions in the community
Backed by a major political party, a few youths in the community organized themselves during the end of year 2004 and formed a youth association. The party supportive of the youth association was a political rival of the party that was helping the house construction activities. The formation of youth association threatened the traditional leadership and caste identity was at the heart of this rivalry between the young and the old.

Hard work towards crisis resolution: Women's group as the via-media
The tensions between the two groups, the old and the young also engulfed the whole community and prevailed for a year until when the women's association backed by the RLHP Combine took on the role of a via-media to broker peace between the dominant older leaders and the new youth leaders. One of the outcomes of this truce process was the participation of community leaders in the protest march organized by MSDF in January which signaled their first ever inclination to become part of a city-wide federation. And the second outcome was a community meeting organized in February 2007 to resolve differences between the two groups of leaders and explore the possibilities of forming a single community development association. The other compulsions for the February 2007 meeting were fear of eviction and relocation triggered by a rumor doing the rounds in the community.

The landmark solidarity meeting: Participant observations
The meeting was organized on 11th February 2007 at the community hall built by a charitable organization as a contribution to the community life of P.K. Sanitorium slum. Representatives of more than 60% of the families attended the meeting that lasted more than four hours of filled with uproarious scenes of mutual accusations and allegations. Men and women alike were often on their feet in a state of agitation almost coming to blows with each other. Some of the women were found vehemently accusing a male leader from the senior group of cheating and inaction. Some of their remarks are reproduced here viz. "what happened to the money you took"?; "why did you do this"? and "shame on you"!

Effective facilitation of the meeting by the RLHP staff who made occasional references to the 'impending' relocation while stressing the need for a strong association, helped restore peace between the two groups. The deadlock was broken with the office bearers of the youth association consenting to dismantle their organization and join hands with the senior leaders to form one collective entity.

Every step of deciding the form and structure of the new entity was accompanied by a prolonged debate to resolve serious differences with regard to the name and the office bearers of the new association. Various suggestions were put forth for phrasing the name of the association. The name of the association finally agreed upon had the names of the two national leaders hailed as the champions of the lower caste and the downtrodden read as: "Constitutional Architect Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Dr. Babu Jagajeevanram Development Association (R)".

The most conflicting step however was choosing the office bearers of the new entity. Thirteen office bearers had to be nominated (not elected). The nomination was based on seniority, former status in the old and the youth associations, and the caste-identity. Gender never figured in the selection process. Proportional nomination with respect to caste groups seems to be the general practice of selecting office bearers of community associations in multi-ethnic slums.

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The method of nomination may appear less democratic than election. But nomination can also be construed as a variant of democratic elections where each religious/caste sub-group selects its leader to represent and safeguard its interests in the larger community arena. In single-ethnic slums, all families whether active or not in community life, are members by default and the traditional male leaders nominate themselves as office bearers of the association.

Nomination to the eight prime posts of president, vice president, honorary president, secretary, deputy secretary, two organizing secretaries and a treasurer was preceded by intensive discussion to find "consensus candidates". In the next step, four of the five directors were chosen without much conflict. The nomination of the fifth director turned laborious and highly controversial threatening to undo all the achievements of the painstaking efforts witnessed during the entire morning. In the meantime, most of the community members had left the meeting leaving only the contenders to resolve the conflict. The name proposed by the senior group was unacceptable to the new group on considerations of both caste and character of the said person. The stalemate continued for an hour and more and the very survival of the just-born entity appeared doubtful as the leaders had also started retreating from the community hall. Ultimately, due to persistent efforts of the RLHP staff, the older group was persuaded to withdraw their earlier nomination and propose an alternative candidate acceptable to both the groups. While the normalcy was being restored, the new community development association had at last come into existence.

Inclusion of P.K. Sanitorium slum in JNNURM

Subsequent to the marathon meeting, the community development association has become a registered society and an affiliate of MSDF, meeting regularly to resolve community problems. The association has reportedly succeeded in obtaining immediate sanction of US $ 25,000 from the MCC for house upgrading in the slum while the slum itself has been selected for the second phase of the BSUP under the JNNURM for provision of housing, toilets, roads, housing, water supply etc. (The Hindu News Report 28.08.07: "Slums to be Developed Under JNNURM").

Sustaining the new found solidarity

It is difficult to predict if the new found solidarity in the P.K.Sanitorium community would be sustained especially given its chronic dependence on patronage and a long history of inter-caste tensions compounded by ineffective and multiple leadership nodes. The inclusion of the slum under the JNNURM has doubtlessly inspired a new confidence in the community members while reducing fear of forcible eviction and relocation. The sense of security may prove to be the pivotal entry point for the RLHP Combine to make deeper inroads into the community.

10.12. Key inferences on community solidarity

The comparative analysis of the processes, events and the developmental history in relation to the two case study slums namely, the Vasanthnagar and P.K. Sanitorium, reveals the dynamic and complex interplay of the operational variables at the community level and supplements the city level analysis of institutional effects.

In the absence of proactive state action and an integrated approach to slum rehabilitation and redevelopment, community solidarity does play a crucial role in enabling inclusion of a slum in the formal structures and processes of planning and development interventions for gaining access to basic services and amenities. However, in the present scenario, it is difficult to hypothesize the role of community association and solidarity if the state were indeed proactive and with an integrated approach that's free of political compulsions and paternalistic practices.

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Community solidarity is strengthened by mobilizing women's participation in the community arena through women's associations and the facilitative role of external civil society associations that focus on integrated development of slum communities with emphasis on vibrant and politically oriented associational life through human rights education and awareness building.

Mobilization of the community aided by and linked to external civil society associations like RLHP and people's federations such as DMO and MSDF can act as a strong alliance system with the potential to forge alliances amongst the bureaucratic, political and social elites.

As a slum grows and expands, a multi-ethnic community tends to align itself through its leaders or influential males along political patrons and/or caste identity groups. The alignment hardens with the passage of time and becomes immune to change rendering the community increasingly vulnerable to tensions. Therefore the timing of intervention by an external civil society association in the growth trajectory of a slum is crucial in preempting this alignment and to build solidarity. Earlier the intervention, greater the chances of fostering solidarity and vice- versa as apparent from the case study slums.

For associations like RLHP, the relocated slums perhaps offer better opportunity to intervene at an early stage as a relocated community is pushed into a state of insecurity and apprehension about new adjustments and problems and is probably more conducive to external interventions. Relocation also breaks the existing patron-client relationships with political interest groups since it may change the electoral constituency of the slum and forging new patron-client relationships in a new locale could be more time consuming particularly when the prospect of an election is remote.

Community solidarity is related to the sense of security fostered by land tenure or ownership. As expressed by one of the residents of Vasanthanagar: "knowing that nobody can alienate us from our land, has helped us set aside our differences and work together for common good" (FGD: Vasanthnagar 07.04.07).

Legal entitlement over a plot of land regardless of how small or big is a matter of great economic and social importance for the members of community and provides them an opportunity to develop aspirations for better future. In the case of P.K. Sanitorium slum, lack of legal entitlement over their respective existing plots and a sense of suspicion that 'others in the community' might secure entitlement through favoritism was one of the weakening factors of solidarity, though the fear of forcible eviction/relocation proved to be a major trigger for their coming together.

Community solidarity and therefore inclusion of slum communities is restrained and distorted by factors such as vulnerability, lack of integrity and transparency amongst the community leaders, patronage practices by political parties interested in vote banks, inter caste tensions, government schemes such as the 18% SC grant, and administrative apathy.

The nexus between caste groups, political patrons and vulnerable leaders aided by discretionary schemes and non-responsive officials acts as a formidable conflict system in blockading efforts of civil society associations such as RLHP in mobilizing communities and fostering sustainable, cohesive and vibrant community associations. The greater the pressure exerted by the conflict system, the weaker the alliance system and slower the impact of civil society associations as manifested in the P. K. Sanitorium slum where RLHP had to wait 13 long years to persuade the community to form a community development association.

Though the P.K. Sanitorium slum is lagging behind compared to Vasanthanagar, the resilience and the ability of the former to forge solidarity spontaneously in the face of crisis situations, particularly when

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their collective existence was threatened by the external elements, cannot be overlooked. Notwithstanding all its problems, the democracy in the P.K. Sanitorium community appears to be vibrant as demonstrated for e.g. by the women who were found expressing their opinions freely and were even openly accusing the community leaders of malpractice and bias. On the contrary, internal democracy in the Vasanthnagar community seems to be on the wane due to dominance of senior leaders who have withheld elections to the Executive Committee of the association for over more than a decade.

Political interest groups need not always be detrimental to the wellbeing of a slum community. As the case of P.K. Sanitorium slum shows, it was a political leader who went to the community's rescue during the fire accidents and organized the relief operations. The allotment of building plots was carried out under the chairmanship of yet another political leader. But all the political interventions in the community were sporadic, incidental or scattered. Since the state is neither proactive nor affirmative in its approach to slum redevelopment, a strongly organized community can better negotiate with the political interest groups as the entire community stands to gain from the 'deal'. As one of the leaders from Vasanthnagar candidly expressed, "during elections, politicians use us, the people, like the way curry leaves are used in preparing food. The curry leaves are used only to add a certain flavor to the food but is set aside while actually consuming the food. We also use the politicians in the same way, we use them for our benefit during the elections and set them aside till the next elections" (Interview: Senior Community Leader Vasanthnagar 07.04.07).

10.13.   Conclusions

The findings of the first main case study corroborate the hypothesis that civil society actors induce institutional effects on urban governance. The interventions and strategies of the RLHP Combine towards creating strong community associations through awareness building and mobilization has produced positive results as reflected by higher levels of collective empowerment of members affiliated to the RLHP-Combine, human development measured in terms of increased level of literacy, decreased infant and maternal mortality rate etc., and inclusion (declaration) of many hitherto excluded (unrecognized) communities into the process of formal planning and governance and helping them gain access to basic services and amenities.

However, given that about fifty percent of the slum communities are yet to attain satisfactory access to basic services indicates that the Combine has still a long way to go. Some of the factors hindering the Combine's pace of progress are:
-    The presence of multiplicity of state agencies, imposition of centrally planned schemes and projects, absence of formal structures and mechanisms for community participation in slum rehabilitation efforts and as a result of all these, a fragmented and uncoordinated institutional domain that poses a huge barrier for civil society's involvement and interventions.
-    The Combine's lack of explicit orientation towards policy change, which in itself is a result of organizational constraints of RLHP and it's changing priorities on account of excessive dependence on external funding.
-    MSDF is yet to establish itself as a legitimate and wider representative body of slum dwellers in Mysore, owing to internal rifts between it's frontline leaders, excessive dependence on RLHP, overwhelming presence of leaders from a particular caste group, etc.
-    Given the relatively low level of political and civic awareness and ethnocentric alignments within the communities compounded by politically vested interest groups and /or caste-based identity groups, the community mobilization efforts by external civil society associations face formidable resistance. Since each slum community operates as an independent and dynamic unit with its unique history of conflicts and problems regardless of how small or big it is, the possibilities of

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forging unity amongst these individual units and aligning them in the larger public sphere for a broader socio-political transformation on a sustained basis appears to be a daunting challenge.

- The symbols used by the RLHP Combine for mobilizing communities such as, "fight against injustice", "all are equal", "together we can make a difference", "let's protect our rights", "we demand…." etc. often get submerged under the pressing day-to-day survival needs of the poor. This vulnerability can lead to exploitation by vested interests and can therefore, distort the struggles for gaining control over the symbolic capital in the larger public sphere which is considered as a prerequisite for bringing about a radical transformation in the lives of the slum dwellers.

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11. Civil Society and Urban Planning: The Conservation of Lingambudhi Lake

11.1. Civil society-institutional effect hypotheses

Two main case studies were conducted for an empirical study of the second hypothesis which was articulated (in Chapter six) as, "civil society actors induce institutional effects on urban planning and governance and the nature of the institutional effects is determined by the organizational attributes of the civil society actors, and the capacity they gain from political opportunity structures, mobilization of social structures and the struggle over symbolic capital".

The first main case study which forms the subject of Chapter ten was an inquiry into the institutional effects of civil society associations on inclusive urban governance for the slum dwellers in Mysore where as the second main case study was an investigation into the institutional effects of civil society actors on the conservation practices related to the Lingambudhi lake in Mysore which forms the focus of this chapter.

The findings of the collective empowerment survey (Chapter nine) reveals that the level of collective empowerment of associational members is a function of organizational attributes of the association, awareness building, rights-based mobilization of social structures and other variables like educational background, age, gender etc. Moreover, the second case study on lake conservation was focused on voluntary associations of which the Residents' Welfare Associations (RWAs) are a subset of and whose constituents are amongst the top scorers on the collective empowerment scale. Therefore, the level of collective empowerment as a mediating factor in inducing institutional effects was not included as a separate theme of analysis for empirical validation of the second hypothesis.

Rationale for selection of the second main case study

Criterion method was used to select the case study. Three criteria were used to select Lingambudhi lake as one of the two case studies for empirical analysis of the second set of hypotheses

Recall rate for civil society actions perceived as a success
About 65% (N=63) of the key informants interviewed in the year 2005 as part of the exploratory field research had highlighted the collective action during years 1998 to 2000 to protect Lingambudhi lake from the proposed alignment of the Outer Ring Road (ORR) as the most successful and intensive Mysore had witnessed in the recent times (Chapter eight). Given a significantly higher recall rate by citizens who are active in the public domain, Lingambudhi lake presented as the obvious choice.

Confluence of civil society actors
Preliminary inquiries into the history of conservation efforts suggested that the case study would help gain deeper insights into the nature and dynamics of a confluence of diverse civil society actors involved in a prolonged struggle to 'save' the lake and its environs from the road project as well as other threats. By structuring the empirical inquiry in a stage wise historical perspective, the case study was also expected to shed light on the nature of interactions between the state institutions and the civil society actors and the influence they exert on each other.

Urban planning and management practices
Urban planning and management being one of the overarching themes of the dissertation, the case study was expected to provide an opportunity to examine the institutional arrangements and practices

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pertaining to urban planning and management in Mysore particularly in the context of lake conservation and civil society action

Case study research questions

The main research questions that the case study on the conservation of Lingambudhi lake sought to address were:

- What are the institutional arrangements and decision making processes for conservation and management of urban lakes in Mysore and with particular reference to Lingambudhi lake?
- What is the nature of planning culture vis-à-vis collective action for lake conservation in Mysore?
- What is the level and quality of co-ordination between the multitude of state institutions operating in the urban governance arena?
- What is the nature of civil society actors and their actions, their origin, evolution, strategies and effects on the process of conservation of Lingambudhi tank?
- How does the three main sources of political capacity for civil society action viz. the nature of political opportunity structures in the form of alliance and conflict systems; the mobilization of social structures; and the struggle to gain control over symbolic capital operate and unfold in the public domain?

Case study methodology

The methodology of the case study was designed to provide deeper insights into the processes and dynamics of lake conservation in an evolutionary perspective to capture the nature of voluntary collective action and its interface with the state over a time line of twenty five years while also generating empirical feedback on theoretical constructs. The analysis of the conservation history of Lingambudhi lake is therefore presented in the form of a narrative of events, actions, reactions and perceptions drawing from interviews, newspaper articles and more importantly, official documents and interagency correspondence.

Key informant interviews
Key informants were selected through referrals identified through the mode of snow ball sampling. About twenty eight persons were identified and interviewed as key informants who can be categorized into four categories as depicted in Table 11.1. The list of interviews is provided as Appendix 14.26.

Table 11.1: Key informant categories for Lingambudhi lake case study

Category of key informants	Number
Government including retired officials	14
Consultants	2
Civil society actors	10
Journalists	1
Others	1
Total	**28**

Source: Author's construct

Analysis of secondary data
- Analysis of plans & project reports; inter agency correspondence; and gazette notifications mostly in Kannada, the local official language.
- News paper reports in both English and Kannada

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- Reports of research studies
- Bird census reports
- Daily bird count records

Focus group discussions
Two rapid focus group discussions were conducted at the lake premises with groups of about 10 persons each who use the lake's environs for recreational purposes to understand their perceptions, awareness and sense of ownership. The visitors were requested on the spot to participate in the discussion and were asked a set of standard simple yes/no questions followed by a few general questions. In order to ensure a certain degree of variation, one of the two focus groups was chosen during the morning hours and the second during the evening hours.

Field observations
Eight field visits were undertaken to Lingambudhi lake and its environs during October 2006 and January 2007 for visual observation and documentation of the conditions on site. Two of these visits were accompanied by civil society actors and one by an official from the Forest department.

11.2. Lakes and tanks as wetland ecosystems in India

Wetlands are one of the most dynamic and productive ecosystems in the world. Wetlands are transitional areas between aquatic and terrestrial ecosystems covered predominantly by shallow water for atleast a part of the annual cycle. They include tanks, lakes, marshes, swamps, flood plains, bogs, peat-lands, shallow ponds, littoral zones of larger water bodies, tidal marshes etc. They can be fresh, brackish or salty water, natural or artificial, permanent or temporary, either flowing or static (Pandey & Joseph 2004).

The system of wetland classification varies from country to country. In India, the following water bodies are identified as wetlands (ibid.: 264):
- Tanks, reservoirs and other water bodies of Deccan Peninsula (South India);
- Backwaters and estuaries of west coast of the peninsula;
- The saline expanses of Gujarat and Rajasthan;
- Freshwater lakes and reservoirs from Gujarat eastwards through Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh
- Deltaic wetlands, Lagoons and Salt Swamps of India's east coast;
- Marshes, Jheels, Terai Swamps and Chaur lands of Indo-Gangetic plain;
- Floodplain of Brahmaputra and the Marshes and Swamps in the hills of the northeastern India; and
- Lakes and rivers of Jammu and Kashmir.

According to some authors, there is no specific definition for lakes in the Indian context. The term 'lake' is used loosely to describe many types of water bodies – natural, manmade and ephemeral including wetlands. Many of them are euphemistically called lakes more by convention and a desire to be grandiose rather than by application of an accepted definition. Conversely many lakes are categorized as wetlands while reporting under the Ramsar Convention[27] (Reddy & Char 2004).

Tanks are man made and were formed when the monsoon run-off was impounded in the valleys for use in the lean seasons. In urban areas, tanks are usually called as lakes. Tank refers to a structure,

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[27] *The Convention on Wetlands, signed in Ramsar, Iran, in 1971, is an intergovernmental treaty which provides the framework for national action and international cooperation for the conservation and wise use of wetlands and their resources. There are presently 155 Contracting Parties to the Convention, with 1675 wetland sites, totaling 150 million hectares, designated for inclusion in the Ramsar List of Wetlands of International Importance (Source: http://www.ramsar.org. Last visited on16.12.07)*

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created for the storage of water brought in by rain/water inflow into valley regions from catchment zones and the water body being impounded (or limited) by man made bunds (dykes) across the valley. They were built basically for hydrological reasons as they helped in checking floods and maintaining the ground water table or aquifers. In terms of utility, tanks were constructed mainly for irrigation and drinking water. Lakes also act as sediment traps and prevent clogging up of natural valleys and reduce erosion by regulating the surface run-off. Most of the tanks are centuries old and over the years they acquired the status of wetlands, wherein their biological and ecological role gained prominence owing to the diverse flora and fauna they support (Srinivasa 1996).

The lake system

For the purposes of this chapter, the term 'lake' has been used to mean a tank located in an urban area. Every lake has three stages namely, the *catchment* area, the *lake proper* and the *atchkat*. These stages combine together to form the lake system and thus cannot be looked at in isolation (ibid.).

Catchment area
The catchment area of the lake consists of a natural drainage basin or a watershed, with a number of small streams and channels, draining the run-off into a major valley system. The valley system has a lot of natural check-dams and depressions which in turn act as silt and sediment traps, reducing the download carried by the surface run-off. Each catchment area is an integrated system having small, medium and large lakes in succession. Excess water of small lakes flows into medium lakes and finally into large lakes. The overflow from large lakes drains into a stream or a river. This extensive water storage system reduces the risk of floods and ensures fairly equitable distribution of water (ibid.).

Atchkat
The atchkat of the lake system means the irrigated area downstream which is also known as command area (ibid.).

Lake proper
- Lake margin and foreshore of the lake is the area from which the run-off enters the lake. It reduces the velocity of the inflow into the lake and minimizes the erosion and the resultant silting of the lake. Normally, the foreshore area of a lake has mixed groves or tree monoculture, which prevents soil erosion.
- The lake bed is basin shaped with deepest part near the bund. This helps to have maximum water storage and full capacity utilization.
- The bund or dyke is normally convex towards the foreshore area with inlets/outlets for irrigation, excess water drainage etc. (ibid.).

Lake ecology: A dynamic and complex food chain

A typical lake (tank) can be viewed as a basin with several zones of water of varying depths, surrounding a deeper zone that lies towards the bund. This zonation of water promotes the growth of a variety of aquatic vegetation, each of which shows preference for a particular range of water depth. Four types of aquatic vegetation are observed in a tank: emergent, floating, anchored floating and submerged, distributed across different zones of water depths with the deepest zone being open water zone. These freshwater plant communities accommodate a large number of organisms especially insects which form the staple diet of many species of invertebrates and vertebrates thus creating a complex food chain in which aquatic birds assume a primal position. It is more or less a closed system where everything is consumed and reused and where the balance between various forms of life is highly sensitive to change in temperature, light and the availability of oxygen and nutrients.

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Depending on their size and the availability of food and suitable conditions for foraging, different bird groups, both migratory and non-migratory can be seen occupying different regions of the tank. Most abundant bird populations can be found in regions of the tank where the water is shallow (up to 40cm in deep) and vegetation is present (Bird Watcher's Field Club of Bangalore 1990).

11.3. Tanks and lakes in Karnataka

Karnataka being a rain dependent region always relied on water harvesting systems even from the prehistoric times. The historical evidence suggests that as early as 300 BC, communities of Karnataka knew the technique of constructing tanks and were even aware of the importance of maintaining them. The rulers of the day played a key role in the construction of tanks which witnessed a golden era during the reign of Kalyana Chalukyas[28] (973 -1336 A.D). Apart from Chalukyas, the kings of Hoysalas, Rastrakutas, Gangas and the Vijayanagara empire also gave high priority to the construction of tanks (Iyengar 2007).

Water is an essential ingredient of the Hindu mode of worship and most of the temples had a tank in their premises and were known as *pushkarnis.* Tank construction was also considered a community, charitable and religious service. History is abound with several examples of people from different walks of life such as traders, dancers, mahouts, cowherds, watch guards and even prostitutes contributing to the construction of tanks (Ibid.).

Importance of lakes in urban areas

Apart from the crucial hydrological and ecological functions, lakes are invaluable in urban areas for various reasons since they serve as sources of drinking water and irrigation; recreational, open or lung spaces; places of worship; sites of cultural heritage; sites of bio diversity research and awareness; and source of livelihood for fisher-folk.

Status of urban lakes in Karnataka

The lake status information is collected based on a set of parameters which generally include information on lake structure, water level, water color and vegetation (Srinivasa 1996). In general, unchecked and rampant urbanization in Karnataka has led to drastic decrease in the number of lakes in urban areas. The most striking examples of this are Bangalore and Mysore. For e.g. Bangalore, an emerging mega city and the state capital, that once boasted more than 300 tanks currently has only 62, of which most are in various stages of degradation. A study jointly conducted by the Birdwatchers' Field Club of Bangalore and the Karnataka Forest Department in 1996, identified several threats and disturbances facing lakes in and around Bangalore and Maddur, which perhaps can be said to be representative of large urban areas in Karnataka. Some of the significant threats and their effects are provided in Table 11.2.

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[28] *Chalukya, Hoysala, Ganga etc. are dynasties that ruled Karnataka*

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Table 11.2: Threats and their effects on urban lakes in Karnataka

Threats	Effects
Loss and fragmentation of catchment areas due to expanding city	reduced water flow to the lakes, loss of vegetation and the and the consequent siltation
Sewage and effluents	unregulated growth of algae and therefore high biological oxygen demand (BOD)-detrimental to flora and fauna, for e.g. fish deaths; high turbidity and increased sedimentation; uncontrolled growth of aquatic weeds such as water hyacinth. Eutrophication and algal blooms
Mud lifting from and brick-making in the fore shore and lakebed	destroys the lake structure, leads to increased sedimentation, turbidity and loss of productivity of the lake
Encroachment of foreshore and lake bed for the purposes of agriculture, housing, manufacturing, infrastructure etc.	destruction of the flora and fauna especially the avian fauna, sewage pollution,, garbage dumping, siltation due to land filling
Immersion of painted Ganesha idols during festivals	pollution of water with lead and heavy metals and siltation
Poaching of birds	direct disturbance to feeding, roosting and breeding of birds and their eventual disappearance reduces water storage capacity of the lake and therefore
Silting and sedimentation	the flora and the fauna

Source: Author's construct based on Bird Watcher's Field Club of Bangalore 1990; Srinivasa 1996; and DoEF 2003.

11.4. Policy framework for urban lake conservation in India and Karnataka

The Constitution of India has assigned the statutory responsibility of protecting the natural environment to the Union and the state governments. Following the enactment of 74th CAA, urban environment protection is also one of the functions of the urban local governments as listed in the Twelfth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. However, an explicit and exclusive national policy framework for urban lake conservation seems to be wanting.

National Wetland Conservation Programme
It appears that the Ramsar convention to which India became a signatory in 1981 has had a significant influence on the country's wetland conservation policies. A National Committee on Wetlands was constituted as early as 1983. The Committee initiated a survey and developed an inventory of important wetlands in the country. It was reconstituted as National Wetland Management Committee in March 1987. The Committee identified several lakes and wetlands for conservation and management under the National Wetland Conservation Programme (MoEF 2005).

The total extent of wetlands in India ranges anywhere between 12 to 17 million hectares. (There are an estimated 94,877 wetlands in India. Of these, 2167 are natural freshwater wetlands, 65253 manmade freshwater wetlands and 27403 include inland and coastal wetlands, while 147 of them have been identified as wetlands of international importance (Ramachandra 2001; Pandey & Joeph 2004; MoEF

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2005). For the National Wetlands Conservation Programme, 94 wetlands have been identified while 25 wetlands are listed as conservation sites under the Ramsar Convention (RAMSAR 2005).

National Lake Conservation Plan
Realizing the need for a separate programme for conservation of lakes and particularly urban lakes, the Ministry of Environment and Forests conceived the National Lake Conservation Plan (NLCP) under which 21 lakes in different states across India were identified for conservation management. Of these, four lake systems are located in Bangalore in the state of Karnataka. The plan was actually formalized only in 2001. The Ministry has also undertaken an exercise to identify and prioritize more lakes to be supported under NLCP while the state governments have been urged to undertake similar programmes. In response to this, some state Governments such as Karnataka have constituted Lake Development Authorities to conserve all or some of the urban lakes in their respective states (MoEF 2007).

Meaning and activities of conservation in NLCP
Conservation is defined as, "planned management of a natural resource to prevent exploitation and destruction (Merriam-Webster 2007). The true aim of conservation is two fold viz. to insure the preservation of a quality environment that considers aesthetic and recreational as well as product needs and to insure a continuous yield of useful plants, animals and materials by establishing a balanced cycle of harvest and renewal (Odum 1984: 408).

Conservation and management in the context of NLCP includes activities like, "the interception and treatment of wastewaters before their entry into the lakes, catchment improvement, shoreline protection, in-lake treatments like aeration, de-weeding, de-siltation, bioremediation and bio-manipulation and improvement of recreational facilities in and around the lake in order to ensure public interest and participation" (MoEF 2007). In addition to the activities mentioned above, the proposal for NLCP in Bangalore had also proposed provision of community sanitation and solid waste management facilities in and around the selected lakes as part of conservation activities to prevent pollution of lakes due to human habitation in their vicinity (DoEF 1995).

Though NLCP cannot be construed as a specific policy statement on urban lake conservation, it probably signifies the first ever national initiative in that direction. In Karnataka too, there are no specific policy instruments for urban lake conservation. 'Rehabilitation' and 'restoration' are two other terms that are generally used to denote conservation.

11.5. Legal provisions for urban lake conservation in Karnataka

Several Union and state laws[29] have been enacted that directly or indirectly impact the conservation of wetlands and urban lakes.

Union laws
These include the Forest Act, 1927; the Wild Life Protection Act, 1972 for protection of flora and fauna in the lake foreshore area; the Water (Prevention & Control of Pollution) Act, 1974 for monitoring and regulation of lake water pollution; the Forest Conservation Act, 1980; the Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1981; the Environment (Protection) Act, 1986; the Central Government Notification on Environment Impact Assessment, 1994 which amongst other things stipulates mandatory EIA if development projects are likely to impact the ecology of the lake.

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[29] Source of information for both state and union laws: http://dpal.kar.nic.in/ActsAlpha&deptwise.htm., the Official web site of the Department of Parliamentary Affairs and Law, Government of Karnataka, last viewed on 18.12.07.

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State laws

The Karnataka state laws in this regard include the Karnataka Forest Act, 1963; the Karnataka Irrigation Act, 1965; the Karnataka Town & Country Planning Act, 1961 which stipulates preservation of the existing parks and open spaces and earmarking land for parks and open spaces in the Master Plan; the Karnataka Land Revenue Act, 1964 read in association with the Karnataka Forest Manual, 1976 accords powers to the Deputy Commissioner of a given district to set aside government lands as forest reserves or for other public purposes and declare the same as a "Protected Area". This provision has been invoked to protect a few urban lakes; The Preservation of Trees Act, 1976; The Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act, 1976 according to which urban forestry and protection of urban environment is one of the discretionary functions of the municipal authorities.

11.6.   Institutional arrangements for conservation of urban lakes in Karnataka

In the absence of a coherent and specific policy statement on urban lake conservation and prevalence of multiple legal provisions, the institutional arrangement for urban lake conservation in Karnataka appears disjointed and fragmented.

Multiplicity of institutions

There are a multitude of institutions involved in the conservation of tanks. Until the late 80s, the ownership of most of the tanks in both rural and urban areas was vested mainly with the Department of Minor Irrigation. With the process of empowering the local government institutions gaining momentum in rural areas, the ownership of some of the tanks depending on the size and their irrigation command area, was transferred to the various tiers of Panchayati Raj institutions[30]. However, the ownership of larger tanks is still retained by the Minor Irrigation Department (Raju 2002).

In urban areas, the institutional scene is unclear. More than a dozen agencies play some role or the other in determining the life of a lake. Lake conservation and management appears as a much contested terrain interspersed with multiple state agencies such as the departments of forest, tourism, minor irrigation, revenue, horticulture; municipalities; urban development authorities; Lake Development Authority; Karnataka State Pollution Control Board; and the Office of the Deputy Commissioner in a given district. When external funding is involved, new actors are introduced into the scene such as the Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development and Finance Corporation and the multilateral donor agencies such as the Asian Development Bank and their consulting firms. In Mysore, in addition to all these actors, there are also others such as the Zoo Authority and the Mysore University since they have a lake each situated in their premises. The multitude of agencies in the lake conservation domain mirrors the typical governance arena in Karnataka characterized by fragmentation and lack of co-ordination.

The role of civil society associations

Civil society associations and individuals through their research and advocacy initiatives have significantly influenced the institutional arrangements and responses towards urban lake conservation in both Karnataka and the country as well. Civil society in this context comprises of a wide spectrum of groups and individuals from various walks of life such as lawyers, engineers, bio-diversity researchers, architects, wild life photographers, bird watchers, students, amateur naturalists, biologists and other academics, journalists, local residents welfare associations and other voluntary associations committed to a variety of environmental causes. On quite a few occasions, the endeavors of civil society actors to protect the urban lakes have benefited by compassionate officials, the mass media and even judicial interventions.

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[30] the term by which rural local government institutions are referred to in India

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Entry of the Forest Department

The entry of the Forest Department into the urban lake arena is hailed as one of the significant milestones in the history of urban lake conservation in Karnataka. In 1985, the then Government of Karnataka constituted an "Expert Committee for Preservation of Tanks in Bangalore" to study the condition of lakes and make recommendations for their preservation (vide G.O. No. PWD-82-IMB-85, dated: 26-07-1985) The said Committee submitted its report in 1986 and recommended a greater role for the Forest Department in the conservation of lakes in Bangalore particularly for developing the foreshore areas of the lakes into tree parks (PWD 1986: 25-26). As per the recommendations of the Committee, the Government of Karnataka handed over several tanks in the Bangalore Metropolitan Region in 1988 to the Forest Department for conservation (vide Government Order No. PWD-82-IMB-85, dated: 11-02-1988). Though this decision provided a certain clarity and stability to the institutional setup for conservation of lakes in Bangalore, the jurisdictional confusion as also the lack of mechanisms for inter agency co-ordination still persists.

Constitution of Lake Development Authority

The other significant milestone was the constitution of Lake Development Authority (LDA) in 2002 by the Government of Karnataka as a non-profit registered society whose objective is to work for regeneration and conservation of lakes in Bangalore district and other cities in Karnataka. The LDA has on its Board, representatives of various departments and agencies, experts and even members of civil society organizations. However, in its five years of existence, the LDA has by and large remained Bangalore centric with scant or no focus on lakes in other major cities such as Mysore, Mangalore etc. One of the recent policies of LDA in Bangalore that has come in for public criticism is it's initiative to open up lake development (conservation) for public-private partnership which is perceived as a covert mechanism to promote private sector participation and commercial exploitation. There is also a fear that this proposal may undermine ecological considerations (D'Souza 2007).

11.7. An overview of lakes in the city of Mysore

At the turn of the 20th century the city of Mysore had around fifteen lakes, mostly built by the erstwhile kings of Mysore. As the city expanded it engulfed more and more lakes which were encroached and destroyed. It is estimated that there are currently twelve lakes in the Mysore Conurbation Area under various stages of deterioration of which eight are situated within the municipal boundary.

Of these, five lakes seem to be the focus of both the authorities and the civil society actors in the more recent past (Figure 11.1).

Figure 11.1: Important lakes of Mysore city(Source: Author's construct based on Mysore Heritage City Map prepared by CADD Station 2006)

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They are: Kukkarahalli, Karanji ,Lingambudhi, Dalvoy and Devanoor lakes. Both Kukkarahalli and Karanji lakes have witnessed major restoration efforts in the recent past. The conservation histories of both Lingambudhi and Kukkarahalli lakes were to some extent intertwined and mutually influential of each other as they have traveled together on the same trajectory of growth since they have long been the focus of both the civil society and the authorities alike.

11.8. Institutional arrangements for Lingambudhi lake

A general view of the institutional arrangements for urban governance in Mysore with special reference to Lingambudhi lake is depicted in Figure 11.2 as an illustration of the multiplicity of state institutions operating in the urban governance arena. Multilateral agencies and consultants are included as part of these arrangements since they are from time to time function as part of the state institutional setting for planning and implementation of specific projects.
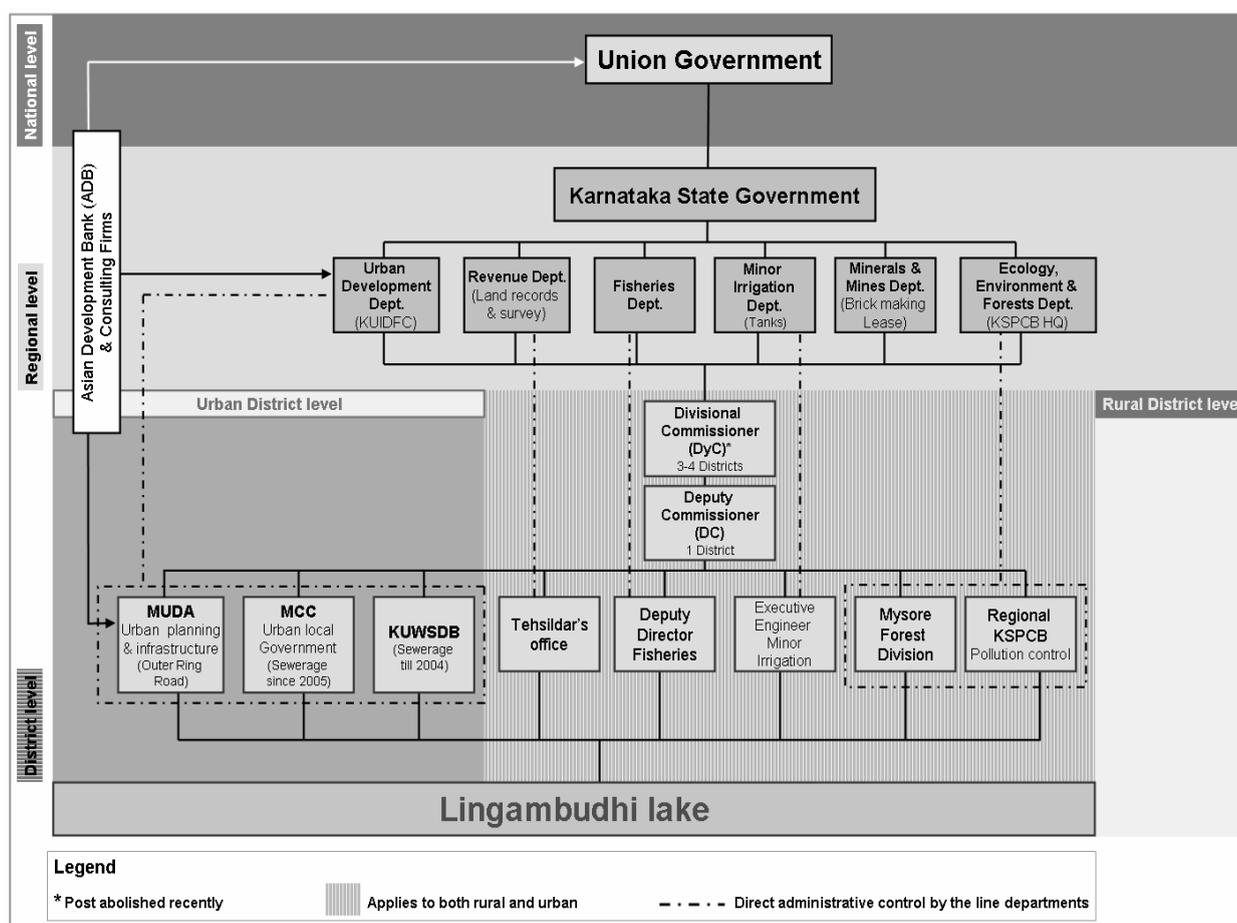
*Figure 11.2: Institutional arrangements for the conservation of Lingambudhi lake
(Source: Author's construct)*

11.9. Civil society in the context of lake conservation in Mysore

The civil society arena vis-à-vis lake conservation in Mysore consists of a wide spectrum of individuals and organizations who are collectively referred to hereafter as "Civil Society Actors" (CSA). From a historical perspective, naturalists and biodiversity researchers were the earliest constituents of CSA amongst whom some eventually attained organizational identities while others remained as naturalists without any organizational affiliation. Within the official circles, some of these naturalists became renowned as 'experts' on environmental conservation. They will hereafter be referred to as Expert Activists (EA-1, EA-2 and so on).

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Most of the associations that constitute CSA are voluntary and formally registered either as a society or a trust. A society is a membership association where as a trust is administered by a small group of trustees. In general, none of these voluntary associations have a base of active mass membership and are therefore compelled to mobilize participation from within other societal constituencies like elites, students, professionals, academics, and citizenry in order to expand the civil society arena during campaigns. Their agendas and geographical jurisdiction also varies from one another. Some have a broader focus on the general governance of the city including consumer affairs while others are narrowly focused on environmental conservation or civic amenities in a given residential area. Some of the key constituents of the civil society arena for lake conservation are profiled in tables 11.3 and 11.4.

Table 11.3: Key associational constituents of CSA for lake conservation

Organization	Main agenda	Formal status	Membership (MS) characteristics
Mysore Amateur Naturalists (MAN)	Environment education and conservation; biodiversity research	Society	Limited MS; good outreach to schools and colleges
Mysore Grahakara Parishath (MGP)	Consumer affairs; urban governance; environment conservation	Society	About 700 members; But only 10-15 are regularly active
Mysore Environment Trust (MET)	Environmental conservation and awareness	Trust	Limited MS; outreach to schools and colleges
Mysore Heritage Trust	Cultural and natural heritage preservation	Trust	Limited MS *(not active currently)*
Centre for Appropriate Rural Technologies (CART)	Alternative rural technologies; environment conservation & awareness	Society	Limited MS; affiliated to an academic institution with easier access to students
Vrukshamitra	Environment conservation and awareness	Not known	Limited MS; outreach to schools and colleges

Source: Author's construct based on interviews and secondary sources

The purpose of the profile is only to illustrate the nature of the civil society arena. The list is by no means comprehensive since many more organizations and individuals have contributed to lake conservation in diverse ways.

The term 'voluntary' in this context means individuals and associations who participate in advocacy and collective action out of their free will without being coerced into. Voluntary also means that associations are neither externally funded nor tied down by donor priorities and mandates. The terms such as naturalists, activists and civil society actors will be used interchangeably. The terms public domain or public sphere in the context of CSA and lake conservation denotes both an abstract and concrete space situated between the CSA, other societal constituencies and the state agencies where democratic dialogue and public opinion is mobilized. The public gatherings, protests, meetings,

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discussions, the print and electronic mass media are examples of a more concrete notion of public domain.

Table 11.4: Some of the key individual constituents of CSA for lake conservation

Expert Activists[31]	Professional background	Occasional organizational identity in the public domain	Main expertise
U.N. Ravikumar Male (EA 1)	Engineer and researcher	CART	Environmental engineering and alternative technologies
K. B. Sadananda Male (EA 2)	Botanist and Biodiversity researcher	Vrukshamitra	Flora documentation. He is a repository of knowledge on local bio diversity
A. S. Shivaprakash Male (EA 3)	Engineer	None	Documentation of Avifauna. (he and his spouse have maintained almost daily records of bird counts in the precincts of Lingambudhi lake for several years)
Er. V. Jagannatha Male (EA 4)	Environmental Engineer	MET, People's Science Forum & Mysore Local Agenda 21	Environmental engineering and municipal waste management

11.10. A profile of Lingambudhi lake

Lingambudhi lake is a perennial freshwater lake situated in the basin of River Cauvery. Since its construction in 1828 until the late 80s, Lingambudhi lake was a typical village tank in the rural hinterland of the city of Mysore. The tank was serving as a source of drinking water, irrigation, and fish produce; as a site for washing clothes and cattle; and as a place of religious worship for the people of Lingambudhi Palya, a village in the vicinity of the lake (Figure 11.3).

Origin of the Lake
Historical records document that Lingambudhi lake was excavated in 1828 A.D. by Lingajammani, a queen of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, ruler of the erstwhile kingdom of Mysore as part of building the Mahalingeshwara temple and as an act of thanks-giving to the local female deity Shri Chamundeshwari (Kuvempu Centre 1976).

Location
Lingambudhi lake is geographically located at 12º 16' 20" N and 76º 31'E to the southwest of Mysore city at an altitude of 730m above mean sea level. From the city center, the lake is situated at a distance of 7 km (KUIDFC 2000).

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[31] Some of the leaders of associations like MGP and MAN also have expertise in various environmental and engineering issues and problems. But they are most often identified in the public domain as members/leaders of their respective organizations and not as experts

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Figure 11.3: Southeastern view of the Lingambudhi Lake (Source: Author January 2007)

The Lingambudhi lake system
- Catchment area of about 45 sq km which is largely built-up comprising of residential neighborhoods and a few industrial estates covering the eastern, northern and western portions of the lake.

- Water spread area of about 168 acres when it is full with a maximum depth of 4.72m of water in the lake. There are a number of tiny islands created in the water spread area whose revetments have been eroded. In addition to these tiny islands, there are also four bigger islands and the construction of a fifth is under progress. These islands which would be vegetated to serve as undisturbed breeding/nesting areas for birds. The water spread area also comprises of marshy areas on the shoreline of the lake.

- Foreshore area of about 74 acres comprising various types of vegetation and is spread across the eastern, northern and a part of the western portion of the lake. Of this, 15 acres is under litigation in the High Court of Karnataka that had been leased to M/s. Mary Bricks, a brick making factory. Another 10 acres was acquired by the Mysore Urban Development Authority for construction of low income and middle income houses. Therefore the actual foreshore area is only about 50 acres.

- The dyke or the bund is situated on the southern part of the lake. The bund abuts an asphalted road that connects the south eastern part of the lake with the village of Lingambudhipalya on the south western side which forms the irrigation command area for Lingambudhi lake (KUIDFC 2000).

Drainage system
- Inflow channels: There are two tertiary large storm water drains emptying into the lake one each from the eastern and northern side of the lake and connected to a network of primary and secondary drains. Though these drains are meant to carry only rainwater, they have been observed to carry sewage from the neighboring areas.

- Outflow channels: On the southern side of the lake, there is a an overflow arrangement to discharge excess water from the lake through two sluice gates each installed near either ends of the bund to release water to the irrigation command area (KUIDFC 2002).

Flora in Lingambudhi lake
Lingambudhi lake and its environs are reported to be a host to more than 150 species of flora. The stretch between the perennial water edge and the full tank level abounds in a variety of micro-flora particularly many species of phyto planktons commonly known as algae which act as the primary producers of food in the Lingambudhi lake system. Three distinct vegetation zones can be observed.

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- Predominant in the water along the margin and in marshy areas within the lake system are Cat tails, reeds, typha, Azolla, Lemna etc.

- Predominant near the water margin are well known wetland plants such as Eclipta alba, Phyla nodiflora, Bacopa monnieri, Centella asiatica etc.

- The foreshore vegetation comprises of a medicinal plant nursery on eastern part. Trees commonly known as eucalyptus, sandalwood, gooseberry, Singapore Cherry, Tamarind and Gobli, and bushy creepers such as bougainvillea and mixed forestry trees are found on the northern and north western part of the lake. Some of the naturalists contend that the foreshore vegetation is predominantly monoculture comprising of eucalyptus plantation. More than seventy five species of medicinal plants have been identified in the fore shore area (KUIDFC 2000).

Fauna in Lingambudhi lake

The Lingambudhi lake and its environs serve as a habitat for several species of aquatic, aerial, arboreal and terrestrial, vertebrates and invertebrates. The site is well known for 49 species of Butterflies of which the Southern Birdwing, the largest in India with a wing span of 140-190 mm is one of them. Many species of fish, amphibians, reptiles, birds and mammals have been observed. Mammals like Black-Naped hare, Common mongoose, jackals, Wild boars, fie ld mice and shrews are sighted at the site (ibid.).

The most notable amongst the fauna is the presence of avian fauna that has significantly influenced the public perception of the ecological value of the Lingambudhi tank. A visit to the tank particularly in the early morning hours or around the sun set will enable one to see scores of birds either wading in water or hovering and flying in unison both in the western, central and south eastern corner of the lake. The foreshore serves as courting, breeding, foraging, feeding, roosting (resting) and nesting grounds for the birds. One estimate pegs the number of bird species at 274, of which 164 are migratory birds and 110 are native to the site. Amongst the migratory species, seventeen are considered rare, four threatened and two endangered. Spot-billed or Grey Pelican and Oriental Darter are the two endangered species. It is reported that more than 400 Grey Pelicans (See Figure 11.4), considered as the most spectacular visitors, visit the lake annually during the summer months. 54 species amongst the native ones breed at the site (KUIDFC 2000). According to another estimate, about 304 species of birds have been spotted in Lingambudhi Lake (IBA 2006).

Current land use in the lake and its environs

Lingambudhi lake is situated in Planning District 17 of the Revised Comprehensive Development Plan 2011 prepared by the Mysore Urban development Authority. The current land uses in the lake and its immediate environs are classified as follows based on visual observations and interviews with Expert Activists as well as excerpts from RCDP:

Residential

The existing land use in areas around the lake – eastern, south eastern, northern and north western and north eastern is predominantly residential. On the western and north western side of the lake, two fenced parks have been built by MUDA to serve as a buffer area between the foreshore and the residential neighbourhood.

Agricultural

There are some tracts of privately owned agricultural land on the north eastern part being used to cultivate grass as fodder for cattle. There are also coconut plantations. On the southern side of the lake across the tank bund road is a low lying area or the command area for the lake which is partly agricultural and partly horticultural.

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Forestry (refer flora in subsection 11.10)

Recreational
A portion of the foreshore area on the eastern side has been developed into a park for recreational purposes with walking paths and two paragolas (shelters with circular seating arrangements), stone benches, watchmen shed, two watch towers etc. The main entrance to the lake is also situated on its eastern side.

Figure 11.4: Grey Pelicans in Lingambudhi Lake (Source: Author January 2007)

Road on the tank bund
The road connects the residential areas on the south eastern side with the village of Lingambudhi Palya situated on the south western side of the lake.

Brick making
There are two brick making kilns, one in the foreshore area and other just outside the foreshore area but both in the south eastern side of the lake and both are currently non functional

Fishing
Small scale fishing activity is observed in the water spread area closer to the bund on the western part of the lake. Fishing is contracted and regulated by the Fisheries Department.

Religious
There is a temple called Mahalingeshwara temple situated in the foreshore area on the far southern side of the tank. The temple activities are seasonal. The lake is also used to immerse painted idols of Lord Ganesha (a Hindu deity) during the festivities.

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Heritage
There is a pillared and carved structure with steps going down upto the water margin, built as part of the lake bund in 1828 AD that was used by the women folk of the erstwhile royal family for bathing in the lake waters and as a place to rest and enjoy the serene beauty of the lake and its environs. Currently it has fell into disuse and even abuse due to lack of protection and maintenance.

Nature studies, research and awareness
The lake and its environs is used by amateur bird watchers, naturalists, wildlife photographers, researchers and students for studying, documenting and monitoring the biodiversity of the lake and its environs.

Tourism
Though the lake has not yet developed into a full fledged tourism spot, there are occasional tourists who visit the lake to enjoy the scenic beauty and birds.

11.11. Conservation history of Lingambudhi lake: The effects of civil society in a multi institutional terrain

From a conservationist perspective, the multilayered and partly submerged history of Lingambudhi lake dates back to the late 70s and is replete with myriad events both implicit and explicit. It appears as a complex interplay of the diverse effects of urbanization and development interventions with conflicting aspirations and needs of numerous actors occurring on the political and institutional terrain of urban governance in Mysore. Therefore, it is a task next to impossible to empirically analyze the history with all its nuances in its entirety with in the limited scope of the dissertation. Hence, only the most significant events and effects have been analyzed with reference to some of the key actors such as CSA, the Forest Department (FD) and the Mysore Urban Development Authority (MUDA) etc.

Four interrelated phases can be delineated in the conservation history of Lingambudhi lake starting from the late 70s till the present marked by different events involving various actors. Though these phases overlap with one another in their time-lines and events, they do correspond to different stages of structural and functional evolution of CSA during the process of lake conservation such as origin; mobilization and focused intervention; consolidation and peak; and fragmentation, decline and revival. A diagrammatical summary of the salient features of the conservation history is provided in Figure 11.9.

11.12. Phase one: Origin of civil society activities (late 70s to late 80s)

Phase one was marked by the discovery and exploration of the lake by naturalists who were the first actors in the civil society arena to advocate environmental conservation in Mysore. It set the premise for future strategies and activities for lake conservation. During phase one the lake experienced the first pangs of urbanization in its catchment area that began to gradually shrink on account of large scale conversion of agricultural and vacant lands into built up areas mainly for residential purposes.

Discovery of Lingambudhi lake: entry of amateur naturalists
There is an anecdotal reference to an ornithologist having visited the lake in the mid 70s to study the avian life. In 1978 the lake was visited by an amateur naturalist who was a botanist by academic background, for exploration of bio diversity. Here 'Amateur' means a person who uses leisure time for a specialized activity and may or may not have professional expertise in the chosen sphere of activity. This was probably the first time when a Mysore city dweller visited the lake for the purpose of nature studies and therefore is a very significant event in terms of sowing the seeds of civil society's struggle towards conserving the lake. In the year 1980, a few youngsters from Mysore accidentally

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ventured into the lake's environs during a bicycle ride and began frequenting the lake for bird watching (Interviews: Mr. K.B. Sadananda 02.11.06; Mr. Manu 09.11.06).

Subsequently, the same youngsters founded a group in 1986 called Mysore Amateur Naturalists popularly known as MAN which has been serving as a platform for many individuals young and old to acquire a keen interest, commitment and skills not only in learning about the natural environment but also contributing to its conservation. In Mysore, these amateur naturalists, both as individuals and as organized entities constituted the earliest civil society actors concerned with environmental conservation (Interview: Mr. Manu 09.11.06).

Bird watching becomes a part of Asian Waterfowl Census: Lingambudhi lake goes international
Throughout the 80s Lingambudhi lake evolved as a site for bird watching by members of MAN and other naturalists. Meanwhile, a Voluntary group named Bird Watchers Field Club of Bangalore (BWFCB) had initiated the midwinter water fowl census for the lakes of Bangalore in 1987. This was part of the first ever South Asian waterfowl census stimulated by the two UN Conventions namely: the 1971 Ramsar Convention on Wetlands of International Importance "especially as Migratory Species" and the 1983 BONN Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals (DoEF 1995). In 1989, sponsored by the Karnataka Forest department, the BFCB had also pioneered the first ever scientific study of urban lake systems in Bangalore. It was learnt that the naturalists' groups in Bangalore and Mysore had been in contact and sharing information on their activities with each other and this exchange to some extent stimulated the Mysore groups to undertake similar efforts. (Interview: Dr. M.B. Krishna 26.06.07).

In 1988, members and associates of MAN undertook for the first time, a census of waterfowls in the lakes of Mysore and surrounding areas as part of the second annual Asian Waterfowl Census. The census data found its way to the Asian Waterfowl Census report published by the International Waterfowl and Wetlands Research Bureau in 1989, thus putting the Lingambudhi and other lakes of Mysore on the international map. The references to lakes of Mysore and Bangalore in international documents have been invoked on several occasions by various voluntary groups in their advocacy efforts to save them. The annual midwinter waterfowl census has become a regular voluntary activity of the bird watcher groups in both Bangalore and Mysore (IWWRB 1989; Interview: Mr. Manu 09.11.06).

Shrinking of the catchment areas of the Lingambudhi lake
From the early 80s, the eastern and northeastern portion of the lake's catchment area began to gradually shrink owing to the site allotment and housing schemes of both the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) and the MUDA. The first layout to be initiated was Kuvempunagar Stage-I in 1983 at a distance of 3.5 km from the lake. By 1989, two more layouts viz. Ramakrishnanagar and Vivekanandanagar had been formed within a one km radius of the lake in the erstwhile village of Dattagalli.

11.13. Phase two: Community mobilization and focused interventions (1989 to 1997)

According to the anecdotal narratives of some of the CSAs, the lake and the foreshore started exhibiting signs of degradation and appeared drastically disturbed by the year 1989 and continued to worsen in the following years. Some of these disturbances are listed here:
- *A long term lease of 20 acres of the foreshore area to a brick factory*. The license and the lease was operated by the Department of Mines and Minerals through the Office of the Deputy Commissioner of Mysore district (DC's Office). The brick making not only posed a threat to the shore line of the lake that supports specific species of birds but also was a source of air pollution;

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- Encroachment of the foreshore in the form of temporary structures erected at some locations by private parties;
- Drastic reduction in the foreshore vegetation due to illegal felling of trees;
- Debris dumps in the foreshore area;
- Increased siltation of the lake; and
- Sewage pollution of lake from the newly built residential areas in the neighborhood.

The deteriorating conditions of the lake goaded the naturalists to mobilize local communities and initiate focused interventions. Owing to their pursuance, many meetings and seminars were held at the behest of both the Divisional and Deputy Commissioners of Mysore during 1994 and 1996 which were usually attended by representatives of the concerned public authorities such as MUDA, MCC, KUWSDB, Forest Department, Land Survey Department, academic experts, etc. These meetings deliberated on preserving the natural beauty of Mysore city in general and conservation of the dying lakes in particular. The need for an integrated approach to lake rehabilitation was repeatedly highlighted with a special emphasis on regulating the sewage inflow therein. Some important milestones achieved and constraints faced in phase two are described here (Interviews: Mr.U.N. Ravikumar 16.10.06; Mr.Manu 09.11.06).

Documentation of flora in the lake and its environs: Towards informed advocacy

In 1990, for the first time a systematic documentation of flora was undertaken under the guidance of EA-2 who was one of the first amateur naturalists to explore the bio diversity in the precincts of the lake in the during the late 70s. About 150 species of flora were identified and documented. The documentation served two purposes viz. biodiversity research and informed advocacy for lake conservation (Interview: Mr. K.B. Sadananda 02.11.06).

Mobilization of local community and public opinion: The first Save Lingambudhi Lake Campaign

Members of MAN and other naturalists started mobilizing the local communities both in the Lingambudhi village as well as the newly formed residential layouts. The CSAs mobilized the participation of the Lingambudhi Kshemabhivrudhi Sangha (Welfare Association) that was formed in 1990 by the residents of the newly built localities in the vicinity of the lake and whose main objective was to demand access to basic amenities in their localities. Information leaflets in both Kannada[32] and English were printed and distributed to the residents and the general public. The caption of the leaflet was "foresight 'now' could save a lake in Mysore". Since the exact date of publication of the leaflet was not available, it is assumed to be sometime in the year 1990-91. Tracing the history of the lake and blaming the official apathy for the deterioration of the lake, the leaflet urged the people to wake up and participate in the campaign to save the lake. The public opinion was mobilized through articles and letters to the editors in the local dailies to draw the attention of the concerned authorities such as MUDA, Mysore City Corporation (MCC) and the Karnataka Urban Water Supply and Drainage Board (KUWSDB).

Responding to the call by MAN and other activists, some local residents joined the campaign and together they organized a few peaceful demonstrations demanding affirmative action from the concerned authorities though information about the nature of the protest, exact dates, number of people could not be traced. An incident narrated by one of the activists provides a glimpse of the nature of these activities. In the summer of 1991, while the public campaign was gaining momentum, the Karnataka Land Army Corporation Limited, a construction company owned by the Government of

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[32]official language in Karnataka

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Karnataka had apparently laid the foundation stone in the centre of the lake basin for the construction of a housing complex. As a mark of protest against this move, the naturalists and the local residents, under the banner of Lingambudhi Welfare Association broke the stone down and wrenched it apart from the ground while also officially communicating the same to the concerned agency (Interview: Mr. Manu: 13.11.06). The Housing project was shelved, though whether owing to protests or otherwise could not be ascertained. By 1994, more Residents' Welfare Associations had been formed in the vicinity. There is also a reference to a Public Interest Litigation in the district court of Mysore filed by some expert activists against the KUWSDB seeking judicial intervention for diverting the sewage away from the lake (Ravikumar et. al. 1994).

Forest Department enters the lake conservation arena: A significant institutional effect

Based on the Lakshman Rau Committee Report, the Government of Karnataka had in 1988 transferred the responsibility for maintenance and protection of several lakes in Bangalore to the FD. This precedence is presumed to have influenced the campaign activists led by EA-1 to approach the Forest Department and the Divisional Commissioner[33] (DyC) of Mysore to make arrangements to handover the foreshore area maintenance to the FD. As a strategy to impress upon the authorities, the EA-1 had even procured aerial photographs of the lake and its environs. The initial strategy was to remove encroachments and undertake afforestation of the foreshore area. Due to persistent lobbying by the civil society actors, the Divisional Commissioner agreed for a joint field inspection in September 1993 to factually ascertain the condition of Lingambudhi lake. More importantly, he had summoned the presence of senior officials of all the concerned public authorities such as MUDA, MCC, KUWSDB, FD, Land Survey Department, etc. Citizen activists and members of the local community organizations had also gathered at the site to convince the authorities of the need to assign the responsibility of protecting the lake to the Forest department (Interview: Mr. U.N.Ravikumar 26.10.06).

Within days following the field inspection, on 7th of December 1993, an order was passed by the DyC authorizing the Deputy Conservator of Forests in Mysore to take appropriate measures for lake development and afforestation of the foreshore area. The Revenue Department was directed by the DyC to transfer the concerned lands to the jurisdiction of the FD with maps showing boundaries and land records. Consequent to this, about 97 Ha of land that constitutes the lake and its foreshore was transferred to the jurisdiction of the FD by the Tehsildar (sub-district Revenue Officer). This proved to be a significant milestone in the process of conservation of the lake.

The then DyC who is currently serving as the Principal Secretary in the Karnataka Education Department explained in an interview that his decision to handover the maintenance of the lake to the FD was due to the persistent persuasion by the "environmental activists" in Mysore (Interview: Mr. T.M.Vijaybhaskar 27.06.07).

Emergence of a plan for integrated development of Lingambudhi lake and its environs

One of the notable contributions of CSAs with respect to Lingambudhi lake was a paper contributed during 1994-95 by EA-1, EA-2 and a leader-activist of MAN titled, "A Comprehensive Rehabilitation Strategy for Lingambudhi Tank and its Environs". The paper suggested various conservation measures such as zone demarcation for various land uses, creation of islands in the water spread area, reforestation, desilting etc. (Ravikumar et. al. 1994).

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[33] Divisional Commissioner is the divisional level administrative head. A division comprises of 3 to 4 districts. In Karnataka, the post of Divisional Commissioner was dispensed with recently.

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The said paper has served as the premise for most of the conservation plans and proposals prepared thus far with regard to Lingambudhi lake such as for e.g. the Forest department's "Integrated Development Plan for Lingambudhi Lake and its Environs" formulated in 1995. The Forest department plan did not include works related to regulation and diversion of sewage inflow into the lake since it was the responsibility of other agencies such as MUDA and KUWSDB. The plan envisaged developing Lingambudhi lake and its environs into a bird sanctuary. The implementation of the said plan was formally inaugurated on 17th of February 1995 through a symbolic planting of samplings in the foreshore area (FD a. 1995).

The implementation of the plan was dependent on the routine departmental funding linked to various schemes without a proper budget estimate and strategies for resource mobilization. That the FD could mobilize and spend only around US$ 25,000 over a period of three years from 1994-1997 for lake conservation is revealing of the financial constraints it faced. Nevertheless, during this period the FD undertook several activities and initiatives towards conservation of the lake in consultation with the expert-activists and local residents such as (FD b. 1998):
- Removal of debris, hutments and other temporary structures that had encroached the foreshore area;
- Afforestation of about 10 Ha of the foreshore area in a phased manner;
- Cultivation of medicinal and ornamental plants in a portion of the foreshore;
- Excavation of boundary trench and erection of barbed wire fence for a length of 2.1 km;
- Construction of two paragolas with raised embankment as resting areas for visitors;
- Provision of drinking water facility by sinking a bore well;
- Creation of a joggers' cum walkers' path;
- Development of a play area for children (incomplete);
- Construction of two watch towers for bird-watching ;
- Appointment of watch and ward to protect the park from stray animals, vandals and encroachers and a shed for the watchmen;

Constraints of the Integrated Lake Development Plan

The implementation of the Integrated Lake Development Plan suffered on account of various reasons and events which are briefly described here

Paucity of funds
Shortage of funds has been an eternal constraint particularly for urban lake development projects since urban lakes were chronically neglected environmental entities without a clearly defined institutional ownership. In the case of Lingambudhi lake, the FD's allocations were ad hoc and linked to multiple other schemes such as *Nemmadi* programme[34] National Afforestation Programme, ecotourism development programme, JBIC project etc. In the absence of an effective resource mobilization strategy, only a few components of the Integrated Plan could be implemented.

A modified version of the Integrated Lake Development Plan was submitted to the Royal Norwegian Embassy in 1995 seeking funds under the Indo-Norwegian Environment Programme. The modified plan had a budget outlay of US$ 0.35 million for a period of five years from 1995 to 2000. Apparently, the Integrated Plan failed to elicit a favorable response from the Norwegian Embassy mainly due to incompleteness of the details pertaining to some project components in the proposal. The controversy created by the alignment of the then proposed Outer Ring Road through the foreshore area of the lake is cited as another reason for not securing the external assistance.

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[34] A Karnataka State government scheme for rural employment

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Unclear demarcation of boundary and incomplete fencing
Of the 5 km boundary line, only 2.1 km was fenced during the first three years between 1994-97 (FD b. 1998). While paucity of funds was one of the reasons, encroachment and legal claims of ownership by both private persons and public authorities are cited as other reasons that constrained the fencing operations, since accurate demarcation of the lake boundaries had proved to be difficult in those circumstances. From the available data, three such instances can be identified which are briefly described here.

- There were allegations of illegal construction activities in the foreshore area that was part of the 15 acres allotted to a brick manufacturing company in the late 80s. Media reports of these developments in 1995 created a public furor. The DC's office was urged to stay the construction activities and rescind the lease allotted to the brick-making unit. The action taken in that regard is unclear. But a few permanent concrete structures were noticed in the proximity of the shore line on the south eastern portion of the lake abutting the brick kilns during the field visits undertaken by the researcher in December 2006. Apparently, the lease was suspended in the year 2001 against which the proprietor of the brick company has appealed in the High Court of Karnataka and the matter is sub judicial (DC Office 2003).

- A resident of a village in the vicinity of the lake filed a case against the Revenue Department and the FD in the Civil Court of Mysore in 1995 claiming ownership of a part of the foreshore area. The case prolonged for six years until 2001 when it was disposed in favor of the Revenue and FD (FD c. 2002).

- In the year 1994-95, the Mysore Urban Development Authority acquired about 10 acres of the land in Dattagalli village, earmarked as part of the foreshore area in the north eastern part of the lake to construct 200 houses for the families identified under Economically Weaker Section (DC Office 2003).

Unchecked flow of sewage
Sewage pollution, regarded as one of the most severe threats to the ecological well-being of the Lingambudhi lake system continued unabated even after the FD assumed responsibility for maintenance and protection of lake and its environs. The FD wrote a few letters urging the KUWSDB to resolve the sewage problem. In its reply dated 21st of November 1994, KUWSDB had explained its position thus:
"The city of Mysore is divided into five sewage districts namely A to E. Lingambudhi lake comes under District D as the sewage collected in D district flows into Lingambudhi lake. A scheme for providing outfall sewer in D district and sewage treatment plant for districts A and D had been prepared at an estimated cost of US$3 million and submitted to MUDA on 26th of June 1994 and MUDA is yet to take action" (KWB/EE/MYD-2/AE-1/1117 dtd.21.11.94).

For immediate relief from sewage pollution of the lake, the KUWSDB suggested MUDA that a portion of the outfall sewer could be tackled as an emergency measure at an estimated cost of US$ 0.17 million. Since MUDA had cited financial constraints, even the immediate relief measure remained unimplemented. The stalemate continued for several years until 2001, when the KUWSDB's plans for sewerage system and treatment plants were undertaken with support from the Asian Development Bank under the Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development Programme (KUIDP).

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Proposed alignment of Outer Ring Road along the foreshore area of the lake
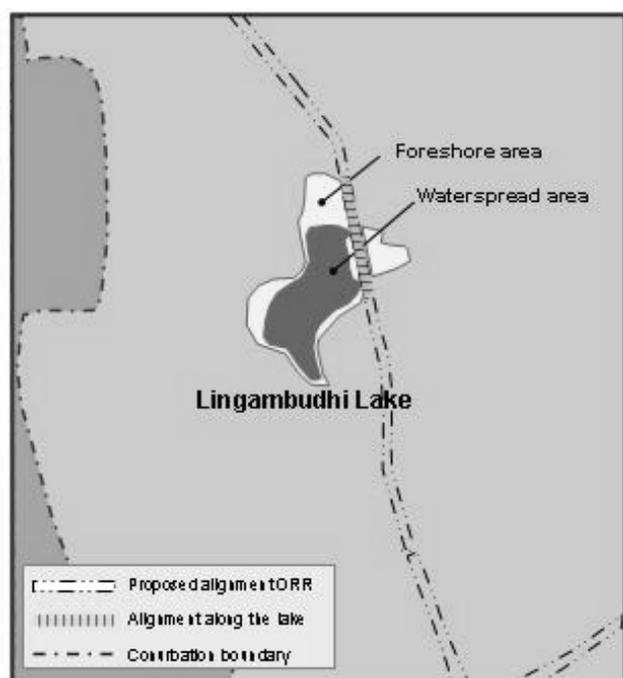
*Figure 11.5: Proposed ORR alignment along
the foreshore area
(Source: Author's construct)*

The implementation of the integrated development plan suffered a severe setback due to perceived threats posed by the then proposed part alignment of Outer Ring Road (ORR) along the fore shore area of the lake in the provisionally approved Revised Comprehensive Development Plan of Mysore, prepared by MUDA in 1991. Starting as early as 1993, the CSAs and the FD had been voicing their concerns with the various Commissioners of MUDA and the DCs of Mysore about the threats posed by the ORR alignment to the lake. At every instance, they had been orally assured that the alignment would be shifted at a future date as and when the funds are mobilized for ORR implementation.

After securing funds for the ORR from the ADB under the KUIDP in 1997, MUDA had gone ahead with the implementation of ORR in 1998 to the stage of tendering the contract, while retaining the original alignment. It was at this stage the civil society groups including the expert-activists waged a concerted and fierce struggle to save the Lingambudhi lake. The controversy that engulfed the lake in the wake of the ORR formed the premise for the next stage of action and evolution of civil society actors characterized by expansion, consolidation, solidarity and summit leading to several institutional effects (Figure 11.5).

Institutional effects during phase two: Empirical feedback on theoretical constructs

CSA activities during phase two were initially led by members of MAN, EA-1 and EA-2 and supported by other naturalists. This phase also saw emergence of other organizations on the urban environmental scene in Mysore such as MGP[35], MHT, Vrukshamitra, Parisara Jagruthi Samithi, Mysore Local Agenda 21, MET, Karnataka Consumer Forum etc. though most of them were not as active in the Lingambudhi arena as the naturalists' groups were.

Mobilization of social structures
The CSA action as part of the first "Save Lingambudhi Campaign" was voluntary and episodic in nature characterized by informal networking and communication and driven by more than one leadership node. The social structures were mobilized by tapping into to the existing organizational structures at the grass roots such as Residents' Welfare Associations and creating awareness through informational materials, and making an emotive appeal. Most of the resources for the campaign activities were self mobilized. Lingambudhi lake was introduced in the public sphere through articles and news reports in the local dailies which also helped mobilize public opinion and apply pressure on the concerned authorities.

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[35] MGP is reported to have filed a public interest litigation against the Municipal Corporation to prevent sewage inflow into Kukkarahalli lake

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Political opportunity structures: The alliance and conflict systems

The initial interactions between the state agencies and the CSA were confrontational in nature. The alliance system for CSA during phase two consisted mainly of the DyC, the DC and the FD. Owing to the administrative superiority attributed to the offices of the DyC and the DC, forging alliance with them proved to be an effective strategy to dialogue with the concerned state agencies and induce a semblance of co-ordination between them. Facilitating the entry of the FD into the conservation arena of the Lingambudhi lake was the most significant institutional effect that CSA induced in phase two during which the FD emerged as an ally of the CSA in their efforts to promote conservation. The conflict system for the CSA during phase two comprised of the encroachers, the brick factory, the MUDA and the KUWSDB. Though the encroachers were effectively tackled, the latter three remained part of the conflict system and continued to undermine the conservation efforts of the FD and the CSA in the subsequent phases.

11.14. Genesis of the ORR controversy: A product of misguided urban planning

Prior to the analysis of phase three of CSA action, the origin of the ORR controversy is analyzed from a historical perspective to situate it in the processes and practices of urban planning in Mysore. The ORR controversy as the analysis will reveal is a product of ecological insensitivity, irrational assertion of power and non-responsiveness to civil society actors on the part of planning authorities.

Urban planning in Karnataka: Emphasis on physical planning

Urban planning in Karnataka is dictated by the objects and provisions of the Karnataka Town and Country Planning Act of 1961 (KTCPA) which lays special emphasis on mere physical planning and detached from economic planning, environmental considerations and a regional perspective. A report on the state of the environment in Karnataka prepared by the Department of Ecology and Environment in 2003 notes that, "Karnataka has a good tradition in urban planning but important aspects of the environment have not been incorporated as key elements in the legislations pertaining to urban planning. It is noteworthy that at no stage of planning is environmental assessment or estimation of likely environmental damages and mitigation methods, a part of the long term urban planning" (DoEF 2003:203).

Urban planning as a three-tiered system

Prior to the amendment in 2004, the KTCPA[36] provided for a three tier system of urban planning. This included the Outline Development Plan (ODP) for a given Local Planning Area (LPA) which forms the first tier. ODP broadly indicates the proposed zoning of land use for residential, commercial, industrial, recreational, educational and other public purposes, proposed circulation pattern and a set of zoning regulations.

As the second step, a Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP) was prepared indicating therein the comprehensive zoning of land use together with zoning regulations, complete street pattern, improvements to existing road patterns, reservation of areas for public purpose such as parks, playgrounds and other recreational uses, public buildings, institutions, areas for housing etc. The third and the final step involved preparation of town planning schemes for the planning area for implementation of the proposals of CDP. Though it was mandatory to revise the CDP once in five

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[36] In 2004, the KTCPA of 1961 was amended to do away with the CDP and ODP. The amendment prescribes preparation of a Master Plan by all the Planning Authorities in one stage. Further there is a time limit of one year for preparation of Master Plan. Another important feature is that it is mandatory to revise the Master Plan once in every ten years (DoEF 2003).

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years, in practice, there have been more exceptions to this than adherence. Once the CDP is accorded final approval, it supercedes the ODP. Preparation of both the ODP and the CDP follows the same procedure (DoEF 2003).

Authority for urban planning and development

For every LPA, a separate Planning Authority is constituted for the preparation of ODP and CDP. However, for larger urban areas such as Bangalore, Mysore, Hubli-Dharwad etc, planning powers are vested with Urban Development Authorities whose primary task is to develop sites and services and provide the concomitant urban infrastructure. Both Urban Planning and Development Authorities are vertically linked to the Karnataka State Town Planning Board headed by a Director and the Ministry of Urban Development. For Mysore, until 1987, the Planning Authority was functionally detached from the City Improvement Trust Board that was a precursor of an Urban Development Authority. With the enactment of Karnataka Urban Development Authorities Act in 1987, the Planning Authority and City Improvement Trust Board of Mysore were merged to form the MUDA which is mandated to perform the twin functions of planning and development. The commissioner of MUDA, an appointee of the State Government acts as its CEO. MUDA, like several other para-state agencies is devoid of any political representation. After developing layouts and other infrastructure in the areas coming under the LPA, these areas are transferred to the Mysore City Corporation (MCC) for upkeep and maintenance (MUDA 1996).

Administrative procedure for preparation of ODP and CDP

The Planning Authority prepares a draft of ODP or CDP and submits it to the state government which then may recommend modifications as it deems fit or as advised upon by the Director of Town Planning, grants a provisional approval and returns the same to the Planning Authority. The Planning Authority must then through a public notification call for public objections and suggestions to the provisionally approved draft ODP/CDP and display the plans, maps and reports in its offices for a period of one month. Upon receiving any suggestions and objections from the public, the Planning Authority may include or reject them as it deems fit, incorporate modifications recommended by the State Government and submit the same to the state government through the Director of Town Planning for final approval. After securing final approval, the Planning Authority must publish the same and also permanently display the CDP/ODP in its offices as well as at the Office of the Director of State Town Planning Department (KTCPA 1961).

Tracing the ORR proposal in the first ODP and CDP

From the plan documents it appears that the idea of an Outer Ring Road was first conceived in the ODP for Mysore prepared in 1968 and approved in 1972 with a proposed conurbation area of 58.38 sq km and for an estimated population of 0.5 million by the year 1986. Subsequently, the CDP was prepared and approved in 1981 based on 1971 census data, with a proposed conurbation area of 93 sq km for an estimated population of 0.7 million by the year 2001 A.D. (MUDA 1981). Given only a slight increase in the projected population and the extent of the planning area, the alignment of the ORR in the CDP of 1981 was the same as in the ODP except at a few locations. The ORR by and large remained as a proposal during the next 10 years except for development of some strips.

Factors necessitating the revision of the 1981 CDP

As per the then Section 25 of the KTCP Act of 1961, it was required to revise the CDP once in every five years. Hence the state government instructed MUDA in December 1987 to revise the CDP of 1981.The CDP revision was anyway necessitated since the fringe areas of the city were experiencing

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massive unplanned and unregulated changes in the land use due to rapid industrialization. The population census data for 1981 which was available by then, showed that the city had recorded a 35% growth during the decade 1971 to 1981. Accordingly, the population in 1987 was estimated as 0.62 million and the city was expected to reach 0.7 million by as early as 1992 and not in 2001 as projected by the CDP of 1981. Land use changes had been permitted along several stretches of the then proposed alignment of the ORR which had become impediments to the construction of the ring road. Added to this, between the years 1984 and 1988 the State Government had amalgamated neighboring towns and villages with Mysore and notified a local planning area for the "Environs of Mysore-Nanjangud Local Planning Area", thus expanding the planning area from 233 sq km to 493 sq km (MUDA1996).

ORR alignment along Lingambudhi lake: Is it 1981 CDP or 1991 Revised CDP?

MUDA undertook the exercise of preparing the revised CDP (RCDP) in 1988. Since developments had taken place along certain portions of ORR as proposed in the CDP of 1981, new alignment was conceived for those portions during the revision. It is not clear whether alignment along the Lingambudhi lake was a part of the new or the original alignment. Even the MUDA officials interviewed were not able to clarify this question. MUDA submitted the draft RCDP for provisional approval in February 1991. The state government accorded provisional approval on the 5th of August 1991 with recommendations for modifications and a list of issues for clarifications. Amongst others, the state government pointed out that MUDA had not given justification for changing the alignment of the ORR. In its compliance note to the State Government, MUDA stated that, "developments have taken place along the previous alignment and retaining the same would result in enormous costs for land acquisition and rehabilitation and therefore a new alignment had been suggested".

Barriers to citizen's participation: ORR alignment escapes public scrutiny

MUDA issued a notification in the local press on 31st of August 1991 inviting public objections and suggestions to the provisionally approved CDP, as required under section 22 (1) of the KTCP Act of 1961. However it appears that MUDA did not publicly display the plans even after 45 days from the date of press notification until pressurized by a practicing lawyer who, in her letter dated 14th of October 1991 urged MUDA to display the plans and reports.

Between October 1991 and June 1992, MUDA received 35 objections from individuals and several suggestions from two civil society associations viz. the MGP and the Mysore Heritage Trust. The latter had even organized a seminar with experts and prominent citizens in October 1991 to generate suggestions for incorporation into RCDP. Neither the objections nor the suggestions had a specific reference to the alignment of the ORR along Lingambudhi lake. The Mysore Heritage Trust had made a general suggestion on the need to preserve tanks and lakes in Mysore from an ecological perspective. It had also observed that the alignment of the ORR appears undecided and unclear. In its reply, MUDA had stated, "it is too early to decide on the exact alignment of the ring road. A possible alignment is indicated in the RCDP. The exact alignment depends on ground conditions while formation".

From the foregone description of the process of planning, it could be inferred that the plans, maps and reports of the provisionally approved RCDP did not show clear alignment of the ORR and particularly along the Lingambudhi lake and hence neither the citizens' groups nor individuals could raise any objections in that regard. The content analysis of the correspondence between the citizens and MUDA also suggests that the prevailing situation then was not conducive for dialogue or even a passive form of citizen participation in the planning process. This was reflected in the delayed and inappropriate

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display of maps and reports of the RCDP; resistance to meetings and discussions with civil society actors; and delayed and ambiguous response to citizens' objections and suggestions.

A long wait for the final approval of RCDP

Though the exact date on which MUDA submitted the provisionally approved RCDP with recommendations for modification to the state government is not clear, the RCDP remained presumably dormant till 1995 when the state government directed MUDA to include certain other villages in the Local Planning Area and finalize the RCDP for an estimated population pf 1.4 million by the year 2011. MUDA undertook fresh land use surveys of the newly suggested areas in 1995, incorporated the new areas in the Mysore-Nanjangud Local Planning Area and resubmitted the RCDP with a proposed conurbation area of 156 sq. km for final approval which was finally accorded on 16th May 1997, after almost a decade since the commencement of its revision (MUDA 1996).

First official objection to the ORR alignment along the lake

While the provisionally approved RCDP was awaiting final approval during the period between 1991 to 1997, the issue of ORR alignment in the vicinity of Lingambudhi lake had become a bone of contention between MUDA and other agencies such as the FD, the DyC's office and KUWSDB and the CSA.

The ORR alignment along the lake foreshore was brought to the notice of the then DyC during the first ever joint official field inspection of the lake held at the behest of CSA on 2nd of September 1993. The DyC had instructed the MUDA officials to explore the possibility of shifting the alignment in order to save the lake and report to his office within ten days. The gist of the report filed in the local language by the then Town Planning Member of MUDA dated 16th of September1993 is reproduced here:

"The ORR is very crucial for a fast growing city like Mysore. About 200 meters of the ORR has already been paved in Dattagalli III stage residential Layout and the Layout itself has considerably developed. Shifting the alignment at this stage would require acquisition of additional lands and also changes in the layout plans which will result in the expansion of the conurbation area by 125 Ha. Given this situation, between the options of retaining and changing the alignment, retaining the alignment while ensuring that the lake is left undisturbed seems to be a better option than changing the present alignment."

ORR alignment along the lake was indeed a product of 1981 CDP

Considering that about 200 meters of the ORR was already paved by the year 1993 as reported by the Town Planning Member of MUDA, lends credence to conclude that the ORR alignment along the foreshore of Lingambudhi lake was a result of the 1981 CDP and it was retained in the provisionally approved RCDP of 1991. In case, the alignment along the lake foreshore was indeed effected during the 1991 revision, then, MUDA would not have had the legal sanction to either acquire the lands for the ORR or to pave 200 meters of it, since the RCDP was still in a provisionally approved stage. In any case, the status quo remained hidden and unquestioned when the RCDP was displayed for public inspection for a period of one month in October 1991.

Repeated pleas to MUDA for realignment to no avail

Following a second joint field inspection of the lake and its environs held at the behest of the Assistant Conservator of Forests and the MUDA officials on 8th of February 1995, a letter was written by the commissioner of MUDA dated 9th of February 1995 to the Deputy Conservator of Forests which stated

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that (English translation), "it is mandatory for the Forest Department to seek MUDA's permission for carrying out development and improvement works such as children's park, bird sanctuary etc. Since in the approved Comprehensive Development Plan, the government has proposed a 45m wide ring road in the said area and has already acquired and developed land in the vicinity of the lake, it would be difficult to create recreational facilities in the said area. The decision to change the proposed alignment has to be discussed by MUDA and hence it is hereby requested to send a map of the proposed works planned for conservation of the lake and await for further instructions from MUDA".

The tone of the said letter seems to suggest as if the RCDP was a final document though it was still at the provisionally approved stage. It could not be factually ascertained whether the Forest Department sent the required maps and plans, but a letter was written by it on 21st of March 1995, again requesting MUDA to consider realignment of the ORR in order to develop Lingambudhi lake as a 'bird sanctuary'. MUDA replied to FD on 3rd of April 1995 urging it to send the maps pertaining to FD's conservation plans. From the available records, it could not be ascertained if the FD had actually dispatched the maps and documents as asked by MUDA. Meanwhile, the CSAs had staged a public demonstration near the lake to protest against the alignment and even the KUWSDB had officially requested the MUDA to shift the alignment.

Subsequently, a meeting was organized by the FD on 12th of October 1995 to discuss the integrated development plan for Lingambudhi tank with the participation of officials from MUDA, KUWSDB, MCC as well as CSAs. No references to the alignment of the ORR were found in the report of the proceedings of the said meeting, though several suggestions and observations were made for protecting and developing the lake and its environs. In the same meeting, one of the participants had suggested that the FD submit an official request to MUDA for declaration of Lingambudhi lake and its environs as "highly sensitive zone". Following the meeting, the Forest Department was asked by MUDA to draft a set of special rules and regulations pertaining to zoning, land use and building license to be enforced in the event of declaring the lake as a highly sensitive zone. No records were available either at MUDA or at FD to ascertain whether such a set of rules was actually furnished by the FD (FD d. 1995).

Going by the subsequent developments, it appears that MUDA's approach in terms of asking for maps, draft rules and other documents from the Forest Department was only a time-evading strategy, since by December 1995, the ADB had approved a US$85 million loan to the government of Karnataka for implementation of several urban development projects including the ORR. The proposals for these projects were formulated as early as 1993-94. It gives cause to speculate that some officials of MUDA had known about the possibility of ADB's financial assistance for the ORR as early as 1993-94, though it never figured in any of the available correspondence or reports of the several meetings held in connection with the conservation of the lake. On the contrary, as reported by the CSAs, whenever they had broached the issue with the senior officials of MUDA they had been given vague and ambiguous oral assurances of shifting the alignment at the stage of implementation. But the likelihood of ADB assistance for the ORR was never disclosed until 1998 (Interview: Mr. U.N.Ravikumar 24.11.06; ADB 2006).

MUDA retains alignment: Proposes conflicting land uses for the foreshore of the lake.

Despite being appealed and urged upon several times by various quarters and even from other government agencies about the possible dangers posed by ORR to the lake and its environs, MUDA retained the proposed alignment in the RCDP that was finally approved in 1996. Though the RCDP was in the "provisionally approved" stage for almost six years, the tone and tenor of its correspondence seemed to convey as though it was the 'final' plan. It is ironical that on the one hand, the final RCDP retained the alignment along the foreshore area of the lake while on the other, it

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identifies Lingambudhi lake as a "park and open space and a water sheet", and as a proposed site for "bird sanctuary" and "picnic spot with boating facilities" (MUDA 1996: 97&118)

Planning power: Instrumental rationality vs. ecological sensitivity

Town planners and engineers both formerly and currently employed by MUDA were interviewed to enquire MUDA's rationale and justification for the deliberate retaining of the alignment along the foreshore area of the lake.

One of the former Town Planning Members stated that, "lake was not on MUDA's agenda and no member of the public had raised objection to me in person and MUDA anyway had to keep up it's commitment of constructing the ORR" (Interview: Mr.B.R. Raju, former TPM MUDA 16.11.06).

Another former Town Planning Member said he had held a staunch belief that the alignment of the ORR along the lake foreshore would not have harmed the ecological wellbeing of the lake. Enormous escalation of costs for acquisition of additional land in case of realignment was quoted as another reason for retaining the original alignment (Telephonic interview on 18.11.06 with a former TPM MUDA).

The CSAs who had all along opposed the said alignment were perceived by some officials as, "people who have a lot of free time to do unnecessary things and they are only good at opposing the government at every opportunity"

Urban planning both as a task and a process in MUDA seems to be dominated by engineering and technical needs and tasks rather than driven by principles of planning. Strictly engineering tasks such as formation of plots through layouts, construction of houses, commercial complexes, and roads, creating infrastructure for provision of public services etc. have taken precedence over a planner's tasks resulting often in conflicting situations.

The analysis thus far suggests that the prevailing urban planning practices are far from being collaborative or participatory. Environmental conservation has not been accorded high priority within the planning process. Urban planning laws are adhered to only in letter and not in spirit. Urban planning seems to be governed by instrumental rationality driven by planning power and concerns for technical and economic efficiency. The events preceding the decision making with regard to the alignment of ORR also indicate non-transparency in the planning process characterized by ambiguity in plan documents, reluctance to share information with citizens, bureaucratic delays and vague responses to queries. As Flyvberg et.al (2002) have observed, administrative power seems to be the determinant of rationality in the plan making process in Mysore rather than the discursive communication of the Habermasian school of thought.

11.15. Phase three: Expansion, consolidation and peak (1998 to 2000)

Phase three witnessed the most intensive phase of civil society actions focused on averting the perceived dangers to the Lingambudhi lake posed by the ORR alignment. The most important events and issues during phase three are described and analyzed here to reveal the nature of interactions that transpired between an expanded civil society and a wide range of actors in the institutional arena rendered complex by new entrants like Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Finance and Development Corporation (KUIDFC), ADB and their consulting firms. These interactions not only effected the realignment of the ORR to protect the lake but also stimulated ADB to sanction additional funds for rehabilitation of five lakes in Mysore including the Lingambudhi lake.

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Asian Development Bank financed Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development Project

The Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development Project (KUIDP) was the first Asian Development (ADB) financed urban sector project in India. The Project aimed to reduce the rural-to-urban migration pressure on Bangalore caused by rapid growth of information and communication technology related service sector, industrialization, and urbanization. The primary objective of the project was to decentralize population and economic growth away from the rapidly expanding sub-region by reversing infrastructure deficiencies and environmental deterioration in Ramanagaram, Channapatna, Maddur, Mandya[37], Mysore and Tumkur. The former five towns are situated to the south west of Bangalore along the Bangalore-Mysore growth corridor while the town of Tumkur is situated in the north west of Bangalore (ADB 2006).

The total loan was $85 million that was later reduced to $80 million. The projects were implemented on a cost-sharing basis (1:3) between the union/state governments and the ADB. Implementation of projects commenced in 1996 and completed in 2004, two years later than envisaged initially. Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development and Finance Corporation (KUIDFC), a special purpose vehicle that was created in 1993 by the Government of Karnataka was assigned the role of executing agency for the KUIDP. The project comprised of six parts viz. Part A- environmental sanitation; Part B- road improvement, and construction of truck and bus terminals; Part C- poverty reduction; Part D-development of industrial sites and services; Part E – implementation assistance and institutional strengthening; and Part F –low income housing finance. Implementation of KUIDP in Mysore included all the parts except component D (ibid.).

The ORR proposal in Mysore

The ORR was taken up under the project component Part B. The total length of the ORR is 45 km with a right of way or width of 45 meters. The ORR had been planned to be taken up in two phases viz. western half in Phase I and Eastern half in Phase II. Only the western half of the ORR measuring 23.2 km was proposed under KUIDP. The realignment effected in the year 2000 resulted in a net addition of two km to the western half of the ORR thus making it 25.2 km long. About 100 hectares of land was acquired for the implementation of the ORR. The total cost of the ORR under the KUIDP was about US$ 5 million excluding the costs of land acquisition. MUDA was the implementing agency. The eastern half of the ORR was proposed to be taken up at a later stage. In its current state, the ORR appears like a broken ring with about 1/3rd of the eastern half where it joins the western half at the southern tip of Mysore, yet to be constructed.

Tender invitation for ORR

The implementation of the ADB financed KUIDP commenced as early as August 1997 when tenders were invited for works related to water supply. The citizens were first informed of the ADB works through a news article in Star of Mysore, a local daily dated 11th of February 1998. However, the public were officially informed only in May 1998 nearly after 10 months, through a press notification that followed a seminar organized by the KUIDFC to orient and train the project staff and the implementation agencies. Having chanced upon the information about the seminar, some of the CSAs went to the venue to participate as uninvited delegates. Amongst them were also members of the Mysore Grahakara Parishath (MGP), a leading voluntary association. The seminar organizers however, were reluctant to admit the CSAs as participants. Ultimately the CSAs had to bring forth 'pressure' from some senior officials to force their participation in the proceedings. It was during the

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[37] Mandya and Maddur towns were included later in the project on account of loan savings resulting from the variation in the rupee-dollar exchange rate

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seminar the CSAs learnt about the ADB financed works in Mysore including the ongoing preparations for invitation of tenders for the ORR (Interview: Major. Gen. S. G. Vombatkere 28.10.06).

CSAs conducts field inspection tours for consultants and project staff

This spurred the CSAs led by EA-1, to conduct two field inspections over 1998-99 for the ADB appointed project consultants[38] and the KUIDFC, the nodal agency for KUIDp, to educate them about the threats posed by the ORR to the lake and the need for realignment. Despite these educative endeavors, both the authorities and the consultants were all set to implement the ORR with the original alignment plans (Interview: Mr. U.N.Ravikumar 24.11.06).

A public meeting on the ADB funded KUIDP

By 1999, the MGP had sprung into action demanding greater transparency and people's participation in the implementation of KUIDP in Mysore. The KUIDP context provided a forum for MGP to launch sustained advocacy efforts concerning issues of urban governance in Mysore. In January 1999, the MGP with support from other local associations organized a day's workshop aimed at a thorough public discussion on the KUIDP. About 250 citizens representing a cross section of Mysore had participated in the workshop which also had the presence of senior officials of the various agencies like MUDA, MCC etc. The ORR alignment along the lake was one of the key issues that had figured in the deliberations. The discussion that ensued created a perception as if the alignment was going to bisect the lake into two halves. MUDA was urged to realign the ORR in order to protect the lake (MGP Report dated 27.01.1999).

ORR alignment brought to the notice of ADB

In April 1999, having chanced upon the information about the visit of ADB officials to Mysore, a leader of MGP tried in vain to seek an appointment with the officials. Subsequently, the same leader pursued the ADB officials till Bangalore and almost gate crashed into the hotel they were residing and forced a meeting with them. It was the first time ever that ADB officials were informed about the environmentally problematic alignment of the ORR. It was in this unscheduled and reluctantly-agreed-to meeting, that the ADB conceded to conduct an Initial Environmental Examination of the ORR with particular reference to Lingambudhi lake and its environs. This decision proved to be yet another turning point in the conservation history of the lake. The meeting also served as a testimonial to the fact hat the local implementing agency and the consultants had not apprised the ADB of the long history of citizens' protest against the alleged alignment (Interview: Major. Gen. S.G.Vombatkere 28.10.06).

Initial Environmental Examination

Owing to the pressure from CSAs and suggestion by the ADB, the KUIDFC commissioned a private consultant in June 1999 to conduct an Initial Environmental Examination (IEE) of the ORR alignment with reference to Lingambudhi lake. Based on secondary sources of information, the IEE aimed to identify Significant Environmental Impacts (SEIs) in relation to parameters such as displacement of habitation, terrestrial ecology, fisheries/aquatic life, air pollution, noise and vibration, historical monuments, environmental aesthetics, erosion, siltation, run offs and spills. The IEE process involved consultations with the local stakeholders such as MUDA, MCC, KUIDFC, Project Management Consultants, Design Consultants, FD, and the CSAs like MGP, MAN, EAs, researchers etc. The IEE

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[38] M/s Dalal Consultants and Engineers Ltd. was the Design and Supervision Consultant for the Mysore part of KUIDP while the overall Project Management Consultant (PMC) was M/s Louis Berger International

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benefited a great deal by local informational resources pertaining to species biodiversity prevalent in the lake and its environs so much so that the EA-2 was even co-opted as a coauthor of the IEE report. The data on birds was supplied by both MAN and EA-3 (KUIDFC 1999).

As inferred form the IEE report, MUDA had contended that Lingambudhi tank was an irrigation tank, which, due to rapid expansion of the city had ceased to serve its original function. While having gone on record stating that the alignment was neither final nor specific in the draft Revised CDP of 1991, MUDA put forth the argument that no member of the public had objected to the alignment when it had published the Revised CDP in 1991 for public inspection (ibid.).

The IEE report submitted in September 1999 recommended a follow-up Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) for selected Significant Environmental Impacts (SEIs) such as encroachment of the precious ecology, environmental aesthetics, noise and vibration and impacts at the stage of road construction. The IEE also recommended public consultation as part of the EIA procedures. The IEE report however, was not widely disseminated even amongst the key CSAs who were instrumental in initiating the IEE process like MGP, MAN etc. (Interviews with EAs and MAN: November 2006).

Authorities warned of direct action

Based on the recommendations of the IEE report, the KUIDFC, in its letter dated 5th of October 1999 commissioned a Bangalore based consulting firm[39] in October 1999 to undertake an EIA of the ORR with reference to Lingambudhi lake and its environs. Prior to this, on 25th of September 1999, the MGP had written it's first letter of protest to ADB with copies marked to KUIDFC, implementing agencies and consultants, signed by more than thirty members including some eminent citizens. The letter warned of direct action by citizens both legal and agitational to protect the lake in the event of authorities going ahead with the status quo as echoed in the following extract from the said letter, "there is a large body of people in Mysore, who are prepared to intervene both legally and by other direct action on the ground, if the authorities persist in violating the lake and its precincts".

CSAs influence widening the scope of Terms of Reference for the follow-up EIA

In response to MGP's letter, the CSAs were invited to Bangalore on the 8th of October 1999 for a discussion with the senior officials of ADB, the top brass of KUIDFC and the consultants. Questioning the very need for an EIA, the CSAs led by the EA-1 made a slide presentation to reveal the existence of an already well established knowledge base on the environmental conditions of the lake. After discussions and arguments the CSAs conceded to an EIA subject to the condition that potential realignment alternatives proposed by them must also be evaluated with in the scope of EIA while placing special emphasis on the impacts on flora and fauna. They also succeeded in ensuring that EIA process provided for two mandatory public hearings. An extract of the addendum sent by the KUIDFC to the short listed consultants gives an indication of the influence exerted by the CSAs on the ADB and others which states that "in order to ensure that the Bank's EIA procedures, and the concerns of Mysore Grahakara Parishat and the KUIDFC are properly addressed in the upcoming EIA, the Bank suggests that the TOR prepared in the IEE report, which are quite general/non specific, be clarified and strengthened as follows" (KUIDFC 2000: Annexure II).

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[39] M/s Stem Consultants

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Conducted tour of the Lingambudhi lake for ADB officials

While the preparations for EIA were in full swing, the CSAs led by EA-1 conducted a field inspection of the lake and its environs on the 4th of November 1999 for the senior officials of ADB and KUIDFC to apprise them of the ground conditions. In a follow-up letter written to ADB thereafter, MGP once again reiterated its demand that the EIA evaluate atleast two potential realignment options.

Mobilizing citizenry and public opinion

During the year 1999 three public meetings cum slide shows were organized at a centrally located public hall by EA-1 with the support of other groups. These meetings were aimed at enhancing public awareness on the need for conserving Lingambudhi lake and the dangers posed to it by the ORR alignment. Notable and eminent persons of Mysore also participated in these meetings which were widely covered in the print mass media (The Hindu news report: 03.11.99 "Movement to save Lingambudhi Lake Gets Boost" filed by Mr. R. Krishnakumar).

Similar meetings were also held at the foreshore of the lake by activists of MAN to mobilize the local residents' organizations. MAN also mobilized more than a hundred persons including students to send a flurry of emails to the officer-in-charge of the ADB's Indian Residence Mission, demanding the realignment of ORR (Interview: Mr. Manu 13.11.06).

Starting 1999, several featured articles and "letters to the editor" appeared in the local dailies that highlighted the dangers of the ORR to the lake and criticizing the official apathy. The newspapers in general were supportive of the Save Lingambudhi Campaign, often dramatizing and sensationalizing the issues to stir public sentiments (Prajavani Letters to the Editor Column 23.11.99: "Deterioration of Lakes" by A. Shivaprakash).

Direct correspondence with ADB: A strategic move

By daring to establish direct correspondence with the ADB, MGP had assumed the organizational leadership of the campaign in the public domain. Analysis of the records made available shows that between September and December 1999, MGP wrote about five letters directly addressed to the ADB with copies marked to KUIDFC, consultants, ministers, implementing agencies etc. In return, MGP received three replies from the ADB. Between January and November 2000, MGP addressed four letters to KUIDFC and apparently received none. Most of the letters had multiple signatories including a few eminent persons from Mysore like two former Ambassadors, a famous photojournalist and so on. The tone of these letters conveyed a sense of warning or ultimatum but crouched in courteousness. The direct correspondence strategy seems to have played an important role in sustaining pressure on the ADB causing much embarrassment and consternation in the official circles (MGP letters dated: 25.09.99 12.10.99, 15.10.99, 8.11.99 and 11.12.99; and ADB replies dated: 11.10.99, 21.10.99, and 11.12.99).

The EIA process

The EIA was conducted over a period of four months to study the possible impacts of the proposed alignment and two potential realignment alternatives suggested by CSAs on the biodiversity with special emphasis on avifauna. The main parameters were air quality, water quality, ambient noise and land use. The perceptions of the residents, visitors and the CSAs as well as the contentions of the implementing agencies were also studied as part of the EIA. Two public hearings were organized by M/s STEM in the process of conducting EIA, one on the 12th of January and the other on the 21st of March 2000.

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First public hearing: A pandemonium

Organized on the 12th of January 2000, the objective of the first public hearing was to record views and perceptions of the citizens with regard to the formation of ORR and their concerns for the lake. The meeting was chaired by a former director of State Town Planning Board who was one of the two advisors hired by the EIA consulting firm. The other advisor, a reputed environmentalist of Karnataka participated as the Chief Guest. Two days prior to the public hearing, the CSAs had organized a public meeting to inform the citizens about the hazards posed by the ORR to the lake and to mobilize their participation in the public hearing (Star of Mysore News Report 11.01.2000: "Ring Road: Environmentalists to Fight for Lingambudhi Lake).

Around 250 citizens of Mysore including many students had taken part in the public hearing. Excepting one member of the audience, the opposition to the ORR alignment along the lake was reportedly unanimous. The event was widely reported in the local press. Based on the news reports, correspondence and interviews, it is inferred that the first public hearing witnessed pandemonium and uproarious scenes as several citizens were not allowed to express their views on account of 'time constraint'. The Chairperson of the meeting who was expected to discharge his duties with impartiality was alleged of being in favor of the ORR alignment as he had remarked that the public should not be wasting their time protesting against the ORR but direct their efforts towards cleaning the lake. It was reported that a few activists who were enraged by this remark even rushed to the dais, snatched the mike and started shouting slogans. They were joined by a college student[40] who had also rushed to the dais and was heard shouting with tears in her eyes that, "if the ring road has to pass through the lake, it would be on my grave" (Star of Mysore news Report 13.01.2000: "Citizens Oppose Ring Road; Mysore Mitra 13.01.00: "Ring Road Controversy- Citizens Rush to the Dais").

Peace and calm returned to the meeting only after the enraged audience were pacified by the environmental advisor to STEM who assured them of impartiality in the assessment and vowed to step down as an advisor if he sensed any cheating by the EIA consultants. Some of the participants who were not allowed to speak at the hearing had sent their comments and views in writing to STEM consultants.

Between the first and the second public hearings

One of the notable events during the interim period was a seminar held on 22nd of January 2000 on, "Vision and Agenda for lakes in Mysore" jointly organized by MET and Dhvanyaloka[41]. In his inaugural speech, a Member of the Parliament from Mysore who is also the scion of the erstwhile Wodeyar dynasty[42] is reported to have publicly vowed to urge the Chief Minister of Karnataka for realignment of the ORR. This was the first time ever a political leader had issued a public statement on the ORR controversy. Whether he actually urged the Chief Minister in that regard could not be ascertained (Times of India 24.01.2000: "Plea to Chief Minister to Re-plan Ring Road"). The second political leader who made a contravening public statement was the then Mysore district-in-charge Minister. Speaking to the news reporters during a field inspection of the works under KUIDP on the 5th of March 2000, the Minister had stated that, "though the government would make the final decision about ORR alignment after the second public hearing, the present alignment along the lake is likely to

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[40] also a member of MAN and currently works at the Mysore zoological Gardens

[41] MET is one of the active organizations in Mysore engaged in environmental awareness and conservation activities. It is part of the Mysore Local Agenda 21 Network (MLAN). Both MLAN and MET have been actively involved in the Save Lingambudhi Lake campaign. Dhvanyaloka is a literary research centre in Mysore founded by the famous writer Late Prof. C.D. Narasimhaiah and has been active in heritage and environmental issues of Mysore.

[42] Wodeyars ruled the Mysore region for more than four hundred years. Lingambudhi tank was constructed by one of the Mummadi Narasinharaja Wodeyar in 1828.

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be retained as the ORR will neither divide the lake nor cause damage to its water routes" (Times of India News report 06.03.00: "Ring Road: No Threat to Ecology").

Second public hearing: The draft EIA report

The second public hearing was held on the 21st of March 2000. Prior to the hearing, a press notification was issued inviting citizens to participate in the public hearing. The objective of the second hearing was to present the findings of the EIA to the citizens and activists and elicit their views. More than three hundred citizens and activists had gathered at the hearing. Disclosing the findings of the draft report, the representative of the consulting firm clarified that only about 250 meters of the ORR was aligned to pass through the foreshore area of the lake contrary to the public misconception that the ORR was set to bisect the lake into two halves. The draft EIA report pointed out that the misperception was due to projection of ORR on outdated maps. Amongst other things, the report suggested a series of mitigation measures such as shifting of the alignment further to the east and creating additional habitat for birds through acquisition of lands on the western side of the lake, etc. The total cost for mitigation measures was estimated at US\$ 0.8 million. The Commissioner of MUDA went on record saying that STEM proposal was acceptable to them as it didn't require acquisition of additional land whereas the alternative alignment proposed by CSAs to shift the alignment to the north western portion was not feasible as it would result in delays on account of additional acquisition of land, potential litigations and extra financial burden (Star of Mysore News Report 22.03.00: "MUDA for Ring Road Shifting –But City Greens Say No Again").

The interactive session between the CSAs, citizens and the consultants during the second hearing was reportedly far more peaceful and constructive. The draft EIA report was subjected to severe criticism by the CSAs on the following grounds that:
- It was insensitive to the impacts on human beings and the role of people in lake conservation
- It lacked a comprehensive analysis of the impacts of various suggested realignment alternatives
- It's proposal to shift the alignment further to the east was also ridden with potential threats to the ecological wellbeing of the lake

(Times of India News Report 22.03.00: "Public Hearing on Ring Road Fruitful").

Furthermore, many participants expressed their displeasure that since STEM had neither supplied adequate number of copies of the report nor maps, they could not engage in a meaningful dialogue. Both MUDA and FD were criticized for their apathy and inaction. As in the first hearing, there was complete unanimity of public opinion against the ORR alignment. One of the participants suggested that ADB must make provision for additional financial assistance for the conservation of Lingambudhi and other lakes in Mysore which eventually snowballed into the Five Lake Restoration Plan in Phase IV.

Reacting to the suggestions and criticisms, the Executive Director of STEM had assured the participants that every suggestion and comment made by them would be examined while preparing the final EIA report.

The final EIA report: ORR realignment recommended

The EIA report submitted to KUIDFC in May 2000 provided a comparative analysis of the impacts of four possible alignments which included the existing alignment and three suggested alternatives. The final report upheld the CSAs' long held contention that lake was indeed a crucial habitat for rare and endangered species of migratory birds. It contended that the alignment plan proposed by MUDA would have significant and irreversible negative impacts on the ecology of the lake and to the avifauna in particular. The report recommended a modified version of one of the alternative realignments

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suggested by the CSAs as the one with the least environmental impacts similar to the one shown in Figure 11.6. The option thus recommended entailed realignment of the ORR so as to encircle the lake on its far western and southern sides to connect with the eastern half of the ORR. It was estimated that the realignment proposal would increase the length of the ORR by about 7 km and cost an additional US $1.7 million including costs of land acquisition, resettlement, basic construction, re-conveyance of plots etc. The final report also bore testimony to the vast informational resources pertaining to the biodiversity of the lake that the CSAs had contributed to the EIA process (KUIDFC 2000).

EIA recommendation approved: But the very feasibility of ORR questioned

Figure 10.6: Changed ORR alignment
Source: Author's construct
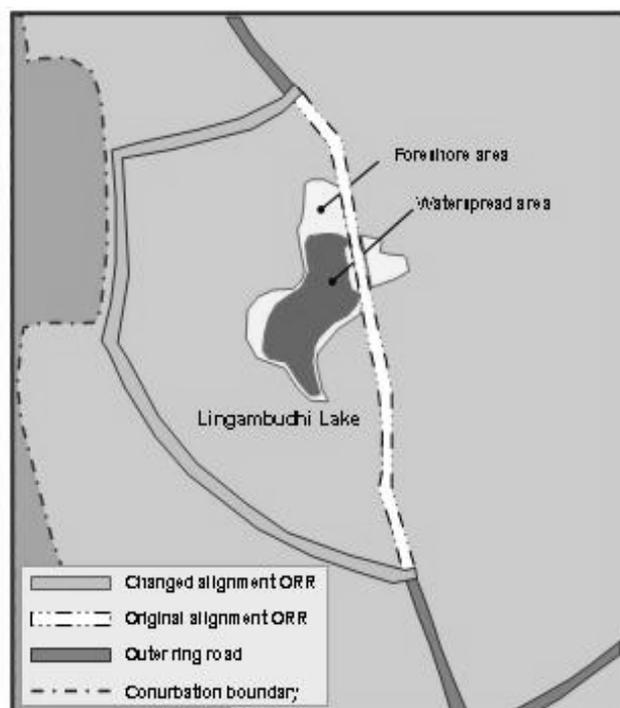
Both the KUIDFC and the MUDA approved the EIA recommendation sometime around September 2000. However, the escalation of costs due to delays and the additional financial burden of realignment led some officials to issue skeptical statements about the very feasibility of the ORR. In a news report titled "Mysore saves a precious lake but loses the ring road", carried by a leading local daily, the then Managing Director of the KUIDFC had apparently cast doubts about the commissioning of the ORR itself (Deccan Herald News Report: 29.10.00). The CSAs had all along been termed 'anti-development' and blamed for the delay. Whereas some of the news reports had pointed out that the main cause of delay was in relation to the problems of land acquisition for building railway over bridges at certain locations on the north western alignment of the ORR.

After a prolonged period of controversy, confusion and deliberations, work on the 25 km stretch constituting the western half of the ORR was launched finally in September 2002 and completed in February 2004 in a span of 18 months at an additional cost of US $ 3 million including the costs of land acquisition and resettlement (ADB 2006).

Institutional effects of CSAs on lake conservation in Phase III

MUDA and KUIDFC assisted by the ADB and it's consulting firms, were the two key government institutions involved during phase III. The conservation activities at the site had slowed down during this phase owing to the ongoing controversy concerning the lake and the ORR. The FD which was the ad hoc custodian of the lake, had by and large remained neutral during the agitation of CSAs against the ORR alignment. Excepting a handful, the political leaders were also conspicuously absent from the scene.

The institutional effects of CSAs in phase three on the conservation of Lingambudhi lake can be summarized as follows:
- Commissioning of Initial Environmental Examination of the ORR alignment;
- Commissioning of the follow-up Environmental Impact Assessment of the ORR and significantly influencing and contributing to it's contents, tasks and the process;
- Realignment of the ORR to protect the lake and its environs;

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- Securing additional financial assistance for conservation of five lakes in Mysore including Lingambudhi lake; and
- Influencing CSAs in Mangalore, a coastal city of Karnataka, to help shape their campaign strategies during the implementation of ADB funded Karnataka Urban Development and Coastal Environment Management Project (Interview: Sri Gururaj Budhya 26.12.06).

The former Chairperson of KUIDFC, the Environmental Advisor to STEM and the Executive Director of STEM were identified as key informants to seek confirmatory evidence of the effects CSAs had induced on the decision of realignment of ORR to protect the lake and its environs. All the three key informants contended that CSAs were the main driving force behind the realignment decision as well as the ADB's sanction of additional funds for lake conservation. One of the key informants attributed the success of CSAs partly to their vast technical knowledge and informational resources (Interviews: Dr. Yellappa Reddy, Environmental Advisor to STEM, Dr. A Ravindra, former Chairperson KUIDFC, and Mr. Bhaskar Rao, Executive Director, STEM on 22.10.06, 29.10.06, and 30.10.06 respectively).

In its *KUIDP Completion Report,* the Asian Development Bank has also acknowledged the crucial role of CSAs in the realignment decision thus:
 "At the request of local residents, led by an NGO, ADB encouraged KUIDFC to carry out an initial environment examination, which led to a full EIA. Subsequently the EIA recommended that the alignment be changed or that the road bypass the lake requiring more land acquisition, about US$ 3 million of extra costs, and an 18 month extension of the loan closing date. The EIA, however, was NGO and citizen-driven and led to extensive public consultations; improved people's perception of the project; and led to several more lake improvements, which have been well received"(ADB 2006:11-12).

Empirical feedback on theoretical constructs in phase three

The analysis of the third phase of conservation history of Lingambudhi lake suggests that the nature of collective action and the political opportunity structures in the form of alliance and conflict systems operate in a dynamic state and mutually influential ways. There is also empirical evidence to argue that even when the conflict system is dominant over the alliance system, the degree of mobilization of social structures within civil society and gaining control over the symbolic capital in the public domain have the potential to overpower the conflict system to cause institutional effects. Such was the case with CSAs who had converged to wage a concerted campaign for realignment of the ORR.

Interplay of alliance and conflict systems
At the start of phase III, the alliance system for CSAs consisted mainly of the FD and the DCs office where as the conflict system consisted of the prevailing planning culture, MUDA, KUIDFC, the ADB and it's consulting firms. Subsequently, the Mayor of Mysore City Corporation and some municipal councilors also became part of the conflict system. The FD and the DC's Office who were allies earlier, were by and large neutral during Phase III. By being less proactive they contributed to the continuing dominance of the conflicting forces such as MUDA that was prone to undermine collective action. Though being a custodian of the lake and its environs for long, the FD doesn't seem to have asserted it's position at a time when it mattered the most. The weakening of both FD and DC's Office as allies of CSAs is also related to the frequent transfers of key officials attached to these offices. Between the years 1993 and 2000, in a span of seven years, the Mysore Division of the FD saw more than four Deputy Conservators of Forests and the Mysore district saw four DCs. The lack of a reasonable tenure weakens the level of commitment of officials and to that extent, disrupts the relationship between CSAs and the agencies. The absence of Karnataka State Pollution Control Board from the lake conservation scene, which is empowered to enforce EIA for mega projects also contributed to the strengthening of the conflict system.

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As the campaign gained momentum, the pressure was mounting on some components of the conflict system owing to which a few consultants and officials of the ADB and the KUIDFC were compelled to cooperate and thus became forced allies. They helped the campaign's cause by catalyzing strategic meetings between the CSAs and the authorities; influencing decision processes within the government; supplying useful bits of information to the CSAs; and participating in field inspections. In the ultimate analysis, within the strict confines of the second Save Lingambudhi Campaign, the ADB emerged as a major ally particularly given the chronic history of MUDA's formidable defense against ORR realignment. If in case, the ORR project was to be implemented with MUDA's own funds, an answer to the hypothetical question whether MUDA would have consented for an EIA or realignment is self explanatory and in such a scenario, the CSAs would have probably taken a different course of action including legal and judicial intervention.

During the EIA process, an advisor to the firm in-charge of EIA who is believed to have advised the CSAs about the importance of being "technically prepared", seems to have been the only genuine ally. The same advisor is also understood to have played a key role in persuading the relevant authorities about the need for realignment in the light of widespread public resentment and the findings of the EIA. The alliance system also had a surprise entry in the form of an erstwhile Member of Parliament who had publicly vowed to urge the then Chief Minister to realign the ORR.

Mobilization of organizational structures and resources with in civil society
During phase three, the civil society expanded and hence capacitated itself considerably both in terms of organizational and individual constituents. MGP was the first new voluntary association to join the others like MAN, Vrukshamitra and EAs who were already active in the Lingambudhi arena. The other new entrants were MET, MLAN, Dhwanyaloka, Residents' Associations of R.K.Nagar, Vivekananda Nagar, women's groups like Nesara, Surabhi Mahila Sangha etc. Students and citizens at large were mobilized through college visits, personal contacts, news papers and public meetings. The civil society arena gained in strength with some prominent citizens of Mysore pledging their support to the campaign such as a renowned photo journalist, a few retired ambassadors and a few journalists from the local and national dailies.

The campaign organization was amorphous characterized by voluntary action. The campaign strategies and activities evolved spontaneously without a premeditated plan and mostly over telephonic conversations between the leading EAs and the conveners of the frontal organizations. Therefore, there was no formal launch of the campaign as such. The campaign title, "Save Lingambudhi lake Campaign" gained currency during the public meetings. And yet, there was a certain degree of division of labor.

By becoming a nodal point of correspondence and contact between the CSAs and the agencies, MGP seems to have lent a notion of leadership to the campaign. But on the ground, the campaign was multi-leader driven. The public meetings cum slide shows and field inspections were led by EA-1, mobilization of local community organizations and students was led by MAN, while the other EAs, naturalists and associations were contributing their might to the various activities whenever called upon. Most of the organizations that were part of the campaign were not mass-based membership associations. Financial resources, however meager, were mobilized by the participating organizations themselves. Technical expertise in civil and environmental engineering and informational resources on biodiversity of the lake and its environs were amongst the main assets of the CSAs.

Unlike the typical externally assisted NGOs, the voluntary and spontaneous nature and loosely structured associations characteristic of the campaign, helped it to stay focused on the issues at hand

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without having to expend much time and energy for organizational matters like staff management, fund management, office administration etc.

Mobilization of public opinion and struggle over symbolic capital
The public meetings, newspaper articles, official correspondence and mobilization activities rallied mainly around three symbols aimed at arousing curiosity, stimulating debate and making an emotive appeal in the public sphere. These were: Lingambudhi lake as a habitat for a large species of birds including rare and endangered migratory ones; Lingambudhi lake as one of the very few lung spaces in the city; and Lingambudhi lake as a historical monument and a symbol of city's heritage. Dominating the public sphere, these symbols were a reinterpretation of the objective conditions of the lake and its environs though the lake was still far below on the conservation ladder to be able to acquire the necessary attributes to achieve and sustain the statuses depicted in those symbols. The counter symbols used by MUDA and others were: the importance of ADB funded works in general and ORR in particular for a fast growing city like Mysore; the anti-development tendency of CSAs; and delay, cost escalation and financial burden due to realignment.

The symbols projected by the conflict system appeared frailer in the public sphere compared to those used by the CSAs. This was mainly because citizenry in general were neither adequately informed about nor involved in the KUIDP owing to the prevailing planning culture that is resistant to genuine consultation with citizens and their participation. Rendered weak by the dominance of CSAs, the conflicting components had made hardly any attempt to influence the public sphere. Even the most compelling misconception in the public sphere such as the original alignment was set to 'bisect' the lake into two halves was left unchallenged until the second public hearing (Star of Mysore News Report 20.03.00: "Ring Road Will Not Cut Lingambudhi lake into Two: Report").

CSA effects on public sphere and rationality
The instrumental-technical rationality of the planning process observed in Phase II was effectively challenged by the civil society actors in Phase III who derived formidable strength by the societal mobilization structures and a favorable public opinion. It appears that the presence of external agencies and actors like the ADB, the consultants both local and international and some political heavy weights added a new dimension to the rationality and perhaps diluted MUDA's (state) stranglehold on it. This certainly helped the civil society actors gain control of the symbolic capital in the public sphere.

11.16. Phase IV: Fragmentation, decline and revival (November 2000 to January 2007)

The events that transpired during phase IV led to a gradual fragmentation of CSAs which manifested itself in the decline of collective action for the conservation of Lingambudhi lake. A chronological narrative of the main events concluding with data on the current (as in January 2007) condition of the lake and its environs is provided to illustrate a possible relationship between declining collective action and the continued deterioration of the lake.

Five lakes restoration plan approved

In response to a suggestion made by a citizen-activist during the March 21st public hearing and in the backdrop of the Save Lingambudhi Campaign, the ADB was persuaded to make available a special grant-in-aid for restoration of not only five lakes but also some heritage buildings in Mysore. The KUIDFC organized an interactive session with the various agencies, citizens and CSAs on the 9th of June 2000 to elicit ideas and suggestions on the possible restoration of five lakes in Mysore which were the last few surviving within the municipal jurisdiction viz. Kukkarahalli, Lingambudhi, Karanji, Dalvoy, and Devanoor lakes.

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Following this, two interagency meetings were organized by the DCs Office on 29th of June and 13th of July 2000 to discuss the restoration of lakes in and around Mysore. These meetings had representatives from the various agencies including the Minor Irrigation Department. On the 3rd of October 2000, the Empowered Committee of the Government of Karnataka approved the project for rehabilitation of the said five lakes in Mysore city under the then ongoing KUIDP with grant-in-aid financial assistance from the ADB. The Empowered Committee also decided that the agencies currently responsible for the maintenance of those lakes would also be the implementing agencies for the lake restoration plan. A special Committee was formed under the Chairmanship of the DyC of Mysore to monitor and review the five-lake restoration plan.

Subsequently, a consulting firm was entrusted to prepare detailed project reports for the restoration of five lakes. The interim report of the consultants submitted in March 2002 proposed the restoration works for five lakes at an estimated cost of US $ 1.5 million. Restoration works for Lingambudhi lake was estimated to cost US $0.92 million and included desilting, island formation, bund repairs, chain link fencing, landscaping, recreational facilities etc. The Report identified the Minor Irrigation Department as the owner of Lingambudhi lake, mentioned Forest department as the managing agency for the foreshore area and the Department of Fisheries as the managing agency for fishery activities (KUIDFC 2002).

Controversial incidence of bird deaths in Lingambudhi lake

While the plan for restoration of five lakes was being formulated, incidents of bird deaths in Lingambudhi lake made the headlines. Starting in the last week of November 2000, more than 50 birds both native as well as migratory species were reported dead within in a span of one month. This was also the time when KUWSDB had initiated work on construction of trunk sewers to divert the sewage away from the tank. In view of this, some of the CSAs led by MAN had contended that a sudden increase in the level of toxins in lake waters triggered by the minimal flow of sewage could have been a reason for bird deaths though they had also suspected an outbreak of a strange epidemic caused by release of toxins. Meanwhile, supposedly based on the preliminary investigation of the bird carcass, the FD had publicly speculated Avian Botulism, a bacterial epidemic disease as the cause of bird deaths. Dumping of dead chicken infected with avian botulism into the sewage outflow channel by the poultry farms was cited as a trigger for the outbreak of the epidemic (The Hindu News Report 03.12.00: "Pollution Killing Birds in Mysore" filed by Krishna Kumar. R.; Deccan Herald News Report 23.12.00: "Contaminated Water Suspected Reason for Death of Birds; Prajavani News Report: "Infectious Disease Cause of Bird Deaths").

The FD's explanation of avian botulism as the cause of bird deaths was contested by CSAs led by MAN who contended that a deliberate attempt was being made to downplay the chronic problem of sewage contamination. They had even suspected deliberate poisoning of the lake waters by some vested interests. It was alleged that by linking bird deaths to the dumping of infected chicken, the FD was trying to portray it as just another stray incident. In an attempt to dispel the public misperceptions and explain the steps being taken to prevent incidents such as bird deaths, a press conference was organized by the then DC of Mysore to which the contesting groups were also invited. While reiterating the FD's explanation of avian botulism, the DC was reported to have clarified that the lake water was not contaminated with toxins. It was also reported that the carcass was being sent to the Mumbai based Bombay Natural History Society for a detailed and advanced investigation to ascertain the cause of bird deaths. (Deccan Herald News Report 02.01.01: "Measures Taken up to Prevent More Bird Deaths"; Interviews with: Mr. Manu of MAN and Sri. A. Shivaprakash, a naturalist on 18.12.06 and 25.11.06 respectively).

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However, the contesting groups averred that both the preliminary and the detailed reports about the avian botulism were never made public. Attempts to retrieve the said reports from the FD during the course of this study conducted between November 2006 and February 2007 in Mysore were unsuccessful as the reports could not be traced while the concerned officials were not aware of any such reports (Interview: Range Forest Officer, Mysore Forest Division 08.01.07).

The controversy over death of birds in a lake that was supposed to have been developed into a sanctuary for birds had fissuring effects on the civil society arena dividing it into two groups, one contesting the FD's version while the other supporting it. The newspaper reports featuring the controversy in its multiple but conflicting dimensions also contributed to the prevailing confusion. The controversy caused the contesting group led by MAN to distance itself from the FD leaving a few EAs as advocates in the lake conservation arena.

The Minor Irrigation Department asserts ownership of Lingambudhi

By the time the consulting firm submitted the interim report on the feasibility study for restoration of five lakes in May 2002, the Minor Irrigation Department, which had remained submerged during the entire decade of the lake's conservation history, had suddenly resurfaced claiming ownership of the lake. Through a letter dated 7th of December 2000, addressed to the Commissioner of Mysore City Corporation, the Executive Engineer of the Mysore Division of Minor Irrigation Department asserted their ownership of the Lingambudhi lake and took objection to the works being carried out in the lake for diverting sewage without it's permission. The reasons for this sudden surfacing of the Minor Irrigation department are not clear though some of the CSAs were of the view that the enlisting of the lake as a prospective grantee of funds for restoration could have been a possible stimulant. From the said letter, it is inferred that the senior officials of the department and a Member of the Karnataka Legislative Assembly representing the local constituency had insisted on a detailed report to know "what was happening".

Since a copy of the said letter had also been marked to KUWSDB which was the agency actually implementing the construction of trunk sewers in the environs of the lake, it informed the Minor Irrigation Department vide letter dated 21st of December 2000 that the due permission had been obtained from the FD, which was the actual custodian of the lake. In a bid to find a permanent solution to multiple ownership, the Deputy Conservator of Forests, Mysore Division submitted a proposal to the Sub-Divisional Officer of the Revenue Department on 31st of January 2001 seeking declaration of Lingambudhi lake and its environs as "Lingambudhi Protected Forests". In his letter dated 21st June 2001 addressed to the DC, the Sub-divisional Officer recommended declaration of the precincts of Lingambudhi lake as "Protected Forests".

Citizen Monitoring Committee and Citizen's Lake Protection Fund

In the midst of these controversies, there is a reference to the setting up of a Citizen's Monitoring Committee and a Citizen's Lake Protection Fund in 2001 by groups such as MET, Dhwanyaloka and others led by EA-4, in association with the FD to foster community participation in lake conservation efforts. Further information on it's activities or the outcomes was not available (PSF 2001).

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Constitution of Mysore Jala Samarakshana Okkoota

Some time in mid 2001, the Mysore Jala Samrakhana Okkoota, (MJSO-a federation of organizations committed to the protection of water resources in Mysore) was set-up under the Chairmanship of the then DyC at the behest of the CSAs led by EA-1. MJSO was conceived as a government-community partnership initiative for conservation of lakes in the district of Mysore. It was registered as a Society with members representing the various government agencies as well as NGOs, experts and concerned citizens. Information on the exact configuration and the activities of the federation was not available. By dovetailing into the existing lake conservation efforts in Mysore, the MJSO with the support from EA-1 and others played a significant role in the preliminary negotiations and preparations for the ADB assisted five-lakes restoration plan. It appears that MJSO gradually became defunct by the end of 2004 owing to both the transfers of key officials at the DyC's office as well as the shrinkage of civil society arena (The Hindu News Report 18.02.02: "Panel to Raise Funds for Lake Restoration").

Restoration of Kukkarahalli and Karanji lakes: One more controversy

The five-lakes restoration plan was finalized in July 2002. Since the ownership pertaining to Kukkarahalli and Karanji lakes was unambiguously vested with the Mysore University and the Zoo Authority of Karnataka respectively, they were identified as the implementing agencies for the respective lakes. The restoration works for the two lakes were completed in June 2004 at a cost of US$ 0.45 million (ADB 2006).

Though the restoration works for Karanji lake were implemented without much constraints, the Kukkarahalli lake restoration got embroiled in a controversy in 2003 when activists of MAN protested against certain components of the restoration plan which they feared would endanger the avian fauna. They had also registered their dissent about a proposal to open up the entire foreshore of the lake for public visits. Around the same time, the convener of the Kukkarahalli Lake Protection Committee, a new CSA entrant to the lake conservation arena had lodged complaints about the needless and unscientific felling of trees in the foreshore area by the concerned contractor. Prior to this, three CSAs viz. MGP, CART (EA-1) and MAN had signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the Mysore University in May 2000 for the implementation of an integrated conservation plan for Kukkarahalli lake based on a proposal contributed by the EAs. The integrated plan and the MoU had remained nonstarters due to paucity of funds. It was alleged that the new proposal for Kukkarahalli lake under the five-lakes restoration plan had considerably deviated from the earlier plan proposed by CSAs. Seen in the light of these developments, some CSAs had switched over to a protest mode while others were still carrying on in a spirit of partnership with the authorities. These events are understood to have further deepened the fragmentation within the civil society arena (Star of Mysore Report 11.05.01: " University and Environmentalists Sign MoU to Save Kukkarahalli lake"; The Hindu News Report 23.07. 2003: "Conservation Work on Lake Kicks Up New Row"; Star of Mysore News Report 25.07.2003: "Kukkarahalli Lake: Contractor Defends Tree Felling").

Ownership conflict: Lingambudhi lake misses out on ADB funds

Since the restoration plan was getting delayed owing to the unresolved ownership claims over Lingambudhi lake, the Zoo Authority of Karnataka was made the executing agency for restoration works vide letters dated 1st April and 17th of May 2003. The Zoo Authority "took over" the possession of the lake for restoration works from the Minor Irrigation Department on 18th of July 2003, though the ownership issue was still unresolved. After waiting for action from the Minor Irrigation Department for two months, the Zoo Authority vide its letter dated 15th September 2003 informed the Minor Irrigation Department that since the project had been unduly delayed, the ADB had decided to roll back the funds allocated for restoration work and it would therefore like to "hand over" the lake

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back to the Minor Irrigation Department. In the mean time, the FD which was kept in the dark about the business of "taking and handing over", vide its letter dated 22nd September addressed to the Zoo Authority, asserted it's claims of absolute ownership over the tank and took strong exception to the "taking and handing over" of possession of the lake . This was also a period during which the CSAs who were tending towards polarization had focused their attention on Kukkarahalli lake which was in the midst of controversy over certain components of the restoration plan.

By then however, the Lingambudhi lake had missed the earmarked grant of US$ 0.15 million which was the first ever definite funding opportunity for it's restoration and rehabilitation Two other lakes Dalvoy and Devanoor were also reported to have missed out on the ADB funds for reasons such as sewage pollution, encroachment of the lake bed and so on. It is ironical that the Lingambudhi lake, which was the cause and therefore must have been the primary beneficiary of the five-lakes restoration plan had to suffer this loss. The interdepartmental conflict over the ownership was the third major event which contributed to the continued fragmentation of CSAs and caused some of them to further repel away from the authorities.

Lingambudhi becomes a protected forest: A significant milestone

Amidst this triangular exchange of correspondence, a notification from the DCs office dated 28th of August 2003, in response to the FD's proposal of 2001, had finally declared the Lingambudhi lake and its environs as a *protected forest area* and had transferred the ownership of the said lands to the FD (DC Office 2003). This was one of the significant milestones in the history of Lingambudhi lake which now enjoyed the status of a protected forest under the conspicuous and unambiguous ownership of the FD. It is surprising to note that this vital notification of August 2003 does not figure in any of the ownership-related correspondence between the FD, MID and the Zoo Authority that transpired during 15th September and 11th October 2003.

A fresh conservation initiative is born but with new problems

In 2004, at the behest of some of the expert activists, the then Commissioner of MUDA, who had earned recognition as a proactive officer sought to include beautification measures for five lakes including Lingambudhi, as part of the "MUDA Action Plan for 2004-2005". By writing to the Department of Major Irrigation seeking it's permission for temporary possession of the said lakes, MUDA had needlessly introduced a new agency into the conservation arena that had no jurisdiction over lakes in Mysore. The situation was clarified with in a short period of time and preparations were under way for a joint partnership initiative between the FD and the MUDA for the rehabilitation of Lingambudhi lake.

The analysis of correspondence suggests that the FD had intended to be the executing agency for undertaking the works with financial assistance from MUDA. However the MUDA had insisted to implement the works on its own and had sought only a plan and a budget estimate from the FD. With the intervention of the DCs office in the matter, the project was finally launched in August 2005 through a grand foundation laying ceremony. According to one of the MUDA engineers interviewed, till January 2007, MUDA had executed works approximately costing US $0.08 million towards repair of sluice gates, fencing, desilting, creating islands in the water spread area and provision of visitors' amenities (Interview: MUDA Assistant Executive Engineer 18.12.06).

The last field visit to the lake as part of the field research was undertaken on the 11th of January 2007 when the work related to the fifth island was still under execution. Discussions with FD officials and the CSAs have brought to light some of the problems with regard to the project being executed by MUDA. First of all, there has been no institutional arrangement for periodical consultations with the

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CSAs although it is their plan proposed in 1995 that forms the premise of the current project. Some EAs contended that improper zoning and design of the islands being created may defeat the very purpose of their creation which is to serve as protected nesting areas for birds. Some the naturalists complained about disturbances to the shoreline which had already been considerably reduced. Questions were also raised about lack of coordinatory mechanisms between the Forest Department and the MUDA which has apparently weakened the supervision of the contractors and their workers on site thus posing threats to the ecology of the lake (Interviews with Mr. Ravikumar, EA-1, Mr. Manu, Mr. Shivaprakash and the Range Forest Officer in December 06 & January 07).

Current administrative status of Lingambudhi lake: Potentially conflicting land uses

The administrative status of the tank in its current existence has multi-institutional jurisdictions and land use classification some of which without proper regulation appear potentially conflicting.

As a protected forest: Forest Department
About 217 acres of the lake and its foreshore area excluding the 10 acres acquired by MUDA in 1994 for housing and 15 acres under litigation with M/s Mary Bricks was declared as a "protected forest area" in 2003 through a government notification (vide no. N.D 1/61/2000-01, dated. 28.8.03, Office of the Deputy Commissioner, Mysore District) and handed over to the Forest Department for development. The notification further states that "if the Revenue Department finds it necessary to take back the lands, it retains the right to do so at any point in time". Thu,s it appears that the FD does not enjoy absolute ownership of Lingambudhi Protected Forests given the continued scope for ownership related conflicts in future (DC 2003).

As a park, open space and water sheet: Mysore Urban Development Authority
In the Report of the RCDP of Mysore prepared and published in 1996 by MUDA, the following references to land use pertaining to Lingambudhi lake and its environs are observed:

- Identifying Lingambudhi lake and its environs under the land use category of "parks and open spaces, playgrounds", the report states, "Lingambudhi tank which is situated on the southwest of Mysore city has been proposed to be developed as a bird sanctuary" (RCDP 1996: 39).

- Identifying Lingambudhi lake under the land use category of "water sheet" the report states, "all water bodies have been proposed to be preserved to maintain environmental and ecological balances and also for recreational purposes" (RCDP 1996:71).

- As a part of beautifying the city, the report states, "to rejuvenate Kukkarahally, Karanji and Lingambudhi tank areas as picnic spots with boating facilities" (RCDP 1996: 118).

The conservation activities being currently implemented by MUDA are related to the land uses assigned for Lingambudhi lake in the RCDP which seem potentially conflicting. For e.g. the picnic spot with boating facility may defeat the very foundation of a bird sanctuary.

As an inland fisheries resource: Fisheries Department
Though the Karnataka Forest Department has been vested with ownership of the Lingambudhi lake and its environs, the Karnataka Animal Husbandry and Fisheries Department through its district Office of the Deputy Director in Mysore has exclusive jurisdiction over fishing and allied activities in Lingambudhi lake as per the Comprehensive Rules and Regulations for Inland Fisheries in Karnataka 2005 (vide G.O. ASF/167/FEE/2005 dated 28.01.06 Issue 6, published in Vol.141, Karnataka Gazette dated 16.02.06). Accordingly, "the right of jurisdiction and transactions related to fisheries and allied resources in all the government owned inland water resources such as lakes, tanks, streams, ponds , rivers, waterfalls etc., regardless of their ownership by any Department, Authority or Board shall be vested with the Animal Husbandry and Fisheries Department".

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The fishing contracts for the inland water resources are executed by the Fisheries Department through its district level offices on an annual basis. As a corollary to the said rules, the FD which is the official custodian of the lake and its environs would have no powers in regulating fishing activity in the lake. CSAs aver that excessive harvesting of the fish can disturb the avian life and the entire food chain as has been observed on a few occasions in the past.

As a water resource: Karnataka State Pollution Control Board
Under the provisions of the Central Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1974, the State Pollution Control Boards are vested with the authority to monitor and test the quality of water in lakes and other water bodies and take remedial as well as punitive actions to prevent and regulate pollution of water resources.

The Regional Office of the Karnataka State Pollution Control Board (KSPCB) based in Mysore has been periodically monitoring the quality of water in eight lakes of Mysore including the Lingambudhi ever since 2001 (Interview: Environmental Officer, KSCPCB Mysore 15.11.06). Given the lack of mechanisms for interdepartmental co-ordination, these reports have never been shared with FD and others except during incidences of bird and fish deaths (Interview: Range Forest officer January 2007). Also, a report of the study on lakes of Mysore published in 2003 by the KSPCB has met with a similar fate (KSPCB 2003).

Current physical status of the lake and its environs

The assessment of the current physical conditions in the lake and its environs was based on field observations, secondary data, interview with key informants and two rapid focus group discussions with the local users of the lake. As the assessment reveals the lake and its environs continue to be constrained by problems some of which are situated in its history and others new.

Sewage inflow and eutrophication: Mass fish deaths in October 2006

Figure 11.7: Sewage inflow to the lake from south eastern areas (Source: Author January 2007)

Some EAs and naturalists opine that Lingambudhi lake is in the process of eutrophication (Interviews: Mr.Manu; Mr.Ravikumar and Mr.A.Shivaprakash January 2007). When a lake enters the stage of eutrophication it slowly ages into a bog or marsh and eventually disappears. This process is accelerated by discharges of nutrients in the form of sewage, detergents and fertilizers into the lake ecosystem. As a result, the lake becomes so rich in nutritive compounds particularly nitrogen and phosphorous, that algae and other microscopic plant life become superabundant, thereby choking the lake (due to decreased quantity of dissolved oxygen) and causing it to eventually dry up. Eutrophication can also cause harmful Algal Blooms which can harm fish and also birds and people who consume them (Varma et. al 2003; Randolph 2004:395).

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Being deprived of adequate quantities of fresh water, the Lingambudhi lake continues to receive sewage albeit in smaller quantities compared to yesteryears. The water is turning green indicating algal abundance. The Lingambudhi lake made headlines in October 2006 reporting mass fish deaths in its waters (Mysore Mitra News Report 13.10.06: "Sewage water into Lingambudhi Lake: Tons of Fish death – Pollution Control Board Orders Criminal Investigation against Commissioner of MCC").

A complaint filed by the FD led to a field inspection by the KSPCB officials who attributed the fish deaths to the sewage contamination of the lake. Two sources of sewage entry into the lake were detected by the KSPCB team, one from the residential areas on the south eastern side and the other from the northern side of the lake. The Mysore City Corporation which is currently responsible for underground drainage and sewerage was sent a disciplinary notice by the KSPCB urging it to take immediate measures to stop the sewage flow into lake (letter no. KSPCB/EO (MYS)/DEO/2321: 2006-2007 dated 11.10.2006).

The two exclusive field visits conducted in December 2006 to ascertain the facts on the ground, have both confirmed the entry points of sewage as had been detected by the KSPCB. The first source is from the residential areas from the eastern and south eastern side of the lake where sewage was flowing out of the broken pipes in the form of a stream as shown in Figure 11.7. The second source was the grass farms on the north eastern side, where the farmers apparently break open the sewage pipes to divert the domestic sewage for irrigating their farms and then let the used sewage water into the storm water drains that eventually empty into the lake.

Incomplete fencing of the lake and its environs
Lingambudhi lake is estimated to have a boundary line of 5 km. The southern portion of the lake is protected by the lake bund. The eastern, western and northern sides however, are only partially fenced either with barbed wires or concrete wall, thus allowing people and cattle to stray into the foreshore area and disturb the avian life. Though several initiatives have been taken in the past by the FD for fencing, it has remained incomplete for various reasons such as paucity of funds and lack of clarity on the boundary demarcation owing to a portion of the foreshore area under legal dispute. The FD's Action Plan for Lake Restoration prepared in November 2004 had envisaged four km of fencing including repairs to the existing fence of which, only 2 km has been fenced thus far.

Unauthorized dumping of building debris and garbage
Garbage not only causes ground water contamination but also attracts stray animals and rodents. The building debris poses risks of sedimentation and siltation to the water spread area. Huge mounds of building debris and garbage were observed near the shore line on the south far-eastern portion of the lake behind the Mahalingeshwara temple as illustrated in Figure 11.8.. Garbage was also observed in marshy patches all along the north eastern and northern portion of the lake at points where the foreshore margin intercepts areas of human habitation.

Figure 11.8: Unauthorized dumping of debris in the foreshore of the lake (Source: Author January 2007)

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Increased human activity

The documents pertaining to action plans and proposals for conservation of the Lingambudhi lake highlight the need to attract the nearby residents to the lake for recreational purposes and thereby involve them in the long term conservation activities. In order to realize this objective, many facilities such as a jogging track, two paragolas, stone benches for visitors to rest and a bore well have all been created in the eastern portion of the foreshore area. Though some of these facilities have become dysfunctional due to lack of regular maintenance, the number of people visiting the lake for recreational purposes such as walks, jogging or relaxing has increased over the last few years. In addition, there are also occasional tourists who want to catch a glimpse of the avian life. Since there is no clear or water tight demarcation between the water area and the recreational areas, the visitors have been observed to stray into areas close to the shoreline or the water spread area through the newly created islands thus causing disturbance to the avian life.

Decline in the incidence and population of avifauna: An indicator of disturbed habitat

The most important goal and aspiration of the conservation efforts as highlighted in the various proposals and plans of the Forest Department as well as the RCDP Mysore 2011 AD was to develop Lingambudhi lake and its environs as a "Bird Sanctuary". In fact it was the lake's status as an "Important Bird Area" that had influenced the ORR realignment decision in order to protect the lake. The bird incidence data for the period from year 2000 to early January 2007 collected gathered by EA-3 [43] signals a declining trend in the population of birds as well as species incidence, though it needs to be substantiated with rigorous investigations. Year 2000 in which 217 birds were recorded was used as a benchmark to compare the status of recorded birds in the year 2007. Changes in the incidence and population of about 52 species have been observed as depicted in Table 11.5.

Table 11.5: Changes in the incidence of avifauna in the Lingambudhi lake and its environs

Changes (from 2000 to 2007)	No. of bird species	Examples of species (common names)
Significantly reduced numbers or visits	21	Spot-billed Pelican, Painted Stork, Glossy Ibis, Eurasian Spoon bill etc.
Absent	23	Darter, Common Quail, Snipes, Stone-Curlew etc.
Resident birds turned as visitors	7	Little Egret, Lesser Whistling-Duck, Oriental White Ibis, etc.
Increased numbers	1	Black-winged Stilt
Total	**52**	

Source: Shivaprakah, A.S. (2007) Daily Records of Bird Counts in the Environs of Lingambudhi Lake (unpublished)

The causes cited for these changes are turbidity of water, disturbed shoreline, sewage pollution, replacement of foreshore vegetation with monoculture plantation, increased human activities in the foreshore and near the water spread area, absence of marshy patches, felling of large trees, destruction of grassland in the foreshore etc. The increase in the numbers of Black-winged Stilt, a bird that prefers water contaminated with sewage is an indication of the continued sewage pollution of the lake. Considering that 23 species of birds including more than 15 resident and commonly sighted birds are no longer sighted indicates that the primary goal and aspiration of conservation to develop Lingambudhi lake as a bird sanctuary has perhaps suffered a severe setback (ibid.).

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[43] An engineer by profession and a resident of the Lingambudhi neighborhood who has been watching birds and keeping records almost on a daily basis since the last thirteen years in the lake and its environs.

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Lake users' perceptions, awareness and sense of ownership
One of the objectives of the conservation plans was to involve and engage the local neighborhood community in conservation efforts as a means to sustainable management of the lake. Infrastructure facilities for recreational purposes have been created to attract local residents to the lake. However, there are no institutional mechanisms to engage and involve the user community in conservation related activities.

The occasional users of the lake include bird watchers, naturalists, researchers etc. The farmers and fisher folk are also users of the lake since they benefit from the lake for their livelihoods. However, the most predominant and consistent users of the lake and its environs are people living in the vicinity who visit the recreational area of the lake for walks, jogging or relaxing either in the early morning or evening hours. It is estimated that 600 to 800 people use the lake every day for recreational purposes. Two rapid focus group discussions (RFGD) were held with groups of about 10 persons each who use the tank's environs for recreational purposes. To account for any variations, one RFGD was held during the morning hours and the other during the evening hours. The participants were selected on the spot from amongst those who were either resting on the benches or who were about to leave the lake premises and who showed inclination to participate in the discussion. The objective of the FGDs was to obtain a glimpse of users' awareness about the lake, its status and problems and their sense of ownership. The sense of ownership was gauged by their response to a question on whether they had contacted or complained to the authorities about the problems they observed or experienced in the environs of the lake. Profile of the FGD participants is shown in Table 11.6.

Table 11.6: Profile of RFGD participants

General information		Group 1 (Morning) N= 11	Group 2 (Evening) N= 10
Residency in the neighborhood		*All*	*All except one*
Gender	Female	*5*	*4*
	Male	*6*	*6*
Age range (Min. to Max.)		*25 -76 years*	*36 -66 years*
No. of years visitors to the lake (Range: Min. to Max)		*7 months to 15 years*	*1 year to 12 years*

Source: Author's construct

As shown in Table 11.6.there appears no significant differences between the two groups in terms of the age, proportion of males to females, residency in the neighborhood and the no. of years the participants have been visiting the lakes for recreational purposes.

Findings of RFGD
As Table 11.7 shows, almost 50% of the participants are aware of the ecological importance of the lake, its administrative status and its conservation history. The most notable finding however is that except one, none of the participants have contacted or complained to the authorities about the problems they faced or observed in the lake and its environs though most of their complaints were from the perspective of recreational facilities rather than from ecological considerations. This reflects to some extent the poor sense of ownership amongst the lake users both in terms of the lake ecology and recreational area. It also raises a question whether recreational uses can harmoniously with ecological objectives. Excepting two, none of the participants were aware of the Lingambudhi lake

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Protection Committee (LLPC), a new entrant to the civil society arena formed in October 2006 following the mass fish deaths in the lake, to work towards holistic and integrated conservation of lake (Interview: Mr. Kushalappa, President of LLPC 25.10.06). It appears that the LLPC is yet to mobilize the organizational structures and public opinion within the civil society arena. Though the FGD findings need to be substantiated with more rigorous and systematic inquiry, they do signal that more concerted efforts are needed to elicit active participation of community in conservation activities.

Some of the general comments and observations made by the RFGD participants were: "birds are decreasing; no children's facilities; cattle grazing in the foreshore; no toilets, drinking water, and lights; not a safe place; not enough benches; don't know whom to complain" etc.

Table 11.7: Findings of the RFGDs with local lake users

Focus group issues for discussion	Group 1 (Morning) N= 11	Group 2 (evening) N= 10
Satisfaction with facilities in the recreation area	*Fully satisfied -1* *Not satisfied – none* *Partial – 9*	*Fully satisfied -3* *Not satisfied -1* *Partial – 6*
Awareness of the role of Forest Department	*Aware – 5* *Not aware -6*	*Aware -5* *Not aware -5*
Awareness of the avian importance in the lake	*Aware – 6* *Not aware -5*	*Aware -6* *Not aware -4*
Awareness of the protected area status	*Aware -2* *Not aware - 9*	*Aware -5* *Not aware -5*
Awareness of ORR controversy	*Aware – 7* *Not aware - 4*	*Aware – 5* *Not aware -5*
Participation in the Save Lingambudhi Campaign -2000	*Yes – 3* *No - 8*	*Yes – 3* *No - 7*
Awareness of sewage pollution and other disturbances in the lake	*Aware -5* *Not aware - 6*	*Aware -4* *Not aware -5*
Action to resolve problems (whether complained to authorities)	*None had complained*	*Only one had complained*
Awareness about the recently formed Lingambudhi Lake Protection Committee	*None*	*Aware – 2* *Not aware -8*

Source: Author's construct

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CSAs and institutional effects in Phase IV: Empirical feedback on theoretical constructs

Three key institutional effects are observed in phase four. They are:
- Significant reduction in the inflow of domestic raw sewage on account of completion of works related to the construction of trunk sewers and a sewage treatment plant situated to the south along the downstream of Lingambudhi lake.
- Conditional declaration of the Lingambudhi lake and its environs as a protected forest area
- Execution of some works related to restoration of the lake by MUDA in association with the FD.

The first two effects were in part, a result of the advocacy efforts initiated by CSAs in the previous phases while the third effect was an outcome of the combined efforts of proactive officials and a few persuasive EAs. Mobilization of organizational structures and public opinion within civil society and collective action in the public domain were conspicuously absent as the civil society arena itself witnessed considerable shrinkage, fragmentation and differential alignment of its actors during phase IV which overlaps with the current phase. Therefore, the distinction between the components of alliance and conflict systems also becomes blurred.

As described in the previous paragraphs, the continued threats to the ecology of the lake and its currently precarious state of existence is, to some extent, a reflection of the fragmentation of the civil society arena and the consequent decline in collective action. Two factors can be identified as the causes for the fragmentation viz. the nature of voluntary action and the nature of institutional responses.

The ebbs and tides of voluntary collective action
The shrinkage of the civil society arena as observed in phase IV, which had expanded and consolidated during the ORR controversy, lends credence to argue that collective voluntary advocacy efforts directed at the state in pursuit of public causes operates in a natural cycle of actions and reactions characterized by peak and low. The peak is triggered by situations perceived and reinforced as a 'crisis' in the public domain and the low, by its resolution. In the case of Lingambudhi lake, the crisis created by the ORR alignment and reconstructed and reinforced in the public domain led to a peak in the activities of CSA. The peak was characterized by greater degree of mobilization, heightened public attention and solidarity within the structures of civil society despite diversity of orientations and backgrounds. The crisis resolution triggered a low by generating a overwhelming reaction in the public domain that the "Lingambudhi lake was saved" which thereby shrunk the civil society arena, though even then, the lake was in a precarious condition like in its current state. It appears that the low is characterized by fatigue and inertia. Moreover, sustaining a peak over longer periods of time is both resource intensive and time consuming.

The MGP that had attained organizational leadership in the previous phase shifted its focus to other issues soon after the controversy over ORR alignment was resolved. Given the generally limited arena of voluntary advocacy coupled with limited membership and therefore human resource constraints, voluntary groups like MGP are often in a fire fighting mode shifting from one fire situation to douse another. The same applies to other organizational structures that had joined the second Save Lingambudhi Campaign.

The nature of institutional responses
During phase IV, fragmentation of the civil society arena vis-à-vis the conservation of Lingambudhi lake was also triggered by some of the specific institutional responses of state agencies. Three of these responses have already been discussed in the earlier sections. They are: the alleged lack of transparency in the manner in which the FD, purportedly supported by a section of CSAs, managed the controversy over the incidence of bird deaths in Lingambudhi lake in December 2000; the

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interdepartmental conflict over the ownership of Lingambudhi lake which resulted in withdrawal of the ADB grant meant for its restoration in 2003 particularly so when Lingambudhi lake was supposed to be the primary beneficiary of the five lakes restoration plan; and the controversy in 2003 caused by the restoration works in Kukkarahalli lake which was criticized by a section of CSAs on the grounds of being ecologically ill designed and which had a constraining spillover effect on the civil society arena in general.

The fourth response relates to the practice of selective preference of the state agencies for certain CSAs over others. From the records available, it was observed for instance, that only one of the EAs was on the official list of invitees for several interagency meetings on lake conservation, organized by the DCs office between June 2000 and May 2003. Other activists, it seems were either "left-out" or called at short notices or were not properly informed of the last minute postponements etc. Regardless of the veracity of these perceptions, the practice of selective preference seems to have had a fissuring effect on the civil society arena dividing it into smaller segments with specific orientations, though the dividing lines appear too implicit and fuzzy to be visible.

The selective preference is related partly to the relative weight of the public standing enjoyed by the different organizational structures within the civil society arena and also the varying strategies of advocacy adopted by them. The EA-1 who was reportedly preferred over others was affiliated to an academic institute of repute, had earned recognition as a 'technical expert' on environmental conservation and was perceived as more proactive and amenable for consultation. Furthermore, the EA-1 had all along been instrumental in establishing rapport and fixing meetings with senior bureaucrats. As inferred from an interview, the EA-1's belief in plurality of actors within civil society arena and the need for a more practical approach rather than an eternally confrontationist strategy with the state has rendered him as a more conducive partner. EA-1 continues to be called upon by the state agencies for occasional consultation on works related to lake restoration and thus still represents the civil society arena, although shrunken, in its interface with the state (Interview: Mr. U.N.Ravikumar, 18.12.06).

The affinity towards an individual actor or a particular group is also related to the nebulous form that characterizes civil society. In the absence of an optimal institutional arrangement for public consultation supported by an explicit policy framework for lake conservation, the state as embodied in a particular line department or an agency may find it difficult to relate to diverse set of actors, multiple interests, informational resources and aspirations prevalent in the civil society arena. Therefore, it can be argued that the efficacy of the advocacy initiatives depends on the ability of CSAs to forge a collective identity; adopt a cooperative or confrontational strategy as appropriate to the given situation; and seek and harness spaces, resources and opportunities within the state structures towards sustainable conservation of the lakes.

Naturalists revert to original roles and new actors emerge
Situated in the arguments and reasons articulated above, the civil society arena vis-à-vis conservation of Lingambudhi lake appears scattered in its current form. Some of the naturalists who evolved to play a collective role in the public domain as advocates of Lingambudhi lake conservation seem to have reverted to their original role as biodiversity researchers and bird watchers. Whereas some others have ventured into educating children and adults about the importance of nature and its conservation. Meanwhile, the EA-4 has facilitated the creation of a new forum called the Lingambudhi Lake Protection Committee which is yet to assert it's presence in the public domain.

Challenges to the third "hypothetical Save Lingambudhi Lake Campaign"
In hypothetical terms, if the CSAs were to regroup and launch a "Save Lingambudhi Lake Campaign" for the third time (see Figure 11.9), they are likely to deal with a formidable conflict system composed

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not only of a multitude of state institutions driven by conflicting land uses but also of societal actors such as the farmers who are diverting the used sewage into the lake; the public visitors who venture into eco sensitive spots within the lake area or litter the foreshore with garbage or indulge in other acts of vandalism; the cattle owners who are letting their cattle stray into the foreshore area for grazing; the builders who are dumping debris in the foreshore area; and a brick factory that is likely to occupy 15 acres of the foreshore area for a minimum period of five to ten years in case if it wins the legal battle.

11.17.   Conclusions

The analysis of the role of civil society actors vis-à-vis conservation history of Lingambudhi lake suggests that the voluntary advocacy collective action in the urban governance arena directed at influencing the state does induce institutional effects such as changes in the decisions and institutional arrangements also implying rationality effects on plan processes.

It appears that the civil society actors and the state interact in mutually influential ways determined by the interplay between of the three sources of political capacity viz. the political opportunity structures, mobilization of social structures and the struggle over symbolic capital. As evident from the second phase, the mobilization of social structures seems to act as a precursor to influence or harness the political opportunity structures embodied in the form of alliance and conflict systems as well as to influence the struggle over symbolic capital in the public sphere. Voluntary advocacy collective action operates in cycles of peaks and lows driven both by natural factors and the state institutional responses.

However, considering that it took almost eight years of advocacy and the support (reluctant or otherwise) of an international agency that carries considerable clout, to effect a decisional change with regard to ORR alignment means that voluntary actors have to be resource rich in terms of both time and finances to wage long sustained struggles. Further, despite almost two decades of civil society action, a coherent long term policy either in terms of appropriate legal instruments or institutional arrangements for lake conservation in Mysore seems to be a far cry. To effect long term policy changes perhaps requires a radically different strategy and vertical networking at various levels.

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Conservation history of Lingambudhi lake and future challenges

Civil Society Actors Evolutionary stages

Key events

Major institutional effects

Phase I
1970s – 1980s

Origin of CSAs

- Naturalists' exploration of the lake
- Lake becomes part of Asian Waterfowl Census
- Shrinkage of catchment area, encroachments, sewage pollution

- Lingambudhi lake in international reports

Phase II
1990 – 1997

Emergence of Expert Activists

Community mobilization

Focused interventions

- The first "Save Lingambudhi Campaign"
- Documentation of flora
- Provisionally approved RCDP
- ORR alignment comes to light
- Forest Department faces constraints
- MUDA resists realignment

- Entry of Forest Department
- Integrated Lake Development Plan ; fencing, foreshore plantation, clearing of encroachment, recreational facilities

Phase III
1998 – 2000

Expansion and peak

- ADB funded KUIDP
- The second "Save Lingambudhi Campaign" against ORR alignment
- EIA and public hearings

- ORR realigned Lingambudhi lake "saved"
- ADB consents grant-in-aid for five lakes restoration plan

Phase IV
2000 to 2006

Fragmentation

Decline

Signs of revival

- Bird death controversy
- Setting up of MJSO
- Controversy over Kukkarahalli lake restoration
- Sewage diversion from Lingambudhi lake
- Inter departmental conflict over Lingambudhi
- Linganbudhi loses ADB funds

- Five lakes restoration plan
- Lingambudhi lake declared as protected forest
- MUDA becomes a partner in lake restoration

The third "Save Lingambudhi Campaign"

Potentials

Challenges

Potentials

Lake user communities

Technical expertise

Informational resources

Past achievements

Favourable press

- New sources of sewage
- Debris and garbage
- Increased human activity
- Unprotected foreshore areas
- Conflicting land uses
- Multi institutional terrain
- Eutrophication
- Signs of declining in Avifauna

Status

- protected forest
- water resource
- important bird area

Figure 11.9: Salient features of conservation history and future challenges
(Source: Author's construct)

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12.   Conclusions and Recommendations

Chapter twelve provides a set of key conclusions which are essentially a set of critical reflections on the policy context and the theoretical constructs in light of the empirical findings presented and discussed in the previous sections. While identifying gaps and weaknesses in the present study, it also makes recommendations for future research.

12.1.   Urban governance in Mysore: Good or bad?

Both the global and the national good urban governance campaigns envisage decentralization, civic engagement and greater participation of citizens in the decision-making process and endeavor to make cities more 'inclusive' and the decision processes more transparent and responsive. Evidence from the city of Mysore however suggests to the contrary. As observed from the two case studies, the role of legitimately elected urban local government viz. the Mysore City Corporation is only marginal, if at all, in fostering inclusive governance for the slum dwellers and in environmental conservation. Both these vital functional domains are still controlled to a large extent by the agencies of the state government. Urban planning is still largely a techno-bureaucratic function executed by a non-representative agency of the state and the rationality that drives the planning process and decision making is far from being communicative or collaborative. The decentralization reforms initiated in the early 90s are yet to make any discernible impact. The institutional arrangements for urban governance in Mysore continue to be dominated by a multitude of state government agencies and departments implementing a wide range of centrally planned schemes, leading to fragmentation, lack of co-ordination and eventual decay of urban life. That the Vasanthnagar community, even after obtaining official 'recognition' had to wait eleven long years to gain access to basic amenities and the P.K.Sanitorium community is still struggling to fulfil its basic needs ten years since earning the 'declared' status is a clear indication of the crisis in urban governance and a non-responsive state. The conservation history of Lingambudhi lake is a profound statement to this effect.

Civic engagement[45] in urban governance as a matter of policy implementation is virtually non-existent in Mysore. The constitutionally mandated Ward Committees as a mechanism of civic engagement has been a non-starter in Mysore. This is, to some extent a reflection of the councilors' resistance towards involvement of the civil society associations in decision making processes. Their reluctance for institutionalized modes of engagement with associations and citizens in part, is driven by their limited autonomy, resource constraints and perceived fear of encroachment of their 'space'.

Instead of creating enabling spaces for critical engagement of citizens in the political processes of governance, the state has stepped into organizing the society through promotion of residents

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[45] According to latest reports, the Commissioner of the Mysore City Corporation has initiated steps to constitute 699 Citizen Committees one in each of the polling booths with nine members each as required under the JNNURM project guidelines. These committees are eligible to seek financial assistance up to Euro 20,000 for implementing measures for neighborhood improvement. The reports also reveal that the municipal councilors are resisting this move by the Commissioner.
(The Hindu news report dated 07.11.07: "MCC to Constitute Citizen Committees":
Source: *http://www.thehindu.com/2007/11/02/stories/2007110259750300.htm*. last visited on 20.12.07)

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welfare associations for better waste management and women's self help groups for socio-economic empowerment. The findings of the collective empowerment survey point out that such state sponsored associational membership even when implemented by NGOs is significantly less empowering than the voluntary and politically oriented associational life.

The findings of the collective empowerment survey and studies on the struggles of slum dwellers and the conservation of Lingambudhi lake thus make a compelling argument to conclude that there is really nothing 'good' about the urban governance in Mysore and nor is there any 'campaign' to transform the governance from 'bad' to 'good'.

12.2. Nature of associational civil society in the urban governance arena of Mysore

Mysore has a high density of associational life manifested in myriad forms at different spatial levels and addressing various issues, concerns and problems of urban life and governance. The grass-roots associational life is denser amongst the poor than in middle and upper income groups. Though associational identity is important for both the groups, it is far more crucial for the poor since it is directly linked to their access to basic services and amenities or in other words, to their survival itself. The associational identity and membership is therefore more crucial and less voluntary for the poor than their counterparts.. The same holds true at the broader spatial level too. In the case of "Save Lingambudhi Lake" campaign for example, the organization was amorphous with diverse types of voluntary associations and also individuals without any associational affiliations coming together to act collectively for a common purpose. The purpose i.e. saving the lake itself provided the public banner. Whereas collective action of the poor in the public sphere such as protests and demonstrations was most often carried out under one common broad associational banner such as MSDF or KKNSS or ODP etc. with individual participants always representing 'this' or 'that' slum. Participation in the public sphere based strictly on individual identity appears to be inconceivable in the case of the slum dwellers in sharp contrast to their counterparts.

Caste appears to be the main organizational principle of associational groupings amongst the slum dwellers both in multi-ethnic and single-ethnic communities as observed in Vasanthnagar and P.K.Sanitorium slums respectively. The influence of caste on the associational groupings in the middle/upper income neighborhoods could not be ascertained since it was beyond the scope of the study. But as the demographic data from the empowerment survey show, middle/upper income areas are better serviced and have far fewer households from the lower caste groups. In the case of the slum dwellers, however, caste-identities are a major determinant of community solidarity which in turn is crucial in securing access to services and fulfillment of basic needs. This lends credence to argue that the relationship between caste-identity and community solidarity is far more stronger in the case of the poor than in the case of their counterparts.

The associations of the poor and those of their counterparts also differ on the type of relationship they share with political interest groups and the agencies of the state. In slum communities, the political leaders of the local area (not necessarily from within the slum), play a crucial role either as "patrons" or "go-getters" of services, goods and favors in exchange of votes. At the broader level, the federations of the poor people's organizations such as MSDF have aligned themselves along party lines, though neither officially nor explicitly. The sheer frequency of interactions and

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transactions between the political groups and the associations of the poor suggests that these associations are more of a 'political society', a concept Partha Chatterji (2003) has popularized through his writings. Some members of these associations have even contested and won in the local elections and have occupied seats of power. Whereas the associations of the middle/upper income groups both at the grass-roots and the city level with the exception of a possible few, tend to work through the bureaucratic channels rather than seek political intervention, like for e.g., throughout the entire history of Lingambudhi lake, there are only a handful of instances when political leaders were approached for problem solving or for some other purpose.

These stark differences also seem to explain the clear separation observed between the associations of the poor and those of their counterparts in the public sphere. For instance, when groups like Mysore Grahakara Parishat (MGP) were questioning the very rationale behind the ADB funded Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Project in Mysore and demanding transparency in its design and implementation, many NGOs working with the urban poor and slum dwellers in Mysore were quietly executing community development component of the same project in the same city, but without any linkage. On the other hand, the slum improvement and community development components were missing from the MGP's critique of the KUIDP.

12.3. Civil society effects on urban planning and governance: Individual, public sphere and institutional

The empirical findings of the study vindicates both the collective empowerment and institutional-effect hypotheses. The level of collective empowerment is significantly high amongst members than non-members and within the members, it significantly varies across the different types of associations as a function of organizational attributes. Members of voluntary and politically oriented associations who have adopted an associational strategy to community problem-solving scored highest on the collective empowerment scale. The government sponsored groups are amongst the lowest scoring associations suggesting that the state needs to rethink it's policy of associational intervention. That the highest score for any group is only 35% of the maximum possible score shows that empowerment is a long drawn process. It also probably reflects the hierarchical structure and a weak internal democracy within the associational arena., besides raising methodological questions about the choice of variables and their emphasis in relation to each other. Accurate predictions about the exact nature of relationship between the collective empowerment score and the attributes such as voluntariness, political orientation, hierarchy-egalitarianism is problematic. The emergence of the level of education and gender as the other significant predictors of collective empowerment reinforces the emphasis of current development policy on gender (women's) empowerment and universal elementary education.

The collective empowerment score as measured in the study is also a reflection of the participation of the individuals in the public and political sphere. In other words, lower scores indicate low level of participation and vice-versa. Therefore, it can be argued that empowerment and public sphere effects of associations are inseparably linked to each other. When individuals participate in the public sphere as a collective, particularly to address their problems, they feel 'empowered' regardless of whether they succeed or fail to resolve those problems. The public sphere here means, a variety of spaces such as geographical community, elections, protests and demonstrations, meeting the officials and the politicians, conventions, etc. The participation of

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(empowered) individuals in the public sphere is therefore crucial for civil society's effects on institutions of governance.

The findings of the case studies on the struggles of slum dwellers and the conservation history of Lingambudhi lake corroborate the hypothesis that civil society associations induce institutional effects such as changes in decisions, institutional arrangements, resource allocations. The civil society actors were the prime force behind getting the Forest Department to be the guardian of the lake, effecting a change in the alignment of the Outer Ring Road to save the lake and securing additional funds for conservation of five lakes etc. Similarly, the RLHP Combine has been successful in getting several slums recognized and enabling the communities to gain access to housing, basic services and amenities, enhancing human development in terms of improved health and increased levels of literacy etc. In bringing about these incremental changes, the civil society actors have had to expend considerable resources to sustain their struggles. In both cases, however, civil society actors have not achieved much success in effecting long term policy changes either in terms of institutional arrangements or legal/procedural changes. Lack of an explicit policy orientation, weak networking, fragmentation within the civil society arena, inadequate mobilization of social structures, and the natural cycle of voluntary action characterized by ebbs and tides, could be cited as some reasons for the limited success. The state also undermines civil society action by ad hoc and incoherent policies, and multiplicity of institutions thus blurring the public accountability and increasing the pressure on civil society actors pushing them to the point of withdrawal from the public arena as witnessed in Phase IV of the conservation history of the Lingambudhi lake. The state can also cause fissures amongst the civil society actors by selective co-option strategies.

12.4. Some reflections on the conceptual framework

The concept of political opportunity structures, symbolic capital and the mobilization of social structures (Stokke 2002) does provide a useful framework for empirical analysis of the institutional effects of civil society on the urban governance arena. The nature of alliance and conflict systems differs significantly between the two types of civil society action. For the RLHP Combine, the conflict system is rather static and comprises mainly of patronage politics and caste-based assertion of identity groups while for the lake activists, the conflict and alliance systems function more dynamically with inter-system exchange of components from time to time. The analysis of the conservation history of lake also shows that even when the alliance system is weak, effective mobilization of social structures has the potential to overcome the resistance posed by the conflict system. When there is no collective action of the civil society in the larger public sphere, which is largely the case with the RLHP Combine and also the events that transpired during Phase IV of the conservation history that witnessed fissures in the civil society arena with a section aligning with the state and the other against it, the concepts of symbolic capital and the mobilization of social structures does not help understand other forms of relationships between civil society and the state. In other words, when civil society is co-opted by the state or when there is a partnership arrangement between the two or when civil society becomes a contractor of the state for service delivery etc. all of which are expected to have institutional effects, the explanatory power of the concepts of symbolic capital and mobilization of social structures is rather weak. The omission of institutional effects such as techno-bureaucratic efficiency in service delivery from empirical analysis is one of the lacunas of the

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present study. It appears that the concept of symbolic capital and the mobilization structures is more appropriate for assessing prolonged and confrontational collective action such as the one witnessed during phase II and III of the conservation history of Lingambudhi lake.

12.5.   Recommendations for future research

The study has made significant contributions to the scientific body of knowledge, the contemporary theory and the policy context in the following ways: articulation of a conceptual framework for empirical analysis of the effects of associational civil society on the various spheres of governance; development of appropriate tools for empirical analysis, the most notable amongst which being the collective empowerment scale; and application of the conceptual framework and the tools in the policy context of urban governance in the city of Mysore.

However, owing to the limited scope of dissertation, the resource constraints and the diversity of associational life, it was not possible to undertake a comprehensive empirical analysis in a comparative perspective. As a result, the study suffers from several weaknesses and voids and makes recommendations to fill these gaps.

The findings from the collective empowerment survey has raised several questions that need empirical inquiry for a comprehensive understanding of the associational civil society such as why do some individuals join associations and some do not?; why do some volunteer for public causes and others do not?; is this variation on account of specific psychological attributes or economic constraints like poverty or societal constraints like family, caste, religion, linguistic identities? or are the administration and polity so ineffective that citizens in general have increasingly less faith in systemic improvements and therefore in the efficacy of collective action?; and what are the external costs of participation in associational activities? etc.

Accurate prediction of the exact nature of relationship between the collective empowerment score and the organizational attributes such as voluntary-involuntary continuum, the degree of political orientation, hierarchy-egalitarianism is problematic. For e.g. it is important to understand to what extent each of these attributes determine the level of collective empowerment. A more robust sampling and advanced statistical analysis is probably required to overcome this problem. There is also a need to develop a standardized "collective empowerment scale" with more precisely defined dependent variables to capture the diversity of associations operating in the governance arena in multiple social and political milieu. This would also help establish benchmarks and indicators that would enable a more accurate interpretation make sense of the final score.

The omission of institutional effects such as techno-bureaucratic efficiency in service delivery from the empirical framework is one of the lacunas of the present study which makes it difficult to make an authentic statement on the currently dominant policy agenda that seeks to harness associational venues for efficiency in service delivery.

Comparative research across different social, political and cultural settings is recommended to develop a critique of and to further build upon the conceptual framework articulated herein to strengthen context-specific understanding of the interactions between the state and civil society in the arena of urban governance.

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14.   Appendices

14.1. Structured interview schedule

**Structured interview schedule
for councilor's interviews to assess the degree of openness of the local political
environment to the role of civil society associations and citizen participation in the urban
governance of Mysore (English version)**

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Manjunath Sadashiva. I am a doctoral researcher at the University of Dortmund,
Germany. I am here to elicit your views on civil society organizations and citizen participation in
the process of Mysore's urban governance. Can you please spare a few minutes?

Date [   ]   Schedule No. [   ]

I   Personal Information

1.   Name of the respondent (Councilor/MLA): _____

2.   Age: _____

3.   Gender: *Male*   *female*

4.   Political affiliation: a. *Name of the party* _____ *b. Independent*

5.   *Na*me of the constituency*: a. Ward name and No.* _____

                                           b. Assembly constituency: _____

6.   Educational qualification: _____

1.   Are you aware of any non government, non-political, organizations or citizens groups in
     Mysore which are actively participating in the planning, management and development of
     Mysore   City?
                    II.   Awareness and Views on Civil society organizations
        a.   At the city level:

        Yes (if yes, name any one) _____   No

        b. In middle/upper income neighborhoods:

Yes (if yes, name any one) _____   No

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    c.   In slums /poor neighborhoods

        Yes (if yes, name any one) _____   No

2.   Do you believe that civil society organizations / citizens' groups are important for the planning, development and management of Mysore?

       Yes (go to Q.3)   **No (go to Q.4)**

3.   If yes, state your reasons from the following options:

      a.   they voice people's needs and concerns
      b.   they provide services to poor and the needy
      c.   they help to check abuses by the government
      d.   they can provide valuable and useful inputs to Government's decisions
      e.   they can participate in the monitoring of public works
      f.   none of the above
      g.   all of the above
      h.   any other reasons _____

4.   If No to Q.2, state your reasons from the following options:

      a.   they are not representative of all the sections of society
      b.   they do not have the legitimate authority
      c.   they are elitist
      d.   they simply protest and oppose the government and politicians
      e.   they themselves are corrupt
      f.   none of the above
      g.   all of the above
      h.   any other reasons _____

5.   Do you believe it is important to consult and involve the people in:

      a.   Government's planning and decision process   **Yes**   **No**
      b.   implementation of development plans and projects **Yes**   **No**
      c.   the provision and delivery of public services   **Yes**   **No**
      d.   Municipal budgeting process   **Yes**   **No**

6.   During your term as a Councilor/MLA, have you ever consulted and involved the people:

      a.   in the planning and prioritization of the Programme of
         Works in your ward   **Yes**   **No**
      b.   in the implementation of the Programme of Works in
         your ward   **Yes**   **No**

   if **"yes"** to 6a. or 6b., please provide the details such as when and how
     _____
     _____

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7. During your term as a Councilor / MLA have you ever sought the inputs or assistance of non-government , non-political organizations /citizens groups in the planning and implementation of the programme of Works or other development projects?

                                            Yes   **No**

if **" yes"** to 7, please provide the details such as who, when and for what purpose

_____

_____

8. Do you believe that a law should be enacted so that consultation with and involvement of people in the planning and implementation of development programmes and projects is made mandatory?

                                            Yes   **No**

9. Are you aware of the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act?

Yes (go to Q.10)   **No (thank and terminate the interview)**

10. Are you aware that 74th CAA provides for the constitution of Ward Committees?

Yes (go to Q.11)   **No (thank and terminate the interview)**

11. Are you aware that 74th CAA provides for the representation of non-government /citizens' organizations in the Ward Committees?

Yes (go to Q.12)   **No (thank and terminate the interview)**

12. Do you believe this provision (NGO representation in the Ward Committee), if properly implemented, is a useful provision:

    a. to bridge the gap between the government
       and the people   **Yes**   **No**
    b. to give voice to people's needs and concerns   **Yes**   **No**

13. If **No** to 12 a. or b. please state any two reasons for the same

    a. _____

    b. _____

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14.2. List of KII respondents

	Category One		Office bearers of CSOs	
Sl.no.	Name	Sex	Name of the CSO	Date
1.	Dr. Bhamy. V. Shenoy[46]	M	Mysore Grahakara Parishat(MGP)	02.08.05
2.	Dr. S. A. Prasad	M	Mysore Grahakara Parishat	02.08.05
3.	Maj. Gen. S. G. Vo mbatkere	M	Mysore Grahakara Parishat & Association of Concerned and Informed Citizens of Myore & Mysore Agenda Task Force(MATF)	05.08.05
4.	Mr. P. J .Bharadwaj	M	Gokulam III Stage Residents Welfare Association	12.09.05
5.	Mr. Sheshadri	M	Pratham	13.09.05
6.	Ms. Shreeja	F	Praja Yathna	06.08.05
7.	Ms. Shravani	F	Praja Yathna	09.08.05
8.	Ms. Philomena Joy	F	Rural Literacy & Health Programme	10.08.05
9.	Dr. Nagapathi[47]	M	Jayalakshmipuram Residents Welfare Association	16.08.05
10.	Ms. Shobana	F	Organisation for Development of People	17.08.05
11.	Mr. Mallesh	M	Suryodaya Yuvaka Sangha (voluntary youth organization)	18.09.05
12.	Ms. Nanda Halemane	F	Prasthuthi	16.09.05
13.	Mr. Joy Mallekal	M	Rural Literacy & Health Programme	11.08.05
14.	Mr. Vishwanath	M	Group for Urban and Rural Development	03.09.05
15.	Mr. V. Jagannatha[48]	M	Mysore Environment Trust; People's Science Forum	19.09.05
16.	Mr. H. V. S. Murthy[49]	M	Federation of Rate Payers Associations in Mysore	20.08.05
17.	Mr. Jayaram	M	PRAJNA	14.08.05
18.	Mr. S. P. Thirumala Rao	M	Karnataka Consumers Forum	06.09.05
19.	Mr. Yethiraj	M	Mysore Slum Dwellers Federation	21.09.05
20.	Dr .C. N. Srinath	M	Dhwanyaloka (A literary and cultural Forum)	24.09.05
21.	Mr. N .D. Srinivas	M	Bhogadi Jana Hita Sangha	15.09.05
22.	Mr. Soundarajan[50]	M	EXNORA	25.09.05
23.	Mr. Ramachari	M	Federation of Mysore City Corporation Ward Parliaments	10.09.05

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[46] + an energy consultant
[47] + a lecturer in commerce
[48] + an environment engineer at Indian Space Research Organisation
[49] + a practicing lawyer
[50] + an industrialist

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14.2. List of KII respondents (continued)

	Category one		Office bearers of CSOs	
Sl.no.	**Name**	**Sex**	**Name of the CSO**	**Date of interview**
24.	Dr. H. A. B.Parpia	M	People's Education Trust, MGP & MATF	16.09.05
25.	Mr. Gurumallappa	M	Sri Nataraja Residents Welfare Association	17.09.05
26.	Mr. G. R. Nagaraja	M	Madhuvana Residents Welfare Association	03.09.05
27.	Mr. K. M. Jayaramaiah[51]	M	Kukkarahalli Lake Conservation Committee	27.09.05
28.	Mr. Nagaraja Urs	M	Akhila Bharatiya Grahaka Panchayat (consumer issues)	30.08.05
29.	Mr. AppajiGowda	M	Vijayanagar IV Stage Residents Welfare Association	07.09.05
30.	Mr. Ramakrishna & Mr. Nagarajarao	M	Jayanagar Rate Payers A ssociation	10.09.05
31.	Dr. M. A. Balasubramanya	M	Vivekananda Youth Movement	04.09.05
32.	Mr. Sarfaraz	M	Mysore Employees Welfare Association	06.09.05
33.	Ms. Mary	F	ENEDSA	26.09.05
34.	Mr. William D'souza	M	Mysore Rural Development Agency (MYRADA)	09.09.05
35.	Mr. Krishnaraju	M	Zilla Saksharatha Samithi	12.09.05
36.	Mr. Hemachandra	M	Kalpavruksha Kannada Sangha	12.09.05
37.	Mr. S. Shashidhara	M	Sri Tulsi Parisara Nyrmalya Samsthe(Residents Welfare Association)	25.09.05
	Category two		Political leaders & Local Government Officials	
38.	Dr. Nagaraj	M	Health Officer, Mysore City Corporation (MCC)	13.08.05
39.	Mrs. Sudha	F	Public Relations Officer, MCC	11.08.05
40.	Mr. Lokesh	M	Project Officer, West for MCC (urban poverty alleviation)	17.08.05
41.	Mr. Sriram	M	Councilor, Ward 39, MCC	13.09.05
42.	Mr. Shivakumar	M	Councilor, Ward 28, MCC	13.09.05
43.	Mr. Nagendra	M	Councilor Ward 15, MCC	13.09.05
44.	Ms. Tejashri	F	Junior Engineer, Mysore Division, KSCB	18.09.05
45.	Mr. Sreenivasulu	M	Assistant Executive Engineer, KSCB	19.09.05
46.	Mr. A. V. Rangesh	M	Joint Director of Town Planning, MUDA	28.09.05
47.	Mr. Yagnendra	M	Assistant Executive Engineer, MUDA	28.09.05

[51] + a lecturer of Botany at Mysore University

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14.2. List of KII respondents (continued)

	Category three		Academics & Professionals	Date of interview
48.	Prof. Umapathy	M	Retired Professor of Political Science, Mysore University	29.07.05
49.	Dr. Musaffer Azadi	M	Reader in Political Science, Mysore University	09.08.05
50.	Dr. Usha Rao	F	Professor of Social work, Mysore University	16.08.05
51.	Mr. Nagendra	M	Faculty member, Institute for Development Studies	29.09.05
52.	Dr. Shashibhushan	M	Former Professor of Urban & Regional Planning - Institute of Development Studies, Practicing architect & Member, MATF	04.09.05
53.	Mr. Narasimha Iyengar[52]	M	Practicing lawyer	23.09.05
54.	Prof. Yeshawanth Dongre	M	Third Sector Research Institute, Mysore University	27.08.05
55.	Dr. Shanthi	F	Research Associate, Third Sector Research Institute, Mysore University	27.08.05
56.	Mr. Lakshmana	M	Proprietor, Karnataka Institute of Technology & Member, MATF	19.08.05
57.	Mr. Ravikumar[53]	M	Director, Centre for Appropriate Rural Technology, National Institute of Technology & member, MATF	13.08.05
	Category four		Media representatives	
58.	Mr.Krishna Vattam	M	Editor, Praja Nudi and Mysore Mail (local newspapers)	22.08.05
59.	Mr.M.B.Maramkal	M	Senior correspondent, The Times of India	24.08.05
60.	Mr.Krishnakumar	M	Senior correspondent, The Hindu	05.08.05
61.	Ms.Nandini	F	Freelance journalist, Star of Mysore	20.09.05
	Category five		Business & Industry	
62.	Mr.Ashwini Ranjan	M	President, A.J.Stationary (P) Ltd & Convener, Infrastructure Panel of the Mysore Chapter of Confederation of Indian Industries	05.09.05
63.	Mr.R.Guru	M	Chairman, NR group of Companies & Chairman, MATF	06.09.05

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[52] and Former Mayor of Mysore City Corporation

[53] an engineer and one of the key 'Expert Activists' in the urban environmental arena

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14.3. Profile of Type I associations with a broader or citywide focus

Sl. no	Name of the Association	Functional domains	Strategies	Nature of Membership and legal status	Source of funding	Degree of political orientation and mobilization
1.	Mysore Grahakara Parishat	Urban planning and management, urban environmental problems and mostly middle-class consumer grievances & concerns; right to information	Largely confrontational, rights based advocacy ; excessive reliance on print mass media; legal interventions;	Registered Society Voluntary members	Local sponsors and membership fee	High
2.	Akhila Bharatiya Grahak Panchayat	Consumer grievances	Grievance redressal & legal intervention	Registered Society; 250 members	Local membership fee	Low
3.	Mysore Amateur Naturalists	Environmental conservation-lakes, birds and wildlife	Research advocacy and public awareness	Registered Society-wide membership	Local	High
4.	Mysore Environment Trust	Environmental education; solid waste management; lakes; Local Agenda 21 etc.	Partnership, campaigns, training and capacity building	Registered Trust limited membership	Local and external	Low
5.	INTACH	Heritage conservation	Partnership and advocacy	Registered trust- limited membership	Local	Low

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14.3 Profile of Type I associations with a broader or citywide focus (continued)

Sl. no	Name of the Association	Functional domains	Strategies	Nature of Member-ship and formal status	Source of funding	Degree of political orientation and mobilization
6.	Association of Concerned and Informed Citizens of Mysore	Urban planning and infrastructure; Urban services like water supply; Municipal government	Protests Demonstrations; Awareness; Lobbying; media advocacy	Loose group informal; highly leader driven	Local	High
7.	Mysore Heritage Trust	Heritage conservation and protection of monuments; urban planning	Advocacy and awareness	Registered Trust; limited membership	Local	Low
8.	Karnataka Consumers Forum	Consumer grievances and action against encroachments, pedestrian rights	Awareness Advocacy and legal intervention	Registered Society; limited membership	Local	Moderate
9.	PRAGNA	Governance and electoral intervention	Awareness and advocacy	Informal group	Local	Moderate
10.	Mysore Nagara Abhivrudhi Chintakara Chavadi	Urban planning and development of Mysore	Advocacy and lobbying	Registered society – limited membership	Local	Moderate - (Covert affiliation to a leading political party)
11.	EXNORA, Mysore	Solid waste management through people's associations	Partnership Awareness, training and capacity building	Registered society- limited membership	Local	Low

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14.4. Profile of Type III associations with city wide or broader focus

Sl. no	Name of the CSO	Functional domains	Strategies	Nature of membership and legal status	Source of funding	Degree of political orientation and mobilization
1.	Rural Literacy & Health Programme	Inclusive urban planning processes; urban poverty alleviation; living conditions in slums; mobilizing of people and creation of people's organizations; urban basic services; child labour; self help groups	Awareness; Grass roots; Partnership; rights based mobilization and public advocacy; use of innovative media;	Registered Society; Full fledged organization with paid staff	Foreign and government	High Socio-economic and political empowerment towards equity, equality and social justice
2.	The organization for Development of people	Urban poverty alleviation through income generation programmes, savings and credit groups	Service delivery; Advocacy Political action	Registered society; organization with a large fleet of paid staff	External (church sources)	Moderate Socio-economic and political empowerment
3.	Pratham Mysore	Quality of Pre school education and remedial education	Service delivery and advisory; partnership	Registered society with full time paid staff; initiated by UNICEF and part of a nationwide effort	External & local	Low
4.	Prasthuthi	Environmental education and training on solid waste management and urban poverty alleviation through micro credit and savings **(100 SHGs under Govt. scheme)**	Partnership; Implementation NGO for government schemes	Registered society; limited membership; personality driven	External-government	Low

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14.4. Profile of Type III associations with city wide or broader focus (continued)

Sl. no	Name of the CSO	Functional domains (in Mysore)	Strategies	Nature of membership and legal status	Source of funding	Degree of political orientation and mobilization
5.	People's Education Trust	10 slums primary and secondary education	Partnership and service delivery	Registered Trust	External Government	Low
6.	Group for Urban and Rural Development	10 slums urban poverty alleviation through women's SHGs;	Education; awareness and partnership Implementing NGO for schemes and projects	Registered Society; limited membership and full time paid project staff	External and Government	Low
7.	Mysore Employees Welfare Association	Adult education and vocational training and health services. Focus on young Muslim women	Public awareness; service delivery	Registered society – large membership	Local	Low
8.	Zilla Saaksharatha Samithi	Adult literacy & part time urban poverty alleviation	Organizing people and awareness	Registered government society	Government	Low
9.	Karnataka Kolache Nivasigala Samyukta Sanghatane	Lland tenure for the poor; housing & civic amenities; people mobilization	Rights based advocacy & political lobbying; legal intervention;	Federated Registered society; large membership and full time staff	Both local and external	High
10.	Shukrodaya Animation Society	Welfare and rehabilitation of Street children	Service delivery & awareness	Registered society –full time paid staff	External and local	Low

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14.4. Profile of Type III associations with city wide or broader focus (continued)

Sl. no	Name of the CSO	Functional domains (in Mysore)	Strategies	Nature of membership and legal status	Source of funding	Degree of political orientation and mobilization
11.	ENEDSA	Urban poverty alleviation and school education- 30 SHGs	Service delivery; micro credit	Registered society- limited membership	External	Low
12.	MYRADA	Urban poverty alleviation through savings and credit; Urban health services. 300 self help groups into 6 federations	Service delivery, micro credit & people mobilization	Registered society; branch of a state wide NGO with 500+ paid staff; limited membership.	External, local and internal	Low
13.	Mysore branch of Dalit Sangharsha Samithi	Fight for the rights of marginalised communities belonging to lower caste	Advocacy, political lobbying and protests	Part of a state wide organization. Registered society- voluntary membership of particular Hindu lower Caste groups	Local	High
14.	Mysore district branch of Karnataka Dalit Jaagruthi samithi	Fight for the rights of marginalised communities belonging to lower caste	Advocacy, political lobbying and protests	Part of a state wide organization Registered society; voluntary membership of particular Hindu lower Caste groups	Local	High

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14.5. A profile of Type IIA and IIIA federations

Sl. no.	Name of the federation and number of members in the federation	Functional domain (in Mysore)	Strategies	Membership features	Source of funding & other support	Degree of Political orientation
1.	Mysore Slum Dwellers Federation 34 Community Development Associations in slums supported by RLHP	Slum declaration; housing and basic services civic amenities	Political lobbying; protests and demonstrations	Member associations represent groups of 100-150 families in a given slum	Members and contributions from RLHP	High
2.	Dhwani Mahila Federation – 34 women's associations in slums	Social justice, health, sanitation and slum improvement	Awareness, training and capacity building, protests and demonstrations	Member associations each represent a slum	Members and contributions from RLHP	High
3.	Mahila Kirana Federation – more than 200 SHGs across 30 slums	Urban poverty alleviation through savings and credit group formation; vocational training	Awareness, training and capacity building	Each SHG with 20 members	Members' contribution	High
4.	Mahilodaya – 100 SHGs groups in three slums	Urban poverty alleviation through savings and credit group formation; adult literacy	Awareness, training, community organization	Each SGH with 20 members	Member contribution and support from ODP	Moderate

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14.5. A profile of Type IIA and III A federations (continued)

Sl. no.	Name of the federation, and number of members in the federation	Functional domain	Strategies	Membership features	Source of funding & other support	Degree of Political orientation
5.	East Community Development Society with 270 SHGs and West Community Development Society with 390 groups	Urban poverty alleviation through women's SHGs the Government sponsored Swarna Jayanthi Shehri Rozgar Yojna and Urban Stree Sakthi programme	Awareness, training, community organization	Each SHG with 20 members	Member contribution; and project funding	Low
6.	Federation of Mysore City Corporation Ward Parliaments currently 32 Waste Management Associations representing 25 municipal wards	Solid waste management (also as an income generation programme) under a government scheme – Nirmala Nagara Yojane or clean city programme	Formation of new residents welfare associations or converting the existing self help groups, training	These are specifically created groups for solid waste management. The group comprises of 10 persons, each representing 50 houses	Residents in the form of a monthly user fee ; and material support by Municipal corporation	Low
7.	Federation of Rate Payers Associations 22 associations from the different areas	Civic problems of the city and its neighbourhoods, property taxation, water and power tariff; acts as a forum to articulate common problems and issues	Public meeting; political lobbying; memorandum; low on mobilization	These were independent voluntary associations started in the 60s in well-to-do areas; suffer from fund crunch and low membership	Internal through membership fee	Moderate

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14.6. List of Type II B non-federated neighborhood associations (RWAs)

Sl.no.	Name of the RWA	Part of Mysore
1.	AIISH layout residents welfare association	South West
2.	BEML Colony Residents Welfare Association	South
3.	Bhogadi II Stage Residents Welfare Association	West
4.	Bhogadi North Residents Welfare association	South East
5.	CFTRI Lay out Residents Welfare association	West
6.	Engineers Layoout Residents Welfare Association	West
7.	Friend's Forum, Kuvempunagar	South
8.	Gokulam II Stage Residents Welfare association	West
9.	HUDCO Layout Residents Welfare Association	North
10.	Jayalakshmi puram Residents Welfare Association	North West
11.	Jai Bhim Residents Welfare Association	North
12.	K.C.Nagar Residents Welfare Association	North
13.	Kuvempunagar Residents Welfare Association	South
14.	LIC Colony Residents Welfare Association	West
15.	Madhuvana Residents Welfare Association	South
16.	Mahila Jagruthi Okkuta, Kuvempunagar	South
17.	Nairmalya Mathu Vrukshabhivridhi Trust, T.K.layout	South
18.	SBM Colony Residents Welfare Association	South
19.	Surabhi Mahala Sangha, H Block, Ramakrishnanagar	South West
20.	Teachers Colony Residents Welfare Association	South West
21.	Treasury Layout Residents Welfare Association	South West
22.	Tulasi Parisara mathu Nairmalya Samsthe	South
23.	Vijayanagar 2nd Stage Residents Welfare Association	West
24.	Vijayanagar 5th stage Site Owners & Residents Welfare Association	West

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14.7. Survey instrument

PROJECT EMPOWERMENT	
QUESTIONNAIRE	¸ÀªÀð ¥À±ÁßªÀ½

Date of the interview:
¸ÀAzÀ±ÀÖð£ÀzÀ ¢£ÁAPÀ

Start time (¥ÁægÀA¨À ¸ÀªÀÄAiÀÄ):

Concluding time (ªÀÄÄVzÀ ¸ÀªÀÄAiÀÄ):

Schedule No:
¥À±Áß¥À½ ¸ÀASÉå

Category Name and No.
ªÀUÀðzÀ ¸ÀASÉå

Name of the investigator: Mr/Ms. _____

¸ÀAzÀ±ÀÖðPÀgÀ °É¸ÀgÀÄ :

Namaskara, I am _____. We are currently trying to understand people's experience with non-governmental and voluntary organizations and people's efforts to demand improvement in the quality of services. Since your views and experiences will be valuable in this regard, I would like to speak to you now. Could you please spare a few minutes for me.

£ÀªÀĸÁÌgÀ, £À£Àß _____. ¸ÀUÀPÁgÀ¼ÀVÀvÀ ¸À £À ÉÛUÀ¼ÀÄ °ÁUÀÆ ¸À £À ÉÛUÀ¼ÀÄ e¼ÉÆ£Éé ±ÁlÕd¤Pg C£ÀÄ ¨Á °ÁUÀÆ GvÀÛªÀÄ ±ÀI Û¸À ±ÀÃ ËÃ¯À¥ÀÄå±ÀÄåAivÀ¸À° £ÀÄ ¥À±Àgù ¥À¼À¤ / ÉÆÀÀÁUÀ I zÀ §ÓÉï w½ÀÀ®¾ F CzÀ¼ÀÄÀÁ¼Àzù ªÀÄÀÆ®R ¥À¼ÀÁÛwÀ£ÀwÌÉÀÏ. ¤ªÀÄ C¤¹PÉ ªÀÄvÀÀÅO C£À ÀlùÀUÀÄ F ¢QÀÉ° ¥Áj AiÀÁzÀÁ¿j AzÀ, ¤ªÀÄ eÉÆvÉ ¥Ã® ¤«ÀrVÁyÀÇ¸ÁAzÀÉÁ?

Section A: General Information	
	«¨ÁUÀ J: ¸ÁªÀiÁ£Àå «ÀgÀuÁ

INSTRUCTION: IN THE NON-MEMBER CATEGORY, SPEAK TO ANY ADULT WHO IS 20 YEARS OR OLDER

¸ÀÆZÀ£É: (¸ÀzÀ¸ÀågÀvÀgÀ «¨ÁUÀzÀ° è, 20 ªÀµÀðõ CxÀªÁ CzÀQÌAvÀ ªÉÄî®zÀ Ä ªÀjaÚÄÆEÀÇ¤ ªÀÄÁªÀÄÉÁr).

A1	Name of the Respondent ¥Àæwª Á¢AiÀÄ °É¸ÀgÀÄ				
A2	Name of the locality/ neighborhood ¸ÀÜ¼À / £ÉgÉ°ÉÆgÉgÀAiÀÄ °É¸ÀgÀÄ				
A3	Address of the respondent ¥Àæwª Á¢AiÀÄ «¼Á¸À				
A4	Age of the respondent in completed years ¥Àæwª Á¢AiÀÄ ¥ÀÇtðUÉÆArgÀ ªÀAAiÀÄ¹ìi				
A5	Gender of the Respondent ¥Àæwª Á¢AiÀÄ °AUÀ	Male UÀAqÀ 1		Female °ÉtÄÚ 2	
A6	Total members in the family PÀÄ ÄA§zÀ ¸ÀzÀ¸ÀågÀ MlÖ ¸ÀASÉå	Adults (ªÀAAiÀÄ¸ÀÌgÀÄ)= (Above 18 yrs.) (18 ªÀµÀðÕQQ ªÉÄî®zÀ 0ªÀAgÀÄ)		Children(ªÀÄPÀv¼ÀÄ) = (Below 18 yrs.) (18 ªÀµÀðÕQQ PÉ¼VÀ£À ªÀgÀÄ)	
A7	Marital status ªÀÄzÀÄ ªÉ DVzÉ0iÉÄÃ ?	Married 1 «ª Á»vÀ		Widow 3 «zÀªÉ	Widower 5 °Aqw ÀA wdz£ÀgÀÉ
		Unmarried C«ª Á»vÀ 2		Divorced «ZÉÃ¢ÀvÀ 4	
A8	Education «zÁå¨Áå¸À	Primary(class 1-3) 1 ¥ÁæxÀ«ÄPÀ (1 j AzÀ 3)		Graduation incomplete 7 C¥ÀÇtð ¥Àzù««zÀgÀ	
		Middle (5 to 7) 2 ªÀiÁzÀå«ÄPÀ(5 j AzÀ 7)		Graduation complete 8 ¥Àzù«zÀgÀ	
		Highschool (8 to 10) 3 °É̼ À©Ã¯i (8 j AzÀ 10)		Post graduation 9 ¸Àß vPÉÆÃvÀÛgÀ	
		Passed class 10 4 °ÀvÀÛ£Éà vÀgUÀ¼Àw vÉ̼UÀÄÃqÉ		Technical 10 vÁAwæ	

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		Higher secondary 5 Gɣ£ÀǞ ª˻Á̻zˌ̻«˻ÁPˌ̈	Literate with no formal schooling ˌÁ̈A¥̈ĀzÁ¬̈ÄPˌ̈ ²PÄ̈è-ẗ«˻ězˌ̈ CPˌ̈£gˌ̈ˌÄÜ 11
		Illiterate C£̈ĀPˌ̈£gˌ̈ˌÄÜ 6	Others Ev̈Ágɣ́ 12
A9	Occupation ª̻ɆẅÛ	Unskilled worker 1 C¥̈Áj ẗİ̈ɍ P£̈®ˌÄ̈UÁg̈À	Retired ¤ªˌÉ̈ẅÛ 8
		Skilled worker 2 P̻̻±̈A® P£̈ˉˌÄ̈UÁg̈À	Unemployed 9 ¤gˌ̈Äz£̈Æȧ̈V
		Petty trader 3 ˌ̈tÜ ª̻Áȧ̈Áj	Student 10 «zÁ̻yõ
		Shop owner 4 CAUÄr̄ ª̻Á̻̻°̈PÄ̈	Housewife 11 UˌÄÉ̄»ẗÅ
		Businessman/ Industrialist 5 Gzˌ̈ˌ«̻Å / P£̈ÜɃ̈ÆˌÄ̈j P£̈ÆÃzˌ̈ˌ«̻Å	Not disclosed 12 °̻ÉÁ½PɃ̈É̻½˻ĺ° ®̻è
		Self employed professional 6 ˌ̻éAv̈Å GzɃ̈Æȧ̈V	Clerical/ salesman 13 UÄ̻Áª̻ÄˌÄ̈ˌÄÜ/ª̻ÄˌÄÁg̈Àl ˌÄ̈UÁg̈À
		Officers/Executives 7 C¢̈Pˌ̈Áj / P£̈Á̻ˌ̈ˌÄð¤ª̻Áðˌ̈°̈PÄ̈	Others 14 Ev̈Ág̈Ágˌ̈À
A10	Total monthly household income P̻Ä̻Á ̻̈A§zˌ̈ MIˌ̈Á̻̈0 ª̻Ä̈Á¹PˌÄ̈ DzÁ̻ˌÄ̈À	Less than Rs. 5,000 1 g̈ÄÆ. 5000/- QÍ̈Av̈Å P̻Ár¬ª̻£̈Å	
		Between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 10,000 2 g̈ÄÆ 5000/- ¢AzˌÄ̈ 10,000/- zˌ̈ ª̻ÄgˌÉÜÉ	
		Between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000 3 g̈ÄÆ 10,000/- ¢AzˌÄ̈ 20,000/- zˌ̈ ª̻ÄgˌÉÜÉ	
		Above Rs. 20,000 4 g̈ÄÆ. 20,000/- P£̈Éⁿ £̈ÄÅ®̈al ̈Ä̈0	
		Not disclosed 5 w½¹®̈è	
A11	Religion zˌ̈ˌª̻ÄˌÄ̈ð	Hindu »Azˌ̈ˌÄÀ 1	Buddhist ¨Ézˌˌ̈À 4
		Muslim ª̻ÄÄ̻ˌ̈ˌˍ̄Áå£̈À 2	Sikh ¹P̄Igˌ̈ˌ 5
		Christian Qȧ²£̈ˌˌ̈£̈ï 3	Others Ev̈Ágɣ́ 6
A12	Caste ˌ̈eÁw	Scheduled Caste 1 ¥̈Äj ²µ̈Å0 eÁw	Other Backward Caste 3 Ev̈Ágɣ́ »Azˌ̈ˌÄ½zˌ̈ˌ eÁw
		Scheduled Tribe 2 ¥̈Äj ²µ̈Å0 ¥̈AUˌÄÁqˌ̈	Other Caste 4 Ev̈Ágɣ́ eÁw
A13	Type of Dwelling ª̻Á̻ˌ̈ˌ̻̈ˌÄÍ̈ˌ̈	Kutcha (thatched) P̈ÍzÁ̈ 1	Pucca (concrete) 3 ¥̈ÅPÁÅ̈
		Semi Pucca (tin roof / zinc sheet) 2 Cg̈Ƀ́ ¥̈ÅPÁÅ̈	
A14	No. of years of residence in this locality ¤Ä̈ª̻Ä̈ F ̻£̈Égɣ́ˌ°£̈ÆgɣÁ̻̈ˌˌÄ̈° è JˌˌÄˌ̈ˌÄ̈0 ª̻ÄˌÄ̈ÄÍ̈ÄÄ½Azˌ̈ˌ ª̻Á̻ˌ̈ˌ̈«ˌˌ̈Áj ?	_____Years ª̻ÄˌÄ̈ÄÍ̈ÄÁ̻½ˌ̈ˌ

A15	Do you read news papers? ¤Ä̈ª̻Ä̈Å ¢̈£̈À ¥̈ÅẅȂÉ̈UÄ̻½É̻£̈ÁÄ̈Ä̈B NzˌÄÁ̻Äwˌ̈ÀgɣÁ́ ?	Yes °̈ÉzˌˌÀ 1	No E®̈è 2
A16	Do you listen to the radio ? ¤Ä̈ª̻Ä̈Å g̈ÉǞr¬Å̈ÉÆ̈É D° ˌ̈ˌÄwˌ̈ÀgɣÁ́Å?	Yes °̈ÉzˌˌÀ 1	No E®̈è 2
A17	Do you watch television ? ¤Ä̈ª̻Ä̈Å zˌ̈ˌÉg̈ÄzˌÄ̈ĺÍ̈ÖˍÄ̈ˍ£̈ÄÍ̈B «̈ÄQ̈è̻Ä̈Äwˌ̈ÀgɣÁ́Å?	Yes °̈ÉzˌˌÀ 1	No E®̈è 2

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Section B: Associational Attributes: (Only for members)
«¨ÁÙÀ © : ¸ÁAWÀI ¤PÀ ®Pèt:UÀ½ÀÀ : (¸Àz˻Àjì UÉ ªÀiÁªˀhÄ)

B1	Are you a member of any organizations in your neighborhood? ¤ªÀiÁ £ÉgɺÉ°ÆÆgÉg¼ÀiÀA°èÉÀ AiÀiÁªÀÅzÁzÀgÀhÄ ¸ÀAWÀ/¸ÀA¸ÉÜUÉ ¸Àz˻ÀgÁV¢ÝÃgÉ?	Yes 1 °ËzˀÀ		No E®è 2 go to Section C «¨ÁÙÀ ¹ UÉ °ÉÆÃV		
B2	If yes, please give the name of the one in which you are most active °ËzˀÀ°è, ¤Ã§À ˺ÆQzÀ˻Àiˀ ÁVgÀiˀ MAzˀÀ ¸ÀA¸ÉÜAiˀiˀÁ˻ÀߣÁ ¨É¶j ¹					
B3.	Please state the main goal/purpose of your organization ¤ªˀiÁ ¸ÀA¸ÉÜ˻À ªˀiˀÁRå zˀÉåÃˀÉÃzˀÉÝÃˀ±ÀªˀÉÃ˻À£Áß w½¹					
B4.	How did you learn about this organization? F ¸ÀA¸ÉÜAiˀ §UÉÎ ¤ªˀiˀÀUˀ w½¢Ç¢¢zˀÁAiˀ °ÉÃUˀÉ?	NGO Worker 1 ¸ÀA¸ÉÜAiˀ ¸ÉˀÁˀPˀgˀiˀÀ		Neighbors 3 £ÉgɺÉ°ÆÆgˀÉgˀÁgˀiˀÀ	
		Family members 2 PÀÄI ¨À§§zˀÀ ¸ÀzˀÀ¸ÀågˀiˀÀ		Others 4 EvˀgˀÁgˀiˀÀ	
B5.	What motivated you to become a member? ¤Ã˻À ¸Àzˀ¸ÀågˀÁU˻À®Ã®è ¥É˻gˀiˀÉˀ ?	To get government benefits 1 ¸ÀPˀÁÕˀgˀzˀÀ ¸ÉˀÀ®¨˻À˻À˻ÀߣÁ ¥ˀAiˀiˀÀiˀ®è		To solve our community 2 problems £˻ªˀiˀiˀ £ÉgɺÉ°ÆÆgˀÉ £˻ˀªˀiˀ ¸˻Àiˀ˻ÀåˀÉUˀÀ ˺ÀÄˀÃjˀÀÄ¹ªˀ PˀEˀÀiˀ˻Ài®è	
		To fight for our rights 3 £˻ªˀiˀiˀ °ˀPˀÄÕˀÁV °É˻ÆÃˀÁÇˀ®è		Can't say 4 °É˻½ÀiˀÀ ˈÁUˀÄˀÄˀÀ˻Ài®è	
B6.	Did you become a member of this organization by your own choice? ¤Ã˻À ¤ªˀiˀ ¸ÀéEZˀÉÌ˻ÂAzˀ˻Àiˀ EˀÁ F ¸ÀA¸ÉÜ˻À ¸Àzˀ¸ÀågˀÁV¢ÇˀgˀÉˀÁ?	Yes °ËzˀÀ 1 go to B 8 (8Pˀ̰°ÉÆÃV)				
		No E®è 2 continue (ªˀiˀÀÀÄzˀÀÄ¹j ¹)				
B7.	Who persuaded you to become a member? E®èªˀiˀÁˀzˀ˻À ¤ªˀiˀÀiˀˀÉ˻A§ ¸Àzˀ¸ÀågˀÁU˻À®Ã ¥É˻gˀÉˀˀ¡ ¹zˀ˻À˻ÀAgˀiˀˀ AiˀiˀÁgˀiˀÀ?	Family members 1 PˀiˀÀI ¨À§§zˀÀ ¸ÀzˀÀ¸ÀågˀiˀÀ		Neighbors 2 £ÉgɺÉ°ÆÆgˀÉgˀÁgˀiˀÀ	
		NGO Worker 3 ¸ÀA¸ÉÜAiˀ ¸ÉˀÁˀPˀgˀiˀÀ		Others 4 EvˀgˀÁgˀiˀÀ	
B8.	What is your position in this organization? F ¸ÀA¸ÉÜAiˀ °è ¤ªˀiˀÀ AiˀiˀÁªˀ °ˀÁzˀÉ˻ˀ°è °è̽Ãj ?	Member only 1 ¸Àzˀ¸ˀÀ		Office bearer 2 PˀÄbˀÉ˻Àj AiˀiˀÀ PˀÁˀiˀÀiˀÀÕˀÁˀ	
B9.	How often are the meetings held? JˀÀÄˀÀ0 ˀ˻ÀÉˀˀ˻AiˀiˀÀzˀÀ ¨¨ˀÁj ˀˀ̽ˀ £ˀˀqˀÉ˻ˀ˻ÄU˻À®zˀ̼?	Weekly 1 ˀÁgˀiˀ ˻ˀ̽ÉˀÆÀiˀÉ̽Éˀ		Fortnightly 2 JgˀÀqˀˀ̽ˀÁgˀ̽ˀ ˀˀ̽ÉˀÆˀiˀÉ̽Éˀ	
		Monthly 3 wˀÀAgˀ̽Ɔ̀Éˀ˻Ɉ		Quarterly 4 ˀˀiˀ̽ɈˀgˀiˀÀ wˀAgˀ̽Ɔ̀Éˀ˻Ɉ	
		Half Yearly 5 DgˀiˀÀ wˀAgˀ̽Ɔ̀Éˀ˻Ɉ		Yearly 6 ˀˀÀɈˀÆˀiˀÉ̽Éˀ˻Ɉ	
B10.	How often do you participate in the meetings? ¤ªˀiˀ JˀÀÄˀÀ0 ¨ˀ̽ÉˀÆˀiˀÉ̽Éˀ˻Ɉ˻À ˀ¨ˀÁgˀ̽À¢ ¨¨ÁˀÀÀ»ÄAˀ˻Àwˀj ?	Weekly 1 ˀÁgˀiˀ ˻ˀ̽ÉˀÆÀiˀÉ̽Éˀ		Fortnightly 2 JgˀÀqˀˀ̽ˀÁgˀ̽ˀ ˀˀ̽ÉˀÆˀiˀÉ̽Éˀ	
		Monthly 3 wˀÀAgˀ̽Ɔ̀Éˀ˻Ɉ		Quarterly 4 ˀˀiˀ̽ɈˀgˀiˀÀ wˀAgˀ̽Ɔ̀Éˀ˻Ɉ	
		Half Yearly 5 DgˀiˀÀ wˀAgˀ̽Ɔ̀Éˀ˻Ɉ		Yearly 6 ˀˀÀɈˀÆˀiˀÉ̽Éˀ˻Ɉ	
B11.	Are you allowed to speak freely in the meetings of your organization? ¤ªˀiˀÁ ¸ÀA¸ÉÜˀ ¸ˀ̽ÉˀÆˀiˀÉ̽Éˀ˻À˻ˀÀ¨ˀÄˀ̽P˻ˀÁˀ ˻ˀ̽Áˀˀ̽PˀqˀˀÉˀ ¤ˀiˀÀU˻À C˻ˀÀP˻˻ ¤AgˀˀÄˀˀÀÀˀˀ½zˀ̽É˻ɈˀÉ?	Yes 1 °ËzˀÀ	No 2 E®è	Can't Say 3 °É˻½Àiˀˀ ˈˀÄˀÀzˀÀ
B12	Did you participate in the elections to choose the leaders of your organization? ¤Ã˻À ¤ªˀiˀ ¸ÀA¸ÉÜˀ ˀˀÀÀRˀqˀgˀÀ̽ˀˀ ZˀÁˀÉ¬ˀÀÀˀˀ ̽ˀ˻À̽À ¨ˀÁgˀ̽À¢ ¥Á¯ˀEˀÀÁrˀ¢̽ˀˀgˀÉˀ?		Yes 1 °ËzˀÀ		No 2 E®è	
B13.	Do you have a say in the decisions of your organization? ¤ªˀiˀ ¸ÀA¸ÉÜˀÀ˻À vÉ˻ÄˀzˀÁˀPˀÉˀÀˀiˀˀ¨ˀÀ ¤zˀÁˀÕÀÀˀˀˀ° ˀÀ è:¤ˀiˀÀ C©̽ˀÁ˻ˀˀÀÀ½ˀÀ C˻ˀÀPˀÄˀˀ½ˀˀ˻Àˀˀ®è̽ÉÄˀÀ?	Yes 1 °ËzˀÀ	No 2 E®è	Can't Say 3 °É˻½Àiˀˀ ˈˀÄˀÀzˀÀ
B14.	Are you required to pay membership fee to your organization? ¤ªˀiˀ ¸ÀA¸ÉÜˀÀˀ è ¤ªˀiˀ ¸ÀzˀÀˀˀˀ̽ˀ ̽À˻®ªˀ̽ˀÀˀˀ̽ˀ˻À˻ˀgˀÀ̽ˀ ¥ÁPˀÁ˻Ãˀz˻À®è̽ÉˀÀ?			Yes 1 °ËzˀÀ		No 2 E®è
B15.	Do you know how your organization spends the membership money? ¸ÀzˀÀˀˀˀˀ±ˀ ˻®zˀˀ °˻ˀt̽À̽ˀ̽ˀ ¤ªˀiˀ ¸ÀA¸ÉÜˀ˻ ̽ˀAiˀiˀÀˀ˻ jˀ˻Àw RˀÁˀÀõ ̽ˀ̽À˻AqˀˀiˀˀÀˀˀ½ˀzˀˀ§˻ÀÀzˀˀ ¤ˀiˀÀÀ˻ w½¢¢zˀÀ̽É˻Ɉ?			Yes 1 °ËzˀÀ		No 2 E®è

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Section C: Problem solving and collective efficacy

«¨ÁUÀ ¹: ¸ªÀÄ¸Éå ¥ÀjºÁgÀ ªÀÄvÀÄÛ ¸ÁªÀÄÆºÀ¢Ã®vÉ / ¥ÀjuÁªÀÄ¢Ã®vÉ

C1*.	Is your slum recognized by the government? ¤ªÀÄä PÉÆÃ¼ÉUÉÃj AiÀÄ£ÀÄ ¸ÀPÁðgÀ°Azï ªÀÄÁ£ÀåvÉ ¥ÀqÉ¢zÉAiÉÄÃ?	Yes °ËzÀ 1	No E®è 2
C2*.	Do people in your locality face or are facing a problem in getting Government's recognition for your slum ? ¤ªÀÄ Kj AiÀ°èAzÀ°£À d£ÀgÀÄ, ¤ªÀÄ°ègÀÄªÀ PÉÆÃ¼ÉUÉjUÉ ¸ÀPÁðgÀ ªÀÄÁ£ÀåvÉ ¥ÀqÉAiÀÄ®Ä°ªÀ°è vÉÆÃAzÀgÉAiÀÄ£À£À JzÀÄj ¹zÀ§ÃÌ CxÀª°Á JzÀÄj ¸ÀÄwÛzÁÝgÉAiÉÄÃ?	Yes °ËzÀ 1	No E®è 2

C3.	Does your area/neighbourhood/community have access to the following: ¤ªÀÄä ±ÉÆÃ¥ÀÇgÀ / ¨ÁªÀÁzÀ°AiÀÄ F PÉ¼À¥ÀAq ¸Ë®¨sÀåUÀ¼À¤ß ºÉÆA¢z°É :				
C3a.	Street lighting ©Ã¢ ¢Ã¥ÀUÀ¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C3b.	Storm water drainage ªÀÄ¼É ¤ÃgÀÄ ZÀgÀAr¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C3c.	Parks GzÁå£ÀªÀ£ÀUÀ¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C3d.	Playground Dl zÀ ªÉÄÊzÁ£ÀUÀ¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C3e.	Roads and footpath gÀ¸ÉÛUÀ¼ÀÄ ªÀÄvÀÄÛ ¥ÁzÀZÁj ªÀiÁUÀðUÀ¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C3f.	Garbage clearance service PÀ¸ÀzÀ «¯ÉêÁj	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C3g.	Public toilets ¸ÁªÀÁðd¤PÀ ±ËZÁ®AiÀÄUÀ¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C3h.	Primary school ¥ÁæxÀ«ÄPÀ ±Á¯ÉUÀ¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C3i.	Primary health care center ¥Áæxæ«ÄPÀ DgÉÆÃUÀå PÉÃAzÀ¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C3j.	Public transport bus facility ¸ÁªÀÁðd¤PÀ ¸ÁjUÉ §¸ï¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C3k.	Bore well/public tap PÉÆ¼ÀªÉ ¨Á« / ¸ÁªÀÁðd¤PÀ PÉÆ¼Á¬ÄUÀ¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2

C4.	Did your area/community face or facing any problems in obtaining the following amenities: F PÉ¼À¥ÀAq ¸Ë®¨sÀåUÀ¼À£ÀÄß è ¤ªÀÄä ¨ÁªÀÁzÀ°AiÀÄ ¸ÀªÀÄ¸ÉåUÀ¼À£ÀÄß JzÀÄj ¸ÀÄwÛzÉAiÉÄÃ?				
C4a.	Street lighting ©Ã¢ ¢Ã¥ÀUÀ¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C4b.	Storm water drainage ªÀÄ¼É ¤ÃgÀÄ ZÀgÀAr¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C4c.	Parks GzÁå£ÀªÀ£ÀUÀ¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C4d.	Playground Dl zÀ ªÉÄÊzÁ£ÀUÀ¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C4e.	Roads and footpath gÀ¸ÉÛUÀ¼ÀÄ ªÀÄvÀÄÛ ¥ÁzÀZÁj ªÀiÁUÀðUÀ¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C4f.	Garbage clearance service PÀ¸ÀzÀ «¯ÉêÁj	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C4g.	Public toilets ¸ÁªÀÁðd¤PÀ ±ËZÁ®AiÀÄUÀ¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C4h.	Primary school ¥Áæxæ«ÄPÀ ±Á¯ÉUÀ¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C4i.	Primary health care center ¥Áæxæ«ÄPÀ DgÉÆÃUÀå PÉÃAzÀ¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C4j.	Public transport bus facility ¸ÁªÀÁðd¤PÀ ¸ÁjUÉ §¸ï¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2
C4k.	Bore well/public tap PÉÆ¼ÀªÉ ¨Á« / ¸ÁªÀÁðd¤PÀ PÉÆ¼Á¬ÄUÀ¼ÀÄ	Yes	°ËzÀ	1	No E®è 2

If yes to C2 and any of the items in C4, continue, if no to C2 and all of the items in C4, go to C6
¹2 ¥Àæ±ÉßUÉ ªÀÄvÀÄÛ ¹ 4 gÀ°è£À AiÀiÁªÀÅzÁzÀgÉ ¥Àæ±ÉßUÉ °ËzÀ' JACzÀ°°è è ªÀÄÄAzÀĪÀgÉ¹1, ¹2 PÁÌUÀ°Ã CxÀª°Á ¹4 gÀ°è£À J®è¥Àæ±ÉßUÀ½UÉ E®è°Á°zÀ°è ¹6 �ಓ °ÉÆÃV

* Questions to be asked only to the respondents living in slums
* F ¥À±ÉßUÀ¼À£ÀÄß PÉÆÃ¼ÉUÉjUÀ¼À°è£À°è è ªÁ¹¸ÀÄwÛgÀÄªÀ°À ¥Àæw°zÁ£ÀUÀ½UÉ ªÀÄ°ÁvÀ PÉÃ¼À¨ÉÃPÀÄ.

C5	You have identified the problems faced by your neighborhood. Usually who initiates action to resolve these neighborhood problems? ¤ªÀÄä ±ÉÆÃ¥ÀÇgÀ°AiÀ JzÀÄj ¸ÀÄwÛgÀĪÀ ¸ÀªÀÄ¸ÉåUÀ¼À£ÀÄß ¤ÃªÀÅ UÀ°ÄgÀÄw°¹¢ÝÃj. F ¸ÀªÀÄ¸ÉåUÀ¼À£ÀÄß ¥ÀjºÀj¸À®Ä ¸ÁªÀÄ°Á£ÀåªÁV AiÀÄ°ÁgÀÄ PÉÆÃ£É¼À£ÀÄ°ÁgÀA©ü¸ÀÄ°ÁÛgÉ?						
	Recogniti-on of the slums by the	Myself ¸ÁévÀB	Local Association	Corpo-rators	Locality leaders	Others EvÀgÀUÀ¼ÀÄ	None AiÀÁgÀÆE®è	Don't know

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C5a*	Govt. PÉÆ¥ÀUÉÀj UÉ ¸ÀPÁðgÀ¢AzÀ ªÀiÁ£ÀåvÉ		1	¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ¸ÀAWÀ 2	PÁ¥ÉÇÃð- gÉÃlgï g˙ 3	¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ªÀÄRAqÀgÀ 4	5	6	w½¢®è®¨ 7
C5b	Street lighting ©Ã¢ ¢Ã¥ÀUÀ¼ÀÄ	Myself ¸ÁévÀB	Local Association ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ¸ÀAWÀ	Corpo- rators PÁ¥ÉÇÃð- gÉÃlgï g˙	Locality leaders ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ªÀÄRAqÀgÀ	Others EvÀgÀgÀÄ	None AiÀiÁgÀÆE®è®	Don't know w½¢®è®¨
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C5c	Storm water drainage ªÀÄ¼É ¤ÃgÀÄ ZÀgÀAqˉUÀ¼ÀÄ	Myself ¸ÁévÀB	Local Association ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ¸ÀAWÀ	Corpo- rators PÁ¥ÉÇÃð- gÉÃlgï g˙	Locality leaders ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ªÀÄRAqÀgÀ	Others EvÀgÀgÀÄ	None AiÀiÁgÀÆE®è®	Don't know w½¢®è®¨
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C5d	Parks GzÁå£ÀªÀ£ÀUÀ¼ÀÄ	Myself ¸ÁévÀB	Local Association ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ¸ÀAWÀ	Corpo- rators PÁ¥ÉÇÃð- gÉÃlgï g˙	Locality leaders ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ªÀÄRAqÀgÀ	Others EvÀgÀgÀÄ	None AiÀiÁgÀÆE®è®	Don't know w½¢®è®¨
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C5e	Playground Dl zÀ ªÉÄÊzÁ£ÀªÀ£ÀUÀ¼ÀÄ	Myself ¸ÁévÀB	Local Association ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ¸ÀAWÀ	Corpo- rators PÁ¥ÉÇÃð- gÉÃlgï g˙	Locality leaders ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ªÀÄRAqÀgÀ	Others EvÀgÀgÀÄ	None AiÀiÁgÀÆE®è®	Don't know w½¢®è®¨
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C5f	Roads and footpath gˀ ÉÛUÀ¼ÀÄ ªÀÄvÀÄÛ ¥ÁzÁZÁj ªÀiÁUÀðUÀ¼ÀÄ	Myself ¸ÁévÀB	Local Association ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ¸ÀAWÀ	Corpo- rators PÁ¥ÉÇÃð- gÉÃlgï g˙	Locality leaders ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ªÀÄRAqÀgÀ	Others EvÀgÀgÀÄ	None AiÀiÁgÀÆE®è®	Don't know w½¢®è®¨
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C5g	Garbage clearance service PÀ¸ÀzÀ «¯ÉêÁÁj	Myself ¸ÁévÀB	Local Association ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ¸ÀAWÀ	Corpo- rators PÁ¥ÉÇÃð- gÉÃlgï g˙	Locality leaders ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ªÀÄRAqÀgÀ	Others EvÀgÀgÀÄ	None AiÀiÁgÀÆE®è®	Don't know w½¢®è®¨
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C5h	Public toilets ¸ÁªÀðd¤PÀ ±˘ÖZÁ®AiÀÄUÀ¼ÀÄ	Myself ¸ÁévÀB	Local Association ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ¸ÀAWÀ	Corpo- rators PÁ¥ÉÇÃð- gÉÃlgï g˙	Locality leaders ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ªÀÄRAqÀgÀ	Others EvÀgÀgÀÄ	None AiÀiÁgÀÆE®è®	Don't know w½¢®è®¨
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C5i	Primary school ¥Áæx«ÄPÀ ±Á¯ÉUÀ¼ÀÄ	Myself ¸ÁévÀB	Local Association ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ¸ÀAWÀ	Corpo- rators PÁ¥ÉÇÃð- gÉÃlgï g˙	Locality leaders ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ªÀÄRAqÀgÀ	Others EvÀgÀgÀÄ	None AiÀiÁgÀÆE®è®	Don't know w½¢®è®¨
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C5j	Primary health care center ¥Áæx«ÄPÀ DgÉÆÃUÀå PÉÃAzÀæUÀ¼ÀÄ	Myself ¸ÁévÀB	Local Association ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ¸ÀAWÀ	Corpo- rators PÁ¥ÉÇÃð- gÉÃlgï g˙	Locality leaders ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ªÀÄRAqÀgÀ	Others EvÀgÀgÀÄ	None AiÀiÁgÀÆE®è®	Don't know w½¢®è®¨
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C5k	Public transport bus facility ¸ÁªÀðd¤PÀ ¸ÁjUÉ §¸ï£À¼ÀÄ	Myself ¸ÁévÀB	Local Association ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ¸ÀAWÀ	Corpo- rators PÁ¥ÉÇÃð- gÉÃlgï g˙	Locality leaders ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ªÀÄRAqÀgÀ	Others EvÀgÀgÀÄ	None AiÀiÁgÀÆE®è®	Don't know w½¢®è®¨
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C5l	Bore well /public tap PÉÆ¼ÀªÉ ¨Á«/	Myself ¸ÁévÀB	Local Association ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ ¸ÀAWÀ	Corpo- rators PÁ¥ÉÇÃð-	Locality leaders ¸ÀÜ½ÃAiÀÄ	Others EvÀgÀgÀÄ	None AiÀiÁgÀÆE®è®	Don't know w½¢®è®¨

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¸Ä°ÄõÖd¤Ä PÉÆÄ½Á ¬ÄÜÄ½Ä	1	2	g£ÄÏ gï 3	ªÄÄÄRÄqÄgÄÄ 4	5	6	7
C6*	Do you possess land tenure certificate for your house? ¤ÄªÄÄ ªÄÄ£ÉÜÉ °ÄPÄÄ ¥ÄvÄ¤Ä°Ä£ÄÄB °Ä£ÄÄ¢¢ÄÃgÉÄ?					Yes °ÉzÄÄ 1	No E®è 2	
C7*	Did you face or facing any problems in obtaining the land tenure certificate for your House? ªÄÄ£ÉÜÄ °ÄPÄÄ ¥ÄvÄ¤Ä°Ä£ÄÄB ¥ÄqÉÄÄ¤ÄÄ°Ä¨è ¤Ä£Ä£Á£zÄgÄÄÆ vÉ£ÉÄzÄgÉÄÄ£ÄÄB JzÄÄj ¹¢¥gÉÄ CxÄÄÁ JzÄÄj ¸ÄÄw0¢¥gÉÄ?					Yes °ÉzÄÄ 1	No E®è 2	
C8.	Does your household has access to: ¤ÄªÄÄ ªÄÄ£ÉÜÄ F PÉ½ÄPÄ £Ä Ë® ¨ÄÄv¤Ä£ÄÄB °Ä£ÄÄ¢¢zÄÉÄÄ:							
C8a	Power Supply «zÄÄvï ¸Äg¥ÄÁdÄ			Yes °ÉzÄÄ 1			No E®è 2	
C8b	Water Supply ¤Äj £Ä ¸Äg¥ÄÁdÄ			Yes °ÉzÄÄ 1			No E®è 2	
C8c	Underground Sewerage MÝAZÄgÄAr ªÄ£ÄªÄ£ÉÜ			Yes °ÉzÄÄ 1			No E®è 2	
C9.	Did you face or are you facing problems in getting the following services: F PÉ½ÄPÄ £Ä ¸É£ÄvÄ£ÄÄB ¥ÄqÉÄÄ¤ÄÄ°Ä è ¤ÄªÄ£ vÉ£ÉÄzÄgÉÄÄ£ÄÄB JzÄÄj ¹¢¥gÉÄ CxÄÄÁ JzÄÄj ¸ÄÄw0¢¥gÉÄ?							
C9a.	Power Supply «zÄÄvï ¸Äg¥ÄÁdÄ			Yes °ÉzÄÄ 1			No E®è 2	
C9b.	Water Supply ¤Äj £Ä ¸Äg¥ÄÁdÄ			Yes °ÉzÄÄ 1			No E®è 2	
C9c.	Underground Sewerage MÝAZÄgÄAr ªÄ£ÄªÄ£ÉÜ			Yes °ÉzÄÄ 1			No E®è 2	

(If yes to C7 or any item in C9 continue, if no to C7 or C9, go to C 12.)
(¹ 7 ªÄÀ½ÄÅ0 ¹ 9 g£°è °ÉzÁz£°è, ªÄ£ÄÀzÄ£Äj ¹, E®è£ÄÁz£°è ¹ 12Pɼ °Ä£ÄÄV)

* Questions to be asked only to the respondents living in slums
* F ¥Ä£É£Ü£ÄÄB PÉÆÄ½ÄÉ£ÄÄ j ÄÄÄ°Ä£°è ¸Ä ÄÜÄ£Äg¥ÄÄ½ÄÄÄvÄÄÁ£ ¥Ä£ÄªÄÁ ¢¥UÄ½Ä½É ªÄÄÄvÄ£Ä£Ä°ÄÄÜ0ÉzÄ.

C10	You have identified the problems faced by your family. Whom do you generally approach to solve these problems? ¤ÄªÄÄ PÄÄ ÄÄ§ÄÄ JzÄÄj ¸ÄÄw0¢¥ÄÄ ¸ÄÄÄ £ÄÉÜÄ£ÄÄB UÄÄ¼½Äg¥ÄÀ¼gÄÄ«j. F ¸ÄÄ £É£ÄÄ ¥Äj °ÉgÄ§ÄÁÄÂ AÄÄÄgÄÉÜÄB ¨É£nªÄÄÄgÄÄw0¢£j ?								
C10a*	To obtain land tenure certificate ªÄÄ£ÉÜÄ °ÄPÄÄ ¥ÄvÄ¤Ä°Ä£ÄÄB ¥ÄqÉÄÄ®Ä	Govt. Directly 1 ¸£ÄÁ£ÄgÄ °ÄÁÕgÄ		Relatives 2 §AzÄ¤ÄÄÄõ		Local Leaders 3 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ ªÄÄÄRÄqÄgÄÄ		Corporator 4 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ PÄ¥É£ÕÄõg£ÄÉÄ gï	
		AreaMLA 5 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ «zÄÄ±£ ¨ÄÁ ¸Äz¸Ä£ÄgÄÄ	Local Association 6 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ ¸ÄAWÄ/ ¸Ä£É½		NGO 7 ¸gÄPÄÁgÉ£Äz£ ¸Ä£É½		Neighbours 8 £Ég°£ÉÆÆÉgÄ£ÄÄgÄÄ		None 9 AÄÄÄgÄÆ E®è
C10b	Power supply «zÄÄvï ¸Äg¥ÄÁdÄ	Govt. Directly 1 ¸£ÄÁ£ÄgÄ °ÄÁÕgÄ		Relatives 2 §AzÄ¤ÄÄÄõ		Local Leaders 3 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ ªÄÄÄRÄqÄgÄÄ		Corporator 4 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ PÄ¥É£ÕÄõg£ÄÉÄ gï	
		AreaMLA 5 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ «zÄÄ±£ ¨ÄÁ ¸Äz¸Ä£ÄgÄÄ	Local Association 6 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ ¸ÄAWÄ/ ¸Ä£É½		NGO 7 ¸gÄPÄÁgÉ£Äz£ ¸Ä£É½		Neighbours 8 £Ég°£ÉÆÆÉgÄ£ÄÄgÄÄ		None 9 AÄÄÄgÄÆ E®è
C10c	Water supply ¤Äj £Ä ¸Äg¥ÄÁdÄ	Govt. Directly 1 ¸£ÄÁ£ÄgÄ °ÄÁÕgÄ		Relatives 2 §AzÄ¤ÄÄÄõ		Local Leaders 3 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ ªÄÄÄRÄqÄgÄÄ		Corporator 4 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ PÄ¥É£ÕÄõg£ÄÉÄ gï	
		AreaMLA 5 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ «zÄÄ±£ ¨ÄÁ ¸Äz¸Ä£ÄgÄÄ	Local Association 6 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ ¸ÄAWÄ / ¸Ä£É½		NGO 7 ¸gÄPÄÁgÉ£Äz£ ¸Ä£É½		Neighbours 8 £Ég°£ÉÆÆÉgÄ£ÄÄgÄÄ		None 9 AÄÄÄgÄÆ E®è
C10d	Underground Sewerage MÝAZÄgÄAr ªÄ£ÄªÄ£ÉÜ	Govt. Directly 1 ¸£ÄÁ£ÄgÄ °ÄÁÕgÄ		Relatives 2 §AzÄ¤ÄÄÄõ		Local Leaders 3 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ ªÄÄÄRÄqÄgÄÄ		Corporator 4 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ PÄ¥É£ÕÄõg£ÄÉÄ gï	
		AreaMLA 5 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ «zÄÄ±£ ¨ÄÁ ¸Äz¸Ä£ÄgÄÄ	Local Association 6 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ ¸ÄAWÄ / ¸Ä£É½		NGO 7 ¸gÄPÄÁgÉ£Äz£ ¸Ä£É½		Neighbours 8 £Ég°£ÉÆÆÉgÄ£ÄÄgÄÄ		None 9 AÄÄÄgÄÆ E®è
C11.	Who among the following in your opinion is most helpful in resolving your problems? ¤ÄªÄÄ÷©£É½É£ÄÄzÄ£°è, ¸ÄªÄ £É£ÄÄ§ÄÄB ¥Ä£ °Ä££°è AÄÄÄgÄÄ °ÉZÄÄÑ ¸Ä°ÄÁ£ÄªÄ£Ä°ÄgÄÄ ?	Government 1 ¸£ÄÁõgÄ		Relatives 2 §AzÄ¤ÄÄÄõ		Local leaders 3 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ ªÄÄÄRÄqÄgÄÄ			
		Corporator 4 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ PÄ¥É£ÕÄõg£ÄÉÄ gï		Area MLA 5 ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ gÄÁdÄ ¨ÄÁ ¸Äz¸Ä£ÄgÄÄ		Local Residents 6 Association ¸ÄÜ½ÄÁ£ÄÄ ¤ÄÁ¹ ¸ÄAWÄÄUÄ½Ä			
		NGO 7 ¸gÄPÄÁgÉ£Äz£ ¸Ä£É½		Neighbors 8 £Ég°£ÉÆÆÉgÄ£ÄÄgÄÄ		No body 9 AÄÄÄgÄÆ E®è			

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C12	Did you spend money to solve any of the problems you faced? ¤ªÀå ̧ªÀȨ́ÀÀ ¥Àj°ÁgÀPÁÍV ¤ãªÀÀ °Àt ªÉÀÀB RZÀÄõ ªÀiÁqÀ̈ÉÁPÁ¬ÀvÉ?	Most of the times 1 °À®ªÀÄ̈ ̈Áj	Some-times 2 Pɮ̧Àj̈ Áj	Very 3 rarely PÀr¯Àɨ ̈Áj
C12a	Did you get receipt for the money spent? ¤ãªÀÀ RZÀÄõ ªÀiÁrzÀ °ÀẗÀ gÀ¹Àw ¹ÀolzÉÀÍÀ̈?	Yes °ÉzÀÀ 1		No E®è 2
C13.	Do you believe people in your neighborhood are always able to discuss the civic problems that affect everyone?¤ªÀÀ £ÉgÉ°É̈ÆgÉÀ°À° J®ègÀÀ JzÀÀj̈ÀÀwgÀÀªÀ £ÁUÀj̈ÀÁ̧ÀÀB dÉÀÀÀÀ J®è ̈ªÀÀÀÁj2À®® ZhaṎÀ® ̧ÀzÀA°ÀVzÁÀAzÀ ¤ãªÀ £ÀA§ÀwÛgÀ?	Yes 1 °ÉzÀÀ	No 2 E®è	Can't Say 3 °ÉÁ½À¯ÁUÀzÀ
C14	Do you believe that if a problem arises that which people cannot solve by themselves, the community as a whole will be able to solve it?dÉÀÀÀÀ vÀªÀÀÉ vÁêÁ ¥Àj°ÁgÀ PÀAqÀPÀ̈ÉÀ®®®À C¸ÁzÀ°Á zÀÀªÀÀÁA°À ̈ÀÀzÀÛ ÄÕzÀÀ°À, CÀvÀ°Á ̧ªÀÀ̧ÀªÀÁ£ÀÀ MmÁõV ¥Àj°Àj̈PɮÀÀ§°À̧°ÀÀzÀÀ ¤ãªÀ £ÀA§ÀwÛgÀ?	Yes 1 °ÉzÀÀ	No 2 E®è	Can't Say 3 °ÉÁ½À¯ÁUÀzÀ
C15.	Are you confident that you as residents in this locality can bring about positive changes in the living conditions of people living here?F̧ ̈ÀÁ̧zÀ° ¤ªÀÁ¹ÀUÀ¼ÁV ¤ãªÀ E°ÀÉ̈ dÉÀÀ f̈À̈À ªÀÀÀ lzÀ° e GvÀ̈ÀP Á̧À°ÀÀüÀÀ̈ÀÀB vÀjĸ°À̧°ÀÀzÀ «±ÁȨ́«zÉÀÍÀ ?	Yes 1 °ÉzÀÀ	No 2 E®è	Can't Say 3 °ÉÁ½À¯ÁUÀzÀ
C16.	Despite your work and family obligations, do you believe that you as residents of this locality can commit yourselves to common community goals? ¤ªÀÀ GzÉÆåÅVÀÀ °ÁUÀ PÀÀ̧À̈ÀÀB PÀvÀ°ÀöåÀ̈À °ÀÉUÀ°ÀÁVÀÀÀÉ ̈À̈, F £ÉgÉ°É̈ÆgÉÀ°À ¤ªÀÁ¹ÀUÀ¼ÁV ¤ãªÀ E°ÉÀ̈ ̧ÀªÀÀ̧ÀÀ ¥Àj°ÁgÀPÁÍV ±ÀæÀ̧°ÀÀzÀ £ÀA§ÀwÛgÀ̈É?	Yes 1 °ÉzÀÀ	No 2 E®è	Can't Say 3 °ÉÁ½À¯ÁUÀzÀ

Questions to be asked only to the respondents living in slums

- F ¥À±ÉßÀ̈ÀÀB PÉÀ̈À°À¬ÀUÀ¼À°° ªÁ¹À̧ÀÀwÛgÀÀ°ÀjUÉ ªÀiÁ̈ À¼À̈À̈ÀÀB ̈À̄¥À²À¥±ÉßÀ̈À̈ÀÀB ¥Á²À̄¥ÉÀÀ̈À̈ÀÀB̈À°ÀÀ̈À°ÀÀMÀzÀÀ.

Section D: Collective Political Action
«¨ÁUÀ r: ̧ÁªÀÀzÁ¬À̈À gÁdQÀÀÀÀ ZÀl̈ÀÀnPÉ

D1	In the last two years, have there been any protests and demonstrations to demand better services in your locality? *(if no or don't know go to Section E)* PÀ½ÉzÀ JgÉqÀÀ ªÀÀ̧ÀÄÕ½À°A°ÀÃZÀÉÚÀÉ, ¤ªÀÀ £ÉgÉ°É̈ÆgÉÀ°À̈°Àe GvÀ̈ÀPªÀ̈ ̈Áæ̈ÉÀ̈ ̈ÉÀr̈ÉÀÁV ¥Àæw¨Àl ̈ÀvÀÀ ¥ÀzÀ±À̈ÀÁ̈É̈À̈ÀB K¼ÀÀÕr¹Ç̇ÀÉÀÍÀ? (GvÀÁÀ E®è CxÀ°Á ŪÉÀwÀÀºÉè DVzÀꉪÀÉ, **Section E** Pɮ °ÁÉ̈À)	Yes 1 °ÉzÀÀ	No 2 E®è	Don't 3 know w½À¢®è
D2	Who organized these protests and demonstrations? F ¥Àæw¨Àl £À̈£À / ¥ÀzÀ±À̈ÀÁ̈É̈À̈ÀB AÀÁgÀ K¼ÀÀÕrzÀNgÀ?	Local residents organizations 1 ̧À½½À̈À ¤ªÀÁ¹À UÀ¼À¥À̈ÀÀ	NGOs 2 ̧ÀgÀPÁgÉÀÅvÀgÀ ̧À̧̈ÀÉÛÀ
		Political Parties 3 gÁdQÀÀÀ ¥À̈PÀ̄UÀ½ÀÀ	Don't know 4 w½À¢®è
D3a	Did you participate in the protests and demonstrations organised by political parties? ¤ãªÀ gÁdQÀÀÀÀ ¥ÀPÀ̄UÀ¼À £Àq̈¹zÀ ¥Àæw¨Àl £À̈£ÀUÀ¼À° °ÁUÀ ¥ÀzÀ±À̈ÀÁ̈É̈À° °À̈ÀÀªÀ»̧°À̈ÉÀ?	Always 1 AÀ̈ÀÁ°ÀUÀ®ÀÆ	Sometimes 2 Pɮ̈É²çÉ²çÉÀ	Never 3 AÀÀ̈À°Á°À̈À®ÀÀ̈ E®è
D3b	Did you participate in the protests and demonstrations organized by NGOs ? ¤ãªÀ ̧ÀgÀPÁgÉÀÅvÀgÀ ̧À̧̈ÀÉÛÀÀ̈À £Àq̈¹zÀ ¥Àæw¨Àl £À̈£ÀUÀ¼À° °ÁUÀ ¥ÀzÀ±À̈ÀÁ̈É̈À° °À̈ÀÀªÀ»̧°À̈ÉÀ?	Always 1 AÀ̈ÀÁ°ÀUÀ®ÀÆ	Sometimes 2 Pɮ̈É²çÉ²çÉÀ	Never 3 AÀÀ̈À°Á°À̈À®ÀÀ̈ E®è
D3c	Did you participate in the protests and demonstrations organized by local residents organizations ? ¤ãªÀ ̧À½½À̈À ¤ªÀÁ¹À UÀ¼À¥À̈ÀÀÀ̈À £Àq̈¹zÀ °ÁUÀ ¥ÀzÀ±À̈ÀÁ̈É̈À° °À̈ÀÀªÀ»̧°À̈ÉÀ?	Always 1 AÀ̈ÀÁ°ÀUÀ®ÀÆ	Sometimes 2 Pɮ̈É²çÉ²çÉÀ	Never 3 AÀÀ̈À°Á°À̈À®ÀÀ̈ E®è
D4a	Did the protest / demonstrations *by political parties* achieve their objectives? gÁdQÀÀÀÀ ¥ÀPÀ̄UÀ¼À½À¸zÀ £À̈£À / ¥ÀzÀ±À̈ÀÁ̈É̈À GzÉÉÃ±À°À̈À̈ÀÀ F qÉ̈Àj zÀꉪÀÉ?	Always 1 AÀ̈ÀÁ°ÀUÀ®ÀÆ	Sometimes 2 Pɮ̈É²çÉ²çÉÀ	Never 3 AÀÀ̈À°Á°À̈À®ÀÀ̈ E®è
D4b	Did the protest /demonstrations *by NGOs* achieve their objectives? ̧ÀgÀPÁgÉÀÅvÀgÀ ̧À̧̈ÀÉÛÀÀ̈À £À̈£À / ¥ÀzÀ±À̈ÀÁ̈É̈À GzÉÉÃ±À°À̈À̈ÀÀ F qÉ̈Àj zÀꉪÀÉ?	Always 1 AÀ̈ÀÁ°ÀUÀ®ÀÆ	Sometimes 2 Pɮ̈É²çÉ²çÉÀ	Never 3 AÀÀ̈À°Á°À̈À®ÀÀ̈ E®è
	Did the protest / demonstrations by residents organisations		Sometimes	Never 3

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| D4c | achieve their objectives?
¸À½ÁªÀ ¤ª¯Á¹UÀ¼ UÀ¼¥ÁÀ¼À £ÀqÉ¹zÀ ¥Àªª¨Àl £ÉÁÀ GzÉÝÃ±ÀUÀ¼À FqÉÃj zÀ§ªÉÁ? | Always 1
AiÀÁªÁUÀ®Æ | PÉ̄ªÉÇªÉÄä 2 | AiÀÁ̈ÁªÁUÀ®Æ E®è |

Section E : Civic and Political Awareness
«¨ÁUÀ E : ¥ËgÀ ºÁUÀ gÁdQÃAiÀ ¥Àeæ£Éß

E1	Are you aware of the Mysore City's C D P (Comprehensive Development Plan)? *(if no go to E3)* ªÉÊÀÆgÀÄ £ÀUÀgÀzÀ ¸ÀªÀÄUÀæC©üªÀÈ¢Þ AiÉÆÃd£ÉAiÀÄ §UÉÎ vÀªÀÄUÉ w½¢zÉAiÀÄ? (E®èªÁzÀ°è, E 3 PÉÌ ºÉÆÃV)		Yes 1 ºËzÀÄ	No 2 E®è
E2	If yes, please name the Government agency which is responsible for preparing the C D P _____ ºËzÁzÀ°è, F A©üªÀÈ¢ÞAiÉÆÃd£ÉAiÀÄ vÀ¸Áj¸À® ¸À̈ÁVgÀÄªÀ ĒÁSÉAiÀÄ ºÉ¸Àj ¹	Correct ¸Àj 1	Incorrect vÀ¥Áà 2	Can't say /don't know ºÉüÀ̄ÁUÀzÀ/ w½AiÀÄzÀ 3
E3a*	Please name the agency which is responsible in your locality for Recognition and notification of slums: ¤ªÀÄä £Égɺ°£À°èUÀÄr¸À̄ÄUÀ¼À UÀÄgÀÄw¸ÀÄ ªÀÄvÀÄÛ ªÀÄZ£ÀV¸À®¸À̈ÁVgÀÄªÀ ĒÁSÉAiÀÄ ºÉ¸Àj ¹	.... Correct 1 ¸Àj	Incorrect 2 vÀ¥Áà	Can't say /don't know ºÉüÀ̄ÁUÀzÀ/ w½AiÀÄzÀ 3
E3b	Please name the agency which is responsible in your locality for supplying Water. ¤ªÀÄä ¸À̄ÄzÀ°è ¤ÃgÀÄ ¸ÀgÀ§gÁdÄ ªÀiÁqÀĪÀ d̈ÁâÁÃj ĒÁSÉ¢gÀĪÀ ¸À̈ÁVgÀÄªÀ ĒÁSÉAiÀÄ ºÉ¸Àj ¹	.... Correct 1 ¸Àj	Incorrect 2 vÀ¥Áà	Can't say /don't know ºÉüÀ̄ÁUÀzÀ/ w½AiÀÄzÀ 3
E3c	Please name the agency which is responsible in your locality for supplying Power. ¤ªÀÄä ¸À̄ÄzÀ°è «zÀÄå ¸ÀgÀ§gÁdÄ ªÀiÁqÀĪÀ d̈ÁâÁÃj ĒÁSÉAiÀÄ ºÉ¸Àj ¹	.... Correct 1 ¸Àj	Incorrect 2 vÀ¥Áà	Can't say /don't know ºÉüÀ̄ÁUÀzÀ/ w½AiÀÄzÀ 3
E3d	Please name the agency which is responsible in your locality for providing Parks . ¤ªÀÄä ¸À̄ÄzÀ°è GzÁå£Àª£À¤¶¸À® ¸À̈ÁVgÀÄªÀ ¤«ÄÃð¸À® d̈ÁâÁÃj ĒÁSÉAiÀÄ ºÉ¸Àj ¹ GzÁå£Àª£À¤¶¸À	.... Correct 1 ¸Àj	Incorrect 2 vÀ¥Áà	Can't say /don't know ºÉüÀ̄ÁUÀzÀ/ w½AiÀÄzÀ 3
E4*	Are you aware of VAMBAY scheme ? ¤ªÀÄUÉ «.J.J¨Ái.©.J.ªÉÃ. AiÉÆÃd£É §UÉÎ w½¢zÉAiÀÄ?		Yes 1 ºËzÀÄ	No 2 (go to E7) E®è (¥Áæè E7 PÉÌ ºÉÆÃV)
E5*	If yes, did you try to avail of this scheme? ºËzÁzÀ°è, ¤ÃªÀ D AiÉÆÃd£ÉAiÀÄ ¥ÀqÉzÀÄPÉÆüÀîÀ®Ä ¥ÀæAiÀÄwß¹gÁ?		Yes 1 ºËzÀÄ	No 2 E®è
E6	If yes, for what purpose did you try to avail of this scheme? .... ºËzÁzÀ°è, F AiÉÆÃd£ÉAiÀÄ É®è ªÀiÁrPÉÆüÀî® GzÉÝÃ±ÀPÁÌV ¥ÀqÉAiÀÄ®Ä AiÀÄwß¹Ãj ?	Correct ¸Àj 1	Incorrect vÀ¥Áà 2	Can't say/don't know ºÉüÀ̄ÁUÀzÀ/w½AiÀÄzÀ 3
E7	Are you aware of Nirmala Nagara Yojane (NNY) ? ¤ªÀÄUÉ ¤ªÀÄð® £ÀUÀgÀ AiÉÆÃd£É §UÉÎ w½¢zÉAiÀÄ?		Yes 1 ºËzÀÄ	No 2 (go to E9) E®è (¥Áæè E9 PÉÌ ºÉÆÃV)
E8	If yes, please state the purpose of NNY _____ ºËzÁzÀ°è F AiÉÆÃd£ÉAiÀÄ GzÉÝÃ±À w½¹	Correct ¸Àj 1	Incorrect vÀ¥Áà 2	Can't say/don't know ºÉüÀ̄ÁUÀzÀ/w½AiÀÄzÀ 3
E9	Do you know what percentage of seats are reserved for women in the Mysore City Corporation? ªÉÊÀÄÆgÀÄ £ÀUÀgÀ ¥Á°PÉAiÀÄ°è JµÀÄÖ ¥Àæwd̈À ¸ÁÜ£ÀUÀ¼À ªÀÄ»¼ÉAiÀÄjUÁV «ÄøÀ̄Áwm°¼Àî̈ÁVzÀ JASÁzÀ w½¢zÉAiÀÄ ?		Yes 1 ºËzÀÄ	No 2 (go to E11) E®è (¥Áæè E11 PÉÌ ºÉÆÃV)
E10	If yes, please state the percentage ....% ºËzÁzÀ°è zÀAiÀÄ«mÄÖ ĀÁÃ w½¹.................................... %	Correct ¸Àj 1	Incorrect vÀ¥Áà 2	Can't say/don't know ºÉüÀ̄ÁUÀzÀ/w½AiÀÄzÀ 3
E11	Do you know about the "Wards Committee"? ¤ªÀÄUÉ "ªÁqïð ¸À«ÄwaiÀÄ" §UÉÎ w½¢zÉAiÀÄ?		Yes 1 ºËzÀÄ	No 2 (go to E13) E®è (¥Áæè E13 PÉÌ ºÉÆÃV)

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E12	If yes, please state the most important purpose of the "Ward Committee" _____ _____ °ËzÁzÀ°è, ªÁqï õ ¸À«AwÜA¤ Cw ªÀÄRå GzÉÝñÀ¥ÀÆAvÀ w½¹.	Correct ¸Àj 1	Incorrect vÀ¥ÀÅà 2	Can't say / don't know ºÉÃ¼À¯ÁÜzÀ½/ 3
E13	Are you aware of the Right to Information Act? ¤ªÀÄUÉ ªÀiÁ»w ºÀPÀÄÌ PÁAiÉÄ¶AiÀÄ §UÉÎ w½¢zÉAiÉÄ?	Yes 1 °ËzÀ	No 2 (go to E15) E®è (¥Àæ±Éß E15 PÉÌ°ºÉÆÃV)	
E14	If yes, please state the most important purpose of this Act _____ _____ _____ °ËzÁzÀ°è, F PÁAiÉÄ¶AiÀÄ ¥ÀæªÀÄR GzÉÝñÀ¥ÀÆAvÀ w½¹j	Correct ¸Àj 1	Incorrect vÀ¥ÀÅà 2	Can't say / don't know ºÉÃ¼À¯ÁÜzÀ½/ 3
E15	Are you aware of your fundamental rights guaranteed by our constitution? £ÀªÀÄä ¥ÀæÉÃ£À½À¹zÀ ¸À«zsÁ£ÀzÀ ¤rgÀªÁzÀ ªÀÄÆ®¨ÆvÀ ºÀPÀÄÌUÀ¼À §UÉÎ ¤ªÀÄUÉ w½¢zÉAiÉÄ ?	Yes 1 °ËzÀ	No 2 (go to Section F) E®è («¨ÁUÀ J¥Àï0 UÉ °ºÉÆÃV)	
E16	If yes, please state any two of your fundamental rights _____ _____ _____ _____	Correct ¸Àj 1	Incorrect vÀ¥ÀÅà 2	Can't say / don't know ºÉÃ¼À¯ÁÜzÀ½/w½¢AiÀÄzÀ 3

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Section F: Political Participation
«¨ÁUª J¥ï: gÁeÁ¡Ã½vhzÀ°è ¨ÁUªÀ»¸À«Àí

F1	Did you vote in the last (Municipal) Corporation elections held in 2001? 2001 gÀ°è £ÀqézÀ (ªÀÄ¤¹¥À¯ï) PÁ¥ÉÇÃgÉÃµÀ£ï ZÀÄ£ÁªÀuÉUÀ°è ¤ªÀÄä ªÀÄvÀ¥ÀEÀÄß ¤ÃrÛgÉÃ?	Yes 1 °ÉzÀ	No 2 E®è	Not applicable 3 C£Àé¬À¸ÀªÀÄC®è		
F2	Please recall the number your ward zÀAiÀÄ«¬À«ÀÄ¤ AiÀÄä ªÁrõÉÀ ¸ÀASÉå w½¹¹ _____		Correct ¸Àj 1	Incorrect vÀ¥Áä¬À 2	Don't know 3	
F3	Please recall the name of your ward Corporator Mr./Mrs_____ °ÁVzÀ°è°è, ¤ªÀÄä ªÁrõÉÀ ¸Àrõ¤zÀ¤ ZÀ£ÁE¬ÀAVgÁzÀ PÁ¥ÉÇÃgÉÃÀgÀ gÀÀEÀÀß w½¹ ¸Àj 1		Correct ¸Àj 1	Incorrect vÀ¥Áä¬À 2	Don't know 3	
F4	Did you vote in the last assembly/MLA elections in 2004? PÀ¼ÉzÀ «zsÁ£À ¸À¨sÁ ZÀÄ£ÁªÀuÉUÀ°è ¤ªÀÄä ªÀÄvÀ¥ÀEÀÄß ¤ÃrÛgÉÃ?	Yes 1 °ÉzÀ		No (go to F6) 2 E®è(J¥ï¨ 6 PÉÌ°É°ÁÉÃV)		
F5	Recall the name of your area MLA: Mr./Mrs…………………………… °ÁVzÀ°è ¤ªÀÄä PÉëÃvÀ«zsÁ£À ¸À¨sÁ ¸À¨sÁ ¸ÀzÀ¸ÀågÀEÀÀß w½¹ ¸Àj 1		Correct ¸Àj 1	Incorrect vÀ¥Áä¬À 2	Don't know 3	
F6	Are you a member of any political party? ¤ªÀÄ AiÀÄªÀÄ ¥ÀZÀ¸Àr¬À gÁdQÃAiÀÄ ¥ÁPÀë¬À¸À¸À AiÀÄgÁV¢ÃgÉÃ?		Yes 1 °ÉzÀ	No 2 E®è		
F7	In the last three years, have you ever canvassed for any candidates in elections? PÀ¼ÉzÀ ªÀÄÆgÀÄ ªÀÄµÀðUÀ¼À°è, ¤ªÀÄ AiÀÄªÀÄ ¥ÀZÀ¸Àr¬ÀÄ ZÀÄ£ÁªÀuÉ C¨ÁAiÀÄðAiÀÄ¥ÀgÁzÀ ¥ÀZÀÁgÀzÀ°è «¨ÁUÀ» ¹¢ÃgÁ?				Yes 1 °ÉzÀ	No 2 E®è
F8	Do you possess Voter's Photo Identification Card? ¤ªÀÄ ¥É¥À£ÀÉÆÃ ªÀÄvÀzÁgÀgÀ UÀÄgÀÄw£À aAvÀ£À¥ÀæÉ¥ÁEÀ°É°È°ÉÃvÀ°É¢ÃgÉÃ?			Yes 1 °ÉzÀ	No 2 E®è	

F9	Is your choice of candidates in elections influenced by? ¤ªÀÄ AiÀÄ¥À£À£Á¥À¬À ZÀÄ£ÁªÀuÉUÀ°è ¤ªÀÄ C¨ÁAiÀÄðAiÀÄÀEÀÀß DA¥À£À¥À¥À¥Àð¬À¸À¥Àj AzÀ/AiÀÄgÀ¤¤zÀ ¥ÀháÁ¥À«vÀ¥À¥Àj?	Head of the household 1 PÀÄlÄA§zÀ ¬ÉÄÃgÀ̽UÀ			Neighbors 2 £ÉgÉ°ÉÆÃgÉAiÀÄªÀgÀÄ	
		Local leaders 3 ¸ÀܼÃAiÀÄ ¥À¥ÀRgÀqUÀ	Assurances and gifts by candidates C¨ÁAiÀÄðAiÀÄ¥ÀgÀ AiÀÄgÀ¤£À ¥ÀÁ¨ÁvÀ£¥É °À GqÁAiÀÄÉÀÉUÀ 4			
		Candidates' party affiliation 5 C¨ÁAiÀÄðAiÀÄ¥À gÀ¥ÀdQÃAiÀÄ ¥ÁPÁë		None of the above 6 E¥ÀAiÀÄAiÀÄ£ÀÄ C¯ë		

F10	On what basis do you generally cast your vote? ¤ªÀÄ AiÀÄ¥À£À £À£Á¥À¬À ¤ªÀÄ AiÀÄªÀÄ DzÁAiÀÄzÀ ¥ÉÃÁ¥À¬À ¤ªÀÄ ªÀÄvÀ¥ÀEÀÀÉ ZÀ¯ÁÁ¬À¸ÀÄwÃÁj?	Candidate's past performance 1 C¨ÁAiÀÄðAiÀÄ »A¢£À ¸Á¥ÀÉ¥ÁEÀAiÀÄÀEÀAiÀÄ		Qualities and background of the candidate 2 C¨ÁAiÀÄðAiÀÄ »¥Àß£À °ÁUÀÆ UÀ¥ÀuÀ UÀ¥ÀuÀ		
		Same caste as yours 3 ¤ªÀÄ¥ÀzÉ£À eÁw	Candidate's party affiliation 4 C¨ÁAiÀÄðAiÀÄ gÀ¥ÀdQÃAiÀÄ ¥ÁPÁë			
		None of the above E¥ÀÁ¥À¥ÀÀÇ C®è 5				

THANK & TERMINATE
{¤ªÀÄ AiÀÄ¥À£É¥À£ÉÆÃ¥ÀgÀ°UÀ ¤ªÀÄ AiÀÄ¥Àè°É£À¥ÁÉ¥ÀEÁ£À¥ÀEÀÀV¹j)

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14.8. Briefing notes for the field investigators

Project Empowerment

¸ÀħÀ°±é ¸À«ÀÌPÁë¸ÀÉÆÃclÉÉ

Conducting the survey using the questionnaire: Briefing note for the field investigators

¥ÀææÁ¶º¾À½AÑÀ ¸À°Á£ÀÌ¹hz£ÀÆ¢ÙÉ £À¸qÉ¸Ìª°À ¸À«ÀÌPÉë

General guidelines

¸Á°ÀÁ£À ¸ÀÆZÀ£É£À½AÑÀ

- Introduce yourself
- ¤ª°ÀÌã£ÀÌß ¥Àj ZÀ¬Ä¹PÉÆ½i.

- Be friendly, patient and courteous through out the interview
- ¸ÀÌzÀ±ÀÕz£Àz½ÀÌ¹PÆÀÌ, ¸ÉÃ°À¥ÀÇª°À¯ðPÀª°ÁV, ¸À°ÉÃÁ²Ã®gÁV, «£ÀÀÀ¢ÀÁz£À £ÀqÉz½ÀÌPÉÆ½i

- Ask the questions slowly and clearly
- ¥ÀæÉ£Àï¼À£ÀÌß ¸Á°ÀzÁ£Àª°ÁV, ¸ÀÌª°ÁÕª°ÁV PÉÃ½j

- Explain if necessary in your own words and simplify by giving examples
- CÀ¼±ÀÇv£É¬Àz½Ý° è, ¤ª°ÀÌãzÉ ¥ÀzÀÌAÀ½Àz½ÀÌ «ÀÌj ¹ °ÀÚÀÆ GzÁ°ÀgÀÌÉÙÀÀ½A ªÀÆ®PÀ ¸ÀgÀ½ÀÌÁPÀj ¹

- Probe if necessary to elicit the response
- CÀ¼±ÀÇv£É EzÀ½Ý° è ¥Àaª°Á¢À¬Àz½ÀÌ GvÀÛÄgÀÌ °ÉÆghÀvÀA®Ä ¥ÀææÉÃ£ÀÌ D¼À£ÉÃ °ÉÆÃVj

- Be watchful of boredom during and between the interviews
- ¸ÀÌzÀ±ÀÕz½ÀÌ ¸ÀÌ°Àª°ÀÄz½Ý° è °ÀÀÌÆ JgÉqÀÌ ¸ÀÌzÀ±ÀÕð½ÀÌÁ £ÀqÀÀ½ÀÁÉ C£Á¸ÀÌQÛ/D®¾Àà §ghÀzÀÌÁvÉ £ÉÆÃqÀÌ¹PÉÆ½i

- Always use pencil to record the responses in the questionnaire
- ¥ÀææÁ¶º¾À½ÀÁ°± è GvÀ½ÀÌÁÄ¼À£ÀÌß §gɽÀ½À®® AÀ°ÀÁ¸ÀA½ÀÆ ¥É¤ïÁ®¯À §½Á ¹

- Do not interpret the response or guess the answers
- ¥Àaª°Á¢À¢À£ÀÌ GvÀ½ÀÁ£À½ÀÌß ¤ª°ÀÌãzÉ jÃª°À¢ÀÆ è CxÉÃÕÀÄ ¨ÄÃr °ÀÀÌÆ H » ¨ÄÃr

- Please ensure that you don't give any suggestion or influence the answers of the respondents in anyway
- AÀ¼À°ÀÌ¼ÄzÉÃ jÃª°À¢À®® è ¥Àaª°Á¢À¢À½ÀÌ GvÀ½ÀÁ¼À½ÀÌß ¤ª°ÀÌã ¸À®°ÉÃÛÀÄ½ÀÁ ¥ÀäÀÁ½À½ÀÌz bÁ¥ÀÁÀÆAqÀÌÁvÉ £ÉÆÃqÀÌ¹PÉÆ½i

- Please ensure that others such as relatives /friends/neighbors of the respondents or the community organizers do not influence the answers of the respondents
- AÀ¼À°ÀÌ¼ÄzÉÃ jÃª°À¢À®® è ¥Àaª°Á¢À®À ¸À§A¢À¢Às½ÀÌÁ, ¸ÉÃ»vÀ½ÀÌÁ, ÉÉgÉ°À£ÉÉª°À£ÀÁ½ÀÌÁ CxÀ°Á ¸À°ÀÆÀ°ÉÀ ¸ÀAWÁÀ¢PÀ½ÀÌÁ GvÀ½ÀÁ£À ªÉÆÀÄ ©Ã°ÀÌ¸ÀÁvÉ £ÉÆÃqÀÌ¹PÉÆ½i.

- Don't forget to thank the respondents after the interview and also the animators/volunteers of the NGOs for their kind assistance
- ¸ÀÌzÀ±ÀÕz½Àª°À ªÀ°ÀÁVz£À £ÁAÀ½ÀÌÁ, ¥Àaª°Á¢À½À½ÀÌÉÄÆAß °ÀÀÌÆ ¸À¼ÀÁ°À¸ÉÃª°À½ÀÌÁ £ÉÀÀ/¸ÉÉ½ÄzÀ½ÀÌÁ ÉÉ¸ÀÀÁ ¸ÉÃª°ÀÁPÀ£ÉÄÆAß CÀgÀ £ÉÀÁ«UÁV ª°À¢ÀÄ¸À¼ÀÁgÉÁÀÄÉ¢ j.

Categories of respondents

¥Àaª°Á¢À¼ÀÁ½ÀÁ ª°ÀÆÀÉÅÀ½ÀÁ

There are 12 sub categories of respondents classified as members and non-members. Read the following table carefully to observe the total no. of respondents in each

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category. The ratio between members and non members is 5:3. i.e. for every five members, three non members have to be interviewed

¸Azï¸AàgïÀï ªÀÄÀvÀÄÀ0 ¸Azï¸Aàgï®èzï ¥Àaav°Á¢ÚïÀ¼ÉÀÄß 12 G¥ÀiªÀiÀUÀõ0ÚïÀ¼À°è «AÀUÀr¸ïÀ¯ÁVzÉ.   ¥ÀaavÀÉÆÆAzïÀ ªÀÄÀõzïÀ°è£ÀÄ MI ÄÖ ¥Àaav°Á¢ÚïÀ   ¸ÀASïÉâÀÄÀÀÉÀÄß w½ÀÄ®Äï F PÉ¼ÀPÁ tÀª zïÀAvÀ°ï PÉÆµÀÄÀPïÀÄÀÉÀÄß UÀ½ªÀÄÉÀ«I ÄÖ N¢PÉÆÄ½zï.   ¸Azï¸Aàgïï ªÀÄÀõvÀÄÀ0 ¸Azï¸Aàgï®èzïÀ½gï ¥Àaâ¸ÀÄÀï t°ªÀ 5:3 DVgÀÄÀ¼ÀÄÖzÉ; CAzïÀgÉ ¥Àaav LzïÀ dï£À ¸Azï¸Aàjï UÉ ªÀÄÀÆgÀÀ dï£ï ¸Azï¸Aàgï®èzïÀgÀÄ£ÀÄß ¸ÀAzï²õÀ±ï£ÉÁPÁVgÀÄÀ¼ÀÄÖzÉ.

SI. no. PÀaaïÀ ¸ÀASïâ	Members ¸Azï¸AàgïÀ	No. of resp. ¥ÀaavÁ¢ÚïÀ ¸ÀASïâ	SI. no. PÀaaïÀ ¸ÀASïâ	Non-members (from) ¸Azï¸Aàgï®èzïÀgÀÄ (J° zÀAzï)	No. of resp. ¥ÀaavÁ¢ÚïÀ ¸ÀASïâ	Tentative time frame ¥ÁaÆÄ¼ÀÉÃÁVÀPÀ ªÉÃÀ½À ¥ÀÎn0Ö
1.	ODP groups M.r.¦.UÀÄÀÄÄ¥ÀÄ	70	7	ODP areas M.r.¦.Kj ÀÄÀ	42	6th jAzï 9th Feb
2.	RLHP groups Dgï¸.J¯ï.°fZï.¦.UÀÄÀÄÄ¥ÀÄ	125	8.	RLHP areas Dgï¸.J¯ï.°fZï.¦. Kj ÀÄÀ	75	10th jAzï 17th Feb
3.	GUARD groups f.AÀÄÀÄ.J.Dgï¸.r. UÀÄÀÄÄ¥ÀÄ	60	9.	GUARD areas f.AÀÄÀÄ.J.Dgï¸.r. Kj ÀÄÀ	36	20th jAzï22nd Feb
4.	ZSS groups gÉhÄqï¸.J¸ï.J¸ï. UÀÄÀÄÄ¥ÀÄ	60	10.	ZSS areas gÉhÄqï¸.J¸ï.J¸ï. Kj ÀÄÀ	36	23rd jAzï 25th Feb
5.	J¸ï.e£.J¸ï.Dgï¸.ªfÉ. AÉÆÃÃdï£Á PÀbÉÃjUÀÄÀÄ¥ÀÄ	60	11.	Project Office areas AÉÆÃdï£Á PÀbÉÃj Kj ÀÄÀ	36	27th Feb jAzï March 1st
6.	RWAs Dgï¸.qÀ§ÆÈè¸À.J UÀÄÀ¼À	90	12.	RWA areas Dgï¸.qÀ§ÆÈè¸À.J Kj ÀÄÀUÀ¼À	45	March 2nd jAzï March 10th
	Total MI ÄÖ	465		Total MI ÄÖ	300	
	Grand total **MI ÄÖ ¸ÀASïâ**	**800**				

- Approximate duration of each interview: about 45 minutes
- ¥Àaav ¸Azï±ÀÄÕÉ£ÀPÉÌ »r¸À§°ÃzÀAzï PÁ¯ÁªÀ¢: ¸ÀÄªÀiÁgÀÄ 45 ¤«À¶ÀUÀ¼À

- In the member category, five members of a self help group/ youth group/residents welfare association/community development organization usually living in the same locality/street/block will be selected as respondents. For every five members, please note that you interview three persons from the same locality/street/block who are not members of any group/association.
- ¸Azï¸Aàgï ªÀÄÀÆzïÀ°è, ¸ï ªÀÄÁ£À¢ªÁÁ¥ÁV CzÉÃ Kj ÀÄÀzï¸°è/gÀ¸ÉÛÀÄï°è/¸ÀaPïÉ£ï£ï£É£Ã±ï gÀÄ¸ï¸ïgÀAvÀ°ï ¸É¸ï°Ã¸ÀÀÄÀ UÀÄÀ ¡¸Éï/AÀÄÀÄ¥ÀÄ ¸ÀAwÀPÉÄï/ ¸ÀÄ½Àï ¤¤°Á¹UÀÄÀ ¸ÀAwÀUÀ½UÉ/ ¸ï ªÀÄÀÆ£É»PÀ C©PÀÈ¢ü ¸ÀAwÀUÀ½UÉ ¸ÉÀÄjzÀAvÀ°ï LzïÀ dï£ÀgÀ£ÀÄß ¸ÀAzï¸Aàgïï£ÀÄß

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¥ĥœvªÁ¢UÀ¼ÁV Dj ¹ÆÆ¼Äï¨ÉÃPÁVgÀÀvÀÛzÉ. zÀAÄÀ«I ÄÖ UÀªÄÀ¤¹, ¤ÃªÄÄ ÀAzÀ²õ ÀĪÀ ¥ĥœv LzÀÄ clÉÀ ÀzÀ ÀÄjUÉ, ªÄÆgÀÄ clÉÀ AÄĪÀªÄÀzÉÃ ÀAWÀ/ ÄÀ ÉÚÀÄÄ ÀzÀ ÀÄgÀ®èzÀ DzÀgÉÃ CzÉÃ «¨ÁUÀzÀ°è /gÀ ÉÚÀÄÄ°è / ¨ÁPï�£À°è ªÁ¹ ÀĪÀªÀÄgÀÄÄÀÀß ÀAzÀ²õ À¨ÃPÁVgÀÀvÀÛzÉ.

- When interviewing a non-member, please ensure that you select a respondent who is aged 20 years or more.
- ÀzÀ ÀÄgÀ®èzÀªÀ ÀgÀÄÄÀ¨ß ÀAzÀ²õ À¨ÁUÀ, 20 ªÀÄÄÀõUÀ¼¼ÄÄ CxÀ ÁÁ CzÀ²PÀ¼ï °£aÀÄ¼ªÀAvÀ¼° ¥ĥœvªÁ¢UÀ¼ÄÄÀ¨ß DAÄÀÄPÉÆ½i.

- Please mention the category number and name at the appropriate space provided in the first page of the questionnaire
- ªÄÄÀõzÀ ÀASÉå °ÁÄÄÆ °É ÀgÀÄÄ¨ß, zÀAÄÀ«I ÄÖ ¥ĥœÆ¼æPÁ¼ÄÄ ªÉÃ£zÀ®êÉÃ ¥ĥÄ zÀ°è ¤Ã¼rgÀÄ¬À ÀÄÆPÁÛ ÀÀ¼ÄzÀ°è ¨wõÀÄÄÃr j.

- Please note that in some of the questions, which have Yes /No as a response, **YES** response may lead you to the next immediate question and **NO** response may prompt you to jump and go to some other item X.
- zÀAÄÀ«I ÄÖ UÀªÄÀ¤¹ : °Ë zÀÄ / E®è GvÀÛgÀ °ÆÆÆ¢¢gÀÄ¬À °À®ªÄÀ ¥ĥœÉÆ¼Ä½UÉ GvÀÛgÀ **°Ë zÀÀ** JA¢zÀ¼À° è, vÀPÉt ªÉÃ ªÄÄÀA¢£À ¥ĥœÉÆ¼À¼Ä¼ÄÄÀ¨ß PÉÃ¼¬À¨¨ ÃPÁ¼V ÀÀvÀÛzÉ °ÁÄÄÆ GvÀÛgÀ¼ÄÀ **E®è** JAzÀÁVzÀ¼À° è, ªÄÄÀA¢£À PÉ®ªÀ ¥ĥœÉÆ¼Ä½UÉ PÉ£©I ÄÖ, ¨ÃÄgÉ ¥ĥœÉÃÄUÉ °ÆÆÆÆÄ¨ÃPÁVgÀÀvÀÛzÉ.

- Questions marked with an * should be asked only to respondents residing in notified or undeclared slums. If you are visiting a new area/locality please check with the animator/community organizer of a given NGO who accompanies you to find out if the area is a notified/recognized or unrecognized slum. Please indicate the same on the right hand topside of the questionnaire.
- * JAzÀ À¼Æa ¼À¯ÁVgÀ¬Àª¼À ¥ĥœÉÆ¼Ä½ÄÄ¼ÄÄÀ¨ß ªÄÀÉÃà¼ïÁvÉ ¥ĥqÉzÀÄ CxÀ ÁÁ ¥ĥqÉ¼À©¢¢ÀºÀ¼ÄÄ°À PÉÆÆ¼Ä½ÄÄ°À UÀ¼À¤¼À ¤ªÀ¹¹UÀ¼À¼ÄÄÀ¨ß ªÄÄÀÁ¥ PÉÃ¼¬À¨¨ ÃPÁVgÀÀvÀÛzÉ. ¤ÃªÄÄ MAzÀÄÄ °ÉÆÆ À K jÀÄÀ/Sqà ÀÄÄÉÄÆ ¨£n ¤ÃqÄÄÀwÛzÀ¼À°è, ¤ªÀ¼ÄÀ e¼ÆÆvÄÉ°°¬gÀÄ¬À¼À J£ï.f.M. zÀ À¼ÄÄÆ¼»¼Pi ÀAWÀ/ ¼À¦°°ÉÚUÀgÀÄ ¼°°ÁAÄÄ¢Azà CzÀÄ WÉ¼ÆÃ¶ãvÀ°ÁVgÀ¬Àª¼À CxÀ ÁÁ ¼À¼Æ¼À½vÉ ¥ĥqÉÆ¼Ä½ÄÄ¼ÄÀ¼À CxÀ ÁÁ ¥ĥqÉ¼À©¢¢ÀgÀ¼ÄÄ°À PÉÃ¼¬À¨¨ ÃPÁVgÀÀvÀÛzÉ j¼AÉ JA§zÀ¼À©¢ß Rav¼¥¼À¹¼Pï¹¥ÆÆ¼½i. zÀAÄÀ«I ÄÖ CzÀ¼À¼ÄÀ¼ß ¥ĥœ¼À©¢¢ÀÄ¼ ¼Ä¼¼Ä zÀ §®UÀqÉ, ªÉÄÃ ¼À° è ªÄÄÀÆ¼£À¼ÄÄ°è §¼É¬À¼Ä¬Äj.

- Section A - item A10: If the respondent is not too keen to answer, do not press, go to the next item
- «¨ÁUÀ J – ¥ĥœÉÆ¼AÄÀ J10 : ¥ĥœÉÆ¢¢¢ÀÄ¼ GvÀÛgÀ ¼À®Äà D¼AÄÀ¬¢¢¬À©¢¢ÀÄ°À°¬è, §®®ÄÀ¼À ªÄÄÀqÀÁ¼£ãr¬Ã, ªÄÄÀA¢£À ¥ĥœÉÆ¼Ä½UÉ °ÆÆÆÄV.

- Questions in Section B should not be asked for respondents in the non-member categories from 7 to 12.
- 7 j AzÀ 12 £ÉÃ ªÄÄÀõzÀ£ï É¼À jzÀ ÀzÀ ÀÄgÀ®èzÀ ¥ĥœvªÁ¢UÀ¼ÄUÉ, «¨ÁUÀ © A¼À°À°¬À° è ¥ĥœÉÆ¼ÄÄ¼ÄÄÀ¨ß PÉÃ¼¬Ä¨¨ ÁgÀzÀ¼À.

- Section B – item B2: if the respondent is a member in more than one organization, press him/her to commit to refer to the only the one in which he/she is most active for the purpose of the interview
- «¨ÁUÀ © – ¥ĥœÉÆ¼AÄÀ © 2: ¥ĥœ¼À©¢¢ÀÄ¼ MAzÀ¼AÄÀ¬°À° è °ÉÃ¼ÄÀ¼AÄÄ ¼AWÀ/ ÄÀ ¼ÉÚÀ¼Ä¼ÄÀ ÀzÀ ÀÄgÀÁVzÀ¼À©¢ß gÉ, CªÀgÀÄ °ÉZÀ¼À£ ¼À©ÄaÀ¼Ä ¥ĥÁ¬¼À©¼» ¼À¼ÄÄÀ¼À°À AÄÄÁ¼À½Ázà¼À¼Äg¼ÁÉ MAzÀ¼À ÄÀ ÉÚÀ¼Ä¼À «¨ÁgÀ¼Ä½°¬É v¼A¼ÄÄÀä GvÀÛgÀ ¹Ã«¼À¼ÄÉÀ¼½¹¹¥ÆÆ¼i®ÀÀ MvÁÛ¬¬¹¹.

- In section D, which of the questions D3 a –c and D4 a-c to be asked depends on the response to D2. For example, if the response to D2 is 1, then only D3 a or D4 a are

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asked, if the response is 1 and 2, then only D3 a & b and D4 a & b are asked and so
on.

- «¨ÁUÀ r AÌÀ°è, r 3 J ¬ÄAzÀ ¹ ªÀÄgÉÜÉ °ÁUÀÆ r4J ¬ÄAzÀ ¹ ªÀÄgÉÜÉ AÌÀÁ°À ¥ÀæÉ²ÀÌÀÉÀÀÃß PÉÃ¼À¨ÉÃPÀÄ JA§ÄzÀÀ ¥ÀàªªÁ¢ÀÀÄÀ r2 UÉ ¤ÃqÀÌÀªÀ GvÀÀgÀZÀ ªÉÃÄ¯É CªÀ®©¹gÀÀvÀÎzÉ. GzÁ°gÀuÉUÉ, r2 ¥ÀæÉ²ÀÉ GvÀÀgÀªÀ 1 DVzÀ̰è, PÉÃªÀ® r3J CxÀ̪Á r4J AÀÀ£ÀÀÃß PÉÃ¼À¨ÉÃPÀÄ, ªÉÃvÀÌÀÄ GvÀÀgÀªÀ 1 ªÀÀvÀÎÄ 2 DVzÀ̰è r3C ªÀÀvÀÎÄ © °ÁUÀÆ r4C ªÀÀvÀÎÄ © UÀ½À£ÀÀÃß PÉÃ¼À¨¨ÉÃPÀÄ.

- In sections E and F, there are many open ended questions with correct/incorrect as
responses. *Just note the answers to the question in the space provided. But do not
mark whether the answer is correct or incorrect.*

- «¨ÁUÀ E ªÀÀvÀÎÄ J¥ï UÀ¼À°è, °À®ªÀÀgÀÄ ªÀÀÄPÀÜO ¥ÀæªOzÀ£ÀÀÀ½gÀÀvÀ̰À ¥ÀæÉ²À½ªÉ °ÁUÀÆ CªÀ¼ÀÄ½UÉ Àj/vÀ¥ÀÄ GvÀÀgÀUÀ¼À̯À EªÉ. F ¥ÀæÉ²À½UÉ GvÀÀgÀ£ÀÀÃß C°è ¤ÃrgÀÀªÀ eÀÁUÀzÀ¯À°è ¨wõÀ̪ÁÀrj. DzÀgÀÉ D GvÀÀgÀ Àj AÉ̯À / vÀ¥ÀÄ JA§ÄzÀÀÀÃß UÀgÀÀÄvÀÄ ªÀiÁqÀ¨ÉÃrj.

- **For your information, the answers to open ended questions are:**

- ¤ªÀÀä ªÀÀ»wUÁV, ªÀÀÄPÀÜO ¥ÀæªOzÀÉ EgÀÀªÀÀvÀ°À ¥ÀæÉ²À½UÉ GvÀÀgÀÀÀÀÃßE°è PÉÆgÀ¯ÁVzÉ :

E1 to E3 d: the Government agency which is responsible
E1 jAzÀ E3 r : ¸ÀPÁðj À ¸ÀA¸ÉÜÀ̯À dªÁ¨ÁÝj UÀ¼ÀÀ

- for preparing the CDP – MUDA
- ¹.r.¦. vÀAiÀiÁj¸ÀÉ – JªÀiï.AÀÀ.r.J.
- for recognition and notification of slums – KSCB
- PÉÆ¼ÀÉUÉj UÀ¼À WÉÆÃµÀuÉ °ÁUÀÆ ªÀiÁ£ÀåvÉ – PÉ.J.i¨¨¹.©.
 for water supply – MCC
- ¤ÃgÀÀ ¸ÀgÀ§gÀÁzÀ – JªÀiï.¹.¹
- for power supply – Chamundeshwari Electricity Supply Company
- «zÀÀåvï ¸ÀgÀ§gÀÁzÀ – ZÁªÀÀÄÄAqÉÃ±Àéj Ã «zÀÀåvï ¸ÀgÀ§gÀÁzÀ PÉÃAzÀæ
- for parks – MCC or MUDA depending on the locality
- GzÁå£À̪À£ÀÀUÀ¼À°UÉ – JªÀiï.¹.¹. CxÀ̪Á JªÀiï.AÀÀ.r.J. Kj AÀÀ̼À°UÉ vÀ̯ÀÀAvÉ

E6: VAMBAY scheme – Valmiki Ambedkar Avas Yojana – for housing in slums
E6: «.J.JªÀiï.©.J.ªÀÉ. AÉ̯ÀÃd£À£À - ªÁ°äÃQ CA¨ÉÃqÀ̧gï DªÁ¸ï AÉ̯ÀÃd£À£É – PÉÆ¼ÀÉUÉj UÀ¼À°°è UÀÈºÀ£ªÀ ¤ªÀÀiÁð0 tPÁÌV

E8: Nirmala Nagara Yojane – door-to-door garbage clearance
E8: ¤ªÀÀð® £ÀUÀgÀ AÉ̯ÀÃdÉ£É - ªÀÀÀÄ£É¬ÄAzÀ ªÀÀÀĤUÉ PÀ¸À ¤ªÀÀð°ÀuÉ / «¯ÉÃªÁj

E10: 33% reservation for women
E10: ªÀÀĻ¼ÉAÀÀÄjUÉ 33% «ÄÀ̯À ̄Áw

E12: The objective of the wards committee is to bring the city government much closer
to people.
E12: ªÁqÀ¯ï ð PÀ«Än£ÀÀvÀ ªÀÀÀÄÀRå GzÉÝÃÄ±À £ÀÀUÀzÀÀvÀÀ°À è DqÀ½¥vÀ̪À£À£ÀÀÃß d£ÀÀgÀ ̧À«ÄÀ̧ÃÀ PÉÃAqÀ¯ÀÉÄAiÀÄ£ÀÀ̵À̧ÀZÁVzÉ

**E14: an important objective of RTI is to enable citizens' access to relevant,
valuable information available with the government agencies related to securing
their constitutionally guaranteed rights.**
E14: ªÀÀiÁ»w °PÀÌÄ PÁ£ÀÉÀ(Dgï.n.L.) AÀÀ ªÀÀÀÄÄRå GzÉÝÃÄ±À ¸ÀPÁðj ¸ÀA¸ÉǕÀ½ §½ EgÀÀªÀÀvÀ°À G¥ÀAÀÀiÉÆÃUÀ°É °ÁUÀÆ dµ̄À̧À
̧ÀÀ«zÁÉÀ §zÀÊ£À ªÀÀÀÉ® ®À̧ÀvÀ °ÀPÀÌÄÀ̄À gÀÀ°ÀuÉÉÉÉÀ ̄ÉÃPÁzÀÀvÀ°À ªÀÀiÁ»wAÀÉÄ½UÉ ¥À̄q£ÀÌÄgÀ£ÀÀ °PÀÌÄ£À£ÀÀ °ÀPÀÌÄ£Éª£ÀÀÃß ¤qÀÄ£ÀÀÀ̵ÀZÁVzÉ.

E-16: the Fundamental rights are

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E-16: ªÀÄÆ®¨ÀÄ Ev °À¥À¨ÀiÀÄ¼À AÀÄ ªÀÄ ªÉ AzÀgÉÃ

1. Right to Equality

1. ¸ÀªiÀ£ÀvÉ AvÉA¼ °À¥À

2. Right to Particular Freedom

2. ¤¢ Õµ±0 ¸Á évAvAæ¼ °À¥À¨ÀiÀÄ¼

- To freedom of speech and expression

- ªÁP¸ ¸Á évAvAæ¼ °ÁUÀÆ C©üªAiÀQÛ ¸Á évAvAæ¼

- To assemble peaceably and without arms

- DAiÀÄzÀgÀ»vÀªÁV ±ÁAw¬ÄAzÀ ¸À¨É ¸ÉÃgÀÀ ªÀÄZÀ

- To form associations or unions

- ¸ÀAWÀÄ¼ °ÁUÀÆ AÀÄ¤AÀÄ£iÀ UÀ¼À£ÀAß gÀa ¹PÉ¥¼ÀiÀ ªÀÄZÀ

- To move freely throughout the territory of India

- ¨Ágï vÀzÀ UÀ¯ÁÉ¼ÀUÉ GzÀÚÀ®PÄ¯ ªÀÀ¥À£Ù ªÁV ¸ÀAZÀj ¸À ªÀÄZÀ

- To reside and settle in any part of the territory of India

- ¨Ágï vÀzÀ AÀÄ ªÀÄzÉ ¨ÀÄAzÀ ®PÈ ªÁ¸À ªÀÄÀiÀÄqÀ ªÀÄZÀ °ÁUÀÆ £É¯É¸À ªÀÄZÀ

- to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business

- AÀÄ ªÀÄzÉ GzÀÆÃuÀiÀ ªÀÄ£ÀÀß ªÀ Áq À®PÄ¯, ªÀÈwÛÀÄÀ ÀÁ£PÉ¥¤®¦4i®PÄ¯, ªÁ¥¥Ág À, ªÀ»ªÀÁl £ÀÀB £ÀqÉ¸À®PÄ¯

3. Cultural and Educational Rights

3. ¸ÀA¸À¤ÈwPÀ °ÁUÀÆ ±ÉÊPPéëtPÀ °À¥À¼

4. Right to Freedom of Religion

4. zsÁ«ÄðPÀ °À¥À¼

5. Right Against Exploitation and

5. ±ÉÆÃµuÉ «gÀÄzÀÞ °ÉÆÃvÀgÀI £ÀqÉ¸À ªÀÄ °À¥À¼

6. Right to Constitutional Remedies

6. ¸ÀA«zsÁ¤PÀ ¥Àj °ÁgÀUÀ¼À °À¥À¼

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14.9. Group interview format

Group interview format: For the study of organizational variables to supplement the collective empowerment survey findings

Date: [ ]   Name of the Organization: [ ]

I. Personal and Employment Information

1. Names of the interviewee:
2. Age:
3. Education:
4. Gender:
5. Duration of employment with
   the Organization:
6. Designation:

II. Programme and Organizational Information

1. What is the main mission of your organization?

_____

2. How important are "rights and entitlements of people" for your organization's mission?
3. Are you satisfied with your performance in the organization?
4. Are you satisfied with your job profile/ responsibilities?
5. Do you believe your work is crucial to the fulfillment of your organization's mission?
6. Does the management seek your views and ideas to make decisions that are
    likely to affect your work ?
7. Are you adequately informed of the decisions that affect your work?
8. Do you voice your concerns and air your views without any fear and freely during the official interactions?
9. Do you believe you have adequate autonomy in carrying out your responsibilities related to your job?
10. Are you able to go up to your boss/ head of the organization when you wish and express your views/dissent/opinions without any fear?
11. Do you believe your boss/head of the organization listens to your views/ideas and makes a genuine effort to address your concerns/needs?
12. Are you aware of the sources of funding for your organization?
13. Are you aware of how the funds are utilized by the organization?
14. Do you have free access to the audited statement of accounts?

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14.10. Computation and interpretation of Pearson's *r*

Pearson's product-moment correlation

The quantitative computation of the correlation was first derived in 1896 by Karl Pearson and is referred to as Pearson's product moment correlation coefficient. It is a measure of the strength and direction of the linear relationship between two variables for samples that are normally distributed.

Computing Pearson's Correlation Coefficient (r)

There are several different computational formula for computing Pearson's *r* which provide the same results. The simplest way of expressing a correlation formula for Pearson's r is:

$$r = \frac{XY - \overline{XY}}{SDX * SDY}$$

where X is the score for variable 1 and Y is the score for variable 2. The numerator in the above equation equals the mean of XY ($\overline{XY}$) minus the mean of X ($\overline{X}$) times the mean of Y ($\overline{Y}$); the denominators are the standard deviation for X (SD_X) and the standard deviation for Y (SD_Y).

Interpreting Pearson's Correlation Coefficient

The usefulness of the correlation depends on its size and significance. If *r* reliably differs from 0.00, the *r*-value will be statistically significant (i.e., it does not result from a chance occurrence) implying that if the same variables were measured on another set of similar subjects, a similar *r*-value would result. If *r* achieves significance we conclude that the relationship between the two variables was not due to chance. The value of *r* is such that $-1 \leq r \leq +1$. The + and – signs are used for positive and negative linear correlations, respectively.

If x and y have a strong positive linear correlation, r is close to +1. An r value of exactly +1 indicates a perfect positive fit. Positive values indicate a relationship between x and y variables such that as value for x increase value for y also increase. If x and y have a strong negative linear correlation, r is close to -1. An r value of exactly -1 indicates a perfect negative fit. Negative values indicate a relationship between x and y such that as values for x increase, values for y decrease. If there is no linear correlation or a weak linear correlation, r is close to 0. A value near zero means that there is a random, nonlinear relationship between the two variables. A perfect correlation of ± 1 occurs only when the data points all lie exactly on a straight line. A correlation greater than 0.8 is generally described as *strong*, whereas a correlation less than 0.5 is generally described as *weak*. These values can vary based upon the type of data being examined. A study utilizing scientific data may require a stronger correlation than a study using social science data.

Just because one variable relates to another variable does not mean that changes in one cause changes in the other. Other variables may be acting on one or both of the related variables and affect them in the same direction. Cause-and-effect may be present, but correlation does not prove cause.

Statistical significance of a correlation

When pairs of numbers used to compute *r* are small, a spuriously high value can occur by chance. Thus, the number of pairs of values (N) determines the odds that a relationship could happen by

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chance. If N is small, r must be large to be significant (not caused by chance). When N is large (100 and above), a small r-value may be significant. To determine the statistical significance of r, first the degrees of freedom (df) which is equal to N_{pairs} - 2 (the number of pairs of *XY* scores minus 2). *df* represents the number of values that are free to vary when the sum of the variable is set; *df* compensates for small values of N by requiring higher absolute values of r before being considered significant. P indicates the odds of a chance occurrence or the probability of error when declaring r to be significant. Significant level $p =.10$ means 10% probability of a correlation occurring by chance or 10 times in 100 by chance alone; $p =.05$ is the 5% probability level or a chance occurrence of 5 times out of 100 and $p =.01$ is the 1% probability level or a chance occurrence of 1 time out of 100.

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14.11. SPSS outputs of multiple regression analysis for member sample

Model Summary (SPSS output for members sample)

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.611(a)	.374	.360	6.48559

a Predictors: (Constant), age of membership, Do you watch television ? Religion , No. of years of residence in this locality, Caste, Do you read news papers?, Age of the respondent in completed years, Gender of the Respondent, Type of area, and Education
b. Dependent Variable: v8, collective empowerment

ANOVA(b) (SPSS output for members sample)

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	11027.698	10	1102.770	26.217	.000
	Residual	18465.611	439	42.063		
	Total	29493.309	449			

Regression Coefficients(a) for member sample(SPSS output)

	Model	Raw Coefficients B	Std. Error	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	18.398	2.261		8.137	.000
2.	Type of area	2.207	.928	.136	2.378	.018
3.	Age of the respondent	.045	.030	.067	1.503	.134
4.	Gender	-5.886	.907	-.316	-6.687	.000
5.	Education	.194	.100	.122	1.945	.052
6.	Religion	-.045	1.062	-.002	-.042	.966
7.	Caste	2.424	.922	.137	2.628	.009
8.	No. of years of residence	-.044	.027	-.066	-1.608	.109
9.	Do you read news papers?	3.440	.924	.208	3.721	.000
10.	Do you watch television ?	-.045	.894	-.002	-.050	.960
11.	Years of membership	.251	.077	.151	3.262	.001

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14.12. Key demographic attributes of the respondents

Variables		RLHP N-106 14% [54]	ODP N-75 10%	RWA N-80 11%	GUARDN -62 8.3%	ZSS N-65 8.7%	MCC N-62 8.3%	Total Member (N=450) 60%	Total non member (N=301) 40%	Grand total (N=751) 100%
					Categories (all values in percentage)					
Age in years	*18 - 35*	68	52	8	52	59	45	48	55	51
	36 - 50	26	39	33	45	35	48	36	31	34
	51 - 65	6	9	45	3	6	7	13	11	12
	65+	0	0	15	0	0	0	3	3	3
Gender	*Female*	60	100	21	100	100	100	75	63	70
	Male	40	0	79	0	0	0	25	37	30
Education	*Illite-rates*	32	35	0	18	5	19	19	22	20
	Up to Senior Secon-dary	60	61	21	82	87	76	65	67	66
	Gradu-ation and above	3	0	79	0	8	5	16	11	15
House-hold income per month (*3.2% un dis-closed)*	*Less than 100 €*	91	91	15	92	77	86	75	76	75
	100 € - 200 €	8	7	20	7	20	8	11	15	13
	More than 200 €	1	1	56	0	2	3	11	4	8
Type of area	*Slum*	100	73	0	24	25	37	48	46	47
	Non-slum	0	27	100	76	75	63	52	54	53

Source: Author's construct

[54] Percentage of the total sample N=751

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14.13. Key demographic attributes of the respondent*s*

		Categories (values in percentages)								
Variables		**RLHP** N-106 14%	**ODP** N-75 10%	**RWA** N-80 11%	**GUARDN** -62 8.3%	**ZSS** N-65 8.7%	**MCC** N-62 8.3%	**Total Member** (N=450) 60%	**Total non member** (N=301) 40%	**Grand total** (N=751) 100%
Reli-gion	*Hindu*	85	53	97	76	89	100	83	80	81
	Mus-lim	13	44	0	24	11	0	15	17	16
	Chris-tian	2	3	3	0	0	0	2	3	3
Hindu Caste[55] Tribe	*SC*	48	24	5	7	8	26	22	25	23
	ST	22	7	0	2	5	6	8	8	8
	OBC	5	11	20	56	49	50	28	32	30
	Other	25	58	75	35	38	18	42	35	39
Read news Paper *(N= all those reported as literates and educated)* [56]		68 (N72)	57 (N49)	96 (N80)	63 (N51)	82 (N62)	68 (N50)	74 (N364)	71 (N234)	73 (N598)
Age of memb-ership in years	*< 3*	24	33	25	87	95	63	50	NA	NA
	3 to 5	42	65	30	13	5	34	33	NA	NA
	6 - 10	16	2	20	0	0	3	8	NA	NA
	>10	18	0	25	0	0	0	9	NA	NA

Source: Author's construct

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[55] SC- Scheduled Caste; ST – Scheduled Tribe; OBC – Other backward castes/communities
[56] the question on reading newspapers was asked only to those who reported as either with literacy skills or educated

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14.14. Key demographic attributes by gender and type of residential area

Variables		Categories (all values in percentages)			
		Female (N=525) 70%	Male (N=226) 30%	Slum (N=354) 47%	Non slum (N=397) 53%
Education	Illiterate	24	11	32	10
	Literate				
	Up to senior secondary	70	52	67	64
	Graduation and above	6	37	1	26
Read newspapers (N= all those reported as literates and/or educated)		67 (N396)	85 (N202)	61 (N242)	81 (N356)
Religion Caste	Hindu	80	87	68	95
	SC	20	30	38	10
	ST	8	8	14	3
	OBC	19	35	8	49
	Muslims	19	9	30	3.8
Members (N=450)		50	50	61	39
Non members (N=301)		64	36	59	41
Age of Member-Ship in years	Less than 3	62	16	37	61
	3 to 5	33	33	46	22
	6 to 10	3	22	8	8
	10 +	2	29	9	9

Source: Author's construct

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14.15. Availability of household services and problem perception

| Respondent Categories | Availability of household services and perception of problems (all values in percentages) | | | | | |
| | Piped Water supply | | Underground drainage | | Power supply | |
	Availa-bility	Problem	Availa-bility	Problem	Avail-bility	Problem
RLHP (N = 106)[57]	66	44 (N70)[58]	72	36 (N 76)	84	35 (N89)
ODP (N = 75)	89	55 (N67)	91	31 (N68)	95	28 (N71)
RWA (N = 80)	100	18 (N80)	100	1 (80)	100	0 (N80)
GUARD (N = 62)	90	32 (N56)	98	18 (N61)	98	12 (N61)
ZSS (N= 65)	98	30 (N64)	98	8 (N64)	100	8 (N65)
MCC (N = 62)	100	24 (N62)	98	10 (N61)	90	8 (N61)
Total members (N = 450)	89	34 (N399)	91	17(410)	95	16 (N427)
Non members (N = 301)	82	24 (N248)	93	17 (279)	93	13 (281)
Male (N = 226)	83	15 (N188)	92	10 (N208)	94	12 (N212)
Female (N = 525)	87	36 (N459)	92	21 (N481)	94	16 (496)
Slum (N = 354)	73	43 (N258)	84	30 (N296)	89	28 (N315)
Non slum (N = 397)	98	21(N389)	99	8 (N393)	99	4 (N393)

Source: Author's construct

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[57] N here means the total number of respondents in a particular sub stratum
[58] N here means the number of respondents in a given sub stratum who reported availability of a particular service

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14.16. Availability of community services

Respondent Categories	Availability of community facilities/ services (all values in percentages)				
	Street lighting	Storm water Drainage	Roads/ streets	Garbage clearance	Public transport
Member groups					
RLHP (N = 106)	**96**[59]	**76**	**79**	**50**	**87**
ODP (N = 75)	**91**	**84**	**72**	**37**	**61**
RWA (N = 80)	**100**	**93**	**100**	**88**	**100**
GUARD (N = 62)	**97**	**87**	**90**	**71**	**81**
ZSS (N= 65)	**100**	**91**	**97**	**94**	**89**
MCC (N = 62)	**94**	**85**	**92**	**87**	**98**
Total members (N = 450)	**96**	**85**	**88**	**69**	**86**
Total non members (N = 301)	**96**	**86**	**90**	**72**	**86**
Male (N = 226)	**99**	**86**	**93**	**77**	**96**
Female (N = 525)	**95**	**85**	**87**	**69**	**81**
Slum (N = 354)	**93**	**80**	**81**	**50**	**71**
Non slum (N = 397)	**99**	**91**	**95**	**88**	**99**

Source: Author's construct

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[59] it means for e.g. 96% of the 106 RLHP respondents reported presence/availability of street lights in their localities

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14.17. Enumeration of salient features of slums being intervened by RLHP

Sl. no	Name of the Slum	Status	Time Taken (in yrs)	Period of declaration with respect to the timing of RLHP intervention	Locale of rehabilitation	Ethnic Composition	Land ownership	Community Association & development status
1.	Kurubarahalli	D	NA	NA	I (eV)	S	Mu	S S
2.	KT Halli I	D	6	Pre 1990 B	R	M	Mu	S S
3.	Kalyanagiri	D	NA	A	R	M	Mu	S S
4.	Kurimandi B	D	6	Post 1995 A	I (E)	S	Mu	S S
5.	Kurimandi C	D	6	Post 95 A	I	M	Mu	S S
6.	Jail Quarters	D	NA	Pre 1995 A	I (E)	S	G	S S
7.	Bamboo Bazaar	D	NA	Pre 1990 B	PR	S	G	WP
8.	S. Ambedkar Colony	D	5	Post 2000 A	I	M	G	SS
9.	Janatha Saw mill	D	7	Post 2000	R (f)	M	Mu	WP
10.	Yadavagiri	D	8		R (f)	M	Mu	WP
11.	Nellore shed	D	2	Pre 1990 B	I	S	Mu	SS
12.	KT Halli II	D	6	Pre 1990	R	M	Mu	SS
13.	Madhuvana	D	10	Post 2000 B	R	M	Pr	SPS
14.	Yeshwanthnagar	D	4	Post 1995	I	S	Mu	SS
15.	Roopanagar	D	NA	A	R (E)	M	G	WP
16.	P.K.Sanitorium	D	9	Post 2000 A	I (E)	M	Mu	WP
17.	Manjunathpura	D	8	Post 95 B	PR	M	Mu	WP
18.	Medar's Block	ND	NA	NA	PR	M	Pr	WP
19.	RR.Colony	D	2	Post2000 A	I	M	Mu	WP
20.	Koppalur	D	5	Pre1990 A	R	S	Mu	SS
21.	Durgamba Temple[60]	ND	NA	NA	NA	M	Mu	WP
22.	Ambedkar Colony	D	5	Post 2000	I	S	Mu	WPS
23.	Jyothinagar	D	4	Pre1990 A	I	S	G	SS
24.	Sathgalli	D	5	Pre 1990 B	R	M	G	SS
25.	Shanthi Nagar	D	NA	NA	R	M	Mu	WPS
26.	KT Halli III	D	NA	NA	R	M	Mu	WPS
27.	Metagalli	D	5		I	M	Mu	WPS
28.	Vasanthnagar	D	6	Pre1990B	R	M	Pr	SS
29.	R. Gandhi Colony	D	NA	NA	I	S	Mu	SS
30.	Kuduremala	D	13	Pre1990A	I (E)	S	G	SS
31	NC Palya	D	NA	NA	I (eV)	M	Mu	WPS
32.	Veeranagere	D	NA	NA	I (eV)	M	Mu	WPS
33.	Muneshwaranagar	ND	NA	NA	NA	M	NA	WPS
34.	D. Urs Colony	D	7	Post 2000	I	S	Mu	NA

D- Declared
ND – Not declared

A- After RLHP intervention
B- Before RLHP intervention

O- Rehabilitated on original location
O (E) – Facing/faced threat of eviction
O (eV)- Erstwhile village
R- Relocated slum
PR- Partially relocated
R (f) –Proposed for relocation

NA – data Not Available or Not Applicable

S- Single caste/ethnic group
M- Multiple caste /ethnic groups

Mu – Municipal land
G- land belonging to other government agencies like Railways, Public Works Department etc.
Pr – Private

SS- strongly organised and satisfactory access to housing and basic services
WP- weakly organised and poor access to housing and basic services
WPS- weakly organised and partially satisfactory access to housing and basic services
SPS –strongly organised and partially satisfactory access to housing and basic services

Source: Author's construct based on various sources of data provided by RLHP between October 2006 and June 2007

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[60] It was declared twice and both the times the communities were located. A new slum has come up on the same land for the third time which is awaiting declaration

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14.18. Size, no. of households and population in relocated slums for the 2004 list of 49 declared slums

Sl. no.	Name of the Slum	Size of the slum before relocation or proposed for relocation (in acres)	No. of households	Population
1.	Medar's Block[61]	11.07	322	1810
2.	Behind Public hospital	0.12	151	760
3.	Behind Durgamba Temple	0.12	91	455
4.	Bamboo bazaar	0.34	89	445
5.	Raja Soap Factory	0.34	154	820
6.	Govindrao Memorial Hall	0.34	127	572
7.	Behind Regional College	0.39	61	284
8.	Behind Sahakar Bhavan	0.04	30	150
9.	Durgamba Temple 2nd Stage	2.10	78	350
10.	Behind KSRTC depot	0.21	120	600
11.	R.M.C.Yard	3.10	208	935
12.	Ashokpuram 13th Cross	2.00	133	544
13.	Behind P.K.Sanitorium	1.30	253	1335
14.	Behind Mysore Saw Mill	1.02	167	785
15.	16th Cross N.R.Mohalla	2.10	17	85
16.	Devaraj Urs Colony	1.00	102	543
17.	Dharam Singh Colony	2.10	87	396
18.	Doddakere Maidana	1.00	58	273
19.	Joganakere	0.18	39	110
	Total (nineteen slums)	**28.87 (29.00)**	**2287**	**11250**

Mean values
Average size of the slum: 1.5 acres = 0.64 Ha (Range - 0.04 to 11.07)
Average no. of households: 120 per slum (Range- 30 to 322)
Average size of the household: 5 persons

Source: Author's construct based on "Status of Slums in Mysore District" An Internal Report Prepared by the Mysore Sub-division of the Karnataka Slum Clearance Board 2004.

[61] partially relocated slum, several families are still residing

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14.19. Size, no. of households and population in slums rehabilitated in situ for the 2004 list of 49 slums

Sl. no.	Name of the Slum	Size of the slum in situ rehabilitation (in acres)	No. of households	Population
1.	A.K.Colony	3.10	65	320
2.	Budubudukeri, Pulikeshi road	4.10	326	1680
3.	Chamundeshwari Road, Gandhinagar	3.09	119	595
4.	Jyothinagar	3.01	148	730
5.	Silk factory main road	0.02	80	406
6.	NelloreShed	4.04	286	1430
7.	Vishweshwara nagar	0.32	86	370
8.	KT Halli , Mosque Road	1.20	49	245
9.	Yadavagiri-Paramahansa Road	0.15	65	325
10.	Industrial Suburb	2.10	96	480
11.	Ashokapuram	1.02	65	345
12.	Gokulam 4th Stage	1.00	35	190
13.	Near Slaughter House	2.10	96	480
14.	Behind Janatha Saw Mill	0.20	89	493
15.	Nachanahalli Palya	2.10	76	360
16.	Behind Coffee Board	2.1	153	636
17.	Budubudukeri Chikkaveeranna Road	0.14	100	323
18.	Manjunathapura	2.00	286	1438
19.	Chamundeshwari Road, Gandhinagar 2nd Stage	1.04	177	835
20.	Metagalli Ambedkar Colony	4.36	280	1450
21	Name not known	2.10	85	739
22.	Madhuvana	2.00	138	689
23.	Nellurshed Ist Stage	0.20	65	326
24.	Channagiri Koppal	2.20	357	1733
25.	Usmania Block	1.24	128	580
26.	Savitha Ambedkar Colony	1.25	53	263
27.	Opposite Speech &Hearing Institute	1.35	137	660
	Total (27 slums)	**47.71 (48.00)**	**3790**	**18950**
	Mean values *Average size of the slum: 1.77 acres = 0.70 Ha (Range min. 0.02 to max 4.36)* *Average no. of households: 140 per slum (Range min.53 to max. 357)* *Average size of the household: 5 persons*			

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14.20. FGD Format – Women leaders from slums and members of DMO

- Effects of community composition on community organization:
- Effects of community organization on the slum rehabilitation and redevelopment
- Effects of patronage (+electoral) politics on community organization:
- Effects of multiple leadership nodes and rival/competitor NGOs on community organization:
- Effects of RLHP/MSDF on community organization: (does holistic/integrated approach make a difference?)
- Effects of RLHP on socio economic indicators
- School enrollment rate and dropout rate:
- Vocational training for youth:
- Women empowerment: financial autonomy and family decisions
- Domestic violence, alcoholism etc.

- Does the time point of intervention matter?
- Cross verification to assess the veracity of and causative factors for the following indicators
- Rate of eviction – increase or decrease? Why?
- Frequency of protests /demonstrations – increase or decrease? Why?
- Time taken to declare, relocate and provide basic amenities – increase or decrease?
- Behavior of agency officials – responsive vs. unresponsive?
- Transparency – open or closed; access to information?
- Policy changes and changes in technical specifications – plot size etc:
- Participation of beneficiaries in the schemes and other consultative mechanisms:

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14.21. FGD format for MSDF leaders and Office bearers

1. To understand and assess how RLHP and MSDF achieve their goals and objectives?

Goal: declaration/recognition of slums and provision of basic amenities apart from other amenities such as quality of health and education services, PDS, etc.

2. To understand how they affect decisions regarding:
- Slum declaration: how many slums they were able to obtain declaration –
- Basic amenities in slums: how many they were able to obtain basic amenities
- Housing: how many they succeeded in obtaining housing –
- Relocation: how many they were able to relocate -

3. To understand how and why have they succeeded – pick a case slum? And why haven't they succeeded – pick another case slum?
- List the stakeholders/actors and what to look for in the two cases?
- What is success? Getting the slum declared and provision of basic amenities including housing/relocation
- What isn't a success?
- Encountered problems/delays in getting the slum declared and provision of basic amenities/relocation if so, what are the constraints

4. Key Success or non-success factors: what are their strategies?
- How do they mobilize the communities? Awareness building (symbols used), entry points, women/ men /youth; what are the factors that affect community mobilization?
- Community awareness symbols – caste/Dalit identity, rights, injustice, inequality etc.
- Community composition –homogeneous/heterogeneous; level of organization and solidarity; local leadership; conflicts
- Multiple leadership nodes; rival and competitor NGOs

5. Networking and federation:
- Contacts/friends in government and polity:
- How contested is the land ownership?
- Level of patronage politics:
- Incidental access to a readily available government project/scheme:
- Pressure building strategies- memoranda, political pressure, protest and demonstration, media pressure:
- Time of entry or intervention in a particular slum: how early or late in the developmental history of a slum:

6. Key outcomes in success vs. non-success slums: for e.g.:
- Plot size in relocated slums, location of toilet etc.:
- Time taken to declare the slum:
- Time taken to obtain the certificate of tenure rights:
- Time taken to gain access to basic amenities:
- Quality of services provided:
- Reasons for delay; problems encountered in the process etc:

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Other FGD themes

7. Effects of RLHP/MSDF on community organization (does a holistic/integrated approach make a difference?):

8. Effects of RLHP on socio economic indicators –
- IMR and MMR:
- School enrollment rate and dropout rate:
- Vocational training for youth:
- Women empowerment: financial autonomy and family decision making-
- Domestic violence, alcoholism etc.:

9. Has KSCB or other state agencies sought MSDF's assistance on any occasion?

10. Cross verification to assess the veracity of and causative factors for the following indicators
- Rate of eviction – increase or decrease? Why?
- Frequency of protests /demonstrations – increase or decrease? Why?
- Time taken to declare, relocate and provide basic amenities and title deed– increase or decrease?
- Behavior of agency officials – responsive vs. unresponsive?
- Transparency – open or closed; access to information?
- Policy changes and changes in technical specifications – plot size etc:
- Participation of beneficiaries in the schemes and other consultative mechanisms:

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14.22. Slum case study format

1. Name of the Slum:
2. Location:
3. MCC Ward name & number:
4. Socio –economic information:
a.   No. of households:
b.   Total population:
c.   % of men
d.   % of women:
e.   % of children:
f.   % of persons above 60 yrs:
g.   % of youth:
h.   Languages spoken: Kannada_____ Telugu_____ Tamil _____Urdu____
i.   Religious identity of people: Hindus _____Muslims_____   Christians_____
j.   Caste & other ethnic identity: SC_____ ST_____ OBC_____ Other____
k.   Area in acres: _____
l.   Condition of houses:
% of huts houses   _____
% of concrete house   _____
% of semi concrete houses   _____
m.   Average family size:
n.   Main Occupation:
i.   daily wages   _____
ii.   domestic servants   _____
iii.   Beedi workers _____
iv.   agarbathi workers   _____
v.   MCC/Government   _____
vi.   Others (any special)   _____
o.   Average Income: _____
p.   % with voter ID cards:
q.   % with Ration cards/green card holders:
r.   Civic Amenities/Services:
•   Piped water supply to households: *Yes*   *No*
•   Household toilets: *Yes*   *No*
•   Electricity: *Yes*   *No*
•   Underground drainage: *Yes*   *No*
•   Storm water drain: *Yes*   *No*
•   Roads: *Yes*   *No*
•   Streetlights: *Yes*   *No*
•   Garbage removal (dust bins):   *Yes*   *No*
•   Primary school: *Yes*   *No*
•   Primary health center: *Yes*   *No*
•   Community hall: *Yes*   *No*
•   Playground/park etc.:   *Yes*   *No*
s. History of the slum:
o   When was the slum created?
o   Where did the people originate from?
o   How did the slum expand over the years?

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t. Problems, issues, struggles, organization and politics
o   Is the slum declared/recognized by KSCB? If so when? If not why?
o   Do people of have title deed? If so, how did they obtain it?
o   Did people protest and demonstrate to get the recognition?
o   Who organized the protests?
o   What was the nature of protest?
o   When was the protest organized?
o   Did the protest succeed?
o   If yes, what were the success factors?
o   If no what were the reasons?
o   Were there any allies (friends) in the government? If so who were they?
o   Were there any enemies in/outside the government? If so who were they?
o   Were there any friends in the media, politics, other fields (like writers, other famous, eminent people?)
o   Is there a development association in the slum? When was it formed?
o   How many members are there?
o   Who are the leaders? What is the nature of their leadership? And how effective is their leadership?
o   Is there unity and solidarity amongst the residents?
o   Is the association affiliated to MSDF?
o   What kind of problems was faced by RLHP in organizing the people?
o   Is the association affiliated to any particular party?
o   If so what are the reasons?
o   Do leaders command respect from others?
o   Is the community divided on caste/ religious/political lines?
o   What are the current problems?
o   How is the community dealing with those problems?
o   Apart from protesting for recognition, have there been any other protests, struggles, demonstrations and other advocacy?

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14.23. Inventory for semi -structured interview of RLHP staff

1. Year of establishment:

2. Nature of organization:

3. Organizational structure: staff strength, attrition rate, qualification etc. decision making process, geographical coverage, thematic focus and current activities, material assets, sources of funding etc.

4. Current focus/ activities: thematic/ spatial

5. Material assets & Sources of financial support: (annual budget)

6. Historical antecedents: origin, evolution, motivation of the founders; can distinct phases be identified?

7. Have the initial focus and thrust areas shifted over years? If so what are the reasons? Donor priorities? Funding opportunities? Felt needs? Areas of expertise?

8. What have been the main strategies of intervention in slums? Entry points, how were slums identified for intervention? Or were they self selected?

9. What are the historical antecedents of MSDF? What has been the nature of relationship between RLHP and MSDF? How has it changed over the years? And why?

10. How did the scale up occur? (from 1 to 9 to 36 to three districts)? What are the milestones?

11. What is the process of notification of a given slum? Why is notification so important?

12. What are the schemes and projects being implemented for the benefit of the urban poor in Mysore? What has been the experience? Are there any locally specific practices?

13. What changes are observed in the general state of slums over the last 22 years in Mysore for following parameters?
    Literacy/education, health, occupation, gender sensitivity, income levels, housing, access to basic services and quality, human agency/awareness, community solidarity and organization, children / youth, girl children/women, division along caste/ethnic lines, political affiliations

14. Is there a qualitative change in the way services and amenities are being provided?

- *Time taken to convince the authorities and obtain the services (cradle to grave – from slum notification to obtaining all the basic amenities – houses, water supply & sanitation, household electrification, street lights, roads, water supply etc.)*

- *centrally planned schemes vs. state government sponsored schemes (participation and selection of beneficiaries)*

- *Corruption*

- *Need to protest and demonstrate: (how has it changed over the years): have protests increased or decreased (count and recall the occasions)? How are communities mobilized?1990-1995;1995 to 2000;and 2000 to 2006*

- *Are there regular interactions with authorities? If so what is the periodicity? Upon whose initiative the arrangement was instituted? Has it proved effective? Is it continuing? If No why? Do the authorities consult proactively with MSDF/RLHP? Give examples? Is there cooption in official committees?*

- *Has MSDF+RLHP made any proposals/ suggestions/recommendations to public authorities in the area of housing/ slum rehabilitation/ relocation, provision of services? If yes, list them? Have they been accepted and implemented? If so, how was it achieved?*

15. What is the nature of relationship between RLHP+MSDF and government agencies?
    KSCB, MCC, MUDA, CHESCOM, Police and DC's office

16. Have there been any significant changes in the institutional attitudes and practices pertaining to the planning and provision of basic amenities amongst the concerned agencies?
    KSCB, MUDA, MCC, CHESCOM, DC's Office and Police

17. Is RLHP part of any local/regional/national network of CSOs? if so what cause has it served? If no, what are the reasons?

18. What impact does elections have on the lives of the poor? How do they participate?

- *Is there political interference? Does patronage conflict with RLHP-MSDF's work? If so in what ways and how is it dealt with?*

- *In slum rehabilitation/relocation/ gaining access to basic civic amenities, what are the factors of success and problematic or status quo?*

	Success	Status quo
Community Awareness		
Community association		
Alliance systems (friends)		
Level of political interference		
Conflicts within the community		
Nature of land ownership		

19. What role has media played in RLHP+MSDF efforts over the years?

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14.24. Key Informant Interview format for KSCB officials and DCs Office

For KSCB
- List of declared and undeclared slums in Mysore city along with demographic information: list of relocated slums – what's the experience?
- Criteria and the procedure for declaration/notification:
- Factors affecting declaration process – land ownership etc:
- Criteria and the procedure for issuance of title deed:
- Criteria and procedure for provision of basic amenities including housing:
- Currently implemented schemes and projects:
- Relationship with MSDF/RLHP and other Civil society organizations:
- Experience of working with or without intermediary Civil Society Organizations in slums – Have they experienced more or less problems and constraints?
- Effects of community composition and community organization on the work of KSCB:
- Effects of patronage politics on the work of KSCB – problematic or facilitative?
- Co-ordination and relationship with other state agencies:
- Partnership arrangements with Civil society organizations – RLHP/MSDF? (KSCB seeking help etc.)
- Documents for two case study slums:
- Cross verification of the causative factors for the following indicators
- Rate of eviction – increase or decrease? Why?
- Extent of protest/demonstrations– increase or decrease? Why?
- Time taken to declare, relocate and provide basic amenities – increase or decrease?
- Behavior of agency officials – responsive vs. unresponsive?
- Transparency – open or closed; access to information?
- Policy changes and changes in technical specifications – plot size etc:
- Participation of beneficiaries in the schemes and other consultative mechanisms:

For DC's Office
- Role of the DC's office in slum rehabilitation and particularly in the declaration process:
- Schemes and projects spearheaded by the DC:
- Co-ordination between different agencies concerned with UPA and slum rehabilitation:
- Cross verification of the causative factors for the following indicators
- Rate of eviction – increase or decrease? Why?
- Frequency of protests /demonstrations– increase or decrease? Why?
- Time taken to declare, relocate and provide basic amenities – increase or decrease?
- Behavior of agency officials – responsive vs. unresponsive?
- Transparency – open or closed; access to information?
- Policy changes and changes in technical specifications – plot size etc:
- Participation of beneficiaries in the schemes and other consultative mechanisms:
- Patronage politics and community organization:

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14. 25. Details of important interviews and FGDs for the study on inclusive urban governance for slum dwellers in Mysore (Chapter ten)

Interviews – Narrative and semi-structured format

Date	Details of the respondents
10.08.2005	Mrs. Philomena Joy, Director RLHP
13.08.2005	Dr. Nagaraj, Health Officer Mysore City Corporation
17.08.2005	Mr. Lokesh, Project leader MCC- SJSRY Cell
21.09.2005	Mr.Yethiraj, Working President MSDF
07.12.2006 & 16.01.2007	Mr.Venkatesh, Assistant Director and Mr. Nagendra, Field Coordinator, RLHP
17.01.2007	Mr. Nagendra, Field Coordinator, RLHP
27.01.2007	Mr.Mehaboob, Executive Committee Member, MSDF
16.02.2007	Mr.Kapini Gowda, Assistant Executive Engineer, KSCB Mysore Subdivision
20.02.2007	Mr.Narayan, Honorary President MSDF
01, 02, 03 – 03-2007	Ms.Philomena Joy, Director, Mr.Venkatesh, Assistant Director and Mr. Nagendra, Field Coordinator.
05-04.2007	Mr.Kapini Gowda, Assistant Executive Engineer, KSCB Mysore Subdivision
07.04.2007	Ms. Shobha, President DMO
18.06.2007	Mr.Kapini Gowda, Assistant Executive Engineer, KSCB Mysore Subdivision, Mr.Venkatesh, Assistant Director and Mr. Nagendra, Field Coordinator, RLHP
22.06.2007	Mr. Nagendra, Field Coordinator, RLHP
27.06.2007	Mr. T.M.Vijaybhaskar, Principal Secretary, Department of Education, Government of Karnataka

Focus group discussions

Date	Details
20.01.2007	Focus group discussion with office bearers of DMO
24.01.2007	Focus group discussion with office bearers of MSDF
20.02.2007	Focus group discussion with senior leaders of P.K.Sanitorium slum community
07.04.2007	Focus group discussion with senior leaders of Vasanthnagar community

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14.26. Details of important interviews for the study on the conservation history of Lingambudhi lake (Chapter eleven)

Interviews – Narrative and semi-structured format	
Date	**Details of the respondents**
16.10.2006	Mr.Ravikumar, Director Centre for Appropriate Rural technologies (CART) EA-1
22.10.2006	Dr. Yellappa Reddy, former Secretary, Department of Ecology, Environment and Forests, Government of Karnataka
25.10.2006	Mr. Kushalappa, Chairperson, Lingambudhi Lake Protection Committee and Mr.Yagnendra, Assistant Engineer, Mysore Urban development Authority
26.10.2006	Mr.Ravikumar, Director (CART) EA-1
28.10.2006	Maj.Gen.S.G.Vombatkere, President Mysore Grahakara Parishat (MGP)
29.10.2006	Dr. A.Ravindra, former Managing Director, Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Finance and Development Corporation (KUIDFC)
30.10.2006	Mr. Bhaskar Rao, Executive Director, STEM Consultants
02.11.2006	Mr. K.B.Sadananda, Vrukshamitra EA-2
09.11.2006	Mr.Manu, Mysore Amateur Naturalists (MAN)
12.11.2006	Mr. A.S.Shivaprakash, Amateur Naturalist
13.11.2006	Mr.Manu, Mysore Amateur Naturalists (MAN) and Mr.Gopal Singh, Assistant Conservator of Forests, Mysore Forest Division
14.11.2006	Mr.B.M.Prakash, Environmental Officer, Regional Office of the Karnataka State Pollution Control Board, Mysore
16.11.2006	Mr. B.R.Raju, Former Town Planning Member, MUDA
18.11.2006	Mr. Chikkananjaiah, Former Town Planning Member, MUDA (telephonic)
24.11.2006	Mr.Ravikumar, Director Centre for Appropriate Rural technologies (CART) EA-1
25.11.2006	Mr. A.S.Shivaprakash, Amateur Naturalist
08.12.2006	Mr. A.S.Shivaprakash, Amateur Naturalist
16.12.2006	Mr.Manu, Mysore Amateur Naturalist and Mr.Chikkappaiah, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Mysore Forest Division
18.12.2006	Mr. Mr.Ravikumar, Director (CART) EA-1 and Mr.Ravindranath, Assistant Executive Engineer, MUDA
08.01.07	Mr. Jaffar, Range Forest Officer, Mysore Forest Division
21.06.2007 & 26.06.2007	Dr. M. B. Krishna, Ornithologist and freelance consultant
27.06.07	Mr. T.M.Vijaybhaskar, Principal Secretary, Department of Education, Government of Karnataka