Metropolitan Urban Governance Approaches and Models: Some Implications for Indian Cities

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Abstract

As India is poised for some sweeping changes in urban governance in the backdrop of rising urbanization and metropolitanisation, it has become imperative to examine the existing models of metropolitan urban governance and the diversity they present. These governance structures are important as envisaged under the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act, which proposed to have metropolitan planning committees established in all major metropolitan cities. This paper presents an analysis of the institutional and governance structures of some major metropolitan cities and attempts to draw the lessons emerging from them. It is yet to be examined which models present not only the decentralization, which is well researched, but also the effectiveness of each of them to the emerging Indian context. However, the need for adopting them is outlined in an emerging backdrop and drawbacks in current Indian models.

Key Words: urban governance, metropolitan cities, administration structures, institutions.

Background

India has long been experiencing population and demographic changes after its independence, and an important process associated with it is the urbanization and urban population growth. Urban population has risen from about 30 million in 1901 to 300 million by 2001 in India and the level of urbanization has steadily grown from less than 11 per cent of total population to about 28 per cent during this period. The number of urban areas has also grown from less than 2000 to about 4,500 by 2001 but list and number are inconsistent over time (Kundu 2006). There is an increasing tendency towards "metropolitanization" of Indian cities in the recent past. The number of metropolitan cities has (cities with more than 10 million population, which are also referred to as mega cities) increased from 4 to 7 and the number of metros (cities with population more than 1 million) has increased from 23 to 35 during 1991-2001 (Census 2001).

As more and more cities join the league of metropolitan cities, the appropriateness of administrative structures itself is an issue with respect to their management and service delivery, especially of basic civic amenities. While most of the metropolitan cities are governed by municipal corporations having their own jurisdiction, their urban agglomerations are spreading much beyond the municipal/city limits. The areas within agglomeration may fall under either neighbouring municipality or municipal corporation or transitional area[1]. In such case, the need for a metropolitan agency to coordinate the development of jurisdictions and to set out a larger vision for regional development becomes warranted. Therefore, the metropolitan areas need to steer appropriate model for their governance by making necessary institutional arrangements with respect to (a) coordination/cooperation (b) conflict resolution (c) power sharing between the jurisdictions (municipal or transitional urban areas) and the agencies (both municipal as well as para-statal).

The presence of a coordinating metropolitan/ regional government and that of appropriate governance structures for the same are central to the development planning of the cities in the Europe (Salet, Thornley and Kreukes 2003). However, much of the European discussion confines to harmonizing and/or upscaling of the spatial planning for the development of cities to the upper tiers of city-regions, which calls for both regional planning

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[1] In particular, mega cities (with more than 4 million population) and megapolis (with more than 10 million population) have several municipalities and urban/transitional areas in their neighbourhood.

strategies as well as specific urban planning strategies at various levels of planning; the questions of the kind of above do not arise as the systems are based on certain governing principles that are enshrined under national legislations and now under EU legislation. The administrative structures perhaps present a diverse systems and practices prevalent. In the contexts other than planning, metropolitan urban governance is viewed upon as another extension of governance principles associated with any level of government (UNCHS 2000): *transparency, accountability, equity, performance, participation, law and order, strategic vision and commitment.*

Given the wider scope for exploring governance and metropolitan governance in different contexts, there exists scope for a large diversity of material, as evident from the range of case studies in one single region of Europe in Salet, Thornley and Kruekes (2003). The OECD (2000) emphasizes on two basic underlying principles to make the metropolitan governments more competitive and liveable:

(a) *Solidarity*, which refers to the city's more broadly shared values and priorities, its capacity to define and act upon shared interests, and the commitment of its people to mutual assistance;

(b) *Subsidiarity*, which refers to local autonomy, decentralization and keeping government close to the people.

The OECD (2000) has also suggested certain guiding principles of good metropolitan governance that are presented in the *Annexure*.

Introduction

In India, municipalities were created as local self governments to take care of the city development and the provision of infrastructure services, and municipal corporations were created in large cities for a similar purpose. They were created under the legislations of State government and State governments hold a lot of control over them and wield pressure on their operations through several mechanisms e.g., giving consent to all major fiscal decisions. Over a period of time, the municipal institutions lost the credibility to deliver services in an efficient manner and began to shun their responsibility to service urban areas beyond their jurisdiction. This brought the emergence of Urban Development Authorities (UDAs) in India that spread rapidly during the 1980s, which inevitably led to confrontation between municipal authority and UDA. The UDAs were created as Special Purpose Vehicle with a different governance structure and mandate that made it possible for them to perform the function efficiently. However, adequate emphasis was not laid down on creating it as a co-ordinating institution with a larger jurisdiction and to make its role without usurping the powers of municipal system and to take care of regional planning and development issues.

The 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA), 1992 has brought several sweeping changes to urban governance in the country (see Box 1 for the salient features of 74th CAA). An important change it sought is to strengthen the existing municipal institutions with respect to (a) the autonomy of municipal/urban local bodies, (b) the promotion of decentralization of power, finances and political structure, and (c) the formation of appropriate structures, guidelines and functions. One of the prescriptions under it was to establish Metropolitan Planning Committees (MPC) for preparing development plans at metropolitan level. This requires formation/creation of metropolitan authority first through necessary legislative changes so that the plans could be prepared it and the MPC could decide upon the same. However, not many Indian cities have responded positively to create, constitute and function the MPCs to the spirit of CAA, 1992. Only some of them have created such entities, prominent among them is Kolkata. Therefore, scope exists for improving metropolitan urban governance by establishing MPCs and by forming metropolitan authorities (either creating

new metropolitan authorities or by expanding the jurisdiction of already existing urban development authorities and making clear of their role).

Box 1 Salient Features of 74th CAA, 1992

⇒ Introduction of the Twelfth Schedule which lists the functions of the urban local bodies, covering planning, regulation and development aspects
⇒ Establishment of District and Metropolitan Planning Authorities responsible for the election of representatives for the preparation of development plans at district and metropolitan levels
⇒ Proposed establishments of ward committees in areas having population more than 300,000
⇒ Specification by law of the powers and responsibilities entrusted to municipalities and ward committees
⇒ Holding of periodic and timely elections; if a municipality is dissolved for any reason, it should be reconstituted within six months
⇒ Specifying by law the sources of municipal finance and their periodic review by a stratutorily constituted State Finance Commission and making it obligatory on the part of Central Finance Commission to recommend measures needed to augment state resources to assist the municipal governments
⇒ Restrictions on the power of State governments to do away with democratically elected municipal governments

Source: Savage and Dasgupta (2006)

Given the strategic importance and the constitutional provisions, metropolitan cities in India need to form new governance structure with well laid institutional arrangements; this requires reviewing the already operational models in India and internationally. This paper makes such an attempt. We will first take an overview of institutional structures for city governance as found in literature, then proceed to discussing the empirical models next and, finally, conclude what emerges from them in the light of recent changes in inter-government structure in India. We do not attempt to critically analyse governance structures but present features and principles of existing models worth looking at before forming institutional structure(s) of metropolitan governance.

2. Institutional Structures for Urban Governance

Institutional structure is an important instrument to achieve better urban governance and it is the design of appropriate institutional structure that has the potential to change the outcomes. It is here that it interfaces with the values of the society, polity and economy at local level. As mentioned by Pinto (2000), the debate over the best institutional structure for urban government has a long history, going as far back as Aristotelian thoughts about the most appropriate constitution for the Greek city-state and is embedded in the basic purposes and values of the society. Likewise, the American cities have long enjoyed 'home rule' which provided them operational autonomy and not tied up to the upper tiers of administration – they ushered in participative democracy without losing the efficiency. Therefore, any study of local government, she mentions, must normatively be concerned about with values, and empirically with the government institutions which seek to promote these values.

In examining the relationship between structure and values, one generally finds that the values of efficiency and economy favour central control and domination while the values

of self-governance, empowerment of people and local participation favour decentralized structures and greater autonomy. Moreover, these values are not always rooted in accepted ideologies, but have to do with the socio-economic needs of the times and the compulsion to respond to them in a meaningful way, so is the institutional structures of urban governance. Indian cities have lost the functional autonomy and power decentralization during colonial rule and it further continued with the centralization tendencies soon after independence. Although large Indian cities have formed local bodies long time ago and created legal and administrative structure, perhaps, the breakthrough towards decentralization of powers, functions and institutional structures did not come until CAA, 1992. In fact, it is argued that decentralization would improve the civic performance of local bodies, even in disasters (Phatak and Patel 2005)

2.1 Types of administrative structures for the city governance

It is held in literature that four major types of administration structures could be found in the context of cities with respect to the division of responsibilities (Pinto 2000) which are discussed briefly hereunder[2]:
(a) the Weak Mayor-Council Structure
(b) the Strong Mayor Council Structure
(c) The Commission System
(d) The Council – Manager System

2.1.1 The Weak Mayor Council Structure
This type of administrative structure shown in figure 1 is one of the first kinds in the modern industrial era. In this structure, the Mayor can recommend legislation and has policy making functions while administrative functions are vested in a Council through an elaborate committee system. Both the Mayor and Council as well as local officials are elected. This brings in both the political legitimacy and the scope for professional performance.
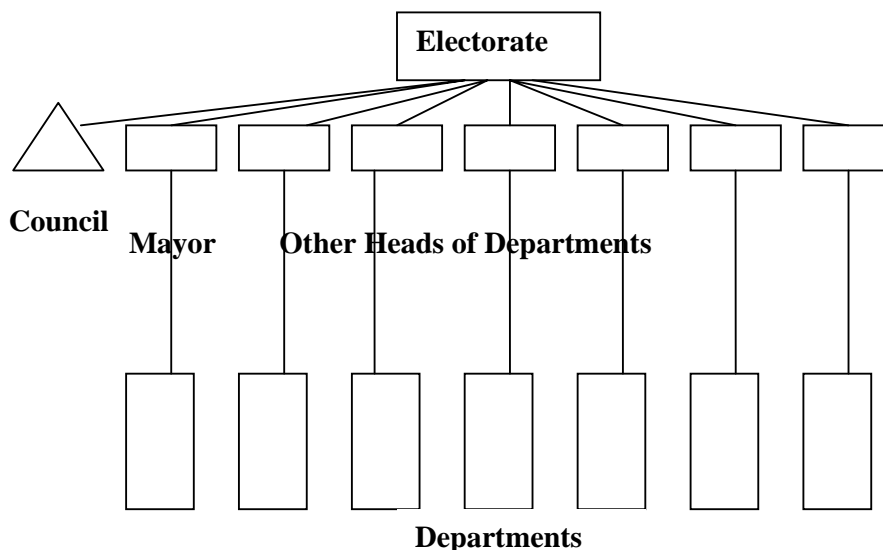

Figure 1: The Weak Mayor-Council Structure

2.1.2 The Strong Mayor Council Structure
This is similar to the earlier structure (illustrated in figure 2), but the Mayor and the Council are directly elected. Here, the Mayor assumes supreme control over administration

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[2] A detailed discussion on each of them can be found in the above source

and goes synonymous with presidential form of political governance. The Mayor is powerful as he combines political as well as administrative leadership and the Council becomes a scrutinizing body of his/her actions, policies and programmes.

Electorate

Council

Mayor

Other Heads of Departments
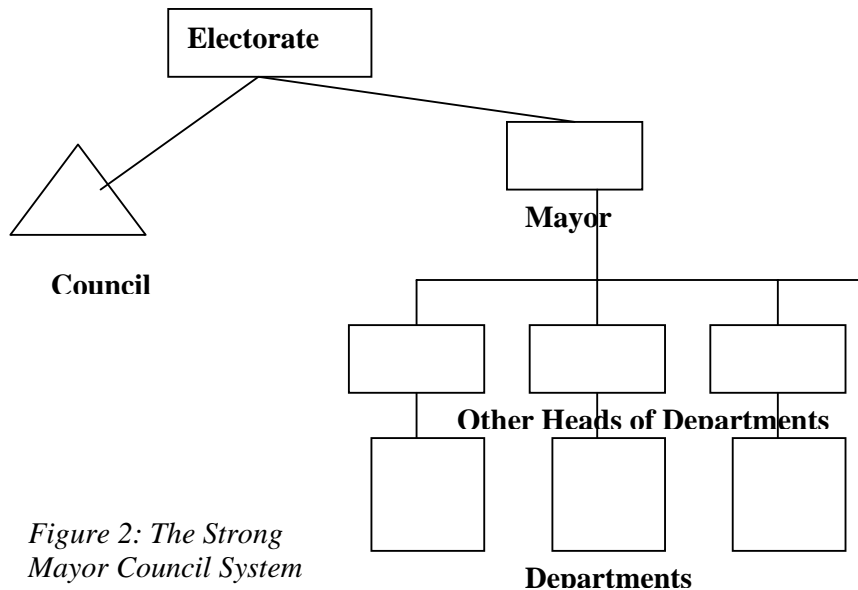
Figure 2: The Strong Mayor Council System

Departments

A variant of this model is the Mayor- Manager or Mayor-Chief Administrative Officer type, under which the Mayor appoints an officer to assist him in the administration of departments. The Manager/ Chief Admnistrative Officer heads the Department heads.

2.1.3 The Commission System

Figure 3 shows this type of administrative structure that was borne out of the experience of city of Galveston, Texas, USA. A commission is made in charge of city affairs with the Commissioners acting as full time paid administrators and legislators. It works efficiently in a small city, but is not considered suitable to large cities, given the weaknesses of inability to cope with pressures as well as complexities in development and administration.

Electorate

Commissioners

Departments
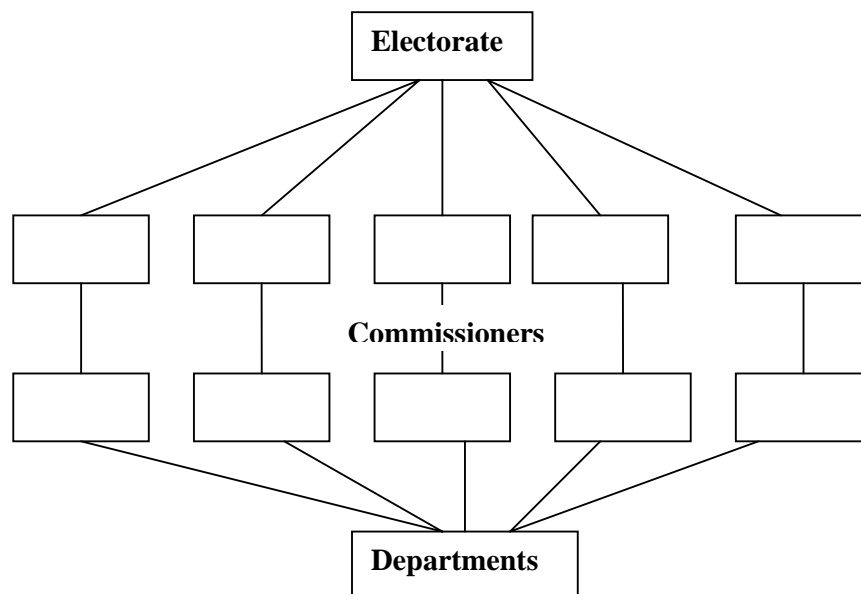
Figure 3 The Commission System

<u>2.1.3 The Council-Manager System</u>
        Under this system (shown in figure 4), the elected Council is responsible for policy making as well as administration, under a professional manager, who is responsible to the council. The Manager is appointed by the Council and serves during his tenure with the elected body being the deliberative, reviewing, annulling and monitoring body.
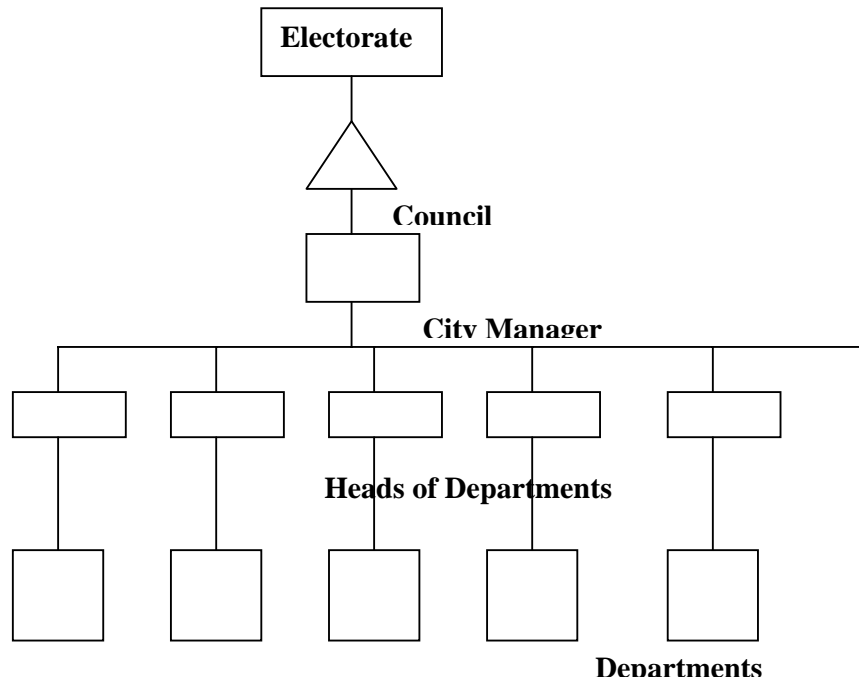

Figure 4: The Council Manager System

        The above models present the different structures for the administration of urban areas, which particularly found favour in the case of cities upto a certain size of population and area. The choice of the model is determined more or less by the historical past of political values and preferences. Of course, these structures are guided by some amount of inputs of representatives of citizens, intelligentsia and professionals in shaping the outcomes. But, much of the outcomes on city space are a result of the interactions of administrative structure, organization, principles, values and efficiency. In practice, not so many varieties of administrative structures are found in India. The three major metropolitan cities of India – Mumbai, Delhi and Chennai – have adopted a Commissioner led administrative system with the Council as political wing, which has also been followed by many cities in India; only Kolkata has adopted Mayor in Council administration system.

        The Commissioner led administrative system started by Mumbai is based on the principle of division of functions into (a) policy and regulation functions delegated to the deliberative wing of elected councilors and (b) administration and executive powers to the Commissioner and the heads of departments. Although this design looks good on paper, it led to several conflicts in the field. The concentration of executive powers in Municipal Commissioner has made the system more bureaucratic and inefficient and brought inevitable conflicts when the Commissioner representing State government of a party different than that is in power in Municipal Corporation. The Mayor Council System in Kolkata appears to be working well, but it is yet to withstand the test of political clashes. Mumbai has had Mayor Council system for a very short period and reverted to the Commissioner led city administration. Delhi and Chennai also have more or less similar administrative structures that of Mumbai.

As cities swell to a sizeable proportion, the size (of population and area) governed by the city itself can become vice to its developed, as argued in the case of Mumbai (Rosenbaum 2008). With the population concentrating in urban/transition areas outside municipal/ formal city limits, the physical and functional linkages also assume importance at metropolitan region level, and so do the establishment and governance of metropolitan authorities. Metropolitan urban governance has to use existing models of urban governance in consonant with the metropolitan spatial structure and also form coordinating institutional mechanisms for both planning and service delivery in place. In the following section, we will first discuss such models found in two major international cities of metropolitan size and character, and then proceed to examine the Indian experience from a few major metropolitan cities.

## 3. International Models of Metropolitan Urban Governance

3.1 The City of Johannesburg (Joburg)

3.1.1 Introduction

The City of Johannesburg is designated as a metropolitan municipality with an executive mayoral system, in terms of the Municipal Structures Act. It has a total of 217 councilors, made up of 109 ward councilors and 108 councilors elected in terms of a party list system (known as PR councilors). The political head of the council is executive mayor, who presides over a ten person mayoral committee. Each member of the mayoral committee has been allocated an executive portfolio and chairs a portfolio committee, made up of councilors drawn from all political parties. Individual ward councilors are also responsible for setting up and chairing a local ward committee, made up of representatives of civil society.

A City Manager, along with executive directors for planning, community development, finance, municipal administration and contract management, heads the city's central administration (shown in figure 5). The heads of Metropolitan Police Department, emergency management services, and arts, culture and heritage services also report directly to him/her. The city administration has been decentralised into eleven administrative regions, which is operationally responsible for the delivery of health, housing, sports, recreation, libraries, social development, and other local community-based services.

Figure 5: The structure of New Administration in Johannesburg
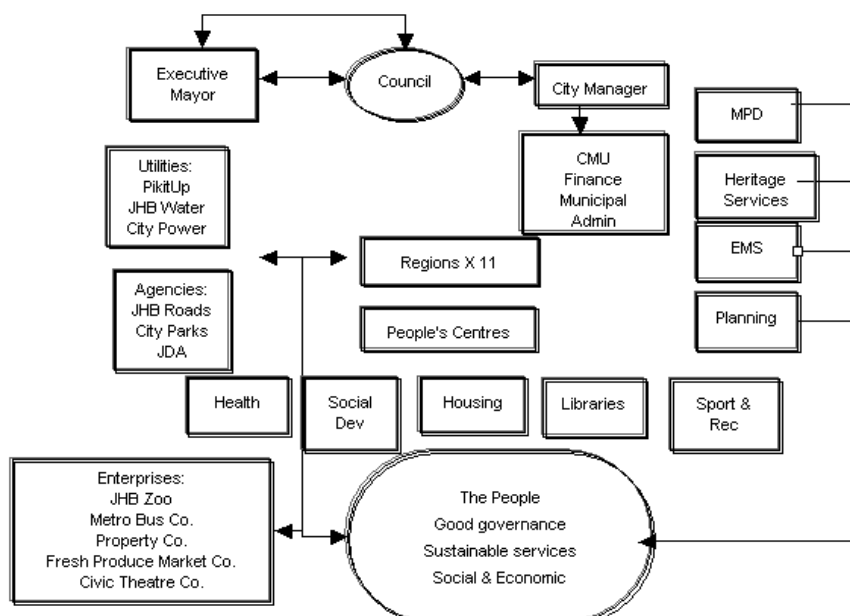
3.1.2 Organisation Principles

The following organisational design principles are formed for the city administration in the case of Johannesburg:
- Attaining affordable and realistic structures,
- Meeting community needs and requirements,
- Core functions to determine support functions,
- Management structures to meet corporate needs,
- Separation of strategic/ non-strategic, client/ contractor and policy/ executive roles,
- Eliminate duplication, overlap or fragmentation,
- Limited hierarchies, effective and efficient use of limited resources,
- Optimal local (decentralised) and accessible services, and
- A focus on core issues

### *3.2 Greater London Authority*

3.2.1 Introduction

The Greater London Authority (GLA) is a unique form of strategic citywide government for London that started its functions on 3rd July 2000. It administers 1579 sq km area of Greater London, covering 32 London boroughs and the (Inner) City of London. It consists of an elected Mayor and a 25 member Assembly. There are around 600 staff members to help the Mayor and the Assembly in their duties. The Mayor is London's spokesman. He/she leads the preparation of statutory strategies on transport, spatial development, economic development and the environment. He/she also sets budgets for the GLA, Transport for London, the London Development Agency, the Metropolitan Police and London's fire services.

The Assembly scrutinizes the Mayor's activities, questioning the Mayor about his decisions. The Assembly is also able to investigate other issues of importance to Londoners, publish its findings and recommendations, and make proposals to the Mayor. This current organisation to some extent replaces the Greater London Council (1965-1986), which was abolished on grounds of alleged inefficiency. The GLA's main areas of responsibility are:
- Transport
- Policing
- Fire and emergency planning
- Economic development
- Planning
- Culture
- Environment
- Health

3.2.2 Structure & Funding

There is a clear separation of powers within the GLA between the Mayor - who has an executive role, making decisions on behalf of the GLA - and the Assembly, which has a scrutiny role and is responsible for appointing GLA staff (see Figure 6). The internal organisation of the GLA takes account of this separation. The cost of the GLA itself was about £49.9 mn in 2002/03. Most of it is met by central government grant.
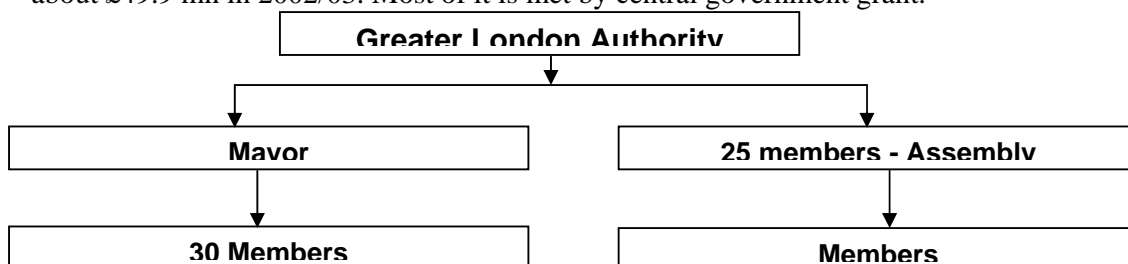
4. Indian Models of Metropolitan Urban Governance

4.1 Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority

4.1.1 Constitution

Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority (KMDA), initially formed under a Presidential Ordinance in 1970, is now the statutory planning and development authority for the Kolkata Metropolitan Area (KMA) under the provision of the West Bengal Town and Country (Planning & Development) Act, 1979. KMA is the oldest and second largest metropolis in India that now extends over 1,854 sq km area with a population of more than 15 million; it has 41 contiguous urban local bodies and 100 odd rural local bodies. KMA has always exhibited the multitude of developmental challenges and yet has shown some innovations. Kolkata Metropolitan Planning Committee (KMPC) in West Bengal has been the first Metropolitan Planning Committee (MPC) in India following the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 constituted on 19th October, 2001 under Metropolitan Planning Committee Act, 1994. KMDA is the Technical Secretariat to KMPC, being the first of its kind in India, constituted under West Bengal Metropolitan Planning Committee Act, 1994.

4.1.2 Profile

Kolkata City, with 41 contiguous urban local bodies and 100 or so rural local bodies, has some of the planning interventions and physical infrastructure development cut across the boundaries of local bodies. There was a need felt for a metropolitan wide planning body to administer such a planning exercise. The state government enacted the West Bengal Metropolitan Planning Committee Act, 1994 for the purpose of decentralized spatial and socio-economic planning in Kolkata. The Act provided for the constitution of Kolkata Metropolitan Planning Committee (KMPC) for the preparation of draft development plan for the metropolitan area as a whole by consolidating the development plans of its constituent municipalities and village councils.

Two-thirds of the committee is elected by, and from amongst, the elected members of the 41 Municipalities and around 100 Chairpersons of the village councils in the Kolkata Metropolitan Area (KMA). Another one-third of committee is made up of nominated representatives of the Government of India, the state government and the organizations and institutions relating to urban development and infrastructure. It took seven years after the enactment of the Act that the KMPC was formed and started deliberating. The KMPC constitutes of 60 members - 40 elected and 20 nominated members. KMDA has been declared as the Secretariat of KMPC and the Secretary of KMDA has been appointed as the Secretary of the KMPC.

4.1.3 Functions

The KMPC provides a participatory and democratic platform for metropolitan planning which till now was the domain for experts and administrators only. West Bengal's attempt is laudable, as it has tried to accommodate representatives of every area in KMPC, which will deal with crucial matters such as formulation of metropolitan vision, capital investment and metropolitan level advocacy

The Kolkata MPC is responsible for preparing: (a) Perspective plan (25 years) (b) Draft Development Plan (Five yearly) (c) Annual Plan for Implementation.

4.1.4 Structure

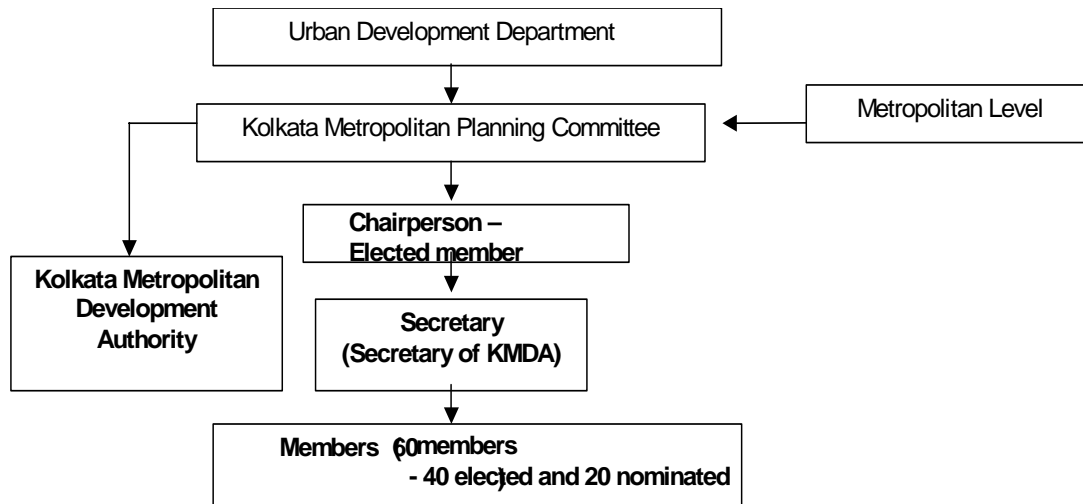The structure of administration and governance of KMA is outlined in the figure 7.

Figure 7: Structure of Administration of Kolkata Metropolitan Area

4.2 Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority (MMRDA)

4.2.1 Constitution

The Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority (MMRDA) was set up on the 26th January, 1975 (earlier known as Bombay Metropolitan Region Development Authority) under the Bombay Metropolitan Region Development Authority Act, 1974 by the Government of Maharashtra. The MMRDA is an apex body responsible for planning and coordinating all development activities (including the provisioning of major physical infrastructure) in Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR). It actively works in coordination with the local (Bombay) and State governments, and other quasi-government agencies.

4.2.2 Jurisdiction & Mandate

The MMR jurisdiction extends over 4,355 sq km covering the city of Greater Mumbai and its hinterland comprising mostly parts of Thane and Raigadh districts. It contains:

- (i)   five municipal corporations
- (ii)   fifteen municipal councils
- (iii)   several gaothans/villages.

The MMRDA plays a major role in steering the development of region in the form of:

- preparing perspective development plan for the region covering all major aspects;
- regulating the development of the region through zoning and development controls;
- steering the development of the region through infrastructure creation, expansion and strengthening;
- coordinating the development activities of all organisations concerning with development or management of any aspect or sub-region.

4.2.3 Organisation and Governing Principles

The organization/structure of MMRDA consists of three bodies (structure is also illustrated in figure 8):

- ❖   *The Authority* is the highest policy making body. It has 17 members and is chaired by the Minister for Urban Development, Government of Maharashtra.

❖ *The Executive Committee* provides technical guidance and supervision. It contains 6 state government members and three expert members, and is chaired by the Chief Secretary of the state government.

❖ *The Metropolitan Commissioner* is appointed by the state government and heads the office of the MMRDA, which contains 6 functional divisions with their own divisional chiefs.

MMRDA as an apex institution responsible for planning and administering the city and its environs operates on the following guiding principles:
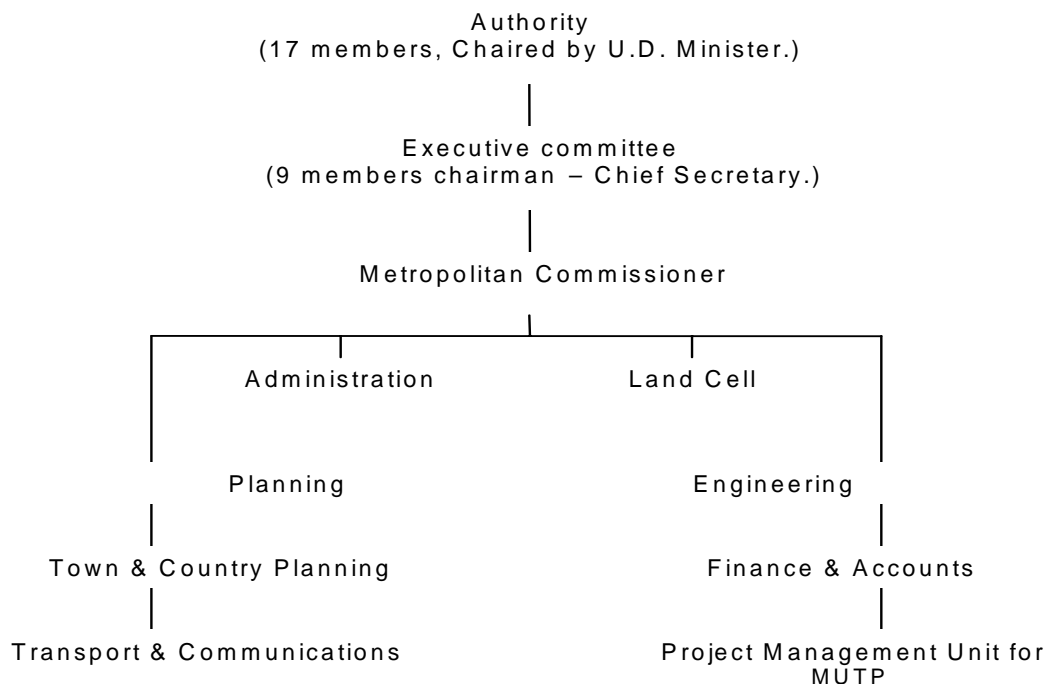
- It recognizes the distinction between policy-making and policy-execution.
- It entrusts the policy-making function to the council and policy-execution to a single individual. i.e., the commissioner.
- It makes the commissioner more or less independent of the Corporation though the two have to work in close cooperation.

4.2.4 Strategy and Funding

MMRDA seeks to achieve the goal of a balanced development of the Region through the following strategies:

- Preparation of perspective plans
- Promotion of alternative growth centres
- Strengthening of infrastructure facilities
- Provision of development finance

In order to implement these strategies, the MMRDA prepares plans, formulates policies and programmes and helps in directing investments in the Region. In particular, it conceives, promotes and monitors the key projects for developing new growth centres and bring about improvement in sectors like transport, housing, water supply and environment in the Region. It also generates information pertaining to socio-economic profile of households, patterns of economic development and transport through surveys and undertakes projects that give a regional overview in the strategic areas. Moreover, if a project is of particular significance, the MMRDA takes up the responsibility for its implementation. Developing the Bandra-Kurla Complex is one such project undertaken by it.

Authority
(17 members, Chaired by U.D. Minister.)

Executive committee
(9 members chairman – Chief Secretary.)

Metropolitan Commissioner

Administration   Land Cell

Planning   Engineering

Town & Country Planning   Finance & Accounts

Transport & Communications   Project Management Unit for MUTP

Figure 8 Structure of MMRDA, Mumbai

The MMRDA has released a master plan for developments in the region up to the year 2011. It has also undertaken some of the major infrastructure creation/ expansion projects with the financial assistance of external agencies. The MMRDA sources funds from the state government, by sale of land and by levying development charges. The bulk of its revenue comes from the disposal of land in the Bandra-Kurla complex. It operates a reserve fund for financing infrastructure projects and also extends loan facilities for such projects. MMRDA also embarked on preparing a Comprehensive Transport Strategy for the entire metropolitan region in order to prioritise its investments in infrastructure projects and improve the metropolitan transport.

An important feature of the MMRDA is that it not only acts as a metropolitan planning agency but also undertakes development projects either independently on its own in association with other concerning organizations and seeks funding support from state government, multilateral agencies and development agencies. This has been possible because of the development of understanding and information of regional issues and priorities, regional planning and institutional coordination skills which it developed over time. It has been implementing the mega projects to improve physical infrastructure, transport and commercial/ recreational activities with the support of agencies.

4.3 Bangalore Metropolitan Regional Development Authority
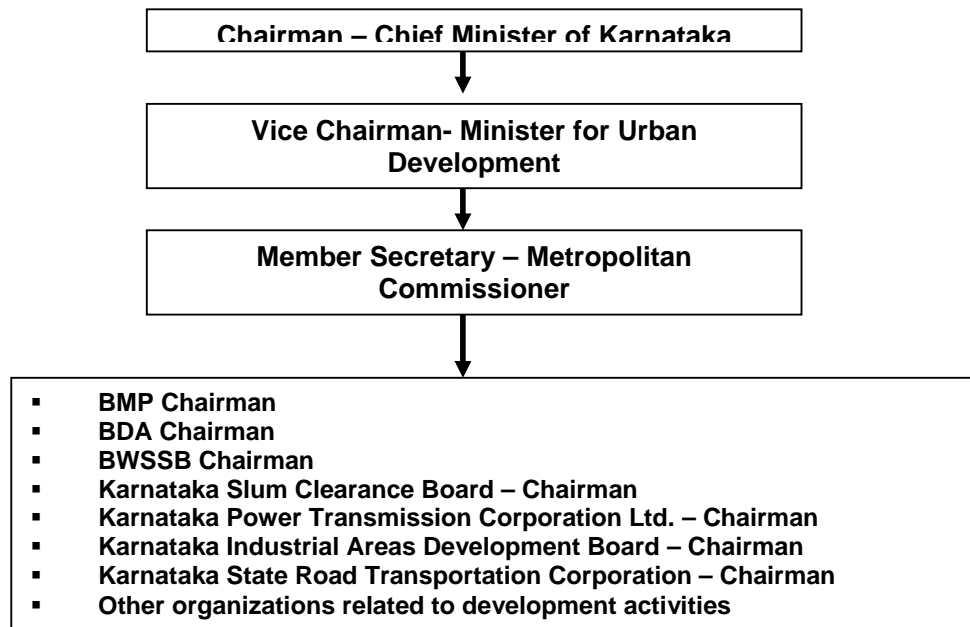
4.3.1 Constitution

Bangalore Metropolitan Region Development Authority (BMRDA) is an autonomous body created by the Government of Karnataka under the BMRDA Act 1985 for the purpose of planning, co-ordinating and supervising the proper and orderly development of the areas within the Bangalore Metropolitan Region (BMR) which comprises Bangalore urban district, Bangalore rural district and Malur taluk of Kolar district.

4.3.2 Structure

BMRDA is headed by the Chief Minister as Chairman and the Minister of Urban Development as Vice-Chairman and the members are the Chairmen of various development agencies in Bangalore, senior officers and heads of departments. Metropolitan Commissioner is the member secretary. BMRDA plays a leading role in the evolution of urban development polices in the Bangalore Metropolitan Region (BMR) and it is expected to act as an umbrella organisation for the planning authorities setup in the region (see Figure 9 for structure).

BMRDA has the role to co-ordinate the activities of various concerned bodies such as Bangalore Mahanagara Palike, Bangalore Development Authority, the Bangalore Water Supply and Sewerage Board, the Karnataka Slum Clearance Board, the Karnataka Power Transmission Corporation Ltd., the Karnataka Industrial Areas Development Board, the Karnataka State Road Transportation Corporation and such other bodies as or connected with developmental activities in BMR.

As per the structure plan, entire Bangalore Metropolitan Region (BMR) is divided into five Area Planning Zones (APZ) and six Interstitial Zones (IZ). The APZs proposed along the corridors are (1) Bangalore – Bidadi, (2) Bangalore – Nelamangala, (3) Bangalore – Devanahalli, (4) Bangalore – Whitefield, Hoskote, (5) Bangalore – Anekal, Sarjapur – Hosur.

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│    Chairman – Chief Minister of Karnataka │
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│    Vice Chairman- Minister for Urban      │
│              Development                   │
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│    Member Secretary – Metropolitan        │
│              Commissioner                  │
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│  ▪  BMP Chairman                          │
│  ▪  BDA Chairman                          │
│  ▪  BWSSB Chairman                        │
│  ▪  Karnataka Slum Clearance Board – Chairman │
│  ▪  Karnataka Power Transmission Corporation Ltd. – Chairman │
│  ▪  Karnataka Industrial Areas Development Board – Chairman │
│  ▪  Karnataka State Road Transportation Corporation – Chairman │
│  ▪  Other organizations related to development activities │
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Figure 9 Structure of BMRDA

4.4 Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority

4.4.1 Constitution and Jurisdiction

The Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA) is a statutory body established under Town & Country Planning Act 1971. Chennai City's population had crossed 42 lakhs in 2001 and is one of the Mega Cities in India. The city population has grown to this size from 38 lakhs in 1991 and is expected to reach the 48 lakh mark in 2011. The Chennai Metropolitan Area consisting of the city and its surrounding urbanised Area (CMA) covering 1,177 sq km, which includes Chennai City, 8 Municipalities, 10 Panchayat Unions. The policy of Metropolitan Development of Chennai has to take cognizance of these challenges and find solutions to them. The CMDA in its endeavor to transform the policies of Government into reality has proposed a number of measures to improve traffic and transportation, to create infrastructure and to upgrade existing civic services.

4.4.2 Function and Structure

The function of CMDA is to look after overall planning and co-ordination in CMA and it is committed to deliver services to the Citizens. The Structure of CMA (shown in Figure 10) comprises Chairman (political head), Vice Chairman, Member Secretary and CEO (all of them being in civil service) and a Board of Directors comprising departments, municipal corporations, para-statals and elected representatives.

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┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│  Chairman- Minister of Housing      │
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│  Vice Chairman- Civil Servant       │
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│  Member Secretary- Civil Servant    │───────▶│  CEO- Civil Servant  │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘        └──────────────────────┘
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│         Board of directors          │
│  Secretaries of the departments of Housing, │
│  Transport, Finance and Metro Water board,  │
│       2 MLAs from metropolitan area,        │
│          4 municipal commissioners,         │
│    2 representative of Industries, T&CPO,    │
│        Chief Urban Planner( CDA)            │
│         Chief Engineer Highway              │
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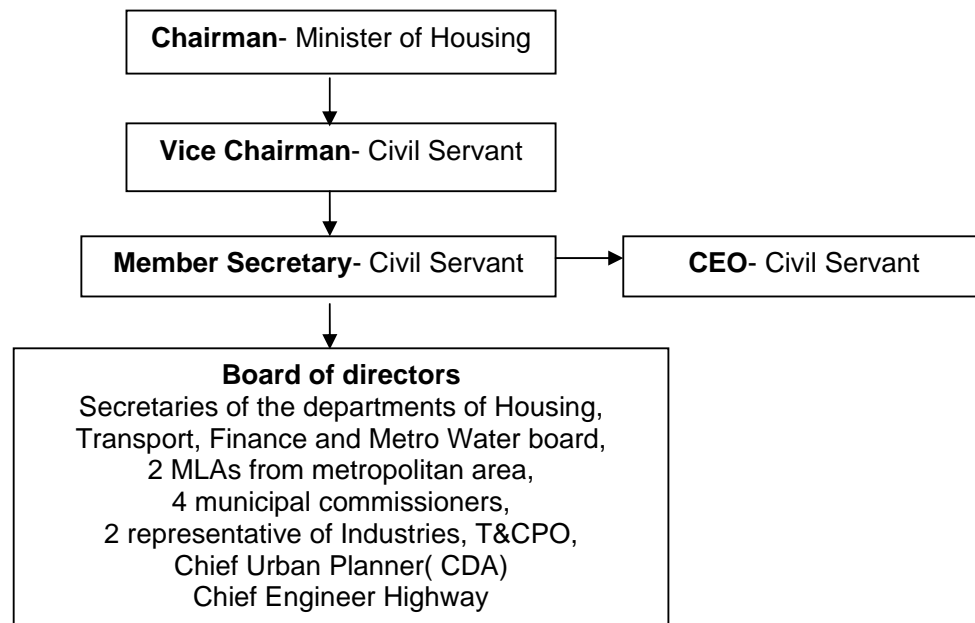
Figure 10 Structure of CMDA, Chennai

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The administrative structures for city governance have presented different models and the two international models have shown how divergent they are in their approaches to metropolitan urban governance. Johannesburg has more of a structure that combines strong mayor-council and council-city manager structures, to have participatory governance between the agencies and within them through political representation on the council and through professional composition of administration. The London city governance structure is based on a Strong Mayor-Council system with the Mayor taking the lead and the Assembly acting as a scrutinizing and advocating body. It needs to be mentioned here that these arrangements are also in the backdrop of larger national political changes in these countries and the changing people's preference for different political values.

India has some kind of city governance structures in large metropolitan cities, but they are not really very different models. Most Indian cities follow a structure that has the features of Weak Mayor Council System fabricated with Commissioner led Administration. This has cast a weak Mayor playing little role in the shaping of city development, planning, and operations and, he is subjugated to a titular position for sycophants in political parties. On the other hand, the Commissioner, who is a civil servant appointed by the State government, is given many powers apart from those that of execution. He/she can wield a greater power and control over city's planning, resources, development and operations. This inevitably resulted in a power tussle between the two, especially when the party ruling at State government is different than that ruling the city, as experienced for a long time in Mumbai and Chennai. Kolakata's mayor-council model is an exception that has been working well so far, but it is yet to withstand the political antagonism between the tiers.

The confrontation between two divisions – legislation & policy making (deliberative wing) and implementation & decision making (execution wing) – is not alone political but it is also due to the different design. Unlike the commissioners as administrators appointed and elected in a Commission System, the commissioners in Indian cities are drawn from public

service and do not have accountability to city constituencies. The fact that the Commissioner plays a major role in making decisions has also made the organization run in a bureaucratic manner with wider scope for corruption, favoritism and unaccounted/wasteful expenditure of public money (especially, when it comes to planning and service delivery functions). This essentially calls for widening the governance of cities to make the administration also accountable to the public and for increasing their participation in the above processes either directly or through other institutions e.g., civil society groups.

Metropolitan urban governance is a larger issue as metropolitan area is spread over several thousands of square kilometers of area and across several municipalities, rural areas and transition areas. Besides having sound administrative structures for legislation and policy making (political/deliberative wing) and implementation and decision making (executive/ administration wing), institutional mechanisms need to be established for a better coordination, management, development and planning. The international models presented in this paper serve, to some extent, as some illustrations to the cities/ urban areas that are yet to create them. Indian models have clearly shown the lack of comprehensive metropolitan governance structures and tools (unlike the case of EU); they have borrowed the structures of Urban/ Regional Development Authorities for this purpose. Here too, their structures are similar to the board structures of State government parastatals and come under the control of State government (with Chief Minister or Key Minister heading Governing Board), thereby endangering local government, besides competing it over the limited resources.

Given the background of India's poised for rapid changes in urban population and urban areas with the recent shifts in demographic patterns and given the importance of efficient administration and effective planning of cities in order to meet these challenges, metropolitan urban governance has to undergo some sweeping changes, especially with reference to administrative structures/models. The 74th Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 attempted to make some sweeping changes to urban governance in India by providing greater autonomy and strength to urban local bodies and to create appropriate institutional structures for metropolitan urban governance (by forming MPCs and their supporting institutions e.g. KMDA as technical secretariat of KMC). As more and more cities join the league of metropolitan cities, it becomes important for these cities to create appropriate structures and institutions for better administration, coordination and planning of larger urban areas and improve their governance in consonant with the principles outlined in *Annexure*.

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GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF GOOD METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE

Coherency	*Participation*
It shares that governance must be intelligible to the electorate, A system based on welter of agreements, complex formulae and compromised principles is inefficient. Marginal changes with present systems will not suffice. Confusion breeds indifference and apathy which in turn provide ideal conditions for corruption and demagoguery.	Governance must fully take into account and allow for the participation of representatives of community groups, women, the elderly and the young, the business sector, social partners and all levels of government involved in the metropolitan area. New technologies and methods of communication can encourage and support more interactive policy environments, bringing government closer to people.
Competitiveness	*Subsidiarity*
It is necessary conditions when urban regions are emerging and national barriers to trade are falling and factors of production are mobile. Emphasis on investment in social and human development and hard and soft infrastructure is required rather than tax sops for investment attraction.	For the quality of governance to be the best, services must be deliverd by the most local level that has sufficient scale to reasonably deliver them. The principle rejects functional duplication and overlap. The principles of subsidiarity and holism go together suggest a major decentralization of service delivery responsibility to local governments within a context of powerful policies and guidelines promulgated by senior governments.
Coordination	*Particularilty*
The administrative fragmentation of metropolitan region calls for coordination among local authorities across jurisdictions and between elected authorities and various regional boards/ agencies with function or sectoral responsibilities is a priority, especially in strategic planning.	It states that except where the case of standard policy is founded on human rights and immutable standards, policies and institutions of government must be crafted to fit the unique circumstances of various parts of the country. This principle is also important to more localized policy institutions because it permits construction of unique solutions for various areas within the urban region.
Equity	*Holism*
The administrative fragmentation of metropolitan region calls for coordination among local authorities across jurisdictions and between elected authorities and various regional boards/ agencies with function or sectoral responsibilities is a priority, especially in strategic planning.	Any system must reflect the potential and needs of the entire urban region because this is the area that defines the economic and the environmental challenge. Each part of an urban region affects all others: this does not necessarily mean that all parts of the region require the same same system of governance but it means that all parts of urban whole must be considered in the analysis –without artificial boundaries.
Fiscal Probity	*Sustainability*
Any system must be created with the explicit recognition that the costs of governing most urban regions must be reflective of benefit received. Debt load and tax rates are high in the urban centres of many OECD countries, and cannot be sustained in the face of strong international competition for investment. If cities are to meet the key social, environmental and economic challenges of our time, they must ensure careful resource stewardship.	Economic, social and environmental objectives must be fully integrated and reconciled in the development policies of urban areas. This means adopting an outcome oriented approach, which is holistic and integrates short, medium and long term considerations. In environmental terms, it means managing the metropolitan region in the context of the wider bio-region, the qualities and potential of which must be enhanced and preserved for future generations and as a contribution to a sustainable planet. In social terms, it means ensuring that social cohesion is maintained and strengthened
Source: *OECD (2000)*	