
UNIT 17 INTRA-LOCAL GOVERNMENT RELATIONSHIP- II- URBAN

Structure

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17.0 LEARNING OUTCOME

After studying this unit, you should be able to,

- understand the systemic ordering of urban local government;
- identify the chief issues in intra tier local government relationship;
- discuss Polycentricity; and
- highlight the division of functional responsibilities and linkages among the different level of government and different tiers of urban local government.

17.1 INTRODUCTION

In urban local government there is no hierarchal arrangement between tiers as each tier functions directly under the state government. However is a diversity of arrangements, which serves useful purposes in that a variety of institutional arrangements exist, apart from the Municipal Corporations and the Municipal Councils, such as the Notified Area Committees, the Town Area Committees Cantonment Boards and Townships. The 74th constitutional amendment provides for a three-tier structure of local government, viz. Municipal Corporation, Municipal Council and Nagar Panchayats for areas in transition. The question is reconciliation of the old existing structure with the stipulations in the new constitutional amendment. Accordingly, there is a process of either change of nomenclature, as in Punjab, where notified area committees are being rechristened *Nagar Panchayats*, or cooption of sub units in adjoining rural or urban underway, for example, town area committees getting co-opted in nearby urban or rural areas in Gujarat. It could be said therefore, that currently it is a situation of flux at the local level.

In this Unit, we shall study international trends in this regard to better appreciate the dynamics in the Indian situation. The theoretical proposition of “polycentricity” would be examined to explore its application in the Indian context. Attempt would be proffer ideas for best arrangements for qualitative public goods and services in urban areas and tackle most effectively, the problem of urban chaos. Before that we would study the variations in urban local government structure.

17.2 SUB -UNITS OF URBAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Notified Area Committees and Town Area Committees are (were) popularly known as ‘half sisters’ of the Municipal Council. As per position in 1997, Notified Area committees numbering 202 in all exist in Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh. A Notified Area Committee comes up in areas, which are not yet eligible to be constituted as a municipal council, yet considered important as an urban area. A new upcoming town could also be registered as a Notified Area Committee. Town area committees are over 385 in number and are meant for small towns. The Town Area Committees have been constituted in Assam, Kerela, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh. The avid patron of this form of local government however has been Uttar Pradesh, which with its 297 Town Area Committees alone account for nearly eighty percent of the total number in the country. Town Area Committees are now being co-opted in adjoining larger jurisdictions. Gujarat has set up Nagar Panchayats and Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, Town Panchayats in place of Town Area Committees.

Besides, there are specialised forms of urban local governments such as Cantonment Boards, which operate under the direct control of the Ministry of Defence; and, Townships, that are set up by public sector undertakings. The Cantonment Board is constituted under the Cantonment Act of 1924. Like other forms of local government it is a body corporate having perpetual succession and a common seal with power to acquire and hold property and to enter into contracts and to sue and be sued. The board may, with the previous sanction of the central government impose in any cantonment; any tax which, under any enactment for the time being in force, may be imposed in any municipality in the province wherein such cantonment is placed.

The Rural- Urban Relationship Committee classified Townships as:

- Single industry townships like Rourkela, Bhilai and Jamshedpur;
- Townships like having an industrial complex such as Durgapur; and
- Small townships like Heavy electricals Ltd.; near the city of Bhopal, and Telephone Industries and Hindustan Aeronautics near Bangalore.

Townships have several advantages over conventional forms of local government. These are well planned and provide better quality service to its residents, such as water supply, electricity, sanitation etc., besides employment opportunities, which is why, people flock to townships for employment. The outcome is both positive and negative in that haphazard development around a township creates problem of urban management. Existence of a township gives fillip to the development of adjoining areas, which even develop as townships, for example, Jugsalai and Adityapur around Jamshedpur. Townships have been resisting attempts at cooption into the adjoining areas, which come up as a result, though the pressure has been immense. The public sector undertaking provides the managerial

arrangements for its township, as, certain undertakings, notably, Hindustan Steel, Hindustan Machine Tools, Neyvelli Lignite Corporation, Heavy Engineering Corporation have appointed Town Administrators, assisted by departmental head for allotment, maintenance etc. Some like the Fertilizer Corporation of India, Heavy Electricals, Nepal Mills, have appointed administrative officers or estate officers, assisted by engineers and other staff. The elective element has been kept out; hence, the administrative arrangement is completely bureaucratic in design (Nayak, Sen and Mansukhlal, 1997).

17.3 TREND TOWARDS CONSOLIDATION

The chief issue in intra- tier local government relationship is that the urban growth and development is predominantly an economic concern, in that how work distribution should be affected in order that maximum efficiency in service delivery is secured, specifically in economic terms, *economies of scale* which means, costs are minimised, and tax burden distributed evenly across jurisdictions, geographically, as also between sections of society, in a *progressive manner*.

Urban infrastructure consists of drinking water, sanitation, sewage system, electricity, and gas distribution, urban transport, primary health services and environmental regulation. Many of these services are in the nature of local *public goods*. Public goods are explained as goods whose benefits cannot be quantified, and distributed equitably across beneficiaries, hence cannot be charged on a fair and acceptable basis, for e.g., public safety. The problem of *free riding* exists, which is explained as people deriving benefits out of a service but not paying for it in requisite measure. This is common with public goods; hence the same cannot be priced acceptably, through jurisdictions. It is also important to understand local common pool resources, such as water supply, where free riding is unavoidable but consumption could be controlled /subtracted (Elinor Ostrom). Public goods have significant, spin -off effects in surrounding areas, such as, improved irrigation in adjoining agricultural fields through improved water supply and power, improved market access through improved transportation, better livelihood opportunities owing to better mobility for the rural poor etc. There is need to reinforce these linkages. The size of the population of a local community affects both the kinds of services that can be provided and the nature of civic life therein. In the United States, very many small local communities cannot provide for their own police and fire services, schools and libraries, or sewage and trash disposal systems. These small communities often join with other nearby communities to share these services, or they contract with state or county governments to provide them.

In **France**, there are three main tiers of local administration: *the commune, the department and the region*. The commune, dates from 1789, and is the lowest tier of the French administrative hierarchy. (In France the term commune is applied to all municipalities whatever their size – 80 per cent of them have fewer than 1,000 residents. There are nearly 37,000 communes; many more than are found in the other countries of the European Union). This situation has led the government to consider/attempt rationalisation of the local government set up by encouraging smaller communes to merge to form urban communities (*communautés urbaines*) or group together in associations of several communes (*syndicats intercommunaux*). However, popular opinion has been against such mergers as people identify strongly with their particular communes. Hence, cooperative arrangements in different ways have been more common than mergers, one example of which is pooling of services in order to make them cost effective (Nick and Kerevella).

Consolidation is the mechanism used to achieve 'economies of scale' by reducing numbers of local government units. In **Japan**, local government is structured along two-tier lines: *prefectures* (comparable to counties) and *municipalities* (comparable to cities and towns). While the prefectures and municipalities enjoy considerable levels of autonomy in the fields of administration, budgetary matters and local legislation/bylaws, Japan is a unitary state with no reference to federal structures in its constitution. In practice this has translated into more mergers. The government's aim is to see the existing 3,110 municipalities reformed into just 1,000. Though increasing recourse to consolidation has been the global trend, the rationale is contented since economies of scale promised/sought by the arrangement taper off after some time (Stevens).

In the **United States**, consolidations were attempted but have now become unpopular with both the citizens and citizen representatives, since political authority of officials in smaller units is lost in the process. Though the problem could be tackled, as has been in Canada, where public officials from lower units are granted representation in consolidated units, it remains the contention of public choice theorists, that, for better economies of scale and better scope of functioning, the centralist stance of governance needs to be redeemed in favour of a "polycentric order" which dilutes centralism and promotes 'consumer choice' by offering a variety of institutional arrangements, leaving the choice in each case (public good) to the people who can choose their service delivery option between the market, the state and civil society, which are now the three players/pillars in/of democratic governance, or rely on self- help in cases; they are granted more power to 'voice' their concerns and grievances and enforce the accountability of local officials.

Innovative solutions have also been found for the problems of inter -jurisdiction functions, *ensuring economies of scale* for different services, at the same time maintaining the territorial integrity of units. Sub-urbanisation is a common feature of urban governance now. It is explained as a situation where, habitats develop in the periphery of cities, which creates problems of/in governance. Though the general global trend as is evidenced across countries like Canada, Singapore, France, is to amalgamate these smaller communities into the larger vicinity, the Americans are retaining their plural set up. In addition to counties, townships and municipalities, states also create *school districts* and *other special districts*, which operate, inter jurisdiction, ensuring efficiency of the service while maintaining the territorial status- quo. They also provide for financial flexibility since state constitutions limit local indebtedness, special districts are sometimes created to finance large capital projects through the issuance of public bonds.

17.4 POLYCENTRICITY

A Polycentric Order addresses the important question of how to provide and produce local collective goods in urban areas, especially in developing countries, equitably and efficiently. Poly-centricity provides an alternative to consolidation of smaller units, which creates a mono-centric order through amalgamations/mergers in adjoining larger Units, which has formed the basis of urban reforms throughout Western Europe, and to a considerable extent in America. Subsequently it was found that consolidations did not result in economies of scale in case of each public good. Instead, consolidations promoted a monocentric order, which made administration distant, aloof and encouraged pathological behavior on the part of public officials, which is pejoratively, referred "rent seeking", or, pursuing undue privileges, hence economic gain, from political/official authority, the scope for which enhances considerably in a mono-centric order. Instead, various arrangements

should be institutionalised through public- private partnerships, voluntary effort on the part of people with catalytic assistance from the state, as for example a slum federation/ community providing sanitation, safety through self help, education through state, police through active assistance with the official agency, which is community policing, or the 'Bhagidari' experiment in India, where RWAs actively participate in public goods provision along with the state governments etc. Such an arrangement is called "*co-production*" by Ostroms.

The mono-centric/aggregative approach is known as the top- down approach and is based on the following assumptions, as per Elinor Ostrom:

- "Collective goods are homogenous
- Substantial economies of scale
- Urban voters have similar preferences
- Voting aggregates preferences well
- Elected officials command public bureaus to produce desired goods
- Bureau chiefs command street level bureaucrats to deliver goods and services
- Street level bureaucrats deliver services to passive clients."

In developing countries, there are certain additional assumptions like:

- "Government must control provision and production of public goods
- Regular citizens have limited capacities to solve problems of collective action
- People and subjects to be cared for by national government or claimants to demand public goods".

The Polycentric contention/argument is that large number of large/ small organisations, operating as different/various permutations and combinations of public- private and state-community based organisations work more efficiently than a unilateral agency. The arrangement preferred in each case should be based on the nature of the public good in question; for example, roads, education and police are different kinds of public goods and the same criterion should not apply in their provisioning.

There is also the financial argument. There is need for devolution of financial powers to local governments and meaningful devolution of functions to local bodies in order to develop them into meaningful institutions of local self-government. Since public goods impact on adjoining rural areas, better economies of scale can be obtained by economising on administration as urban staff can take on additional functions on/as rural 'footprints.' This would help minimise costs but can be brought about only when there is requisite functional autonomy to institutionalise such linkages. This is imperative for flexible decision making/ institutional arrangements to create a "polycentric arrangement," whereby, center of production and distribution is decided as per economic imperatives and not political/ administrative compulsions/limitations respectively.

Polycentric development is an important concept in spatial planning. It forges complementarity between the core and the periphery areas in urban development with beneficial economic and social impact. It means connecting a number of places so that they form a network.

By operating together they achieve a new *critical mass* that can sustain and grow businesses, services and facilities. Hence, polycentric development means forging new connections by overcoming historical barriers, such as those caused by national boundaries, or local rivalries or distant/poor communication. Links could be forged through transport, or the web. For example, a shopping center is developed near the periphery, which benefits farmers in the adjoining areas and engages businesses in the region with the core business in the central place (ODPM, U.K).

Example from USA

The Indian Constitution has a unitary bias though is acceptably federal in character. In India, residuary powers rest with the center, not with the states (article 246 of the Indian Constitution). The Constitution of the United States on the other hand creates a national government with *limited powers*. While centralist trends/tendencies have been obvious, as have been in other federations like Australia and Canada, the assumption still remains that the national government has only those powers *delegated to it by the Constitution*; all other powers remain with the states. There is no mention of local government in the U.S. Constitution, but it is widely understood that local government is a matter of state, not federal concern. This brings forth the undercurrent of *popular sovereignty*, which is actually observed in practice, unlike the Indian position where state and citizen remain distant entities. In practical terms, American democracy has been an upward evolving system whereby “individuals and families joined together to form local communities, which, in turn, federated to form states, which ultimately led to the creation of the national government”. Hence are explained the variations in local government formations across America, which are *as per requirements*. Accountability of local institutions is local, in keeping with the spirit of popular sovereignty. Local communities raise the bulk of their own revenues, the centralised audit function is extremely limited, and state departments of community affairs exist merely to provide services to local governments, not to oversee their operations.

Normal subdivisions in America are counties, townships, or smaller areas, which are not granted a charter, and cities, which, are granted a charter specifying its powers duties and functions. Principal functions of counties are judicial administration, public safety and the organisation of elections, although in recent years they have taken on a variety of new functions, such as solid waste disposal, public health, libraries, technical and community colleges and environmental protection.

Townships were originally subdivisions of county government and were primarily responsible for road maintenance. Today, townships carry out a full range of governmental functions, such as police and fire protection, trash collection, zoning and land use, recreation and economic development. State law usually categorises them according to population size or density. In many states, they are indistinguishable from small cities, except that they lack municipal charters.

Cities are municipal corporations that operate under Charters from the state. Until the last half of the 18th century, the tendency was for the state to grant each municipality a charter unique to its needs. For example, beginning in the state of Missouri in 1875, the states began to change their constitutions to provide for home rule for local communities. Pennsylvania’s home rule constitutional provision is typical, and provides that “Municipalities shall have the right and power to frame home rule charters.” Operating under such charters, “a municipality may exercise any power or perform any function not denied by

this Constitution, by its home rule charter, or by the General Assembly.” Pennsylvania, by legislation, also extends the home rule option to counties and townships.

This should not suggest however that local governments are free floating entities in the system; they are of course integrated. They exist within the overall framework of a state’s constitution and laws, much as the American states, themselves, exist within the framework of the Constitution of the United States. There are variations however; Connecticut, New Hampshire and many of the New England and Middle Atlantic states, are more ‘federated’ than New Mexico, Idaho, and many of the Western and Southern states, which are more centralised.

Innovation in Canada

As brought out by Nick Switt, the federal and provincial forms of government in Canada are structurally more or less uniform. The appellation ‘local’, however, applies to a whole spectrum of agencies, municipal, school boards and various other boards, agencies and commissions, agencies for policing, roads, tax collection, garbage collection, parks, sewers and water and, in some cases, health and welfare.

All municipalities are created by the province (or territory) through a clause in the Constitution that allows them to delegate some responsibilities to another government body. Whether a local municipality in Canada is termed a city, a town or a township, is determined by its size; when there is another level of municipal government, such as a county or region, involved in providing services to residents, those three (cities, towns and townships) are also referred to as ‘lower tier’ municipalities. The ones called ‘separated’ towns and cities are those that are only geographically within a given county.

Division of labour between federal and provincial governments and municipalities has been worked out on the basis of feasibility/practicability and maximum utility, which would be in line with the polycentric argument. Hence, elementary and secondary education are provided by school boards; school authorities are, in general, independent of municipalities, and responsible to their own electorate for the administration, financing and maintaining standards of education. They usually do not collect taxes directly, and instead, requisition funds from the municipalities that collect property taxes in their jurisdictions.

The agencies, commissions and special boards that are also regarded as components of local government in Canada are created either to administer functions *common to a number of separate municipalities* or to provide special services that are usually considered outside the mandate of ordinary city or town government.

In some provinces in Canada, health-providing units function locally under provincial control, and have almost completely taken over that responsibility, locally. In the field of welfare, care for the aged (or, as they tend to be called in Canada, ‘seniors’) in the form of old age pensions has developed as a federal government function since the 1920s. The federal and provincial governments have gradually accepted greater responsibilities for other welfare services since those were out of capacity of the local units in terms of demand.

In France, efforts have been underway to bring administration closer to the people by a committed process of decentralisation and the legislation accomplishing it. French administration has historically been highly centralist *vis a vis* the local governments. The stance has changed considerably since the decentralization process got underway with the

decentralisation law of 2 March 1982. These carry out administrative decisions made at the national level and are also local authorities with powers of their own. They have had increased autonomy in decision-making by a sharing arrangement regarding administrative and budgetary tasks between central and local authorities.

17.5 LESSONS FOR INDIA

As per Tiwari, (2005), division of functions intra-tier is not specific enough as per the constitutional amendments. A lot has been left to the discretion of the state governments. There would be municipal corporations, councils and nagar panchayats. Structuring on the ground could either articulate the monocentric argument or encourage citizen participation through polycentricity. According to Tiwari, the existing municipal laws are totally inadequate to enable to ULBs to discharge the new responsibilities delegated to them under the Constitutional (74th Amendment) Act. Although the state governments have amended the municipal Acts, as a follow - up of the 74th Amendment, the amended acts do not specifically assign functions to the local bodies especially urban including town planning. The following measures may be undertaken, as per Tiwari, to enable the ULBs to serve as agencies for plan preparation, enforcement and implementation:

- 1) Clear division of functional responsibilities and linkage among different levels of government to ensure upward and downward accountability and to enable the State Finance Commissions in their constitutional task of devolution of funds to ULBs.
- 2) Division of municipal functions into essential functions, agency functions, and joint functions with state and central governments.
- 3) Avoiding the traditional distinction between ‘obligatory’ and ‘discretionary’ functions since such classification results in uncertainties and non-transparent system of municipal accountability.
- 4) Essential functions of municipalities to include urban planning, including town planning, regulation of land use and construction of buildings and planning for economics and social development and amendments to the Municipal Acts.

17.6 REQUIREMENTS IN WORK DISTRIBUTION INTRA-TIER

Finally, as per Tiwari (2005) the following modifications need to be worked out in terms of intra-tier demarcation of planning responsibilities for a more dynamic urban planning exercise:

- 1) *Flexibility*: Plans must have flexibility to provide for ever-growing and ever-expanding city boundaries and provide quality of life to all inhabitants. The plan should be flexible to respond not only to the present needs but also, the changing conditions in foreseeable, future.
- 2) *Role of Actors*: People’s participation in preparation of policies, perspective plan, development plan and annual plans should be ensured through elected representatives in the municipal council / corporation and ward committees.
- 3) *Information System*: A well-maintained information system could make possible the fine-tuning of the plan proposals at the various stages of implementation of the plan

according to the changing scenario in urban development derived from data procured from different/related sectors.

- 4) *Urbanisable Areas:* The development potential may be assessed for the areas located in the periphery of the developed areas. A profile of the development potential there and the possibility of optimising the existing infrastructure should determine the prioritisation of development of these areas.
- 5) *Growth Centers:* Given the paucity of resources, it would be more feasible and desirable to promote strategic development initiatives in the selected secondary cities, growth centres and their hinterlands. In the growth centers, the location of infrastructural and environmental services could form the 'core' of the Development Plan.
- 6) *Policy Guidelines:* Policy guidelines notified under law can help in identifying priority areas, subsequent modifications in the plans and administration, in general.
- 7) *Mixed Land Use:* With a view to provide for development, the zoning regulations need to be simplified. The land use package should not be allowed to be changed by any authority, except as a part of the review of the Development Plan at the city / town level.
- 8) *Financial Planning:* Land development and infrastructure investment need to be coordinated through integration of physical, financial and investment planning. There is the need to link spatial development plan with resource mobilisation plan focusing on credit enhancement mechanisms.
- 9) *Services and Environment:* City plans, which provide for up-gradation of the services for greater equity in the availability of water, sewerage and sanitation throughout the city, would have a higher probability of success.
- 10) *Needs of the informal sector:* The plan must provide for and cater to the needs of the informal sector so as to make them as an integral part of the city development process.
- 11) *Land Policy and Management:* As opposed to the process of compulsory land acquisition, and the related issue of low compensation rates, the ULBs should adopt collaborative approaches within the existing legal framework.
- 12) *Legal Framework:* Plan implementation would call for a legal framework so as to make it enforceable and mandatory. The legal framework has to be supported by an effective and efficient machinery which would see that no distortion of master plan proposals take place at the ground level.
- 13) *Standards:* Plot sizes, layout and social overheads need to be designed to reduce costs aligned to the affordability of different income groups and also the sale price for lower income groups can be reduced by differential pricing.
- 14) *Building Byelaws:* Building byelaws and zoning regulations for the city / town should match the local needs. However, the existing byelaws need to be simplified and transparent, and there should not be an alimant of discretion. Adequate provision for parking facilities should be made.
- 15) *Database at metropolitan, district and state levels:* The planning exercise need continuous data collection, analysis interpretation and updating of data. A computer-

generated database and information system in GIS environment should be developed at various levels, which would provide support to planners in development planning.

- 16) *Simplification of measures and procedures:* The preparation of Development plans should be completed within a period of 12 months and should be approved within 3 months after the plan approval and the total period for preparation and approval should not exceed 18 months. The approval authority of Development plans should be the ULB, in consultation with the Director of Town planning departments. The perspective plan could also be approved by the state Government through Directorate of Town Planning.
- 17) *Strengthening planning mechanism and institutions:* The Town and Country planning acts need to be modified to enable the formulation of inter-related plans by specifying the definition, scope and contents of various plans.
- 18) *Strengthening administrative and technical capabilities:* The administrative, technical, managerial and financial capacity of the ULBs needs to be strengthened. The ULBs and the town planning departments should work under the same state department for better coordination. The cost recovery procedures and revenue collection methods of ULBs need to be strengthened.

17.7 CONCLUSION

Though there is no denying the fact that integrated development of urban and rural areas is important since there is inviolable connectivity between the two regions, retaining plurality would serve the ultimate end of efficiency. It could not be assumed that 'bigger is better.' Hence, where required plural arrangements should be worked out between tiers in the spirit of polycentricity to ensure best/most optimum scale of production/provision of any good/service. For that collateral arrangements would need to be worked out instead of vertical- hierarchal. Such innovation would ensure that justice is done to the intent and purpose of the 74th amendment and to the items listed in the eleventh and twelfth schedules in the constitution of India. Functions notwithstanding, the 74th amendment is keeping officials busy in the countryside.

17.8 KEY CONCEPTS

- Cantonment** : The word 'cantonment' means 'temporary quarters for troops for maneuvers'. Historically these places were acquired by under treaties with the Princes, through outright purchase and conquest. The elective element in this form of local government does not have a significant say since the Cantonment is closely administered by the military. Cantonments historically evolved as an arrangement to house the military personnel's' family when a base was established. Gradually, it evolved into a civilian area since all basic amenities for residents had to be provided, like schools, canteens etc.
- Complementarity** : Instead of domination of one region over another, for example, core and periphery, mutually beneficial roles

are taken up by organizations intra -jurisdiction which cuts out the negative aspects of competition while retaining the positive aspect. Complementarity is an important aspect of spatial planning in the European Union.

- Core-Periphery** : Core periphery is the traditional model of development, which can also be referred as the concentric circle model. The level of development decreases progressively towards the larger circles, that is, towards the outer periphery. New ways of complementarity within the perspective of polycentricity are replacing traditional models of urban planning.
- Notified Area Committees** : Such bodies have the nomenclature, ‘notified’ since their formation is notified in the government gazette. The Committee functions within the overall framework of the municipal act but only such provisions of the municipal act apply to it as are notified in the government gazette. The government could also entrust to it, functions exercisable under any other act. The Notified Area Committee enjoys all the powers of the municipal council but unlike the council, the state government, nominates its members, including its chairman, which makes them entirely nominated bodies.
- Public Choice** : Public choice is an attempt to inquire into the dynamics of group functioning and exploring ways to enhance cooperative behaviour on the part of people through targeted policy responses. Researchers from political science, economics, and public administration, psychology are mainly involved in academic inquiry and validation of academic precepts as they emerge from research.
- Spatial Planning** : Spatial planning is fundamentally concerned with where development happens-it seeks to integrate investment in sectors such as transport, agriculture, research and development, or environmental protection so as to achieve sustainable development (ODPM, U.K.).
- Town Area Committees** : Town Area Committees are created by separate acts passed by the state governments, though in Assam they function under the provisions of the Assam Municipal Act, 1956. The District Collector has been given greater control and power of surveillance over a Town Area Committee. Members of the Town Area Committee are elected or nominated by the government or partly elected/ partly nominated. The committee is assigned a limited number of functions, such as, street lighting, drainage and conservancy.

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17.10 ACTIVITIES

- 1) What do you understand by Polycentricity? Identify the chief issues in intra tier local government relationship.
- 2) Explain the division of functional responsibilities and linkages among the the different level of government and different tiers of urban local government.