

Working Paper 568

**Urbanisation and
Governance in Tamil Nadu
and Kerala: Aspects of
Service Delivery**

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Published and Printed by: Institute for Social and Economic Change
Dr V K R V Rao Road, Nagarabhavi Post,
Bangalore - 560072, Karnataka, India.

ISEC Working Paper No. 568

December 2023

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ISBN 978-93-93879-98-1

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Working Paper Series Editor: **Sobin George**

URBANISATION AND GOVERNANCE IN TAMIL NADU AND KERALA: ASPECTS OF SERVICE DELIVERY

Anil Kumar Vaddiraju*

Abstract

*This exploratory paper examines the issue of urbanisation and urban governance with reference to Tamil Nadu and Kerala. The paper is a comparative study of these two states with case studies drawn from one district of each state. Urbanisation is a historical process which entails a fundamental structural transformation. Tamil Nadu and Kerala are two contiguous states within South India, undergoing rapid urbanisation. According to the 2011 census, the percentage of urbanisation in the case of Tamil Nadu amounts to 48.45 and in respect of Kerala about 48, much above the national average of 31.2. This is sufficient *raison d'être* for examining the nature and pattern of urbanisation and urban governance in these two states. This paper addresses the following questions: a) What is the nature of the urbanisation process taking place in Tamil Nadu and Kerala?; b) What is the status of urban decentralisation?; c) Are there specific urban governance issues emerging out of the urbanisation pattern in these two states of Tamil Nadu and Kerala, related to urban sanitation and drinking water?*

Keywords: Urbanisation, urban governance, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, 74th Amendment, District governance

Introduction

Urbanisation is a historical process, which entails fundamental structural transformation. Urbanisation is also considered as one of the key indicators of modernisation, involving structural transformation of various sectors of an economy, movements of population and changes in the built environment. Economic, demographic, sociological and thereby cultural shifts characterise this transformation. With this in view, this paper deals with two aspects of urbanisation in South India -- urbanisation pattern, and urban governance with a specific reference to sanitation and drinking water.

While the above are the research questions, the paper is divided into five sections, as follows:

This section discusses the pattern of urbanisation in Tamil Nadu and Kerala and its salient features. The *second section* discusses the question of governance both in terms of the Constitution and beyond the Constitutional stipulations. The *third section* deals with the case study of Salem in Tamil Nadu. The

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fourth section deals with Kerala and one city within it, namely Kozhikode. The *fifth section* concludes the paper and points to future challenges to urban governance in these states.

South India happens to be the most urbanised part of India, particularly Tamil Nadu and Kerala, the two states under consideration, likely to have undergone urbanisation of about 50 per cent by 2022. This appears remarkable, considering that the Indian urbanisation process is considered to be sluggish (Kundu, 2014). While Tamil Nadu has always led the process of urbanisation, the spurt in urban growth is more recent and somewhat unique in the case of Kerala.

Southern India, earlier consisting of four states of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, now consists of five states with a recently created state of Telangana. There are broadly two patterns of urbanisation observed in the southern region of India. These are: concentrated process of urbanisation around a primate city, examples of this being Karnataka and Telangana and Andhra Pradesh; the second pattern of urbanisation being a dispersed pattern of urbanisation, examples of which are to be found in Tamil Nadu and Kerala. Within a matrix of these two patterns, each state has followed its own path of urbanisation. The table below depicts the trends in urbanisation across the four southern states.

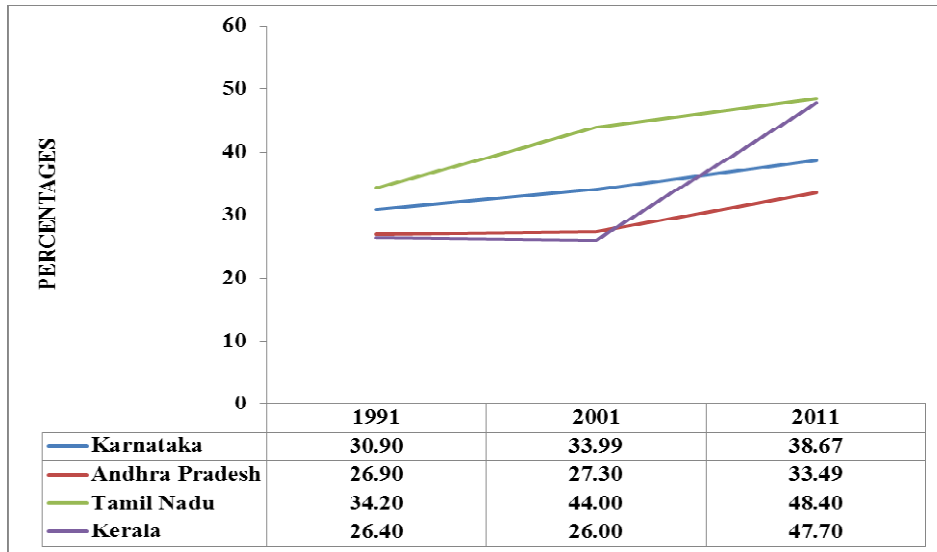
Table 1: Trends in Urbanisation across Four South Indian States 1991-2011

(Urban Population Figures in Percentages)

State/Year	1991	2001	2011
Karnataka	30.9	33.99	38.67
Andhra Pradesh	26.9	27.30	33.49
Tamil Nadu	34.2	44.0	48.4
Kerala	26.4	26.0	47.7

Source: Census of 1991, 2001, 2011.

Figure 1: Trajectory of Urbanisation across Four South Indian States 1991-2011(Percentages)



Source: Census of India.

The above table and graph clearly show that urbanisation in Tamil Nadu and Kerala is close to 50 per cent in 2011. Tamil Nadu has witnessed a gradual increase in urbanisation, whereas in the case of Kerala, the spurt in urbanisation is more prominent during the inter-census period of 2001 to 2011, from 26 per cent to a steep high of 47.7 per cent.

Urbanisation, industrialisation and modernisation are inter-linked phenomena. In the development process, these are supposed to take place simultaneously (Ginsburg, 1966). However, in the South Indian region, this is prominently true in the case of Tamil Nadu. Over time, Tamil Nadu has not only urbanised, but also industrialised rapidly. Particularly, the spread of manufacturing industry has been a significant feature of Tamil Nadu. So much so that the city of Chennai is now known as the 'Detroit of India'. What is more specific about Tamil Nadu is that industrialisation and spread of manufacturing have taken place coterminously with the spread of important district cities. Thus, it is not only the urbanisation process that is dispersed, but also the manufacturing and industrialisation processes (Kalaiyarasan and Vijayabaskar, 2021). This is, however, not true of Andhra Pradesh, Telangana and Karnataka. In the latter states, urbanisation is taking place, but along with it, industrialisation is not taking place at the same pace. Thus, particularly the growth of district level cities in the latter states remains devoid of growth of manufacturing industry. For example, regarding Tamil Nadu, Kalaiyarasan and Vijayabaskar (2021) say the following:

'Another significant aspect is the spatial dimension of industrialisation in the state. Enterprises are more evenly distributed across sub-regions within the state. Though the western (Coimbatore and Tiruppur regions) and northern (Chennai and Kancheepuram) parts are the most industrialised regions, industrialisation is still spatially diverse if one makes a comparison with Gujarat and Maharashtra. Each sub-region has specific industrial clusters dominated by small-scale enterprises and localised entrepreneurship (Damodaran, 2016). Such decentralised industrialisation integrates the countryside with urban areas and is likely to create more diversification options outside agriculture' (pp.16-17).

This contrasts with Karnataka where IT(Information Technology) and Bt(Biotechnology) industries are largely concentrated in one city, Bengaluru, while in Telangana most of the enterprises are concentrated in Hyderabad. This trend is also responsible for the emergence of 'primate' cities.

Table 2: Number of Urban Agglomerations in South India and All India

State/ Year	1991	2001	2011
Karnataka	22	24	22
Andhra Pradesh	15	37	58
Tamil Nadu	34	27	25
Kerala	16	17	19
All India	374	384	474

Source: Census of India, 2011(2019)

The above table demonstrates that over the period, urban agglomerations in Tamil Nadu have come down from 34 to 25, whereas, urban agglomerations in Kerala have increased from 16 to 19. Overall, the state of united Andhra Pradesh has seen a spectacular rise in urban agglomerations from 15 to 58. Interestingly, these are all million plus in terms of population size.

Table 3: Percentage Share of Slum Population to the Total Slum Population of India

State/ Year	1991	2001	2011
Karnataka	NA	4.5	5
Andhra Pradesh	NA	12	15.6
Tamil Nadu	NA	8.1	8.9
Kerala	NA	NA	NA
All India	54.9	41.5	29.4

Source: Census of India, 2011(2019) (NA= Figures Not Available)

It is observable from the above table that the slum population, as percentage of the urban population amounts to 8.9 per cent in the case of Tamil Nadu whereas it is 5 per cent in respect of Karnataka and 15.6 per cent in respect of united Andhra Pradesh. In the context of Kerala, interestingly, according to the official statistics, there is no slum population at all. On the other hand, the average all India figure amounts to 29.4 per cent, that is to say, close to a third of the total urban population is slum population.

Most of the slum dwellers in southern India are either rural to urban migrants or migrants from 'BIMARU (Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh)' states, or even from Odisha and West Bengal states. There are often notified slums and non-notified slums. Non-notified slums are those of the migrants above mentioned. The recent Covid-19 crisis has vividly brought out the sordid condition of these migrants in south India who have often come from large and far-flung distances. Needless to say, they work in highly precarious work conditions and urban governance as of now has no answers to the question of how to improve these conditions.

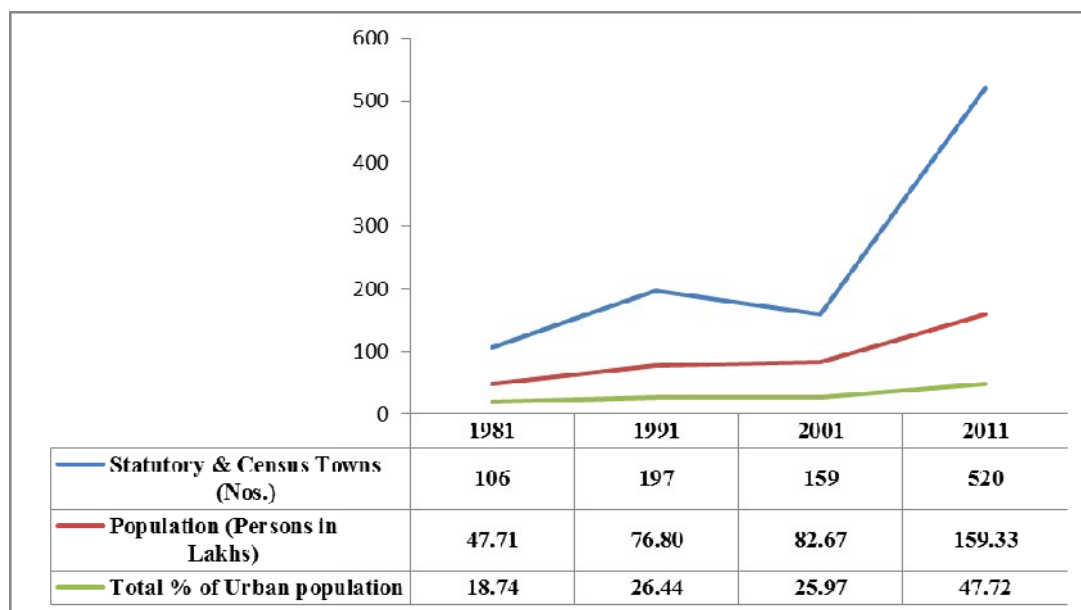
Urbanisation in Tamil Nadu

Urbanisation is taking place in Tamil Nadu in the context of what is called the 'Dravidian Model' of development, whose main features include caste inclusion, welfare politics and development of manufacturing industry. The latter is of importance to us in the sense that urbanisation in Tamil Nadu is taking place along with the development of industry even across tier-II cities while this is not true in the context of other south Indian states.

Urbanisation pattern of Kerala

The pattern of human habitation in Kerala is continuous between rural and urban localities. To state otherwise, it is very difficult to distinguish between rural areas and urban areas. What obtains largely is a rural-urban continuum. Besides, urbanisation as a prominent phenomenon became more visible in Kerala with a sudden spurt from 26 per cent to 47.7 during the period 2001-2011. This growth in urbanisation happened largely owing to the reclassification of rural to urban areas under the census criteria leading to an increase in class III, IV and V cities and towns in Kerala. We provide a picture of this urbanisation in the table presented below. This is clearly a pattern of decentralised or dispersed urbanisation. According to this, while the growth of class I and II towns is not prominent, that of III, IV and V cities is prominent.

Figure 2: Urbanisation pattern of Kerala (1981-2011)



Source: Census of India.

Table 4: Urbanisation pattern of Kerala 2001-2011: A Disaggregated View

Category of City/ Town	Population Range	No. of Towns in 2001	Total Urban Population in 2001	No of Towns in 2011	Total Urban Population in 2011
Class I	1,00,000 and above	10	36,92,165	9	32,62,380
Class II	50,000-99,999	24	15,87,908	29	18,88,254
Class III	20,000-49,999	72	27,96,457	254	79,25,828
Class IV	10,000-19,999	37	5,66,635	159	23,52,637
Class V	5,000-9,999	15	1,19,062	61	4,67,045
Class VI	Less than 5,000	1	4,699	8	36,027
Total		159	82,66,925	520	1,59,32,171

Source: Census of India (Provisional Population Statistics)

Table 5: The Growth of Class III, IV and V Towns in Kerala

Category of City/ Town	Population Range	No. of Towns in 2001	No of Towns in 2011
Class I	1,00,000 and above	10	9
Class II	50,000-99,999	24	29
Class III	20,000-49,999	72	254
Class IV	10,000-19,999	37	159
Class V	5,000-9,999	15	61
Class VI	Less than 5,000	1	8
Total		159	520

Source: Census of India, 2011 (Provisional Population Statistics)

As the table above depicts, between 2001 and 2011, class III towns grew in number from 72 to 254, class IV towns from 37 to 159 and class V towns grew from 15 to 61. This is a clear indication of the growth of smaller urban localities, not a concentrated type of urbanisation. There is no growth observed of 'primate cities' here. This type of urbanisation is largely owing to the historical path dependence in the sense that the earlier continuous habitation and absence of clear distinction between town and country could have led to this dispersed urbanisation pattern.

Urbanisation is taking place in Kerala against the background of the Kerala model of development, which involves the development of demographic indicators, improved health, primary/secondary education, improved women's agency and human development indicators including high life expectancy. What implications does this urbanisation have for the Kerala model of development? This is yet to be explored. But what is again important is the content of urbanisation. In Kerala, urbanisation is taking place alongside the development of the service sector, not the manufacturing industry. This particular form of development should be noted in terms of its divergence.

In the next section, we deal with the question of urban governance. While taking a look at what the Indian Constitution views as urban governance, we discuss urban governance beyond the Constitution.

Governance

We have seen in the previous section that the pattern of urbanisation taking place in Tamil Nadu and Kerala is dispersed in nature. In the case of Tamil Nadu, urbanisation is taking place across the lines of districts and sub-district towns while in respect of Kerala, it is spreading over smaller towns, as opposed to concentration. The urbanisation process of this type is a spatially distributed one, calling for urban governance that is decentralised and dispersed in nature. All over the country, the Constitutional means of urban governance is subject to the 74th Amendment. The same is the case with these two states too.

Governance beyond the Constitutional stipulations

What we have described above is urban governance according to the Constitution. However, the practice of governance includes varied roles for private actors, civil society, and governments in varying combinations of power sharing. The concept of governance that is being practiced in a particular context is what matters. Of late, the buzzword in the practice of governance is public-private partnerships (PPPs), along with privatisation and marketisation (Mathur, 2018). Thus, the practice of governance in urban areas differs substantially from what has been envisaged in the Constitution.

The Human Development Report of South Asia, 2014, notes that urban governance need not be only 'state-centred'; that it should incorporate actors such as civil society, markets, community groups, social movements and citizens. The Report, for instance, says:

'Current urban governance patterns focus increasingly on the role of informality and informal organizations in the formal governance framework through which the social capital of the citizenry harnessed' (pp.112-113)

The concept of urban governance that is recommended by the *Human Development Report of South Asia, 2014* has three major components. They are, to quote:

1. 'In the *first* place, it calls for an understanding of the role of the city in the process of national development and the need to address the implications of the defined role in terms of its operation;
2. In the *second* place, governance implies capturing an integrated profile of the city in terms of its structural parts, as well as its actors and activities operating within the total complex. A fragmented perspective of the city misses the effect of interactions among its various parts;
3. In the *third* instance, governance involves transcending formal bureaucratic institutions and forging linkages with agencies of civil society. The politics that emerges in this new level of engagement becomes part and parcel the governance process. Similarly, urban communities are treated neither as subjects nor as objects of management. Their interests, institutions and resources are organic components of governance.'(112-113)

Two issues that have been extensively discussed in the literature on urban governance in India concern infrastructure and finance (Bagchi and Chattopadhyay, 2004; Ahluwalia, 2019). This is to the extent of the topic of urban governance being equated with a discussion on urban infrastructure and urban finance. The point is this: urban infrastructure and finance are only instruments of governance. They do not constitute governance by themselves, whereas, governance, in a broader (as discussed in the above said Report) sense of the term, of coming collectively together to determine the choices facing the urban collectivity of people, or community in that sense, both formal-constitutional and

informal, has been missing. That is to say, politics and governance as collective self-determination are missing from the discussion.

The major problems identified by the Mahbub ul Haq Centre report regarding urban governance in South Asia include the following: Lack of administrative and institutional capacity; overlapping mandates, poor coordination; failure to decentralise effectively; inadequate sources of municipal finance; lack of principle-based governance; ambitious plans; and lack of planning.

The Human Development in South Asia, 2014 Report points to the following recommendations to firm up urban governance in the region: Mobilising urban finance; undertaking effective decentralisation; institutionalising e-governance; and, adopting cross-sectoral approach to urban development.

All in all, the above Report calls for capacity building of urban local bodies; more effective planning, effective decentralisation and accountable governance without corruption. The document specifically notes that the urbanisation process has overtaken the urban planning process in South Asia, and, therefore, that there is a strong reason for stepping up and strengthening urban planning. The report clearly notes that urban planning is part and parcel of urban governance.

Referring to urban decentralisation in South Asia, the document notes that the powers of ULBs have been encroached upon by the state and central governments and also by the parastatal bodies set up by them. The Report notes the paucity of finance for urban local bodies, and corruption in the existing forms of urban governance. The Report notes that while sometimes urban plans have been ambitious, the governments of ULBs have neither the capacity nor resources nor good governance to implement them. All in all, the Report provides a pessimistic reading of the existing urban governance in South Asia and India, while noting, in particular, that urban planning and governance have been outpaced by the rapid process of urbanisation. What the Report says is acutely true of southern India. In the following part of the paper, we examine the case studies of Salem from Tamil Nadu and Kozhikode from Kerala. These two are district-level cities of a comparable demographic size and both being municipal corporations.

Tamil Nadu

Salem

Tamil Nadu is known for its 'Dravidian Development Model'. This model has been, from the beginning, both a political and economic model. Political, in the sense that it combines the empowerment of marginalised groups and economic, in the sense that it focuses on the economic development of Tamil Nadu. The first component focuses on caste, right from the colonial times. The focus has been on the anti-Brahmin movement with an emphasis on the development of non-Brahmin castes -- educationally, economically and in terms of social empowerment -- through reservation in jobs and education. The focus on economic development is combined with the regional politics of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK). Thus, both the regional parties, from the beginning, have championed the cause of social reform and economic development. The latter, economic development, has had a crucial impact on the urban development of Tamil Nadu. The policies of DMK and AIADMK have always focused on an evenly distributed and dispersed industrial development. Thus being the case, a) Tamil Nadu development process has a crucial industrial, manufacturing component to it; b) This industrial development is evenly distributed across districts, though a major part of IT(Information Technology) and ITES(Information Technology Enabled Services) is still concentrated in the capital city of Chennai. Thus, promotion of manufacturing industry and an evenly distributed industrial development is the hallmark of the economic component of 'Dravidian Model'. The below illustrated case of Salem district reflects the same.

Salem district

Salem district has one municipal corporation in Salem city, with four municipalities headquartered at Attur, Narasingapur, Edappady and Mettur. Salem is known for small and cottage industries. Handloom industry is one of the most important cottage industries of Salem district. Sago factories are very common in Salem district, especially in Salem city and around. Among the natural resources, Salem is rich in magnite, bauxite and iron mines. Salem also supports many public and private industries relating to these minerals. Steel Authority of India Ltd. (SAIL) has its plant established in Salem. Exporting of garments constitutes a major feature of the economy of Salem due to presence of many spinning mills and weaving units. Salem district is also known for manufacturing of silver anklets, which is a major component of cottage industry there. In the past, Salem was the hub of Tamil film production.

Ever after the last local body election in 2011, there have been no municipal elections conducted in the entire Tamil Nadu state. The recent municipal elections were conducted in 2022 after a gap of a decade. Consequently, Salem Corporation and all the municipalities have been functioning without elected members. While the day-to-day decisions of municipalities are being taken by the respective municipal commissioners, the major decisions are arrived at in consultation with the regional director of municipalities. The special officer and municipal commissioner is the head of the Salem City Municipal Corporation. It is interesting to note that the absence of elected bodies has not constrained the activities of local bodies in any way. Even citizens are not facing any problems due to the lack of local body elections. All, in all, at the time of the field work it was nothing more than bureaucratic governance. The executive body of municipalities and SCMC do acknowledge the fact that the city councillors continue to extend their cooperation even after the completion of their terms about three years back. These councillors, as the reviewer has rightly mentioned, have no *locus standi* to intervene in governance matters after their terms are over; however, perhaps their social capital helps bureaucracy in its administration.

What is important to note is the failure on the part of SCMC or any of the four municipalities in differentiating between sanitary work and solid waste management. By and large, all the four municipalities and SCMC have the least number of complaints registered from their respective citizens with respect to the collection and disposal of solid waste. The solid waste is collected from houses door-to-door on an everyday basis by sanitary workers – appointed both on permanent and on contractual basis.

As far as water supply is concerned, a wide gap exists between what authorities say and what citizens really receive. The authorities claim the water is supplied regularly and in sufficient quantity. But there are several instances in Attur municipality, where citizens receive water once in a fortnight, that too for very few hours. In other municipalities, and even in SCMC, the supply of water is very erratic and insufficient. Strangely, no citizen is reported to have expressed concern over water charges that range from Rs. 75 in Mettur to Rs. 250 per month per house in Attur. But for the presence of bore wells, the water problem in Salem city would have been severe. The citizens of Attur have to buy water

from private sources. The best is observed in Mettur, which claims to be supplying 24- hour water supply. Edappady, being nearer to Mettur dam, also has fewer complaints related to water supply.

Salem City Municipal Corporation (SCMC)

According to the Special Officer and Municipal Commissioner of Salem City Municipal Corporation (SCMC), the current population stands at 9.35 lakh. However, the population of Salem city varies from one official to another of SCMC and also at the District Collector Office. Thus, the population of Salem city ranges between 8.75 lakh and 9.50 lakh. As per Census of India 2011, the city has a total population of 8.29 lakh, comprising male and female population in an almost equal proportion.

Until early 1979, Salem city was being governed by Centurion Municipality, which was upgraded to special grade municipality. Later, during 1994, one more municipality, a couple of town panchayats and a few villages were brought under the purview of Salem city. From then onwards, Salem city is being administered by the Municipal Corporation.

SCMC has 60 wards, also termed as divisions. Considering the city's population of 8.29 lakh as per census 2011, SCMC is serving around 13.80 thousand persons per ward. As per the population count of 9.35 lakh by the Municipal Commissioner, each ward has a population of around 15.50 thousand. A further enquiry on this aspect with the Municipal Commissioner and other officials of SCMC reveals that no ward has a population of less than 12.50 thousand and the population has not exceeded 16 thousand in any ward. In the course of discussion with officials, it was casually mentioned that the corporation is proposing to increase the number of wards from 60 to 72 by bifurcating a few bigger wards. None of the officials of SCMC could provide the precise number of slums existing in Salem city. The number has been estimated at between 300 and 400 slums in the city.

Major industries in the city

The district of Salem has many large, small and cottage industries. Salem has abundant reserves of mineral resources such as bauxite, limestone, quartz, feldspar and granite. All the large and small industries are dependent on these mineral resources in one way or the other. Steel plants and cement manufacturing units are the important large industries in Salem district. The presence of a thermal

power production unit is another major addition to the existing mineral resource based industries. It is essential to note that none of these large industries is located within the Salem city limits. They are located around 15 to 20 kms away from Salem city. However, the officials of SCMC claim that their city is industrialised. On the other hand, based on the existence of these large industries, the municipalities of Attur, Narasingapur, Edappady and Mettur also claim that their operational area is industrialised. Thousands of people residing in Salem city as well as the population belonging to the other four municipalities seek their employment opportunities at these large industries. There are large industries operating around Salem city. The city has an exclusive electrical and electronics industrial estate, established and maintained by the department of industries and commerce of Tamil Nadu, in Suramangalam area of Salem city.

There are many sago industries functioning in Salem, as tapioca is being produced extensively. In fact, Salem district is known as the land of sago even at the international forums. Making of silver ornaments and artefacts by hand is an important cottage industry in Salem. Silver anklets made in Salem are popular across the country. Silver anklet manufacturing units are functioning in and around Salem city. A good number of power looms and auto looms are also present in Salem. The SCMC officials also mention that the city has several engineering workshops and agro-based industries. The city of Salem can be categorised as industrialised with small scale and cottage industries. Salem city is a leading garments exporter of India. There are numerous readymade garment exporters functioning in Salem city.

Status of Urban Local Bodies

The last election to SCMC was held in 2011 and the subsequent election was due in 2016 to form an elected body at the Municipal Corporation of Salem city. The local poll was actually scheduled for the later part of 2016, as mentioned by SCMC staff and also by citizens of Salem city. But political parties approached court with a grievance regarding the process of election and the Madras High Court stalled the local body election - not only for Salem city, but also the entire Tamil Nadu state. Hence, the SCMC election that should have been conducted in 2016 is still pending.

Sanitary conditions and solid waste management

The SCMC has not conspicuously differentiated between sanitary and solid waste management. In SCMC and also in other municipalities of Salem district, *safai karmacharis* are called as sanitary workers. There are both temporary and permanent sanitary workers whose number comes to about 1500. This works out to around 25 sanitary workers per ward. The commissioner claims that the present number of sanitary workers and inspectors / supervisors is sufficient and is as per the official estimate. However, according to the commissioner, there may be a shortage of sanitary workers during special occasions like festivals and fairs.

In 2006, the Tamil Nadu government sanctioned an Underground Drainage Project for Salem city. The project actually started in 2010 and was expected to be completed within a span of 5 to 6 years. However, the project is still under progress. As such, as of now, half of the city has access to an Underground Drainage System and the other half to an Open Drainage System.

During the course of discussions with the commissioner and other SCMC authorities, it was revealed that the entire procedure of solid waste collection and its management had undergone changes in a positive direction. The sanitary workers of SCMC visit every house every day for collecting solid waste. The solid waste so collected from each house is put in a battery-operated small cart and transported to a designated area of each ward. From there, the solid waste is transported with the help of mini trucks to solid waste processing units. Ultimately, the solid waste is converted into bio-fertiliser to be distributed, at a nominal price, to farmers of nearby villages.

Water supply

Mettur dam is the chief source of drinking water for Salem city. The Tamil Nadu Water Supply and Drainage Board has implemented a scheme called as Salem – Attur combined water supply scheme. The municipal authorities consider this source of drinking water to Salem as a minor city scheme. Utilising these two sources, SCMC supplies water to the residents of Salem city, as per the following schedule:

- Every alternate day for 2 hours for 3 wards;
- Once in 2 days for 3 to 4 hours for 7 wards;

- Once in 4 days for 4 to 5 hours for the remaining 50 wards.

Normally, citizens pay water charges as a part of property tax.

Kerala

Kozhikode

Kerala is known for its much famed 'Kerala Model of Development'. The Kerala model includes in it land reforms, reinvigoration of rural Panchayat Raj institutions, with a focus on social sector, and a special emphasis on the improvement of health, education, and demographic indicators. It is known as a people-friendly development process wherein people and civil society actively participated through public and collective action. It is well known that both the coalitions i.e., LDF (Left Democratic Front) led by CPI(M) and UDF(United Democratic Front) led by the Indian National Congress have competitively participated in the development process. However, much of the credit for launching land reforms, people's plan campaign through Panchayat institutions and the enormous emphasis on primary health, literacy, education, and demographic indicators should legitimately go to the LDF. But the major drawback of this 'Kerala Model of Development' is that it is predominantly focused on *rural* Kerala. The urban question came to prominence in Kerala only with the introduction of the liberalisation process, which accelerated the process of urbanisation in Kerala. The spurt in Kerala's urbanisation is both owing to reclassification of rural areas as urban as well as a large remittance economy owing to migration to Gulf and other countries. More than the local capital, it is the remittance capital that drives urbanisation in Kerala.

And, therefore, the existing 'Kerala Model of Development' needs to incorporate the urban dimension into it. The second problem is that while the Kerala model focused earlier on the aspects specified above, the question of economic growth was not sufficiently addressed. It is widely believed that while the Kerala model, people-friendly as it was, focused on the social sector, the same was not adequate on economic growth. The *new urban question*, therefore, is also linked to both the new economic developments in Kerala and vice versa. Along with urban development, it was the service sector that grew to a large extent, not the industrial sector. However, what is interesting to note is that Kerala is now refocusing on both urban development and economic and industrial development.

Kerala's urban question is also unique and highly path-dependent, as the earlier dispersed nature of habitats and settlements affects and shapes the nature of urbanisation and urban development in Kerala. In the following section, we deal with the pattern of urbanisation and urban governance in respect of one district city, namely, Kozhikode.

Kozhikode Municipal Corporation (KMC)

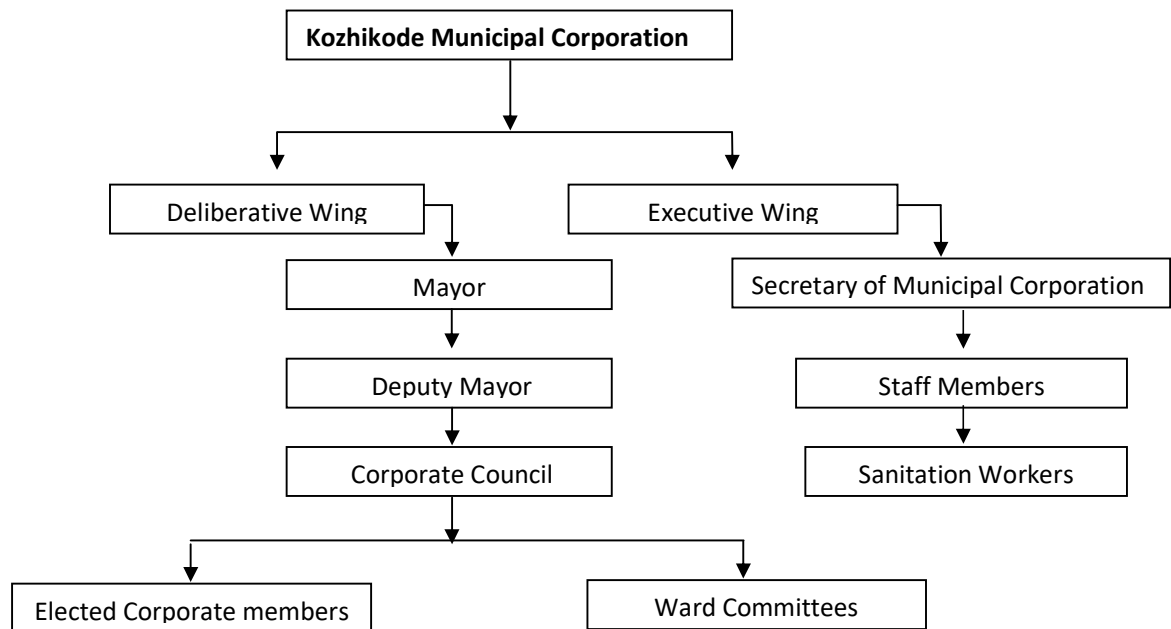
Kozhikode city is one of the well-functioning cities in Kerala. Among its seven municipal corporations, Kozhikode Municipal Corporation (KMC) is the oldest municipal corporation founded in 1962. The Municipal Corporation is responsible for the overall administration of the city. The mayor is responsible for administration of the corporation. It has four sections: Kozhikode North; Kozhikode South, Bepore and Elathur. For city administrative purposes, the city is divided into 75 wards, from which the members of the Corporation Council are elected for a term of five years and now the Left Democratic Front (LDF) is ruling the city.

Current Administration

Pattern/structure of the City Municipal Corporation

As per the Municipal Act Kerala, the Kozhikode Municipal Corporation is divided into two wings: a) Deliberative Wing ; b)Executive wing. The elected Mayor is the head of city governance (see figure 3). The Mayor acts as the head of the administrative setup of the corporation and functions with the support of Deputy Mayor, Secretary and corporate councillors. From amongst the corporate members, the Mayor constitutes various standing committees, as per the Municipal Functions Rules of Kerala government.

Figure 3: Administrative Structure of the two wings



Adoption of (Constitution 74th CAA) by the KMC (Kozhikode Municipal Corporation)

Like all cities, Kozhikode Municipal Corporation also has adopted the constitutional 74th CAA amendment rules in the city local democracy.

As per the rules of Municipality Act:

1. A city needs more than 3 to 4 lakh population, which is the minimum required for declaration as a Municipal Corporation.
2. Women and SC/ST reservations
3. Elections to Corporation to be conducted every five years.
4. Taxes, duties in the urban area are to be collected as per the rules of Municipality Act.
5. Ward level committees
6. Steering committee and standing committees: in the Corporation
7. Yearly budgeting and auditing is to be maintained
8. Elaborate administrative setup is created by the elected corporate council.

As per the administrative wing and town planning records, the present population of the city (as per the financial year of 31st March 2022) is 6,09,224, while as per some of the political leaders the city has up

to 7 lakh population as of now. Presently, Kozhikode Municipal Corporation has 75 wards and based on the survey, there are no slums existing in the city, excepting some ward-wise houses.

Status of industries in the city

The Master Plan for Kozhikode Urban Area released in 2019 makes an assessment of the demographic, land use pattern, economic activities, governance and service delivery, to mention a few. As per their paper, it is seen that a sizable concentration of commercial activity is found across coastal and midland areas of the district, which indicates the role of geography and accessibility in the growth of urban areas. The physical features of the land are also hindering the rise of industries, which require large tracts of land, aside from small and medium scale factories. City/urban areas have industries set up such as textiles, footwear, hotel, timber, fishery and harbour, micro steel products, wood (saw mills), which are major businesses and most revenue generating industries within the city corporation limits. Due to the presence of mainly effluents-free industries, the pollution level is low in the city. There have been initiatives to implement IT parks in Kozhikode, and Cyberpark is an outcome of it. Tourism is a major industry for the district as a whole and the city in particular, with a rich historical, geographical (backwaters, beaches) and cultural heritage.

Status of Urban Local Bodies

Considering the above administrative setup, like every municipality in Kerala, KMC elections also got over in December 2020 and now LDF is ruling the city; the Mayor is also from the CPI (M) and Deputy Mayor is also the district head of the CPI (M) District Committee of Kozhikode. At election time, under the guidance of the Municipal Commissioner, the Secretary (Kozhikode Municipal Corporation) runs the municipality. The Mayor is the head of municipal authority. There is an elaborate system of arrangements as committees and supervisory authorities for each and every department of the municipality. The Municipal Secretary is the head of municipal administration.

Status of sanitation

In Kerala, using of the word 'manual scavenger' is prohibited and rightly so, hence, they are called 'sanitary workers'. Our field work shows that the role of sanitation workers in the city has been

effective. Presently, 620 sanitation workers are working throughout the city, but as per the authority, there is a need for recruiting more sanitation workers for improving the existing sanitary conditions. 'The Harida Karma Sena' is the name for the *Kudumbhashree* wing, which is engaged in the collection of non-bio degradable wastes from households in the city to be recycled.

Condition of drinking water supply in the city

The dam and river resource located in the north of Kozhikode City serve as the main source of drinking water supply. In the city area, 90 per cent of the households have access to piped water supply, and 10 per cent depend on their own wells. These wells are often situated within the household premises and some use open wells and bore wells. The satisfaction level of various groups in Kozhikode regarding water supply is good. More than 60 per cent of the people are satisfied with the current water supply service as they receive water for 24 hours of the day. There are community taps for public purpose, and presently the Municipality is charging Rs. 4.45/1000 litre with a minimum amount of Rs. 22 as cess-based monthly charge, while all water-related works are maintained under the guidance of the Kerala Water Development Authority (KWA). Recently, KWA has established a branch in the name of 'Amruth' (a central government scheme) under the municipal authority for managing the drinking water supply of the city.

Drainage system in the city

Presently, there are both underground and over-ground drainage systems in the city. The underground system is accessed by the city central area, while the remaining part of the city has access to an over-ground drainage system. During the survey, it was acknowledged by citizens and administrators that there was a need for improving the drainage system. The construction of a drainage system has been undertaken with the help of the World Bank fund by the municipality under the scheme of KSUDP (Kerala State Urban Development Programme).

Status of solid waste disposal

The Urban Town Planning Committee of the Kozhikode Municipal Corporation and Cheruvannur Nallalam (Kerala-based NGO) are carrying out a systematic solid waste management initiative wherein the waste

collection, segregation and transportation are handled by *Kudumbasree* members and the treatment and disposal is done at Njeliyanparamba, a waste recycling plant located near Kozhikode city.

Town Planning

The latest district spatial plan prepared by the Department of Town and Country Planning shows that the percentage of urban population amounts to 67.15 while that of the state average to 47.5. The process of urbanisation here is faster than other districts (according to the Regional Town Planning Committee of Kerala government). The urban areas of the district display a higher growth rate of population whereas the rural areas surrounding the urban areas show a significantly lower growth rate, indicating possible migration of people to the urban areas from the surrounding rural settlements. Most of these local self-government institutions are located mainly along the coastal line, along the National Highway and a few along the State Highways. The District Planning Committee (DPC) is in charge of planning and managing the growth of the city. There has been a detailed Master Plan prepared for the Kozhikode Urban areas, as released by the Town and Country Planning department, which provides a vision of and scope for the development of the city and district. But, it is only with the passage of time that we can judge the success of its implementation.

This paper provides an overview of the administrative structure and status of service delivery at the city level. Compared to other municipal corporations, Kozhikode is a relatively well-managed city. The major reasons for growth include the advantages associated with the coastal area and the supply of skilled labour, a vibrant entrepreneurial class, real estate development, tourism, and remittances from abroad.

As far as urban governance is concerned, at the time of the field work, the elections for ULBs were overdue in Tamil Nadu, whereas elections for local bodies had been held in Kerala. In the absence of elected ULBs, governance in Tamil Nadu was being managed by municipal commissioners, whereas in Kerala it was by elected local bodies. There are indications that in Kerala, the urban civil society is involved in governance, which had been absent in Salem.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have considered Tamil Nadu and Kerala for an examination of urbanisation and urban governance, with special focus on provision of drinking water and sanitation. Tamil Nadu stands for what is known as the 'Dravidian model of development', whereas Kerala is known for its 'Kerala model of development'. Both the states are modernising and urbanising with the backdrop of these models of development. In Tamil Nadu, according to Kalaiyaran and Vijayabaskar (2021), urbanisation is taking place along with the development of manufacturing industry, also in tier-II cities, unlike one 'primate city', whereas, in Kerala, urbanisation is taking place along with the development of service sector. Although the urban areas of Kerala now have very high level of human development, we do not know what prospects the latest urban development holds for the Kerala model.

While in Tamil Nadu the urbanisation process appears balanced in terms of the size-class of cities as of now, in Kerala, it is obviously a thin urban spread. The causes for such development lie in the state-level public policies that have played a significant role in bringing about a balanced industrialisation-urbanisation in Tamil Nadu, and in Kerala, in terms of reclassification of urban localities, by which the newly emerging urban localities are being recognised as such. The major impetus to urbanisation in Kerala also comes from the migration to Gulf and other countries and the migrants' investments. Out-migration from Kerala results in investments from and remittances in an entire urban economy, and thus the new urban reality is created.

So far as urban governance goes, even periodic conduct of local government elections is a far cry in Tamil Nadu. Kerala, on the other hand, adhered to the constitutional stipulations. In view of the Report that we discussed in section II of this paper, one can conjecture how Kerala and Tamil Nadu can adapt to the new urban reality. Here since urbanisation and its governance are largely path dependent, we may conjecture that Kerala with its past history of collective and public action and focus on social sector perhaps will cope well with the new urban reality. Kerala only has to extend these to the urban localities, instead of allowing private sector to take over them. On the other hand, Tamil Nadu has a strong tradition of bureaucratic governance, which may find it difficult to integrate informal associations into governance and broaden the power basis of urban governance. It all depends on how the current government takes forward the urbanisation and urban governance policy. These are only conjectures,

and in case of both Kerala and Tamil Nadu, it needs to be seen how these processes unfold. The question is, Kerala, perhaps, can extend human development to newly emerging cities with public action and collective action, but can it also extend manufacturing industry as Tamil Nadu does?

We have considered two sample cities from the two respective states for this paper of urban governance i.e, Salem from Tamil Nadu (with urbanisation of 51 per cent) and Kozhikode (with urbanisation of 67.5 per cent) from Kerala. Both these cities are comparable in the sense that Salem has a population of 9 lakh and Kozhikode has a population of 7 lakh and both are municipal corporations. Clearly, the case studies show that Salem is more industrialised than Kozhikode. While manufacturing industry, (both small and large), plays a major role in the development of Salem, Kozhikode is dependent more on service sector industries such as tourism, hotels, food servicing etc. This brings us back to the two questions that we raised in the beginning: What are the policy lessons for other states to learn from the urbanisation of these two states? Do economies of agglomeration *per se*, thereby favouring large 'primate cities, help? The major policy lesson to be learnt from Tamil Nadu model of urbanisation is that in states such as Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, urbanisation should be accompanied by the development of manufacturing industry. A combination of urbanisation and manufacturing industry is missing in these states. The corollary, which is also corroborated by the recent all too frequent crises in mega cities, is that urban concentration in one or two 'primate cities' should be avoided in the framing of development policy. In fact, a more inclusive urbanisation involves and would require a more dispersed and optimally distributed urbanisation process combined with the development of employment-generating manufacturing industry.

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(Acknowledgements: This paper has benefitted from research assistance by Mr. Keshav Murthy and Mr. Narsimha Murthy. I thank ISEC for financial assistance for the project CPIGD-56, which made the study possible.)

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