PART V  SUMMING UP: CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Chapter XV - Summing up: conclusions and policy implications.
CHAPTER XV

SUMMING UP : CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

15.1 Summary

This study has aimed at analysing certain aspects of the administrative structure and processes of planned city Chandigarh. Specially the study was to analyse - (i) administrative structure, (ii) administration in action, as reflected in two case studies, and (iii) performance evaluation.

The study has been divided into six parts. Part I dealt with the introduction of the problem in three chapters. Chapter I contained the statement of the problem, the scope of the study and the methodology adopted. The study of Chandigarh has the feature of being the one of an entirely new planned city; hence, the latest features and trends of urbanization and its specific problems attain significance in underlining the functions and structure of the administration. Chapter II, therefore, was an attempt to deal with the world urbanization trends and problems since 1900, with special reference to urbanization in India and the region. Chapter III dealt with the circumstances responsible for the inception of the city, and its impact on the life of the region.

Part II dealt with the administrative structure of the Union Territory, Chandigarh in four chapters. Chapter IV analysed the evolution, growth and development of the
administrative system of Chandigarh, particularly underlining its structural and functional differentiation over the period of time, starting from the capital project authority of the Punjab State to the present union territory administration. In Chapter V an attempt was made to establish the statutory position, and powers and functions of the Chief Commissioner as the Chief Executive of the union territory on the authority of Indian constitution, other related manuals and notifications of the Government of India. Chapter VI dealt with the secretariat practice in India with special reference to the composition of Chandigarh secretariat. The chapter was summed with a detailed analysis of the secretariat procedure and the improvements and changes suggested by the Administrative Reforms Commission therein. Chapter VII dealt with the field administration and the headquarter-field relations. A pointed discussion on the relationship between the generalists in the secretariat and the specialists in the field was also a part of it. Chapter VIII related to the advisory committees. The Local Advisory Committee and the Home Minister's Advisory Committee were discussed and analysed in detail, both with regard to their structure and their functioning.

Part III of the study related to the administration in action. The decision-making and environment, and the inter-departmental functioning of the administration were analysed through two case-studies in two chapters of this part. Chapter IX dealt with a case study about the removal of
unauthorised Nehru and Shastri markets. The case was summed up by underlining the sequence of decisions and the effect of environment on decision-making. Chapter X related to the other case-study regarding the development of rose-garden at Chandigarh. The actual functioning of Chandigarh administrative system was fully exposed through this case-study under divergent pressures, compulsions and requirements.

An attempt was made in Part IV to analyse and evaluate the performance of Chandigarh administration. The analysis was done based on each individual department or office, arranged in four broad categories according to the standard practice followed by the Government of India for economic and functional classification of expenditure in the central and state governments. The twin strands of inquiry and analysis were used to assess the purposefulness of the organisation.

In Chapter XI the General Service of Chandigarh administration, including general administration, regulatory departments and revenue-collecting agencies were assessed and evaluated. Chapter XII dealt with the performance of Social Services.

In Chapter XIII an attempt was made to analyse and evaluate the performance of Economic Services of Chandigarh administration whereas, the performance of Miscellaneous services was analysed in Chapter XIV.

All the preceding four parts are being summarized in Chapter XV of Part IV. The other two sections of this chapter give the conclusions, policy-implications and the suggestions of the researcher with regard to the whole of the study.
The last and the sixth part of this study contains appendices, including charts, diagrams, questionnaire, minutes of the meetings of the Local Advisory Committee, maps and bibliography etc. in support of the main study.

15.2 Conclusions

15.21 Problems of Urbanization and Chandigarh: The rapid progress of urbanization in the world and particularly in India after 1800 A.D. is the back-drop for the study of the administration of the planned city of Chandigarh. The available data indicate that India was urbanizing now, at a rate more comparable to that of other countries at a similar level. The present trend of fast urbanization has brought in its wake a series of problems - a few formidable, and many just baffling. A number of techniques, methods and approaches are being considered, applied and experimented through whole of the world for the solution of these problems. The establishment of new towns on a mass scale and some capital cities, though seemingly a proposition far expensive than our available resources, and also quite distant, in Indian context, is considered to be one of the solutions for the problems of urbanization. Since 1947, therefore, about half a dozen capital cities, besides over two dozen other administrative and industrial towns have been planned and developed in India. A new town set-up in a given area also gives the possibilities of generating many new activities for economic gain and social
formation of the surrounding areas. Though India at present lacks both a new town's policy and a comprehensive and coordinated approach to the problems of new towns, yet the new towns can be considered to be the closest approach yet made in India, toward planned communities.

Chandigarh stands shoulders high in this respect in the Indian context. This has been considered to be a catalyst, the like of which is crucial for the development of any people. The kind of psychology it has created in the people of the region has well been recognised. It has made them aware of the world of architecture. Chandigarh is not important for an individual building, but because of the relationship of buildings to the site, the environment created, the aspiration of man realized. This is stated to be the only grouping of the twentieth century that made any sense whatsoever, undoubtedly the century's greatest. The success of this venture was attributed to its new and comprehensive approach to urban planning. It is the administration of this planned city that has been analysed at great length in the present study.

15.22 Growth of Chandigarh administration and its transitory nature:

The evolution and growth of Chandigarh administration has passed through two major phases, one when it was capital of the composite Punjab state, i.e. up to 31.10.1966, and the other after the creation of the Union Territory on 1.11.1966.
This change was not gradual, but sudden, when a political controversy led to the bifurcation of the state of Punjab into the new states of Punjab and Haryana and the creation of the union territory of Chandigarh. The small part of a state administrative system was suddenly changed and transformed into a complex system on 1.11.1966, when the control over the city administration shifted from the state (Punjab) government to the union territory administration under the Union Ministry of Home Affairs. Here somewhat a queer decision was taken. The entire cadres of the departments of town and country-planning, architecture and printing and stationery were amalgamated and included in the administration of the union territory. All the staff working in the offices and institutions existing during the pre-organisation period, except the above three departments, were taken on deputation from the Punjab and Haryana cadres for the union territory administration. The rest of the positions, required both in the secretariat and in the field agencies, were created for the enhanced needs of the union territory administration. This arrangement was, probably, made in view of the temporary nature of the union territory and its visualised merger with either of the two adjoining states. But today in 1975 Chandigarh continues to be a union territory, and its transitory nature of nine long years has done much harm to the efficient functioning of the union territory administration, as is
evident from the following facts, and as discussed in the study. Disparity in pay-scales and service conditions of the employees, doing the same jobs in the same organisation, because of their three different cadres, has been a cause of great resentment and inconvenience. Members of the advisory committees had to wage a concerted fight for the eradication of some of these anomalies. Similarly, though the department of police met with the unanimous approbation of the official and non-official members of the committees, for maintaining law-and-order in the city, having a crucial position of being the seat of three governments, yet almost all of them stressed that the ad-hoc arrangement of police force was a weak-point of law and order in the territory. According to this arrangement almost all the senior officers and most of the policemen were on deputation. The members stressed the need for the fortification of police force by having a regular and sizeable force of the territory, as its own. It is also a common knowledge that getting appointment on deputation to Hāmīgarh administration was a purposeful craze with the Punjab and Haryana officials. It provided them with an opportunity to work at the station which is also, incidently, their respective headquarter. They, thus, keep themselves, by and large, preoccupied with making friends with and influencing the powers that be in their state secretariats and directorates for a better future prospects, and thus use their deputation as a jumping board for their future betterment in the state services. This,
naturally, never permits them to grow roots in their Chandigarh assignments and may also hamper their deeper involvement with the works assigned to them.

15.23 **Chief Executive statutory and actual position of the Chief Commissioner:**

The standard classification of powers and functions of Chief Commissioner as the Chief Executive of a union territory, has neither been enumerated nor even identified by any earlier study. Hence, recourse was made to the government notifications issued from time to time to understand the different powers and functions of the Chief Commissioner at Chandigarh. The Chief Commissioner, as the agent of the Union Government, has been empowered by the Union President to exercise the functions of a state government. He frames policies and programmes, sets procedures and takes decisions in regard to the territorial administration. He has also been empowered to make all appointments to Central Civil Services Class I, under the Chandigarh administration, and to make rules in regard to the methods of recruitment to the Central Civil Services and posts (Class II, Class III and Class IV) under his administrative control. He has all powers for appointment, conditions of service of persons appointed to such posts for the purpose of probation, confirmation, seniority, promotion and leave. He has also been delegated the powers of a Chief Secretary, on the recommendation of the Administrative Reforms Commission, because of the small size and compactness of the union.
territory and its administrative system. He also functions as the administrator of the Chandigarh city (capital) Project, and all the Acts, Rules, and Orders relating to the capital project empower him to regulate the city development in a planned way. He exercises all the financial powers under the Fundamental Rules and Supplementary Rules, and of the administrator under the General Fundamental Rules. Because of being the capital of two state governments, besides the Union Territory, the Chief Commissioner has been given a higher status, almost the same as that of the senior-most officers in these states, to be able to solve problems with them at his own level.

Though seemingly adequate powers have been delegated to the Chief Commissioner, yet he is not as independent as a state government or as the manuals provide for. In most of the cases he has to get prior permission to act. Whenever he takes independent decisions, their execution may be held up on account of delayed, truncated or no financial sanctions by the Government of India. Section 25, 27, 44, 45 and 46 of the governance of the Union Territories Act conform to the strict control of the Union government. The presence of the Union government is felt everywhere. The Administrative Reforms Commission also recommended the amendment of section 46 and leaving to the union territory administration the framing of the rules which regulate the internal functioning of the administration, and that any general directions to the union territory could find place in the Instrument of Instructions.
But the situation in practice is entirely different from the one available in the statutes. Union territories can be rightly compared to a department or a ministry of the Union government, and the administrator as the head of such department, with the control of the union government being direct, complete and ultimate.

15.24 The Administrative Organization: Secretariat and Procedure of work:

The Secretariat at the union territory, Chandi arh functions in the same manner as any other secretariat at the central or state level. The one difference is that except for the departments of engineering and architecture, all the other field agencies pertaining to regulatory, social, economic and miscellaneous services have been haphazardly apportioned between two secretaries designated as the home secretary and the finance secretary. They also function as secretaries for other department. The apportionment of the departments is not in keeping with the standard classification of budget heads by the union and state governments. This has made a mess of the whole situation and tends to bring in an irrational jumbling of the departments. Education - general is with the one secretary, whereas education - technical is with the other. If the department of industries is with the one, the industrial training institutes are with the other. The only consideration seems to have been an equitable distribution of work load with big, medium and small size agencies divided on somewhat
equal basis. This causes a great deal of lack of coordination in the allied and similar administrative activities, elongated communication channels and a lack of rational approach for the apportionment of responsibility and blame for failures.

Much has been said in various forums about the utility and futility of the secretariat as a link between the executive authority and the specialized field agencies. But in Chandigarh a few healthy steps have been incorporated, somewhat neutralising the defects of secretariat procedure. The delegation of powers as ex-officio secretary to the Chief Engineer and the Chief Architect, and as deputy or assistant secretary to the director, health services, the principal medical officer, the senior superintendent of police, the legal remembrancer, an executive engineer and an architect in the head office, the director/public instruction etc. is a notable improvement to the normal secretariat procedure, where all powers are centralised in the hands of the generalist secretaries in the secretariat. This has also worked in the direction of lessening conflict and tussle between the specialists in the field and the generalists in the secretariat. Single-file system in the departments of education and medical and health has also been started. It can, thus, be said that though Chandigarh secretariat functions on the same lines, with all its merits and demerits, as obtains elsewhere in the country, some improvements are visible here, on account of
probably, the compactness of the territory, and also perhaps, because of the temporary nature of the union territory.

15.25 Headquarters field relations: Regarding the lines of command and the inherent conflict between the headquarters generalists and field specialists, the situation at Chandigarh is one of the blend and a compromise. For the technical departments of engineering and architecture the situation is quite simple and logical, with the departmental heads as ex-officio secretaries of their respective departments, assisted in the field also by the specialists in their areas of operation. They are, thus, responsible for the complete execution of the organisational programmes of their departments, related to various divisions, from secretariat level to the lowest level in the field. But even for other departments the delegation of powers as ex-officio deputy secretaries and assistant secretaries to various departmental heads has worked for better functioning and coordination between the field and the headquarters.

The situation with regard to the extent of direct contact between the field offices and the headquarters at Chandigarh is far better than in many of the other states of the union. Due to the small size of the territory, the field offices are located in close proximity of the headquarters, rather in the same building or on the same premises, in many cases, providing thereby, for a direct and immediate contact with and by the head office. One more, and probably
the most important link between the headquarters and the field agencies here is the "administrative officers committee", consisting of the Chief Commissioner, all the secretaries and the deputy or assistant secretaries from the headquarters, and, heads of departments or offices from the field. Almost all important policy decisions are taken by this committee. Thus, coordination between the generalists and specialists is achieved and policy decisions are taken with consensus in the interest of the achievement of unified organisational goal. The headquarters office of field operations has, therefore, been made redundant at Chandigarh by the three factors of headquarters-field proximity, the declaration of many heads of the departments/offices as secretaries, and the constitution of administrative officers committee.

With regard to the communication and control, a really difficult aspect of headquarters-field relations, the special situation of Chandigarh vis-a-vis its administrative system, takes out, to some extent, the sting of a mutilated and blurred vision of this relationship. Again, the techniques of control over the field of the headquarters, such as controls after and before action, progress reports, pre and post-audit inspections and investigations, are more effective and useful here, on account of compactness of the territory and its administrative system. Communication to and from the field to the headquarters is also direct, quick, immediate, and not remote as elsewhere in the country, causing, thereby
quick and factual readjustment of policies and programmes at the headquarters. Inspection of the operational area by the headquarters here is more than usual, quicker and more purposeful. The two case-studies provide a number of examples to support this conclusion.

15.26 **Role of the advisory committees**: Advisory committees gain importance from the need for people's association with decision-making and decision-implementation in a developing democratic system. Chandigarh is a union territory lacking institutional arrangements, in the form of legislature, for associating public opinion. Advisory committees, both at the intra-organisational and extra-organisational levels, gain added importance for the achievement of this goal. Though purely of advisory nature, their importance lies in the fact that the mere presence of non-official members within the purely bureaucratic administration tends to make the administration responsive, responsible and answerable to the people, when the important issues of policy, legislative proposals, budgetary matters and development plans are prepared and discussed.

The involvement and an element of popular participation is evident from the minutes of these committees. Almost every topic which had any bearing on any aspect of the civic life of the union territory was touched upon in these meetings. Since the items put on the agenda are proposed by
the non-official members, the official representatives are
under obligation to satisfy the non-official members and show
their genuine interest. It is also evident from the review
of the 'action taken' on the recommendations of the meetings
that the approved decisions were invariably implemented. The
role of the Chief Commissioner as the chairman of the Local
Advisory Committee and that of the Union Minister for Home
Affairs in the Home Minister's Advisory Committee is a bigger
and more important factor, since the decisions taken under
their chairmanship become the decisions of the government, and
are, thus, implemented without any legal, technical or
administrative hitch.

This may, however, be stated that the advisory committees
have authority only up to the extent the official members tend
to use and utilize it. Official members, therefore, feel
satisfied with the present arrangement, and do not want to give
any mandatory powers or elected status to the non-official
members. But non-official members seem to be highly
dissatisfied and critical of arrangement and want the
committees to be either elected or more representative and
their decisions to be mandatory. Official members, whereas,
laud the efforts of the administration for various achievements,
and take shelter behind the financial and administrative
inadequacies for the failures, the non-official members put
the blame on purely bureaucratic set-up of the administration,
which, they argue, is immune to popular feelings, problems
even the individual temperament, attitude and mental make-up of a certain job-holder seemed to fashion the entire episode in a particular shape, whereas, it could have taken a different turn under the guidance of a different personality.

The second part pertained to the inter-departmental and intra-departmental functioning of an organization in given circumstances, and laid bare the administrative processes and procedures, communication channels, the role and importance of the leadership, the mode of working of the administrative hierarchy and the inherent qualities and shortcomings of a bureaucratic system.

The third part exposed a high degree of apathy and even resistance on the part of the bureaucracy to citizens' suggestions. But simultaneously it also showed that the administration was quite sensitive to a complaint appearing either in the press or taken at a higher ministerial level. Such complaints were given a better treatment, in as much as that clarifications, rebuttals or positive actions were conveyed sooner.

The Chief Commissioner had been the main guiding figure, not only in formal manner, but in practice also. His personality was felt almost everywhere, prompting his subordinates to work. The Superintending Engineer, Public Health came out to be the most vigorous, responsive, energetic and active officer,
action of the administration. At a stage they could get stay-order from the High Court against their eviction. They could also muster enough support among the members of the Local Advisory Committee, including the Member, Parliament from Chandigarh. They were even able to move the ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, to direct the Chandigarh administration to stop eviction. The case reveals that the role of the pressure groups, judiciary, local political leaders and the union ministry of Home Affairs was an important factor in conditioning the attitude of the Chandigarh administration to be sympathetic, democratic and at times even benevolent. The administration proved to be sufficiently flexible to modify, change, suspend or abrogate its earlier decisions and while consistently and persistently sticking to its earlier policy decision of eviction, thus underlining the sensitiveness of the administration to the external environment.

15.26 Bureaucratic functioning and role of administrative leadership:

Case study relating to setting up of the Rose-Garden at Chandigarh was divided in three parts. First part contained the routine of administrative approvals and sanctions etc. Thus the whole of the administration in its formal dealings, red-tapeism and in its inter-relations with the public stood fully unwrapped. Even the subtle, subconscious and unconscious motivations working above surface and below surface could also be visualised in analysing the behaviour of a particular department or a job-holder in a given situation. At places,
and aspirations. It, however, cannot be denied that the presence of a sizeable number of representatives of various interest-groups in these committees certainly makes the administration increasingly answerable to the people, at least morally, if not legally, through the non-official members - though the committees are only advisory in nature.

15.27 Administrative decision-making: Influence of external environment:

The case study relating to the removal of Nehru and Shastri Markets reveals as to how the decision-making of Chandigarh administration has been influenced by the external environment, as reflected in the actions and reactions of squatters, political leaders and popular representatives. It also indicates the accountability of the administration to the judiciary and conspicuously reflects the relations between the minister and the civil servants.

The action to remove these squatters and 'patriwalas' started as a simple eviction proposition, but while passing through many phases, it gradually ended in the final objective of the removal of these markets while simultaneously seeing this weaker and poorer section of the traders being happily settled at the alternative sites. This, however, cannot be entirely attributed to the goodness, benevolence and understanding of the administration. Quite in early stages these squatters grouped themselves in well-knit and united pressure groups, who went on gaining strength after every
involving his superiors in quick decision-making and making his subordinates to execute the schemes without any loss of time, thus, causing the removal of many a bottleneck in the channel of communication, the process of coordination and in quicker implementation of the decisions.

15.29 **Demand for popular representation**: There has been a persistent demand from almost every section of the members of the advisory committees, political parties, press and other interest groups in Chandigarh for giving some kind of popular representation in Chandigarh administration. Though successfully evaded all-along by the administration, this demand has also been gaining momentum. Chandigarh has been termed as a city bereft of culture, where the estrangement and human isolation was felt in depth. The responsibility was squarely put at the administration's policy of stratification, stemming out of it being highly bureaucratic, deaf to the popular grievances and feelings. Radical changes were generally required in the administrative set-up of Chandigarh, and it was opined that the most sympathetic and benevolent bureaucrat could never be a better or even equal substitute to the self-rule. It was also observed that since this administration was neither a state government, nor a municipal government, but only a bureaucratic set-up, we could expect no better from it under the present circumstances.
15.2 (10) Greater Urban bias : Neglect of rural areas and labour colonies:

Rural areas in the union territory have less than 10% of the total population. Besides, on account of being responsible for the development and maintenance of the new planned city, the administration is almost entirely preoccupied with the urban-development and its problems. Rural areas and problems, therefore, naturally occupy only peripheral position. Yet the picture painted by the administration with regard to the developmental activities in these areas is somewhat rosy and one of high expectations, as depicted in progress-reports. But some of the glaring inconsistencies have been pointed out in the local press and by the members in the meetings of the advisory committees. The policy of Chandigarh administration with regard to the villages and labour colonies was termed to be one of gross neglect. These have been considered to be areas of darkness in the city of lights. The press was very harsh and the committees' meetings also provided much criticism of the administration on this count. From discussions it is evident that the union territory administration has generally been more concerned and preoccupied with the city plots, plot-holders, the city master plan and its needs. Villages are and have been treated as hinterland and something for the city, and not as equal partners and participants in the union territory community. This may also be the result of the class character of the administrative personnel, who generally belong to the urban areas or are urbanized ruralities.
Similarly an alarming growth of unplanned labour colonies within, and on the periphery of the planned city is the direct result of the lack of comprehension, initially on the part of the planners and administrators, about the needs of the builders, servers and suppliers of this huge project. Now, when the problem has gained enormous magnitude and is posing a serious threat to the Chandigarh administration and the Chandigarh community, the administration finds itself a poor match to confront and solve it. In November, 1969, it was stated that these colonies would be wiped out and the population shifted within a year. To-day in 1975, the labour colonies are still there, more in number, larger in area and with added problems. In 1973 itself the administration planned to spend Rs. 190.00 lakh, but the Planning Commission of India had its own priorities and allotted a paltry sum of Rs. 15.00 lakh, i.e. 7.8% of the total amount demanded. The problem continues in all seriousness. Members of the committees and the local press raise the issue time and again and the administration makes promises, which seem unlikely to be kept, at least in the near future.

15.2 (11) Dissatisfaction with the existing social, civic and cultural amenities:

A great deal of dissatisfaction has been expressed both in the local press and in the meetings of the committees about the provision of social, civic and cultural amenities in the city. Chandigarh has the highest literacy percentage in
the country, and is inhabited by a very conscious section
of the society. Chandigarh community, naturally, demands each
and every facilities to be provided here. High standards of
medical, health, education and sanitation services available
here, the like of which are not generally available in any of
our towns and cities in the region, have made Chandigarh
citizens particularly conscious and sensitive to these
amenities. The projected image of the 'City beautiful' also
makes them proud to belong to this city. But a little
deviation from these norms is naturally resented to with the
same vigour and vehemence. This is also undeniable that the
standard of local bus service, electricity, water-supply,
sanitation and other health services is fast deteriorating,
partly because of the high growth rate of urban population,
which is outstripping the service agencies planned for lesser
population, and, partly because of availability of lesser
funds from the Government of India. Bus-service is stated to
be irregular, unreliable, unsafe, erratic and unsatisfactory.
Chandigarh is termed as a city without any cultural or
community life, an anti-community town, where one felt bored
after being here for the first few days, where the human
isolation and estrangement was felt in depth, an impolite
punishing place, where there was sharp segregation between
the ruling elite and the common man. Because of lack of
social equality there was no cultural homogeneity, and the
administration was stated to be doing nothing, or if doing anything - then only making negative contribution, for the betterment. Both the local press and the non-official members of the committees were very harsh on these points, and attributed it mainly to the lack of popular element in Chandigarh administration. It was observed that bureaucracy, and that too a dependent bureaucracy on the central government for the little money and minute details, could not be expected to be much effective in meeting with the popular demands and taking initiative for the removal of popular grievances. In the light of these facts the harsh criticism by the press, the people and their representatives, and the helplessness and/or apathy of the administration becomes comprehensible.

15.3 Policy Implications

15.31 Socio-ly mixed neighbourhood: A big and a rare opportunity has been permitted to slip away to have socially mixed neighbourhoods in the new planned city of Chandigarh, which would have been in keeping with our socialistic, progressive and democratic goals of the state policy. Chandigarh community is so much segregated, stratified and estranged that instead of hiding the social inequalities it has worked to enhance them, and, thus, caused negative influence on the interaction of different classes with each other. Some measures to articulate social differences are immediately needed if the community cohesiveness has to be achieved.
15.32 Transitory nature of the personnel: A big malady:

The deputation of the staff from Haryana and Punjab to the union territory administration seemed to be an arrangement visualised in the context of the temporary and ad hoc nature of the territory and its administration. But this arrangement when stretched for over eleven years seems to have been one of the major causes for the lapses and failings of the union territory administration. This fact has been fully substantiated in responses to the questionnaire given to the official and non-official members of the Local Advisory Committee. The remedy lies in finally absorbing the deputationists, since the continuation of the city as a union territory seems to be imminent indefinitely.

15.33 Inadequacy of the authority vested in the Chief Executive:

Seemingly vast array of financial and administrative powers with regard to the capital project, powers equivalent to state government and powers equal to the highest officers in the neighbouring states of Punjab and Haryana, as given to the chief commissioner, exist, by and large, in the manuals only. The real control rests with the union government, which is complete. Simultaneously there is no popular representation in the union territory administration, no legislature, no municipal committee. This has converted Chandigarh administration into a subservient and functional agency of the bigger bureaucracy at Delhi. Chief Commissioner needs be given real powers with regard to the policy formulation,
in their implementation and in administering Chandigarh. Simultaneously, some sort of local representation may be provided within the administration in the form of a corporation or a council, to have a check on the Chief Commissioner, his secretariat and the field agencies, and to make the bureaucracy well-informed about the needs, aspirations and feelings of the people in the union territory. These two measures are likely to remove a number of problems and obstacles, both in the way of the administration in its normal functioning, and of the people to have a responsive, responsible and answerable administration.

15.34 Secretaries: irrational apportionment of departments:

Delegation of powers as ex-officio secretaries to the Chief Engineer and Chief Architect of their respective departments, and that of deputy secretary and assistant secretary to a number of other departmental heads, has worked to greater efficiency of these functional agencies. But the haphazard apportionment of various departments between the two administrative secretaries is not in keeping with the standard classification of budget heads by the union and state governments in India. This seems to have made a mess of the whole situation and tends to cause a great deal of lack of coordination in the allied and similar administrative activities, elongated communication channels and a lack of rational approach for the apportionment of responsibility and blame for failures.
15.35 **Head-quarter-field relations**: Headquarter-field relations at Chandigarh seem to be happier and more useful than anywhere else in the country. The compactness of the territory and the proximity of both the head-quarters and the field may be an evident cause, where the control is complete, inspection quicker, feedback direct, and the readjustment of policies and programmes of action immediate. The delegation of powers of ex-officio secretary, deputy secretary and assistant secretary to a number of department and office heads may be another useful feature, besides, the constitution of officers committee.

This could be an example to be emulated by other states and union territories in the Union. Chandigarh experiment could also be studied in deeper and analytical perspective, since it indicates the better functioning and coordination of administrative system within a smaller and compact territory. The demand for smaller states in the country has not been new, and could be seen in the background of quick regeneration of developmental and economic forces in smaller Haryana, and a healthy working in the union territory of Chandigarh, notwithstanding the other, somewhat unhelpful factors, of too much central control and lack of popular representation in the union territory.
Non-official members: an inadequate but helpful proposition:

The analysis of the role of both the Local Advisory Committee and the Home Minister's Advisory Committee clearly indicates the usefulness of both these committees, in providing somewhat an indirect popular representation in the administration and affecting a psychological check on the working of the bureaucracy through non-official members. This is undeniable that the members are nominated by the administration. This allegation may also not lack the substance that the nomination is on the basis of the members being convenient to the bureaucracy. Yet, it is not that simple. The administration cannot simply avoid the interest-groups, and such interest groups too have their evident representatives and leaders, who cannot be evaded and neglected in an open society. Similarly, however, convenient a member may be to the administration, he is bound to undergo a transformation in his disposition, once he starts representing the people, and is better informed about the demands, requirements and grievances of the sections of the society he represents, since he is visited by them with expectations. This, thus, may not be an ideal proposition, yet seems to be quite useful under the circumstances, till the elected representation is given to the people within the union territory administration.

Lop-sidedness in urban planning: The squatters-case study lays bare an important fact of the administrative
decision-making. The influence of pressure-groups and the involvement of popular leadership moulds it towards the social welfare and accommodation of the interests of the affected parties. But, this case-study also provides a useful lesson to our planners and administrators to avoid lop-sided and short-sighted planning. Chandigarh, as a huge project, needed the services of the petty traders, the 'rehriwalas' and 'patriwalas' in keeping with its population composition. The city of distances does not accommodate the big plot-holders and landlords only. The major part of its population comprises of petty government and private job-holders and other weaker working sections. This is also a common knowledge that it is not the big stores, but the 'rehriwalas' 'patriwalas' and traders on cycles who meet with the major daily requirements of the majority of Chandigarh dwellers. No provision, therefore, for such petty traders in the city plan caused the coming up of so many authorised and unauthorised rehri-markets and colony-markets. It seems that the problem is being gradually realised by the administration, keeping in view the interests of both the poor consumers and the petty traders and hawkers. The planning and construction of a large number of small booths almost in every new sector, and creation of booth-markets at the places of present 'rehri-markets is an evidence of such realization, which was earlier overlooked and neglected.

15.38 Need for providing people's participation in local government:

People of Chandigarh have been denied popular representation in administration, both at the municipal and
state levels, for too long. Most of the ills of the city and its administration are attributed to this single factor. The squatters case, the neglect of rural areas, the creation and prevalence of labour colonies on the periphery of a planned city, lack of social cohesiveness and cultural life, and, finally arrogant and deaf attitude of the bureaucracy towards the common man, all emanate, probably, from this single source. The reasons, so far advanced against giving popular representation, such as difficulty in imposing taxes, technical hitch in receiving cent per cent central aid, the deficit financial state of the territory and the unwillingness of the government of Punjab, with which the city has finally to be merged, have never been convincing for anybody. Some sort of representation to the people of Chandigarh of the type of a municipal corporation or of Delhi-type metropolitan council is an imperative. It is not important only as a check on the bureaucracy, its implications are deeper, since it will provide a real sense of participation to the Chandigarh community in planning, fashioning and adjusting their life pattern in the available circumstances, to learn from their experiences, and get conditioned to the ways of a representative administration. So far they are at the receiving end only, where others are planning for them from their somewhat insulated, and at times uninformed and ill-informed positions. Chandigarh community can neither take credit for the achievements of the territory, nor do they share its failings. The question is deeper, in the wider context of democracy being all-around
except for a pocket of bureaucracy that exists at Chandigarh.

15.39 Future of Chandigarh: Since the formation of the union territory and the bifurcation of the erstwhile state of Punjab into Punjab and Haryana, both the states had been laying claims and counter-claims on the city. Punjab politicians had been more militant, and quite a number of agitations were launched. In the local press also much was written on this issue.

Finally, on the basis of an arbitration by Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, Chandigarh city was awarded to the state of Punjab, and Fazilka and Abohar areas of Punjab to Haryana. Haryana was assured Rs. 1,000.0 lakh as an aid and another Rs. 1,000.0 lakh as a loan to build its new capital. This is stated to be a package deal and the present arrangement was to continue up to five years. But nothing seems to have moved in that direction till now. Punjab leaders were backing out to part with rich cotton growing areas of Fazilka and Abohar. Similarly, Haryana also did not want to leave claim on these areas and wanted the implementation of the award in full. Punjab leaders wanted to retain their areas awarded to Haryana and get Chandigarh too. So were Haryanavis unanimous either in accepting or rejecting the award in full. Under this state of indecision hints have been appearing in various forums to make the city a permanent union territory.

A suggestion, in this respect, has been made by Ashish Bose, of the Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi.
He suggested in his article appearing in the Tribune dated 21.7.74, to make Chandigarh a 'chartered city'. His solution seeks to benefit the city people, the region and the nation as a whole. According to him it would generate employment, increase income levels, encourage mobility of labour, help to earn foreign exchange and within ten years Chandigarh would be on the map of the world as an international city like Geneva, Singapore, Bangkok and Hongkong.

The operational aspects of this solution include:

(1) Parliament to pass an Act making Chandigarh a Chartered City, governed by a city council by representatives nominated by three adjoining states and the centre.

(2) The Finance commission to make appropriate financial allocation to the chartered city and the planning commission to plan for the city and the surrounding region, on regular five year plan basis.

(3) The Government of India to prevail upon the U.N. and the specialized agencies to locate some regional offices here. India could easily compete with any country of the world in providing necessary infra-structure for establishing an international office. If Nairobi could be the headquarters of U.N.D.E., Bangkok of ECAFE, Geneva of WHO, the new city of Chandigarh, when sufficiently upgraded, could certainly match these cities.

(4) The government of India could decide to hold as many international conferences as possible in Chandigarh and not in New Delhi. This, besides developing Chandigarh, would lessen pressure on the national capital.
(5) The Government could have an innovative programme for young tourists fond of hiking and mountaineering. The Chandigarh-Simla-Manali axis could be developed to encourage such tourism.

(6) There should be a bold plan for its industrialisation based on electricity, keeping in view the development of power complex on a unified basis for Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh.

Finally, he said that its modern architecture should not be an anachronism but a symbol of hope of India’s transformation into a forward looking modern country.

On 8.7.74 the Union Deputy Home Minister hinted that Chandigarh may remain a union territory even after January 28, 1975, when it should have gone to Punjab on the expiry of five year period set in the 1970 decision of the central government. He was addressing a congress-organised political conference and was answering the newsmen. He said that Punjab was not willing to part with Fazilka and Abohar and both the former and the present Chief Ministers of Punjab wanted to re-open the issue and include the question of Fazilka and Abohar in the terms of proposed boundary commission. But Haryana was also unwilling to this and had not so far asked for its Rs. 2,000.0 lakh share to build a new capital, nor had made any preparations to shift its headquarters. He clarified that Prime Minister's award was a unified whole and could not be accepted in parts. The consent of the parties was being sought, but so far
nothing could be achieved, and finally the decision rested with the union government. He hinted that the question of formation of some representative body was deferred because Punjab was not inclined to it. But under the changed circumstances this might be considered as the transfer was not imminent.

This has come out to be true. January 28, 1975 deadline for the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab passed without the implementation of the package deal. A formal declaration by the Government of India was made through press and radio for the continuation of Chandigarh as a union territory even after January 28, 1975. Chandigarh may, thus, continue to be a union territory for some more time, or indefinitely. The solution, as suggested by Ashish Bose, if seriously considered both at the local level and at higher level in Punjab, Haryana and Delhi, may be an ideal solution under the circumstances of course, with some sort of representation to the people of Chandigarh in governing the planned city.