CHAPTER- 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Bombay State was formed under the States Reorganization Act, 1956. The State of Maharashtra came into existence from May 1st 1960, predominantly for Marathi speaking peoples. The development of any state depends on the outstanding contribution of dynamic leaders, scientists, saints, social workers and industrialists. Maharashtra is one of the highly developed states of India. Late Yashwantrao Chavan played a very vital role in the all-round development of Maharashtra. He was one of the pioneering architects of the state. The leaders like Late Vasant Dada Patil, Late Vasantrao Naik, and Mr. Sharad Pawar have also shouldered the responsibility of Chief Minister successfully and have changed the scenario rapidly.¹

Industrialization is the key of rapid economic development of any State. Sugar & Cotton Textile Industries are the most important agro based industries in Maharashtra. Maharashtra is the Sugar Bowl of India. Sugar Lobby plays a very important role in the political development of Maharashtra. Most of the powerful leaders in Maharashtra have emerged from Sugar Lobby, very rapidly on the political horizon of the State. The Co-operative Sugar factories have been playing the role of lead industry in development of rural area, since 1950. There is no doubt that sugar lobby influences political activities on a very large scale. Industrialization is also most powerful tool for social economic and political transformation.²

The leadership in Maharashtra has two important sources viz. sugar lobby or kith relationship for those whose are having very strong political family background. On the contrary there are certain exceptions like Yashawantrao Chavan, Mr. R. R. Patil and leaders like Mr. Babanrao Pachpute because in the initial stage they neither belonged to sugar lobby, nor they had strong or sound financial & powerful political family background. Their leadership emerged independently only because of their individual political merits and qualities.³

1.2 URBANIZATION IN MAHARSHTRA – SOCIO ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS
The process of modernization and economic growth inevitable involves occupational, technologies and cultural changes. In each Five Year Plan of India, emphasis has been laid on shift in land utilization and employment pattern from the primary agricultural sector to the more intensive industrial and service sectors. Such a shift must lead to a new pattern of human activity and settlements, from dispersal in thousands of villages to concentration in towns and cities. Thus economic growth, industrialization and urbanization are complimentary process. Urbanization must be seen as an instrument and objective of development in developing countries and solutions to the problems of urbanization must be considered as an integral part of the development process. The object of this paper is to evaluate the policies enunciated at the national and state level in this context, examine the problems encountered in the implementation of these policies and highlight some of the issues that need to be addressed in the coming years by policy makers, administrators, social scientists and others.

1. POLICY FOR URBANIZATION:

The earlier Five Year plans of the Government of India made no mention of any specific policy or strategy for dealing with the complex issue of urbanization except in the way of providing some financial outlays for town planning schemes, water supply and housing. The need to prevent unrestricted growth of metropolitan cities by regional planning was first emphasized in the Fourth Five Year Plan document, without any detailed discussion of alternative patterns of urban settlements. Subsequent Five Year Plans have spelt out in some detail the policy objectives and strategies for planned urbanization, the salient features of which may be summarized as listed below:\(^4\)

i) Promotion of development of small and medium towns and new rural growth centers to reduce the pressure of the job seekers on the metropolitan cities and to achieve planned and gradual transition from the rural to urban.

ii) Prevention of unplanned population concentration in metropolitan cities and urban sprawl in the fringe areas of these cities by preparing regional development plans and by setting up Development of Planning Authorities to implement such plans.
iii) Strengthening of local administrative organizations and their finances to provide improved civic amenities and deal with socio-economic problems attributable to rapid growth of urban population.

iv) Distribution of economic activity in a balanced manner so as to attract industries, commercial and office sectors to new urban areas.

v) Formulation of an Urban Lands Policy to promote optimum land use, available at reasonable prices for social use, to reduce concentration of ownership of land in urban areas and to control land prices.

vi) Improving the environment in slum areas by investing additional public funds for civic amenities.

vii) Integration of the metropolitan economy with the state economy on the one hand and the rural hinterland on the other for mutual beneficial interaction.

The policy statements of the national and state governments were backed up in subsequent years by statutory provisions in enactments such as Regional Town Planning Acts, the Urban Lands (Ceiling and Authorities Act, Pollution Control Acts, etc.) The latest in the series is legislation by Maharashtra Government vesting ownership rights with tenants of cessed buildings on payment of compensation at 100 times the standard rent. The need for special institutional measures for implementing these laws was also recognized and given practical shape in the form of Housing Boards, CIDCO, BMRDA, MIDC, SICOM, Repairs Board, NHAVASHEVA Port Authority, Pollution Control Board etc. Financial Provision has also been indicated in the national and state plans to enable these authorities to implement their projects.  

2. THE URBAN SCENE IN MAHARASHTRA:

In almost all developing countries, population growth and its spatial distribution has a cause and effect relationship with the socio-economic and demographic processes with less than 2.5 p.c. of the world’s land area, India accounts for about 15 p.c. of the global population. By the year 2000, the country’s population is estimated to reach nearly one billion on the basis of an annual growth rate of 2 p.c. in spite of three decades of planning; the birth rate remains high at 33 per 1000 per annum against the target of 25 per 1000 population. There is growth of urban population in each census period. The percentage of urban population in the country increased from 20 p.c. in 1971 to 23 p.c. according to the
census of 1981. Of the increase in urban population, about 60 p.c. was registered in the cities with a population of more than one lakh, although in the last decade, nearly 1000 additional settlements were registered in the urban category.

The situation in Maharashtra is not different from the national scene and shows marked accentuation of the national trends. Maharashtra registered the largest percentage of urban population amongst the states in India (except the Union Territory of Delhi) for each census period. According to the 1981 census, the p.c. of urban population in Maharashtra was 35 compared to 23 for the whole country. Again apart from the absolute growth in numbers, large towns and cities absorbed most of this increase. Out of the total urban population in the State, Greater Bombay accounted for 37.45 p.c, Pune 9.97 p.c., Thane 6.75 p.c. and Nagpur 6.67 p.c.

A feature of urbanization common again to most developing countries is the growth of the primate city, usually the capital city, to unwieldy limits, with a bloated tertiary sector reflected in the phenomenal growth of the informal sector. The unwieldy growth of urban population of Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and Madras is a familiar feature of the urban scene in developing countries. U.N. estimates indicate that this trend will increase in future years due to unplanned spillover of population, industries and settlements into the fringe areas of large cities and that within the next decade, out of the 12 largest and most populated metropolitan cities, 8 will be in the developing world. A disturbing feature of the Maharashtra scene is that the polarization of skills, talent and money into the metropolitan areas of Bombay and Poona has been a “suction mechanism” at the expense of small and medium towns. If we exclude the metropolitan areas, the urbanization of the rest Maharashtra is comparable to that of other states, Thus instead of a process of planned transition from the rural to the urban, as part of the process of demographic growth and its spatial distribution, Maharashtra has experienced an inexorable march towards the metropolitan cities and their fringe areas.

While the conditions in Metropolitan cities in respect of health and sanitation, transport, housing, water supply, pollution etc. are causing concern, it must be noted that rural areas and small cities by comparison are much worse off. In many towns the sewerage system is non-existent, the water grossly is inadequate, public investment in roads, housing and other sectors per capita is much lower and the general quality of life is inferior to that in big cities. Both push and pull factors are operating to encourage the march to the big city.

The Govt. of Maharashtra recognized that the development of metropolitan regions in the state must be taken up on a planned basis as in integral part of total development of the state economy and the first step in this direction was taken with the
sanction to the Regional Development Plan for the Bombay Metropolitan Region for the period 1970-1990.  

A regional institution, BMRDA, was set up to implement this Plan. The plan takes note of the trends in urban growth and emphasizes the following goals and strategies to achieve the social well being of the citizens of the region and a mutually interactive growth of the primate city and the adjacent urban and rural areas of Bombay Metropolitan Region.

i) Planning for an alternative pattern of distribution of population, job and shelter and limiting the increase in population of Greater Bombay to about 7 millions by 1991 and allowing the spillover of about 2 millions in New Bombay and other growth centers.

ii) Development of a new city centre across the creek to attract offices and commercial and housing activities and the decongest the island city.

iii) Restriction on industrial, commercial and official growth in the island city through industrial locations and office location policy.

iv) Fair distribution of resources amongst different areas and provision of decent living environment in the form of shelter, water supply, sewerage, transport, employment and other infrastructural facilities through an appropriate policy for housing, employment, shelter land and finance.

v) Creation of institution for planning, co-ordination and performance of functions for policy implementation.

An analysis of the factors responsible for the limited success of the Plan in certain areas and relative shortfalls in other areas of planning, after a decade’s experience, will be useful not only on drawing and redesigning of policies and programs for the Bombay Metropolitan Region but also as guidelines for plans that are being drawn up for other metropolitan regions and other emerging regions in the State and the rest of the country. By and large these factors relate to implementation of policies with regard to decentralization of economic and social activities, financial constraints, organizational limitations and political aspects of the situation prevailing in different regions and parts of the country.

A DECADE’S EXPERIENCE OF THE DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR B.M.R.
The development of what the Plan refers to as “Poly-nucleated” region have met with limited success. The population of Greater Bombay has already exceeded the targeted population of 7 million by 1991. The other designated growth centers, such as Vashi-Belapur, Panvel Zone, have not absorbed the increasing migration to Bombay from rural areas of Maharashtra and other states to the extent planned. The growth of the Bandra-Kurla commercial complex has in fact showed down the transfer of office and commercial activity to the New Bombay areas and instead of self-contained and lively townships, growth centers have become dormitory towns entailing long and arduous journeys for their residents to their workplaces in Bombay. The restrictions imposed by the Govt. of Maharashtra on industrial growth, office location, intensive land use etc. had a significant impact on employment growth in the island city, which increased in the organized sector at about 1 p.c. per annum in the last decade. On the other hand the thinly populated suburbs absorbed the population growth at 11 p.c. per annum as compared to the growth of population for the metropolitan city at 4.38 p.c. per annum. The socio-economic conditions now deteriorated faster in the suburbs in the form of overcrowding, slums, traffic conditions, insanitation, sewerage disposal etc.

The industrial location policy of the Govt. of Maharashtra stipulates that zone I, constituting of the island city will be closed for new industries, medium or large. Only service industries defined under the Development Control Rules of BMC and S.S.I units will be allowed in unoccupied galas reserved for such use in the Development Plan. In zone II, comprising the suburbs of Greater Bombay, also no new industries medium or small, were to be permitted, except industries of service character whose location has to be in that zone in the overall interest of the state. New industrial estates for service industries, expansion of existing large and medium scale industries in the interest of their viability, modernization and rationalization and shifting of small scale industries from non-confirming zones in the island city to conforming areas in the suburbs was permitted under this policy. Large and medium scale industries from non-confirming areas were to be shifted to zones III and IV outside Greater Bombay.7

This policy had a significant impact on industrial development in the island city in spite of a number of relaxations permitted by the Govt. of Maharashtra in respect of those industries facing serious financial and technical difficulties. The manufacturing activities and growth of industrial labour force was restricted in the last decade and it is expected that industrial employment in the next decade would it is expected that industrial employment in the next decade would increase only marginally. The regional Plan proposal to reduce the area of land zoned as “Industry zone” in the Development Plan has yet to be implemented as the procedure for such change of zone is elaborate and time consuming.
and many of these lands are encroached upon by squatters. Bombay Municipal Corporation has earmarked about 800 hectares of industrial zone which are undeveloped vacant land initiated proceedings under section 37 of Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act. Action regarding shifting of industries from non-confirming areas has been slow except where industries have volunteered to shift. Problems of finance, alternative lands, proximity to markets, union activity, taxation policy with regard to lands to be vacated have be-devilled the efforts of the authorities to shift about 200 industrial units of this type. Vigorous efforts are necessary on the part of the Government to tackle the problems of capital gains tax and alternate land to induce these industries to move out. The pollution control laws need to be implemented strictly for these industrial units to force them to undertake investments for controlling pollution if they remain on present sites.

The textile industry gives employment to about 13 p.c. of the total labour force in Bombay. It gives employment to several more people in trade and commerce, consumes water normally adequate for 5 million citizens and occupies space which could house 200,000 tenements. Of the 90 textile and silk mills in Greater Bombay, 60 are located in the Island city. The regional plan recommended that the industry should be shifted out Greater Bombay. Many of these mills are closed due to depression on the textile industry. Some of the mill owners have expressed a desire to shift the mills outside the city limits, but for various reasons the recommendation of the regional plan has not been implemented. Financial incentives in the form of exemption form levies on the sale of land under their occupation should be considered to make it worth their while to shift. Government should also indentify lands in areas in the Metropolitan region in desirable industry zones for such mills and provide services such as electricity, water supply etc. even at subsidized rates, in the shortest possible time.

The commercial and service sectors have continued to expand in the Island city as well as in the suburbs. The growth of the Central Business District in New Bombay which was designed to be a counter magnet to the attraction and efficiency of the Island city was far below the planned target. The expected shifting of government and other offices in a sufficient mass did not take place partly due to resistance from the staff concerned and mainly due insufficient infrastructural facilities in the new C.B.D. Except for appointing a number of committees to indentify offices that could be shifted to the new C.B.D. at Belapur, Government took few steps to shift even those offices that had no nexus with Bombay city. The development of the Bandra-Kurla Complex by BMRDA as an office-cum commercial complex was another scheme that was directly responsible for the slow growth of the C.B.D. While effective action was taken to shift the Onion and Potato wholesale market outside the city, the shifting of other such markets like the iron and steel wholesale market, the textile
market and the fruit and vegetable wholesale markets has been delayed due to difficulties of finance, acquisition of lands for providing the infrastructural facilities at the new sites and resistance from the traders. The shifting of wholesale markets could be expedited by appropriate legislation and by positive and liberal incentives and disincentives, by adequate facilities at the designated centers and by a sustained dialogue with those who have a vested interest in existing centers. 8

Housing for the poor is a serious national problem in both developing and developed countries. The complexity and magnitude of the problem in India is progressively increasing with increasing numbers of poor below the poverty line. The census of slums carried out in Greater Bombay in 1976, identified 2.8 million persons living in slum pockets. 70 p.c. of the slum population was living in the suburbs, outside the island city. Slums existed both on private and public lands including Central Govt. lands. The survey also identified about 15000 buildings requiring urgent repairs to save them from collapse. The situation in the decade after that census had become worse. It is estimated that currently nearly 4 million people are living in slums and on footpaths and unless some drastic measures are taken to meet the shelter problem, there will be no open spaces left by the year 2000 to accommodate the increasing urban population and the population rendered homeless by collapse of the old buildings.

The performance of the various institutions and public, in meeting the housing needs of the increasing urban population in the state was far below the targets fixed for this sector in the five year plans. The supply through the organized sector, including the Housing Board CIDCO, BMC, Repairs Board and the Co-operative Housing bodies, could not exceed 2500 dwellings in any year. This was not adequate even to clear the backlog of construction, leave aside the needs of the increasing urban population in Greater Bombay. It was realized that the problem of providing shelter to the poor could not be tackled by the organized sector alone and that steps must be taken to overcome difficulties in self-help housing by the poor themselves and to increase the capacity of the organized sector so that the target of 60000 dwellings per year could be achieved.

Non-availability of land at reasonable prices has been one of the major constraints on the programs of shelter for the poor in almost all the urban areas in Maharashtra. In the last decade the prices of land in Greater Bombay and Poona escalated to alarming proportions with consequential cost of public and private investments in shelter and in civic services. Socialization of vacant lands in urban areas has been considered as one of the essential remedies to the land problem as it will not only make land available to public bodies at lower cost but will bring down the costs of providing the necessary services
in the shape of parks and gardens, roads and streets, public amenities, etc. The Urban Lands (Ceiling and Regulation) Act of 1976 was a laudable attempt in this direction as it empowered the Govt. to acquire vacant land holding in cities of different sizes at prescribed rates for Greater Bombay, the ceiling limit was fixed at 500 sq. meter and compensation for acquiring land in excess of this ceiling was fixed at Rs. 10 per Sq. mtr.

In spite of powers vested in the Government to acquire vacant lands in excess of prescribed holdings at a reasonable price, the performance of Government of Maharashtra for Greater Bombay was disappointing. Out of total vacant area in the city and suburbs, less than 10 p.c. was acquired under the Act, exemptions were given in a large number of cases on the plea of the applicants that they will take up housing schemes for the poor on these lands. While granting such exemptions, measures to ensure that the real beneficiaries of these low income housing schemes would be the poor, were not taken. The freezing of construction activity on vacant lands of the eve of the Act in fact removed large areas in urban vacant land from the market and caused escalation of land prices and prices of available houses. The Act proved counter-productive due to lack of political will to implement it to achieve social goals. The vacant lands became the targets for encroachments by hutment dwellers unable to obtain dwellings at a reasonable price, and Govt. and Bombay Municipal Corporation countered it by resorting to demolitions and forced evictions. The arguments advanced in justification of evictions were that there were not enough vacant lands available to house the increasing populations of the city and suburbs that it was not possible to provide work places near sites in the suburbs where evicted encroachers could be shifted, and that in any case these dwellers will sell the sites given to them as open pitches and return to their original sites near their places of work.9

The need to evolve a long term strategy to manage land and other resources to meet the problem of shelter cannot be exaggerated. There is adequate open land in Greater Bombay to meet the shelter requirements of the estimated populations of 15 million by the year 2000 as well as to meet reasonable planning norm for open spaces, recreation, public service and amenities. About 15000 acres in the suburbs and 1000 acres in the city have been identified as vacant land in published record. There does not seem to be any justification for continuing to keep large areas of open land as “Industry zone” when it is the accepted policy to discourage further industrial and employment growth of the metropolis. At least 2000 acres of such land, at present zoned as “Industrial” should be converted as “residential” for meeting the gap in availability of land for this purpose. The development Plan of the Bombay Municipal Corporation for the next twenty years emphasizes this element, but vigorous follow up action is necessary to avoid preeminence of such steps by encroachments. The lands declared vacant need to be acquired under the U.L.C.R. Act and
handed over to the Bombay Municipal Corporation or the Housing Boards and Co-operative Sector for low income housing programs and open lands for play grounds, parks and recreation areas.

As far as lands under the ownership of Bombay Municipal Corporation and State Government are concerned the feasibility of leasing out such lands to present occupiers at an affordable rate should be given serious consideration. This will involve very little burden to the exchequer since even at present no income is derived from such lands. Security to tenure on the lands under their occupation is a must if the slum dwellers are to be encouraged to undertake self-help housing and invest their meager savings in improvements in shelter and their surroundings. Schemes for “Sites and Services” undertaken by the Govt. of Maharashtra with World Bank assistance are likely to make a substantial contribution to the solution of the problem.

Redevelopment and reconstruction of old and dilapidated buildings is another complex issue in Greater Bombay. The security of tenure afforded to tenants in these buildings and freezing of rents under the Rent Control Act had led to neglect the maintenance and repairs of old buildings by the landlords. The problem of providing adequate incentive to landlords to keep the buildings in good repair and yet afford adequate protection to tenants against rack renting and eviction is a challenge to the ingenuity of the social scientist. The recent legislation of the Maharashtra Government confers on tenants of such ceased buildings ownership rights on payment of compensation at 100 times the standard rent payable by them. The success of this legislation in solving this problem of keeping the buildings in good repair will depend on financial facilities afforded to the tenants. Redevelopment of properties which have collapsed or are about to collapse, where the prevailing F.S.I. has already been exceeded, is not possible on the bias of restricted F.S.I. of 1.33. Accommodating existing families on the same site will necessitate relaxing the F.S.I. or relaxing the regulations regarding open spaces, set off for roads, etc. In areas with large number of such buildings, Area Development Schemes were recommended by the Steering Group set up the Antulay Ministry. The experience of one or two such schemes will be useful pointer to future action to solve this problem.10

3. FINANCIAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS:

Improvement of municipal administration and finance of municipalities in Maharashtra would go a long way in achieving the objectives of the Regional Plans. Financial constraints were mainly responsible for deterioration of socio-economic conditions
in urban areas and breakdown and inadequacies in public services. The Bombay Municipal Corporation could only raise 38 p.c. of the funds required to implement the projects of the Development Plan of 1964. Only 6 p.c. of the area of reservations in the Plan could be acquired. The new Development Plan for the two decades is even more ambitious and would require massive investments to remove the backlog and provide minimum services for an estimated population of 9 million by 2000 A.D. The smaller cities in Maharashtra fared no better. A survey carried out some years ago showed that such towns and cities, exclusive of BMC, could raise only about Rs. 12 crores in 1976 and spent about the same amount on their mandatory duties under the Act, leaving only marginal surpluses for capital projects. Their per capita revenues ranged from Rs. 10 to Rs. 50 per year.11

The main sources of income for these municipal bodies are octroi property taxes, user charges, government grants, and other miscellaneous taxes except for octroi the sources are inelastic and do not keep pace with the requirements of ever increasing population. The tendency of many industries to seek locations outside the municipal limits, the inefficiency of the octroi staff and difficulties of collection has affected the rate of growth of octroi revenues. The Rent Act has placed serve limitations on the growth of income from property taxes. The recommendations of the Municipal Finance Commission to delink retable value from standard rent have yet to be implemented. Per capita retable values in most towns have remained as low as Rs. 40 to Rs. 80 in spite of rise in the property values. The elected bodies have not been too keen to revise property assessments or to take the assistance of trained offices of the Town Planning Department in this matter. The government grants every year constitute 15 to 25 p.c. of the revenues of the municipal bodies. These grants are released on an adhoc basis not on the basis of population, which should be the relevant factor in determining the quantum of the grant.

In the context of competing demands for limited resources, fiscal planning and distribution of resources must be based on distribution of responsibilities for public services. Where a gap exists between nationally determined minimum level of services and the financial resources of the urban areas, the state and national governments should bridge this gap. Proposals have been made in the past that this could be done on the lines of the exercise carried out by the National Finance Commission every five years and the resulting central assistance to the states for their plans annually. Municipal councils must be enable to share in the growing revenues from income tax, profession taxes, entertainment duties, vehicle registration taxes, pollution cess, stamp duties and other such elastic sources of revenue. Transfer of large blocks of government lands to municipal councils for commercial exploration for markets and shops is a promising source of revenue that needs to be tapped.
Municipal organization needs to be strengthened in a number of directions to meet their increasing responsibilities. A strong unified structure, qualified technical staff, efficient budgetary control and financial discipline are some of the steps that have been suggested in the past by various municipal finance and administrative enquiry committees. Apex centers for each district should be selected for intensive development and district level bodies with larger jurisdiction should be asked to provide special assistance to such centers so that they could countermagnet to the bigger cities in each district or region. Jurisdiction of some of the smaller municipal towns should be enlarged to make the viable unit for provision of infrastructure of an urban area. Towns and cities where large public sector undertakings are located, should be selected for improvements in rail and road facilities, telephone and telecommunications services, water supply and sewerage arrangements, cultural centers, etc., by direct investments by the central and state governments. Uran and Panvel are just two examples where attractive cities could be developed due to location of more than one public sector industries there.

The tendency to take over certain important functions from municipal jurisdiction and assume state control needs to be curbed in the interest of local self government. With the setting up of Zilla Parishad and Panchayat Samitis, municipalities find themselves at the end of the queue for a share in the district plan, and district level officers and agencies, not satisfied with performance of the municipalities in their respective function, usually suggest state to take over of such functions. State level agencies such as Pollution Control Board, Housing Board, Water Supply and Sewerage Board, etc. could execute their projects through municipal bodies where they are strong and viable.12

4. POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS:

Urban issues during the election campaigns have demonstrated that the socio-economic problems of urbanization have significant political implications. Emphasis on the contribution of the cities to national and state economy and concern about their beautification cannot have priority over the needs of the urban poor, or the rights of the rural people to migrate to cities in search of employment. The agricultural and the manufacturing sectors will not be able to absorb in gainful employment or the increase in the labour force in the next two decades. The exodus to the cities can be showed down by larger investments in the rural infrastructure of communications, irrigation, water supply and sanitation, and other sectors of the economy so that employment opportunities and contemplated levels of urbanization are spread over a large number of areas in each region. This requires a political will to reallocate state and national resources towards the policy goal and a determined effort
to remove rural-urban and interregional disparities in incomes and economic development. Kokan, Marathwada and Vidarbha have reason to complain about the backlog of development of these regions.

There is a frequent complaint that district plans continue to be sectorial plans superimposed on a rural canvas with inadequate focus on development of urban areas as integral to the growth of the rural hinterland. The dichotomy between rural and urban becomes more marked where the political party in power at the state or district level happens to be different from the party at the municipal level. Again social tensions in the cities due to shortages and congestion have given rise to hostility of migrants particularly from other states. The local population feels threatened by the wave of migration and is apprehensive of being reduced to a minority in the near future. The rise of Shiv-Sena to power in Bombay and Thane is to some extent a reflection of this apprehension among the voters. The increasing interstate and inter-regional disparities in development and employment opportunities have also led to the success of the regional parties at state elections during the last decade. Lastly with increasing urbanization, the poor have become more visible and vocal in asserting their rights. Union activity and political lobbying by hawkers, slum dwellers and pavement dwellers have often frustrated the efforts of successive Government to remove illegal encroachments, hawkers and pavement dwellers to designated sites.\textsuperscript{13}
5. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS:

Population patterns for urban areas have a favorite subject of debate in India for the past few years. Protagonists of high density urbanization argue that urban areas do not achieve maximum economies of scale until they reach a minimum population level. Others argue that there is an upper limit to population size for settlements beyond which diseconomies more than offset the economies of scale. There is however no empirical evidence about the size where economies end and diseconomies commence in any particular instance. The controversy about Floor Space Index (FSI) in Bombay and other cities have these two schools of thought marshalling arguments for and against increase in FSI to solve some of the city’s problems. It is generally recognized that FSI per floor does not lead to overcrowding or congestion and that reasons for overcrowding and congestion are to be found in poverty of large segments of the community which leads to higher occupation per tenement an inability to pay for civic services. Increase in FSI is not going to release corresponding scale of open lands in the city where most of the land is already built upon or occupied by encroachers. A case for higher FSI could perhaps be made for Urban Renewal Areas where large blocks of land with slums and dilapidated buildings occupy more than current levels of FSI. The existing occupants have to be provided for and this could be done only by intensive use of part of such lands and release of sufficient area for parks, playgrounds and recreation areas.

In conditions of poverty prevailing in India, the concern about the efficiencies of the metropolitan cities and their scale economics needs to be matched with emphasis on the disguised diseconomies in the shape of pollution of air and water, deteriorating health and safety conditions, lack of open space for recreation and time lost in commuting. The economics of scale which attract the entrepreneurs and employees to the city would disappear if municipalities cease to subsidies road travel and levy full user charges for service such as water supply, health, housing, etc. It is only when the municipalities approach international agencies for finance that they agree to levy full user charges to cover costs and generate future capital resources for public utilities. The strategies for decentralization and decongestion would be more effective if we also undertake the costing of disguised diseconomies and levy pollution charges, location specific taxes on offices and commercial establishments, charges on trucks and cars using the city roads during specific restricted hours, etc. It is the recognition of such diseconomies that has prompted many western countries to undertake polycentric planning and set up multiple cores of the metropolitan cities and lighten the pressures on the central city. In England, decentralization of the Greater London areas has been successfully achieved by setting up corporations for several new towns and transferring population and industries into these towns by
appropriate incentives and disincentives. The relocation of population outside the Tokyo metropolitan area into new towns and neighboring core centers is heavily subsidized through various levies and the sites vacated are converted into parks and open recreation areas.

A variety of situations prevail in the different urban areas of Maharashtra and remarkable diversity of problems requires to be handled. Cities present a highly complex phenomenon in which a number of variables, physical, financial and political interact simultaneously. Innovative approaches to the solutions of such complex problems need to be tried and programs for exchange of information and experience should be intensified by systematic co-operation of international, national and state governments and private sector agencies.¹⁴

1.3 THE MARATHA ETHOS

As happened almost thirty years earlier when Yashawantrao Chavan arrived in New Delhi to take over the Defense Ministry, the arrival of Sharad Pawar in June 1991 also evoked much the same reactions. Another Maratha had landed in the capital to join the ruling group.

In three decades of public life in Maharashtra and as President of the Congress (S) at the national level, Pawar had given ample evidence that he embodied in himself the true Maratha ethos, evolved over seven hundred years, ever since Sant Dnyaneshwar present the Marathi-speaking people his monumental ‘Dnyaneshwari’ that set the pattern for an unique combination of the best philosophical, cultural and ethical teachings that have shaped the Indian mind and thought.¹⁵

Dnyaneshwar’s work was taken up by a string of poet-saints- Namdeva (1270-1350), Gora Kumbhar (born 1267), Samvata or Savata (died 1295), Narhari (died 1313), Chokhamela (died 1338), Sant Janabai, Kanhupatra (1468), Eknath (1533-1599), Sant Tukaram (1598-1659), Purandharadasa (1480-1564) and Ramdas.¹⁶

Dnyaneshwar laid the foundations of Maharashtra’s rich tradition of mysticism. Namdeva, the son of a tailor, saw God in every creature and composed ‘Abhangas’ in ecstatic praise of God. Eighty of his ‘Abhangas’ have found their way into the Guru Granthsaheb of the Sikhs. A small temple dedicated to him exists near Hoshiarpur in Punjab where he is still revered.
Gora Kumbhar was a potter by profession; Narhari was a goldsmith, Chokhamela an untouchable and Sena a barber. A great devotee of Vithoba of Pandharpur, Chokhamela had proclaimed “Chokha may be an untouchable but his heart is not untouchable.”

Sena, the barber said: “We are greatly skilled in the art of shaving. We show the client the mirror of discrimination and use the pincer of dispassion. We apply the attar of tranquility to the held and remove the hair of egotism. We pare the nails of passion and are a support to all the four castes.”

Eknath re-wrote the ‘Dnyaneshwari’ following a vision in which Dnyaneshwar asked him to do so. He accomplished this task in 1584 and till today the next Dnyaneshwari is the version of Eknath.

Ramdas, whom Shivaji accepted as his guru, exhorted the Maratha people to unite and launch a widespread movement to throw out the Mughals. Shivaji harnessed the moral forces of Maratha nationalism to find a political state.

The poet-saints of Maharashtra from Dnyaneshwar to Shridhar (1300 to 1700) helped overcome prejudices of caste, albeit for a short period. Shivaji however embodied all their teachings in the way he ran the administration, with the help of non-Brahmins. His faithful co-workers were Prabhus, Marathas, Bhandaris, Kolis, Ramoshis, Mahars and Mangs. Through his precepts he helped give shape to the concept of a common nationality.

‘Dnyaneshwari’ remains the source of inspiration for all the Marathi mystical literature produced thereafter. It remains a marvel of Indian spiritual writing for its depth, independence of thought, brevity, clarity and lucidity of style.

Dnyaneshwar wrote it basically for the common man as a commentary on the Geeta, and completed it at the young age of 15.

Ramdas established a separate sector with 800 maths throughout India and advocated regeneration and a strong political drive to protect Hindus from Islam. He emerged as the most important advisor of Shivaji and the spiritual succor of the Maratha leader.

The teachings of these poet-saints laid the foundations of the spiritual outlook to the Maratha Empire, when Shivaji founded it, and helped Shivaji secure the loyalty and allegiance of Brahmins and non Brahmins, who amongst themselves differed acutely on various issues.
A remarkable feature of a number of religious leaders of Maharashtra has been the manner in which they have broken most social rules, denounce the concept of caste pollution, behaved in a very unorthodox fashion and still been honoured as holy men. Among the most radical was Chokhamela, an untouchable Mahar, who along with Namdeva protested against pollution, but became the first untouchable saint in the bhakti tradition.

These saints proved that the lowly could also teach about God and could work against concepts of pollution and un-touchability and prevail upon people to adopt higher codes of living.

Like the poet-saints, Maharashtra has been lucky to have a galaxy of eminent and pioneering social reformers who played a significant role in ameliorating the lot of the un-touchable – Mahatma Jyotiba Phule, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj, Vithal Ramji Shinde and Dr. B R Ambedkar. The impact of their social reform movements has been unparalleled, helping to create a progressive social environment all over the country.19

Thanks to their teachings and the conscious efforts of the upper classes to enable the dalits to take their rightful place in society, there has been noticeable social upward mobility in even the remotest villages in Maharashtra. They have in some cases been accompanied by violent clashes, the last dying gasps of entrenched upper caste dominance.

While earlier social reformers concentrated on reforming social institutions of family marriage, with the emphasis on the status of women and their rights, Jyotiba Phule revolted against the inequitable caste system and fought for the poor peasants. He opened the first girl’s school in India in 1848 where untouchables were admitted for the first time. He and his wife, Savitribai, were turned out of their house by his father, under pressure from upper caste Hindus who could not tolerate untouchables as fellow students of their wards.

Phule’s aim primarily was to break the upper caste monopoly over education, exercised by the Brahmins who used it for perpetuating Brahminical Orthodoxy.

Jyotiba Phule was also the first to set up and orphanage for abandoned children. In 1873, he founded the Satyashodhak Samaj to liberate the Shudras and Atishudras and to prevent their exploitation by the Brahmins and the persist. He refused to accept the Vedas as sacrosanct, opposed idolatry and denounced and
de-announced the Chaturvarna (the four-tiered caste system). He debunked the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Sarvajanik Sabha and the Indian National Congress, all of which he said, were dominated by the upper castes and that they were not sincere in improving the lot of the masses.  

While Jyotiba Phule founded the non-Brahmin movement, its patron, Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaja of Kolhapur carried it forward after Phule. The two men gave the movement a thrust that enable it to develop in direct opposition to the nationalism of a Brahmin-dominated elite.

Phule debunked the caste system, the authoritarian social structure, superstitions and religious conformity. He considered the scriptures mere legends put together by the Brahmins to condition and control the minds of the people.

He sought to substitute the religious traditions by Sarvajanik Satya Dharma (Universal Religion of Truth) since the moral basis of society had to be truth and rationality, unifying all mankind instead of dividing them into castes and classes. He also denounced priesthood on the ground that man did not need a middleman to communicate with God.

Phule set about uplifting the most oppressed in the social hierarchy—women and untouchables. He dispensed with priest even at weddings and instead made the bridegroom promise solemnly that he would protect his bride and accept her as a partner.

The Satyashodhak movement re-interpreted the scriptures of the Hindus to depict how the Aryans had conquered the native people through force, deceit, treachery and religious propaganda. According to Gail Omvedt: “The nine avatars of Vishnu were seen as different stages of Aryan conquest. Matsya (fish) and Kachha (tortoise) represented invasion by sea; Varah (the bear) was so called because the original Aryans were seen barbarians by the civilized native Kshatriyas.

Finally, Waman (the Brahmin boy) represented the culmination of the Aryan conquest of Maharashtra by cheating the great Bali out of his kingdom. Phule did not, like the Tamil non-Brahmins, use the story of Ram to symbolize conquest of the south by the north, but the approach was the same. The dasysu or non-Aryans and the demons of the Vedas and Puranas represented the indigenous population and were depicted as enlightened kings and warriors, the Aryans and their Gods as treacherous invaders.
Phule also differentiated between the Aryan deities and the low-caste deities like Khandoba, Jotiba, Martand, Kalbhairav, holding up Bali as a symbol for the peasants.

According to Omvedt: “While Phule did not write in terms of ‘Dravidians’ nor try to theoretically establish a Maratha regional nationalism, his approach nevertheless pointed in the same direction as the theories developed later in the context of the Tamil non-Brahmin movement.”

By dedicating his ‘Gulamgiri’ to the abolition of slavery in the United States, Phule identified himself with the Negros.

The Satyashodhak Samaj failed in its objectives as the colonial government opposed a social revolution while the Brahmin-dominated nationalist movement kept the mass movements under control. The Samaj was flowed in its basic belief that the Brahmin and not the British was the primary enemy of the Indian masses.

But Phule has succeeded in inculcating in the minds of the oppressed that slavery was not preordained or a divine dispensation as described in Brahminic scriptures. He also infused self-confidence and courage in the peasants and workers to stand up against poverty and social injustice.

Phule’s Satyashodhak Samaj was the first social movement to penetrate rural Maharashtra. He remains the first social reformed to call for compulsory primary education in villages and he remains the harbinger of social equality and the one-ness of man.

Even as Jyotiba Phule concentrated on his social reform movement, Vasudeo Balwant Phadke (1845-1883) touched off the first violent attempt in Maharashtra to overthrow the British rule in 1879. Phadke’s aim was political power. Arrested in 1879, he was sentenced to penal transportation for life. With his death less than three years later, ended all open attempts at armed revolt against the British in Maharashtra. He died in Aden Jail in 1883.22

The Phadke revolt rocked Maharashtra, particularly because it evoked memories of the military and political supremacy of the Marathas during the time of Shivaji.

Jyotiba and Vishnushastri Chiplunkar denounced Phadke while Ranade dubbed him as a mad patriot.
The Satyashodhak Samaj was suspected to be an anti-Brahmin movement, as much as Jyotiba himself is considered to be a supporter of British rule. This was true only to the extent that since the Brahmins held the levers of administrative, economic and religious power, the non-Brahmins suffered several disabilities. The revolt against these injustices naturally acquired an anti-Brahmin flavour.

Jyotiba ascribed the consequent of India by the British to the Brahmin suppression of the non-Brahmin majority, in education, knowledge and power. The British cleverly manipulated the Brahmins to run the government for them.

Jyotiba went as far as hailing the blessings of law and order, education, irrigation and the railways that the British rule provided, and their laws which regarded all men as equal. He therefore openly prayed that British rule should continue, even though he was convinced that it would not last long. Jyotiba denounced the Ramayana as fabricated tapes that convey no moral lessons. Unlike the Quran and the Bibles, the Veda’s were not open to all believers because the Bramhins were afraid that the flaws in the Vedas would be exposed, he believed.

Jyotiba was the first leader and poet under the British to extol the glory of Shivaji as a symbol of courage, patriotism and valor. He denounced the saints Dnyaneshwar, Ramdas and Mukundraj for their failure to condemn the wicked acts of the Brahmins, which they explained as Karmamarga. He held these saints responsible for perpetuation of the Brahminical hold over the lower castes.23

Jyotiba wanted the lower castes to educate themselves before the British rule ended. He was convinced that the Brahmins who ran the administration for the British, the money lenders and government officials, all exploited the lower castes and suppressed them.

Phule believed that the British had conquered India to liberate the disabled Shudras from the slavery of the crafty Aryans. Being least interested in political power, he devoted his time and energies to social welfare and reform, within the frame-work of British rule. He was publicly honoured by the government for his work in social reform.

After his death, his Satyashodhak Samaj was thrown open to all castes, including the Brahmins, Mahars and Mangs and even Jews and Muslims.

The Satyashodhak Samaj made a mark only three decades after the death of its founder. It then became a mass-based organization with strong peasant
participation. It evoked tremendous consciousness among the people, triggering educational and economic activities.

The movement created a sense of emerging into a new modern world of learning and education. The Vedas were denounced as perpetuation of Brahminic lore and rule. It also paved the way for mass literacy and for the founding of cooperatives. By 1920, non-Brahmin cooperators had clashed with Brahmin cooperators in Sholapur and Satara districts. The early non-Brahmin involvement in the cooperative movement was of tremendous significance in the fast expansion of cooperatives in Maharashtra in the fifties and sixties.

Phule remains one of the most remarkable thinker and social reformer of the 19th century. He revolted against the inequitable and exploitative social structure of the Hindus. He carried on his campaign in the teeth of opposition from the Brahmin community and yet the irony remains that it was at his school for girls that Brahmin girls from Pune learnt the alphabets. Many of Jyotiba’s dreams are taking shape after his death. Old methods of agriculture are being discarded in favour of new technologies, compulsory education is in force, education for girls is being given great stress and women enjoy equality of status and legal rights with men.

Mahadev Govind Ranade took the social reform movement a big step forward by arranging the first widow re-marriage in Bombay in 1862, and subsequently founding the Vidhavavivahottejak Mandal (Society for the Encouragement of Widow Remarriage). Hindu orthodoxy retaliated by setting up the Hindu Dharma Vyavasthapak Sabha (Society for the Preservation of the Hindu Religion). Ranade, with his disciple, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, built the Sarvajanik Sabha into a strong political association. This Sabha would have played host to the Indian National Congress for its very first session, but for the outbreak of cholera in Poona, which forced the organizer to change the venue to Bombay.

Maharashtra was one of the areas where the British had consolidated their rule in 1818, earlier than in other parts of the country. It was therefore appropriate that economic, political and cultural movements had to draw support from every source to throw out the British rule. All these movements were initially led and dominated by the upper castes and the elite.

Almost all political leaders of Maharashtra, who came from the privileged castes, had emphasized political and economic equality, without a proper understanding of the social revolution under way in the State. It was given to Y B Chavan and Sharad Pawar
to lay emphasis on the basic teachings of social reformers like Jyotiba Phule rather than stick to Western Egalitarian concepts of a socialistic pattern of society, which merely denounces casteism.

B. R. Ambedkar regarded Phule as one of his masters, along with Buddha and Kabir.

Two decades after Phule's death, G.G. Agarkar voiced views similar to Phule, that if Nanasaheb Peshwa won over the British, Brahmin rule would be imposed on Maharashtra. That would entail social and religious restrictions on non-Brahmins as during the time of the Peshwas.

After Phule, Shahu Maharaj emerged as the doyen of the Satyashodhak movement, and as a savior of the suppressed and the underdog, to whom he accorded full human rights.²⁵

Realizing the plight of the poor and the down-trodden, Shahu Maharaj devoted his energies to the promotion of education among the backward classes. He reserved fifty per cent of government jobs in Kolhapur State for the backward classes. His proclamation, gazette on July 26, 1902 was the precursor of a new era in India, of the fight against social suppression and ostracism on account of birth. On July 27, 1918 he freed the Mahars, Mangs, Ramoshis and Berads, condemned as criminal tribes, from the humiliation of reporting to the village police every day.

He offered preference to candidate from Untouchable Castes in appointment as Talatis and abolished slavery of the Mahar Vatandaris, a step hailed as revolutionary, since it took another forty-one years for the government of Bombay to abolish it.

Shahu Maharaj also introduced free and compulsory education in Kolhapur State. In 1919, he also ordered that any servant of the Medical Department who refused to treat untouchables, should resign within six weeks of the order and that they would be denied pension. On January 15, 1919 he accorded full equality to untouchable children in colleges and schools.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, who emerged as a vociferous leader of the scheduled Castes, followed much the same traditions as Jyotiba Phule and Shahu Maharaj. Within a short time, he emerged as the leader who could inculcate in Harijans a degree of political consciousness.
Ambedkar was no doubt influenced greatly by many of the preceptors who lived before his time—Namdeo, Eknath, Dnyaneshwar, Mahatma Phule, Lokmanya Tilak, Ranade, Lala Lajpat Rai, Gokhale and Veer Savarkar.

The time span between Phule and Ambedkar marked the dawn of a social revolution in Maharashtra that was to have a direct impact on the rest of the country. This is fully reflected in the tribute that Jawaharlal Nehru paid him in Parliament, on his death: “Dr. Ambedkar was a symbol of revolt against all oppressive features of Hindu Society.”

Even today he is venerated by millions of downtrodden people as a militant reformer and their liberator. An intellectual himself, he extended his revolt to cover the Hindu scriptures that denied equality and freedom to millions of scheduled caste people.

Ambedkar admired Jyotiba Phule and as token, dedicated his book, ‘Who are the Shudras?’ to him. He described Phule as “The greatest Shudra of Modern India”, who made the lower classes of Hindus conscious of their slavery to the higher classes and who preached the gospel that for India, social democracy was more vital than independence from foreign rule.”

Many of the Ambedkar thoughts and ideas have influenced subsequent generations, not only in Maharashtra but all over the country. Sharad Pawar is one person has consistently paid his personal tribute to Dr. Ambedkar and sought to implement his ideas. Like Ambedkar he firmly believes that the suffering of the poor was not only due to economic exploitation but also due to social exploitation. He agrees with Ambedkar that “Untouchability is not only a system of unmitigated economic exploitation, but it is also a system of uncontrolled economic exploitation.”

Another conclusion of Dr. Ambedkar that has made an impact on Pawar is: “The soul of democracy is the doctrine of one man, one value. Unfortunately, democracy has attempted to give effect to this doctrine only so far as the political structure is concerned by adopting the rule of one man, one vote, which is supposed to translate into fact the doctrine of one man and one value. It has left the economic structure to take the shape given to it, by those who are in a position to mould it.”

It was but natural that the Constitution that Dr. Ambedkar drafted emerged as less of a constitutional document and more of a unique charter of human emancipation through social and economic justice.

When the Satyashodhak Samaj movement faded away in the 1930s, it was absorbed by the Congress. It had, by then, however, attained one of its prime objectives of
displacing the Brahmin intelligentsia from political power, but failed in eliminating it from the educational and cultural institutions.

Education became a great factor in public life in Maharashtra in the first decade of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. While the Brahmins were generally well educated, the lower castes organized themselves for acquiring the benefits of education. Thus were held the Maratha Education Conference (1907), the Mali Education Conference (1990), the Bhandari Education Conference (1910), and the Ramoshi Education Conference (1917), the Arya Kshatriya (Jingar) Dnyanwardhak Samaj (1915). Artisan castes, including the Dhangars, the Shimpis and the Agris, the Nhavis (barbers), Parits (washer men) and the Swakul Sails (upper caste weavers) had all organized themselves by the second decade. The Mangs held the first Akhil Bharatiya Matang Parishad in 1923.\textsuperscript{28}

The Satyashodhaks had a big hand in organizing many of these caste conferences. Shahu Maharaj addressed many of them. All through, all non-Brahmin organizations had stressed that literacy be the criterion for defining “backwardness” of a community.

The emergence of nationalist sentiment by 1930 and the impact of the Socialist and Gandhians in the Congress, offered an opportunity to non-Brahmin youth to offset Brahmin influence. They grabbed the opportunity and soon abandoned the non-Brahmin party which had no political organization. The younger educated non-Brahmins also became increasingly resentful of being dubbed pro-British.

The Satyashodhak Samaj brought about one great innovation in the manner of communication of their ideology and their messages. They used poetry, kirtans and singing performances to spread their message. They later stuck to tamasha, bawdy folk drama of Maharashtra, a medium that lent itself to a wider reach among rural audiences.

The Satyashodhak tamashas mocked all sacred religious books and traditional stories of the origin of Gods and castes. They also ridiculed popular religious traditions as the Pandharpur cult and the Satyanarayan Puja. They exposed the oppression some of the saints had faced from the Brahmins of their day, as in the case of Tukaram who was murdered.

Satara district, which was a stronghold of the non-Brahmin movement, maintained its lead in subsequent years by throwing up such significant leaders like Y.B. Chavan and Vasantdada Patil and earlier creating a model of a Patri Sarkar (parallel government) during the Quit India movement. Nana Patil, the leader of the 1942
underground movement in Maharashtra came from the ranks of the Satyashodhak movement.29

At about the same times as the Satyashodhak Samaj was getting involved with peasant rebellion, a young Brahmin Congress leader, N V Gadgil, was toying with the idea of forging an alliance with radical non-Brahmins, who were on the march everywhere and in Poona where they had begun to control the Ganpati festival, initiated by Tilak as a means of utilizing a religious occasion for nationalist propaganda. The non-Brahmins had once held a monopoly.

Mahatma Gandhi’s non-cooperation movement of 1919-20 had attracted the attention of many non-Brahmin leaders of Maharashtra, particularly Poona. Gandhiji met several Maharashtrian leaders and even provided funds for Bhaurao Patil’s Rayat Shikshan Sanstha. Non-Brahmins approved the Gandhiji’s opposition to the caste system. Keshavrao Jedhe was attracted by the socialist leanings of Jawaharlal Nehru. He was supported by Shankarrao Deo and N V Gadgil, who became a leading figure in Maharashtra politics from 1928, the years in which he founded the Youth League along with K F Nariman. The League attracted several young leaders like S. M. Joshi, N G Gore, R K Khadilkar and other who were scornful of caste arrogance and the Brahmin leadership.30

Gadgil’s close association with Jedhe provided the backdrop for increasing non-Brahmin participation in the non-cooperation movement of the 1930s on a mass scale. Along with Jedhe came non-Brahmin leaders like Keshavrao Bagade, A B Latthe and Bhaurao Patil. Jedhe and Gadgil were elected to the Central Legislative Assembly in 1934 and for a long time, Jedhe was the only non-Brahmin member of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee executive.

Later, Shankarrao More and Jedhe left the Congress to form the Peasants and Workers Party that was Marxist-oriented.

With the wave of nationalism sweeping all over the country it became necessary for the young radical non-Brahmins who came into the Satyashodhak movement to explicitly proclaim their nationalism. Their leaders, Jedhe and Dinkarrao Javalkar, had by 1926 come to terms with the Gandhian leadership of the Congress under N V Gadgil, as if offered an alternative outside the Brahmin leadership.

The Satyashodhak Samaj also threw up one of India’s first labour leaders, Narayan Meghji Lokhande, born in 1845 in a Mali family in Thane. He founded the Millhand’s Association to represents worker’s grievances before the authorities.
The Peasants and Workers Party (PWP) played a decisive role in the affairs of the state for a brief period. It was formed by Jedhe, Shankarrao More, Kakasaheb Wagh of Nasik, Nana Patil of Satara, Tulshidas Jadhav of Solapur, Dajiba Desai of Belgaum, Madhavaro Bagal of Kolhapur, P K Bhapkar and Datta Deshmukh of Ahmednagar and others. By 1950, the PWP had proclaimed itself as the real “Marxist-Leninist Party” characterizing the Communist Party of India as revisionist. 31

In the first general elections held in 1952, the left-wing parties had together polled 15.3 percent of the votes as against 20 percent in Kerala and 18.5 percent in West Bengal. Alarmed at this radical challenge, the Congress took in some non-Brahmins into its top level State leadership. One of them, Y B Chavan, was soon able to woo several important non-Brahmin leftists from the CPI and the PWP into the Congress.

1.4 POLITICAL LEADERSHIP:

Politics is mainly a process wherein groups of different people take collective decisions. Politics essentially refers to the art of running governmental or state affairs. It also analyses the behaviour of civil governments. However, politics can be observed in other group interactions as well, including academic, corporate and religious institutions. Politics includes study of social relations involving power or authority, regulation of public affairs within a political unit and methods as well as tactics utilized to formulate and apply policy.

Political science is mainly a social science associated with theory as well as practice of politics. It also includes analysis of political behaviour and political systems. It is quite often known as the study of politics. A person specializing in this field of study is known as Political Scientist. Political scientists usually influence the world in an indirect manner by educating citizens and political leaders, by contributing to debates on political issues, and by encouraging different ways of looking at the world. 32

The in-depth study of the Political Science subjects is essentially based on both politics's positive and negative aspects. The different aspects of politics are democracy, dictatorship, war as well as peace, liberty, inequality, equality, repression, revolution and stability. Analyzing the mistakes committed in the past, the political aspects are further utilized for efficient administration. Political science is essentially a study of human behaviour, in all aspects of politics, observations in controlled environments are often challenging to reproduce or duplicate, though experimental methods are increasingly common (see experimental political science). Citing this difficulty, former American Political
Science Association President Lawrence Lowell once said "We are limited by the impossibility of experiment. Politics is an observational, not an experimental science." Because of this, Political Scientists have historically observed political elites, institutions, and individual or group behaviour in order to identify patterns, draw generalizations, and build theories of politics.\(^{33}\)

Like all social sciences, political science faces the difficulty of observing human actors that can only be partially observed and who have the capacity for making conscious choices unlike other subjects such as non-human organisms in biology or inanimate objects as in physics. Despite the complexities, contemporary political science has progressed by adopting a variety of methods and theoretical approaches to understand politics and methodological pluralism is a defining feature of contemporary political science. Often in contrast with national media, political science scholars seek to compile long-term data and research on the impact of political issues, producing in-depth articles breaking down the issues.\(^{34}\)

Greek Scholar Plato introduced the concept of the 'Ideal State' in his famous volume 'Republic'. His concept of 'Philosopher King should rule' also became world famous.\(^{35}\) The proper vision of the Ruler plays very important role in the development of the State. Aristotle is known as the father of political science. In his famous volume 'Politics' he explains that man is a social and political animal. Intellectual, visionary and skillful leadership plays vital role in socioeconomic transformation of the society in multidimensional ways.\(^{36}\)

Leadership has been described as "a process of social influence in which one person can enlist the aid and support of others in the accomplishment of a common task " For example, some understand a leader simply as somebody whom people follow or as somebody who guides or directs others, while others define leadership as "organizing a group of people to achieve a common goal".\(^{37}\)
1.5 ROLE OF LEADERSHIP IN NATION BUILDING:

The image of any nation depends on the quality of leadership. The destiny of the states depends on morality of politicians. They are the real architects of their nations, they can develop or spoil entire scenario of the political unit. The concepts like State, Nations, and Government have developed in the due course of the development of cultures and civilizations. In the ancient time Kings, Monarchs emperors use to rule in Monarchy. After the death of king, his elder son use to become the King because of kith and kin or blood relationship. Monarchy had its own merits & demerits. In the due course of time political systems changed from Monarchy, dictatorship to democracy, socialism, communism etc.

1.6 THE CONCEPT OF LEADERSHIP:

The concept about leadership changed with the changes in ruling systems. In Monarchy & dictatorship king or the dictator was the supreme authority, nobody could challenge them. In democratve system sovereignty lies in the elected representatives. According to Abraham Lincoln, “Democracy is the government of the people, for the people and by the people”. Some scholars criticize that democracy is government off the people, far the people and buy the people. It is the rule of politics, that power corrupts absolutely. In
Monarchy dictatorship & democracy, with absolute majority, there is risk of corruption. It is also said that people get the government they deserve in democracy. After independence the Indian government has accepted democratic setup from Britain & U.S.A. In democracy the supreme power lies in the voters. They must use this supreme right of voting very carefully. Otherwise this boon can be converted in to curse.\(^{38}\)

1.7 CAPABILITY OF SHOULDERING THE RESPONSIBILITY:

In the modern political setup we often use the words like democracy, technocracy, bureaucracy. There is always a question about their superiority, who is superior officer? I.A.S. officers, commissioners, collectors, personal executives or personal assistants have to obey the orders of President, Prime Minister, Chief Minister, Ministers, M.P.s and M.L.A’s. It can create conflict between incumbent & bureaucrats i.e. incumbency & bureaucracy, depending upon the quality of either officer bearer or officer.\(^{39}\)

In India the percentage of rural population is more than urban population so their share in forming the government is highly valuable. The leaders who are loyal to their nationalism, their devotion, dedication, enthusiasm, discipline, non-corrupt nature these qualities are extremely beneficial for excellent nation building. The dynamic leadership of Late. Lal Bahadur Shasthri, Subhash Chandra Bose, Jayprakash Narayan, Mahatma Gandhi have proved their abilities and qualities in nation buildings. They were very loyal to their mother i.e. Bharat Mata. They were the real architects of India.\(^{40}\)

1.8 CHANGES IN THE CONCEPT OF LEADERSHIP:

The concept about leadership changed with the changes in surrounding.

There are some reasons for selecting the theme ‘A Critical Analysis of Mr. Babanrao Pachpute’s Leadership in the development of Maharashtra.’ There are many powerful leaders who have contributed in various sectors for the development of Maharashtra e.g. Babanrao Pachpute is known as the ‘Architect of Maharashtra’. Many scholars have highlighted the valuable contributions of various leaders in their research works. Babanrao Pachpute is also one of those leaders whose contribution is extremely remarkable, unfortunately it is totally neglected. His contribution in political, social, cultural and educational sectors is highly significant. His role in the co-operative movement is also equally important. So there is a need to consider his contribution for the research work.\(^{41}\)
1.9 WORK PLACE: GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND OF AHMEDNAGAR DISTRICT - LOCATION & SITUATION:

The District of Ahmednagar lying between 18°2 and 19°9 north latitudes and 73°9' and 75°5' east longitudes is situated partly in the upper Godavari basin and partly in Bhima basin, they interfluve in between forming the extensive Ahmednagar plateau.\(^{42}\) The district is very irregular but compact in shape, somewhat resembling a slanting cross with a length of 200 km. and breadth of 210 km. It is bounded on the north by Igatpuri, Sinnar and Yeola Taluka of Nashik district, on the north east by Vaijapur, Gangapur and Paithan taluka of Aurangabad district of Marathwada division. It has a total area of 17,035 square kilometers and po- figure of 2011 which constitutes 5.54 percent and 4.50 percent of State figures. Ahmednagar is largest district of the state in area, occupying a somewhat central position in Maharashtra.\(^{43}\)

The Ahmednagar town has been famous since medieval times. It was capital of the Nizamshahi kingdom of Ahmednagar and was founded in 1494 by Malik Ahmad, the founder of the Nizamshahi dynasty of Ahmednagar. The town was named by him after his own name viz Ahmed. There is also a legend behind the founding of the city according to which Ahmed Shah while hunting saw a fox attacking a hunting dog. Ahmed Shah was impressed by the coincidence of the event and took it a good man. He founded the city on that site and named it after his own name.\(^{44}\)
Located in 18°41' North latitude and 74°44' East longitude, Shrigonda, also known formerly as Chambhargonda from Govind a pious Chambhar, is the headquarter of the taluka bearing the same name and is situated thirty-two miles to the south of Ahmednagar, the district head-quarters. The town lies on the Sarasvati, a feeder of the Bhima, and covers an area of 32.3 square miles and had a population of 13,050 as per the Census of 1971. Ghod valley and Bhima basin spreads over the parts of Parner, Shrigonda and Karjat Tehsils. Ghod River is a tributary of Bhima River which drains small portion of Parner and Shrigonda Tehsils. The whole area slopes towards south-east. The valley is situated at the height between 600 to 800 metres while the area drained by Bhima is in between 500 to 600 metres from the mean sea level. The valley has a rocky surface while the Bhima basin has several feet deep layer of soils in which millets are grown. The whole of the southern east portion of the district lies in the Bhima basin. The Bhima however passes only on the boundary between Ahmednagar and Pune districts for a distance of about 60 kms. The Bhima rises close to Bhimashankar in Pune district and enters Ahmednagar district near village Sangavi-Dhumale in Shrigonda Tehsil and flows in a south-east direction. The banks of the river are generally low and the bed is generally sandy crossed at a few places by rocks.
Ahmednagar district is a peculiar region with areas at widely different levels of economic and social developments. This is followed by a section which gives the background of the region, including an idea of physical conditions, such as relief features, climatic elements, social and economical background of Ahmednagar district.

Population growth is the most important factor in the study of demography and it mostly depends on birth rate, death rate, migration, biological, social and economic factors. But it mostly depends on birth rate, death rate and migration.

Town Planning and Valuation is under the administrative control of the Urban Development. Public Health and Housing Department came into existence in 1914 with the Consulting Surveyor to Government, Pune (now designated as Director of Town Planning) as its head.

The Department, as its name indicates, principally deals with the important subject of town planning and valuation of real properties some of the important duties and functions of this department or stipulated by Government are as under:
(I) TOWN PLANNING:

(A) To prepare regional plans, development plans and town planning schemes under the provisions of the Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966, this came into force in the State with effect from 11th January, 1967.

(B) To render assistance to the municipal authorities in the preparation of development plans and town planning schemes as stated above.

(C) To advise Government on all mailers regarding town and country planning including legislation.

(II) VALUATION: The Director of Town Planning is the chief expert adviser of Government on this subject and his duties under this head include—

(A) Valuation of agricultural and non-agricultural lands and properties in towns and villages belonging to Government and intended for the purposes of sale or lease.

(B) Valuation of Government properties for the purpose of rating under the Provincial Municipal Corporation Act.

(C) Valuation for the purpose of fixing standard rates of non agricultural assessment and prescribing zones of values in all villages and rising localities in the vicinity of important and growing towns.48

ORGANIZATION: The Department as stated above was started in the year 1914 with the Consulting Surveyor to Government, Pune (now designated as Director of Town Planning, Maharashtra State, Pune) as its head who was later on given assistance of one Assistant Consulting Surveyor to Government (now designated as Deputy Director of Town Planning) and one Deputy Assistant Consulting Surveyor (now designated as Assistant Director of Town Planning) and two Senior Assistants (now designated as Town Planners) with the requisite staff. As the activities of this department increased, these assistants had to be posted at prominent places in the State to attend to the work of Town Planning and Valuation etc., essentially required in and around the towns, cities, etc. There has been a tremendous increase in the activities of this department in recent years with the consequential increase in the number of branch offices in the State. The head office of this
department is at Pune and other offices at present are located at Bombay, Pune, Kolhapur, Nagpur, Amravati, Aurangabad, Jalgaon, Thane, Solapur, Ratnagiri, Satara, Ahmednagar, Chandrapur, Nanded and Bhiwandi. The department also spares officers to work in the awards section of Revenue and Forests Department to scrutinize the land acquisition awards, in the Bombay collectorate to deal mainly with valuation work in Bombay, in Maharashtra Housing Board to function as Assessor and in the Rural Housing Cell of the Rural Development Department to prepare layouts of villages included in the schemes of that department. Officers of the department are also called upon to give expert evidence in the courts in land acquisition references and appointed to function as Arbitrators to finalize draft town planning schemes prepared by the Planning Authorities and as part-time or full-time Land Acquisition Officers at important places like Bombay, Pune, Solapur, Kolhapur, Satara, Ahmednagar, etc.

A new branch office for the Ahmednagar district with a Town Planner as its head came into existence with effect from October 26, 1964. Like other towns in the western Maharashtra, the work of preparation of development plans and town planning schemes was regulated by the Bombay Town Planning Act, 1915, Bombay Town Planning Act, 1954 and now by the Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966. 49

According to the provisions of the Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966, it is obligatory upon every Planning Authority (as defined in the Act) to carry out survey, prepare an existing land use map, prepare and publish a development plan for the entire area within its jurisdiction. There are in all four Municipal Councils in the district, viz. Ahmednagar, Sangamner, Kopargaon and Shrirampur. The development plans of Ahmednagar, Sangamner and Kopargaon have already been sanctioned by Government under the provisions of the Bombay Town Planning Act 1954, and came into force during the years 1963, 1964 and 1965 respectively. The Ahmednagar Municipal Council has declared its intention to revise the development plan and the work of carrying out surveys and preparation of the revised development plan is undertaken by the Ahmednagar Branch Office of this department. The draft development plan of Shrirampur which was submitted to Government for sanction was returned by Government without according sanction and Government have advised the Planning Authority to prepare a fresh development plan. This work is also being undertaken by the Ahmednagar Branch Office.

Three town planning schemes of Ahmednagar have already been prepared and have come into force under the provisions of the Bombay Town Planning Act,1915 and Bombay Town Planning Act, 1954. One more town planning scheme at Ahmednagar has been prepared by the Ahmednagar Branch Office which is under finalization under the
provisions of the Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966. Similarly one town planning scheme for Shrirampur is also prepared and is under finalization under the provisions of the Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966.  

Apart from the work of development plans and town planning schemes the Ahmednagar Branch Office has also been dealing with the work of preparing layouts of Government lands and of new village gaotan sites for re-settlement of flood-affected and irrigation project-affected persons and also layouts of industrial estates etc. The usual work of scrutinizing building plans and layout plans received from the Collector of the district as well as from the Municipal Councils in the district are also attended by the Ahmednagar Branch Office. The Town Planner of this office is also appointed as Special Land Acquisition Officer to deal with the land acquisition work in the Ahmednagar city initiated by the Ahmednagar Municipal Council for the purpose of implementation of the proposals of the development plan of Ahmednagar. This branch office has also dealt with the work of valuation of properties whenever required for Government purpose. The draft awards received from Government (Revenue Department) have also been scrutinized and reports have been submitted to Government by this branch office.

1.11 POPULATION GROWTH AND PHYSIOGRAPHY:

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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>118313</td>
<td>146581</td>
<td>181418</td>
<td>235706</td>
<td>277356</td>
<td>32556</td>
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The plateau can be grouped as Akole plateau, Ahmednagar plateau and Jamkhed plateau. Akole plateau is situated to the north east of the Sahyadri hills covering the part of Akole and Sangamner Tehsils and attains a height above 600 mts. This plateau is uneven in surface due to erosion by rivers and is partly covered with the forests. Ahmednagar plateau spared over the entire Nagar and parts of Parner, Sangamner, Shrigonda, Karjat and Pathardi Tehsils. It acts as water divider and separates the Godavari and Bhima basin and attains height around 600 mts. The plateau has poor and shallow soils suitable only for the growth of millets. Jamkhed plateau include only a part of
Jamkhed Tehsils and attains height between 600-700 mts. It is an extension of Balaghat range. It has poor and lighter soils only suitable for the millets.

Shrigonda is a taluka and also a Panchayat Samiti and as such offices of the Mamledar and the Block Development Officer are located there. The Court of the Civil Judge (Junior Division) and First Class Judicial Magistrate are also located at Shrigonda. There is a police station at Shrigonda, the jurisdiction of which extends over 84 villages. Wells form the main source of water-supply for the town populace. It has a post and telegraph office. Primary schools conducted by the Zilla Parishad and a high school known as the M. S. Vidyalaya satisfy the educational needs of the town populace. The medical facilities are provided by the private medical practitioners and a taluka dispensary with six beds. A weekly market is held at Shrigonda on every Monday. The branch of the Ahmednagar District Central Cooperative Bank is also located at Shrigonda. The Government rest-house provides lodging facilities to the Government servants on duty and to the tourists. The combined agricultural market committee for Shrigonda and Karjat was established in 1963, its area of operation being over 166 villages and the commodities regulated being jowar, bajri, wheat, tur, gram, mug, math, kulith, sunflower and groundnut. The nearest railway station for the town is Shrigonda Road on the Pune-Manmad broad gauge railway route of the Central Railways. Of the objects of interest in the town, mention may be made of four Hemadpanti temples and two mansions belonging to the Shinde’s of Gwalior. The four Hemadpanti temples are of Hatkeshvar, Mahalakshmi, Rakhumai and Vithoba.\footnote{52}

The Vithoba temple which is built of large blocks of stone without cement in imbedded courses has a hall or mandap measuring 28’x21’ with nine domes supported on six pillars. There is one dome over the shrine and one over a portico in the front. The capitals of the pilasters have cobra heads and other figures are carved on the pillar capitals. The door step in front of the temple has an inscription. The steps appear to be modern. Round the door of the shrine are two rows of figures, the inner row of women and the outer row of monkeys. On each side of the raised block which forms the threshold of the shrine is carved a tiger head. Carved blocks stand out from the top of the entrance to the shrine and from the middle of the front of the hall. The temple has slightly fallen from outside. Rakhumai’s temple is near Vithoba’s temple and is in the same style but smaller. The temple of Hatkeshvar is in the same style though plainer, with the same number of domes.
Cobras are carved on the pillar capitals. The front of the hall or mandap is built up in bricks. The temple of Mahalakshmi, now known as Lakshmi-Narayan temple, has the same number of domes. The shrine and parts of the hall or mandap have been built up. Above the shrine is a pinnacle constructed in bricks. The temple of Mahadeva is to the east of the Mahalakshmi temple and has a height of about six feet. The inner shrine is supported by four pillars with a height of $4\frac{1}{2}'$. One pillar has an inscription over it. The shrine measures $12'\times12'$ with a door of $2'\times3\frac{1}{2}'$.

Two annual fairs are held at Shrigonda. One in honour of Mohamed Maharaj is held on Phalgun Shuddha 11 (February-March) and the other in honour of Bhairavnath is held on Chaitra Vadya 10 (March-April). About five thousand people attend both these fairs.53

Research is an intellectual process which throws light on various innovative issues. It also helps for the modification of previous concepts. It enriches our knowledge and wisdom. It also can give justice to some neglected themes. Political Science is also one of the highly advanced branches of knowledge. Best quality research may be theoretical or applied is highly essential for the proper development of the concerned science. Taking into consideration all these aspects, the objectives of the present research, will be as follows.

1.10 OBJECTIVE OF THE RESEARCH WORK:

1. The prime objective of the present study is the critical analysis of Mr. Babanrao Pachpute’s leadership in the development of Maharashtra State in various sectors.

2. To evaluate the significance of his leadership for social justice.

3. To understand his struggle and conflict for establishing leadership in political field.

4. To estimate his role in the development of Ahmednagar District.

5. To take the review of his significant contribution as the Minister of various portfolios and as the Regional President of Nationalist Congress Party for Maharashtra.

6. To assess how his contribution in co-operative sector has proved helpful for social implements.

7. To examine his role in the field of education for socio-economic transformation.

8. To evaluate his contribution in religious and cultural fields for social and cultural harmony.