PART IV

PERFORMANCE : ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

Chapter XI - General Services
Chapter XII - Social Services
Chapter XIII - Economic Services
Chapter XIV - Miscellaneous Services
CHAPTER XI

GENERAL SERVICES

In Part II of this study the description and analysis of various components of Chandigarh administration - viz. administrative structure before the creation of the union territory, the Chief Commissioner, his secretariat, the field agencies and the advisory committees for Chandigarh at intra-organizational and extra-organizational levels - provided, through the analysis of formal functions, powers, duties and roles of various positions, offices and departments, some insights into the collective purpose of the union territory administration. Part III of this study was an effort, through two case studies, to understand the actual functioning of the administration in the achievement of these goals and purposes, in given situations, at intra-organizational level and under the external environmental influences. In this Part (Part IV) an effort is being made to assess the performance of Chandigarh administration through the twin strands of inquiry and analysis.

11.1 Inquiry and Analysis: Twin Strands

Purposefulness is essential to any organisation. Administrato spend considerable time in trying to achieve, clarify, change or formulate purpose. Purpose are the heart of any plan of action, the guide to rational decision-making and a starting
point for the rational evaluation of performance.¹

But human purposefulness is too complex and intimate to be fully understood or openly described. According to one approach, nothing can or should be scientifically studied, unless it is directly observed and measured. The other approach, on the other hand, oversimplified the subject by single-purpose models or by abstract approaches which avoid the substantive content of goal-oriented behaviour. It is, therefore, said that 'the ordinary language of organizational purpose is still immature. It is ill-adapted even for asking the right questions about purposes. It is still less suitable as an instrument to help experienced administrators in wrestling with purpose problems or expressing the intuitive wisdom they acquire in the process'.²

However, by adopting the interwoven method of two strands of inquiry and analysis the purposefulness of an organisation can be underlined, to certain extent, and the extent of its achievements and failures can also be evaluated. In the analysis and evaluation of the performance of Chandigarh administration recourse has been made to the twin strands of inquiry and analysis.

² Ibid., p.264.
These strands are based on the following five factors:

(i) **Budgetary provisions**: Budgetary provisions for each individual department have been tabulated for the period 1968-1969 to 1973-1974. Increase or decrease in revenue expenditure for each year is assessed on the basis of the preceding year, followed by the calculation of percent increase or decrease. With 1968-69 as base and 1973-74 as apex overall percent increase or decrease in revenue expenditure during the period has been obtained. Finally, the average annual increase or decrease of expenditure over the head has been calculated. This has been tabulated alongside the annual increase or decrease in the population of the union territory for the corresponding period, assessed on the basis of decennial growth rate for 1961-71, as obtained in Census of India, 1971. This, thus, gives an idea of the corresponding growth, decline, maintenance or stagnation in the activities of the respective department, with a possible cause thereof.

(ii) **Annual Progress Reports**: Annual progress reports for the IV Five-Year Plan period (1969-1974) provide the physical and financial targets laid down by the administration and a report of their achievement. The information, as available in official manuals, reports, charts, and progress-reports has been sequentially arranged and is sought to be analysed in the context of the activities of the respective departments.
(iii) Press opinion: For analysis and evaluation of the performance of Chandigarh administration opinions expressed by the citizens, local journalists, editors and local leaders through local press have provided invaluable materials and insight.

In a democratic and welfare oriented political and administrative set-up press has the most important part to play. Press acts as the mouthpiece of the popular grievances, a check on the misuse of powers by the bureaucracy and as a vehicle of social change and reforms. It also sets standards for healthy social and physical environment and zealously guards any deviation from these norms. It has great educative value also, both for the administration and the people, and also acts as a channel of communication between these two, by ventilating the popular grievances and by giving coverage to official policies, programmes, achievements targets and various clarifications. Under these circumstances the coverage given to various aspects of Chandigarh living, its cultural, social and civic requirements, its various ills and the expectations of the people from the administration, becomes significant with a view to assess the performance of the administration in a given period of time.

(iv) Questionnaire given to the members of the Local Advisory Committee: The questionnaire was administered to 23 non-official members of the Local Advisory

3. Questionnaire - as Annexure II of this study.
Response was received from 21 members only. The questionnaire has already been extensively used in Chapter VIII, but its performance part, i.e. item No. 13 to item No. 19 is, however, quite useful with regard to the performance evaluation of Chandigarh administration. This can also be taken as quite authentic, knowledgeable, conscious and representative section of the citizens of the territory. This is needless to say that despite dissenting voice in one or the other section, almost all the major groups are represented on this committee.

Item No. 13 has eleven sub-parts analysing eleven different departments. It reads as follows: 'Do you think that Chandigarh administration has set-up any targets during the Fourth Five-Year Plan period in regard to the following? If so, to what extent these have been achieved'. A five-point scale (Completely, Above average, Average, Below average, and Very little) was used for the eleven responses to item No. 13. The sub-parts related to general education, public-health and sanitation, public works - roads and buildings, sewerage, electricity - domestic and industrial, housing - public and private, availability of construction material, and water-supply - domestic and industrial. Items No. 14 to 19 are, however, direct and one-part items, each dealing with

of, Chapter VIII - Advisory Committee of Chandigarh Administration, for detail of this questionnaire, minutes of the advisory committee meetings, the role of the members and the decision taken therein.
individual department or function of Chandigarh administration.

(v) Minutes of the Home Minister's Advisory Committee: This committee, though of advisory nature, gains added significance on account of Union Home Minister being the Chairman of the Committee and the Chief Commissioner and some other senior officials of the union territory, Chandigarh being represented on it. Nominated members are required to raise various questions related to the union territory in the periodical meetings. Official members and representatives of various union ministries and departments are required to provide clarifications to the issues involved, and the chairman gives his final opinions, suggestions and verdicts on these issues. Thus, in a way, the issues discussed and decided become the opinions of the Government of India and are subject to be carried by the Chandigarh administration. Thus, the minutes of the committee become valid and significant enough for the assessment of the performance of various departments of Chandigarh administration.

11.2 Categorisation: The whole of the union territory administration is sought to be seen department-wise for the assessment of items performance. The clubbing of the offices and departments as done by Chandigarh administration, and followed in Part II of this study pertaining to the structure of Chandigarh administration, has not been found

5. cf. Chapter VIII - Advisory Committees of Chandigarh Administration, for details.
suitable for the analysis and evaluation of the performance of the administration. The departments have been arranged in four broad categories according to the standard practice of the Government of India for economic and functional classification of expenditure on the developmental and non-developmental services in the central and state governments. On the basis of above, all the departments of central and state governments have been categorized in five broad classes, viz. (i) General Services, (ii) Social Services, (iii) Economic Services, (iv) Other Services - Relief Measures, and (v) Unallocable.

Accordingly, the classification followed in this part of various departments of Chandigarh administration is as given below:

(i) General Services (including general administration, regulatory departments and revenue collecting agencies).

(ii) Social Services (including education, medical and health, community development, panchayats and national extension service, housing, architecture etc.)

6. This point has been discussed in detail in Part V - 'Summary, Conclusion and Policy Implications' - section (iii) (Policy Implications).


(iii) Economic Services (including agriculture, animal husbandry, dairy and milk-supply, forests, industries, labour, transport, public works - electricity etc.).

(iv) Miscellaneous Services (including hospitality, protocol and tourism, co-operation, information and publicity, printing and stationery, employment exchange, etc.).

The subsequent sections of this chapter deal with evaluation of performance of General (administrative) Services, while the three chapters to follow relate to Social, Economic, and Miscellaneous Services respectively.

11.3 General (Administrative) Services.
(including revenue collecting and regulatory agencies).

The following agencies are covered under this head - agencies responsible for collecting taxes, duties and other principal revenues; administrative services including Chief Commissioner's secretariat, district administration, local audit staff and state transport authority; administration of justice; jails; police; civil supplies; enforcement of weights and measures; and miscellaneous administrative activities, such as national calamities, national cadet corp, grants-in-aid to social and voluntary organizations, rewards to soldiers, sailors and airmen, scholarships to sainik school students from the union territory and civil defence etc.

9 Ibid., based on the classification tables for the union and state governments, spread throughout the book.
Being basically regulatory and administrative agencies, none of these departments is directly responsible for developmental, civic or utility services, though the secretariat has the over-all administrative control over the field agencies responsible for such services. No annual progress reports of such departments and offices are, therefore, available, nor are any special plan allocations made for such offices. The department of police, however, is one such exception where the activities, performance and achievements are critically assessed in the course of time with the growing and changing needs of the time. Similarly Estate Office, being directly responsible for the regulation of the planned growth of the city, enforcement of bye-laws and creation, auction and allotment of plots, is also required to give periodic progress-reports of its activities.

In this chapter, therefore, budgetary provisions for all the above departments and offices have been discussed, besides the plan-progress of the department of police, the Estate Office and the department of food and supplies.

Analysis of the over-all functioning of administrative agencies, based on public opinion expressed in the local press and in the meetings of the Local Advisory Committee and the Home Minister's Advisory Committee is given at the close of this chapter.
Budgetary Provisions

Revenue expenditure on these revenue collecting, regulatory and administrative offices and departments has constantly been on increase from year to year, on account of the expansion of the activities of the field agencies for which the secretariat and the district administration have the overall administrative control. It is also a common feature of these modern administrative agencies to go on becoming more and more expanded, complex and heavier partially because of their inherent nature and partially on account of the increasing role of the administration with almost every aspect of modern social life.

The figures related to revenue expenditure on these departments for the period 1968-1974 are as given in table No. 11-1 below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Collection of taxes, duties and other principal revenues.</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>1.94</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Administrative Services including Chief Commissioner and his secretariat, district admin., local audit staff and state transport authority etc.</td>
<td>10.75</td>
<td>12.08</td>
<td>15.62</td>
<td>15.42</td>
<td>15.77</td>
<td>17.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Administration of justice</td>
<td>32.75</td>
<td>37.47</td>
<td>42.42</td>
<td>44.21</td>
<td>52.74</td>
<td>53.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jails</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Police</td>
<td>65.94</td>
<td>61.78</td>
<td>73.68</td>
<td>70.75</td>
<td>83.76</td>
<td>88.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Miscellaneous (i) i.e. civil supplies, enforcement of standard weights and measures.</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>1.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Miscellaneous (ii) Natural calamities, N.C.C., grant-in-aid to social and voluntary organisations, rewards to soldiers, sailors &amp; airmen; scholarship to Sainik school students and civil defence etc.</td>
<td>8.66</td>
<td>7.83</td>
<td>8.95</td>
<td>9.81</td>
<td>11.05</td>
<td>11.81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total                                                                 | 121.39  | 122.10  | 145.24  | 155.98  | 171.58  | 176.27  |
| Increase over the previous year:                                      | -       | 0.71    | 23.14   | 0.74    | 25.60   | 4.69    |
| Per cent increase:                                                    | -       | 0.58%   | 18.95%  | 0.5%    | 17.6%   | 2.73%   |

Increase over 1969-74 period= 45.2%
Average annual increase (5 years) = 9.04%
The table reveals that total increase in revenue expenditure from the year 1968-69 to 1973-74 was $45.2% giving thereby an average annual increase of 9.04%. With the growth of population of the territory and the added responsibilities of the expanding planned city, this increase, however, can only be stated to be modest.

The five-year plan programmes and achievements of some of these regulatory and administrative agencies, such as the Estate Office and the Police will provide a fuller picture of the activities of these agencies.

11.31 Estate Office

This office controls the activities for the construction of buildings of private plot-holders to ensure that these conform to sanctioned plan and remain within architectural control and zoning of the sector. This office is also responsible for all government property - land and buildings - and is authorised to check all illegal and unauthorised occupations and use of government land. The number of plots created and sold and various categories of buildings constructed from time to time are given in the following statement:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>No. of plots Created</th>
<th>No. of plots Sold</th>
<th>No. of Buildings Constructed</th>
<th>No. of Buildings Under construction</th>
<th>Plan approved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Religious, Educational, and Cultural</td>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Upto 31.11.68</td>
<td>15185 2452 44</td>
<td>358 13784 1921</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>343 6262 1518</td>
<td>23 160 383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.10.69</td>
<td>15185 2518 45</td>
<td>358 13844 2026</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>347 6605 1555</td>
<td>25 172 529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.10.71</td>
<td>15185 2650 53</td>
<td>519 13844 2463</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>482 9860 1801</td>
<td>35 246 2077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upto 31.10.72</td>
<td>Not Not Not Not</td>
<td>14061 2463</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>482 9860 1827</td>
<td>36 250 2607</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Material for inclusion in the annual report of the Ministry of Home Affairs, for 1968-69 (pp.3-4); 1969-70 (pp.3-4); 1971-72 (pp.3-7) and 1972-73 (p.7).
The number of plots sold by auction or by allotment and the value realised for different categories of sites is as given in the following statement No. 11.3. A total number of 452 residential plots were sold for Rs. 1,04,77,992/-. Number of industrial plots sold was 9 and the value realised was Rs. 1,91,923/-. Two hundred and sixty four commercial plots brought a value of Rs. 1,33,29,975/-. Total value realised for 725 plots has been Rs. 2,39,97,890/-. 
### Plots sold and value realised

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>No. of plots sold by auction</th>
<th>Value Realised</th>
<th>No. of plots sold by allocation</th>
<th>Value Realised</th>
<th>Total No. of plots sold</th>
<th>Total amount realised</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.4.68</td>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Rs. 9,94,200/-</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>Rs. 12,51,500/-</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>Rs. 22,45,700/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to 31.10.68</td>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Rs. 1,91,923/-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Rs. 1,91,923/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>Rs. 38,15,000/-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>Rs. 38,15,000/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.69</td>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Rs. 6,74,300/-</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Rs. 6,17,292/-</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Rs. 12,91,392/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to 31.10.69</td>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rs. 19,475/-</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>30,25,775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Rs. 30,06,300/-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6,29,300/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built-up</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plot</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Rs. 6,29,300/-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6,29,300/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.71</td>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>Rs. 69,40,900</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>Rs. 69,40,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to 31.10.71</td>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>Rs. 58,99,900/-</td>
<td></td>
<td>225</td>
<td>2,33,892/-</td>
<td>1,07</td>
<td>235,99,900/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>462</td>
<td>Rs. 2,19,19,700</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>Rs. 20,80,190/-</td>
<td>725</td>
<td>Rs. 2,39,99,890/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recovery of land-revenue is also the responsibility of the estate office. Between the period 1.4.68 to 31.10.72 (except for the period 1.4.70 to 31.10.70 for which the data were not available) the total arrears of land-revenue recovered by this office was Rs. 35,39,806/-. Statement No. 11-4 gives the break-up of the amount over the years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Arrear of land-revenue recovered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4.68 to 31.10.68</td>
<td>Rs. 10,04,104/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.4.69 to 31.10.69</td>
<td>Rs. 9,33,260/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.4.71 to 31.10.71</td>
<td>Rs. 6,97,176/82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.4.72 to 31.10.72</td>
<td>Rs. 9,04,965/92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total from 1.4.68 to 31.10.72 (except for 1.4.70 to 31.10.70 for which data were not available) Rs. 35,39,806/-.

Proceedings of the Home Minister's Advisory Committee

The estate office has a very prominent role in the capital project of Chandigarh. The proceedings of the Home Minister's Advisory Committee, therefore, were dominated by the issues related to the activities of this agency.

12 Development of Chandigarh since April 1, 1960, a monograph, p. 13.
Unauthorised markets:— In the I meeting, the case of Nehru and Shastri markets and other unauthorised markets was discussed in great detail. Opinions differed from meeting the situation as a law-and-order problem to licensing these squatters and giving them necessary facilities. 13

Restricting (‘Rehri’) vendors trade: Some vendors carry their goods on ‘rehrs’ (wooden hand carts). The question of ever-increasing number of ‘rehrs’ was raised in the V meeting. The proposal of prescribing conditions for issuing Rehri licences with a view to regulate the increasing number of Rehris was found legally difficult to be imposed. Hence it had been decided to construct day markets for Rehriwalas in different sectors.

Enforcement of bye-laws:— Although the members’ opinion about the enforcement of bye-laws was divided, the problem of encroachment remained unsolved mainly because of — as the C.C. observed — lack of enforcement staff. The Home Minister, however, felt that this was the first responsibility of the Administration.

13 Meeting I, 20.4.68, item No.4, pp. 13-5; Meeting II, 24.12.68, items No.3 and 4, pp. 13-15.
14 For details relating to the subsequent developments, reference may be made to chapter IX of this study.
15 Proceedings of the Meeting V, 26.2.70, p.48 and Meeting VI, 5.12.70, item No.21, p.64.
16 Proceedings of the Meeting VI, 5.12.70, p.63 and Meeting held on 24.3.73, p.8(iii).
Building Plots: The members of the committee stressed the need for lowering down the prices of the building plots in the interest of the lower and middle income groups. The members urged the Chandigarh Administration to find out the methods by which the individuals as well as co-operative societies could get plots at reasonable prices. The C.C. argued that under the given circumstances it was not possible to reduce the prices because the Administration had made a commitment to the Planning Commission to raise Rs. 700 lakhs out of its own resources in order to get the grant of Rs. 1200.0 lakhs. Moreover, the Chandigarh Administration could not cut down the prices of plots by itself. Consultation with the Planning Commission and Finance Ministry was essential. In the IV and VI meetings of the Committee the question of high prices of small plots was raised and discussed. Finally, the Home Minister, as Chairman of the Committee, commented that the Chandigarh Administration should positively look after the interests of lower and middle class people, besides looking for the revenue for further development. Later on the C.C. informed the committee that the Administration had formulated a model scheme in which a provision had been made for low income groups. The C.C. informed the members that 60% plots in sector 37 would be allotted to low income government employees, 25% to salaried employees of other categories and 15% to non-salaried persons.

Housing Loans: The difficulty of Housing loans was pointed out by the members in the meeting, and they suggested the liberalization of the rules of house building loans, as the cost of building materials had gone up. The Chairman of the Committee also emphasised the need for making adequate provisions on a continuing basis every year for house-building loans either under plan or non-plan schemes. The C.C. informed the members that the Planning Commission had sanctioned a very meagre amount of Rs. 8.00 lakh as against the demand of Rs. 450.00 lakhs for house building loans. The member of the D.W.H. & U.D. stated that to tide over this difficulty, a sum of Rs. 25.00 lakh had been provided under non-plan head. The members of the Committee also highlighted the inadequacy of the government accommodation for the employees and suggested that government servants who owned houses in Chandi ard should be asked to vacate government accommodation. The C.C. informed the members that a provision of 2,000 houses had been made in the Fifth Five Year Plan. The C.C. also told the Chairman that Punjab and Haryana governments were not keen to build houses for their own employees. The representative of the D.W.H. & U.D. also submitted a report for the construction of houses for central employees.

18. Meeting IV, 15.11.69; Meeting V, 26.2.70, p.50; Meeting VI, 5.12.70, pp.52-53, and meeting VI, 5.12.70, p.54.

19. Proceedings of Meeting IV, 15.11.69, pp.27-28; Meeting V, 26.2.70, pp.47-48, and 54 and meeting held on 24.3.73, p.7 (ii).
The correspondent of the Tribune reported that serious charges of embezzlement of rents of incomplete houses by the officials of the estate office were levelled at the L.A.C. meeting held on 6.9.69. A member demanded that survey of such houses, as had been lying deserted for several years should be conducted to unearth the embezzlement of rents.20

Rent Control: The members of the committee emphatically demanded the imposition of the Rent-Control Act in Chandigarh as was being done in other states. The Chairman of the committee also justified the demand of the members and agreed to have some sort of control in public interest. But the Chief Commissioner urged that the enforcement of Rent Control Act would retard the progress of the city, because the previous government had given an undertaking that there would be no enforcement of the Rent Control Act to encourage the building activity in Chandigarh. To surmount the difficulty of rising rent, the effective way was considered that the administration should build its own houses in large number and house-loans should also be given liberally to the private plot builders. As a follow up action the C.C. informed the committee that a scheme of multi-storeyed buildings was under consideration, and the Government of India had been informed about the spiralling rents and the views of Chandigarh administration. The Chief Engineer also informed the committee that Rs. 23,00 lakh would be spent on the construction of government houses.

21. Proceedings of Meeting 1.2.68, p.8; contd...
There were certain hints in the press that Government of India were intending to introduce a bill with regard to the rent restriction in Chandigarh in the winter session of the Parliament in 1974.  

**Ceiling on Urban property** :- In regard to the ceiling on urban property the representative of the Department of H.H. and U.D. informed that being a national issue a draft bill **mixed** on the subject had been **mixed** circulated to all the states and union territories for their comments.  

In conclusion it may be mentioned that the Estate Office being immediately responsible for the administrative and regulatory aspect of the capital project, its activities have been dominating the proceedings of the advisory committees. Problem of the squatters of Nehru and Shastri markets (dealt separately in Chapter No. IX in detail) was discussed in great detail and the administration was helped in finally solving it in sympathetic and humane manner by the members’ constant vigil and the responsiveness of the chairman. Similarly, the problem of ever-increasing number of 'rehris' which stems from long distances involved between living areas and the markets, was solved by deciding to construct 'rehri'  

21 contd:  

22 Subsequent to writing of this thesis, Rent Control Act has been introduced in Chandigarh.  

23 Meeting VI, 5.12.70, item 3(iii), p. 55.
parking sites in different sectors. The solution seems to be
both restrictive and judicious, both for the 'rehrivalas' and
the consumers.

The question of sky-high rates of Chandigarh plots
had all-along been agitating the minds of prospective
house-owners of lower and middle income groups. The stand
of the administration seemed to be of collecting more revenues
through auction, but the concerted efforts of the members and
sympathetic disposition of the minister made the
administration to plan a new sector for lower-income groups
and to assure to devise some method to safeguard the
interests of this section of the society.

Two facets of housing problem were raised. The
minister and the non-official members seemed to be on the
side of the plot-holders with regard to house-building loans.
But the planning commision had its own difficulties in
granting the demanded amounts. Some curtailed assurances,
however, could be obtained. For the shortage of government
housing two solutions could emerge - non-allotment of
accommodation at the disposal of the U.T. administration to
the central employees, and pressing Punjab government to
build houses for their employees. Suggestion to deny housing
accommodation to the employees owning their own houses at
Chandigarh could not be accepted on legal grounds.

The question of spiralling rent and measures for
rent-restriction were discussed in a big way, without any specific result. The genuineness of the case was admitted, yet no matching solution could be formulated except for a vague assurance to build more government houses.

11.32 Department of Police

Financial provisions: Police is a regulatory department. It is, therefore, mainly a revenue spending agency. But there are some receipts and recoveries from the states of Punjab and Haryana for the services provided at Chandigarh, being their common capital. Similarly, there are some receipts at Chandigarh also on account of fines etc. The income and expenditure position of this department during the years 1966-73 has been as given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sn. No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gross expenditure during the year</th>
<th>Receipts &amp; recoveries from Punjab and Haryana States</th>
<th>Net expenditure during the year</th>
<th>Receipts at Union Territory Chandigarh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>11.69</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>11.31</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>40.52</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>39.52</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>65.94</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>64.94</td>
<td>3.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>51.73</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>50.82</td>
<td>1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>73.64</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>72.34</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>69.94</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>69.50</td>
<td>2.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>77.34</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>76.34</td>
<td>1.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except for the years 1969-70 and 1971-72 the general trend of expenditure shows a steady increase.
There was an increase of 244% in the annual expenditure during 1967-68 over the previous year. In 1966-69 the increase over the previous year was 57%. In 1969-70 there was a fall in expenditure of about 19% as compared to the year 1968-69, whereas in 1969-70 the expenditure again marked a slight fall of 6%, but in 1972-73, it again increased by about 12% over the previous year.

From the year 1966 to 1973 there has been an overall increase of 564% in the expenditure over police establishment. This may be explained on the basis of the added responsibilities of this agency on account of increasing population, increasing vehicular traffic, and greater mobility of the population. It can also be explained on account of the increasing need for expanding the police force and the acquisition of more sophisticated equipment needed for detection, apprehension and checking the crimes and in the enforcement of law and order.

Progress Reports:

Being the seat of three governments, the position of Chandigarh is unique in the country. Despite this sensitive situation the local police has generally been able to maintain proper law and order, as comes out from the annual reports of the department and the general law and order climate in the city.²⁵

²⁴ Population of Chandigarh increased by 114.59% during 1961-71, and is projected to have increased by about 35% in 1976 over the 1971 figures on the basis of an average annual growth rate of 11.5% — Census 1971, Series 25, Chandigarh District Census Handbook, ii in. cit. p. (ii)
²⁵ cf. Opinions of the members of the Local Advisory Committee...
The situation with regard to the criminal cases reported and dealt with under various heads during the years 1969-73 by Chandigarh police is as under:

**Statement 11-5**

**Criminal cases Reported**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cases under Indian Penal Code.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,393</td>
<td>1,186</td>
<td>1,096</td>
<td>945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary/Theft cases.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>954</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>755</td>
<td>642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cases relating to heinous crimes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Increase (+), or Decrease/Totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>(58.37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>(-10.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>(7.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>(14.26)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above statement reveals that except in the year 1969-70 as compared to 1968-69, there has been a decrease in the criminal cases in each year as compared to its preceding one. Keeping in view the high growth rate of the city population this gradual decline in crime cases supports the contention of the administration that the Chandigarh Police were able to maintain proper law and order and acquitted themselves well.27

25 (contd.) and Home Minister's Advisory Committee on Chandigarh, given in detail in the later part of this section.

26. Break-up of the cases during the year are not recorded in the official documents - Material in respect of Union Territory of Chandigarh for inclusion in the annual report of Ministry of Home Affairs for 1968-69, p.2

Gangs of thieves and burglars and of vehicle lifters were apprehended and the stolen property was recovered and restored to the victims, as illustrated below:

**Statement 11-6**

**Thieves, Burglars and Vehicle Lifting Cases**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of gangs of thieves, burglars &amp; vehicle lifters apprehended</th>
<th>Property recovered</th>
<th>Total value of the property.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>₹.4,40,800/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3 cars; 5 scooters; (59) cycles &amp; other property</td>
<td>₹ 56,399/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6 motor cycles; (37 cycles and other property</td>
<td>₹ 2,73,599/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of cases under local and special law has shown a fluctuation. In 1969-70 number of reported cases was 308. The number increased to 420 cases in 1970-71. In 1971-72 there was a marginal decrease of 29 cases, but in 1972-73 the figure again swelled to 437, an all-time high. This can be indicative of both the incidence of higher rate of such cases or of the increased efficiency of the law-and-order machinery in apprehending larger number of offenders.

On detection side also the police force seems to have been quite active and captured illicit articles during the period 1969-72 as given in the statement below:

**Statement 11-7**

**Capture of illicit articles**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Illicit arms and ammunition</th>
<th>Illicit liquor and other narcotics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Revolvers</td>
<td>5 Liquor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Pistols</td>
<td>2 Working stills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Guns</td>
<td>4 Fermented stuff for distillation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Rifles</td>
<td>3 Rectified spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Live cartridges</td>
<td>215 Charms (a narcotic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Bayonets</td>
<td>1 Opium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Potassium chlorate</td>
<td>2,185 gms.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

104 cases of the sale of Cinema tickets in the black-market were also detected.

One Pakistani spy-ring was unearthed and quashed in 1969-70 besides apprehending 18 proclaimed offenders and 3 military deserters. A member of an extremist leftist organization was also apprehended for killing a student in the university.

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Chandigarh being the seat of three governments, every other day there is some big or small demonstration, strike, agitation or procession by political parties, trade union or other interested groups. Whichever of the three governments or any other agency be the target of such agitation, the responsibility for the maintenance of law and order rests with Chandigarh police. The city administration had to deal with 278 agitations during 1968-1973, a task which has been undertaken, as stated in the material for the annual report of the Ministry of Home Affairs for 1972-73 'in tactful and efficient manner and on no occasion the situation was allowed to slip out of hands.'

To check and regulate the traffic and to minimize road accidents both preventive and deterrent actions were taken. The installation of wireless-sets, both at the control points and on the police vans, are cited as effective means of checking the crime and regulating the traffic. The number of persons prosecuted for violating traffic rules, the number of vehicles impounded under the Motor Vehicle Act for want of proper documents and the fines realised are as given in statement No. 11-8.

31 Development of Chandigarh since April 1, 1969 - An assessment by the administration, pp. 8-9.

There is a marked increase in the cases related to traffic violations, which may be explained by enormous increase in the number of vehicles. But the decline in the number of vehicles impounded for want of valid documents, probably, points to the effectiveness of the checking machinery and deterrent measures.

**Performance Evaluation**

It has been pointed out that Chandigarh as the seat of three governments has a very sensitive position. It could be said to the credit of Chandigarh police and administration that both the official and public opinion on the law and order situation in the union territory has been one of satisfaction, rather approbation.

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Home Minister's Advisory Committee: In the fifth meeting of the Home Minister's Advisory Committee on Chandigarh, all the official and non-official members commended the role of Chandigarh police and administration for maintaining law and order in the territory during the disturbances in Punjab and Haryana over the future of Chandigarh. In another meeting a member pointed out the inadequacy of number of police-stations in Chandigarh while underlining confidence in this agency. The home secretary assured the committee that the issue was already under examination.

Opinion Survey:

Local Advisory Committee: Responses to the questionnaire also confirmed the above view. The official members of the L.A.C. emphasised that law and order position in the territory was quite satisfactory. While pointing to the sensitive position of the capital, they observed that 'the district administration had to be on its toes all the time, yet it could be said to the credit of the administration that it had throughout acted in the most efficient manner'. The lowest rate of crime and the absence of any large-scale violence in the territory, according to them, could be taken as a valid proof of this. They, however, stressed that the ad-hoc arrangement of

34 Fifth meeting of the Home Minister's Advisory Committee on Chandigarh, 26.2.70, p. 51.
police force was a weak point of law and order machinery in the territory. According to this arrangement almost all the senior officers and most of the policemen were on deputation from Punjab and Haryana. The members stressed the need for the fortification of police force by having a regular and sizeable force of the territory, as its own. They also emphasized the need for equipping the police with modern tools and methods of prevention and detection of crime.36

The non-official members of the L.A.C. also confirmed the above view. Nineteen members, i.e. 90.48% gave the law and order situation in the territory as 'above average' rating, whereas, only two members, i.e. 9.52% considered the situation as 'average' or just the same as prevailed in the region. Theft cases were stated to be on increase, but this was explained on the basis of increase in population. The law and order position was generally rated to be satisfactory and Chandigarh was considered far more peaceful city in comparison to the unplanned cities of similar size and population, in the region.37

In summing up, it may be observed that increasing

36 Questionnaire served to the members of the Local Advisory Committee, Question 15 relating to the law and order situation - View point of official members.

37 Ibid. Question No.15, View-point of non-official members.
expenditure on police department over the years to strengthen the force, both in manpower and sophisticated equipment and methods, as also satisfactory handling of the law and order situation in the territory and effective checking of penal offences and apprehending the law breakers on its part, makes it a reliable arm of the union territory administration. The official opinion as also the opinion of the public expressed through the non-official members of the Local Advisory Committee and the Home Minister's Advisory Committee on Chandigarh also substantiate this observation about the effective and satisfactory performance of this department.

11.33 Food and Supplies Department

This department handles the distribution of essential and rationed commodities, food-grains and sugar etc. According to official statements this department has been able to regulate the supply of all essential commodities through a chain of its stores and through effective rationing system. Revenue expenditure on this department during the years 1969-74 is as given in the table below:

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38 Material for the annual report of the Ministry of Home Affairs for 1972-73, p.9.
Revenue expenditure on this head during the year 1968-69 was Rs. 1.04 lakhs. Expenditure increased during all the four succeeding years over their respective previous years, except for a marginal decline of -0.02 lakhs in 1971-72 over the year 1970-71. In the years 1969-70, 1970-71, 1972-73 and 1973-74 revenue expenditure increased by 20.19%, 28%, 5.69% and 1.79% respectively. Total increase during the period 1968-1974 in revenue expenditure was 63.46% giving thereby an average annual increase of 12.69% during the period.

But besides the average population growth of 11.46% per annum in Chandigarh, the above increase of 12.69% in revenue expenditure on this department during the corresponding period ensures a steady maintenance of this service agency.

References:
39 Census of India, 1971, Series 25, Chandigarh, p.(11)
Progress Reports

In the year 1970-71 the number of fair-price shops and consumer co-operative stores in the urban and rural areas of the union territory was 115 which rose to 142 in the year 1972-73. The rates of these stores are reasonable and despite the impersonal, casual, careless and at times even arrogant attitude of the employees of the stores, besides delays and red-tapism, usually associated with the government establishments, these shops and stores are very popular on two counts - their reasonable pricing system and their monopoly on the rationed commodities.

11.4 General (Administrative) Services: An Evaluation

Opinions with regard to general (administrative) services have extensively been expressed in the local press and in the meetings of the advisory committees. Some of the important topics are being assessed as below:

11.41 Demand for Popular Representation: Majority of Chandigarh people have been demanding some sort of popular representation in administering the union territory. Such opinions have been expressed from time to time in the local and in the meetings of the advisory committees.

A letter to the editor, Tribune, expressed the soreness of the writer about the existence of a pocket of deaf bureaucracy in the U.T., Chandigarh, whereas there was a democratic set-up everywhere in the country. He also said that people were highly dissatisfied with the L.A.C. which was more or less a tool in the hand of the administration. He strongly recommended the constitution of an elected body, thereby giving the people responsibility to manage their own affairs and to improve the state of affairs in this once modern but now insanitary city.\textsuperscript{41}

Referring to the statement of the Chief Commissioner on 8.9.1969, a correspondent contended in a letter to the editor that the C.C. had held out no definite promise to effect improvements in the present unsatisfactory arrangements for water-supply, sanitation, electric supply, transport, etc. He insisted that the condition of Chandigarh was definitely better when it was part of the state of Punjab, and contended that it was better to merge the U.T. with any of the adjoining states, which were democratically administered. The deaf ear given by the U.T. administration reflected the bureaucratic insensitivity to public grievances, ventilated through the press.\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{41} The Tribune (Daily), 11.9.69, Letters to the Editor.

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., 12.9.69.
Proceedings of the L.A.C. meeting held on 6.9.69 were reported in the Tribune. Members demanded Delhi corporation pattern for the U.T. administration, and wanted the L.A.C. to be an elected body. An official was reported to have said that a sub-committee had been formed to examine the feasibility of setting-up a corporation in Chandigarh.

A speech of Union Minister of Education delivered at a public meeting in Chandigarh was also reported in the press on 2.5.72, wherein he advocated a democratic set-up for Chandigarh, which could take steps to implement the decisions of the Union Government.\(^3\)

It was reported in the press on 28.6.74 that a deputation of the Chandigarh unit of the Communist Party of India (C.P.I.) met President V.V.Giri at Delhi in connection with ills of Chandigarh administration. The deputation also protested against the Chandigarh administration not giving due representation to the C.P.I. in the advisory body.\(^4\)

In the meetings of the H.A.C. also this issue was raised on a number of occasions. In the I meeting some kind of representative body was demanded by a member with the plea that all the union territories except Chandigarh.

\(^3\)The Tribune, 2.5.72

\(^4\)The Tribune, 28.6.74.
had some or the other form of popular representative body. The demand was supported by other non-official members. The C.C. however, opposed this on the plea that Capital Advisory Committee (now L.A.C.) could look after civic problems and that it may be difficult to get 100% reimbursement from the Government of India of the expenses on civic amenities. He also contended that the local body will be required to levy taxes which may be an unpopular proposition.\textsuperscript{45} Once again when the demand was made the C.C. opposed it by saying that the government will find it difficult to impose property tax on account of an understanding that for 25 years such tax would not be levied.\textsuperscript{46}

In another meeting the Chairman observed that since Chandigarh has to be merged with Punjab, it might not be possible to take any such decision without consulting the Punjab Government. He directed the C.C. to take steps in this direction. The C.C. informed in the same meeting that the proposal was already being framed for levying house tax, which was an earlier objection to setting up a local body.\textsuperscript{47} The latest position was stated by the C.C. in a report to the ministry that he had discussed the matter with the Punjab Chief Minister and the Punjab government, and that

\textsuperscript{45} Meeting I, 20.4.1968, item No.5, pp:5-6.

\textsuperscript{46} Meeting IV, 15.11.1969, item No.17, p.32.

\textsuperscript{47} Meeting held on 24.3.73, item No.39, pp.11-12(ii)
they were not in favour of the proposal.\textsuperscript{48}

The attitude of the administration has either been evasive or negative. The proposal was opposed on financial grounds related to grants by the union government and the imposition of taxes. Finally, the responsibility was shifted over to Punjab government, which evidently on historical and political grounds was not likely to accept this proposition.

The attitude of official and non-official members to the question was completely divergent. Non-official members, whereas, disagree with the financial and budgetary implications put forward by the administration, the officials seem unanimous in opposing the demand in one or the other count and thus save themselves of the 'day-to-day interference' of these popular representatives.

The tendency of the administration to avoid the non-official members or local leaders and not to associate them with their policy formulation and in developmental and architectural activities was evident from such objections raised by the members of the HMAC.\textsuperscript{49} The members were, however, successful in convincing the Chairman of their bonafides and the specific future steps were devised

\textsuperscript{48} Follow-up action taken on the meeting of 24.3.1973, item No.39, pp: 11-12 (ii)

\textsuperscript{49} Meeting II, 24.12.68, items No.19 and 20, pp: 16-17; Meeting V, 26.2.70, item-49; Meeting VI, 5.12.70, item - General and item No.22, pp:64-66.
11.42 Demands of employees: The question of equalizing the pay scales of the Union Territory employees with the Panjab and Haryana employees were raised by the then M.P., Shrichand Goel, from Chandigarh. The C.C. informed the members that deputationists from Panjab and Haryana were already getting the pay-scales admissible in their parent maxima cadres and the case of Union Territory employees for following Panjab pay-scales had been referred to the Government of India. The Union Home Minister explained the general policy that the pay-scales of the U.T. employees should conform to that of adjoining state of Panjab, provided the scales were not higher than the centre, in which case the scales would be revised to that extent. Later on it was announced that the Government of India had decided to allow Panjab pay-scales to unallocated employees of Chandigarh administration and the case of provisionally allocated employees to Chandigarh and of those who were recruited after 1.11.66 was under consideration. Again a voice was raised by the unofficial members of the Committee that by this decision three to four thousands employees were affected adversely. The Chairman of the Committee explained that the question of later categories of employees was linked up with the pay pattern of scales of other Union Territories. In the sixth meeting the C.C. informed the members that all the employees had been allowed the Panjab pay-scales with effect from 1st February, 1968. The members thereupon expressed their
great satisfaction.

The class IV employees had put forth some demands before the U.T. administration; and on the non-fulfilment of those demands they were on strike and relay-hunger strike. Ultimately, the Chandigarh administration accepted that chawkidars would be paid overtime under rules. But the demand for mill-made cloth instead of khadi as livery was rejected on the plea that it was a national policy both at political and economic level. Of course, Chandigarh administration promised to supply good quality of 'khadi'. The U.T. administration recommended to the Union Government the higher dearness allowance to its employees, and also appreciated the demand of plots for low income groups. The Chandigarh Administration created one thousand plots for such categories of employees, whereas the demand was for five thousand. The Administration pleaded that it was not only a question of carving of plots, but also providing civic amenities for which it had no funds.50

50 Proceedings of the Meeting II, 24.12.69, pp. 17-18; Meeting III, 21.2.69, p.20; Action taken on meeting III, 21.2.69, pp.23-24; Meeting IV, 15.11.69, p.26; Meeting V, 26.2.70, p.30; and Meeting VI, 5.12.70, p.38.
11.43 Cultural and Community Life :- The 'scribe' in Chandigarh Post describes Chandigarh as an anti-community place and a town bereft of culture. He says, 'In this anti-community town, every one felt bored after being here for the first few days. In it the estrangement and human isolation was felt in depth. It was an impolite punishing place with its long distances and, unless somebody was a dull conformist, he often felt miserable here. In this town, notable men - the rulers - lived in the North while the poor clerks and 'rehrwalas' were confined to the South. Because of segregation there was no fraternisation between the two classes at family level. They had only business relations. Since people did not enjoy social equality there was no cultural homogeneity or fusion of the city-dwellers.

He said that Le Corbusier's town was slowly becoming M.S. Randhawa's city. 'Most inauguration plaques put up outside the U.T. offices mentioned the fact that the building was opened by him.'

'The city lacked culture. There was no art theatre here. The Tagore Theatre was mostly the venue of school gatherings and other meetings or of 'tamashas' passing as theatre, most of them presided over by happy ministers or senior bureaucrats.'

About the literature published on the city he further said that in the beginning Mulk Raj Anand published a special issue of 'Marg' on Chandigarh. Then there was V.J.
D’Souza’s book (both extensively used in the present study) on the city. But they came no where near James Morris’s “Cities” or Mary McCarthy’s ‘Florence and Venice’.

But, in his view, ‘the fault was not of the authors alone. There was so little to write about this city of brick and mortar.’

Item No. 16 of the questionnaire dealt with the tempo of cultural activities and the role of Chandigarh administration to the effect. To the tempo of cultural activities (part ‘a’) the opinion was sharply divided. Eleven respondents i.e. 52.4% termed it as ‘below average’, three i.e. 14.3% as ‘average’, whereas 7, i.e. 33.3% rated it as ‘above average’. In fact the explanatory notes provided the answer to this divergence. Perception of cultural activities differed with the personal background, education, profession and the political affiliation of each respondent. For some, provision of a few more cinema houses, dispersed at all the corners of the city was sufficient cultural activity, whereas for others even the provision of clubs, theatres and other such institutions was also insufficient. The more conscious section maintained that the city lacked a specific cultural pattern on account of its young age and because of lack of cohesion between different sections of the population. According to them what passed as cultural activities was superficial and show-business of the leisured classes and an unavoidable fashion for their nearer cousins, the higher salaried middle class people,
Similarly the response to the increase or decrease in cultural activities during the last five years (part 'b') was diverse. A section maintained that it was going up, whereas the other section opined that the lack or superficial nature of such activities continued unabated.

About the role of the administration with regard to such activities (part 'c'), there was unanimity that it had no role to play. All the respondents, i.e. 100% observed that except for the provision of clubs and Tagore Theatre it had done nothing, and these provisions were also for high-income classes. For the common man and the poor people administration had no plan or provision, and probably considered that section not worthy of consideration. Two respondents, i.e. 9.52%, while agreeing with the above contention, felt sorry that even the university had badly failed in giving any lead or making any contribution in this direction. One respondent, i.e. 4.76% stated that the situation was better when M.S. Randhawa was the Chief Commissioner, because he took personal interest in artistic, literary and cultural activities and provided all possible facilities and incentive.

11.44 Civic Amenities— A letter appeared in the Tribune on 6.9.69, highly critical of and highlighting, the

52 Community life has been discussed in detail in Chapter III of this study, which substantiated the above observations. Base: D'Souza, V.J., Social structure of Planned City Chandigarh - op. cit.
maladministration in Chandigarh. While thanking the Editor for reporting the grievances of Chandigarh people he observed that people had become so cynical that they doubted whether the administration would be shocked or shamed into doing anything even when the evils were exposed. The correspondent said that it had, in fact, become a common joke that what we had was not 'administration' but 'Mal-Administration'.

Another letter appeared in the Tribune highly critical of Chandigarh administration for the unsatisfactory arrangements for water-supply, sanitation, electric supply, milk-supply and transport, etc. The correspondent quoted the official apathy and a long list of grievances of the public, which besides disfiguring the city were making the city-living a nightmare.

The criticism of Chandigarh administration, which was full with journalistic jibes, appeared in another journal published from Chandigarh, in its January, 1973 issue. The poor condition of U.T. villages, the hopeless situation prevailing in sectorial slums, erratic water-supply and unhealthy stratification in the city were the main targets of attack. In an editorial captioned 'A crocodile called Chandigarh', the editor wrote that the dream of Le Corbusier, which in his own words, he liberated here in Punjab, had become a nightmare. Intellectually a bluff and culturally a

\[53\] The Tribune (Daily), 6.9.1969, Letters to the Editor.
\[54\] Ibid., 12-9-69.
\[55\] Chandigarh Post, II, 1 January, 1973. For other critical articles in the same journal vide November 1, 1972 (Editor's Note Book) pp. 3-4; April, 1973 'A Wordsworth Among Women' (Editor's Note Book, p. 5.)
desert, Chandigarh had become the most unlivable city in north India, where death was costlier than anywhere else and the living costliest, and what fell to the lot of an ordinary citizen, therefore, was the living death.

The city life devoid of warmth and completely bereft of any personal touch, according to him, was giving support to the earlier fear that Chandigarh might meet the fate of Fatehpur Sikri of Akbar. This according to him, was perhaps bound to happen because unlike natural cities where men first and city is built later, the city of Chandigarh was built first while the occupants reached later.  

About the degree of stratification, the class distinction and the bureaucrats' indifference towards the people, the same journal wrote in its November, 72 issue: "Often we wonder if Chandigarh suits as capital of two states of Punjab and Haryana", because, according to him, "the shouting of slogans in the towns of two states was not heard here, partly because the leaders and the bureaucrats, who moved about in the corridors of power here, were deaf." He believed that "the stark realities of life were unknown to the rulers in their cosy bungalows here, where, one's "class" was judged by the sector in which he lived.

If he resided in the 'North', he was high class, otherwise mere plebian'.

He concludes by saying that southern sectors were already being converted into slum. New 'rehriwalas' spring up every morning at new corners and later on converted themselves into 'khokawalas' (unauthorised wooden stall-holders). 'It was said that if you could bribe local officials, you could set-up rehri anywhere, even at the estate office.'

Item No. 19 in the questionnaire was in a way summing up of the performance of Chandigarh administration. Opinions were sought on whether the Chandigarh administration had succeeded on the whole, to provide healthy, convenient and peaceful living to the rapidly growing population. Twelve respondents i.e. 57.14% observed that the general condition was satisfactory and the administration could reasonably take credit for this. But the rest of the nine respondents, i.e. 42.86 observed that the performance was extremely poor. Radical changes were suggested in the set-up and it was observed that even the most sympathetic, nice and benevolent bureaucrat could never be a better or even equal substitute to self-rule. It was also observed that labourers and rehriwalas' were neglected and inhumanly treated. Harijans, who constituted 12% of the population of the Union Territory,

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did not get their due share in the form of loans, dharamshala, reservations for housing, scholarships etc., as they did in the neighbouring states of Punjab and Haryana.

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.

It may be concluded that the performance of various agencies of the General (Administrative) services has been found to be much wanting. Budgetary provisions have reasonably been increasing over the years in the context of the expanding city and increasing population, yet the major problems have been causing a lot of inconvenience and resentment in the city-dwellers. Activities of the estate office have been dominating the proceedings of the advisory committees. Problem of squatters was successfully solved, but those pertaining to the 'rehris', 'rehri-sites', sky-rocketing rents, lack of adequate housing accommodation, building material and building loans and frustration of low and middle income group plot-seekers have not only continued but aggravated.

Department of Police has generally been found maintaining a satisfactory standard of its performance, but the ad hoc arrangement of police-force has been taken to be its big weak-point. The performance of the department of food and supplies too has generally been
found to be satisfactory.

There has been a great dissatisfaction on a number of activities pertaining to the general administration. Demand for popular representation, though successfully evaded by the administration so far, has been gaining momentum. Chandigarh has been termed as a city bereft of culture where the estrangement had human isolation was felt in depth. The administration has been held squarely responsible for this state of affairs on account of its policy of stratification and lack of any perspective in this respect. The administration has been accused of being highly bureaucratic and 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, nice and benevolent bureaucrat could never be a better or even equal substitute to 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.

The following chapter No. 12 deals with the assessment and evaluation of the performance of Social Services of Chandigarh administration, including education, medical and health, architecture etc.