



**Implementation of
Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP)
under
Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM)**

**CASE STUDY OF BENGALURU SLUMS
(June 2009 to Feb 2010)**



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This has been an enthralling and challenging exercise. This has also given CIVIC an opportunity to learn, understand and engage with stakeholders in the city, especially the ones associated with urban poverty. We cherish the experiences.

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Abbreviations

BBMP	Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike
BSUP	Basic Services to the Urban Poor
BMRDA	Bengaluru Metropolitan Region Development Authority
BMTC	Bengaluru Metropolitan Transport Corporation
BWSSB	Bengaluru Water Supply and Sewerage Board
CAA	Constitutional Amendment Act
CBOs	Community-Based Organizations
CIP	City Investment Plan
CMC	City Municipal Council
CSMC	Central Sanctioning and Monitoring Committees
CDP	Comprehensive Development Plan
CTAG	City Technical Advisory Group
DPR	Detailed Project Report
FGD	Focused Group Discussions
GOI	Government of India
GOK	Government of Karnataka
JNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
KSCB	Karnataka Slum Clearance Board
KHB	Karnataka Housing Board
KUIDFC	Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development and Finance Corporation
LDA:	Lake Development Authority
MoUD	Ministry of Urban Development
MoHUPA	Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation
NGOs	Non Government Organizations
NSG	National Steering Group
O&M	Operation and Maintenance
PIU	Project Implementation Unit
PMU	Project Monitoring Unit
PMC	Project Management Consultants
RTI	Right to Information
SHGs	Self-help groups
SLEC	State-Level Empowered Committee
SLSC	State-Level Sanctioning Committee
SWOT	Strengths, Weakness, Opportunities and Threats
TMC	Town Municipal Councils
UGD	Underground Drainage
ULBs	Urban Local Bodies

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Executive Summary

Implementation of Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP) under Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM): Case study of Bengaluru slums.

1. Introduction/ Background :

In recent years, the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) has been one of the most significant initiatives of the Government of India, aiming at meeting infrastructure needs of Indian cities, improving quality of life of people and speeding up the process of governance reforms. With this background, the objectives of the Mission clearly emphasise infrastructure development, asset creation and asset management, ensuring adequate funds for cities, scaling up service delivery, planned development of cities and providing basic services to the urban poor including security of tenure at affordable prices.

1.1 Present research

Keeping in view the extent and coverage of JNNURM, it is important to analyze the actual implementation of the Mission on the ground. With this broad premise, the present study has the following objectives:

- To analyze policy and institutional frameworks at state level and its conformity with the frameworks and guidelines suggested by the Government of India
- To analyze the key procedures adopted in the implementation of JNNURM in Bengaluru city
- To assess the extent of implementation of JNNURM scheme on the ground with special reference to Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP)

1.2 Scope of the study

JNNURM has two Sub-missions administered by two different ministries at Central level. In the present study we have taken the specific case of the Sub-Mission for Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP). The scope of this research study includes the following:

- Analysis of the state-level policy and planning frameworks with respect to the guidelines and tools provided by the Government of India, with special reference to BSUP
- Inclusion of peoples' inputs from the BSUP project locations in Bengaluru. For this 20 slums - 10 slums from Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagar Palike (BBMP) administered projects and the rest 10 from Karnataka Slum Clearance Board (KSCB) projects - were selected.
- For policy, planning and implementation-level clarity, discussions were also held with key officials of MoHUPA, State-Level Nodal Agency, and implementing agencies like BBMP and KSCB.
- This study also attempts to incorporate views of NGOs, CBOs and researchers and media reports on JNNURM and BSUP.

2. JNNURM and State-level policy and institutional frameworks

2.1 Institutional arrangements made for the JNNURM :

JNNURM envisages a well-established and inter-linked institutional arrangement to address key aspects such as policy oversight, appraisal and sanction of proposals, operational oversight and monitoring and advisory support. Some salient aspects of institutional arrangements are as follows:

- The suggested institutional arrangements at the state level are similar to those at the national level. Like the National Steering Group (NSG), the State-Level Steering Committee (SLSC) is an apex body in each state. The SLSC is entrusted with the responsibility of

identifying, deciding and prioritizing projects for inclusion under the JNNURM. Any project of the State which is sent to the Central Sanctioning and Monitoring Committee (CSMC) has to be first scrutinized and approved by the SLSC.

- The State-Level Nodal Agency (SLNA) is the designated agency by the respective State governments to assist SLSC in performing its functions. SLNA is responsible for the overall implementation of the scheme and functions outlined by the JNNURM guidelines.
- At the lowest level of this institutional arrangement is the Urban Local Body (ULB) or implementing agency at city level, which is responsible for actual implementation and delivery of projects under the scheme.
- In Karnataka, the State Government has designated KUIDFC as the State-Level Nodal Agency (SLNA) for the implementation of the JNNURM. The key functions of the KUIDFC is managing grants of the Mission, placing proposals before SLSC for approval, maintaining the revolving fund, monitoring physical and financial progress of the projects and overseeing the reform process as agreed in the Memorandum of Agreement with the Government of India.
- Deviating from the JNNURM guidelines, Karnataka has a State-Level Empowered Committee (SLEC). This SLEC consists mainly of bureaucrats from concerned departments, KUIDFC, BBMP and KSCB and does not have representation from elected representatives. It has been entrusted with all the responsibilities prescribed for the SLSC and SLSC is merely a signing authority.
- The functions of the ULB or Implementing Agency are not clearly laid out either in the Central guidelines or at the State level.
- The functions of the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) as outlined in the tool-kit are ideally the functions of the ULB or Implementing Agency. However, from the tool-kit it is not clear whether the PIU is located as a unit within the ULB / Implementing Agency or whether it can be any agency or body appointed for the functions of project implementation.
- In BBMP there is no separate PIU. Instead they have Project Management Consultants (PMCs). On the other hand, KSCB has set up a PIU only recently.

3. Analysis of Bengaluru's CDP

Every city under JNNURM is expected to prepare a CDP indicating policies, programmes, strategies and financing plan.

3.1 Salient features of Bengaluru's CDP

Bengaluru's CDP is broadly divided into three volumes. While Volume 1 and 2 are devoted to elaborate discussions on governance and urban infrastructure, Volume 3 analyses and makes recommendations on the BSUP.

3.2 In-depth analysis of the existing situation

- ✓ Since the CDP was formulated before November 2006, it has accounted BMP, CMC and TMC data separately and not merged them under BBMP.
- ✓ According to the CDP, the total population of BMP, 7 CMCs and one TMC taken together is 56.86 lakhs as per 2001 Census and adding peripheral villages the population comes to 61.70 lakhs. However, BBMP data on population including CMCs, TMC and 111 surrounding villages is 58.40 lakhs. There is lack of consistency in the data given on the

urban poor and slum population in the CDP.

- ✓ The CDP gives only number of slums and households in BMP, CMC and TMC areas. The details on economic and employment base of these slums are not there either in the CDP or the BSUP volumes. The BSUP CDP does not give any demographic profile (like age-disaggregated data, sex ratio, migrant population, occupational status, income levels, number of BPL families, etc.) and uses the term “poverty” in a very generic sense.
- ✓ The CDP also indicates that only 17% of the slum-dwellers have access to safe drinking water, drainage system and waste collection services and more than 50% of them do not have access to proper sanitation. The CDP presents a contradictory picture when it states that infrastructure is reasonably good but outlines inadequacy of services available to the slum dwellers
- ✓ The multiplicity of organisations and overlapping jurisdictions have been outlined by the CDP as a cause of concern as it has led to conflicts and difficulties in urban governance.

3.3 Development of a Vision and CDP for the City

- ✓ The CDP claims that it has evolved out of a participatory approach and consultative process undertaken at different stages of CDP preparation. During March-May 2006, a series of consultations were held with various stakeholders like Government Agencies, ULBs, citizens, trade unions, elected representatives and NGOs. However, from the consultations' schedule it is evident that each of these addressed a particular set of stakeholders and none of these consultations had multi-stakeholder participation.
- ✓ A CDP already put together by consultants was placed before the stakeholders. A situational profile of ‘where the city is’ currently, in terms of the demography, economic profile, infrastructure status, etc., was not placed before the stakeholders so that they could arrive at a vision of ‘where they would like to take their city’. The different strategies available for reaching a particular vision and the various financial alternatives available for funding the strategies were neither placed before the stakeholders nor discussed with them as required under the Toolkit #2 for the preparation of the CDP. A pre-planned budget amounting to Rs. 14,000 crore under various sectoral heads, such as ‘roads, water supply, slum upgradation, etc.’, was placed before the stakeholders for their mere approval.
- ✓ Both the volumes (I & III) claim that decisions, analysis, vision, objectives and strategies were finalized with various stakeholders. From the minutes of the meeting and sequence in which these were held, it is apparent that the CDP formulation process was participatory only in name. Beneficiaries and elected representatives were not included in the process. The NGOs working proactively on urban issues were called at the end of the process and there were no multi-stakeholder consultations. Hence, the suggestions given by the NGOs do not find a place in the CDP.
- ✓ There is no explanation or clarity on the term “security of tenure”. Whether it means ownership of property or lease or sale deed, needs to be clearly stated. The beneficiaries are under the impression that they will receive the “hakku patra” or “patta” or ownership rights on the new houses being provided to them, while the authorities responsible for the implementation of the project have denied any such provisions.

3.4 Growth drivers for Bengaluru

- * There is a full chapter in the CDP devoted to factors affecting growth and development of the city and a SWOT analysis. Delay in policy formulation and implementation in urban governance has been considered as one of the threats.

- ✗ While projecting land use pattern, the CDP takes data from the draft BDA CDP. Although these figures give the projected land use pattern of Bengaluru city in the year 2015, it does not reflect on present and future per capita land availability in the city.
- ✗ The general population is projected as 108 lakhs in the year 2021. There is no population projection made for the urban poor or slum population, even in the BSUP volume. Reason for not projecting this is the Government's supposed commitment towards making Bengaluru a slum-free city.

3.5 Preparing a City Investment Plan and financing strategy

- The CDP lists 11 types of projects eligible for funding under the JNNURM, which broadly cover housing facilities, rehabilitation, slum improvements, providing civic amenities, creation of social infrastructure (like health and child care facilities and community centres), O&M of assets created under the project and integration of welfare schemes for the poor. The CDP also makes certain stipulations, for instance on the size of the dwelling (268 sq.ft.), the material to be used, etc., and has accordingly made estimates for each facility to be provided under BSUP.
- With these assumptions and recommendations, the CDP estimates cost of BSUP in Bengaluru as 6,034 crores. This figure is inclusive of housing, infrastructure, O&M costs, awareness programmes, consulting cost for preparation of the DPRs, etc. What is missing is the analytical backdrop to these suggestions.
- In most of the cases it was observed that these recommendations of the CDP have not been implemented. Most BSUP projects are limited to providing housing facilities to the urban poor and do not integrate the other amenities.

4. Detailed Project Reports (DPRs)

4.I Detailed Project Reports (DPRs) of BBMP slums

A glaring lacuna is the absence of a link between the DPRs and the CDP and the MoA. For the projects under BSUP, the BBMP has submitted two DPRs, one for the Pilot Projects and another for the projects under Phase I. The five Pilot slums include Kalyani slum, Jasma Bhavan (Austin Town), Kodihalli, Bakshi Garden and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Slum. The slums covered under Phase I are: Samatha Nagar Slum, URS Colony, Indira Gandhi Slum, Vinobha Nagar, Ambedkar Nagar (Austin Town), Ambedkar Slum (N. S. Palya), Ambedkar Slum (Vasantha Nagar), Anatha Ashrama Slum, Ambedkar Slum (Shivaji Nagar), Muniyappa Garden, Gopalapura, Gowtham Colony and R. K. Mutt (Basavanagudi). The format followed in the Phase I DPR is identical to that of the Pilot Project DPR. Some key points emerging in the BBMP DPRs are as follows:

4.1.1 Studies and Investigations: Topographical details in the form of drawings and socio-economic details of selected slums have been provided. However details like occupational status and income levels have not been outlined in the DPR. The DPR provides details of existing infrastructure in all five slums which broadly cover aspects like housing, water supply sewage system, power supply, storm-water drains, roads, pavements and social infrastructure like primary health centers and schools within vicinity.

4.1.2 Proposed Developments: The DPR gives details of technical design of dwellings. The three basic premises upon which the proposal is based are: relocation of families from huts/temporary shelters to new houses, transformation of unhygienic slums into multi-storeyed tenements, improvement of basic infrastructure and conferment of land tenure.

4.1.3 Institutional framework: The DPR discusses the project delivery mechanisms and institutional framework to sustain the O&M. Creation of JNNURM cell and appointment of

BSUP officer-in-charge (chief engineer) within BBMP are outlined in the DPR. The DPR suggests appointment of a service provider who would render the operation and maintenance of the infrastructure in the slums like water supply, sanitation, storm-water drains, power supply, solid waste management and street lighting.

However the DPR is silent on the roles and responsibilities of BBMP with regard to project implementation and monitoring of project progress. From the study it is clear that beneficiaries are not aware of any O&M charges to be paid in the future. The DPR also does not point out rate of increase in charges over time and how the revised rates should be decided.

4.1.4 Project soft issues: DPR recommends channelisation of the loans for fulfilling beneficiary contribution of 12% through SHGs who would collectively obtain the loans and distribute among the beneficiaries. There is a proposal to provide transit camps to all the beneficiaries in nearby BBMP vacant land. Necessary water, sewerage and electricity connections will also be provided in the transit camps and it is responsibility of BBMP to liaise with the concerned agencies.

4.1.5 Identification of beneficiaries and security of tenure: On security of tenure the DPR states, "*To ensure that the dwelling units are not transferred or ‘sold’ by the beneficiaries, suitable protection clauses have to be proposed to be included in the ‘Hakku Patra’. The physical handing over of the ‘Hakku Patras’ could be aligned to the repayment of the loans taken in lieu of beneficiary contribution*".

In this elaborate description of beneficiaries and security of tenure, the DPR fails to provide clarity on some essential facts such as:

- What are the criteria followed in selecting beneficiaries?
- What are those “suitable protection clauses” to ensure the dwelling units are not transferred or sold?
- What are the rights of beneficiaries on the new dwelling unit?
- Has BBMP shared these provisions / security of tenure issues with the actual beneficiaries?

Lack of clarity on these issues has generated confusion on the ground and people have either been misinformed or not informed on this issue clearly. The field investigations done for this research study clearly indicate this problem.

4.1.6 Financial and operating plans: The DPR gives the detail of funding pattern for each project components like housing unit, infrastructure, IEC, social infrastructure, O&M expenses and so on. The total beneficiaries' contribution as calculated is approximately 7% of the total project cost. Roughly 10% and 5% of the total budget have been allocated to social infrastructure and IEC activities respectively. However, the fees paid to the consultants for their services at different stages of the project is not mentioned in the DPR. In none of the DPRs, IEC strategies and components are mentioned and it is therefore not clear how BBMP is going to implement the IEC activities. The study also indicates that while preparing the DPRs, BBMP has not taken any feedback from the stakeholders involved in the process.

5. Detailed Project Reports (DPRs) of slums under KSCB

Out of a total 1957 declared slums in the state, there are 219 declared slums in Bengaluru city and it is the responsibility of KSCB to develop, upgrade and rehabilitate declared slums. There are 3 phases of BSUP projects implemented by the KSCB.

5.1 Introductory sections: A glaring lacuna is the absence of a link between the DPRs and the CDP and the MoA. In almost all DPRs, introductory sections are common. Growth of Bengaluru city, connectivity and demographic details are outlined in most of the DPRs and even content of these sections are common across DPRs. In some DPRs first few sections give an overview of implementation framework, organisational vision, mission of KSCB and general socio-economic conditions of slums in Bengaluru. It is important to note that discussion with people on the housing, project design and other details have not been given any place in the implementation schedule mentioned by the KSCB.

5.2 Profile / background of the Project: In a few of the DPRs, a detailed profile of project areas has been presented. But apart from number of dwellings to be constructed and cost estimates, most of the DPRs do not give other details.

- In the case of some DPRs even a basic demographic and socio-economic profile is also missing.
- In several DPRs list of beneficiaries is not attached.
- In some DPRs, important components like transit accommodation, IEC, social infrastructure, O&M of the project and consultancy fees have not been factored in the DPR.
- None of the DPRs have details of costs for O&M, consulting and IEC activities.
- None of the DPRs portray the convergence of BSUP with the other social sector schemes and infrastructure.
- Provision of transit accommodation is missing in every DPR.

6 Implementation of BSUP in Bengaluru

Some key reference points of this analysis are the following:

- Selection of BSUP projects in Bengaluru
- Physical components of the project
- Key process issues on the ground
- Peoples' involvement at various stages of the project
- Role of agencies, local bodies, NGOs and private sector in the implementation of BSUP

6.1 An overview to selected slums

Name of KSCB slums selected for the study	Rajendranagar, Nellupuram, Agraharadasahalli, Panthrapalya, Bhuvaneshwarinagar, Bheemshaktinagar, Srinivaspura, Laggere, Chikbomsandra and Saddarmangla.
Name of KSCB slums selected for the study	Bakshi Garden, Kalyani, Kodihalli, Jasma Bhavan, Gopalpura, Indira Gandhi Slum, Anatha Ashrama, Muniyappa Garden, Gowtham Colony
Discussions with Beneficiaries	Held in 18 slums except Sadarmangala and Chickabommasandra as beneficiaries of the project could not be identified.
Methodologies followed	Focused discussions with beneficiaries, detailed survey at household level, discussion with key people like community leaders and people directly involved in the execution of project, local NGOs and CBOs.
Average participation	On an average 15 members participated in these discussions. These discussions were held in respective slums. Most of the participants of these discussions belonged to Scheduled Caste (SC) communities, followed by Muslims, Christians and other castes.

6.2 Quality of existing housing and civic amenities in Bengaluru's slums

The current status of housing and civic amenities reflect that people have very low access to basic amenities. Very few households have individual connections of water and therefore, majority of

them are dependent on public taps / municipal supply and community tank. Sanitation and solid waste disposal are other issues, which need urgent attention. A very high percentage of people are living in single room dwelling, with no separate kitchen. Most of the people stay in semi pucca houses, made of asbestos and cement; or sheets and plastic sheets or have kuchcha houses made of mud, thatch and plastic sheets.

6.3 Provision of transit housing

DPRs of BBMP and KSCB outline the need to provide housing during this transit period. But none of the DPRs of KSCB have made provision for transit arrangement and nor have they budgeted for this. The implication of this is clearly seen on the ground. But in the DPRs of BBMP, the need for transit accommodation has been mentioned and it has also been factored into the budget. However, even with these arrangements, there were several problems for the people.

6.4 BSUP implementation: Impressions from the ground

CDP's Proposal and Recommendations	Actual Implementation of BSUP
Number of Households to be covered under BSUP: 2,17,257	14,754 dwellings by KSCB and 1,691 by BBMP. Total number of units to be constructed by both agencies is 16,445 dwelling units.
Upgradation of 219 declared slums is the responsibility of KSCB; the remaining slums are the social obligation of BBMP.	This demarcation of slums between BBMP and KSCB is being followed, though the number of slums covered by them is less than envisaged in the CDP. The criteria for the selection of slums is not clear.
Encouraging public-private-partnership in BSUP	Private players have been given the role of consultants and contractors by the respective implementing agencies. No other specific role to private players.
In situ development of slums and providing multi-storey housing	In most of the slums this model is being followed.
Identifying new areas in the outskirts and providing houses either on G+2 type or multi-storey construction	Sadaramangala, Laggere and Chickabommasandra are some examples of such projects. However there is no clarity on who will be the beneficiaries of these projects.
It is recommended to split the entire programme into three distinct phases and each phase of work would be completed in eighteen months' time	Phase-wise demarcation is done, though none of the projects have followed the time-line and there is time escalation in all the projects.
Good governance with strong emphasis on participation, accountability, transparency, rule of law and responsiveness of the Government	Very few examples of governance with strong values. In fact it is just the opposite of what the CDP has suggested.
Involving communities and stakeholders in decision-making process	Absent in most of the projects. On an average only one meeting was held by the implementing agency, which broadly explained the project design. In some slums even that basic meeting did not take place.
Community centres and community toilet blocks will have to be located in each of the slums where there is a provision for underground drainage facility (UGD).	Not followed in each slum. Even DPRs do not outline why this has not been followed.
It is recommended that 542 schools and public health centres (one school and one public health	Not being followed. Even in project slums, this component and social infrastructure are missing.

centre for each slum) be established by the Government in the slums identified to cater to the need of primary education and basic health services. These public health centres can co-exist with community centres so that common facilities like electricity and water could be shared.	
For the purpose of operation and maintenance it is estimated that 20% of the cost of assets would be required to maintain the assets for a period of five years after construction. After this period it is recommended that the ULBs charge the inmates for the provision of services to recover the O&M costs	DPRs of BBMP have factored O&M expenses in their cost details. This component is missing in all KSCB DPRs. There is no discussion with the people on this.
The CDP recommends adoption of a State legislation by which at least 20% of the developed land in all housing projects (both public and private agencies) would be earmarked for Economically Weaker Section (EXS) as well as Low-Income Group (LIG) categories.	No progress has been made
Cost of construction of a house: Rs 1.75 lakhs	Cost exceeds 1.75 lakhs
Security of tenure to be given to people	No clarity on this. It is one of the most critical aspects not addressed by the Government / agencies

6.5 Selection of project areas and beneficiaries

The CDP recommends that 2,17,257 households should be covered by the BSUP and all 542 slums should be covered with education and health care facilities. The actual implementation is of a much smaller scale. The total number of dwelling units in different phases to be constructed by both the agencies are less than 16,500.

Table: Number of slums covered under BSUP

Implementing Agency/ ULB	Number of slums covered in various phases of the project	Number of Dwelling units built/ to built under various phases of the project
BBMP	18 slums	1691
KSCB	55 slums	14754

Source: Status report of KUIDFC October 2009

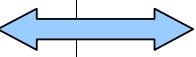
On the selection of slums, the following key issues emerge from this study:

- The CDP has not provided any specific criteria for selecting slums under BSUP project. Instead the CDP aims at covering as many slums as possible for this project.
- None of the DPRs explain why a certain slum has been selected for this project and DPRs have not mentioned the minimum basic requirements needed for a slum to qualify for this project.
- The implementing agencies have ignored even the general recommendations of the CDP. The actual number of beneficiaries covered under the project is much less than the CDP's assessment.
- The issue of selection of project arises from the fact that in some slums people are opposing this project and they claim that the respective implementing agencies are imposing the BSUP project on them.

On selection of beneficiaries the following are the key points:

- ✓ People are keen to get patta / ownership right to their existing dwelling. Lack of clarity on this aspect has made people suspicious of the intent of this project.
- ✓ People are demanding regularization of pattas and their extension to every household.
- ✓ Idea of living in group housing / multi-storey buildings and sharing the space with many others does not appeal to many people and they feel that the quality of their existing dwelling is better than what BSUP scheme will provide them.
- ✓ About 50% of the respondents said that there was a public meeting organized by the NGO and respective agencies where names of the beneficiaries were announced and discussed.
- ✓ According to the guidelines, the DPR should mention the names of beneficiaries based on a socio-economic survey and this list should be notified and published on the website of the ULB / implementing agency. This guideline has been violated by many DPRs.

7. Key components of the Project and process issues

Main Components		Key Processes Associated
Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP)		Socio-economic and infrastructure analysis, visioning exercise and stakeholders' participation in recommendations and identification of priorities.
Detailed Project Report (DPR)		Socio-economic and infrastructure profiling of the slum, stakeholders' participation
Bio-metric card to the beneficiaries		Socio-economic survey, discussions with beneficiaries prior to the launch of project
Transit housing		Implementing agency/ ULB has to provide this facility prior to construction of new dwelling units
Peoples' contribution and installments		Discussion with beneficiaries, their consent on installments, role of NGOs in mobilising self-help groups and providing access to easy bank loans at affordable rates.
Quality and timely construction of dwellings and other amenities		Formation of beneficiaries' group to do day-to-day monitoring, third party monitoring, regular status report to the SLNA, in this case to the KUIDFC
Operation and Maintenance (O&M)		Formation of beneficiaries' group, discussion with the beneficiaries on O&M of project, deciding the rates and managing the O&M over the years.
Ownership and tenure		Security of tenure to be given to people, discussion on this, clarity to be established and people to be well informed

7.1 Socio-economic surveys and bio-metric cards

As per the guidelines of the Ministry, the DPRs should include details of the survey, of biometric cards and of beneficiaries. From a closer look at most of the DPRs, it is evident that this norm of socio-economic survey and identification of beneficiaries has been sidelined in case of many projects. A majority of residents (about 40%) did not have bio-metric cards at the time of the field work for this study.

7.2 Beneficiary contribution to the project

- Beneficiary contribution to the extent of 12% of housing unit cost is permissible under BSUP,

- with some relaxations made for SC, ST and other weaker sections of the society. On an average, per dwelling cost estimated by various DPRs ranges from 1.8 lakhs to 2.5 lakhs
- The lack of such information in the DPRs and lack of transparency in this matter has forced people to pay whatever amount has been communicated to them. A large number of people mentioned (83%) that there was no discussion on their contributions and number of installments of payment.
 - Except for Kalyani slum where local NGO formed the self-help groups and attempted to secure bank loans, in all other slums people are dependent on their own arrangements.

7.3 New housing, Operation & Maintenance (O&M)

- At the time of this study, none of the beneficiaries were given their new housing facility. In many localities people are not happy with what is being offered by the BSUP JNNURM and hence the project is being rejected by them.
- The points of dissatisfaction arise when there is lack of communication from the implementing agencies or when alternate transit arrangements have not been made prior to the project. Most of the residents are aware of their housing plan, area and number of floors, as this is the only information shared by respective agencies and NGOs involved in the project.
- Apart from housing, people are also aware of other facilities like water, electricity and paved roads. The aspect which people are not aware of is that the facilities provided to them are not free and that they have to, in the long run, take care of O&M expenses.
- O&M will be jointly handled by the ULB/implementing agency and the beneficiaries' committees, but so far beneficiaries' committees have not been formed or proactive in most of the localities.

7.4 Security of tenure and ownership issues

- In the absence of an explanation of the term "security of tenure", agencies have interpreted it in various ways.
- The officials of BBMP, KSCB and KUIDFC have stated that ownership is with the ULB / implementing agency.
- All the residents covered under this study are under the impression that they will get Hakku Patras or pattas (ownership right) over the new dwelling unit.

7.5 Process flow and institutional mechanisms

- In the case of BBMP, the functions related to implementation and day-to-day project management have been sub-contracted to Manasa Consultants and Urban Systems Pvt. Ltd, beside other contractors involved in the construction and provision of physical components of the project.
- On the other hand, the implementing agencies feel that JNNURM was launched without any preparation from their side. Proper training and guidelines were not given to them. As a result, they had to take help from various NGOs and consultants.
- One of the key concerns is meeting the time-line of the project. Most of the projects are behind schedule.
- On the other hand, beneficiaries have not been communicated the expected time of project completion.

8 Way Forward

Based on the inputs given by various stakeholders during the course of this research, following are some suggestive ways towards improving the implementation of JNNURM and similar future projects.

a) Specifically in JNNURM implementation in Bengaluru:

- All agencies responsible for NURM (SLSC, SLEC, KUIDFC, BBMP, KSCB) need to be brought under SLSC immediately with clarity on roles & responsibilities with accountability fixed on designated officers, in black and white.
- City Technical Advisory Group (CTAG) has to be formed immediately in a transparent manner, as per the central guidelines to facilitate project implementation with all stakeholder's participation.
- Bring clarity on the role of consultants to all stakeholders. Put all contractual documents in public domain.
- Put all details of the project, CDPs/DPRs, budgets, project progress and expenditures on periodic basis, beneficiary list, etc., in public domain.
- Take stock of the present situation collectively – involving all stakeholders. Draw 'action plans' accordingly - by both implementers, BBMP and KSCB, for the rest of the project period and put up in public domain. Project Monitoring Units (PMUs) should play the active role.
- Make sure that in all project sites proper transit stay arrangements are provided for with water and toilet facilities. Necessary budgets as per the needs must be provided. This has to become part of action plan.
- Create beneficiary committees on each project site, educate and empower with entire project details. Solve local issues involving the beneficiary committees. This has to become part of action plan. Project Implementation Units (PIUs) should play the active role.
- The Third Party Inspection and Monitoring (TPIM) team need to be appointed immediately with clarity of role & responsibility. The contractual document to be put up in public domain.
- Monthly Programme Implementation Calendar (MPIC) as mandated under any central scheme has to be immediately put up inline with the action plan by BBMP and KSCB.
- Quarterly review under SLSC/CTAG at the city level and under PMU/PIU/TPIM at the site involving all stakeholders at that level should be done. The review should in addition to the financial/physical parameters focus on soft issues like time-lines, social parameters, peoples' problems, their satisfaction level, flow of information, participation and other such elements. The review reports need to be put in public domain.
- Draw a process for social audit. Conduct Social audits as per the guidelines in all project sites. The social audit reports need to be put in public domain.
- SLSC to bring out a procedure paper with clarity on security of tenure and beneficiary contribution immediately.

b) Overall

JNNURM though unfortunately is being reduced to a housing project now, is in reality a comprehensive urban poverty alleviation programme. It envisages convergence and dovetailing of other programmes like UIG, UIDSSMI, Sarva Sikhsa Abhiyan, Health Mission, Aam Aadmi Bima Yojana, Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana, National Social Assistance Programme, Prime Minister's Employment Generation Programmes, SJSRY etc., The plot was lost. It has to be resurrected immediately, before a slew of schemes like Rajeev Awaz Yojana and Urban Health Mission are launched, which otherwise will again be reduced to paper projects.

There are various agencies involved in urban poverty alleviation programmes/schemes in the city, where NURM is one such programme. All agencies providing these services need to be brought under a single window delivery mechanism – Urban Poverty Alleviation Cell - not just for assimilation but to attain convergence. This cell should be situated in the BBMP, the ULB. This cell has to be guided by an Urban Pro-poor Policy, which needs to be developed by inclusive consultations at the earliest. The Urban Pro-poor Policy should cover the aspects of Land & Housing, Education, Health, Food/PDS, Water, Livelihood and Social security.

Urban Poverty Alleviation Cell should define BPL/Urban poor and create a baseline with real needs. The needs are to be practically assessed and prioritised with inclusive involvement and put up in public domain for receiving objections/suggestions. This should become the basis of Urban Pro-poor Policy, which should drive all the poverty alleviation programmes in Bengaluru.

Implementation of Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP) under Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM): Case study of Bengaluru slums (June 2009 to Feb 2010)

1. Introduction / Background

In recent years, the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) has been one of the most significant initiatives of the Government of India, aiming at meeting infrastructure needs of Indian cities, improving quality of life of people and speeding up the process of governance reforms. The Mission statement clearly outlines, "*The aim is to encourage reforms and fast track planned development of identified cities. Focus is to be on efficiency in urban infrastructure and service delivery mechanisms, community participation, and accountability of ULBs / parastatal agencies towards citizens*"¹.

The launch of JNNURM is within the purview of Government of India's commitment to the National Common Minimum Programme and the Millennium Development Goals, which includes reducing poverty and hunger and ensuring basic services to all. With this rationale, the objectives of the Mission are infrastructure development, asset creation and asset management, ensuring adequate funds for cities, scaling up of service delivery, planned development of cities and providing basic services to the urban poor, including security of tenure at affordable prices. To attain these objectives, the Mission has two sub-missions, namely, Sub-Mission for Urban Infrastructure and Governance (UIG) and Sub- Mission for the Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP). Each sub-mission is administered by the Ministry of Urban Development (MoUD) and Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MoHUPA) respectively. This Mission started in 2005-06 for 63 cities has already completed four years of implementation. This massive coverage in terms of area, scope and financial assistance makes JNNURM one of the most extensive urban development schemes Indian cities ever had.

1.1 Present research

Keeping in view the extent and coverage of JNNURM, it is important to analyse the actual implementation of the Mission on the ground and the impact it has had in the last 3-4 years of implementation. With this broad premise, the present research has the following objectives:

- To analyze policy and institutional frameworks at state level and their conformity with the frameworks and guidelines suggested by the Government of India
- To analyze the key processes adopted in the implementation of JNNURM in Bengaluru city
- To assess the extent of implementation of JNNURM schemes on the ground with special reference to Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP).

1. 2 Scope

As mentioned above, JNNURM has two sub-missions administered by the two different ministries at Central level. In the present research we have taken the specific case of the Sub-Mission for the Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP). The scope of this research includes the following:

- Analysis of State-level policy and planning frameworks with respect to the guidelines and tools provided by the Government of India, with special reference to BSUP
- Inclusion of peoples' inputs from the BSUP project locations in Bengaluru - For this 20 slums, 10 slums from Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagar Palike (BBMP) administered projects

¹ JNNURM, Overview, MoUD and MoHUPA

and the remaining 10 from Karnataka Slum Clearance Board (KSCB) projects were selected.

- For policy, planning and implementation-level clarity, discussions were also held with key officials of MoHUPA, the State-Level Nodal Agency, Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development and Finance Corporation (KUIDFC), and implementing agencies like BBMP and KSCB.
- This research also attempts to incorporate views of NGOs, CBOs and researchers and media reports on JNNURM and BSUP.

1.3 Methodologies and sources of data

The following key methodologies have been applied in this research:

- ✓ Review of existing literature like policy, guidelines and tool-kits as recommended by the Government of India
- ✓ Based on these guidelines and key components of JNNURM, checklists were developed. These checklists were first tested during preliminary field visits and gaps between checklists and the ground situation were identified. Based on preliminary field visits and interactions with the people, two levels of questionnaires were designed and administered on the ground.
- ✓ The first level of questionnaire / investigation was for personal / household-level interviews. For this, five households were randomly selected in each slum. The second level questionnaire focused on community-level issues and participatory processes. For community-level feedback, focused group discussions (FGDs) in 18 locations were organized and in each location, at least 8 persons participated in these discussions. In two locations, i.e. Sadarmangala and Chickabommasandra, the beneficiaries could not be identified and therefore, FGDs or personal interviews could not be held.
- ✓ For discussions on policy, planning, implementation and monitoring, meetings were held with MoHUPA, KUIDFC, BBMP and KSCB. Views of other stakeholders, such as project consultants, agencies designated for third party monitoring, NGOs, CBOs and researchers working on JNNURM have also been incorporated.
- ✓ An attempt has been to make this research more field based, by incorporating views of beneficiaries and key stakeholders directly involved in the project. In addition, substantial analysis of government data and documents like the Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP) and Detailed Project Reports (DPRs) has been done. Broadly, the research report is divided into two: Mission policy and planning and actual implementation of the Mission on the ground.

2. JNNURM and State-level policy and institutional frameworks

2.1 Institutional arrangements made for JNNURM

Institutional arrangements are one of the prime components of the JNNURM framework. JNNURM envisages a well-established and inter-linked institutional arrangement to address key aspects such as policy oversight, appraisal and sanction of proposals, operational oversight and monitoring and advisory support. For each of these components, JNNURM suggests an institutional framework, establishing linkages from urban local body to state-level agencies to the ministries at Government of India level, responsible for administering the Mission (refer to the flow chart). The National Steering Group (NSG) is at apex level, chaired by the Minister heading the MoUD and co-chaired by the Minister heading the MoHUPA. It provides policy oversight, evolves policy

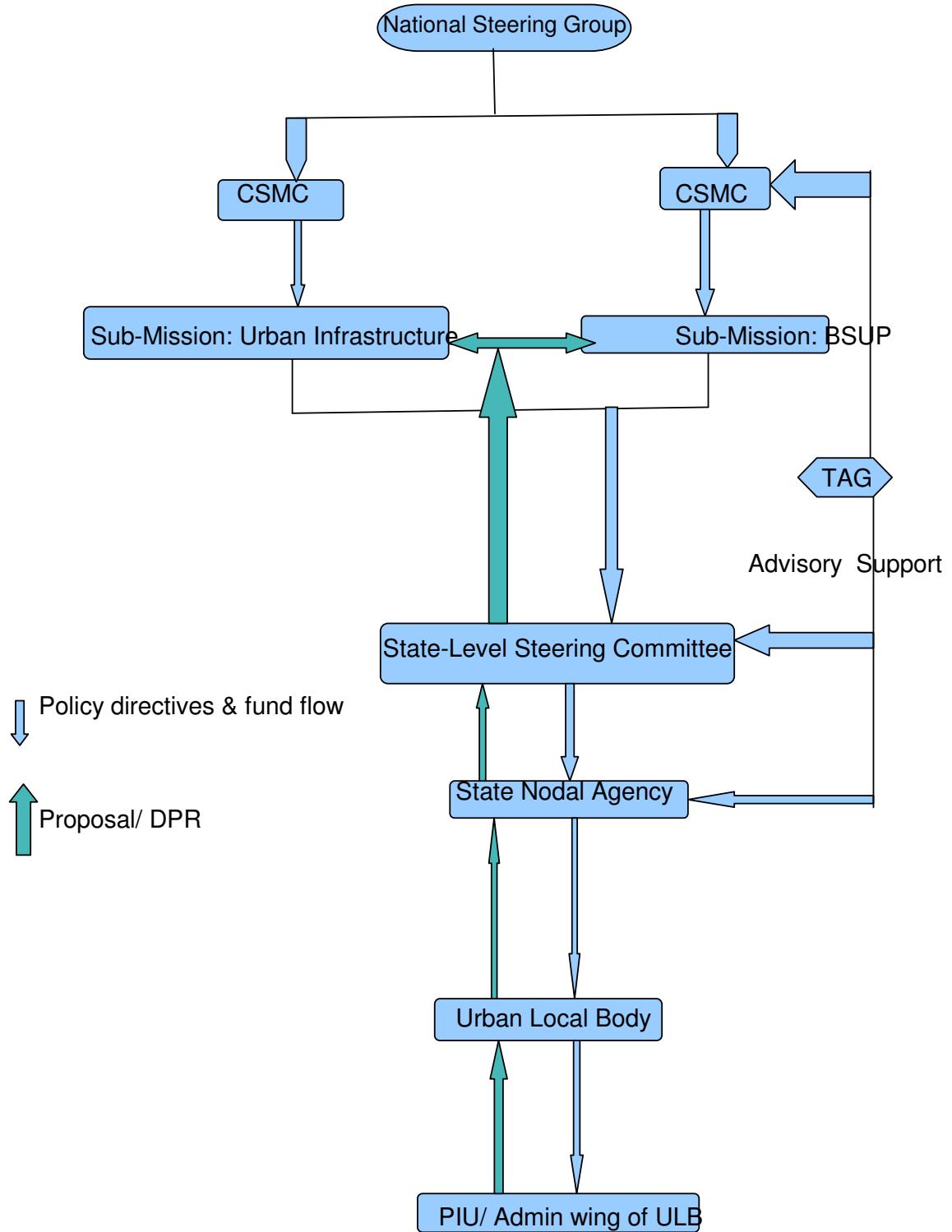
frameworks and reviews the agenda of reforms to facilitate the achievement of JNNURM objectives.

For Mission operationalisation, the respective Ministries responsible for each Sub-mission act as supreme authorities. Two Sub-mission directorates have been constituted under the charge of a Joint Secretary in MoUD and another under MoHUPA for ensuring effective co-ordination with State Governments and other agencies for expeditious processing of the project proposals. The Joint Secretary in charge of each Sub-Mission is designated as the Mission Director. On similar lines, there are two Central Sanctioning and Monitoring Committees (CSMCs), headed by respective Secretaries, for Urban Infrastructure and Governance, and Basic Services to the Urban Poor. The CSMCs are entrusted with sanction and monitoring of the projects and associated reforms.

The suggested institutional arrangements at the state level are similar to those at the national level. Like the NSG, the State-Level Steering Committee (SLSC) is an apex body in each State. The SLSC is entrusted with the responsibility of identifying, deciding and prioritising projects for inclusion under the JNNURM. Any project at State level which is sent to the CSMC, has to be first scrutinized and approved by the SLSC. Thus, the SLSC is responsible for project sanctioning at State level and also for monitoring the implementation of projects and progress of urban reforms in the State. The State-Level Nodal Agency (SLNA) is the designated agency by the respective State governments to assist the SLSC in performing its functions. The SLNA is responsible for overall implementation of the schemes and it is the most important authority for implementation of JNNURM at the State level. Some of these functions are as follows:

- Assisting ULBs/parastatal agencies in the preparation of CDPs and DPRs, in training and capacity building, and in Information, Education and Communication (IEC)
- Appraising projects submitted by ULBs/ parastatal agencies
- Obtaining sanction of the State-Level Sanctioning Committee for seeking assistance from the Central Government under JNNURM
- Managing grants received from the Central and State governments and submitting quarterly reports to the respective ministry
- Releasing funds to ULBs and parastatal agencies either as grant, soft loan or grant-cum-loan
- Managing revolving funds
- Monitoring of physical and financial progress of sanctioned projects and ensuring receipt of utilisation and completion certificates, including monitoring the implementation of reforms as committed in the MoA
- Submitting project completion reports through the State Government

Figure 1: Flow Chart: Project proposal, Policy Directives and Disbursement of Funds



At the lowest level of this institutional arrangement is the Urban Local Body (ULB) or implementing agency at city level. This body is responsible for actual implementation and delivery of projects under the scheme. While JNNURM guidelines of the Government of India give the detailed functions of the SLSC and the SLNA, functions of the ULB / implementing agencies have not been clearly defined.

2.2 Questionable roles of bodies at State level

In Karnataka, the State Government has designated the Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development and Finance Corporation (KUIDFC) as the nodal agency for the implementation of the JNNURM. The key functions of the KUIDFC are managing grants of the Mission, placing proposals before the State-Level Steering Committee (SLSC) for approval, maintaining the revolving fund, monitoring physical and financial progress of the projects and overseeing the reform process as agreed in the Memorandum of Agreement with the Government of India. Following the JNNURM guidelines, there is a SLSC under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister to prioritize, identify, recommend and approve the projects under the JNNURM. In addition to the Chief Minister, there are 13 other members in the SLSC, which mainly include the Minister for Municipal Administration, Minister for Housing, concerned MLA and MP, Mayor of the local body and Principal Secretaries of Housing, Finance and Urban Development Departments. It also has representation from BWSSB and KUIDFC. While the functions and composition of SLSC have been outlined, the role of SLSC as apex body at the state level is questionable.

The role of the SLSC in Karnataka comes under question due to the fact that there is a State-Level Empowered Committee (SLEC), which has similar roles and responsibilities as the SLSC. The 18-member SLEC is under the chairmanship of the Chief Secretary to the Government of Karnataka, with representation from departments of urban development, housing, transportation, finance, tourism, BMRDA, BBMP, BWSSB, BMTC, KUWSDB, MCC, KUIDFC and MUDA. Some key functions outlined for the SLEC are taking decisions concerning the DPRs, forwarding the DPRs to the CSMC for approvals, according administrative approval for works and consultancy services (for projects worth more than Rs. 5 crore), giving approval for contracts of the implementing agency, deciding on modifications to projects, approving recruitment of staff for project implementation and reviewing the progress of implementation. As per Government of India guidelines these functions should have been delegated to the SLSC and the SLNA should have assisted SLSC in performing these functions.

In Karnataka, there is deviation from central JNNURM guidelines. Here in addition to the SLSC, State Level Empowered Committee (SLEC) has been created. . It is also not clear how the SLEC's role is different from that of the SLSC and its interface with the nodal agency (. Therefore, the rationale of creating the SLEC is not clear. There is also lack of clarity on the demarcation of roles and functions among the three State-level bodies, namely, SLSC, SLEC and KUIDFC. Responding to the creation of SLEC, one senior official remarked, "*In Karnataka, the functions of the SLSC have been practically transferred to the SLEC. The rationale is that the Chief Minister and other ministers are not always available for performing SLSC functions, whereas it is the department heads and secretaries who are involved in the day-to-day operation of JNNURM schemes. Keeping this in view, Karnataka has the SLEC, which helps in speeding up the process of proposal formulation, sanctioning and sending for approvals. However SLSC is still the sanctioning authority and that function has not been passed on to the SLEC.*"

2.3 Ambiguity in functions at city level

The ambiguity in functions and responsibilities can be seen at city level as well. The functions of the ULB or Implementing Agency are not clearly laid out either in the Central guidelines or at state level. However, the Central JNNURM guidelines give the conceptual details for creation of the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) to enhance skills and capacities of the ULB in implementing mission activities. The PIU toolkit says, "*The PIU is meant to be an operations unit supplementing and enhancing the existing skills of the ULB, rather than a supervisory body. It is expected to work in tandem with the existing staff with focus on strengthening implementation of JNNURM*".

The PIU toolkit also gives the details of functions to be performed by the PIU which broadly cover project management, ensuring technical quality, monitoring project progress in coordination with other line departments, preparation of reports and utilization certificates, coordination of capacity

building programmes, and monitoring the reforms relating to the urban poor. The functions of the PIU as outlined in the tool-kit are ideally the functions of the ULB or implementing agency. However, given the definitions and functions of the PIU in the tool-kit , it is not clear whether the PIU is to be located as a unit within a ULB or Implementing Agency or it can be any agency or body appointed for the functions of project implementation. This lack of clarity on formation of PIU can be seen in the case of Bengaluru.

There are two agencies responsible for the implementation of BSUP in Bengaluru, one is BBMP and other is KSCB. In BBMP there is no separate PIU. Instead they have Project Management Consultants (PMCs). Manasa Consultants and Urban Systems Private Ltd. have been designated as consultants to carry on day-to-day activities pertaining to the project management, which broadly includes monitoring the implementation of the project, ensuring quality and time management. These consultants prepare monthly status reports for the respective projects they have been assigned. BBMP compiles these reports and reports to KUIDFC, the state nodal agency. What is evident here is that most of the functions related to project implementation have been sub-contracted to private parties. Theoretically, functions outlined for the PIU are functions of the ULB, but sub-contracting these functions to private parties makes the ULB just a signing authority for tenders and works. Till recently the KSCB did not have a PIU. It gave an advertisement in newspapers for recruitment of staff for its PIU only recently and at the time of this study, a few persons had been recruited to staff it.

3. Analysis of Bengaluru's CDP

One of the most prominent requirements envisaged by the JNNURM is the preparation of a Comprehensive Development Plan or CDP. The JNNURM guidelines say, “*As part of the process for seeking investment support, each ULB seeking assistance from the JNNURM would be required to prepare a CDP that shall inter alia include strategy to implement reforms, city-level improvements and an investment plan to address the infrastructure needs in a sustainable manner*”. This means that every city under JNNURM is expected to prepare a CDP indicating plans, programmes, strategies and financing plan. The CDP therefore, is both perspective and vision for the future development of the city. It has to analyze the current scenario, give directions for the change, prioritize the areas which need attention and outline the financial and other interventions to meet the desired changes. With these components, the CDP becomes a policy directive for all future projects and DPRs should be based on the priorities and critical areas analyzed by the CDP.

The JNNURM Toolkit #2 gives details of formulating CDP and it says that it is a multi-stage exercise and should address the following areas:

- In-depth analysis of the existing situation, covering the demographic, economic, financial, infrastructure, physical, environmental and institutional aspects
- Development of a perspective and a vision of the city
- Formulating a strategy for bridging the gap between where the city is and where it wishes to go
- Preparing a City Investment Plan (CIP) and a financing strategy

3.1 Salient features of Bengaluru's CDP

Bengaluru's CDP is broadly divided into three volumes. While Volume 1 and 2 are devoted to elaborate discussions on governance and urban infrastructure, Volume 3 analyses and makes recommendations on the BSUP. Each of the broad divisions, i.e. Urban Infrastructure and Governance (UIG) and BSUP are discussed under four broad sections, i.e., Introduction, City Profile, Stakeholders' Consultation and Vision and Growth Drivers for Bengaluru. The CDP also gives details of the infrastructure plan, reform agenda and urban governance framework. The CDP is a 6-year (2007-2012) policy and investment plan. According to the CDP, “*it is designed to*

articulate a vision of how Bengaluru will grow in ways that sustain its citizens' values".

Apart from regulating land use pattern, the CDP has following objectives:

- Guided growth of the city
- Citizens' participation
- Reform in governance leading to a well-managed society
- Clear estimates of financial investments and sustainability

The objectives of Bengaluru's CDP appear to be in line with the conceptual framework suggested by the Government of India's toolkit. The Toolkit #2 suggests four basic aspects to be covered under the CDP (as mentioned above). The toolkit on the CDP also emphasizes appropriate consultative processes at different stages of formulating the CDP. In the subsequent sections we will analyse how these four aspects have been elaborated in the Bengaluru CDP. Special emphasis will be laid on the BSUP, keeping in view the scope of this research.

Box 1

What should the CDP contain?

1. City assessment: SWOT analysis
 - demographic
 - economic
 - financial
 - infrastructural and institutional and
 - analysis for urban poor
2. Future perspective and vision
3. Strategies and options for development: Link with reform agenda and priorities based on clear criteria.
4. Sectoral strategies and options:
 - Environmental
 - Transportation
 - Urban renewal
 - Slum improvement
 - Social infrastructure
5. City Investment Plan and financial alternatives
6. All the above stages achieved by multi-stakeholder participation

3.2 In-depth analysis of existing situation

Section 1 of Volume 1 and Section 4 of Volume 3 present the analysis of the existing situation with reference to general profile, urban infrastructure and basic services to the urban poor respectively. As per the guidelines, CDP should analyse demography, economic base, financial profile, existing infrastructure, physical and environmental aspects and existing institutional arrangements for urban governance.

3.2.1 Area and demography

Section 1 (Volume 1) of Bengaluru's CDP touches upon the key aspects recommended by the toolkit. Since the CDP was formulated before November 2006, it has accounted BMP, CMC and TMC data separately and has not merged them under BBMP. According to the CDP, the total area of Bengaluru, which included Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike (BMP), 7 City Municipal Councils (CMCs) and one Town Municipal Council (TMC) was 561 Sq. Km. On the other hand, according to

BBMP sources, the revised area of Bengaluru is 709.53 Sq. Km., merging 7 CMCs, one TMC and 111 surrounding villages with former BMP. Similarly, there is mismatch in the population figures outlined in the CDP vis-a-vis BBMP sources. According to the CDP the total population of BMP, 7 CMCs and one TMC taken together is 56.86 lakhs as per the 2001 Census and adding peripheral villages the population becomes 61.70 lakhs. This data has been taken from the CDP prepared by the Bengaluru Development Authority (BDA). However, BBMP data on population including CMCs, TMC and 111 surrounding villages is 58.40 lakhs.

Table 1: Varying estimates of population in Bengaluru

Sources of data	Population in lakhs (including peripheral areas)	Area of Bengaluru
CDP JNNURM (2001)	61.7	561 sq. km.
BBMP Data (2001)	58.4	709.53 sq. km.

Such discrepancies in the data between a perspective and vision document like the CDP and the implementing agency like BBMP pose some critical issues, which are:

- ➔ What is the area considered for Bengaluru's perspective and development planning?
- ➔ How do the area and population used for planning purposes differ from what the ULB defines under its jurisdiction?
- ➔ If the notification for merger of CMCs, TMC and 111 villages with BMP came in November 2006 then why has this fact not been considered or even discussed in the CDP, the final draft of which was sent in September- October 2006. **The proposal of merger of BMP with CMCs, TMC and surrounding villages was placed before November 2006.**

3.2.2 Population details of urban poor

There is lack of consistency in the data given on the urban poor and slum population in the CDP. Both Volume 1 and Volume 3, which are on Urban Infrastructure and Governance and BSUP respectively, present different data on the slum-dwellers. According to Volume 1 of the CDP, the total slum population in the BMP area in 2001 (not covering CMCs and TMC) is 4.30 lakh, which is about 10% of the total BMP population of 43.01 lakh. The CDP says, "*The total number of slums captured in the survey is 542, taking into account BMP, CMCs and TMC and the number of households proposed to be redeveloped is estimated to be 217,257*". It is however not mentioned how the number of households to be redeveloped has been estimated and what are the criteria of selecting the number of households.

Volume 3 of the CDP also mentions that the total number of slums in Bengaluru is 542 and the total number of households is 3,19,245. Out of this number, 2,17,257 households are proposed to be re-developed under the JNNURM scheme. In the BMP slums, it proposes to re-develop 73,048 households out of a total of 1,31,024 households. Like Volume 1, the selection criteria of these households are not mentioned in this volume also.

According to BSUP's CDP, the total slum population considering BMP, CMCs and TMC is 14.90 lakh and in BMP area it is 5.87 lakhs, which is 1.5 lakhs more than the figures mentioned in Volume 1. In Volume 3, the year and source of data are not mentioned. Such discrepancies pose a question on the whole planning process. In Annex 9, which gives data on the social composition of Bengaluru, data is completely skewed . According to this, the total number of urban poor and slum-dwellers in Bengaluru during 1999-2000 was 23.79 lakhs, which increased to 30 lakhs during 2004-05. Taking in account this data, Banaglore's urban poor and slum dwellers constitute for as high as 50% of the total population of the city. Once again this table does not give the source of data. If the data on a very basic aspect, i.e. population, is not properly estimated, the

whole efficacy of planning comes into question. The discrepancies in demographic details of urban poor has been also noticed by the earlier study of CIVIC on slum and homeless people in Bengaluru.²

Table 2: Varying estimates of slum population in Bengaluru

Sources of data	Slum Population	Proportion of slum population to total population
Census 2001	680516	12.00%
KSCB 2005	610030	11.00%
JNNURM CDP (Volume 1)	430000 (in erstwhile BMP)	10.00%
JNNURM CDP (Volume 3 on BSUP)	587000 (in erstwhile BMP)	13.00%

3.2.3 Economic profile of the City

The CDP discusses the importance of Bengaluru in Karnataka's and the country's economy. It states that Bengaluru has a strong and balanced economy with a combination of manufacturing, service, technology and bio-technology industries. According to the CDP, there are about 5.85 lakh workers in the city, with the highest percentage (43.3%) employed in the manufacturing sector, followed by the service sector (31.5%) and banking and insurance sector (11%). As far as the economic profile of the urban poor is concerned, the CDP gives only the number of slums and households in BMP, CMC and TMC areas. The details on the economic and employment base of these slums are not there in either Volume 1 of the CDP, or even in Volume 3 on BSUP. Important economic details like income levels and per capita incomes of the general population and urban poor are also missing in the CDP.

The toolkit on CDP suggests that "*it is important to take stock of the role and contribution of the informal sector in the city's economy*". It should be noted that in every Indian city the informal sector workers are a significant proportion of the population and a sizable number of them reside in urban slums. Bengaluru's CDP, even the volume on BSUP, has not taken into account the informal sector and the number and proportion of informal workers in the city.

3.2.4 Infrastructure status

The CDP states that existing infrastructure and civic amenities in the city are reasonably good, mainly with respect to water and sewerage. As per the CDP, average daily per capita water supply is 73 lpcd and raw water supply is 140 lpcd which is adequate. The areas of concern are transportation, maintaining green areas, treatment of solid waste and maintaining environmental standards of the city. Field investigations during the present study show that water and sanitation facilities are inadequate in Bengaluru's slums. The CDP also indicates that only 17% of the slum-dwellers have access to safe drinking water, drainage system and waste collection services and more than 50% of them do not have access to proper sanitation. Hence, the CDP presents a contradictory picture when it states that infrastructure is reasonably good but outlines inadequacy of services available to the slum dwellers.

3.2.5 Institutional framework

For municipal and urban development, Bengaluru has several institutions. The CDP has divided such institutions into three broad categories, namely, elected urban local bodies (ULBs) like BMP, CMCs and TMC; statutory authorities such as BDA, BMRDA, KUIDFC, KSCB, BMTC, BWSSB,

² Pilot Slum and Urban Homeless Study, CIVIC and NGO Forum, study done for BBMP, May- June 2008.

Lake Development Authority (LDA) and Bengaluru International Airport Area Planning Authority (BIAAPA); and Government departments which have mainly regulatory and development-related functions. The multiplicity of organizations and overlapping jurisdictions have been outlined by the CDP as a cause of concern as it has led to conflicts and difficulties in urban governance. Whether the CDP has tried to address this concern, will be analyzed in the subsequent sections.

Apart from these government entities, the CDP has also included peoples' participatory frameworks and private participation in infrastructure as integral to the institutional framework for urban development and governance. The CDP has noted the provisions of the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA), the existence of ward committees in Bengaluru, and the role of civil society in facilitating peoples' participation in urban affairs. The role of the private sector in infrastructure development has not been significant so far and is limited to the transportation sector.

3.3 Development of a Vision and CDP for the City

There is a separate section in the CDP on stakeholders' consultations and development of a 'Vision' for the city. To ensure maximum participation, it is claimed that a multi-pronged approach was adopted including workshops, one-to-one discussions, interviews through structured questionnaires, on-line feedback and workshops organized by other agencies.

It is noteworthy that Bengaluru initially submitted a CDP prepared by consultants iDeck to the Centre which was returned as it had not gone through a process of stakeholder consultations. Hence during March-May 2006, a series of consultations were held with various stakeholders like Government agencies, ULBs, trade unions, elected representatives and NGOs. However, from the consultations' schedule it is evident that each of these addressed a particular set of stakeholders and none of these consultations had multi-stakeholder participation. This raises serious questions about the procedure by which consensuses on objectives, vision, mission and strategies were arrived at, as different stakeholders do not have the same vision and strategies. 30 public consultations across the City in each of the administrative Ranges of the erstwhile BMP were also held with a single day's notice given to citizens and councillors.

A study of the minutes of the various stakeholder meetings reveals that the CDP already put together by consultants iDeck, with prepared Vision and Mission statements were placed before the stakeholders. A situational profile of 'where the city is' currently, in terms of the demography, economic profile, infrastructure status, etc., were not placed before the stakeholders so that they could arrive at a vision of 'where they would like to take their city'. The different strategies available for reaching a particular vision and the various financial alternatives available for funding the strategies were neither placed before the stakeholders nor discussed with them as required under the Toolkit #2 for the preparation of the CDP. A pre-planned budget amounting to Rs. 14,000 crore under various sectoral heads, such as 'roads, water supply, slum upgradation, etc.', was placed before the stakeholders for their mere approval.

Citizens across the city asked for more time to come up with their Vision and budget plans for the city and officials agreed to re-convene a meeting after a month. But this second meeting never took place. Only minor changes in wordings here and there were incorporated into the CDP and sent back to the Centre with the claim that stakeholder consultations had taken place.

Box 2

Vision of Bengaluru City: No place for the urban poor

The total coverage area of the CDP is 1353.1 sq. km., which is almost double that of the BMP, 7 CMCs and one TMC added together. According to the CDP, city context, assessment of the present scenario and vision statements of various agencies (like BDA, BBMP, BMTC etc) along with feedback of various stakeholders have been the basis of formulating vision, mission and objectives of the CDP. While the CDP recognizes the fact that incorporating every stakeholder's view and priorities is not possible, it has completely missed out the urban poor in its very basic vision statements. Economic prosperity and improving quality of life has been stated as vision for the city, but there is no specific mention of the urban poor or improving conditions of Bengaluru's slums in the vision statements of the CDP. This is an indication of how the CDP was drafted, the levels of participation of civil society and urban poor and incorporation of their views in the CDP.

3.3.1 Growth drivers for Bengaluru

There are several factors which affect the growth and development of the city. In the CDP there is a full chapter devoted to these factors. It also presents a strength, weakness , opportunities and threats (SWOT) analysis. However it does not say how this analysis was done and whether this analysis is the result of any consultative process. Delay in policy formulation and implementation in urban governance has been considered as one of the threats, though it does not specifically say which policy and legal frame has not been adequately implemented in the city. In the chapter on analysis of the existing situation, the CDP recognizes multiplicity of institutions and functional overlap as impediments to urban development and governance, but this important point is missing in the SWOT analysis. Similarly, devolution of powers to local bodies, participation of citizens in urban affairs, creation of parallel agencies and RTI have not got any place in the SWOT.

Industrial growth (mainly IT/ITES and bio-technology), health care facilities and premium educational institutions have been considered as growth drivers for Bengaluru city. There is no mention of the informal sector or the ready-made garments sector, which is contributing substantially to the employment and economic growth of the city. On the spatial development front there is urban sprawl as the city of Bengaluru has grown in all directions, accelerated by urban, industrial , IT sector and residential growth of the city.

3.3.2 Projections of land use and population

Within the chapter on growth drivers, projections on land and population have been done. There is a higher degree of urbanisation towards the north (Devanahalli), north-east (Whitefield, ITPL) and south (Electronic City), mainly driven by the service sector and industrial development. While projecting land use pattern, the CDP takes data from the draft CDP of the BDA . Although these figures give the projected land use pattern (mainly residential, commercial, industrial, open/green spaces and agricultural land) of Bengaluru city in the year 2015, it does not reflect on present and future per capita land availability in the city. Even the current land use pattern shown in the CDP is limited to the BDA area and does not give an idea of land use pattern in peripheral areas. While the CDP extends beyond the areas of BMP, CMCs and TMC, the data on land use is limited to a much smaller area and this reflects the lack of uniformity and consistency in the data used for the planning and visioning exercise.

The general population is projected as 108 lakhs in the year 2021. There is no population projection made for urban poor or slum population, even in the BSUP volume. This is one of the most critical shortcomings of the CDP, as any future planning and projects need to be based on the population which require those projects. If Bengaluru does not have a projected population of urban poor / slum-dwellers, how will the agencies and ULBs plan for the future projects?

3.4 CDP for Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP): An overview

As discussed in the previous sections, the CDP of Bengaluru prepared under JNNURM has three volumes. Drawing from the general analysis presented in Volume I, the third volume of the CDP discusses the details of BSUP in Bengaluru. Keeping in view the scope of this study, the BSUP segment of the CDP has been analyzed in subsequent sections.

3.4.1 Context and issues

The CDP gives guiding principles for the implementation of BSUP under JNNURM. In Bengaluru, UrbanFirst System Pvt. Ltd. was responsible for preparing the CDP for BSUP. It had a series of consultations with the BMP, KHB, KSCB, CMCs and TMC and NGOs to evolve the common and shared vision of BSUP in Bengaluru. In last two decades, Bengaluru has experienced a large influx of population due to economic opportunities. But it has also led to growing disparities between different classes of population and also has led to an increase in the number of people living in the urban slums. These slums are characterized by the inadequacy of basic services (like

water, power, sanitation), and the poor quality of service delivery and social infrastructure (like housing, health, education and PDS). The real challenge, therefore, is to balance the infrastructure for the city as a whole vis-a-vis providing basic services to the urban poor.

3.4.2 In-depth analysis of the existing situation

In this section, demography, infrastructure and existing problems of Bengaluru's slums have been discussed. The population details discussed here are no different from those in Volume I and there are no specific details on the slum population. It simply says that it is growing, but the rate of growth or actual numbers are not available. As discussed in the previous sections, there are a lot of discrepancies within the demographic details. Similarly, there are no population projections made for the urban poor or slum dwellers. The reasons for not projecting this is the Government's supposed commitment towards making Bengaluru a slum-free city. The CDP of BSUP says "*The CDP has clearly identified as one of the vision statements that Bengaluru will have no more new slums. The Government after careful consideration wishes to re-develop all the existing slums in Bengaluru within a period of 15 years*"

The only available data on slums is the total number surveyed for the JNNURM (which is 542) and the number of households to be covered (i.e. 2,17,257). The BSUP CDP does not give any demographic profile (like age-disaggregated data, sex ratio, migrant population, occupational status, income levels, number of BPL families, etc.) and uses the term "poverty" in a very generic sense.

This section also talks about the lack of basic services to the urban poor. It says that as high as 50% of the slum population does not have access to sanitation and sewerage. About half of the slums suffer from water logging and about one third of slums have problem with the garbage disposal from industries and other residential areas. Per capita availability of land, existing housing facilities, per capita water availability are some essential indicators not discussed in the BSUP CDP.

3.4.3 Development of a perspective plan and 'Vision' for the City

Similar to the infrastructure services, it is claimed that the visioning exercise was carried out through consultative processes for BSUP also. The CDP for BSUP says, "*Vision for Bengaluru in respect of Basic Services to Urban Poor has been formulated after a series of consultations with all the stakeholders including the beneficiaries and their representatives*". However, the above statement outlined in the CDP does not match the results of primary investigations done for this study. While some NGOs say that they participated in the consultations held for the BSUP, none of the beneficiaries or their representatives in the 21 slums covered under this study say that they ever participated in the visioning or project formulation workshops. This aspect of people's participation is discussed in detail in the second part of this report.

Box 3

BSUP Vision of Bengaluru

There are separate visions for the city for the infrastructure and BSUP respectively. While the general vision of the CDP has left out urban poor and slum population, they are included in the BSUP vision. It is interesting to note that Vision statements emerging from similar consultative processes do not match. The vision of BSUP includes the following:

- a. No more new slums
- b. Re-develop existing slums and surroundings to enable Bengaluru regain its lost glory without endangering the lives of the urban poor
- c. During the planning and implementation of various initiatives, engage the citizens, NGOs, and community groups to help the government sustain its programme of providing basic services to the urban poor
- d. Bengaluru to emerge as a high-tech knowledge city treating its less fortunate brethren in a humane manner through effective municipal administration

The objectives of BSUP listed in the CDP are progressive. Apart from providing basic services to the urban poor, improving the living environment and providing housing within the proximity to the work place, the objectives also talk about “security of tenure at affordable prices”. This is a welcome step, given the threat of displacement which is ever present for the urban slum dwellers. However, there is no explanation or clarity on the term “security of tenure”. Whether it means ownership of property or lease or sale deed, needs to be clearly stated. The beneficiaries are under the impression that they will receive the “hakku patra” or “patta” or ownership rights on the new houses being provided to them, while the authorities responsible for the implementation of the project have denied any such provisions. Therefore, a document like the CDP, which is the guiding principle for the city's development, should have clearly stated the meaning of such terms which have legal implications and have direct imprints on the rights of beneficiaries.

The objectives and vision statements also promise to maintain high environmental standards, provide a greater role for ULBs and elected representatives, ensure accountability and transparency and institutionalize peoples' participation, which are positive aspects. However, the CDP does not give the mechanisms by which these objectives will be made operational. How far the objectives of the CDP have been met on the ground will be analyzed in the subsequent sections.

3.4.4 Process of formulation of CDP: How participatory was the approach?

According to the CDP of BSUP, the consultative processes were integral to the formulation of CDP. After the basic assessments of the existing situation, the analysis was presented to various stakeholders during a visioning workshop. Altogether four such multi-stakeholder consultations were held to evolve the CDP for the BSUP. Key details of these consultations are as follows:

- 1) **Consultation held on 26 November 2005:** This consultation was attended by the officials from KSCB, KHB, BDA, BMP and the Directorate of Municipal Administration and the consultants. In this, JNNURM guidelines were discussed and a decision on formulating the CDP was taken. It was decided that data on the percentage of households living in temporary shelters, and percentages of those having access to municipal water supply, sanitation, education and health are required for the basic analysis.
- 2) **Consultation held on 9 December 2005:** In addition to the above participants, Secretary MoUD, commissioners of CMCs and TMC and NGOs (CIVIC, Avas and Mahila Milan) participated in the meeting. In this consultation, objectives and key areas to be included were discussed, most of which have been included in the final CDP of BSUP. However, there was lot of stress on changes to the policy and legal framework, which have not got a place in the vision or objectives of the CDP of BSUP.
- 3) **Consultation held on 25 March 2006:** In this consultation, KUIDFC and Infrastructure Development Corporation of Karnataka Ltd (iDeCK) participated, while NGOs were not invited. In this meeting, objectives, problems of Bengaluru's slums, assumptions of CDP, investment plan, assessment of cost, etc. were discussed. It is important to note that civil society or elected representatives were not part of this meeting and it was mainly bureaucrats and consultants who took several key decisions on analysis, strategies, projects and investment plan for Bengaluru.
- 4) **Consultation held on 27 May 2006:** This consultation was mainly for NGOs, facilitated by the consultants. In this, NGOs presented the gaps within JNNURM and gave suggestions on how best it could be implemented. It should be noted that none of the bureaucrats were part of this consultation. Secondly, the CDP was completed by the end of June 06 and by the time it was presented to the NGOs most of the decisions on key strategies and projects had already been taken by the bureaucrats.

Both the volumes (I & III) claim that decisions, analysis, vision, objectives and strategies were finalized with various stakeholders. From the minutes of the meeting and sequence in which these

were held, it is apparent that the CDP formulation process was participatory only in name. Beneficiaries and elected representatives were not included in the process. The NGOs working proactively on urban issues were called at the end of the process and there were no multi-stakeholder consultations. Hence, the suggestions given by the NGOs do not find a place in the CDP.

3.4.5 Preparing a City Investment Plan and financing strategy

The CDP lists 11 types of projects eligible for funding under the JNNURM, which broadly cover housing facilities, rehabilitation, slum improvements, providing civic amenities, creation of social infrastructure (like health and child care facilities and community centres), O&M of assets created under the project and integration of welfare schemes for the poor. The CDP also makes certain stipulations, for instance on the size of the dwelling (268 sq.ft.), the material to be used, etc., and has accordingly made estimates for each facility to be provided under BSUP.

Some key recommendations and points on investment in the CDP are as follows³:

- ✓ It is estimated that 20% of the cost of assets would be required to operate and maintain the assets for a period of five years after construction. After this period it is recommended that the ULBs charge the inmates for the provision of services to recover the O&M costs.
- ✓ No cost of land acquisition is considered in the cost estimates. It is estimated that there would be an escalation of around 8 % per annum in the cost of basic inputs (material and labour). The escalation is not considered in the investment plan as the real cost of implementation would be subject to tendering and other contingencies.
- ✓ The community centers and community toilet blocks will have to be located in each of the slums where there is a provision for underground drainage facility (UGD). The cost of providing the UGD is not considered in the cost estimates under community center and community toilet blocks.
- ✓ The CDP also strongly recommends carrying out a series of educational awareness programmes across the slums to propagate the message of clean living and the benefits of a disease-free environment.
- ✓ It is recommended that 542 schools and public health centers (one school and one public health center for each slum) be established by the Government in the slums identified to cater to the need of primary education and basic health services. These public health centers can co-exist with community centers so that common facilities like electricity and water could be shared. The on-going expenditure on these facilities could be supported by the budget allocations of the respective urban local bodies.

In most of the cases it was observed that these recommendations of the CDP have not been implemented. For instance, most of the BSUP projects are limited to providing housing facilities to the urban poor and do not integrate the other amenities. (Refer to Part II of this report.)

With the above assumptions and recommendations, the CDP estimates the cost of BSUP in Bengaluru as Rs. 6,034 crore. This figure is inclusive of housing, infrastructure, O&M costs, awareness programmes and consultancy cost for preparation of the DPRs. The funding consists of 50% central grant, while the rest 50% is by the State / ULB / other agencies, including contributions from the beneficiaries. This section appears as a statement of facts and proposals. What is missing is the analytical backdrop to these suggestions.

³ BSUP CDP , Page no- 21

4 Detailed Project Reports (DPRs)

The CDP provides vision and perspective to the development of the city and facilitates the identification of projects. Drawing from the suggestions, recommendations and perspectives of the CDP, the ULBs / implementing agencies are required to prepare Detailed Project Reports (DPRs) for undertaking projects in the identified spheres. Thus, the DPRs are like project proposals at the micro-level and they reflect the actual planning and implementation processes to be followed by the ULBs or implementing agencies. The DPRs are also a mandatory requirement for getting project approval and sanctions by respective agencies / authorities at the State and Central level.

The Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MoHUPA), where the Mission Directorate for BSUP is located, has evolved Model DPRs for BSUP in JNNURM-selected cities and Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programmes (IHSDP) in non-JNNURM towns.

Box 4

Prescribed format for DPRs

MoHUPA has prescribed the format for preparation of DPRs, outlining essential details. Some key points recommended are as follows:

- Project Abstract
- Project Background (city profile, details of infrastructure, slum profile of the city, and details of socio-economic surveys with respect to the 7-point charter)
- Project Linkage with CDP and MoA
- Project Description (details like project justification, project costing, components-wise fund requirements, status of project land, details of beneficiaries affected by the project, details of bio-metric survey done for the identification of beneficiaries, details of relocation site if beneficiaries need to be rehabilitated, details of land tenure, environmental benefits of the project, details of sanctions and approvals received from various authorities)
- Costing and other details of sub-components (housing, water supply, sewerage, storm-water drains, roads, pavements, street lighting, solid waste management, parks and open spaces, community toilets, community facilities)
- Convergence with health, education and social security facilities
- Project Management (project implementation plan, institutional capacities, institutional frameworks for the implementation of the project, processes to be followed for the award of construction work, involvement of stakeholders and monitoring of project, project sustainability and operation & maintenance details of services)
- Documents required to be attached: (Map of the city along with location of slums, map of the proposed site and surrounding areas, approved layout plans, approved building designs, service plans indicating existing and proposed components, list of beneficiaries, site photographs, recommendations of the SLCC, financial status of the ULB and a copy of the signed MoA)
- Checklists for BSUP: There have to be technical and administrative checklists, signed by the nodal officer of the ULB / implementing agency and officer in charge of SLNA.

In this section, DPRs of 20 selected slums have been analysed to address the following:

- Whether DPRs of Bengaluru's slums adhere to the prescribed format for the DPR
- How far DPRs are in accordance with the recommendations and perspectives of the Bengaluru CDP
- The gaps between ground realities and project details outlined in the DPR

As discussed in previous sections, there are two agencies, BBMP and KSCB, responsible for the implementation of BSUP services in Bengaluru. In this section, a comparative analysis of the DPRs of both agencies has been made.

4.1 Detailed Project Reports (DPRs) of BBMP slums

For the projects under BSUP, the BBMP has submitted two DPRs, one for the pilot projects and another for the projects under Phase I.

4.1.1 DPR for the Pilot Projects

The introductory section of the DPR gives an overview of the slum scenario and problems faced by the slum dwellers in Bengaluru. Within the same section, the role of BBMP as local-self government has been outlined. According to this DPR, the “*upgradation of 219 declared slums comes into the activities of KSCB. Improvement of quality of life along with the provision of all the basic civic amenities to the rest of the slums (i.e. undeclared slums) is the social obligation of BBMP*”.

To fulfill this responsibility, BBMP has identified five slums under its jurisdiction for a Pilot Project to provide basic services to the slum dwellers including security of tenure at affordable prices, improved housing, water supply, sanitation and ensuring delivery through convergence of other already existing services of the Government for education, health and social security⁴. These five Pilot slums include Kalyani slum, Jasma Bhavan (Austin Town), Kodihalli, Bakshi Garden and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Slum (Refer to Annexure 1 and Table 3).

4.1.2 Studies and investigations

This section starts with the broad objectives of the project. Apart from providing shelter, in situ development and infrastructure to the urban poor, this section also details the participation of slum dwellers and project beneficiaries in improving the conditions of the slums. Whether this objective has been addressed by the BBMP will be analyzed in the subsequent sections of this report. Topographical details in the form of drawings and socio-economic details of the selected slums have been provided. However, details like occupational status and income levels have not been outlined in the DPR.

The DPR provides details of existing infrastructure in all the five slums which broadly cover aspects like housing, water supply, sewage system, electricity supply, storm-water drains, roads, pavements and social infrastructure like primary health centers and schools within the vicinity. Details of each slum have been depicted through tables and photographs. The table also gives tenure details and willingness of people to accept group housing (G+3 pattern) and their willingness to pay contributions

4.1.3 Proposed developments

The DPR gives details of the technical designs of dwellings. The three basic premises upon which the proposal is based are: relocation of families from huts / temporary shelters to new houses, transformation of unhygienic slums into multi-storeyed tenements, improvement of basic infrastructure and conferment of land tenure. The proposed development of houses is either in G+2 or G+3 pattern, with each dwelling unit consisting of a living / dining room, one bedroom, separate kitchen, toilet and a bathroom. The DPR gives the details of number of blocks, housing unit per floor, number of houses proposed and actual requirement of housing in each of these 5 slums. As far as providing water is concerned, piped water supply to each dwelling has been proposed. Cauvery water in most of the locations is feasible and it is proposed to be distributed through a sump tank and individual overhead tank for each building block. In addition, the DPR proposes provision of solar water heater for each housing block, underground drainage, storm-water drains, electrification and provision of paved roads/ streets and children's play areas in every **project slum** and community centers and new school buildings at some locations. For health care facilities and IEC on health education Rs. 5000 has been earmarked for each beneficiary.

⁴ BSUP DPR Document, Prepared by UrbanFirst Systems Pvt. Ltd and Manasa Consultants for the BBMP.

Table 3: Indicators / details covered in Pilot DPR

Prescribed Indicators	Pilot DPR (General)	Bakshi Garden	Kalyani	Kodihalli	Jasma Bhavan	Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose
1) Project Abstract	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2) Profile/ Background	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
a) Socio-Economic Profile	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
b) Existing Infrastructure	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3) Project Linkage with CDP and MOA	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
4) Project Description	✓					
a) Justification	No clear criteria	No clear criteria	No clear criteria	No clear criteria	No clear criteria	No clear criteria
b) Costing	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
c) Component-wise fund	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
d) Status of project land	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
e) Details of beneficiaries*	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
f) Biometric survey details**	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
g) Relocation site	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
h) Land tenure	Only general description	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
i) Environmental benefits	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
j) Sanctions and approval received	Mentioned	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
5) Convergence with health, education & social security	Only general description	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
6) Project Management	Only general description					

*: Only total number of beneficiaries has been mentioned in the DPR. No other details have been provided.

: Process of **providing biometric card mentioned in the DPR. No other details provided.

4.1.4 Institutional framework

The DPR elaborately discusses the project delivery mechanisms and institutional framework to sustain the O&M. Creation of the JNNURM cell and appointment of BSUP officer-in-charge (chief engineer) within BBMP are outlined in the DPR. The DPR says, “The JNNURM cell would work in

coordination with the Administration Department, Welfare Department and the Revenue Department within BBMP to formulate the implementation process. The Revenue Department and the Administration Department would establish the authenticity of land holding and the process for issue of right to occupy (Hakku Patra).“

In addition, the DPR outlines a few progressive suggestions such as issuing of construction contracts through a competitive bidding process and involvement of NGOs in the selection of contractors / consultants. The DPR also proposes appointment of a consultant by the BBMP to carry out project management services comprising monitoring, reporting and quality audit of works being carried out at site. However the DPR is silent on the roles and responsibilities of BBMP with regard to project implementation and monitoring of project progress. The DPR should have clearly outlined the roles and responsibilities of the service consultant and BBMP with regard to project implementation and monitoring.

The DPR suggests appointment of a service provider who would render the operation and maintenance service of the infrastructure in the slums like water supply, sanitation, storm-water drains, electricity supply, solid waste management and street lighting. It is recommended that the State Government contribute around 75% of the capital of this organization and the balance would be brought in by a private sector partner selected through a transparent bidding process. The service provider would need to maintain the assets as per agreed performance criteria and carry out repairs and upkeep of the assets from time to time. The service provider would be empowered to collect service charges from individual beneficiaries in respect of: property tax (proposed Rs. 50 per month), water & sanitation tax (Rs. 50 per month), electricity charges (Rs. 100 per month), and solid waste charges (Rs. 15 per month). What is missing from these elaborate recommendations on institutional framework and O&M charges is an analysis on how these charges were arrived at. The rationale for these charges has not been given. Based on the field investigations done for this study, it is clear that beneficiaries have no role in deciding these charges, nor are they aware of any such charges to be paid in the future. The DPR also does not point out rate of increase in charges over time and how the revised rates should be decided.

4.1.5 Project's soft issues:

In this section, the DPR discusses beneficiaries' contributions, relocation of beneficiaries during construction phase, role of NGOs and risk assessment. The DPR suggests beneficiary contribution to the extent of 12% of housing unit cost which would be mobilized through the involvement of NGOs / SHGs and micro-finance institutions. It recommends channelisation of the loans through self-help groups (SHGs) who would collectively obtain the loans and distribute these among the beneficiaries. It is indicated that both micro-finance institutions and commercial banks would charge interest at the rate of 2 % per month towards the loans and that the SHGs would mark up on the same towards recovery of their cost of collection and service charges.

As far as relocation of beneficiaries during construction phase is concerned, it is proposed to provide transit camps (temporary shelter) to all the beneficiaries in nearby BBMP vacant land. Except for Kalyani slum, the other four slums have vacant land available to construct transit facilities. Necessary water, sewerage and electricity connections will also be provided in the transit camps and it is the responsibility of BBMP to liaise with the concerned agencies for providing the necessary facilities. In awareness building and education, the role of NGOs has been outlined in the DPR. But this is limited to the NGOs empanelled by the BBMP. Secondly, apart from awareness building, NGOs have not been assigned other project related responsibilities and the role of larger civil society actors has not been highlighted.

4.1.6 Identification of beneficiaries and security of tenure

According to the DPR, during initial surveys of identified slums all dwelling units were visited and photographs of beneficiaries along with key documents (like BPL card, ration card, voter id card etc) were taken. On this basis, bio-metric cards are issued by the BBMP detailing name, age, sex and inter-relationships among members of the dwelling. On security of tenure the DPR states, "To

ensure that the dwelling units are not transferred or ‘sold’ by the beneficiaries, suitable protection clauses have to be proposed to be included in the ‘Hakku Patra’. The physical handing over of the ‘Hakku Patras’ could be aligned to the repayment of the loans taken in lieu of beneficiary contribution“. The DPR also proposes to establish a centralized database in the BSUP cell to register the details of beneficiaries and ensure allotment of dwelling units to the same beneficiaries in Bengaluru. BBMP would work with KSCB closely in exchange of information and in ensuring provision of dwelling units to deserving and actual beneficiaries.

In this elaborate description of beneficiaries and security of tenure, the DPR fails to provide clarity on some essential facts such as:

- What are the criteria followed in selecting beneficiaries?
- What are those “suitable protection clauses” to ensure the dwelling units are not transferred or sold?
- What are the rights of beneficiaries on the new dwelling unit?
- Has BBMP shared these provisions / security of tenure issues with the actual beneficiaries?

Lack of clarity on these issues has generated confusion on the ground and people have either been misinformed or not informed on this issue clearly. The field investigations done for this research study clearly indicate this problem.

4.1.7 Financial and operating plans

As per the DPR, the total project cost for all 5 slums is 1352.57 lakh. The DPR gives the detail of funding pattern for each project component like housing unit, infrastructure, IEC, social infrastructure, O&M expenses and so on. The total beneficiaries' contribution calculated in the DPR is Rs. 9,322,200, which is approximately 7% of the total project cost. Roughly 10% and 5% of the total budget have been allocated to social infrastructure and IEC activities. It will be important to analyse how this allocation has been transferred on the ground. Apart from these overall costing, each slum has detail estimates of the work done under the project. Although, most of the projects heads have been covered in the funding pattern, the fees paid to the consultants for their services at different stages of the project is not mentioned in the DPR.

4.2 DPR for the Phase I Projects:

The format followed in the Phase I DPR is identical to that of the Pilot Project DPR. In fact the introductory chapter is same as the previous DPR. However, the only difference is the inclusion of 13 new slums taken for Phase I of the project. These 13 slums are: Samatha Nagar Slum, URS Colony, Indira Gandhi Slum, Vinobha Nagar, Ambedkar Nagar (Austin Town), Ambedkar Slum (N. S. Palya), Ambedkar Slum (Vasanth Nagar), Anatha Ashrama Slum, Ambedkar Slum (Shivaji Nagar), Muniyappa Garden, Gopalapura, Gowtham Colony and R. K. Mutt (Basavanagudi).

Similarly, chapters on city-level details, studies and investigations are also identical to the previous DPR. As an annex, this DPR has provided social and economic profiles of these 13 slums. However, in none of these introductory chapters is the selection criteria of these 13 slums discussed. (Refer to Annexure 1)

The section on infrastructure provides the details of existing infrastructure. Details like housing, water supply, sewage system, power supply, storm-water drains, roads / streets and availability of social infrastructure for each slum has been outlined. The data of existing infrastructure is supported by photographs of various slums. Under the head “tenure details”, data of all 13 slums has the same statement, i.e., “No formal documents issued for stay or right to stay”. Such a degree of generalization across all slums is not possible as many beneficiaries were staying in rented or own dwellings before the BSUP project came into effect.

4.2.1 Proposed developments

The objectives and conceptual backdrop of the Phase I proposal is similar to the pilot DPR. The only difference is in the extent of Phase I project, which covers a higher number of slums. Hence, the cost of the project also has gone up and for Phase I, the total estimate is Rs. 69,03,50,000. For each slum, the detailed cost break-ups have been given in the DPR. Like the previous DPR, this also proposes a substantial cost for the IEC activities (about 5% of the total budget for every slum). However, in none of the DPRs, IEC strategies and components are being mentioned and it is therefore not clear how BBMP is going to implement the IEC activities. Secondly, this DPR also does not mention the amount to be spent for consultancy services at different stages of the project. The shortcomings of the Pilot phase DPR have not been rectified in the Phase I DPR. It indicates that while preparing the DPRs, BBMP has not taken any feedback from the stakeholders involved in the process. Secondly, it also raises questions on the sanctioning and approval process associated with the DPR.

Table 4: Indicators / details covered in Phase I DPR

Prescribed Indicators	Phase I DPR (General)	Samatha Nagar	Indira Gandhi Slum	Anatha Ashrama Slum	Muniyappa Garden	Gopalpura a Garden	Gowtham Colony
1) Project Abstract	✓						
2) Profile/ Background	✓						
a) Socio Economic Profile	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
b) Existing Infrastructure	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3) Project Linkage with CDP and MOA	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
4) Project Description	✓						
a) Justification	No clear criteria	No clear criteria	No clear criteria	No clear criteria	No clear criteria	No clear criteria	
b) Costing	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
c) Component wise fund	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
d) Status of project land	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
e) Details of beneficiaries*	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
f) Biometric survey details**	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
g) Relocation site	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
h) Land tenure	Only general description	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
I) Environmental benefits	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗

j)sanctions and approval received	x	x	x x	x x	x	x
5) Convergence with health, education & social security	Only general description	x	x x	x x	x	x
6) Project Management	Only general description					

*: Only the total number of beneficiaries has been mentioned in the DPR. No other details have been provided.

**: Process of giving biometric card mentioned in the DPR. No other details provided.

Box – 5

Identification of slums: Criteria mentioned in the DPR

- Ownership of the land vests with the BBMP
- No Hakku Patras issued to the occupants / beneficiaries
- No major structure constructed in the slum
- Slums are not put up on existing storm-water drains
- Beneficiaries are willing to accept the programme envisaged under JNNURM including the G+3 type of structure

From the in-depth analysis of the Phase I DPR, it is evident that apart from the number of slums identified and cost estimates, there are no striking differences between these two DPRs. Institutional framework, project delivery mechanisms and financing pattern are the same as in the previous DPR. While some indicators are portrayed at slum level, many indicators are discussed at a general level. Tables 3 and 4 portray the adherence / non-adherence of the two DPRs to the toolkit suggested by the Government of India.

5. Detailed Project Reports (DPRs) of slums under KSCB

As per the report of the Karnataka Slum Clearance Board (KSCB) there are 2,509 slum areas in the State, out of which 542 slum areas are in Bengaluru City. Out of the total 1957 declared slums in the State, there are 219 declared slums in Bengaluru City. While re-development of undeclared slums comes under the jurisdiction of BBMP, it is the responsibility of KSCB to develop, upgrade and rehabilitate the 219 declared slums.

There are 3 phases of BSUP projects being implemented by the KSCB. In Phase I there are 30 slums, while Phases 2 and 3 have 16 and 9 slums respectively. In the subsequent sections, DPRs of the KSCB projects will be analyzed based on the format suggested by the toolkit. As examples, DPRs of slums selected for the present research study have been taken.

5.1 Introductory Sections

In almost all the DPRs, the introductory sections are common. The growth of Bengaluru city, connectivity and demographic details are outlined in most of the DPRs. Even the content of these sections are common across DPRs. In some DPRs, the first few sections give an overview of the implementation framework, organisational vision, mission of KSCB and general socio-economic conditions of slums in Bengaluru. The DPRs of Pantharapalya, Rajendranagar, Bheemshakti Nagar and Laggere slums start with the description of the implementation plan and objectives of the BSUP. They state that the proposed projects taken up by KSCB for construction of housing

and infrastructure are on behalf of the municipal body. Based on the resolution passed by the municipal body, KSCB was given the responsibility of works for BSUP under JNNURM.

The DPRs of Rajendranagar and Panthrapalya also outline provision of temporary transit accommodation to be provided to people till the construction work is completed. The introductory sections of some DPRs also lay emphasis on working in close coordination with the community and local representatives. In addition, type of ownership to be provided to the beneficiaries, capacity building of people, assessment of environmental impacts and development of environmental management plan are some other aspects outlined in the DPR. There is a small section on need for accomplishment of JNNURM objectives. In the introductory sections, the documents also outline the process and stages adopted for the implementation of the project. According to the documents, some stages of implementation include site inspection, getting various technical, administrative and financial sanctions, inviting tenders and getting the work done by contractors. **It is important to note that discussion with people on the housing, project design and other details have not been given any place in the implementation schedule mentioned by the KSCB.**

5.2 Profile/ background of the Project

In a few of the DPRs, a detailed profile of project areas has been presented, while in the case of some slums, even a very basic demographic and socio-economic profile is also missing. For instance, the socio-economic profile of Rajendranagar slum as presented in its DPR is not adequate. The DPR does not even portray demographic details like population of the slum, socio-economic profile of the population and access to infrastructure, which is also the case with some other DPRs. For instance, the DPR of Bheemashakti Nagar (Rajajinagar), Laggere, Sadarmangala, Nellupuram and Chickabommasandra have negligible information on existing slum situation and people's access to basic infrastructure services. A socio-economic survey prior to the project is a mandatory exercise. In these slums it is not clear whether a socio-economic survey was conducted before preparing the DPR (Refer to Annexure 1).

One of the very few DPRs which portrays in detail the socio-economic and existing infrastructure is the DPR of Bhuvaneshwari Nagar, which is under BSUP Phase I. According to the DPR, the slum is in existence since the last 40 years, covers an area of 2.5 acres and has a population of 2200 people. The DPR also gives the social and cultural profile of the population, income and literacy levels of the slum dwellers, employment details, type of houses, access to drinking water, sanitation facilities, and other such details. In a way, this DPR follows the standard format of putting all background information about the slum.

Similarly, the DPR of Panthrapalya is one of the few DPRs which portrays a detailed socio-economic and infrastructure profile. According to the DPR, a socio-economic survey of the Panthrapalya slum was conducted prior to the preparation of the DPR. As per the DPR, the total number of households is 864 with a population of around 4,300. People here are mostly migrant workers staying here for more than 25 years. Scheduled Castes form a majority of the population (61%) while SCs, STs and OBCs together comprise 82% of the families. The DPR gives details of income, which states that 64% of the slum dwellers earn below Rs. 5000 per month, while only 34% earn more than that. As far as civic amenities are concerned, only two public taps are available as drinking water source, therefore, a majority (i.e. 90%) of the households are dependent on bore-wells. The DPR raises concern on the potability of the water and quantity of supply and it stresses on the need for drawing up an action plan if the supplies are not sufficient. However it does not state the figures on the shortage of water and the current gap between demand and supply. Hence, action to be taken in the future is also not stated.

Compared to other DPRs, those of Panthrapalya and Bhuvaneshwari Nagar have tried to cover several socio-economic and infrastructure indicators. Even then the details are insufficient, keeping in view JNNURM's prescribed proforma. For instance, the DPR should outline the recommendations of the master plan or zonal plan or JNNURM CDP given for the particular area

(slum locality). This aspect is completely missing in the DPRs of Pantharapalya and Bhuvaneshwari Nagar. Similarly, the DPR should have also incorporated the views of stakeholders on the BSUP scheme (elicited through a consultative workshop). The DPRs neither give details of the consultative process, nor state the views of stakeholders on the scheme.

5.3 Description of the Project

5.3.1 Rajendranagar

Apart from the number of dwellings to be constructed and the cost estimates, the DPR does not give other details. According to the DPR, total number of dwellings to be built in Rajendranagar is 628. Unlike other projects, individual houses (ground floor) are proposed here, without any external infrastructure works like water supply, sanitation, roads and electricity. The DPR says that these amenities have been provided by the BBMP in the area and therefore, it is not proposed under BSUP project. It is not clear from the DPR what the level of people's access to these basic services is and therefore, the rationale of such a proposal is not properly explained. Although the introductory sections talk about providing transit accommodation to the beneficiaries, it is not outlined in the details of the proposal. The implications of this is experienced by the beneficiaries (details discussed in the subsequent sections). The list of beneficiaries is attached with the DPR.

5.3.2 Bheemashakti Nagar

Unlike in Rajendranagar, group housing for 96 households in G+3 pattern is proposed in Bheemashakti Nagar. Along with this, there is also a proposal of providing infrastructure services like water, underground drainage, road and external electrification. The total cost of the project is 208.32 lakhs, while cost of individual dwelling is Rs. 2,17,000. The DPR gives details of estimates for each project component. **However important components like transit accommodation, IEC, social infrastructure, O&M of the project and consultancy fees have not been factored in the DPR.**

5.3.3 Laggere

There is a proposal to construct 544 houses in G+3 pattern along with external infrastructure works like water, sanitation, electrification, roads and drainage. The total cost of the project is Rs.11,42,40,000 with a unit cost of Rs. 2,10,000. Apart from the detailed costing and technical details of topography and soil quality, the DPR does not have other details. The list of beneficiaries is also not attached. It merely says that slum dwellers living in unhygienic urban centres will be provided with this housing facility.

5.3.4 Bhuvaneshwari Nagar

Similar to other projects, group housing in G+3 pattern is proposed in this slum. There is a proposal to construct 512 houses along with basic external infrastructure like water, underground drainage, external electrification and roads.

5.3.5 Pantharapalya

According to the DPR, the current project will cover an area of 5 acres and people of two slums, namely Bhuvneshwari Nagar slum and Ambedkar Nagar slum. KSCB plans to construct 864 houses in G+3 pattern. Apart from the individual dwellings, the DPR also outlines provision of bore-wells, external water supply, pumping machinery, provision of underground sewerage, external electrification, concrete roads, drains and construction of RCC deck-slab culverts. The total cost of the project, which has received the sanction, is 1874.88 lakhs. The DPR gives further details of the cost estimates for each work to be undertaken in this project. The DPR is substantiated with drawings, which include layout plan of the area and plan of each floor. The DPR has list of beneficiaries attached to the document. However there are discrepancies between the list and what the DPR states. Whereas the DPR states that a total of 864 houses will be

constructed, the beneficiary list contains the names of 893 people, with their registration numbers. It is not clear how the housing of remaining 29 people will be arranged.

Part II of the DPR, which is on the actual scheme and action plan, misses out several important details. For example, contribution of beneficiaries, tenure details and time-line of the project are missing in the DPR. Formation of beneficiaries' committee, monitoring mechanism, stakeholders' input, O & M cost, revolving fund are some other important aspects which are missing in the DPR.

The table given below shows how far each of the DPRs has followed the prescribed format. (Also, refer to Annexure 1 for more detailed analysis of DPRs.)

Table 5: DPRs of KSCB slums and prescribed indicators

Prescribed Indicators	Rajendra na gar	Bhe ema sha ktin agar	Lag gere	Bhu vane shw ari naga r	Agra hara dasa halli	Pan thar apa lya	Nellu puram	Sadar man gala	Srinivaspura	Chikkabommam sandra
1) Project Abstract	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2) Profile/ Background	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗
a) Socio Economic Profile	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗
b) Existing Infrastructure	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗
3) Project Linkage with CDP and MOA	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
4) Project Description	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
a) Justification	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
b) Costing	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
c) Component - wise fund	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
d) Status of project land	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗		Given
e) Details of	List	✗	Not	List	List	List	✗	✗	✗	✗

beneficiarie s	attac hed		clear	attach e d	attach e d	attach e d					
f) Biometric survey details	✓	✓	✓	Details given	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
g) Relocation site	NA	NA	NA	NA	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	NA	
h) Land tenure	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
i) Environmental benefits	Gene ral	✗	✗	Genera l	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
j) Sanctions and approval received	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
5) Convergence with health, education & social security	Gene ral	✗	✗	Genera l	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
6) Project Management	Gene ral	✗	✗	Genera l details		Gener al detail s	✗	✗	✓	✗	

Box 6

DPRs of KSCB Projects: Some common points

From the analysis of 8 DPRs, the following common points emerge:

- Only in two DPRs the socio-economic profile of the respective slums is discussed. Most of the DPRs have not followed the toolkit regarding this.
- Component-wise cost has been given in detail in all DPRs. DPR also has detailed layout maps and drawings.
- None of the DPRs have details of costs for items such as O&M, consultants, consulting communities and IEC activities.
- Proposals are almost common across the projects and none of the DPRs portray the convergence of BSUP with the other social sector schemes and infrastructure.
- Provision of transit accommodation is missing in every DPR.

6. Implementation of BSUP in Bengaluru

In this study, an attempt has been made to analyze the implementation of BSUP in slums of Bengaluru. In the previous sections, implementation at policy and planning level has been analysed and therefore, key tools like the Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP) and the Detailed Project Reports (DPRs) prepared for the city have been analyzed. The objectives of JNNURM prescribe *urban infrastructure and service delivery mechanisms, community participation, and accountability of ULB / implementing agency.* In this section actual implementation of the BSUP scheme will be analyzed on the basis of values envisaged by the JNNURM. Some key reference points of this analysis will be the following:

- Selection of BSUP projects in Bengaluru
- Physical components of the project
- Key process issues on the ground
- Peoples' involvement at various stages of the project
- Role of agencies, local bodies, NGOs and private sector in the implementation of BSUP

As discussed earlier, field-based discussions (interviews) have been significant to this study. An attempt has been made to take the opinions of various stakeholders involved in the project and also beneficiaries who are at the receiving end. Some issues and questions remain unanswered even after several rounds of discussions. In the course of research and advocacy works, it is hoped that consistent dialogue with the key players will help in addressing some of these important issues.

6.1 An overview of selected slums

For this research study, 20 slums have been selected across Bengaluru. A few considerations like the agency / ULB responsible for the implementation of BSUP and the phase of the project have been taken into account while selecting these slums. For instance, 10 slums each from BBMP and KSCB projects have been taken. The table below gives the details of investigations carried out for the research.

Table 6: Slums selected and methodologies followed

Names of KSCB slums selected for the study	Rajendranagar, Nellupuram, Agraharadasahalli, Panthrapalya, Bhuvaneshwari Nagar, Bheemashakti Nagar, Srinivaspura, Laggere, Chickabommasandra and Sadaramangala.
Names of BBMP slums selected for the study	Bakshi Garden, Kalyani, Kodihalli, Jasma Bhavan, Gopalpura, Indira Gandhi Slum, Anatha Ashrama, Muniyappa Garden, Gowtham Colony
Discussions with beneficiaries	Held in 18 slums except Sadaramangala and Chickabommasandra, where beneficiaries of the project could not be identified.
Methodologies followed	Focused discussions with beneficiaries, detailed survey at household level, discussions with key people like community leaders and people directly involved in the execution of projects, local NGOs and CBOs
Average participation	On an average 15 members participated in these discussions. These discussions were held in respective slums.

Most of the participants in these discussions belonged to Scheduled Caste (SC) communities, followed by Muslims, Christians and other castes. Most of the respondents were staying in their

current location for more than 20 years. Most of these slums came into existence more than 40 years ago. The occupational structure of these slums is varied and people are involved in various kinds of works. Daily-wage work in construction, driving, working as coolies, running petty shops and agarbatti making are some common occupations of people. Most of the women are also working as house-maids in nearby housing localities. On an average, household income is below Rs. 5000.

6.2 Quality of existing housing and civic amenities in Bengaluru's (20 selected) slums

The current status of housing and civic amenities reflect that people have very low access to basic amenities. The DPRs of several slums also confirm this fact. Very few households have individual connections of water and therefore, majority of them are dependent on public tap / municipal supply and community tank. In some slums, availability of water and sanitation is one of the serious problems. For instance, for 50 households in Gowtham Colony (near Domlur), there are two public taps and water supply is on alternate days. This becomes more erratic during summer. There is no public toilet or bathroom in the area and people are forced to go in for open defecation. In Jasma Bhavan slum there are 20 toilets provided by the BBMP, out of which only 4 toilets are functional. For 83 families residing in the slum, this is not sufficient and there is no bathing facility. Similarly there are three public taps in the slum and water supply is limited to an hour. Thus both water and sanitation facilities are insufficient. This is the case with most of the slums irrespective of whether people are living in transit homes or not. In some slums, there are public toilets provided in the close proximity, however people have to pay Rs. 1 every time they use these toilets. This is the case with Gopalpura Slum.

The table below shows the level of amenities in selected slums. As shown, there is a higher percentage of people having an electricity connection. Other facilities like having a separate kitchen and having own toilet are limited to a few people. Most of the slum dwellers do not have a separate kitchen and own toilet.

Table 7: Facilities available in selected slums

Implementing Agency	% of households having/not having facilities in KSCB and BBMP Slums			
	Single room dwelling	Having electricity connection	Not having separate kitchen	Not having own toilet
BBMP	100.00%	82.86%	100.00%	94.29%
KSCB	84.00%	92.00%	48.00%	76.00%
Average	93.30%	86.67%	78.33%	86.67%

Another common problem is solid waste disposal. In many slums, an open ground in the proximity has been used as a garbage dumping ground. In Bheemashakthi Nagar, the park in the proximity of the slum is being used as a dumping yard by the residents of the surrounding locality. Similar is the case with Kodihalli slum.

Adding to the plight of people is the quality of their existing housing facility. As shown in the table a very high percentage of people are living in single-room dwellings, with no separate kitchen. As far as the quality of dwelling is concerned, most of the people stay in semi-pucca houses, made of asbestos and cement. In some slums, tin sheets and plastic sheets are also being used, while about one third of households have kuchcha houses made of mud, thatch and plastic sheets.

6.3 Provision of transit housing

How people will live in the transit period is one of the most serious concerns. Since most of the proposed re-development of slums is on *in situ* basis, the current occupants of the slums need to

be relocated during the construction phase of new housing and infrastructure facilities. DPRs of BBMP and KSCB outline the need to provide housing during this transit period. However, not all DPRs have mentioned this provision, like the DPRs of Deshyanagar, Srinivaspura and Agraharadasahalli. It is also noticeable that none of the DPRs of KSCB have made provision for transit arrangement and nor have they budgeted for this. The implication of this is clearly seen on the ground.

Box 7

Transit Accommodation: How committed are the implementing agencies?

In some slums of KSCB, people have got one time transit allowance, while at most places there is no allowance or facility created for the people. For instance, in Panthrapalya slum people have got Rs. 2000 for making their own transit arrangements. During the investigations for this study, they were shifting to temporary thatched shelters made by themselves. They said that even for this thatched house they were spending about Rs. 5,000. On the other hand, a few DPRs have mentioned transit accommodation, but it has not been provided to people of those respective slums. Bhuvaneshwari Nagar and Rajendranagar slums are such examples. In Rajendranagar, the project is near completion and for the last one year people have made their own transit arrangements. Most of them are staying in rented houses with an average rent of Rs. 1,500. The KSCB has not reimbursed this amount. In addition, people are also paying their contribution towards the new dwelling.

Deshyanagar is also an example of lack of concern from the implementing agency. Without providing any transit arrangement, KSCB started the construction and people were forced to make their own arrangements. Many families took shelter along the footpath and near Bengaluru East railway station. These temporary shelters were made of plastic sheets and people faced lot of problems during the winter and rainy season. Moreover, this was a main road having a very high volume of traffic. Staying along this road posed a lot of risk to the people, especially the children. NGOs and people working in these slums raised these issues with the KSCB, but one of the reasons, among others, put forward by KSCB was that it was not possible to provide the transit housing as it had not been budgeted for. It is also evident from these examples that there is no standard norm followed on the transit accommodation by the KSCB.

BBMP is another implementing agency for the BSUP. However it has an altogether different outlook on transit accommodation. In both the Pilot and Phase I DPRs, the need for transit accommodation has been mentioned and it has also been factored into the budget. In all BBMP projects people have been moved to the transit housing before actual construction started. In Gowtham Colony, transit housing has not been built, as the project has not started yet. In all other slums visited for this study's purpose, people are staying in the transit accommodation. This transit housing consists of one-room accommodation, without separate kitchen and toilet. BBMP has provided water, electricity, common toilets and solid waste collection bins.

Even with these arrangements, there were several problems for the people. In Kalyani slum, there was no vacant land available for making the transit arrangements and this has been stated in the DPR. Therefore, transit accommodation was provided along the road, wherever space was available. Prior to this project, people had their individual water and power connections, but for the last two years in transit there have been problems pertaining to these. Rats and insects were common in this transit accommodation and there was a low level of hygiene. With the project getting delayed, people were forced to live in these conditions for extended periods. During the rainy season, there was water leakage in the temporary shelters and there was even water logging and flooding. People were then forced to leave their dwellings and take shelter in the near-by Social Welfare Dept. office. Water logging also results in wastage of essential items like vegetables, food items, kerosene and oil.

6.4 BSUP implementation: impressions from the ground

At the time of this study, none of the projects of BBMP and KSCB had been completed and hence people in different slums were staying in their older dwellings or transit accommodation. Therefore, an analysis of the quality of the new dwelling and peoples' satisfaction with their new facilities could not be done. Instead the field-based research focused on the processes followed in the implementation of BSUP and not the structures created by the project. Some key themes analysed in this section include the following:

- Selection of project areas
- Consent of people
- Selection of beneficiaries
- Key components of the project
- Key process issues on the ground

Table 8: Comparison between the CDP and actual BSUP implementation

CDP's Proposal and Recommendations	Actual Implementation of BSUP
Number of households to be covered under BSUP: 2,17,257	14,754 dwellings by KSCB and 1,691 by BBMP are planned. Total number of dwelling units to be constructed by both agencies is 16,445 .
Upgradation of 219 declared slums is the responsibility of KSCB. Upgradation of remaining slums is the social obligation of BBMP.	This demarcation of slums between BBMP and KSCB is being followed, though the number of slums covered by them is less than envisaged in the CDP. The criteria for the selection of slums is not clear.
Encouraging public-private-partnership in BSUP	Private players have been given the role of consultants and contractors by respective implementing agencies. No other specific role to private players.
In situ development of slums and providing multi-storied housing	In most of the slums this model is being followed. In some slums (like Rajendra Nagar and Nellupuram) KSCB had planned multistoried housing but intervention of the MLA helped people in getting individual houses.
Identifying new areas on the outskirts and providing houses either on G+2 type or multi-storied type	Sadaramangala, Laggere and Chickabommasandra are some examples of such projects. However there is no clarity on who will be the beneficiaries of these projects.
It has been recommended to split the entire programme into three distinct phases and each phase of work to be completed in eighteen months' time	Phase-wise demarcation is done, though none of the projects have followed the time-line and there is time escalation in all the projects.
Good governance with strong emphasis on participation, accountability, transparency, rule of law and responsiveness of the Government	Very few examples of good governance with strong values of transparency, participation, etc. In fact, it is just the opposite of what the CDP has suggested.
Involving communities and stakeholders in the decision-making process	Absent in most of the projects. On an average only one meeting was held by the implementing agency, which broadly explained the project design. In some slums even that basic meeting did not take place.

The community centres and community toilet blocks will have to be located in each of the slums where there is a provision for underground drainage facility (UGD).	Not followed in each slum. Even DPRs do not outline why this has not been followed. No necessity of community toilets as toilets are inbuilt but it is the community centers that are missing.
It is recommended that 542 schools and public health centres (one school and one public health centre for each slum) be established by the Government in the slums identified to cater to the need of primary education and basic health services. These public health centres can co-exist with community centres so that common facilities like electricity and water could be shared.	Not being followed. Even in project slums, this component and social infrastructure are missing.
For the purpose of operation and maintenance it is estimated that 20% of the cost of assets would be required to maintain the assets for a period of five years after construction. After this period it is recommended that the ULBs charge the inmates for the provision of services to recover the O&M costs.	DPRs of BBMP have factored in O& M expenses in their cost details. This component is missing in all KSCB DPRs. There is no discussion with the people on this.
The CDP recommends adoption of a State legislation by which at least 20% of the developed land in all housing projects (both public and private agencies) would be earmarked for Economically Weaker Section (EWS) as well as Low-Income Group (LIG) categories.	No progress has been made in bringing in this legislation.
Cost of construction of a house : Rs 1.75 lakhs	Cost exceeds 1.75 lakhs. BBMP units are costing 3.25 laks while KSCB units are costing 1.8 laks. How is this difference per unit allowed or attained under the same scheme is not clear.
Security of tenure to be given to people	No clarity on this. It is one of the most critical aspects not addressed by the Government/ implementing agencies

6.5 Selection of project areas

There are 542 slums in Bengaluru and it is difficult for agencies to implement new projects in all these slums in a limited period of time. While declared slums are the responsibility of KSCB, undeclared slums come under the jurisdiction of BBMP. The implementation of any new project should have a rationale and follow standard criteria for the selection of project areas and beneficiaries. The Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP) should provide principles and guidelines for this rationale and criteria. As discussed in Part I of the report, the CDP gives general guidelines for development, but area-specific recommendations are missing in the BSUP CDP. The present study and fieldwork in various slums reveal the fact that even general guidelines provided by the CDP have not been followed in the actual implementation of BSUP (refer to Table 8).

The CDP recommends that 2,17,257 households should be covered by the BSUP and all 542 slums should be covered with education and health care facilities. The actual implementation is of a much smaller scale. The total number of dwelling units in different phases to be constructed by both the agencies are less than 16,500. Provision of social infrastructure (for health and education) is also limited to the housing projects and there is no effort being made by any agency for the exclusive implementation of health and education-related programmes in all slums across the city.

In a way, the CDP has recommended coverage of most of the slums and maximum number of the slum population through one intervention or the other. In reality, however, a small segment of the slum population and slums have been selected for this project. The following table gives the actual

progress of the project as of October 2009.

Table 9: Number of slums covered under BSUP

Implementing Agency/ ULB	Number of slums covered in various phases of the project	Number of dwelling units built / to be built under various phases of the project
BBMP	18 slums	1,691
KSCB	55 slums	14,754

Source: Status report of KUIDFC November 2009

It is evident from this data that the CDP is far more ambitious in its scale than what the agencies on the ground are planning to achieve. The JNNURM Project is getting over in 2012 and currently it is in its mid-term. As far as implementation of the project is concerned, not even 50% of the planned vision of the CDP has been achieved. As discussed earlier, most of the beneficiaries across slums of Bengaluru have not got their respective dwelling unit yet.

On the selection of slums, the following key issues emerge from this research study:

- ✓ The CDP has not provided any specific criteria for selecting slums under the BSUP project. Rather, the CDP aims at covering as many slums as possible for this project. While the CDP specifies the number of households to be benefited by the project, it recommends coverage of all 542 slums by health and education related interventions.
- ✓ Lack of criteria given by the CDP is manifested in the way slums have been selected for this project. None of the DPRs clarify why a certain slum has been selected for this project and DPRs have not mentioned the minimum basic requirements needed for a slum to qualify for this project.
- ✓ The implementing agencies have ignored even the general recommendations of the CDP. The actual number of beneficiaries covered under the project is much less than the CDP's assessment. Secondly, extension of the project to all 542 slums for education and health purposes is completely missing from the implementation plan of BBMP and KSCB.
- ✓ In some slums people are opposing this project and they claim that the respective implementing agencies are imposing the BSUP project on them. (See Box No.)

6.6 Consent of people

The problem of people's rejection of the project is related to the previous one on lack of selection criteria for the slums. As discussed in the previous section there are several projects which do not have consent of people and implementing agencies are imposing the project on them. From the case studies of slums which rejected the project, the following key reasons for the same can be pointed out:

Box 8

Selection by the agency, rejection by the people

There are several projects which do not have the consent of the people. In a way, the project has been forced upon them. One such example is that of Bhuvaneshwari Nagar slum (located along Uttarahalli lake). The KSCB is the implementing agency of the project in this area. The DPR proposes 880 houses for the area to be built in group housing (G+3) pattern. Around the beginning of 2009, these slum-dwellers were informed about the JNNURM project and its BSUP components like group housing (G+3), sanitation, sewerage, roads, street lights and other such components. This initial visit was followed by the survey of 450 households by the KSCB.

Even with the constant pressure from KSCB, people of the area are not accepting the project, rather they want *pattas* to their existing land. They feel that the quality of the houses that they themselves build will be far better than what KSCB promises to provide under JNNURM. Their specific demand is for respective *Pattas* on 20*30 sq. ft. of land, as promised by the Ashraya scheme in 1992 (notification dated 28.08.1992). In 2005 this area was notified as a slum and brought under the jurisdiction of KSCB. In the notice dated 19th November 2008, the KSCB proposes construction of 1000 houses in this area. There is discrepancy in the exact number of houses which are proposed. The DPR says 880, while people have been informed that it is 850.

People in Bhuvaneshwari Nagar have witnessed a long struggle to get their land rights. Every government since 1972 has promised it and a few have issued notifications for transferring land rights to people. People feel that their long battle for land rights will be lost if they accept the JNNURM project. The people are suspicious about this project as there is lack of explanation from the implementing agency on patta and land rights issues. So far, KSCB's response to peoples' demand for *pattas* has been negative. There was one meeting of people with the KSCB, in which people voiced their concerns and raised their demands. However KSCB is reiterating that the project will be implemented and that very soon bio-metric cards will be made for each family. People have also organised dharnas and processions but these have had no impact on KSCB, which is forcefully trying to impose this project.

Similar is the case with other slums. For instance, in Indira Gandhi slum, people have filed a petition against the project. BBMP, which is responsible for this project, has failed to convince people to accept the new housing project. People feel that the quality of existing housing and infrastructure is of better quality than what BBMP is offering. 180 households in the slum have got their *pattas* in 1995 through the Ashraya scheme. Other families are demanding extension of these *pattas* to every household, instead of forcing an altogether new project on them. In spite of a High Court stay order, BBMP officials are conducting surveys of the area and people constantly fear demolition of their existing houses. People have also taken the help of the local MLA for some key legal and official processes.

During the course of the study, we found the people of Anatha Ashrama and Samatha Nagar slums also opposing the project. Their demand is for *pattas* to their existing houses. They want agencies to provide them with basic infrastructure like water, drains, electricity and roads. When asked about this high degree of opposition to this project from slum dwellers, one senior BBMP official said, "*The opposition to the project is politically motivated. People had given their consent to the project earlier and hence, BBMP had selected those slums. We hope this opposition will soon end and work will be started on the project*".

- People are keen to get patta / ownership right to their existing dwelling. Lack of clarity on this aspect has made people suspicious of the intent of this project.
- People demand regularization of *pattas* and extension of the same to every household. Some of them have got *pattas* during earlier housing schemes and they are not ready to forego them.
- Idea of living in group housing / multi-storeyed buildings and sharing the space with many others does not appeal to many people and they feel that the quality of existing dwelling is better than what the BSUP scheme will provide them.

6.7 Selection of beneficiaries

In addition to the lack of criteria for selection of project slums, there is lack of clarity on selection of beneficiaries. As discussed, the CDP provides a general guideline to include every urban poor under the BSUP scheme. This general guideline has not been followed by the agencies and they have been selective about the slums and the same applies in the case of beneficiaries. All the families currently living in the selected slums have been surveyed and hence they automatically

become the beneficiaries of the project. Neither the selection criteria of slums, nor the selection criteria of beneficiaries have been listed in any of the DPRs.

Responding to the lack of criteria for selection of beneficiaries, a senior BBMP officer mentioned, “*Consultants who prepared the DPR carefully looked at the priorities suggested by the CDP and accordingly slums were selected. Once selected, NGOs like Mahila Milan and CHS played a key role in identifying the beneficiaries*”. However this view of BBMP is not shared by a large number of beneficiaries. During the field work, as high as 40% of beneficiaries said that they are not aware of how and why they have been chosen as beneficiaries of the project. About 50% of them said that there was a public meeting organised by an NGO and respective agencies where names of the beneficiaries were announced and discussed.

The identification of beneficiaries comes under the scanner mainly for those projects which are located on the peripheral areas of the cities. According to the guidelines, the DPR should mention the names of beneficiaries based on the socio-economic survey and this list should be notified and published on the website of the ULB / implementing agency. This guideline has been violated by many DPRs (refer to Table). The Deshyanagar slum DPR is one such example where the list of beneficiaries is neither in the document , nor on the official website of the KSCB.

Box 9

Who are the beneficiaries?

Similar to Deshyanagar slum DPR, there are several DPRs which do not have names and details of beneficiaries. For the *in situ* development sites, it is understood that people currently living in the slum are beneficiaries of the project. However, lack of clear mention of this in the respective DPRs raises doubt and confusion among the people. The issue is more critical in case of the projects located in the peripheral areas. Sadarmangala is one such example. Located about 5-6 Kms from Hoodi circle in Varthur Constituency, Sadarmangala has very poor connectivity and transportation facility to the rest of the city. According to the DPR, there will be a total of 448 dwelling units. The section officer at the site stated that a total of 540 houses will be constructed on this particular site.

There are different versions on who the beneficiaries are as well. While the DPR says, “*slum-dwellers of Shanthinagar, D.S.Road and M.V.Garden will be rehabilitated in Sadarmangala, as their current housing is congested and they do not have adequate facilities*”, the site supervisor and contractor have an altogether different version.. They said that people living along the railway tracks near Byappanhalli and K. R. Puram will be rehabilitated in Sadarmangala. One of the senior officers in KSCB also stated that some families living in Deshyanagar will be relocated to Sadarmangala. On the other hand, people living in Shanthinagar slum have neither been informed of any relocation nor are they ready to be relocated to peripheral areas of the city.

There are several houses in Sadarmangala constructed under the Ashraya scheme . They are two-storeyed buildings and have one room, kitchen and a toilet. This construction happened about 15 years back. The striking point is that most of these houses are still vacant. Some construction workers, working presently on the site are occupying these houses. This raises a question on the intent of such projects. Like Sadarmangala, Laggere and Chickabommasandra are also examples of projects where there is lack of information on the beneficiaries.

7. Key components of the Project and process issues

BSUP has two important components, one is the physical component and the other is the soft issues. Provision of shelter through *in situ* development or slum rehabilitation, provision of civic amenities and infrastructure facilities are key components of the project and almost every DPR of Bengaluru slums has been prepared around these components. These key components are met through several sub-components and processes, which are interrelated. The flow-chart given

below shows these components.

These components are interlinked through various sets of processes outlined by the BSUP guidelines. While some processes and components deal with institutions and agencies involved in the planning and implementation of JNNURM, there are some key processes prescribed, involving beneficiaries and implementing agencies. For instance, the CDP and DPRs are important components at policy and planning level (refer to section above). In this section an emphasis will be laid on some of the key physical components of the project and the processes by which these components are handled and delivered to the people.

Figure 2 : Flow Chart: BSUP Components and Process Linkages

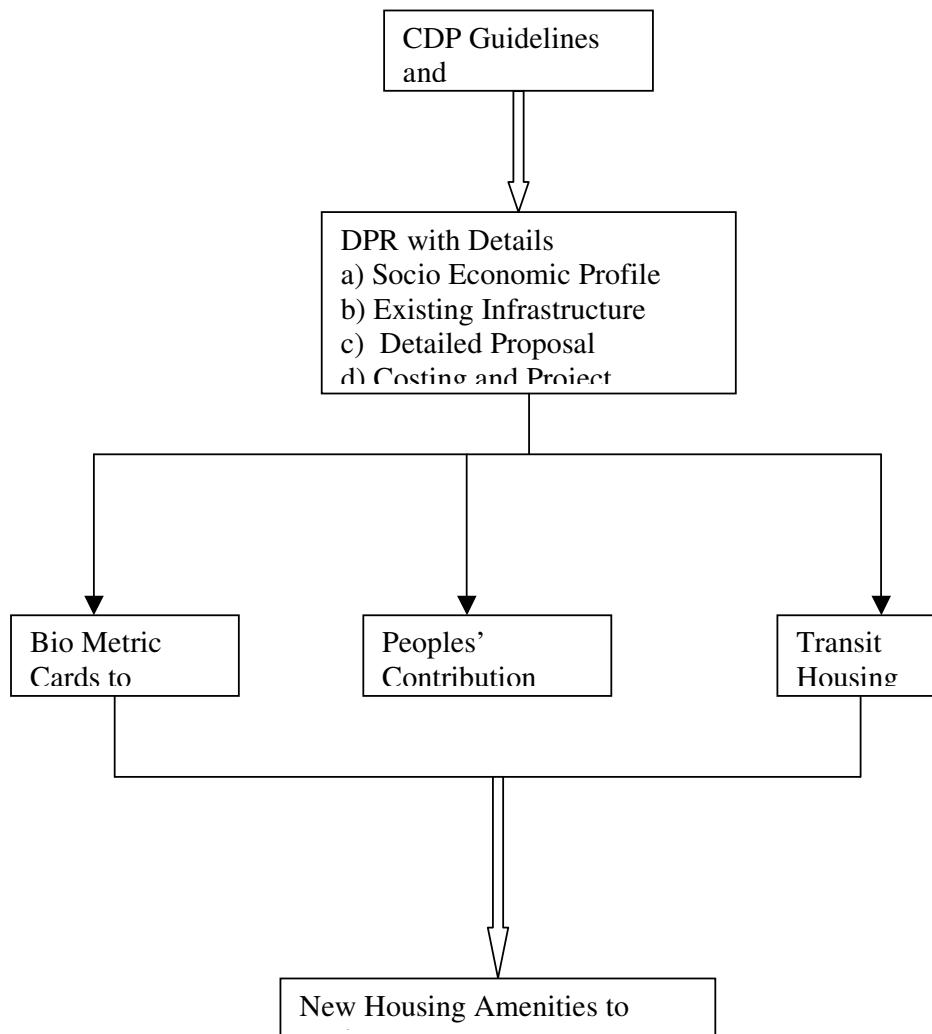
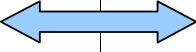


Table 10: Key components and process issues

Main Components		Key Processes Associated
Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP)		Socio-economic and infrastructure analysis, visioning exercise and stakeholders' participation in recommendations and identification of priorities.
Detailed Project Report (DPR)		Socio-economic and infrastructure profiling of the slum, stakeholders' participation
Socio-economic survey and bio-metric cards		Socio-economic survey and discussions with beneficiaries prior to the launch of project, issue of bio-metric cards
Transit housing		Implementing agency / ULB has to provide this facility prior to construction of new dwelling units
Beneficiary contribution and installments		Discussion with beneficiaries, their consent on installments, role of NGOs in mobilising self-help groups and providing access to easy bank loans at affordable rates.
Quality and timely construction of dwellings and other amenities		Formation of beneficiaries' group to do day-to-day monitoring, third party monitoring, regular status report to the SLNA, in this case to KUIDFC
Operation and Maintenance (O&M)		Formation of beneficiaries' group, discussion with the beneficiaries on O&M of project, deciding the rates and managing the O&M over the years.
Security of tenure		Security of tenure to be given to people, discussion on this, clarity to be established and people to be well informed.

7.1 Socio-economic surveys and bio-metric cards

According to the guidelines of the Ministry, a detailed socio-economic profile of the slum and analysis of current status of infrastructure and amenities need to be done during the preparation of the DPR and the DPR should be based on existing profile of the slums. Based on these surveys, the list of beneficiaries of the project should be attached to the DPR and should also be notified in the respective website of ULB or implementing agency. This record of surveyed beneficiaries has to be computerised. The process of detailed socio-economic and infrastructure survey starts at the phase of DPR preparation and accordingly bio-metric cards are issued.

As per the guidelines of the Ministry, the DPRs should include details of the survey, of biometric cards and of beneficiaries. From a closer look at most of the DPRs, it is evident that this norm of socio-economic survey and identification of beneficiaries has been sidelined in case of many projects (refer to the section on DPRs). For instance, the DPR of Deshyanagar, Laggere, Sadarmangala, Nellupuram and Chickabommasandra do not have any of the components related to the socio-economic survey and bio-metric cards. The absence of these processes are reaffirmed by the beneficiaries. According to the residents of Deshyanagar, the socio-economic and infrastructure survey did not take place prior to the project. Similarly residents of Agraharadasahalli, Rajendranagar, Nellupuram and Srinivaspura also mentioned that socio-economic household-level survey did not take place prior to the project. A majority of residents are not aware of the process by which they were identified and selected as beneficiaries.

A majority of residents (about 40%) did not have bio-metric cards at the time of the field work for this study. These residents belong to Panthrapalya, Rajendranagar, Srinivaspura, Agraharadasahalli and Nellupuram. While a large number of people in several project areas have been issued bio-metric cards, the purpose of these cards has not been explained either on the card or to the beneficiaries by the respective implementing agencies. While a majority of the residents feel that the bio-metric cards are guarantee for housing, more than one third of the residents are not aware of the purpose of bio-metric cards. Some of them even see this card as identity proof and ownership guarantee. This confusion has come up mainly because of lack of communication from the implementing agencies regarding some of these processes and formalities. Some of the residents in Deshyanagar reported that the officials of the KSCB are now questioning the authenticity of the card given by the KSCB itself.

7.2 Beneficiary contribution to the project

As per JNNURM guidelines, the ULBs implementing the schemes would be eligible to obtain Central Grants to the extent of 50% of the project cost; the balance 50% has to be funded through State/ULB/Parastatal share, including beneficiary contribution. The split among the agencies in the second category is left to the determination of the State Government in consultation with the concerned urban local bodies implementing the projects. Beneficiary contribution to the extent of 12% of housing unit cost is permissible under BSUP, with some relaxations made for SC, ST and other weaker sections of society. As discussed in the previous section on DPRs, the DPRs of most of the projects give detailed cost estimates of the project. With this detailed cost, cost per dwelling can be estimated. Some DPRs have even mentioned this cost. On an average, this cost ranges from Rs. 1.8 lakh to 2.5 lakh.

The loophole with such estimates is that they do not portray the exact amount of contributions to be made by different sections of the beneficiaries in that particular slum. The lack of such information in the DPRs and lack of transparency in this matter has forced people to pay whatever amount has been communicated to them. A large number of people mentioned (83%) that there was no discussion on their contributions and the number of installments of payment. They accepted whatever figure and duration for this payment were told to them. More than half of the residents do not have any clarity or information on the amount to be paid by them. For instance, in Gautham Colony, people do not know how much has to be their contribution and some of them have been told that this could be as high as Rs. 75,000 per family. Similarly in Panthrapalya, Jasma Bhavan, Muniyappa Garden and Nellupuram people have lack of clarity on this aspect.

The decision on the number of installments by which this contribution is to be paid has also been taken in a very non-transparent way. None of the respondents mentioned that any discussion had taken place in this regard and nor was their consent taken in this regard. Only in Kalyani and Kodihalli slums had people received notices from the BBMP with regard to the contribution and number of installments, but that too was without people's consent on the same.

The DPRs of BBMP, i.e. DPRs of Pilot and Phase I projects, the share of beneficiaries' contribution to the total project cost has been estimated and given for each individual slum. In the Pilot Project it is 6.9% and in Phase I it is 7.1%. This is based on the prescribed format for the DPRs by the MoHUPA. However, the same has not been communicated to the actual beneficiaries and hence, there is lack of clarity among people about this critical area of the project.

Another critical area is people's access to easy loans for paying their contributions. The DPRs of BBMP mention "*Beneficiary contribution to the extent of 12% of housing unit cost would be mobilized through the involvement of NGOs / SHGs and Micro-Financial Institutions. It has been ascertained from both micro-financial institutions and commercial banks for their willingness to participate in the slum redevelopment in respect of providing loans to beneficiaries towards their contribution*".

However, the reality is different from what the DPR promises. Except for Kalyani slum, where the local NGO formed the self-help groups and tried to seek bank loans, people are dependent on their own arrangements in all other slums. People's savings and private borrowings are the main sources through which they have arranged their part of the contribution.

7.3 New housing, Operation & Maintenance (O&M)

As discussed in the previous sections, at the time of this study, none of the beneficiaries had been given their new housing facility. Therefore, emphasis in this study was laid mostly on the processes revolving around this new housing project and people's inputs on the same. In the previous section, we have also discussed that in many localities people are not happy with what is being offered by the BSUP JNNURM and hence the project is rejected by them. However those who have accepted the project are satisfied with what has been offered to them. The points of dissatisfaction arise when there is lack of communication from the implementing agencies or when alternate transit arrangements have not been made prior to the project. Most of the residents are aware of their housing plan, the area of the dwelling and the number of floors, as these are the only facts and figures shared by respective agencies and NGOs involved in the project.

Apart from the housing plans, people are also aware of other facilities like water, electricity and paved roads being provided. The aspect which people are not aware of is that the facilities provided to them are not free forever and that they in the long run need to take care of O&M expenses. .The DPRs of BBMP say, "*As per JNNURM Guidelines, the project cost also includes Operation and Maintenance for a period of 5 years at 10% of the assets created (2% per year)*". Following this norm the DPR also outlines O&M expenses of the project.

On the other hand, none of the KSCB DPRs outline O&M as a component of the project and in many DPRs the cost has not been taken into account. However, while BBMP has clearly outlined the O&M expenses in the DPRs, there is no discussion with the beneficiaries on this matter. None of the residents in BBMP or KSCB area have any clarity on future water charges or other O&M expenses. BBMP officials mentioned that O&M will be jointly handled by the BBMP and the beneficiaries' committees, but so far beneficiaries' committees have not been formed or been proactive in most of the localities. In some slums like Kodihalli, the beneficiaries' committee is still in a nascent stage and has not been given an important function like O&M of the project.

Box 10

Social Infrastructure, IEC and Convergence with other schemes

The Ministry guidelines clearly indicate provision of social infrastructure, IEC materials and convergence of BSUP with already existing schemes of social welfare. The CDP of Bengaluru also envisages the extensive spread of social infrastructure to all 542 slums. In reality however this aspect has been completely ignored. According to BBMP, availability of land will determine the provision of school or health care facility. In Gopalpura there is need for a school, but due to non-availability of surplus land BBMP has dropped the plan of building the school. This shows that need of people has not been factored into planning process.

On the other hand KSCB has the important component of IEC in all its project areas, covering awareness building on health and education. For this IEC component, KSCB has taken the help of a private player called Faith Health Care Pvt. Ltd in 30 KSCB slums. During this study, people have however denied any such IEC activity taking place in their slums. In fact, in the name of IEC only some drawings of the project have been distributed to the people.

7.4 Security of tenure and ownership issues

One of the most critical aspects of this project is security of tenure. The seven-point charter includes security of tenure besides housing, water supply, sanitation, education and health. The

BSUP CDP also includes this as an important objective. However in the absence of an explanation of “security of tenure”, agencies have interpreted it differently.

The DPR of BBMP talks of adding suitable protection clauses linking handing over of Hakku Patras or title deeds to the repayment of loans taken in lieu of beneficiary contribution. It also suggests addition of clauses in the Hakku Patras restricting sale of the dwellings as follows: *“To ensure that the dwelling units are not transferred or ‘sold’ by the beneficiaries, suitable protection clauses have to be proposed to be included in the ‘Hakku Patra’. The physical handing over of the ‘Hakku Patras’ could be aligned to the repayment of the loans taken in lieu of beneficiary contribution”*.

On the other hand, the DPRs of KSCB are silent on this aspect.

On the ownership of new dwellings under the housing project, the official in charge of BSUP in BBMP remarked that *“ownership of new housing will be with BBMP.”* Another senior official of the BBMP confirmed this fact. He stated that *“ownership and property rights are with the implementing agency to avoid renting out and selling of property (by the beneficiaries). People only have the right to live in the new dwellings. State-level legislation on property rights and housing is required and once it is in place, the distinction between right to own the property and right to enjoy the property will be clear. In case of BSUP, people have the right to enjoy the property but do not have ownership rights”*.

The officials of KSCB and KUIDFC also reiterated the same points. This reflects that the State government and implementing agencies are clear about ownership issues. However the same information has not been conveyed to the people. All the residents covered under this study are under the impression that they will get Hakku Patra or patta (ownership right) over the new dwelling unit. There has been no discussion by either BBMP or KSCB with regard to ownership and security of tenure issues with the people or civil society. The mention in BBMP’s DPR about “protection clauses” in the Hakku Patra is not known to the people. Even civil society, NGOs and researchers have not been informed about ownership of dwellings not being given to the people.

What needs to be noted is that these are asset less people and having the ownership of their dwelling in their name would enable them to raise loans at low interest rates from nationalised banks for various exigencies by pledging the dwelling as collateral. If they are asset-less they will remain in the clutches of usurious moneylenders. On the other hand, the notion of having right to enjoy the property but not the right to own the property poses serious question on the rationale of peoples' contributions. If people do not have right to ownership, why should they invest their hard earned money on a property.

Box 11

Sale deed without ownership

In some slums like Gopalpura people have got the “sale deed” document from the BBMP and it has raised their expectations of having ownership over the property. However a closer look at the sale deed confirms what BBMP officials mentioned about the ownership. The sale deed calls the beneficiary ‘purchaser’ and BBMP the ‘vendor’. It says, *“The Vendor assigns to have hold and to enjoy the same forever as absolute owner thereof free from all encumbrance and charges. The Vendor does hereby covenant with the purchaser that the vendor is now lawfully seized and possessed of the said schedule property from all the encumbrances and defects whatsoever and that it has absolute authority to sell the above said property”*. While entering into this sale deed with the BBMP, beneficiaries were not told the exact meaning and implications of such an agreement and hence they believed that property has been transferred in their name. Moreover the sale deed document is in English!

Box 12

Deshyanagar – a case study

Deshyanagar is a small slum with about 112 families near the Bengaluru East Railway Station. CIVIC was asked by Mythri, a local NGO, to intervene in the NURM-BSUP implementation at Deshyanagar by the KSCB in April 2009. A preliminary meeting with the community members threw up an immediate challenge - the families had been told to vacate the site and go wherever they wished to and come back after two years when the houses would be built. The community, while happy that houses would be built for them, had no clue where to go in the interim period. They were not sure they would get the houses when they returned as the bio-metric cards they had been given did not state so. There was no beneficiary committee in place to take decisions. The community had no idea of the project cost, the house plan, their contribution, the tenure, etc. Apparently, the DPR had been readied by KSCB and was also sanctioned by the Centre in 2006-07 without the community even knowing about it, let alone being consulted.

CIVIC got the DPR under RTI and, in the presence of KSCB officials, shared the details of the project and also the lacunae in the preparation of the DPR at a first meeting with the whole community. A beneficiary committee was formed to join hands in the implementation of the project. The Committee went to the KSCB on 21st May 2009 with many requests – the prominent being transit stay arrangement. The KSCB orally asked the community to vacate the land, which they had inhabited for over 30 years, assuring transit stay arrangements in a week's time. Based on the assurance, the community cleared a portion of the site on 22nd May 2009 and occupied an adjacent pavement pitching their tents. However, they were left to fend for themselves and the promised transit stay arrangement did not materialise.

CIVIC submitted a complaint to the Chief Information Commissioner under Section 18(1) of the RTI Act 2005 - concerning provision of information within 48 hours - as the life and liberty of the slum-dwellers were affected. CIVIC also petitioned the Karnataka Human Rights Commission. Pressured by these actions, KSCB orally instructed the families to put up their huts on BBMP land nearby on 22nd June 2009, assuring them that KSCB would get BBMP approval for the same. The very next day however, they were vacated by the BBMP. KSCB did offer temporary accommodation at Sadarmangala, which the slum-dwellers refused to accept as it was outside the city and far from their workplaces and their children's schools.

Meanwhile, a local residents' welfare association (RWA) objected to their presence on the pavement. After a struggle of over 6 months with the RWA, police and railway officials, and both KSCB and BBMP failing to find a suitable place, the slum-dwellers were accommodated in the half-finished newly-constructed building itself. This clearly showed the non-existent coordination between the BBMP, the ULB, and the KSCB. The KSCB also admitted in the hearing at the Information Commission that it had not budgeted for transit stay arrangement for Phase 1&2 projects but would make allocations for the same in the Phase 3 projects. It was surprising that KSCB had only technocrats and no sociologist to deal with the human issues involved in their projects.

The DPRs obtained under RTI at various stages of intervention in Deshyanagar show two different project costs – the earlier one Rs.6.23 crores and the later one Rs.2.43 crores. There is no explanation offered for the difference. The DPRs are nothing but technical details of construction sans all other details required as per the specifications of the toolkits of the Centre. The initial DPR contained no details of the socio-economic survey, the beneficiary list or the consultations with the community. The “whole slum” approach mandated under BSUP-JNNURM with details regarding the availability of school, anganwadi, health center and social security are totally missing. A private party has done the DPR. How did the KSCB make the payment for such an incomplete DPR, how did the KUIDFC pass it, how did the SLSC stamp it and how did the Centre approve it – is all a mystery.

Under RTI, the KSCB stated that after completion of the project, the entire property will be handed over to the BBMP and it is the BBMP which will take up the issue of security of tenure. The BBMP has no clarity on this either. The community did not know that such an opportunity to get tenurial security in NURM.

The Project Monitoring Units (PMUs) and Project Implementation Units (PIUs) were instituted in KSCB only in Jan-Feb 2010; well after the construction was started. The Third Party Inspection and Monitoring (TPIM) team is yet to be appointed. There is absolutely no monitoring of quality of works. The community is complaining of low ratio of cement going into construction. The KSCB conducted an awareness programme on family health recently. However the concept of convergent delivery of social services which is so prominently emphasized under NURM, is conveniently forgotten.

The written replies obtained under RTI from the KSCB are clear on the following issues:

- **There is no clear cut guideline formed or followed w.r.t Beneficiary Contribution - as to how this is to be collected.** In this case a sum of Rs.5100 was collected from each family 15 months before the construction was started. KSCB is insisting on immediate payment of the rest of the Beneficiary Contribution. There is absolutely no reference to the socio-economic survey and the economic capabilities of the families to pay.
- **There is no action plan for implementation of NURM for the year 2009-10.** This clearly indicates the ad hoc manner in which the entire programme is being implemented. Though the construction started in May 2009, one and half blocks have been completed out of 4 blocks in almost a year's time, while the NURM guidelines indicate an outer limit of 15 months for completion.

All these issues indicate lack of procedures, transparency and institutional capability inside the implementing agency. There is also lack of role clarity and coordination amongst agencies responsible for NURM.

7.5 Process flow and institutional mechanisms

One of the key elements of BSUP JNNURM is the interrelationship between institutions and institutions and beneficiaries. In an earlier section we have analysed how the State Level Nodal Agency (SLNA) is responsible for the overall planning, implementation and monitoring of the JNNURM and how it has close relationship with the ULB and implementing agency. In this section an emphasis will be laid on how various agencies function with regard to the actual implementation of the project. The ULBs and implementing agencies have been assigned with the functions pertaining to the planning and implementation of the project at slum level. In Bengaluru, it is evident that most of these functions whether related to actual service delivery, or day to day project management or project monitoring has been subcontracted to several consultants. The table given below is an illustration of involvement of consultants for delivering several key functions of the project.

Table 11: An example of consultants' involvement

Implementing Agency/ ULB	Year of Contract	Name of the Consultant	Role of Consultant (as per contract agreement)	Consultancy Fee (as per contract)
BBMP	March 2007	Manasa Consultants	Preparation of DPR under Phase 1	Rs. 1,00,00,000
BBMP	January 2008	Manasa Consultants	Services for project management supervision and including quality	Rs. 17,50,000

			assurance for the BSUP in 5 pilot slums	
BBMP	February 2008	S.R.Ravi	BSUP in 5 identified slums (Construction of dwelling units and provision of infrastructure services)	Rs. 13,03,08,304
BBMP	April 2009	CIVIL AID	3 rd party inspection of 5 pilot slums	Rs. 1,10,000 plus 10.3% service charges
BBMP	March 2008	KSPHC	All functions related to the transit accommodation	Rs. 69.03 crore
KSCB	December 2008	RGRHCL/ KARNIK	Construction and Infrastructure works in 8 Phase I slums	Rs. 4161.62 lakh

As per the guidelines of the Ministry, the ULB / implementing agency should have a Project Implementation Unit (PIU). In case of BBMP the function related to implementation and day-to-day project management has been sub-contracted to Manasa Consultants and Urban Systems Pvt. Ltd. besides other contractors involved in the construction and provision of physical components of the project. On the other hand, till recently KSCB had not formed a separate PIU and it is only after July 2009 that recruitment of people for the PIU started. Both the cases of BBMP and KSCB raise following critical questions:

- If private players are involved in project management, how committed will they be to the involvement of beneficiaries in particular and civil society in general?
- If involvement of consultants has been done at various stages of the project, why has it not been factored in the project cost?
- If PIU has been started mid-term, how was the project managed during the initial 3 years?

KUIDFC on the other hand started its Project Monitoring Unit (PMU) only in February 2009, functioning outside the KUIDFC. According to a KUIDFC official, this has made the task of monitoring all the projects easier. KUIDFC, which is the SLNA, is also dependent on consultants for the monitoring functions. Outlining the constraints, one of the senior officials remarked: "*JNNURM is a time-bound project. Once the Ministry (GoI) provided all the guidelines and formats, it should have stuck to the same. Instead it comes up with new reporting formats every now and then and agencies like KUIDFC and implementing agencies are busy filling up these formats all the time. Rather than putting details on paper our aim should be the actual monitoring of the projects*".

On the other hand, the implementing agencies feel that JNNURM was launched without any preparation from their side. Proper training and guidelines were not given to them. As a result, they had to take help from various NGOs and consultants. Even during the preparation of the CDP, BBMP had a limited role, while most of it was carried out by the KUIDFC. The Technical Advisory Group did not have much interaction with the SLNA or implementing agency. In the absence of any advisory or technical support, agencies like BBMP and KSCB sought support from private consultants.

One of the key concerns is meeting the time-line of the project. Most of the projects are behind schedule. According to the KUIDFC, "*None of the projects in Bengaluru are on time and time-lines mentioned in the DPRs have not been followed. In 2008, 10 projects were to be completed but only one was nearing completion. KUIDFC becomes answerable for all these delays*".

On the other hand beneficiaries have not been conveyed the expected time of project completion. About 90% of the residents have no information on this. With the inadequate transit facilities people are forced to live in poor civic conditions. Responding to the time escalation, a KUIDFC official clearly mentioned that cost will also get escalated, but meeting that cost is the responsibility

of the ULB and implementing agency and not the beneficiaries.

Box 13

How participatory is the Project?

Participation of the stakeholders is envisaged by the Ministry's guidelines. In various sections of the report we have seen that this norm has not been followed. In preparing the CDP, the involvement of civil society was only at the end. In preparing the DPR, the ULBs have gone a step ahead and eliminated NGOs, civil society and beneficiaries, in particular, from the process. As a result, details of the DPRs came only after the project was implemented. In BBMP project areas, some NGOs like Mahila Milan were involved in functions like the household survey and for spreading awareness about the project. But from the FGDs it is evident that these meetings had limited scope and were not aimed at getting people's inputs to the DPR or in explaining the DPRs to the beneficiaries.

Except for a few slums, people have minimum access to the information and had least opportunities for discussing project details and clarifying their doubts. It is evident from this study that important points like contributions, O&M and ownership issues were hardly discussed with people either by NGOs or any of the implementing agencies. Formation of beneficiaries' committees has not been done and nor have agencies tried to facilitate a participatory platform. This makes BSUP no different from earlier projects. Apart from the quality and scale of the project, the elements of participation, accountability and transparency are missing from it and is no different from any other government-run welfare project.

Another serious concern about BSUP implementation is the non-involvement of elected representatives. On the one hand, the term of the local government in Bengaluru had come to an end in November 2006 and since no elections were held, a local body was non-existent for most of the project tenure. Elections were held to BBMP only recently in March 2010. On the other hand, there are no guidelines in the JNNURM Toolkit, CDP and respective DPRs on how exactly to involve local elected representatives in the implementation of BSUP. So far the key players have been the State-Level Nodal Agency, BBMP, KSCB and private parties. Evolving ways of involving local representatives is a challenge before the institutional structures of JNNURM.

8. Way forward

Based on the inputs given by various stakeholders during the course of this research, following are some suggestive ways towards improving the implementation of JNNURM and similar future projects.

a) Specifically in JNNURM implementation in Bengaluru:

- All agencies responsible for NURM (SLSC, SLEC, KUIDFC, BBMP, KSCB) need to be brought under SLSC immediately with clarity on roles & responsibilities with accountability fixed on designated officers, in black and white.
- City Technical Advisory Group (CTAG) has to be formed immediately in a transparent manner, as per the central guidelines to facilitate project implementation with all stakeholder's participation.
- Bring clarity on the role of consultants to all stakeholders. Put all contractual documents in public domain.

- Put all details of the project, CDPs/DPRs, budgets, project progress and expenditures on periodic basis, beneficiary list, etc., in public domain.
- Take stock of the present situation collectively – involving all stakeholders. Draw ‘action plans’ accordingly - by both implementers, BBMP and KSCB, for the rest of the project period and put up in public domain. Project Monitoring Units (PMUs) should play the active role.
- Make sure that in all project sites proper transit stay arrangements are provided for with water and toilet facilities. Necessary budgets as per the needs must be provided. This has to become part of action plan.
- Create beneficiary committees on each project site, educate and empower with entire project details. Solve local issues involving the beneficiary committees. This has to become part of action plan. Project Implementation Units (PIUs) should play the active role.
- The Third Party Inspection and Monitoring (TPIM) team need to be appointed immediately with clarity of role & responsibility. The contractual document to be put up in public domain.
- Monthly Programme Implementation Calendar (MPIC) as mandated under any central scheme has to be immediately put up inline with the action plan by BBMP and KSCB.
- Quarterly review under SLSC/CTAG at the city level and under PMU/PIU/TPIM at the site involving all stakeholders at that level should be done. The review should in addition to the financial/physical parameters focus on soft issues like time-lines, social parameters, peoples' problems, their satisfaction level, flow of information, participation and other such elements. The review reports need to be put in public domain.
- Draw a process for social audit. Conduct Social audits as per the guidelines in all project sites. The social audit reports need to be put in public domain.
- SLSC to bring out a procedure paper with clarity on security of tenure and beneficiary contribution immediately.

b) Overall

JNNURM though unfortunately is being reduced to a housing project now, is in reality a comprehensive urban poverty alleviation programme. It envisages convergence and dovetailing of other programmes like UIG, UIDSSMI, Sarva Sikhsa Abhiyan, Health Mission, Aam Aadmi Bima Yojana, Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana, National Social Assistance Programme, Prime Minister's Employment Generation Programmes, SJSRY etc., The plot was lost. It has to be resurrected immediately, before a slew of schemes like Rajeev Awaz Yojana and Urban Health Mission are launched, which otherwise will again be reduced to paper projects.

There are various agencies involved urban poverty alleviation programmes/schemes in the city, where NURM is one such programme. All agencies providing these services need to be brought under a single window delivery mechanism – Urban Poverty Alleviation Cell - not just for assimilation but to attain convergence. This cell should be situated in the BBMP, the ULB. This cell has to be guided by an Urban Pro-poor Policy, which needs to be developed by inclusive consultations at the earliest. The Urban Pro-poor Policy should cover the aspects of Land & Housing, Education, Health, Food/PDS, Water, Livelihood and Social security.

Urban Poverty Alleviation Cell should define BPL/Urban poor and create a baseline with real needs. The needs are to be practically assessed and prioritised with inclusive involvement and put up in public domain for receiving objections/suggestions. This should become the basis of Urban Pro-poor Policy, which should drive all the poverty alleviation programmes in Bengaluru.