

Urban Governance, Infrastructure Planning and the Urban Poor

CASUMM CIVIC half day workshop

Dec 18, 2007

UTC

Study objectives

- To study provision of basic services and large infrastructure development in 3 peri-urban areas of Bangalore (Mahadevpura, Kengeri and Bellandur) to understand the process of provision of services and the spatial and socio-economic impact on different groups, particularly the poor
- To explore transition of governance brought about by formation of BBMP

Research methodology used

- Interviews in sample areas
- Collection and analysis of secondary data from zonal/HQ govt offices, newspaper archives, related documents
- Photo documentation

Grounded field work and analysis

Sample areas and interviews

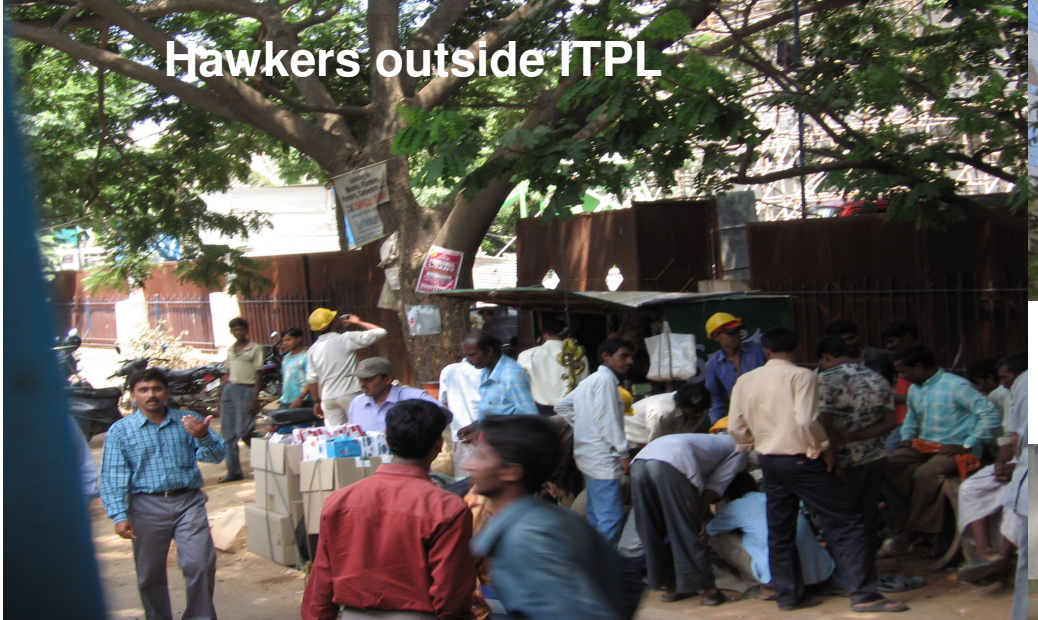
- Mahadevpura CMC:
 - Hoodi village
 - Kaverinagar slum
 - EPIP
 - Zonal officeTotal interviews: 46
- Bellandur GP:
 - Bellandur village
 - Devarabisanahalli
 - Migrant sheds
 - Zonal officeTotal interviews: 43
- Kengeri TMC:
 - Kengeri village
 - Kasthuramma slum
 - KST
 - Zonal officeTotal interviews: 49
- Head offices
 - BBMP
 - BDA
 - KIADB
 - BWSSBTotal interviews: 12

Basic description of 'planned' sample areas

| | Service provider | Facilities | Demographics |
|-------------------|---|---|---|
| EPIP | <p>KIADB provides facilities on payment of annual maintenance charge; property tax to CMC</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High road connectivity via 2 main roads- 19cr sponsored by GOK and GOI; • Unlimited Cauvery water • dedicated power • Septic tanks, no UGD or STP | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Export oriented firms (many IT, some manufacturing, hotels, hospitals, exhibition complex) • White collar • Large companies |
| KST | <p>BDA developed, handed over to TMC after court case; water supply from BWSSB</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good road connectivity (broad, maintained roads) • Cauvery water since 1997 • 30x40, 40x60 & 50x80 sites set around well maintained park • UGD | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Middle class families • Mostly home owners • Businessmen, professionals, Class I govt employees |
| EWS in KST | <p>BDA developed, handed over to TMC after court case; water supply from BWSSB</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Narrower main & cross rds • Cauvery water since 1997 • UGD • 16x23 sites now built to 3-4 storeys | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lower middle class families • Many Class III & IV govt workers & factory employees • Only 10% original allottees |



Cleaning windows ITPL



Hawkers outside ITPL



KST park



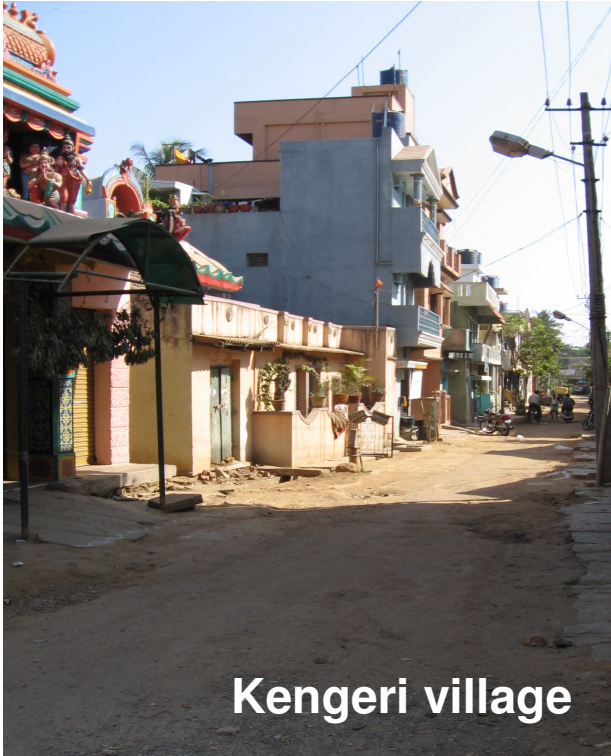
New EWS house



Original EWS Qrs house

Basic description of 'unplanned' sample areas

| | Service provider | Facilities | Demographics |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|---|---|
| Bellandur village | GP | Cemented main & cross rds; UGD; bore well water via indiv connections, no public taps | 20% rich landlords (Reddys) owning 75% land, 15% poor SC/STs, migrants; 9 reps in GP |
| Hoodi village and layouts | CMC | Tarred but potholed main rd; soak pits; mini water scheme, few indiv connections | 40% rich landlords (Reddys) owning 80% land, 25% poor SC/STs, 80% migrants |
| Devarabisana halli | GP | Mostly kutchra rds; partial UGD; bore well water via mini water supply | 50% poor SC/STs owning 20% land and migrants; 4 reps in GP |
| Kengeri village | TMC | Bad rds; soak pits; mini water scheme | 60% upper caste, 25% dalits |
| Kaverinagar slum | CMC | Bad rds; 1 out of 3 working public toilet complexes; mini water scheme | 80% SC/STs, 80% renters & 70% migrants, 148 hh have ownership rights |
| Kasthuramma slum | TMC, KSCB | Bad rds; 1 public toilet; mini water scheme | All are SCs; 32 houses + 110 huts, 75 more being built; have voters id & ration cards |
| Migrant sheds-Bellandur | Developers - ad hoc basis | Water tank filled by tankers; toilets built by developers | 5000 in sheds; from North India, KA, AP & TN; no voters id or ration cards |



Kengeri village



Dalit colony Devarabisanahalli



Open drain Hoodi



Dalit section, Kengeri village



New constrn in Bellandur



Devarabisanahalli



Kasthuramma slums



Picture house

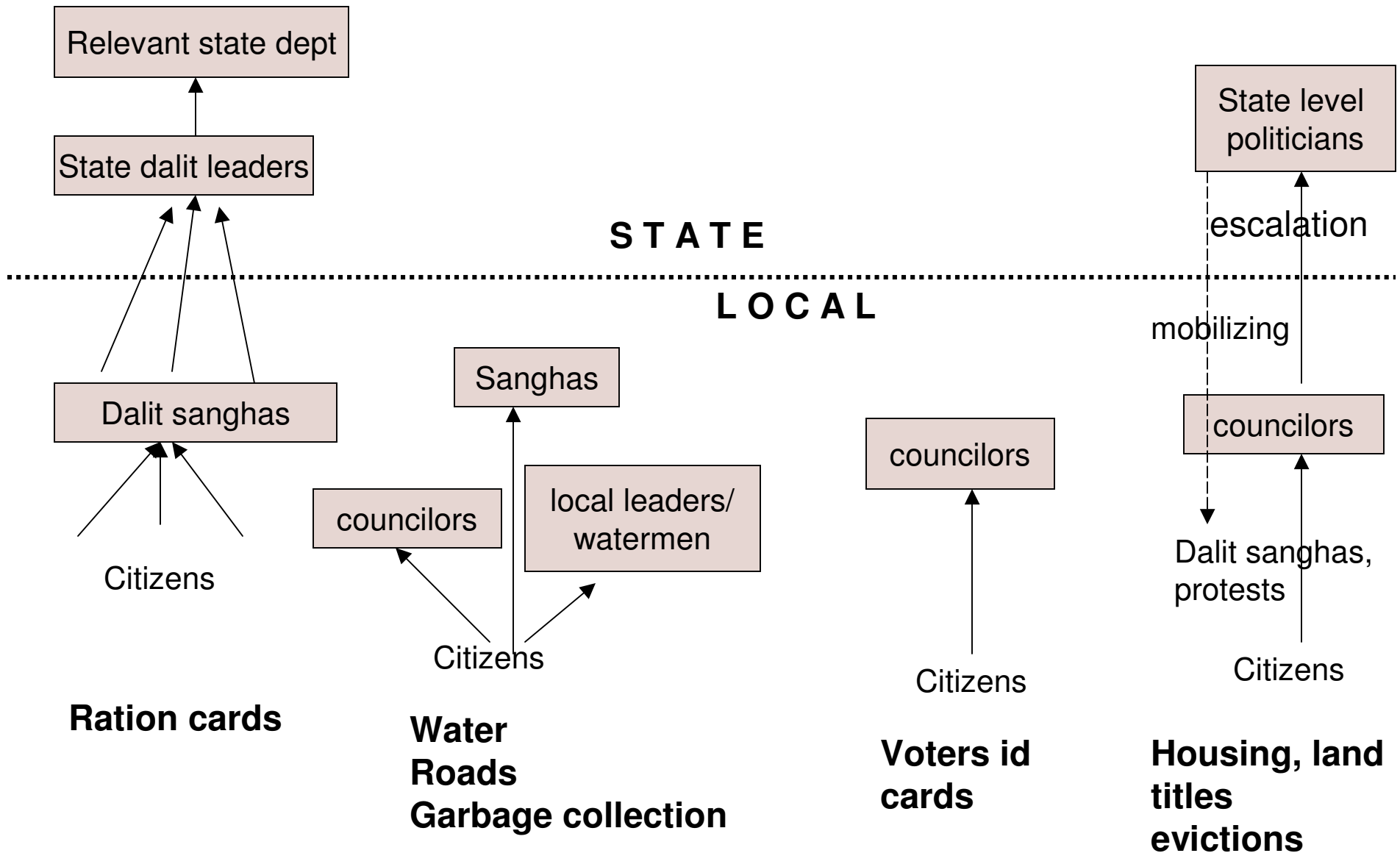


Migrant sheds Bellandur



KSCB housing in Kasthuramm slum

Where do poor groups go to access resources



Key findings: Land

- Huge land acquisition by KIADB for SSIs and IT companies (EPIP)
 - Gomala land treated as govt land (state govt and KIADB decide who benefits, not panchayats). 660 acres from 5 villages for EPIP. All Hoodi's gomala land acquired; SC/STs hit hard
 - 100 ha by BDA for KST from 2 villages
 - 300 + wetlands acquired by KIADB in Bellandur GP
 - Promoting subsidised lands for private/corporate sector- KIADB as middleman
- Acquisition process corrupt, unjust and non-transparent;
 - Influential persons get their land denotified thro senior bureaucrats and politicians
 - no role for local govts
- Higher vacancy rates in acquired and BDA/KIADB serviced lands, long time lag btw acquisition and construction

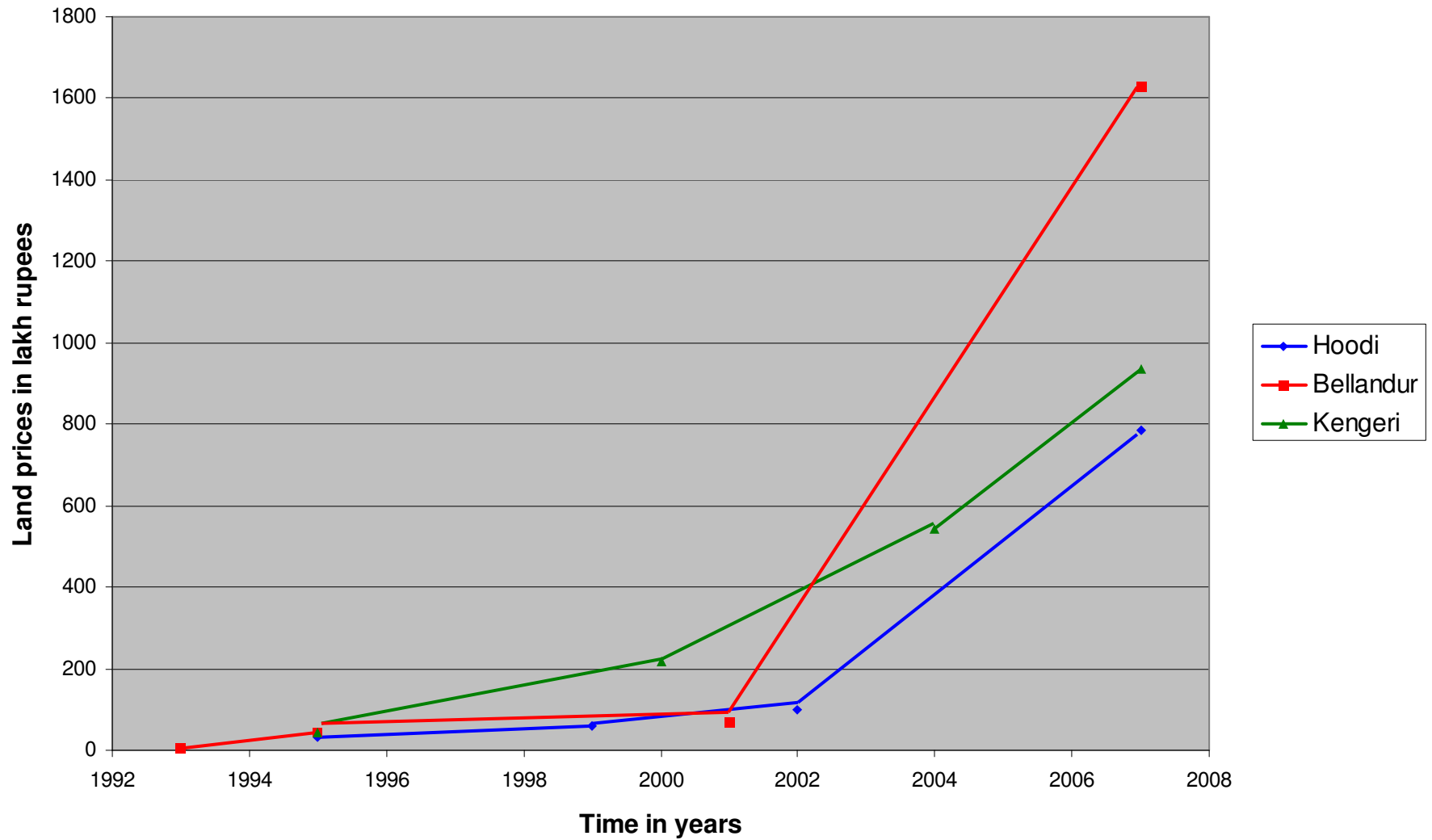
Govt policy for SSIs Vs Software

| Policy for SSI Industrial areas | Policy for EPIP |
|--|--|
| No assured power, water, road infrastructure | Dedicated power, unlimited Cauvery water, GOI-GOK supported roads |
| Generates considerable local employment | No direct local jobs; indirect opps from vending, petty shops, selling water |
| Size of site allotted less | Size of site allotted much more |
| Minimal or no tax waivers | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Many tax waivers under Mahiti (Millennium IT Policy)• Under EPIP Scheme, GOI supplied 100 mn grant and GOK 85 mn grant to set up Phase I; KIADB given maintenance grant of 2% of export turnover of units for 1st 5 yrs (88 mn recd till 2002) |
| Many spillover effects locally-jobs | Contribution to national economy but minimal local spillovers |

Key findings: Roads

- Whitefield main road and Kundalahalli main road developed (1999) under CIB GOI scheme for 19cr to improve road connectivity for EPIP
 - Pushing out of SSIs by IT companies and KIADB; Vacancies in EPIP- a not-accounted cost; promoting software related white collar non-local employment- part of deliberate strategy promoting services over manufacturing
 - Resistance to acquisition from Hoodi raitha horata sangha- not successful due to no high- level political support
- ORR in Bellandur splits village and leads to steep rise in land values
 - considerable resistance from Raitha Horata Samiti (16 villages) over 1996-99
 - Due to local and high level political support, more successful outcome- BDA idea of devt zone (250m) dropped and reduction in amount of land acquired.
- Blr Mysore Hwy (2003-05) and arterial road spurred devt in Kengeri
 - resistance from Kasthuramma slum due to demolition of 110 houses; KSCB built 32 houses, now building 75 houses

Comparing land values over time



Key findings: Planning

- **Planned areas Vs non planned areas**
 - skew in basic services and infra provision and funding in favor of ‘planned’ areas and middle & upper classes
 - Corruption in allotment leads to cheaper BDA sites being allocated to influential persons- high vacancy rates despite being ‘authorized’. Contrasted with high demand, occupied but ‘unauthorized’ pvt sites
 - Transfer of ‘planned’ areas to local govts for maintenance with not enough data on expenditure and works and no funding allocated for maintenance and future works
- **Sakrama**
 - Regularization of unauthorised layouts on payment of fee demanded now through Sakrama while BESCO and BWSSB connections were given and property tax collected from site owners
 - No coordination btw agencies (BWSSB, BESCO, CMCs/TMC/GP, BDA) in devt of areas (bldg and layout plans) largely due to pressure to generate revenues
 - BDA has failed in its role of planning authority in peripheral areas. How does an ‘unauthorized’ layout become authorised?
 - Payment of regularization fee only guarantees against threats of future stoppage of services

Key findings: Impact of high end developments on local environment

- Impact of IT and high rise on surrounding areas:
 - Increased population- strain on infrastructure
 - Environmental costs from dumping of garbage, sewage and constrn debris; contamination of ground water (EPIP has no STP); increased pollution from traffic, noise etc
 - Increased construction activity; increased migration; no enforcement of min quality of life for construction workers (men paid Rs 80/dy and women- Rs 60/dy)
 - Increased land prices due to which poor and middle classes being pushed out
 - Economic benefits to landlords and increased opportunities in hotels, autos, hawkers, small businesses

Key findings: Water

- Large scale extraction of ground water by IT and high end developments leading to drastic fall in water table (> 1000ft in Hoodi and Bellandur)
- Industries have got supply while they don't have STPs
- Poor groups (SC/STs and migrants) depend only on bore well water but do not have access to it if they do not have proper land documents (Janata colony in Devarabisanahalli)
- How do poor access water?
 - CMC facilities (public taps, mini water scheme)
 - Councilors (tankers, bore wells, connections)
 - Watermen (connections, release of water)
 - Dalit sanghas/slum associations (negotiations w/ CMC officials, MLA and councilors, protests, using state level dalit leadership)

Key findings: GBWASP

- Does not give priority to domestic and drinking water needs of those who don't have access to any water resources but to software and high end apartments.
- Who has got water and when? 135mld committed to GBWASP has been diverted to high end commercial/resid devts (Sahakarnagar, Vijaya Bank colony, Brigade Millennium)
- Huge delays in project implementation despite pvt mgt consultants-Meinhardt
- Renewed efforts to privatize at time of delivery of water. BWSSB not yet cancelled IFC contract, is liable to pay huge termination fees
- Entitlements to citizens not clear; higher tariffs with no price stability; project deadline for coverage of all shifted to 2012. Slums will get water last (pipeline not yet laid in Kaverinagar and Kasthuramma)
- Transfer of BBMP water assets to BWSSB in pilot GBWASP wards; Sources say BWSSB will disband water supply other than Cauvery water (public taps, mini water supply) to eliminate competing water sources

Key findings: GBWASP

- Considerable resistance from CAWPKA, community grps & slums regarding privatization of water supply, paying BCC and stiff penalty, demanding free water to poor (those owning <600 sft w/ proper land docs only entitled to BCC exemption, still need to pay meter charge & tariff)
- Water linked to legality: Those who have paid betterment charges under CMCs but are now considered 'illegal' under Sakrama, will they have GBWASP water cut?
- Slums in Mahadevpura and Kengeri get daily water supply under existing mini water schemes whereas under GBWASP will get water only by 2012. Maintain CMC standards if higher than BWSSB

Key findings: Transition in governance

- **Transition happening w/o elected councils in place; Major decisions (sakrama, property tax increase & change in system, increase in betterment tax) being made without elected council; uncertain position of CMC/TMC/GP members**
- **After more than 1 yr, Kasturirangan Committee has not finalized its governance recommendations for BBMP**
- **Earlier training ground for local politicians has been eliminated by BBMP**
- **Techno-managerial approach- focus on generating revenues, making people illegal, pay penalties. Issuing of khathas by CMCs not treated as “legal” or “valid” now by BBMP via the techno-managerial app. Tremendous resistance to this from all who are deemed “unauthorized” and “illegal” (majority of households in periphery)**
- **Currently senior bureaucrats taking decisions w/ no feedback from community via councilors. Centralization of decision making, budget approvals and disbursement; but what has been decentralized?**
- **Now BBMP is to be associated with the planning function under NURM reforms. What does this mean in practice?**

Changes in political structure after BBMP

| Name of area | Earlier under CMCs and Panchayats | Now under BBMP |
|-------------------|--|---|
| Mahadevpura Zone | Mahadevpura CMC: 32 Corporators KR Puram CMC: 32 Corporators 11 Panchayats: approx 110 Members Total = 174 elected representatives | 10 Corporators for Mahadevpura Zone 1 Zonal DC for approx 5 lakh people 5 Joint Commissioners in 5 range offices |
| Bommanahalli Zone | Bellandur GP: 20 GP Members | 1 Corporator from Bellandur sub-zone (11 villages- approx 30 GP Members) |
| RR Nagar Zone | Kengeri TMC: 23 Corporators | 1 Corporator for the sub-zone |
| | Corporator's constituency: 4-8000 people | Corporator's constituency: 50,000 people |
| | 12 MLAs for Bangalore Urban | 28 MLAs for Bangalore Urban |

Key findings: Transition in governance

- Provision of services seriously suffering in new areas (garbage collection, drain cleaning) since Jan 2007
- Despite poor condition of SC/STs, BMP is not able to spend 18% budget allocations for them due to lack of “innovative” projects
- No planned services for this yr in 110 villages- only devt of arterial roads connecting them. Villages on main roads get services by forming partnerships with developers, what abt interior villages?
- WPA of CMCs under GBWASP has to have a service ratio of 1.5. How will BBMP now finance this escrow and repayment?
- With BBMP formation will BCC from new zones be pooled and re-allocated? On what basis? There are wide variations- Mahadevpura CMC has already paid 40cr BCC, Kengeri 4 cr)
- Prior complete ban on registration of revenue sites reduced funds of local govts. Around the time of BBMP formation, registration ban was lifted for sites over 1 acre

Final comments & Recommendations

- What services are offered by the sakrama scheme on paying penalty?
 - Need transparency in the proposed infrastructure fund as to use and allocation
 - Will parks be developed?
- Urgent need for comprehensive ground water policy & integration of ground water and surface water in water policy. Need to ensure that poor have access to water
- Need to question assumption that village common lands are govt land that can be allocated to large companies without say of GP
- Promotion of direct purchase (farmer to buyer) of land. Could be based on example of Bellandur?
- Despite poor condition of SC/STs, BMP is not able to spend 18% on SC/ ST budget allocations for them. 99% of housing shortage of 24.7mn (Mar 07) is EWS & LIG.
 - Could use this allocation to provide large chunks of subsidized serviced lands in new layouts for poorer groups. Can use this allocation to provide access
 - Need to enforce BDA setting aside 10% land in new layouts for EWS and LIG
 - Moving from providing slum housing to providing serviced land for poor with support to construct their own houses
- More emphasis on sanitation, SWM, health and edu and not only on large road projects as in the 110 villages.

Key findings

- Planned growth and phased development of areas is possible
- E-governance initiatives can support services
- Direct contact based grievance redressal is important function of local govt
- responsive governance can lead to need based expenditure and participatory planning
- Governance best practices can originate with small politicians

Key findings: Health

- Govt health facilities barely used; main users are poor and migrant groups
 - Mahadevpura CMC doesn't have PHC, 2 Sai Baba hospitals (EPIP and Whitefield)
 - Kengeri PHC used more bec in TMC
 - Bellandur used more bec supervision by GP and funds from GP
- Large developers able to provide basic health facilities (Sobha Bellandur)
- No proper sanitation: Pay and use toilets in commercial areas, not for poor residents (Nirmala Nagara toilets in Kaverinagar, 1 Sulabh Shouchalay in Kasthuramma slum)

Key findings : Education

- Schools run by state government in Mdpura, Kengeri and Bellandur. Education not a mandatory function of local government
- Migrants and poor groups are main users
- Partnership with Wipro to run a creche / balwadi for migrant workers, other tent schools also
- Bellandur school with active S D M C monitoring

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We welcome your comments and questions on this Working Paper

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