



# SMART CITIES AND URBAN DEPRIVED COMMUNITIES

A study of Bengaluru, Bhubaneswar and Lucknow

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## A Study of Bengaluru, Bhubaneswar and Lucknow

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# Foreword

Cities are viewed by many millions with hope for the future. Across the Global South vast swathes of people are being pushed out of agriculture and will continue to move to cities to look for the possibilities of work there. The influx of large populations into urban areas across the globe has resulted in a billion plus people living in squatter settlements, without basic facilities and services, in a life of insecurity, fear and indignity. Urbanisation of this kind has posed severe sustainability challenges on all fronts, and giving rise to deep speculations, contests and uncertainties about the fate of cities and urbanity. Urban futures where the spectre of majorities of populations squeezed up in neglected corners, in what are called slums and tenements, and numeric minorities living in sprawling, large, green spaces, raises nightmares of inequalities.

ActionAid Association has for many years now recognized the importance of working on urban issues from the viewpoint of the common citizens, whose voices and interests should take priority in policies governing the city. In India the rights of the urban homeless were one of earliest focus areas we took up in the urban context. We worked with the homeless community and also in the realm of policy. Our work over the decades has educated us about the importance of combining grounded interventions aimed at building the protagonism of vulnerable communities, with policy interventions to ensure rights of vulnerable communities are recognized at the highest level.

Under the European Commission supported project 'Securing rights and sustainable livelihoods through collective action and education for people dependent on the informal economy in India' the need was felt to study the experience of urban deprived communities and their experience of the urban reforms in India – focusing on the Smart Cities Mission launched by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs, Government of India.

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We are grateful to Vinay Baindur, Richa Chandra and Debapriya Ganguly who took on the responsibility to lead and conduct the research on the Smart City initiatives in the cities of Bengaluru, Lucknow and Bhubaneswar respectively. Colleagues from ActionAid's Regional Offices leading our engagements in the regions of Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh & Uttarakhand and Odisha participated in the study, sharing inputs, facilitating meetings with deprived urban communities, academicians, activists and officials. Citizen's Rights Collective, the urban knowledge activist hub was part of the study from the initiation and has brought it to fruition.

We are sharing this publication to strengthen conversations seeking to make cities inclusive and make the right to the city a reality for all.

We welcome comments and suggestions from all.

In solidarity,

**Sandeep Chachra**

*Executive Director*

ActionAid Association

# Acknowledgements

"Deprivation in the times of rapid urban reforms in India" was an action research project initiated in 2018 and anchored at the Action-Aid Karnataka Regional Office. The idea was developed over a few discussions initiated jointly by activists and leaders from and working with urban deprived communities in Bengaluru and K.T. Suresh, the Citizen Rights Collective (CiRiC), the urban knowledge activist hub hosted by ActionAid India and Kshithij Urs, the erstwhile Regional Manager, Karnataka Regional Office of ActionAid Association. The study was launched in July-August 2018, with the support of all colleagues at CIRIC and the ActionAid Karnataka Regional Office, especially Kevin Noronha, Malarvizhi, Reshma, Surajit Neogi and Pritha Chatterjee and with the guidance of research coordinator Vinay Baindur – Bengaluru, and the city specific researchers Richa Chandra – Lucknow and Debapriya Ganguly – Bhubaneswar. Colleagues of ActionAid Regional Offices leading engagements in Odisha and Uttar Pradesh & Uttarakhand extended their whole hearted extensive support in facilitating the field work and undertaking the related follow up work. For the Bhubaneswar case study, the help and support from the ActionAid Odisha Regional Office, especially Ghasiram Panda needs to be acknowledged. The study has benefited from the insights and assistance from ex-official P.K. Patnaik, activists Pratap Sahoo and Narendra Mohanty besides, discussions with the staff of UNFPA, CYSD and YUVA. We would also like to express our utmost gratitude to the residents of the Bhubaneswar city slums, especially from Shantipalli Basti and Janata Lodge Side Colony, for sharing their visions, opinions and stories with us. Academics from the Xavier Center for Urban Governance and Management and Nabakrushna Choudhury Centre for Development Studies have not only contributed towards the study with their interesting inputs but also helped in identifying and establishing contacts with other respondents. Last but not the least, we would like to thank the officials of the Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation (BMC), Bhubaneswar development Authority (BDA) and the Bhubaneswar Smart City Limited (BSCL) for sharing information, their plans and ideas. For the Lucknow case study the help and support received from ActionAid Uttar Pradesh & Uttarakhand





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Regional Office, especially Khalid Chaudhry needs to be acknowledged. There are countless academics, NGO activists, slum federations and people from the urban deprived communities need to be thanked for contributing their views for this study. It is their support that has enabled us take this action research study ahead.

# Abbreviations

ABD	:	Area Based Development
AMRUT	:	Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation
BBMP	:	Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike
BDA	:	Bengaluru Development Authority
BDA1	:	Bhubaneswar Development Authority
BMC1	:	Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation
BQS1	:	Bus Queue Shelters (BQS1)
BSCL	:	Bhubaneswar Smart City Limited
BSUP	:	Basic Services to Urban Poor
BTCD	:	Bhubaneswar Town Centre District
C-DAC	:	Centre for Development of Advanced Computing
CCC	:	Command Control Centre
CCTV	:	Closed-Circuit Television
CEO	:	Chief Executive Officer
CEO	:	Chief Executive Officer
CII	:	Confederation of Indian Industries
CMT	:	Community Managed Toilet
CRUT	:	Capital Region Urban Transportation
CSO	:	Civil Society Organization
DMRC	:	Delhi Metro Rail Corporation

## Smart Cities and Urban Deprived Communities

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DPR	:	Detailed Project Report
FFC	:	Fourteenth Finance Commission
GDP	:	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	:	Geographic Information System
GOI	:	Government of India
HPEC	:	Expert Committee on Indian Urban Infrastructure and Services
HRIDAY	:	Heritage City Development and Augmentation Yojana
ICOMC	:	Intelligent City Operations and Management Centre
ICT	:	Information and Communication Technology
IGRS	:	Integrated Grievances Redress System
IT	:	Information Technology
JNNURM	:	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
LDA	:	Lucknow Development Authority
LESA	:	Lucknow Electricity Supply Administration
LMC	:	Lucknow Municipal Corporation
LUA	:	Lucknow Urban Agglomeration
MD	:	Managing Director
MIG	:	Middle Income Group
MLA	:	Member of Legislative Assembly
MoU	:	Memorandum of Understanding
MP	:	Member of Parliament
MSI	:	Master Systems Integrator
NCEUS	:	National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector
NGO	:	Non-Governmental Organisation
NGO	:	Non- Government Organization

NSS	:	National Service Scheme
NSS	:	National Service Society
NULM	:	National Urban Livelihood Mission
O&M	:	Operation & Maintenance
PMAY-U	:	Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana – Housing for All (Urban)
PMC	:	Project Management Consultant
PNG	:	Piped Natural Gas
PPP	:	Public Private Partnership
RAY	:	Rajiv Awas Yojana
RCUES	:	Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies
RFP	:	Request for Proposal
SBM	:	Swacch Bharat Mission
SCADA	:	Supervisory Control and Data Acquisition
SCM	:	Smart City Mission
SCP	:	Smart City Plan
SDG	:	Sustainable Development Goals
SMART-SUT	:	Smart Cities Sustainable Urban Transport Systems
SPV	:	Special Purpose Vehicle
SWM	:	Solid Waste Management
UDC	:	Urban Deprived Communities
UIG	:	Urban Infrastructure and Governance
UNFPA	:	United Nations Population Fund



## Chapter I

# Introduction: Smart Cities – An Overview

With the launching of the Smart City Mission (SCM) in 2015, 'urban development' in India, clearly took a new direction. Emphasising on the use of technology to facilitate the processes of accountability, inclusiveness and transparency in envisaging city growth, are some of the cornerstones of the mission. The Indian 'Smart City' not only aspires to carve out a sense of identity for the mission cities, but also to be at par with world-class urban centres. With India being one of the rapidly urbanising countries in the world, and especially in the global south, it is interesting to gauge these new 'urban visions' and the related practices.

The 'Smart City Mission' was launched by Prime Minister Narendra Modi in May 2015. Initially a total of Rs. 98,000 crores were approved for the development of 100 Smart Cities and rejuvenation of 500 other cities through the AMRUT mission. When a short list of names of 100 Smart Cities in India was finalised, the race began to qualify in the first round of 'Smart City Challenge'. Each of the potential 100 smart cities prepared their proposals for the challenge and based on certain criteria a list of 20 winners were announced. Bhubaneswar was selected in the first round. Next, 23 cities with the highest marking which failed to get selected in the earlier competition participated in a 'Fast Track Round'. Out of these 23 cities only 13 cities made it to the list of winners of 'Fast Track Round', in which Lucknow topped the list. Bengaluru was one of the cities that was selected much later in June 2017.

At the end of the JNNURM project the UPA government in 2013 had entered into an agreement with various foreign governments to establish one smart city in each state of India.<sup>1</sup>

The mission is implemented as a Centrally Sponsored Scheme that focuses on the following infrastructure elements:

- » Adequate water supply
- » Assured electricity supply
- » Sanitation, including solid waste management
- » Efficient urban mobility and public transport
- » Affordable housing, especially for the poor
- » Robust IT connectivity and digitalization
- » Good governance, especially e-Governance and citizen participation
- » Sustainable environment
- » Safety and security of citizens, particularly women, children and the elderly
- » Health and education.

According to the Smart cities Mission guidelines two kinds of projects can be included in the proposal by the city for selection:

- » Area Based Development - where the least amount (5-6%) of city land area and the largest investment is focused (such a scheme could be similar to a 'Corporate' City Improvement District)<sup>2</sup>
- » Pan-city projects where 100 % of the city's administrative jurisdiction is covered and the least funding is planned

The Area Based development can have any one of the following, retrofitting/redevelopment or green field projects.

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1. <https://www.livemint.com/Politics/5nIHGRhqqmDGYil4jnarvO/Govt-to-develop-smart-cities-under-JNNURM-2-Kamal-Nath.html>

2. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central\\_City\\_Improvement\\_District](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central_City_Improvement_District)

The Smart City Mission (SCM) guidelines require the establishment of a mechanism called a 'Special Purpose Vehicle' (SPV), a public limited company registered under the Companies Act, 2013. SPVs are composed of a full time CEO as well as nominees of central, state, and local governments. The SPV has the authority to manage the Smart City projects at every stage from planning to implementation and monitoring. According to India's SCM Guidelines, the State and local governments are the promoters of the SPV with equal and majority shareholding; however, the private sector or financial institutions can also take equity stakes.

The Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs has stated the following about Smart Cities- *"The Smart Cities Mission requires smart people who actively participate in governance and reforms. Citizen involvement is much more than a ceremonial participation in governance. Smart people involve themselves in the definition of the Smart City, decisions on deploying Smart Solutions, implementing reforms, doing more with less and oversight during implementing and designing post-project structures in order to make the Smart City developments sustainable. The participation of smart people will be enabled by the SPV through increasing use of ICT, especially mobile-based tools."*<sup>3</sup>

## 1.1 The Special Purpose Vehicle - A Disruption in Urban Governance?

Urban governance institutions in the country are struggling without much success to introduce people's participation, based on the 74th Amendment. The main intent of the Indian Parliament passing the amendment in 1992 was "power to the people" and the initiatives to achieve the same could have been intensified further if the wide variety of people's organisations were included in the decision-making process. However, none of the people's demand for these structures have met

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3. Challenges smart cities -- Ministry of Urban Development 24/6/2015



with any appropriate measures, while on the other hand reforms- driven supply side actions seem to have been pushed through, linked with funding and conditionality.

One such reform in recent times is that of the smart city process in India, especially the introduction of the Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) based governance. Strong protests have voiced their opposition to the SPV. In Mumbai, for example, a resolution of the Mumbai Corporation (MCGM) was passed against the interference of the SPV in the case of Mumbai as a result of which the Government of India did not select Mumbai as a smart city. Nashik and Pune city corporations have also been reported to have passed similar resolutions.

As the SPV takes charge of the responsibilities normally attributed to the Municipal Council, the Smart Cities Mission (SCM) becomes less accountable to the public.

The conflicts that arise from such exclusionary forms of decision-making are increasing as citizen participation becomes stunted and pushes urban deprived communities into more vulnerability and precarity.

If we examine the operation and functioning of smart cities since they were introduced, it seems to be a push towards the idea that only an increased role of the private sector in the city, in planning and utilising the formerly exclusive municipal governments' space is preferable.

But this can lead to an extremely skewed urbanisation process. General research findings a few months<sup>4</sup> ago suggested the following trend- In the JNNURM (2005-2014) project the approximate breakdown of fund allocations after 8-9 years was found to be UIG >85% and BSUP/ RAY < 15% of the gross budget totals. As we find below the SCM is taking this

further with no pro-poor focus at all and funding a tiny area of the city with approximately 90%<sup>5</sup> of the money.

## 1.2 Inaccessible Consultations

While in the case of the JNNURM for Bengaluru a City Development Plan (CDP) was prepared in 2006 and the same was extended for consultation in 30 'ward committee' meetings in BMP jurisdiction seeking a few public inputs regarding the projects or other details of the City development plan. This process which took place in the halls of hotels can be better termed as chandelier consultations.<sup>6</sup>

Most of the projects were identified beforehand by the different influential groups / officials and designed by private organisations whether NGOs or consultant firms.

Now the smart city mission has more consultations online on social media websites. The public responses are therefore quite limited - such as in the form of multiple choice or Yes /No answers. This can diminish the role of all except the people with access to internet / wi-fi, which is highly discriminatory and exclusionary in the proposal stage itself. These could be termed as 'virtual chandelier consultations'.

- 
4. Mapping expenditure: 80% Smart City funds for just 2.7% of city area  
<http://indianexpress.com/article/india/mapping-expenditure-80-per-cent-smart-city-funds-for-just-2-7-per-cent-of-city-area-4702935/>
  5. The consultations are characterized by the element of 'exclusivity', where a small group of academics, NGOs, think-tank representatives, consultant firms, and RWAs engage. These meetings are not publicized widely thus making it difficult for urban poor groups to enter the discussion (Coelho, Kamath, and Vijayabaskar, Public Participation in Planning in India, 2013),
  6. The consultations are characterized by the element of 'exclusivity', where a small group of academics, NGOs, think-tank representatives, consultant firms, and RWAs engage. These meetings are not publicized widely thus making it difficult for urban poor groups to enter the discussion (Coelho, Kamath, and Vijayabaskar, Public Participation in Planning in India, 2013),



## Chapter II

# Bhubaneswar as a Smart City

Bhubaneswar is the largest city and the state capital of Odisha (formerly known as Orissa). Located in the Khordha district, it became the capital city in 1948, adjacent to the old temple town of Bhubaneswar which was shaped by Buddhist, Jain, Shaivite and Vaishnav influences. The city was envisioned to become the administrative capital of Odisha, besides being the chief educational centre in the state. With the help of the German Urban Planner Otto Koenigsberger and the government architect Julius Vaz, along with the Public Works Department, the city design was formulated which was emblematic of religious influences along with the impact of rational scientific knowledge of the West (Kalia, 1992).

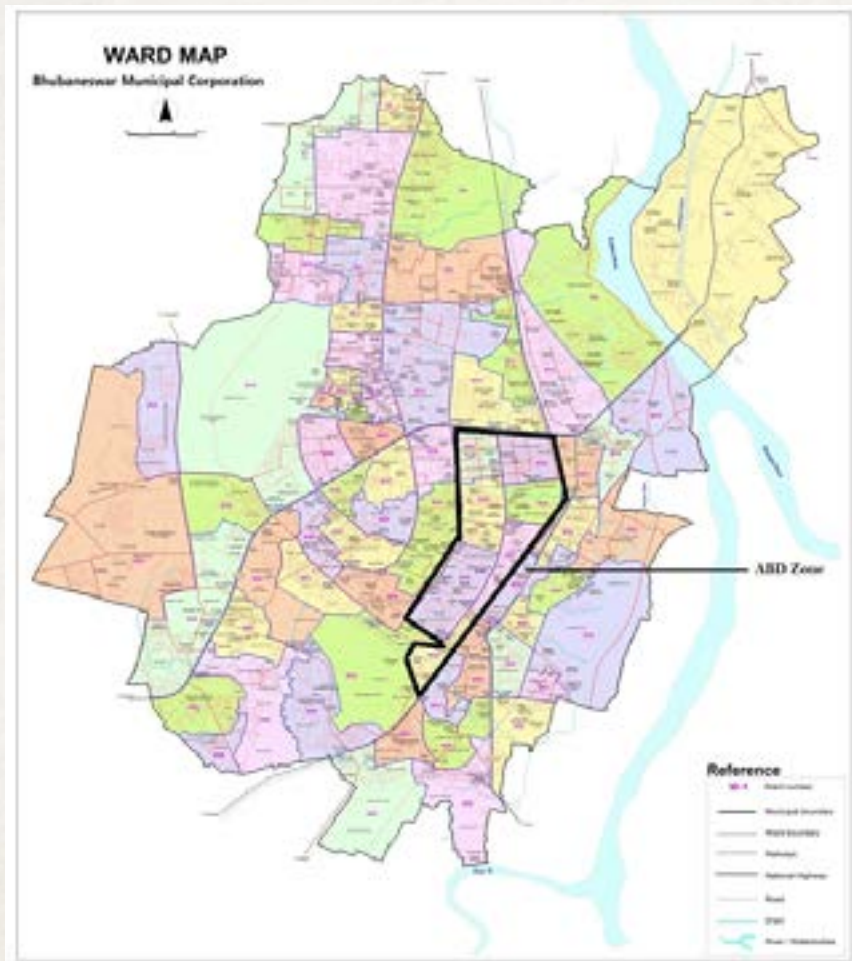
The formation of the local state in Bhubaneswar was not until 1950 when the Orissa Municipality Act was passed, and in 1956, the Orissa Town Planning Act was implemented, which framed the Master Plans and established the Improvement Trusts. The urban local body became a municipality in the year 1979, and a municipal corporation in 1994. Under the Odisha Municipality Act (2003), the Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation (BMC1) performs various functions. Several parastatal bodies like the Bhubaneswar Development Authority, Public Health Engineering Organisation, Works Department, Orissa Water Supply and Sewerage Board, Water Resources Department, General Administration Department and the Directorate of Town Planning, besides some other agencies, assist in the process of urban governance in Bhubaneswar (Bhide, 2015).

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Presently the city consists of 67 Wards and 46 revenue villages. Bhubaneswar is a Tier 2 city and topped the list of Smart Cities in India in 2016. The Smart City proposal comprised two aspects, a) Area Based Development, which concentrated on the building of the Bhubaneswar Town Centre District (BTCD); and b) Pan City projects which are based on

### Bhubaneswar Ward Map



Source: <http://BMC1.gov.in/BMC1Maps.aspx>.

smart solutions, and aims to focus on 'social equity' and 'inclusiveness'. Bhubaneswar is also the only Indian city which found its place in the Global Smart City Performance Index of 2017, where it was ranked 13 in terms of 'Safety' and 20 with respect to 'Mobility', 'Health' and 'Productivity' (The Telegraph, 2018).

On the other hand, Odisha being one of the poorest states in the country, despite its mineral wealth and rich coastline, migration from the backward and rural areas to the urban centres is common. This incoming population is not getting subsumed under the urban job markets, thereby, leading to the proliferation of urban poverty. These urban poor find shelter in the city slums, therefore making Odisha one of the top five states with the highest slum households in the country, 23.1% in proportion to its total urban population (Census, 2011). Bhubaneswar, being the capital

**Table 1 Profile of Bhubaneswar**

Category	Figures
Population- City (Municipal Corporation) in 2011	837737
Population growth rate (2001-2011)	29.27%
Area	135 sq.km.
Number of Males	445233
Number of Females	392504
Literacy rate	91.89%
Scheduled Caste	8.27%
Scheduled Tribes	5.04%
Primary Workers	0.79%
Secondary Workers	27.92%
Tertiary Workers	71.92%
Work status-Self-Employed (2011-2012)	40.34%
Work Status-Salaried (2011-2012)	44.95%
Work Status-Casual Labour (2011-2012)	14.71%
Unemployment rate (2011-2012)	4.27%
Urban Poverty Ratio (percentage to urban population)	4.70%

city, houses around 436 slums, whereby the slum population constitute approximately 36% of the city's total population (BMC1 Slum Profile Data). Figure 1 is the ward map of Bhubaneswar city. Table 1 shows the brief demographic and economic profile of the city.

## 2.1 Smart City Initiatives in Bhubaneswar

As mentioned earlier, Bhubaneswar was one of the top rank holders in the Smart Cities Challenge, and as an official of the Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) or the Bhubaneswar Smart City Limited (BSCL1) claims, the city was able to secure its position because of its 'inclusive' approach while formulating the proposal and the interrelated plans. Besides finding a place in the Global Smart City Performance Index of 2017, in a survey conducted by Juniper Research (a market research agency located in the UK); Bhubaneswar was also adjudged the Best Smart City at the Smart City Expo in 2018, for its ventures in community mobilisation and development, highlighting on its 'socially smart' segment. It also has been lauded at different conventions for its child and citizen friendly initiatives.

These accolades and recognition which Bhubaneswar is receiving portrays a picture of its successful performance as a Mission city. The continuous emphasis on the idea of 'inclusiveness' further adds to the ideas of motivation towards good governance, which the Smart Cities Mission (SCM) greatly focuses on. However, what is important to investigate is what is this idea of 'inclusiveness' that is being fostered in this particular urban context, and how is it being executed. In this section some of these ideas will be explored.

## 2.2 Public Consultation

The BSCL1 officials state that in the making of the Smart City Proposal which was prepared by the Toronto-based IBI Group's Indian office along with Jones Lang LaSalle (JLL India) for the Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation, widespread public consultations were held by deploying various strategies. The purpose was to encourage citizens' engagement in the process to a significant extent.

In 2015, the BMC1 launched the *Citizens' Connect Initiative* along with a smart city website ([www.smartcitybhubaneswar.gov.in](http://www.smartcitybhubaneswar.gov.in)) to invite citizens' opinions regarding the formulation of the Smart City Proposal. Additionally, a Smart City Advisory Forum was also set up as directed, to bring together the different stakeholders like the Mayor, the District Collector, Members of Parliament, Chief Executive Officer of the SPV, technical experts, local youth, members of Tax Payers/ Rate Payers Association, President or Secretary of Residents' Welfare Associations, members of NGOs or Chamber of Commerce/ Mahila Mandalis/Youth Associations and President or Secretary of slum level federation.

By dividing the entire city into different zones, a large-scale survey was conducted by the BDA1 and attempts were made to reach out to the citizens through SMS, emails and Radio announcements. Other digital platforms like Facebook, Twitter and the Smart City website were extensively used to connect with the citizens by introducing 'idea boxes' which would act as a repository of people's visions and suggestions pertaining to the Smart City. There were kiosk facilities set up in public locations where the citizens could utilise technological devices to register their feedback on social media platforms. The youth from different educational institutions were integrated in the process of campaigning for the Citizens' Connect Initiative by seeking their volunteering services, performance of street plays, flash mobs, conducting Smart Labs, challenges and competitions.

Besides these measures, help from multiple city NGOs was sought in promoting the idea of smart city and soliciting people's opinions. Most importantly, polling of 3 Lakh city residents was organised covering the different parts of the city through both online and offline modes. In this respect, people from the 436 city slums were also encouraged to participate for the purpose of determining the location for the Bhubaneswar Town Centre District (BTCD) and the Area Based Development projects of redevelopment and retrofitting.

It is interesting to note in this regard that the methods used and applied to seek public opinion for framing the smart city proposal was



largely dependent on access to and knowledge of technology. This definitely amounts to the exclusion of a significant majority of the urban marginalised.

## 2.3 Smart City Proposal

The Smart City Proposal of Bhubaneswar which had been widely recognised and lauded for its holistic approach had a 10-point focus.

- » **Multidisciplinary Team**-to develop a team that would be locally based and be sensitive to the city's advantages and challenges, review the projects through means of data collection and possess adequate information.
- » **Project Support** by deploying local resources through measures like surveys, community mapping, out-reach campaigns, participatory appraisals and such others.
- » **Multi-channel outreach strategy** was adopted by 'bridging the digital divide' and enlisting the opinions and feedbacks from various sections of the urban population, like elected representatives, city officials, NGOs, city makers, slum dwellers, transgender, specially-abled, senior citizens, women, youth and children and so on.
- » **Developing long term communication strategy** by conducting various programmes, conferences, competitions, smart city labs and using technology to connect on various social media platforms in order to 'inform', 'consult', 'involve', 'collaborate' and 'empower'
- » **Crafting an Ideal Vision** for a Transit-Oriented City, Livable city, Child-friendly city, Eco-city and a Regional Economic Centre.
- » **Prioritising 'Urban Design and Quality of Life' over technology** by generating 'active, vibrant and safe' public places.
- » **Organising the proposal as strategic business plan** in order to focus on the visions, planning, goals, funding and implementation aspects of the ABD and Pan city projects

- » **Self-sustainable financial and convergence plan** through the integration of various schemes, partnerships, loans and different sources of funding.
- » **Create Identity for projects** by promoting brand Bhubaneswar for upholding the city's culture and also attract visitors and financial investments.
- » **Robust implementation plan** which will contain strategies to identify challenges and suggest measures for overcoming them.
- » **Stakeholder Engagement Strategy** by involving the elected representatives, business organisations, corporators, various departments, Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation, Bhubaneswar Development Authority and Housing & Urban Development, ward committees and citizens

The proposal identified the BTCD which was selected for Area Based Development project after soliciting citizens' opinions. The BTCD area is centrally located with the Railway Station and the Central Bus Stand falling within it. It covers an area of 985 acres or 3.9 sq kms. consisting of 7 Wards, and a population of 46,000 persons. The projects assigned for the BTCD are integrated railways station and bus terminal, pedestrian friendly roads, cycle networks, complete streets, rickshaw management, waste recycle options, solar roof tops, LED street lighting, sewerage treatment system, fibre ducting, water recycling mechanisms, 4 slum redevelopment projects, public art installations, women and child health care and various other services.

The proposal for Pan city solutions focuses on essential issues related to mobility like parking encroachments, lack of non-motorised transportation system, inadequate public transportation facilities, traffic management through measures like e-challan and video surveillance, emergency response and city incidence management system, common payment card, poor infrastructure related to public transportation and other related initiatives.

## 2.4 Constitution of the Special Purpose Vehicle

The Government of Odisha floated the Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) which is known as the BSCL1 in 2016 for the purpose of executing the different projects under the Smart City proposal. It focuses on planning, managing, functioning and implementing the different ventures undertaken within the Smart Cities Mission. BSCL1 has four specific objectives:-

- a) To make Bhubaneswar a 'livable' city for its residents, emphasising on cleanliness and sustainability.
- b) To promote partnerships with national and foreign agencies for the purpose of project execution
- c) To focus on a variety of urban issues like housing for all, use of open spaces, mixed land use, public transportation and so on and introducing 'smart solutions' to urban infrastructure development and governance.
- d) To coordinate with other state departments and agencies and assessing the projects under progress.

The BSCL1 has the following organisational structure:-

- Chairman- who is the ex-officio Development Commissioner-cum-Additional Chief Secretary, Planning and Convergence Department, Government of Odisha
- Managing Director- who is also the Commissioner of BMC1, the Vice-Chairman of BDA1 and the Managing Director of Capital Region Urban Transport (CRUT)
- Chief Executive Officer- who is also the Director of Sports and Managing Director of Odisha Mining Corporation

Other than these three high ranking officials on the board, there are different technical and executive committee members working in the areas of- Urban Planning and Engineering, Technology, Operations and

Social Sector, Company Affairs and Legal, and Finance. Besides these officials, there are other members who belong to the various government departments. A government order issued in November 2017 which states that the SPV is fully empowered to take decisions on tenders and fund allocations with presentations to the Chief Minister after the same, and in the case of PPP the ECI will vet the same. Additionally, the powers so delegated would cease at the completion of the SCM.

The Municipal Council did play a role during the framing of the proposal at the time of stakeholders' consultation, the Ward councillors and corporators were consulted who voiced their opinions and represented the needs and requirements of their respective Wards. The Mayor is not involved in the Smart City planning and conception of the projects. Initiatives under the Smart City Mission are conceived by the SPV and get approved by the Board of the BSCL1 in consultation with the BMC1 and BDA1. BSCL1 is supported by two consultants who are known as Programme Management Consultants- EGIS (infrastructure in the smart district) and IBI (technology and smart solutions at the smart city level). The CEO of the BSCL1 presides over the day-to-day activities and functioning of the SPV, however it is the MD who has the ultimate decision-making powers.

Given the organisational structure and functioning of the Smart City SPV in Bhubaneswar, it must be noted that apart from the preliminary consultations with the elected representatives, the major decision-making powers rest with the company and its board of directors, which consists largely of bureaucrats. Moreover, with top decision makers of BSCL1 holding multiple important positions, the concern regarding decentralisation of responsibilities remain as a big question. Therefore, the component of stakeholder engagement strategy side lines certain groups while prioritising others.

## 2.5 Initiatives Under the Smart City Mission

The Strategic Plan for Smart City Bhubaneswar talks about the 5 pillars of Responsive Governance, Transit Oriented Development based

Planning and Design, Fiscal Sustainability, Infrastructure and Socio-economic Development which will help Bhubaneswar in becoming a Livable City, Child Friendly City, Eco City, Transit Oriented City and a Regional Economic Centre.

Under the Smart City Mission, Bhubaneswar has initiated different projects under Area Based Developments (ABDs), Pan City Solutions and Social Smartness.

Following are the projects that have been planned under ABD:-

- a) Integrated Public Service Centre- this centre which is under construction in the Shaheed Nagar area aims to provide services like health care, e-seva, library and crèche facilities to enable community mobilisation.
- b) Project Kutumb- this is a plan for the first social equity centre in the city at Kharavela Nagar for the urban poor. It will be a 200 bed rental housing complex, with Aahar Cheap meal centre, water ATMs, public toilet facilities, dormitories, family rooms and community space.
- c) Integrated Infrastructure Improvement- this project focuses on the BTCDD area which covers an expanse of 985 acres, with an aim of adequately providing the basic services like water and energy supply, solid waste management, street lighting and so on.
- d) Smart Janpath- the redevelopment of Janpath road, stretching over 6 kms from ShishuBhavan Square to VaniVihar focusing on beautification, landscaping and redesigning.
- e) Street Vendors Improvement Project- focusing on the spatial planning of vending zones, rehabilitation and resettlement of vendors and providing them with social security.
- f) Affordable Housing Project- providing in situ rehabilitation for Shantipalli and other neighbouring slum residents under the Shanti Nagar AwasYojana for the purpose of delivering basic services and integrated housing. This project is being developed under the PPP model, and the area which will fall under the purview of the private

developer will be further assigned for commercial spaces and MIG housing.

- g) Smart Park- this project involves the redevelopment of three parks in Bhubaneswar- Shaheed Nagar park, Triangular park and OMC park to focus on the child friendly component of smart city planning. These parks will have play equipment for children, open gym, watch tower, splash pool and so on.
- h) BMC1 Headquarter- the construction of the 'iconic' BMC1-ICOMC (Intelligent City Operations and Management Centre) building which will serve as a city services headquarter aiming to build a 'responsive city'.
- i) Multi-level Car Parking at Raj Mahal and Shaheed Nagar areas.

Under the Pan city solutions the following ventures have been envisaged:-

- a) Common Payment Card System- the Odyssey Card or multipurpose card for paying taxes and utility bills under the initiative of BMC1, BSCL1 and ICICI is being introduced which will provide for a uniform payment system.
- b) Bhubaneswar One- creating a common online portal which will be the source of various information pertaining to public services, tourist sites, ward related data, location tracking for generating a 'one stop solution' for Bhubaneswar residents.
- c) Intelligent Traffic Control System- providing for an Adaptive Traffic Signal Control Strategy with blinkers and pelican signals that aims to restrict congestions, contain emergency management mechanisms, estimating traffic volumes and so on.
- d) Smart Solutions- by integrating with the ICOMC, efforts will be made to create a 'digital platform' to facilitate the dissemination of citizen related services, like the common payment system, mobility and other utilities.

Within the Social Smartness segment the projects are divided into:

- a) Socially Smart Bhubaneswar-emphasising on youth and women, this project aims to cover the slums falling within the BTCD and bring into focus their needs and concerns pertaining to health concerns, questions of safety and other requirements of the urban marginalised. By actively involving the youth and women from these sections of the urban population the purpose is to accommodate their ideas to address issues of inequality, vulnerability and empowerment.
- b) I AM BHUBANESWAR- creating brand Bhubaneswar and stressing on fostering the city's unique identity by highlighting on the aspects of art, culture and heritage and aesthetics through measures like, Street Art and Mural projects, city signage, city website: Bhubaneswar.me and Signature City events like Patha Utsav (weekly walks), Ekamra Walks (weekly heritage walks) and so on.

Besides the above-mentioned initiatives, there are efforts being made to activate city-wide Wifi services and laying out optical fibre cables. Other technological interventions in the city are also being planned such as bus modernisation, low carbon transportation for the smart city, sustainable urban mobility, sensors for recording real time data on air quality index by developing the Smart Cities Sustainable Urban Transport Systems (SMART-SUT). Another important component is the setting up of the Master Systems Integrator which is the command and control centre. The MSI will house 9 different departments including police, hospital, ambulance, water, electricity and other urban services. People who have any concerns related to these utilities can approach the command and control centre. There is provision for disaster management services, which will provide support during natural calamities. The focus on transit-oriented development also aims to develop a multi-model railway station with a horizontal structure and buildings for commercial, residential purposes, bus depot, and so on. Developing natural drain in smart district, lake neutral projects, building smart parks with Wifi facilities, e toilets, small white screens for kids' drawings etc. and sensory parks equipped with special facilities for aiding the differently abled are some more ventures that are have been planned under Smart Bhubaneswar.

## 2.6 Shantipallibasti, Bhubaneswar- A case study

As has been pointed out by city academics and residents, Bhubaneswar is one of the 'better cases' in addressing the question of 'inclusiveness' within the folds of its Smart City visions. However, with its varied ideas and projects which emphasise on the use of technology for the dissemination of different services and issues related to planning and governance, the question that becomes extremely significant is whether this city is accessible to everyone?

In this respect, it is important to cite the case of Shantipallibasti located in Shaheed Nagar in Bhubaneswar. Shantipallibasti is one of the 24 slums which falls within the BTCD and has been selected for in situ rehabilitation. Shantipalli along with 7 other slums, consisting of 2470 households in total, will be a part of the Shanti Nagar AwasYojana project. The land stretches over 10 acres and is being developed under PPP mode by a Delhi based private company. The land is being divided into two parts, where 65% will be used for slum redevelopment and building of 1300 dwelling units and infrastructure, and 35% is being given to the private body in lieu of development and cross subsidization.

As slum resident R claims, the Smart City officials approached them with vibrant pictures of beautiful houses, green parks and swimming pools, "we were left wondering, what has it got to do with us?" Once the slum dwellers were informed that their land will be redeveloped and a Ground+4 structure will be constructed, many of the residents were of the opinion that such an arrangement was not a tenable option for them. As respondent M also states, "we asked for land rights, we don't want fancy buildings, once we are given the land where we are already residing in, we can make our own homes. Security is more important for us". One of the major concerns expressed by Shantipalli residents is that, the duration of the entire project is 36 months, and during this period they will have to reside in transit homes in NeeladriVihar, located much farther away from their original site of residence and workplace. A visit to the transit homes in NeeladriVihar reveals the lack of infrastructural facilities in them and the remoteness of their location.



Shantipalli slum dwellers have got divided over the issue of in-situ rehabilitation. Respondent A claiming that many of the residents have been influenced by NGOs who have given 'false promises of a bright future', while another faction is part of the political lobbying and are expecting further benefits out of this project. On the other hand, there are group of residents who have been consistently resisting and fighting against the process of rehabilitation and demanding for land rights. According to respondent L, "the smart city office has given up on us and has told us that we will go ahead with the project without your lot".

While the picture of resistance and agitation is quite prominent in Bhubaneswar with frequent dharnas and protest marches, they do not yield the desired results in most cases. As activist N points out that the question of caste here also plays an important role. With the key official positions in Bhubaneswar occupied by the Brahmins, Karans or Kayasthas and the urban vulnerable largely belonging to the depressed castes, the hierarchy of power holders and power structures is clearly evident.

With missions like 'Smart City' largely talking about 'better life' in terms of smart solutions, the alienation of the urban marginalised seem to be more acute and division between the rich and the poor become sharper. The SPV being a private body is not accountable to the people and is restricting the role of elected representatives, leading to the concentration of power in the hands of a few, as can be seen in case of Bhubaneswar. As a result, the process of city making becomes more bureaucratic and technocratic instead of empowering or further equipping the urban local governments, thus undermining the 74th Constitutional Amendment. In this respect, the formation of the Smart City Advisory Forum should not only remain as an agenda on paper but should function as an important platform.

The preparation of proposals by private consultants, often translates questions of urban planning and governance into 'place-making', which can also be seen in the case of Bhubaneswar. As Tewdwr-Jones (cited in: Roe, 2014:499) state that one of the major failures in thinking about planning, is thinking without the 'emotional and humane territorial

aspects'. Moreover, it is difficult to overlook the underlying dimensions of power in the construction of plans and related policies and programmes, whereby, the dominant group's understandings of a place, may stand in sharp contrast to that of the other inhabitants. The dominant groups are often seen to be making efforts towards using various methods to create a 'brand' for a place for 'selling' it to the market. As Massey (cited in: Ibid.) claims that, the unique identity of a place, is not informed by a uniform sense of perception among the people. Neither is it captured just in its history but has "a number of sources, including uneven development coming from globalization." Therefore, it is important to include the voices of the various stakeholders, rather than relying on a particular type of expert-based knowledge which can actually lead to a more meaningful 'image construction'.

A lot of emphasis has been laid by the BSCL1, BMC1 and BDA1 on the fact that the opinions of the slum dwellers were widely considered in the preparation of the project, however interaction with most of the residents reveal that they were mostly 'told', rather than 'asked' about what they want. As Smitha (2017) says that urban renewal missions with their focus on creating 'slum free cities' immediately concentrate on the ideas of eviction and resettlement as part of their developmental agenda. In Bhubaneswar with the Kalinga Stadium gaining increasing importance for hosting the Hockey World Cup, one of the first targets became the slums located in the surrounding areas, who were promptly evicted.

With Bhubaneswar harbouring aspirations for becoming a 'Creative City', and largely focusing on city beautification through projects like Art Trail, 'Art-Light Sculpture Project' highlighting on 'ambient lighting around public places' and recreating a 'new city skyline', Street Art and Mural Project for the on-going Men's Hockey World Cup, the idea of being 'smart' is moving towards a specific direction. What is significant here is to see whose needs will the city really cater to? It remains to be seen how the ideas of social smartness and inclusiveness which Bhubaneswar has been lauded for get translated into reality.



## Chapter III

# Lucknow as a Smart City

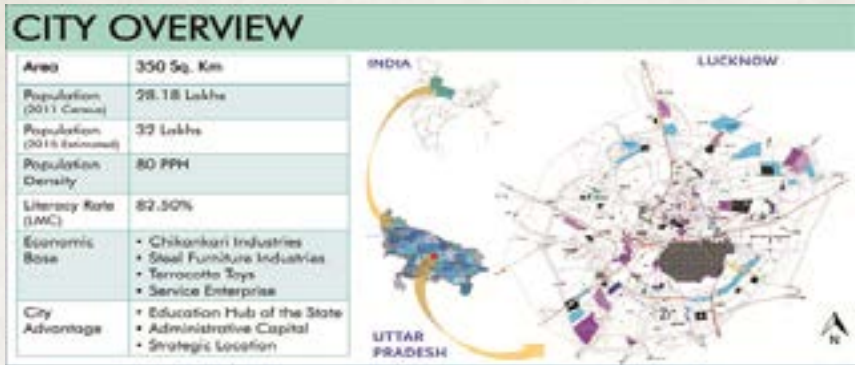
The capital city of Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow covers largest proportion of population of the state. It covers an area of 310.1 sq. km. and surrounded by many village and rural towns like Malihabad, Kakori, Mohanlalganj, Gosainganj, Itaunja, Amrai etc. It is known for its heritage and therefore also known as the Golden city of the East. Nowadays the city is emerging as an important center of technology, commerce, finance, design, culture, tourism and music. It is one of the biggest cities of the State and second largest metro of North and Central India after Delhi. Since 1981 to 2011, with growth of urbanization, the proportion of people working in secondary and tertiary sector has increased in the city whereas proportion of people working in primary sector has decreased. At the present the secondary sector occupied about 19 percent of the total working population and in tertiary sector 80 percent of working population has engaged whereas in primary sector the percentage of working population is only one (Master plan 2021).

Lucknow has a municipal corporation with 110 wards.

In absence of adequate measures taken to protect the environment, urban development and expansion has resulted in steady deterioration of the city's environment and ecology. Even the dumping of untreated sewerage and uncollected wastes in - to river and water bodies has caused concern vehicular emissions are also causing air pollution in the city. The vehicular density has rapidly risen and has caused traffic congestion and road fatalities. The declining of ground water has also

## Smart Cities and Urban Deprived Communities

A Study of Bengaluru, Bhubaneswar and Lucknow



caused concern since surface water quality has already deteriorated. It is difficult to provide water supply through deep tube wells in the near future since the water table is gradually declining. There is already a huge deficit of water during summer. Importantly, the cultural city is losing its glamour since proper maintenance and conservation of heritage sites are not ensured. The Lucknow main city has over 20 nallahs (drains) with a combined length of around 70 km. On the eastern side of the city, there is a canal that was built during the rule of Nawabs. The canal runs from the south-eastern side of the city towards the northeast and drains into the river downstream. The canal now carries most of the storm water run-off during the rains. There are 25 major drains. Most of the drains are made of bricks.

Urbanization has led to the growth of business and employment opportunities in the city. But it has been accompanied with a growth of slums and deterioration of the quality of life in the city as there is stress on physical and social infrastructure. The total population of the city is 4,589,838 as per census 2011. In absence of adequate measures taken to protect the environment, urban development and expansion has resulted in steady deterioration of the city's environment and ecology. Additionally, the city has 751 poor pockets inhabited by more than 13 lakh poor, 18,000 homeless and has 38 labour posts where more than 15-20,000 construction workers daily come in search of work.

Lucknow Nagar Nigam has the prime responsibility of solid waste management. There are about 3800 Sanitation workers working in the Corporation. The Municipality has 75 solid waste transport vehicles. The fleet collects an estimated 850 to 1000 tonnes of waste per day from about 500 depots. There are multiple agencies responsible for urban governance and provision and management of infrastructure and services. Lucknow Nagar Nigam, Lucknow Jal Sansthan, Lucknow Development Authority and U.P. Jal Nigam are the key institutions of urban service delivery. Other prominent Departments/Institute includes Central and State Public Works Departments, Transport Department, Department of Environment etc. These departments lack coordination and institutional arrangements in urban infrastructure development and services delivery. The roles and responsibilities of officials and non-officials of various agencies, on the basis of accountability, transparency and efficiency required for sustainable development, are also not defined.

Moreover, the democratic decentralization of local bodies as envisaged in 74th Constitution Amendment Act, 1992 is still to be accomplished. Functional and financial autonomy of urban local bodies remains a distant dream. Since 74th Constitution Amendment Act is not properly implemented in the state of Uttar Pradesh, the mayors of different cities have submitted a memorandum to the Governor demanding appointment of Mayor as the chairperson of the smart city project, AMRUT and Infrastructure Funds and development authorities (As of now LDA, LESA and Jal Nigam are not accountable to LMC.)

### 3.1 Overview of Lucknow Smart City Plan

Strategic focal points of the smart city proposal of Lucknow are the following:

- » Jeevant Lucknow (liveable) for Improved Basic Infrastructure Services

Focus on ICCC-Integrated Command and Control Centre, Smart City Knowledge Management Centre, development of underground ducts for water and drainage, pipes and cabling for electricity & telecom to reduce road cutting, building night shelters and facilities in slums.

ICCC will serve as a shared facility for various pan city components. It will be a common facility where components like smart signals, vehicles, intelligent street lights, parking, city surveillance etc. shall be operated / monitored.

- » Swachh Lucknow (clean) for Safe, Green and Vibrant City Level Recreational Space

Focus on intercepting sewer line along Nallahs

- » Sugam Lucknow (ease of mobility) for Integrated Smart Public Transportation

Focus on increasing walkability by providing footpaths, encroachment free pavements & making cycle tracks, and introducing 'Unified Smart Mobility Cards' which can be used in all types of public transport like buses, tempos, auto rickshaws etc,

- » Samruddh Lucknow (prosperous) for harnessing the strength of heritage and culture for economic development

Focus on rejuvenating existing heritage buildings, developing International Culture and heritage centre at Chattar Manzil and restoration of Lal Baradari, Awadh Walk on Thandi Sadak, façade lighting & restoration of Lal Baradari, archaeology Research & Heritage Centre and City Branding Initiatives through Lucknow 311 app with the objective of having one-stop solution to manage, supervise and regularize city governance activities through smart phones. In May 2016 as SPV was formed by the name of Lucknow Smart City Limited to roll out the Smart City Initiative in Lucknow. The company is presently governed by the Board of Directors along with the representatives from various departments.

The SPVs can take up processes and execute mechanisms which the municipal governments may not be empowered to perform as per prevailing laws and regulations. The SPVs are to have the power to perform activities such as raising large debts, entering into joint venture arrangements with private organizations, selling of assets etc., functions for which urban local bodies require special approval from the state government.

In March 2017, Darashaw & Co. Pvt. Ltd. was appointed as an official consultant of the Lucknow Smart City Limited to actualize the action plan towards making Lucknow a Smart City.

In May 2017, Lucknow Smart City Limited in coordination with its official consultant rolled out a full-fledged action plan to achieve its primary aim of transforming Art City to Smart City.<sup>7</sup>

## 3.2 What the Smart City Proposal Lucknow Entails:

In Lucknow the Area selected under Area Based Development (ABD) is that of Qaiserbagh in which small or larger part of 7 wards are being covered, namely-(60-65% of Peer Jaleel ward, 20-25% of Wazirganj ward, 40-45% of Rani Laxmi Bai ward, 70-75% of J.C. Bose ward, 15-20% of Hazratganj ward, 40-45% of Yadunath Sanyal ward and 100% of Nazarbagh ward). Total Area covered is of 692 acres with an estimated population of 62,153 and estimated floating population of 20,000

As per the information provided by the ex-CEO of Smart City Private Limited and current head of AMRUT, following works were proposed:

### » Under Lucknow-ABD

Pedestrian pathway, pelican crossing, cycle track, parking, CCTV camera, road, modern police kiosk, sewerage, SWM, door to door collection, smart bins, CMT, tourism etc

### » Under PAN city

Smart City Management System, Integrated Traffic Management System, Smart Bus Shelters, Smart Mobility Card, Solar Roof top, Park Beautification, Waste Water Treatment, Smart City Knowledge Management Center, Bus stand, smart ticketing. Septage management is basically being done under AMRUT and Bus, solar light, traffic control system is to be developed under PPP scheme.

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7. <https://www.lucknowsmartcity.com/>



### 3.3 Processes Undertaken for Smart City Mission in Lucknow

Back in 2015, foreign agency European Business and Technology Center (EBTC) was selected to assist Lucknow Municipal Corporation in developing Lucknow as smart city. Lucknow Municipal Corporation had signed memorandum of understanding to appoint it as their hand-holding agency for the smart city plan and help in comprehensive development of the city by providing smart solutions and innovative programs. This was to focus on effective practices in handling urban issues like sewerage, drainage, traffic, availability of drinking water, etc in European cities and finding suitable possibilities for Lucknow.

The agency was also to provide assistance to LMC in preparing the smart city draft proposals. Later, Data World Private Limited was selected for the purpose.

The vision behind planning for Lucknow as a smart city has been the integration of the old and the new – be it culture, cuisine, linguistic heritage, tourism, infrastructure, civic development, drains and river – with the help of technology.

Since May 2016, when the name of Lucknow figured on the list of smart cities, all the stakeholders started brainstorming on the steps to make the cultural hub into a smart city. A special purpose vehicle (SPV) was formed to give an impetus to smart city project. The proposal for Lucknow started with the review and understanding of local needs, feedback and suggestions received from various bodies. These organizations included the Centre for Development of Advanced Computing (C-DAC), Regional Centre of Environment and Urban Studies (RCEUS), Department for International Development (DFID), Yes Bank and C40 – a network of the Mayors of the world's megacities committed to addressing climate change. During the preparation of the plan, dialogue with citizens, urban planners, stakeholders and experts was held.

### 3.4 Citizen Participation

As per smart city guidelines, based on the citizen consultations, the needs and priorities of the citizens were to be identified. At the same time, desk work and city profile were to be prepared by the handholding agency. A combination of city profile and citizen participation was to determine the aspirations of the residents of the city. Even the strategy was to be created through the combination of citizen consultation focusing on citizen driven identified solutions with adoption/adaptation of models/best practices from appropriate smart solutions in India and the world.

Another component of the strategy was to transform existing areas (retrofit) including slums into better planned areas, thereby improving the quality of life of the whole city. The transformation of the city is finally expected to improve quality of life, create employment and enhance incomes for all, especially the poor and the disadvantaged leading to inclusive and sustainable city.

The city of Lucknow witnessed a spurt of enthusiasm and hope when the city was finally selected under the fast track round. The local newspapers seemed to be flooded with news of the smart city features and how the city would benefit with the features of the proposed smart city. Gradually the process of e-polls and consultations followed which promised citizen's participation and a city of dreams for the citizens of Lucknow. Ironically the poor seemed to be totally elusive of the process and did not have the least idea as to what a Smart City would entail for the poor citizens.

The social media campaign through e-polling, Twitter and Facebook page of the smart city to a certain extent involved the middle class and lower middle-class youth and dignitaries of the city in the selection of the priorities of the smart city and how they would like their city to be. Overall the Municipal Corporation did stakeholders' consultations and citizen engagement. Platforms for the same were zonal consultations, through the councillors, through discussion, poll, essay and vision

competition organized at mygov.in, Twitter, Facebook, online Google surveys, involving students etc.

For publicity purposes, Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, websites of the Lucknow Municipal Corporation, 'smartcitylucknow.com', FM radio and newspapers were used. The SCP document available on the website shows that a total of 100-120 citizens attended the smart city consultation held at the LMC head office, 300-450 each at the zonal consultations and 90-100 councillors and officials from line department were consulted. Similarly, the document states that 2840 online and 75,897 offline survey forms were collected, 66 followed on twitter, Facebook page got 667 likes, 10 comments, 17 messages with a total outreach of 10,160, 10,595 submissions were received on mygov.in, 150 students participated in poster competition, 323 in essay competition and 40 seminars/ workshops/FGDs were conducted with 9,500 persons. But no specific attempts were made to conduct consultations with urban poor or informal sector workers<sup>8</sup>

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8. Source: [http://smartcities.gov.in/upload/uploadfiles/files/SCP\\_Lucknow.pdf](http://smartcities.gov.in/upload/uploadfiles/files/SCP_Lucknow.pdf)

## Chapter IV

# Bengaluru as a Smart City

Bengaluru city was not in the original list of 100 cities 2015 submitted to the Government of India by the Government of Karnataka.

The introduction of Bengaluru took place not from the state government's list but from a special list prepared by the Government of India, which added 7 cities (to the 100) to allow a few state capitals and some other cities to be included. The first application of Bengaluru where a part of Whitefield (an eastern suburb of the city) was proposed as a smart city was rejected by the smart city challenge. "Bengaluru twice failed to make it to the Centre's list of cities chosen under the Smart City project. It got through in the third round after a push from political leaders".

Due to this when Bengaluru was selected in June 2017, the core area of 22 sq km for which the proposal was made was not the first choice for Bengaluru.

### Smart City Mission Proposal for Bengaluru

Area Based Development (ABD) Area	22 (sq. km)	
Total Area Based Development Cost (Rs Cr.)	1,685	94%
Total Pan City Solutions Cost (Rs Cr.)	107	6%
Total Cost (Rs Crore)	1,792	100%

- <https://scroll.in/article/842587/indias-lower-castes-are-discriminated-against-even-for-access-to-cooking-gas-and-electricity>
- Bengaluru's smart city project is yet to take off  
<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/bengaluru-smart-city-project-is-yet-to-take-off/articleshow/66159314.cms>

Sources of funding proposed	Rs Crore
Smart City Mission (SCM) Central Share	500
SCM State Share	500
Convergence with Central/State Missions	613.17
PPPs	234.28
Loans	0
Other Sources such as Own Resources, CSR etc.	294.21
Total	2142

The Government of Karnataka claims that the transfer of the 18 functions listed under the XIIth schedule has already taken place for the municipalities.<sup>11</sup>

The major tasks are roads, street-lighting, Solid Waste Management, Primary Healthcare, Municipal schools, water supply etc. These are functions which should be guided ideally by the subsidiarity principle of governance- those functions best handled closest to the grassroots must be devolved there. In practice, there are numerous para-statals involved such as in the case of Bengaluru city –such as the power utility- Bangalore Electricity Supply Company Limited (BESCOM), transport utility- Bangalore Metropolitan Transport Corporation (BMTC) and water supply - Bangalore Water Supply and Sewerage Board (BWSSB). These para-statals are not accountable to the local governments but only to the state governments, which approve their organisational budgets.

## 4.1 Bengaluru Smart City Proposal

The following projects feature in the Smart City proposal, a draft of which was not shared with the citizens before the submission to the Union Urban Ministry (MoHUA). Similarly, the selection of the consultant

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11. 74th Constitution Amendment Note  
[http://www.municipaladmn.gov.in/sites/municipaladmn.gov.in/files/pdf/ActsandRules/74th\\_Constitution\\_Amendment\\_Note.pdf](http://www.municipaladmn.gov.in/sites/municipaladmn.gov.in/files/pdf/ActsandRules/74th_Constitution_Amendment_Note.pdf)

for the Smart City Proposal preparation<sup>12</sup> was not announced after any tender process. Instead an ad-hoc press statement by the Bengaluru city minister confirmed this.

Out of the Rs 1700 crore overall estimate for the smart city mission in Bengaluru only Rs.43 crores or 0.02 % is for housing the urban poor, who are on Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike (BBMP) land and in a non-notified slum area in Swathanthrapalya.

#### Area based Development projects in Bengaluru

- 1) Revitalization of historic heart of city • Road redevelopment under Tender SURE (Specifications for Urban Road Extension) model
- 2) Integrated mobility towards creating vibrant destination • Shivajinagar bus station and Russell Market • Kempegowda Bus Stand (Majestic)
- 3) Redevelopment of historic economic centres • KR Market • Malleshwaram Market
- 4) Innovation of downstream cleanup of drainage system • Ulsoor lake • Sankey Tank
- 5) Protection & redevelopment of centrally located parkland • Cubbon Park
- 6) Increasing affordable housing stock through slum redevelopment • Swathanthra Palya Slum redevelopment, Gandhinagar
- 7) Retrofitting of a health care facility • K.C General Hospital

When we examine the decision-making process in the case of Bangalore smart city projects, the role of consultants and other "expert" groups is very critical, as they are the driving force in conceptualising, developing, and implementing the projects.

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12. Shivajinagar Busstand set for a smart makeover, Times of India, Jul 2017  
<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/bengaluru/shivajinagar-bus-stand-set-for-a-smart-makeover/articleshow/59568407.cms>

These expert groups were formed of representatives from corporates, think tanks, and NGOs and former bureaucrats in many instances, who were often nominated and not subjected to any public scrutiny. These groups had immense influence and in essence, the power to shape the future of our cities through policies such as smart cities at the expense of democratic bodies such as municipal bodies, but no formal or legal space. While quashing the government notification on the case related to the Vision group for Bengaluru, the High Court of Karnataka observed in June 2018 that the “existence of Vision Group that was not formed under law despite the existence of the Bangalore Metropolitan Planning Committee (BMPC) would only cause confusion. The formation of such a group is not required.”<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand, the local government BBMP has been hollowed out drastically impacting the democratic process. There is a lack of human resources and capacity for planning, economic development and delivery of social justice.

There is little attempt or political will to make these local governance bodies effective. The BBMP for example, did not have functional ward committees until very recently. In April 2017 the BBMP was directed to form ward committees within one month by the High Court. Some of the councillors still did not initiate meetings of the ward committee but awaited further orders of the high court. Frustrated by this citizens groups pressured the Mayor and the Commissioner to issue a specific circular /order to establish a monthly ward committee meeting on the first Saturday of each month. Due to this collective civil society effort ward committees have now started meeting from November – December 2018.

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13. Why need a Vision Group for Bengaluru's development: HC to BBMP  
<https://www.deccanherald.com/city/why-need-vision-group-bengalurus-development-hc-bbmp-673880.html>

## Chapter V

# Urban Inequalities and the Smart City

## 5.1 Reduced role of municipal governments in urban reforms agenda

The introduction of the Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) results in a case of deliberate displacement of the process of decision making and municipal urban governance. It gives a stronger role for the state government and it creates a situation where they are incentivised to agree to reforms which could further harm the effective functioning of local government.

In fact, infrastructure decision-making is being de-politicised – moved beyond politics. In most cases there is no role for elected corporators in deciding anything to do with the new city projects– development requires political hierarchy and the private sector takes advantage of that to change the decision-making process in government. Decisions are all directed by state government and not by municipal bodies. So, investors use the political hierarchy to go up higher in the state system to make the investment. In the end, the institutions that are responsible for big infrastructure projects can claim to not be accountable to local politicians.

Furthermore, decision making processes have fallen into a pattern of strict investment logic and not actual beneficial development logic (i.e. there would be a lot more maintenance instead of new or older infrastructure). This development fundamentalism gives preference to larger, often costlier infrastructure over the needs of urban deprived communities.



The main issue of allocating funds for completing urban basic amenities and service provision of water and electricity were not the most important concerns in the areas identified by those involved in demarcating the parts of the city for the Area Based Development (ABD). In the 3 cities selected for this action research study, i.e. Bhubaneswar, Lucknow and Bengaluru, it appears that central areas which were well served with basic amenities and the parts of the city where the richer people stayed were finally chosen for the preparation of the Smart city proposal.

Around 22 sq. kms. in these selected areas were approved for the ABD. In Bengaluru some of these wards pay the highest amount of property tax to the local government BBMP. The common pool of property tax which has to be distributed to various underdeveloped parts of the city, will end up being unequally used for the “new development” occurring in those parts which are only 5-6 % of the city land area.

The question that we must ask is “what are the spaces of democratic negotiation available to and built into the SPV for the urban deprived communities and the SC /ST and minorities who are slum dwellers/ urban poor”?

## **5.2 Limited participation of residents in decision-making**

People who are not digitally connected or aware are often being left out of participatory process, creating a “digital subaltern”. The “Digital Subaltern” is adversely affected by consultation processes which are conducted in spaces and through mediums that are inaccessible to them. It is not apparent if any special efforts were made to involve them. The role of the non-official and the non-elected participants in these consultations would indicate that in most cities people, especially the most vulnerable and marginalised, were forced to accept a consent generating process, rather than a consultation.

There is official data (NCEUS Report) to demonstrate that the informal sector is a large portion (> 90%) of the national economy of India, but

despite this the workers and migrants lack equal access to the tools and technologies of decision making.

Thus, they find that the dominant tendencies of upper castes and urban classes continues strongly when it comes to smart cities. The lack of basic needs such as safe drinking water, housing, secure livelihoods, dignified living, education and health, continue to be underfunded and underserviced while a majority of funds (90%) is drawn away by the smart cities mission.

In Karnataka the government had tried to counter this by providing Dalits and tribals opportunities in the award of tenders for public works contracts by reservation.<sup>14</sup> Yet this does not seem to have been implemented as a social justice measure despite legal amendments being carried out in the Transparency in Public Procurements Act 2002. This is because vested interests in the city are too entrenched to let go of even <25 % of the contracts, thereby continuing the selection of contractors and implementation of projects in a way that privilege certain castes and classes.

On the ground, this is creating more zones in the city which are largely depoliticized and almost depopulated of the oppressed castes, except perhaps as service sector staff / employees at hotels, restaurants, bars. All the earlier occupations of the deprived communities such as the cobblers, plumbers, carpenters, valve men, sanitary workers and another 30-35 livelihoods have been slowly removed from such zones, because except the street vendors the rents are too high to be able to pay for workspaces. And the street vendors are also more precarious because of the harassment from the authorities. These spaces are now taken over by co-working zones who take advantage of the optical fibre cables (OFC), the IT facilities such as free wi-fi from the Smart City Mission (SCM) projects. The urban deprived communities are being pushed away from the areas which were not so exclusive before.

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14. Bengaluru agencies don't give SC/STs their due in civil works  
[//economictimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/67252350.cms?](http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/67252350.cms?)

## 5.3 Infrastructure for whom?

For real estate companies and developers if there is any government investment in the public space / sector such as Mega projects like Metro Rail, Highways, expressways, flyovers or other schemes like parks, gardens and parking lots it increases the land values of their projects and they can put up malls, complexes and skyscrapers and further huge profits of this under-regulated sector.

For example, the Vittal Mallya road which was taken as a pilot for future work under Tender Sure- this was 430 metres long and approximately rupees 4-6 crores were spent on it. Its construction in 2009-10 coincided with the inauguration of the elite mall in Bangalore known as “UB City”. In 2011 the same road was badly flooded and almost every year since then showing how the water is not able to flow out.<sup>15</sup>

Moreover, the number of roads covered, and the funds allotted have changed from time to time and it is not clear how the BBMP would fund the exorbitant cost of such road projects in the next phase.

The vision of the city can be and must be developed at the city government level in terms of participation, planning and decision making based on the peoples and voters' response, but instead the role of local government and the voters is reduced to rubber stamp. Many projects which could have been considered in terms of more citizen-friendly infrastructure or to bring greater transparency in governance (similar to existing projects such as computerised complaint management cell and collection of property tax online) were side-lined for big infrastructure projects which might benefit only small, elite sections of society.

## 5.4 Right to the City: Peoples' Vision

The Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs (MoHUA) announced in Jan 2018 that a National Urban Policy was under preparation which would be

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15. <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/bangalore/Bangalore-rainfall-Hell-and-high-swirling-waters/articleshow/20388679.cms>

launched by March 2018. But with not much to demonstrate in terms of achievements in the SCM except in a handful of cities like Bhopal, Indore or Bhubaneswar it seems like such a move has been delayed further.

A 'People's vision of the city' process must be followed more systematically to ensure that engaging / building sustainable relationships among different classes and professions is possible. We can have a right to the city for all only if all can get an equal place at the decision-making table. Unless dignified workspaces and livelihood options are created where people stay and are allowed to work where they need and want to, we will not get opportunities to create a liveable, inclusive city.

A people's vision to achieve a city- in which people's security includes, food security, air and water security and governance with people's organisations to work towards better public health and education services for all- calls for major restructuring of the city and city's cultural, social and economic spaces, with access being the most important concern. The segregation and discriminatory policy practices for the urban majority in a beneficiary mode needs to end.

Organisations like the slums dwellers federations, those working on urban commons and governance matters, have created a momentum in 2018- towards bringing forward a new legislation to replace the existing - Karnataka Slum Development act. The learnings from such legal interventions and those of the National Hawkers' Federation (Annexure: Resolution on smart cities - February 2016) for example to assess their contribution to each city's economic growth , should be pointers for how the urban deprived communities, can combine forces for effective results. Specific projects, planning at all levels can help create urban employment schemes at a scale to meet the Peoples' vision of the city, demonstrating their potential to be equal citizens for equitable development.



## Chapter VI

# Conclusion and Recommendations

The Smart City Mission (SCM) discussed above shows how a gradual process of 'privatising' urban policymaking alongside more centralisation of decision making through the establishing of a Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) is taking place. This can be illustrated by the fact that in December 2014 the newly elected Maharashtra state government proposed a committee for Mumbai with the Prime Minister as the chairperson. This committee was not formed later due to opposition from political parties but the tendency exists even now. Just as a comparison in Bengaluru the similar lobbies have been preparing the ground for a Rs 40,000 crore elevated road corridors which is an order of 2000 magnitude more than the smart city project for Bengaluru. These corridors were exclusively meant for the car owners neither bus commuters nor those with NMT would benefit from such a huge investment. If the money were to be allocated for schools and health facilities a number of citizens who are forced to use private sector institutions might benefit.

The Smart City has emerged as a discriminatory city because of the methods by which reforms are being introduced which are not apparent to the common citizen. These urban reforms are being introduced at the behest of companies and corporate foundations at the cost of the dignity and the livelihoods of the urban deprived communities. The main core area of the city which should be accessible to all will translate into a surveillance zone.

As the various inputs on the 74th constitution amendment have indicated there is a need to limit the role of the state governments and

they should not be intruders<sup>16</sup> in the governance space demarcated for municipalities. But this continues to be wishful thinking, since more incursions are coming from policy makers. Local government is the domain of the state governments and is in the state list of the Constitution which allows states to decide their own trajectory for urban development and growth. Only a process of democratisation can lead to realisation of a just, inclusive, and sustainable city.

### Recommendations on Smart Cities

1. 74th Constitutional Amendment Act should be implemented in its true spirit to empower the elected Municipal Council to take charge of the urban development agenda in the cities as only the local government can be accountable to the public who votes.
2. The introduction of the Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) into the municipal government decision making process is disrupting representative democracy. The primacy of the elected local government should be ensured.
3. We observe that inequalities in income and access to resources has increased and the current design of smart cities is set to contribute further to this, new schemes have to be initiated to balance this.
4. The centralisation of the decision making / urban governance through the bureaucracy is imposing a greater cost while catering to the elite groups as they are disproportionately heard in decision-making processes, especially in urban areas. This needs to be resolved.
5. The basic needs and human rights to citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution of India are being compromised through the smart cities mission. The local municipal government has to set up decentralised (not only computerised) complaint redressal mechanisms, which can bring governance to the doorstep through the mandated wards committees.

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16. K .C Sivaramakrishnan, Growth in Urban India- Issues of Governance –New Delhi 2006

6. The newly established fundamental right to privacy read into the Constitution by the Supreme Court of India in August 2017 needs to be ensured and strengthened further.
7. The human resources and technical capacity of urban local government structure needs to be enhanced since it is they who have been entrusted with the responsibility of raising development issues of the common people and to plan appropriately.

### **Actionable points to further the Right to the City**

1. The multi stakeholder groups of the urban majority who are affected adversely by such policies can take advantage of greater participation in city and urban planning through a variety of people's organisations.
2. Capacity support for participation of the urban deprived communities in development planning, budgeting, implementation and monitoring and audit of the urban development has to be an important strategy to move ahead.
3. To take full advantage of the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act by intervening at city, zonal, ward committees and sub ward levels by providing access to governance literacy and awareness training for youth, women, SC/ ST/ Muslims and minorities.
4. After enhancing the capacity (listed in point 2) initiate citizen civic interventions in articulating people's vision through draft development plans to be prepared by the municipal local governments, incorporating their views and responses to understand their perspectives better.
5. While providing housing legitimate beneficiaries should be identified through a transparent process at the same time providing livelihood options breaking down access barriers, by working with the municipal officials, police personnel as well as elected representatives.
6. Address the access to land and land rights issues in the slums where lack of it is causing deprivation of the majority of population.



7. Conducting orientation programmes to make the process of city making appear more relevant for the urban deprived communities.
8. Creating platforms and providing the necessary awareness among these urban deprived so as to enable them to question this new reformed governance. Adequate attention should be paid on bridging the 'digital divide' in order to make the consultation process as inclusive as possible.
9. Create multi-city ward level citizen committees and groups, including the urban deprived communities to be established.
10. Develop social auditing processes which enquire how funds are being utilised by the local governments in the implementation of schemes in an efficient way that would emphasise accountability for equitable development.

## Annexure I

# Resolution on Smart Cities

### National Hawkers Federation in February 2016

Resolved that the National Hawkers Federation (NHF) shall fight with all its strength to resist the Smart City project currently underway in a number of cities of India. The unfolding of the Project reveals lack of clarity and vision in its conceptualization. Contrary to the claims made by the Government of India that the Smart City will be more inclusive in its approach and operation, it appears to us that the execution of the said Project will usher in an era of executive and expert driven despotism in urban governance. The NHF strongly believes that technology is not value-neutral and hence it cannot automatically deliver social justice and address inequality. The argument of technological justice is repeatedly used by the ruling elite to preserve and renew class privilege. The annals of human history give us ample evidence to support this opinion. Hence, the NHF demands clear answers to the following questions:

1. How far is the centralization of data and information consistent with our Constitutional spirit of decentralized governance in ULBs?
2. What will happen to those who lose their jobs due to the automation of crucial services in our urban centres?
3. To what extent are the basic objectives and operations of the state being transferred to private corporations, who, we have learned, have already played an instrumental role in promoting the cause for the Smart City?
4. How will the Government finance the said Project which involves huge resource mobilization? If it is taxpayers' money, then why will

the country's enormous rural population be part of a potentially additional tax burden?

5. How exactly will the Smart City equally benefit the rich and the poor, educated and the illiterate? Who will have access to what in an information driven network? How will one engage with the civic government if she/he does not have proper access to smart technology?
6. How will the Smart City Project impact on the urban real-estate market?

## Annexure II

The list of 18 functions for which devolution and delegation has happened in state of Karnataka

### **Note on the 74th Constitutional Act Amendment Act**

In the 74th Constitutional Act Amendment Act, 1992 powers are delegated to the City Corporations, City Municipal Councils, Town Municipal Council and Town Panchayats to carry out the functions related to urban development. In order to delegate such powers to the urban local bodies under the 74th Constitutional Act Amendment Act, 1992 the Government of Karnataka has amended the following Acts.

1. Karnataka Town and Country Planning Act, 1961
2. Karnataka Municipal Corporation Act, 1976
3. Karnataka Municipalities Act, 1964

Sl. No.	Functions	Action taken
1.	Urban planning including town Planning.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• As per Section 81 of Karnataka Town and Country Planning Act power to be exercised by any Planning Authority may be delegated to the concerned Urban Local Bodies. In this regard the Government of Karnataka has declared 45 Local Bodies as Municipal Planning Authorities. The Department of Town Planning is extending technical assistance to these Municipal Planning Authorities.</li><li>• Apart from these, there are 25 Urban Development Authorities and 27 Planning Authorities functioning in the States.</li><li>• Provision is made in the Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act and Karnataka Municipalities Act for the urban local bodies to prepare city development plan based on the Master Plans prepared for their jurisdiction.</li></ul>
2.	Regulation of land-use and construction of buildings.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The Karnataka Town and Country Planning Act is extended to 100 cities/town in the State. For all these local bodies where the Karnataka Town and Country Planning Act is extended. Powers are delegated to issue Commencement Certificate for building constructions. Out of the 100 local authorities for 45 Municipal Planning Authorities the land use regulation power are fully delegated.</li></ul>

Sl. No.	Functions	Action taken
3.	Planning for economic and social development.	Provisions are made under Section 58 and 59 of the Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act, 1976 and Section 87 and 91 of the Karnataka Municipalities Act, 1964.
4	Roads and bridges.	Provisions are made under Section 58(18) of the Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act, 1976 and Section 87(f) and 87(i) of the Karnataka Municipalities Act, 1964.
5.	Water supply for domestic, industrial and commercial purpose.	Provisions are made under Section 58(2) of the Karnataka Municipal Corporation Act, 1976 and Section 87(b) of the Karnataka Municipalities Act, 1964.
6.	Public health, sanitation conservancy and solid waste management.	Provisions are made under Section 58(3) and 59(10) of the Karnataka Corporations Act, 1976 and Section 87(c), 87(m), 87(q), 87 (r), 91(m) and 91(u) of the Karnataka Municipalities Act, 1964.
7.	Free services.	Provisions are made under Section 59 of the Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act, 1976 and Section 87(d) of the Karnataka Municipalities Act, 1964.
8	Urban forestry, protection of the environment and promotion of ecological aspects.	Provisions are made under Section 59(21-B) of the Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act, 1976 and Section 91(gg-2) of the Karnataka Municipalities Act, 1964.
9.	Safeguarding the interests of weaker section of society, including the handicapped and mentally retarded.	Provisions are made under Section 59(1) and 59(21) of the Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act, 1976 and Section 87 and 91 of the Karnataka Municipalities Act, 1964.
10.	Slum improvement and upgradation.	Provisions are made under Section 59(21-A) of the Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act, 1976 and Section 91(gg-11) of the Karnataka Municipalities Act, 1964.

Sl. No.	Functions	Action taken
11.	Urban poverty alleviation.	Provisions are made under Section 59(21-C) of the Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act, 1976 and Section 91(gg-3) of the Karnataka Municipalities Act, 1964.
12.	Provision of urban amenities and facilities such as parks, gardens and playgrounds.	Provisions are made under Section 58(25) of the Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act, 1976 and Section 91(b) of the Karnataka Municipalities Act, 1964.
13.	Promotion of cultural, educational and aesthetic aspects.	Provisions are made under Section 59(21-D) of the Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act, 1976 and Section 91(gg-4) of the Karnataka Municipalities Act, 1964.
14.	Burials and burial grounds, cremations, cremation grounds and electric cremations.	Provisions are made under Section 58(11) of the Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act, 1976 and Section 87(h) of the Karnataka Municipalities Act, 1964.
15.	Cattle pounds: prevention of cruelty to animals.	Provisions are made under Section 58(10) of the Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act, 1976 and Section 91(d) of the Karnataka Municipalities Act, 1964.
16.	Vital Statistics including registration of births and deaths.	Provisions are made under Section 58(28-A) of the Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act, 1976 and Section 87(u1) of the Karnataka Municipalities Act, 1964.
17.	Public amenities including street lighting, parking lots, bus stops and public conveniences.	Provisions are made under Section 58(5) of the Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act, 1976 and Section 87(a) of the Karnataka Municipalities Act, 1964.
18.	Regulation of slaughter houses and tanneries.	Provisions are made under Section 58(10) of the Karnataka Municipal Corporations Act, 1976 and Section 87(i) of the Karnataka Municipalities Act, 1964.

### List of proposed projects in the Smart City Mission for Bengaluru

Sl.No.	Project	ABD/Pan City/ Others	Total SCP Costs (in Crores)
1.	Revitalisation of historic heart of the city	ABD	1166.72
2.	Integrated mobility towards creating vibrant destination at Shivajinagar bus station and Russel Market precinct.	ABD	233.12
3.	Integrated mobility towards creating vibrant destination at Majestic bus station.	ABD	1.00
4.	Upgradation and redevelopment of historic economic centers-KR Puram.	ABD	53.08
5.	Upgradation and redevelopment of historic economic centers-Malleswaram market.	ABD	131.83
6.	Innovation of downstream clean-up of drainage system-Ulsoor Lake.	ABD	24.42
7.	Innovation of downstream clean-up of drainage system-Sankey Tank.	ABD	12.94
8.	Protection and redevelopment of centrally located parkland.	ABD	6.07
9.	Increasing affordable housing stock through slum redevelopment (Swathanthra Palya Slum Redevelopment)	ABD	43.93
10.	Retrofitting of a health care facility (KC General Hospital)	ABC	12.01
11.	Municipal Finance	Pan City	1.70
12.	Improvement in property tax collection for the whole city in a phased manner.	Pan City	5.00
13.	Grievance Management - Central command centre for accepting citizen queries	Pan City	31.11
14.	Participatory Budgeting	Pan City	2.00
15.	Online project information system for public project management	Pan City	5.00
16.	Open data portal for citizen information and innovation	Pan City	5.00

Sl.No.	Project	ABD/Pan City/ Others	Total SCP Costs (in Crores)
17.	Improvement of Neighbourhood Safety	Pan City	32.40
18.	B-TRIPS (Bengaluru Travel Related Information and Planning System)	Pan City	25.00
	<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>1792.33</b>

Note: This only indicates cost of individual projects given in the SCP may additionally include other costs such as DPR, preparation, PMC,O&M etc.





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