

## **IMPROVING ACCESS TO HOUSING AND BASIC SERVICES** FOR URBAN POOR THROUGH PARTICIPATORY PLATFORMS

LEARNINGS FROM KERALA AND ODISHA



A Case Study conceptualised as part of

the GIZ Sustainable Urban Development - Smart Cities (SUD-SC) initiative











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## CONTENTS

FOLDER A: INTRODUCTION	
<ol> <li>Contents</li> <li>Preface</li> <li>Abbreviations</li> <li>Executive Summary/Case Brief</li> <li>Objectives and Methodology</li> <li>References</li> </ol>	3 4 5 6 9 11
FOLDER B: MAIN CASE	
<ol> <li>Contents</li> <li>List of Figures</li> <li>List of Tables</li> <li>Abbreviations</li> </ol>	14 18 20 21
Part I: Setting the context	
<ul><li>5. Theoretical Framework</li><li>6. Global Experience and National Context</li></ul>	23 31
Part II: Ward Committees and Working Groups in Kerala and Role of Kudumbashi	ree within them
<ul><li>7. Evolution of Participatory Platforms in Kerala</li><li>8. Participatory Spaces in Kochi</li><li>9. Discussions and Learnings</li></ul>	41 49 85
Part III: Participatory spaces in JAGA Mission, Odisha	
<ul><li>10. Evolution of Participatory Platforms in Odisha</li><li>11. Odisha Liveable Habitat Mission - JAGA Mission</li><li>12. Participatory Platforms in Odisha</li><li>13. Discussions and Learnings</li></ul>	91 95 111 121
Part IV: Summary	
14. Key learnings from the cases  References And Readings  End Note	125 <b>129</b> <b>134</b>
FOLDER C: TEACHING NOTE AND CASE ARCHIVE	
1. Contents	137
2. Teaching Note	138
<ul><li>3. Pedagogical Possibilities</li><li>4. Areas of Further Research Emerging from this Case Study</li></ul>	142 143
5. Case Archive	144

## **FOLDER-A: INTRODUCTION**

# IMPROVING ACCESS TO HOUSING AND BASIC SERVICES FOR URBAN POOR THROUGH PARTICIPATORY PLATFORMS

**LEARNINGS FROM KERALA AND ODISHA** 





## CONTENTS

4
5
6
9
11



## **PREFACE**

Participation is a vital tool for inclusive and integrated development of cities as it contributes to more viable and just policies and has a positive impact on poverty, inequality and development processes (Coelho & Favareto, 2011). People's participation in development projects has been a major preoccupation in the discourse on development. However, discussions over "public participation in urban governance" has seen a growing interest, especially due to economic factors such as globalization and trade liberalization, and political factors such as decentralization and devolution of development functions to local governments (Kuruvilla & Waingankar, 2013). As the cities become larger, heterogeneous and more complex, a representative form of democracy proves to be inefficient. Citizens need to exercise deeper control over decisions which affect their lives directly and hence, representative democracy needs to be extended into a participatory form of democracy in which more participatory mechanisms of citizen engagement are created and supported (Gaventa, 2006b).

The Government of India (GoI) mandated decentralization and participatory governance first in 1992 through the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (74th CAA) and further in 2005 through the Community Participation Law (CPL), under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) (Community Participation Law, 2005). This move to expand the existing representative democracy into participatory democracy was not ratified by all the States. West Bengal and Kerala were among the first few states to ratify and implement participatory urban governance. The political economy and the culture of society have been the major factors contributing to the establishment of such participatory forms of governance. Bottom-up approach and community participation is also encouraged by creating participatory platforms in the realm of specific development programs/ missions, either through national or state mandates.

This study explores two such empirical responses to the need for creating a participatory mechanism for citizen engagement:

- Ward committees and working groups in Kerala, and role of community-based organizations of the State Poverty Eradication Mission-Kudumbashree within them.
- Participatory platforms in Odisha Liveable Habitat Mission/ JAGA Mission in Odisha.

The first constitutes democratic institutions with the formation of ward committees and working groups whereas the second envisions innovations through which citizens can influence the solution of problems that distress them. Though both the cases differ in the details of their design, approach, and scope, both eventually aspire to develop the ways in which citizens can effectively participate and influence decision making for the issues that directly affect their lives. From the overall scope of services influenced by these platforms, for the purpose of this study, the focus will be limited to the sector of shelter and basic services.

This case study tries to understand the mandates and their implementation with respect to the creation of these platforms, alignment of various participatory platforms and their performance in the aforementioned sectors. It does not compare the two practices, but some similarities in principles became evident during the study. Key learnings from the two celebrated practices could guide other states/ local bodies to create and effectively implement participatory practices. The case study in the current form is structured to be used by urban policy makers, governance experts and academia.

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

74th CAA : 74th Constitutional Amendment Act

ADS : Area Development Society

CBO : Community Based Organizations
CDS : Community Development Society
CPL : Community Participation Law

JNNURM : Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission

KMC : Kochi Municipal Corporation

NHG : Neighborhood Group

PPC : People's Planning Campaign SDA : Slum Dwellers' Association

SHG : Self-Help Group

SPEM : State Poverty Eradication Mission

ULB : Urban Local Body

## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

Participatory processes have been considered robust methods for improving development projects, assuring community buy-in and have significant rates of implementation with multilateral organizations being their strong advocates. These participatory platforms have focused on the importance of local knowledge and understanding as a basis for local action, and on direct forms of participation throughout the project cycle (Gaventa, 2004).

Till the 1990s, participation was typically limited to the political or social arena. But lately, there has been an increasing focus on participation in urban governance. The shift of focus also reflects in the global discourse around "participation" from Arnstein's (Arnstein, 1969) and Choguil's (Choguill, 1996) ladder of participation in development program to Gaventa and Cornwall's (Cornwall & Gaventa, 2000) debate on participation in urban governance. Around the world, a growing number of governments are experimenting with innovative practices that seek to expand the space and mechanisms for citizen participation in governance processes beyond elections. Decentralization has been the precursor to these processes. It involves resource sharing with local governments, participatory actions and improving accountability. It also involves further decentralization of power from local governments to sub-local level and facilitates 'participatory governance' (Cornwall & Gaventa, 2000; Gaventa, 2006b, 2006a) by creating intermediary spaces for strengthening the participation of citizens.

In India, decentralization was mandated through the 73rd and 74th CAA, 1992. The primary objective of these acts was to strengthen democracy at the grassroots levels through participatory governance in rural and urban areas respectively. The 74th CAA granted constitutional status to the municipal bodies through devolution of powers, functional responsibilities, and handing over authorities to them. It took the decentralization to next level by making provision for constitution of "ward committees". The processes of participatory governance and decentralization were once again reinforced and mandated through Community Participation Law (CPL) in 2015 by introducing another tier of decision making below ward level that is "area sabhas". Though the level of ratification of these acts varies across the states, these provisions were intended to deepen democracy, help in improving urban governance and service delivery, promote transparency and accountability in governance, and increase citizen participation in planning from the grassroots.

This study explores two empirical responses to decentralization and the need for creating a participatory mechanism for citizen engagement:

- Ward committees and working groups in Kerala, and role of community-based organizations of the State Poverty Eradication Mission-Kudumbashree within them
- · Participatory platforms in Odisha Liveable Habitat Mission/ JAGA Mission in Odisha

Both the practices have been globally celebrated as good practices. Kerala has had a long history of decentralization and participatory practices whereas Odisha has only recently started focusing on decentralization and building a fourth tier of government below the Urban Local Bodies (ULBs). Though the two cases may even appear to be different in the details of their design, approach, and scope, both eventually aspire to develop effective ways in which citizens can participate and influence decision making for the issues that directly affect their lives.

The study focuses on the constitution of participatory platforms and their effectiveness in the urban areas of both the States. It is based on interviews with experts and stakeholders, reviews of acts, government orders, guidelines, progress reports and ground truthing to the extent possible under existing pandemic conditions. The outcome of the study shows that the decentralized and participatory system of governance is central

for deepening democracy, to improve service delivery and accountability, but in order to realize all this, a strong response from the grassroots level is equally important. Inviting citizen involvement in participatory platforms requires more than inducing people to participate. As Gaventa (2004) suggests, it is important to work on both sides of the equation. One side refers to the institutional changes for creation of effective participatory platforms, whereas the other side refers to building capacities of the individuals/community groups who can participate in these platforms and influence the decision making.

In the case of Kerala, the socio-political context has played an important role in the creation and implementation of participatory platforms. Various people's organizations and their movements against social, political and economic oppression have built a socially conscious citizenry in Kerala. Attempts of successive governments towards administrative decentralization had positively paved the way for decentralized planning in the State. History of decentralization, existence of political will and social factors were responsible for the inception of participatory platforms in Kerala. The three main participatory platforms considered for the purpose of this study are: Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) of State Poverty Eradication Mission (SPEM) – Kudumbashree, Ward Committees in local urban governance and Working Groups of the People's Planning Campaign (PPC).

Theoretically, the ward committees in Kerala represent a true democratic space where there is representation from various civil society organizations. But on the ground, various factors challenge the democratic and deliberative nature of these ward committees. The powers devolved to the ward committees are also limited as there is no ward level budget. The budget allocation actually takes place through the 'People's Planning Campaign' (PPC) at the city level making this participatory process more empowering. The PPC offers participatory platforms in the form of working groups, ward sabhas and development seminars, of which the working group is the most important.

Over the years, participatory spaces offered by the community network of Kudumbashree – Neighborhood Groups (NHGs), Area Development Society (ADS) and Community Development Society (CDS) have become instrumental in implementation of development programs in Kerala. Community groups which were started as platforms for participation in the mission realm have become institutionalized into the urban governance process as well. These CBOs are important parts of ward committees as well as working groups.

The study of the participatory platforms in Kerala revealed that multiplicity of participatory platforms in Kerala and their convergence on the ground has resulted in effective participatory practices. Urban poor are able to influence the decisions regarding shelter and basic services in their favor. In addition to multiplicity, successful participatory governance practices in Kochi are a result of the mandates for design of participatory platforms, socio-political contexts and the social capital built through the Kudumbashree program.

Odisha does not have a very strong culture of bottom-up actions. The state government has recently started focusing on decentralization and building a fourth tier of government below the ULBs. It has begun delegating responsibilities to the community groups. In Odisha, women's Self-Help Groups (SHGs) are involved in delivery of various urban services. They are mobilized as 'Jal Sathis', 'water monitors', 'Swaccha Sathis' etc. to facilitate service delivery in urban areas. Jal Sathis have been delegated the responsibility of water supply distribution and consumer management at ward level. Water monitors are responsible for monitoring proper services delivery, coordinating and ensuring timely delivery of services. Swachh Sathis work in the sanitation and solid waste management sector. They work as the community links for decentralized solid waste management. A similar decentralized approach has been adopted in the Odisha Liveable Habitat Mission – JAGA Mission. It was launched after enactment of the unique act, the Odisha Land Rights to Slum Dwellers Act, 2017. The mission aims at "transforming the slums into liveable habitats with all necessary civic infrastructure and services at par with other areas within the same urban local body and to

continuously improve the standard of the infrastructure and services and access to livelihood opportunities." The implementation process involves state of the art technological interventions along with participatory approaches using grassroots organizations and Slum Dwellers Associations (SDAs). SDA members undergo extensive training to prepare them to undertake responsibilities for the works being executed in the slums. In Odisha, women SHGs and SDAs are emerging as grassroots organizations responsible for delivery of various urban services. The livelihood opportunities offered through these development programs are empowering them financially as well.

It has been observed that these community groups are only responsible for execution on the ground and have very little decision making power. Their participation in the platforms also provides them livelihood opportunities and additionally they benefit from the service delivery improvements, but there is no power devolved to them to make their own decisions. In Odisha, government's willingness to decentralize certain functions of ULB and making the community a part of the development programs is quite evident. But the institutionalization of platforms is very important to establish long term alliance. Involvement of the urban poor in the development processes is making them learn more about the decision making processes of government bodies. They are acquiring important skills for identifying, analyzing and prioritizing development issues, and for articulating their needs and concerns to the relevant authorities. These skills are deemed invaluable for an institutionalized participatory platform in urban governance.

The constitution and success of participatory platforms in urban governance is not uniform across all the states in India. They are influenced by the legal framework and mandates, political will, social fabric, administrative framework etc. Creation of participatory platforms is not enough; there should be continuous and meaningful participation in these platforms to make them work. Ensuring participation in the form of mobilized communities such as SHGs, NHGs in various livelihood-oriented schemes, urban poor-oriented schemes in one of the alternatives. Such practices adopted through Kudumbashree NHGs in Kerala, and SDAs and SHGs in Odisha are proving to be more effective ways to engage citizens in functions of local body and overall self-governance of neighborhoods. As observed in the case of Kerala, emerging from a programmatic platform, these communities eventually became a part of the larger system. It appears that Odisha is also taking a similar path by training and empowering the communities and eventually institutionalizing them within routine local urban governance. Multiplicity of participatory platforms is also emerging as important factors for ensuring participation of the urban poor. Along with the existence of multiple participatory platforms, a dynamic synergy needs to be established among these platforms.

Both the cases highlight the importance of the socio-political context as well as various government mandates and orders. There is no standard template for creation of an effective participatory platform, but the theories and the practices need to be molded in accordance with specific empirical contexts. On the other hand, sustained engagement with communities is an important factor for making participatory platforms work.

## OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH METHODS

This case study seeks to answer the central question 'how effective are the participatory platforms in improving access to shelter and basic services for the urban poor?'

The main objectives of the case study are:

- 1. To understand mandates for creation of participatory platforms and their implementation through local practices.
- 2. To assess effectiveness of participatory platforms for the urban poor to express their demands and influence decisions in their favor.

A mixed method approach was used to collect and analyze primary and secondary data. Secondary data inputs included extensive literature on participatory governance, study of relevant Acts, Rules, Government Orders, Mission Documents, Progress Reports etc. Primary qualitative data collection included: interviews with key state and non-state stakeholders for both the cases, experts and academia; discussions with the members of Neighborhood Groups (NHG) in Kerala, and women's Self-Help Groups (SHGs) and Slum Dwellers Associations (SDAs) in Odisha. Functioning of participatory platforms was understood through ground truthing. Due to the prevailing Covid conditions, researchers had to limit the scope of field work which could have otherwise been more extensive.

As a part of first objective, to understand the mandates for creation of participatory platforms, relevant acts were reviewed. To understand the national mandates, the 74th CAA and JNNURM CPL were studied. Whereas, at state level, in the case of Kerala, the Kerala Municipality Act 1994 along with other Government orders that mandate creation of participatory platforms were reviewed extensively. The findings from the analysis of secondary data were corroborated by online discussions with experts from the State. The finer details of each of the participatory platforms were studied through available secondary data. Five wards were selected across three zones of the Kochi Municipal Corporation (KMC) to understand the implementation of state mandates at the local level. Semi-structured interviews with ward councilors, ward committee members and executive members of various tiers of Kudumbashree were carried out. Ward committee meetings in two of the selected wards and two NHG meetings were attended to understand the functioning of the participatory platforms. As a part of the second objective, to understand the effectiveness of participatory platforms in the local context in Kochi, a detailed evaluation of the KMC budget and the annual plan for the year 2020-21 was carried out. The budget was studied with focus on pro-poor projects related to shelter and basic services, and their distribution across the wards.

For the second case of the JAGA Mission, Odisha, as part of the first objective, all the state mandates in the form of acts and mission guidelines were studied. The finer details of the mandates and approaches were discussed with the experts. The guidelines for the implementation of the mission were reviewed in detail to understand the decentralized processes and roles of the urban poor as a part of the SDA. The local practices were understood by visits to slums in Bhubaneswar and Konark. Semi-structured interviews with SDA members, SHG members, officials from ULBs, implementation experts and other private partners were conducted. Since the objective of the mission is directly linked to shelter and basic services for the urban poor, a review of the effectiveness of the platforms and achievements of the mission was undertaken. Other participatory platforms which are responsible for influencing delivery of basic services along with the SDAs were also identified and studied.

In both the cases, the implementation of prescribed guidelines and the claims made by the officials were verified by consultations with the communities, and critical analysis of primary and secondary data was done.

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**FOLDER-B: MAIN CASE** 

## IMPROVING ACCESS TO HOUSING AND BASIC SERVICES FOR URBAN POOR THROUGH PARTICIPATORY PLATFORMS

**LEARNINGS FROM KERALA AND ODISHA** 



## CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	18
LIST OF TABLES	20
ABBREVIATIONS	21

## **PART-1 SETTING THE CONTEXT**

	THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK	23
	1.1 Evolution of global discourse on participation	24
-	1.2 Decentralization and Participatory Governance	27
-		
-		
-		
-		

GLOBAL EXPERIENCE AND NATIONAL CONTEXT 2.1 Decentralization and participatory governance in Global South	<b>31</b> 32
2.2 Indian Context	35

## PART-2: WARD COMMITTEES AND WORKING GROUPS IN KERALA AND ROLE OF KUDUMBASHREE

EVOLUTION OF PARTICIPATORY PLATFORMS IN
KERALA
3.1 Background
3.2 Decentralization in Kerala
3.3 Participatory spaces in Kerala
47

PARTICIPATORY SPACES IN KOCHI

4.1 Background

5.1

4.2 State Poverty Eradication Mission (SPEM) - Kudumbashree State Mandates and Local Practices

5.3

4.3 Ward Committees - State Mandates and Local Practices

4.4 People's Planning Campaign - State Mandates and Local Practices

4.5 Outcomes

79

DISCUSSIONS AND LEARNINGS
5.1 Discussions
5.2 Learnings
85
89

## PART-3: PARTICIPATORY SPACES IN JAGA MISSION, ODISHA

EVOLUTION OF PARTICIPATORY SPACES IN ODISHA 6.1 Background 6.2 Participatory spaces in Odisha	<b>91</b> 92 93
	-30

ODISHA LIVEABLE HABITAT MISSION – JAGA MISSION – STATE MANDATES	
AND LOCAL PRACTICES	95
7.1 Background	96
7.2 State Mandates	97
7.3 Decentralised implementation process	100
7.4 Local Practices	105

PARTICIPATORY PLATFORMS IN ODISHA  8.1. Mandated participatory platforms in development programs  8.2. Mandated participatory platforms in Urban Governance - Ward	<b>111</b> 113
Committees and Area Sabhas	115
8.3. Outcomes	117



## **PART-4: SUMMARY**

	KEY LESSONS FROM THE CASES	125

REFERENCES	129
ENDNOTES	135

## LIST OF FIGURE

rigule i	•	Amsterns ladder of citizen participation	24
Figure 2	:	Choguill's ladder of community participation	24
Figure 3	:	Shift in Participation	26
Figure 4	:	Gaventa's Power Cube	28
Figure 5	:	Three-tier structure of urban local governance	36
Figure 6	:	Status of devolution of 18 functions	37
Figure 7	:	Status of Ward Committees	39
Figure 8	:	PPC Planning process proposed during 9th Five Year Plan	46
Figure 9	:	Participatory platforms in Urban Governance in Kerala	47
Figure 10	:	Standing Committees of Kochi Municipal Corporation	51
Figure 11	:	Sources of funds to urban local governments in Kerala	52
Figure 12	:	Community Organization Structure of Kudumbashree	54
Figure 13	:	Process for preparation of CDS Action Plan	56
Figure 14	:	Kudumbashree CBOs in Kochi	58
Figure 15	:	Three zones of Kochi Municipal Corporation	58
Figure 16	:	Formulation and submission of Development Schemes for ward	62
Figure 17	:	Location of selected wards within Kochi Municipal Corporation	63
Figure 18	:	Ward Committee meeting in Ward 19 - Palluruthy-Kacheripady	66
Figure 19	:	Ward Committee meeting in Ward 68 - Ayyapankavu	66
Figure 20	:	Preparation and submission of development scheme for a ward	68
Figure 21	:	Steps to be followed for annual plan preparation (GO (MS) No. 17/2018)	70
Figure 22	:	Sector-wise allocation of funds (Annual Plan of Kochi Municipal Corporation 2020-21)	77
Figure 23	:	Ward-wise allocation of fund Vs. Ward-wise slum HHs (Annual Plan of KMC 2020-21)	78
Figure 24	:	Fund allocation (INR) vs. Ward population	79
Figure 25	:	Fund allocation (INR) vs. Number of slums HHs	80
Figure 26	:	Sector-wise fund allocation (in INR) in five wards	80
Figure 27	:	Fund allocation for shelter & basic services for urban poor vs. number of	
		slum HHs in selected wards	81
Figure 28	:	Emerging framework for convergence of participatory platforms	83
Figure 29	:	Level of participation of three participatory platforms on Arnstein's ladder	
		of citizen participation (1969)	86
Figure 30	:	Level of participation of three participatory platforms on Choguill's ladder of	
		community participation (1996)	87
Figure 31	:	Civil Society Diamond in Odisha	93
Figure 32	:	Nine main components of JAGA Mission	97
Figure 33	:	Process adopted for granting Land Rights Certificates	100
Figure 34	:	Process flow for upgradation and delisting of slums	102
Figure 35	:	Houses built under BLC vertical of PMAY after receiving LRC in Mausma Sahi Slum,	
		Ward 9, Konark NAC	106
Figure 36	:	Process adopted in UWEI	107
Figure 37	:	Paved roads under JAGA Mission in Maa Mangala Sahi slum, Bhubaneswar	108

Figure 38	:	Community Centre - Parichaya developed under JAGA Mission in Maa Mangala	
		Sahi slum, Bhubaneswar	108
Figure 39	:	Development of open recreational areas under JAGA Mission in Ishaneshwar	
		Basti, Bhubaneswar	108
Figure 40	:	Emerging framework for convergence of participatory platforms in Odisha	119
Figure 41	:	Level of participation of participatory platforms on Arnstein's ladder of citizen	
		participation (1969)	122
Figure 42	:	Level of participation of participatory platforms on Choguill's ladder of	
		community participation (1996)	122
Figure 43	:	Convergence of participatory platforms in Kochi	128
Figure 44	:	Convergence of Participatory platforms in urban areas of Odisha	128

## LIST OF TABLE

Table 1	:	Evolution of global discourse	29		
Table 2	:	Summary of experience of participatory governance in countries of global south			
Table 3	:	Devolution of functions			
Table 4	:	Mandates for creation of Kudumbashree CBOs			
Table 5	:	Mandates for constitution and composition of ward committees			
Table 6	:	General details of the selected wards in Kochi Municipal Corporation			
Table 7	:	Composition of ward committees	64		
Table 8	:	Functions carried out by ward committee members			
Table 9	:	Budget provision to local governments in 2020-21 for development expenditure	70		
Table 10	:	Composition of Working Groups in Kochi Municipal Corporation	77		
Table 11	:	Select ward-wise fund allocation	79		
Table 12	:	Fund allocation for shelter and basic services	81		
Table 13	:	Distribution of slums within ULBs	97		
Table 14	:	Mandates for constitution of ward committees and area sabhas	115		
Table 15	:	Various Participatory Platforms in development programs in Odisha	118		

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

74th CAA : 74th Constitutional Amendment Act

ADS : Area Development Society

ALF : Area Level Federation

AMRUT : Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation

ASHA : Accredited Social Health Activist
BLC : Beneficiary-led Construction
BSUP : Basic Services for Urban Poor
CBO : Community Based Organization
CDS : Community Development Society

CLF : City Level Federation
CPI : Communist Party of India
CPL : Community Participation Law
CSO : Civil Society Organization

CYSD : Centre for Youth and Social Development

DPC : District Planning Committee

DSC : Delisting Scrutiny Sub-Committee
DUDA : District Urban Development Agency

EWS : Economically-weaker Section
GIS : Geographic Information System

GO : Government Order

HH : Household

H&UD : Housing and Urban Development Department

I-GAP : Infrastructure Gap Assessment Profile

INC : Indian National Congress

INR : Indian Rupee

ISHUP : Interest Subsidy Scheme for Housing Urban Poor

JLG : Joint Liability Group

JNNURM : Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission KILA : Kerala Institute of Local Administration

KMC : Kochi Municipal CorporationKSSP : Kerala Sasthra Sahitya Parishad

KWA : Kerala Water Authority

LDC : Local Development Councils

LDF : Left Democratic Front

LEC : Land Entitlement Certificate
LGC : Local Government Code
LRC : Land Rights Certificate

LSGI : Local Self Government Institution

MAS : Mahila Arogya Samiti MC : Municipal Corporation

MLA : Member of Legislative Assembly

NAC : Notified Area Council

NGO : Non-Governmental Organisation

NHG : Neighborhood Group

NUHM : National Urban Health Mission
 NULM : National Urban Livelihood Mission
 OLHM : Odisha Liveable Habitat Mission
 OULM : Odisha Urban Livelihood Mission

PB : Participatory Budgeting

PHEO : Public Health Engineering Organization
PINA : Primary Infrastructure Needs Assessment

PMAY : Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana PPC : People's Plan Campaign

PPPP : People Public Private Partnership

RAY : Rajiv Awas Yojana

RBDCK : Roads and Bridges Development Corporation of Kerala

RoR : Record of Rights
RRY : Rajiv Rinn Yojana

RSBY : Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana RWA : Resident Welfare Association

SC : Scheduled Caste

SCP : Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan
 SDA : Slum Dwellers' Association
 SFC : State Finance Commission
 SFCPOA : Slum-Free City Plan of Action

SHG : Self-Help Group

SOP : Standard Operating Procedure SPEM : State Poverty Eradication Mission

ST : Scheduled Tribe

SWM : Solid Waste Management

TA : Technical Agency

TAT : Technical Assistance Team

TSP : Tribal Sub-Plan

UASRRC : Urban Area Slum Redevelopment and Rehabilitation Committee

UDF : United Democratic Front

ULB : Urban Local Body

UPAD : Urban Poverty Alleviation Department

USHA : Urban Slum Household Area

UWEI : Urban Wage Employment Initiative

WATCO : Water Corporation of Odisha

WC : Ward Committee

WCP : Women Component Plan WKS : Ward Kalyan Samiti



THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1 EVOLUTION OF GLOBAL DISCOURSE ON PARTICIPATION

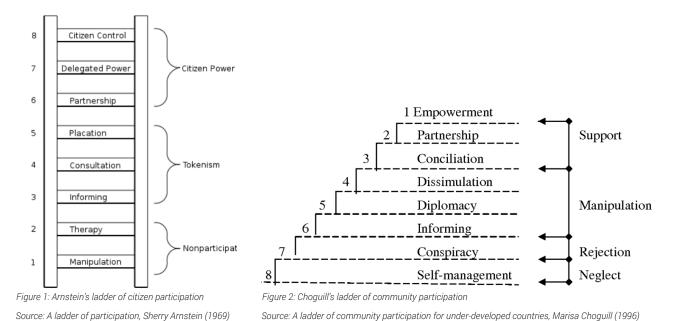
1.2 DECENTRALIZATION AND PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE

### 1.1 EVOLUTION OF GLOBAL DISCOURSE ON PARTICIPATION

The concept of participation has been used extensively in development discourse. Marginalized communities are offered participatory platforms within the framework of a pro-poor program or project. Such participation may occur more commonly in "implementation and monitoring stages" of the development projects (Ghosh & Mitra, 2008). "Participatory processes have been considered as robust methods for improving implementation of development projects and assuring community buy-in." (Maiti & de Faria, 2017). The focus of these participatory platforms has been on the local knowledge and the local actions through direct participation throughout the project cycle (Gaventa, 2004). This form of participation is limited to a social arena, a community or a project. However, discussions over 'public participation in urban governance' has seen growing interest over the years due to various economic and political factors such as decentralization, devolution of development functions to local governments etc. (Kuruvilla & Waingankar, 2013). The representative form of democracy restricts the extent to which citizens can participate in the governance processes. It has been pointed out that in a representative democracy, citizens participate through elections, and have only limited rights and hence, play a passive role in the process (Fung & Wright, 2001). "Citizens need to exercise deepening control over decisions which affect their lives and hence, the representative democracy needs to be extended into the participatory form of democracy in which more participatory mechanisms of citizen engagement are created and supported" (Gaventa, 2006b).

From 'participatory platforms in project realm' to 'participatory governance', many researchers have debated and proposed various concepts around citizen participation.

Sherry Arnstein (1969) designed "an eight-rung ladder of participation" based on the experience of citizen participation in a specific program in the United States of America.



The lower two rungs of the ladder are Manipulation and Therapy. These two rungs imply only superficial citizen participation. The third to fifth rungs of the ladder, Informing, Consultation and Placation represent tokenism, where citizens can hear and be heard. At the level of placation, citizens can advise and plan, but the right to give approval stays with the power holders. Hence, there is no change in the status quo. Higher rungs of the ladder represent higher degree of participation, actual participation in the decision making and full

managerial power. The sixth rung of the ladder is partnership that enables citizens to discuss and negotiate with power holders, whereas the topmost rungs viz., Delegated Power and Citizen Control give them decision making powers (Arnstein, 1969).

Choguill (1996) realized that as this ladder is based on the experiences in the United States of America, the same terminology and definitions will not completely hold true in case of underdeveloped and developing countries. Arnstein (1969) focused on participation to influence decisions of the power holders, whereas in underdeveloped and developing countries, the participation is rarely in the form of influencing decisions of the power holders but is mainly in the form of labor, time and money to fulfil their needs. Hence, Choguill (1996) proposed a similar ladder of community participation in under-developed countries in 1996. Choguill (1996) suggested community participation as a means to influence decision in the political arena about issues that affect the communities (Choguill, 1996).

The lowest rung of the Choguill's ladder is 'Self-management', where people mobilize themselves for improvement of their neighborhood when Government ignores their problems. This rung represents complete neglect by the power holders. The second last rung of the ladder is 'Conspiracy' where government completely rejects the idea of helping poor communities. The sixth rung of the ladder is 'Informing'. At this level, there is only a one-way flow of information from Government to Community without expectation of any feedback on it. The fifth rung i.e., 'Diplomacy' represents government's superficial efforts to involve the community. There is a semblance of participation at the fourth rung i.e., 'Dissimulation'. This is one of the strategies to seek support of discontented groups without giving them what they really need, but some level of participation is allowed. 'Informing', 'Diplomacy' and 'Dissimulation' represent Manipulation. The fourth rung upwards, there is higher level of participation by the community. 'Conciliation' is the third rung of the ladder. At this level, government's decisions are ratified by people, but the decision making is still with the power holders. The second rung of Choguill's ladder is same as that of the Arnstein's ladder i.e., 'Partnership' between Power Holders or Decision Makers and Citizens. The highest rung of the ladder is 'Empowerment'. At this level, community possesses decision making powers and power to control the situation with little government interference.

Choguill (1996) concludes that level of participation and potential results largely depend on the government's attitude. Supportive governments will lead to higher rungs of the ladder, like empowerment, partnership and conciliation; but in the other case, it may also lead to conspiracy. Since Government's willingness to support could be temporary, long-term alliance needs to be established for genuine community development. Choguill (1996) has described an example of Jardim Celeste in Sao Paulo, a project comprising 1400 low-income housing units and community facilities where a community initiative became successful through support of the local government. Locally organized neighborhood associations were supported by a Technical Assistance Team (TAT) contracted by the local government. The communities were empowered enough to build their houses in addition to having a significant voice in the process. But in 1993, when the local government changed, the work stopped. This shows the temporary nature of Government support and need for long-term alliances.

Both Arnstein's and Choguill's ladder revolved around 'participation in program/ project realm' (Arnstein, 1969; Choguill, 1996).

Earlier, participation commonly referred to participation in the political arena through electoral participation and in the social arena, through involvement in the community or development projects. By the beginning of the 20th century, researchers and sociologists like John Gaventa, Andrea Cornwall, C Valderrama and others alike argued that the concept of participation limited just to a program or only political participation needs to be scaled up and linked to the broader context of governance. From only being concerned with beneficiaries to

being concerned with the citizens, from being limited for a specific project to being an influencer for a policy and likewise broader forms of engagements evolved (Gaventa & Valderrama, 1999).

There is a shift from the traditional focus on electoral participation to the emerging importance of direct form of participation in governance. This is often referred to as 'a shift from representative democracy to participatory democracy.' These direct forms of engagement within decision making entities and processes are being considered as factors determining quality and depth of democratic institutions. "Participatory governance contributes to increasing the overall capabilities of citizens, strengthening democracies and improving the quality of governance" (Heller et al., 2007).

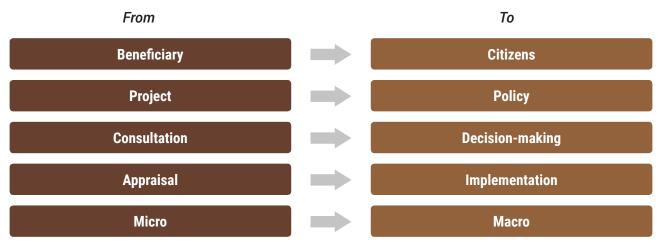


Figure 3: Shift in Participation

Source: Gaventa and Velderrama (1999)

### 1.2 DECENTRALIZATION AND PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE

"Political economists (Goodwin & Painter, 1996) have shown that globalization affects urban governance in three ways: urban areas rescale by devolution of powers, functions and resources from the national to the local government level; policy is reoriented away from redistribution of income and towards competition for capital; and market logic with focus on efficiency and profit maximization dominates. The first effect underpins 'decentralization', while the second and third effects underpin the 'neo-liberalization' of urban governance. Decentralization, often termed 'democratic decentralization' (Eaton, 2001) means that local governments are increasingly responsible for economic development, provision of infrastructure, spatial planning and urban policy making (Painter, 1995)" (Patel, 2016). Decentralization requires responsibilities and resource sharing with local governments, achieving common objectives through participatory action and improving accountability. Ramanathan (2007) places accountability to citizens as one of the important parameters along with 3Fs of decentralization i.e., Funds, Functions and Functionaries. Accountability can be achieved by providing "formal opportunity for citizens to participate in local governance" (Ramanathan, 2007).

"Decentralization may be accompanied by further rescaling of power, duties and resources from local to lower tiers of government through the opening of participatory spaces with the objective to deepen citizen participation and facilitate negotiation of their needs" (Cornwall & Gaventa, 2000; Gaventa, 2006a). The further rescaling is referred to as "participatory governance" (Gaventa, 2006b) or "immanent development" in development discourse (Hickey & Mohan, 2004). It is a form of governance that is based on democratic engagement through the deliberative process, with an aim to strengthen citizen participation in the public policy processes. Participatory governance seeks to give voice to the citizens by providing intermediary spaces for engagement.

Gaventa (2006) defines such spaces as "opportunities and channels where citizens can act to potentially influence policies, discourses, decisions and relationships which affect their lives and interests" (Gaventa, 2006a), and proposes three interrelated types of spaces: "closed, invited and claimed spaces." In "closed spaces" citizens are prohibited from having any say in decisions taken by the state. "Invited spaces" are offered by the state where citizens have an opportunity to participate in decision making processes. They may be institutionalized and permanent. "Claimed spaces" are created by marginalized citizens by self-mobilization. Through these spaces, they seek opportunities to negotiate their needs.

#### **Gaventa's Power Cube**

"Citizen Participation is about power and its exercise by different social actors in the spaces created for the interaction between citizens and local authorities" (Gaventa, 2006a). Gaventa (2006) introduced the concept of power cube as a framework for analyzing "spaces, places and forms of power and their interrelation." The three dimensions of the cube represent; spaces: different arenas of decision making, places: the levels or places of engagement, and power: different degrees of visibility of power.

The continuum of spaces includes "closed spaces" where the decisions are made behind closed doors and there is no pretence of even allowing any citizen participation; "invited spaces" are those where authorities or power holders invite people (citizens or beneficiaries) to participate; "negotiated/ claimed spaces" are those claimed by the less powerful from or against the power holders.

Debates take place over which level the practice of participation should take place whether local, national or global. Some argue that the participatory process must begin locally; while there are some who consider the importance of globalized actors and consider involvement at that level. This power also has three forms; namely visible, hidden and invisible power. Visible form of power includes definable aspects of politics such

as that of authorities, their rules, defined processes etc. Hidden form of power keeps those who are less powerful away from the decision making process. The political agendas are set by those who have the power and those who are favored by the powerful. Invisible power is of a manipulative nature which influences the ideologies of people and keeps them away from the participatory process.

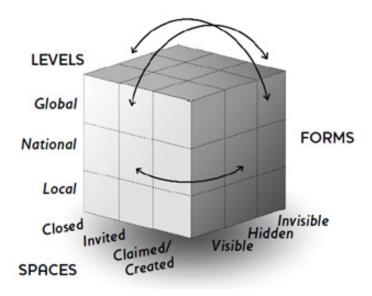


Figure 4: Gaventa's Power Cube

Source: Finding the spaces for change: A power analysis, John Gaventa (2006)

Gaventa (2006) also states that all these aspects of power are interrelated and need to work in coordination. "The dynamics of power depend on the type of space in which it is found, the level at which it operates and the form that it takes" (Gaventa, 2006a).

The invited spaces represent participatory governance and provide citizens with the rights to shape their cities (Cornwall & Gaventa, 2000; Nainan & Baud, 2008). "Invited spaces are assumed to lead to more efficient delivery of services, as decisions are made at levels in further proximity to the source of citizen problems and to more accountability of government to the citizens. It is proposed that the higher the proximity of such spaces to the citizens, higher will be the responsiveness of the government" (Patel, 2016).

Table 1: Evolution of global discourse

Year	Construct/ Idea	Researchers	Context	
1969	Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation	Sherry Arnstein	Based on the experiences of development programs in the United States of America	<ul> <li>Arnstein focused on participation of citizens in the programs to influence decisions of the power holders.</li> <li>Citizen participation results in citizen power to make the target institutions responsive to their views, aspirations, and needs.</li> <li>Eight-rung ladder represents 'manipulation' i.e., non-participation at the lowest rung and 'citizen control' at the highest rung.</li> </ul>
1996	Choguill's ladder of community participation	Marisa B. Guaraldo Choguill	Ladder of community participation in development programs in under- developed countries	<ul> <li>In underdeveloped and developing countries, the participation is mainly in the form of labor, time and money to fulfil their needs.</li> <li>Community participation is a means to influence decision in the political arena about issues that affect the communities.</li> <li>Eight-rung ladder represents 'self-management of communities' due to neglect at the lowest rung and 'empowerment of communities' at the highest rung.</li> </ul>
1999 onwards	Shift in Participation	John Gaventa, Camilo Valderrama, Andrea Cornwall etc.	Shift from 'People's participation in development projects' to 'People's participation in urban Governance'	<ul> <li>Concept of participation limited just to a program or only political participation needs to be scaled up and linked to broader context of governance.</li> <li>Decentralization may be accompanied by further rescaling of power, duties and resources from local to lower tiers of government through the opening of participatory spaces.</li> </ul>
2006	Gaventa's power cube	John Gaventa		<ul> <li>Power cube is a framework for analyzing "spaces, places and forms of power and their interrelation."</li> <li>Dynamics of power depends on the type of space in which it is found, the level at which it operates and the form that it takes.</li> </ul>

Source: Compiled by Authors

#### **Barriers to Participatory Governance**

Gaventa and Valderrama (1998) identified various barriers to effective citizen participation which include: government institutions controlling citizen's participation, weak participatory skills at different levels, lack of political will in local government and central authorities to enforce legislation, low levels of participation and insufficient financial resources at the local level. Other researchers (Nainan & Baud, 2008; Patel et al., 2016; Sridharan, 2008) have similar observations. "Despite national mandates, the state and local level governments are reluctant to share power and functions with the invited spaces with an explanation that the individual and localized issues may supersede the collective interest of the city. Consequently, the invited spaces mandated by the national government may either become closed spaces at the local level or may have a limited role and power" (Patel et al., 2016; Patel, 2016).

Invited spaces can get captured by local elites for their own interest. This can lead to exclusion of the marginalized and poor communities from participation in these spaces (Kundu, 2011; Nainan & Baud, 2008). Elite capture is a likely consequence of participation in invited spaces, with marginal groups and women often not being involved or even if involved they would be so only in the implementation stage rather than participating in decision making.

Inviting citizen's participation involves more than just inviting people to participate. Building the capacities for political engagement is equally important. Gaventa (2004) proposes working on the interface between civil society/ participatory approaches and good governance agenda.

Highlighting the need to work on both institutional changes as well as capacity of civil society, Gaventa states that "Increasingly, however, we are beginning to see the importance of working on both sides of the equation. As participatory approaches are scaled up from projects to policies, they inevitably enter the arena of government, and find that participation can become effective only as it engages with issues of institutional change. And, as concerns about good governance and state responsiveness grow, questions about how citizens engage and make demands on the state also come to the fore" (Gaventa, 2004).



2.2 INDIAN CONTEXT

Governance in India

Governance

• Decentralization and Participatory Urban

 First level of Decentralization - Devolution of power and functions to local governments
 Second level of decentralization - Participatory

2.1 DECENTRALIZATION AND PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE IN GLOBAL SOUTH

• Brazil Porto Alegre, Belo Horizante

The Philippines

Vietnam

# 2.1 DECENTRALIZATION AND PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE IN GLOBAL SOUTH

As many as 63 developing countries around the world have started implementing decentralization and participatory governance since the 1980s (The World Bank, 2000). In the Global South, Brazil, the Philippines, Vietnam started following this trend from the late 1980s. This section throws light on the decentralized and participatory governance practices adopted by these countries.

#### 2.1.1 Brazil - Porto Alegre, Belo Horizante

The 1988 Brazilian Constitution defined Brazilian municipalities as "federal entities and devolved a share of the national tax receipts to them." This authority was used by the cities to institute reforms and bring innovations into the municipal governance processes. These innovations included participatory planning and management, participatory budgeting and partnerships with private enterprises and NGOs for socio-economic development initiatives. Successive constitutional amendments focused on responsibility and transparency of public finance at all levels (Serageldin et al., 2005).

Researchers have attempted to understand the factor leading to adoption of participatory budgeting in the Brazilian cities. These factors include; multiple attempts to increase citizen participation in local budgeting during the 1980s, increase in the quantum of local finance and the growing presence of leftist parties in local government (Serageldin et al., 2005; Souza, 2001; Wood & Murray, 2007).

Participatory Budgeting (PB) was first introduced by the city of Porto Alegre in 1989. PB is a globally recognized practice through which budget making power to some extent is given to the citizens of the city (Serageldin et al., 2005; Wood & Murray, 2007). It was developed by the Workers' Party (PT) Government in Porto Alegre and hence, often termed as 'PT way of governing'. Adoption of PB is not legally mandated. It is optional for the local government and also its institutional features can be freely decided (Souza, 2001).

The PB model traditionally associated with PT administrations is based on regional assemblies open to the public and theme-specific assemblies that attract the participation of civil society actors. These assemblies set expenditure priorities and select delegates to represent their decisions. The process concludes with the PB council where these delegates meet. The PB council is responsible for aggregating demands and monitoring the public budget. In Porto Alegre, this traditional model of PB is followed. As there is no central mandate or guidelines, the models adopted by different Brazilian cities vary. For example, in the city of Belo Horizonte, the model adopted is different. Rounds of meetings take place at neighborhood, sub-regional and regional levels to shortlist 25 projects for the region (There are nine regions in Belo Horizante). After the shortlisting of the projects, the delegates are elected and a 'caravan of priorities' is organized. At this step, the delegates visit all 25 projects along with municipal staff and 14 projects are finalized. Then the final budget is prepared.

The success of PB depends strongly on political will as no legal enforcement is possible. PB needs to be understood in the local political scenario and ideology of the governments that decide to implement it. PB in various cities has shown varying levels of success due to non-uniformity of guidelines and interruptions occurring with the change in local governments.

#### 2.1.2 The Philippines

A centralized mode of service delivery existed in the Philippines till 1987. The 1987 constitution was formulated specifically to enhance the role of people to address inequities (World Bank & Asian Development Bank, 2004). Local Government Code (LGC) in the Philippines was partly a result of this constitutional requirement which led to the shifting of decision making for specific public services to the local government.

In the Philippines, the decentralized government units under the central government are Barangays (smallest administrative unit of local government, similar to ward), municipalities and cities, provinces and the regional government. Enactment of LGC provided a major step forward in the country. The LGC was enacted in the year 1991 which "provided a framework for increased local autonomy with its provisions affecting assignment of functions across different levels of government, revenue sharing between national and local governments, resource generation and utilization by Local Government Units." LGC devolved 40 per cent of the national taxes to the local level. It also mandated a participatory planning and budget process. The process prescribed that citizen participation takes place at two levels – "Barangay Assemblies" at ward level and "Local Development Councils" (LDCs) at city level.

Section 17(b) of LGC provides distribution of functions across the various levels of government. Section 17 (c) and (f) encourage existence of a "two-track system" where the national government along with local government can initiate devolved functions and therefore, there is no clear-cut assignment of functions (World Bank & Asian Development Bank, 2004). Also due to this, the local budget allocation is often influenced by the National Government.

Enactment of LGC has led to greater participation from citizens, civil society and private sector in policymaking and management of public affairs. Local governments in the Philippines are aware about their rights and powers to articulate their demands and they place more attention on accountability and transparency.

The main challenge in the Philippines is that of financial capacities of the local governments. They have to depend on the national government for finances as it still holds the bulk of the productive sources of revenue. The example of the Philippines highlights the fact that 'decentralization of power without adequate financial decentralization is meaningless' (Reyes, 2016). Other challenges to the implementation of the code are patronage culture and the lack of accountability of the local government to the citizens. Proliferation of elite capture has excluded the poor from the process.

#### 2.1.3 Vietnam

"Vietnam's decentralization reforms are rooted in national *doi moi* (economic innovation) reforms of the 1980s, which initiated the country's transition to a socialist, market-driven economy" (Rao, 2000). There is no constitutional or legal mandate for establishment of the local administration. The intra party political competition in the dominant Vietnamese Communist Party had resulted in the form of "de facto political decentralization", which has been referred to as "power scattering" (Romeo, 2015). There are three tiers below the national level, viz., "Provincial tier," "District tier" and "Commune tier."

In Vietnam, participatory local governance and decentralization were mandated in 1998 through "Decree 29" and the budget law. It lays down the responsibilities of different agencies in budgeting. The budget allocation is essentially a top-down process. There is a very small discretionary allocation to the district and commune

tier whereas the bulk of capital investment budgets are retained with the provincial tiers. The lower tiers need to get the proposals approved from the provinces. The fiscal arrangements in Vietnam can be termed as "deconcentration" rather than "decentralization" (Rao, 2000; Wit, 2007). The lack of resources at the local level restricts meaningful participatory planning practice.

There is a mismatch between the devolution of resources which is at the province level and the commune level efforts to empower citizens to participate in decision making, where there is no devolvement of power. Hence, Vietnam's partial decentralization without empowerment of citizens has led to inferior outcomes (Romeo, 2015). "Commune people's council is an invited space allowing participation in four processes: Information, Consultation, Approval and Supervision. Unclear responsibilities and insufficient devolution of decision making powers to commune people's councils have diluted their effectiveness in decision making" (Patel, 2016).

There have been attempts of decentralization and Participatory Governance worldwide. Some of the attempts have been successful, whereas some have proved to be futile. In Brazil, there was no Central law or Act which mandated participatory budgeting; neither were there fixed guidelines regarding conduct of the process. This has resulted in different levels of success across the country and even discontinuation occurring with the change in the political scenario. In the Philippines, though there is a mandate at the national level, prevalent socio-political culture has posed problems in its implementation. In Vietnam also there is mandate through law, but the responsibilities and guidelines are not clear. From the example of the Philippines and Vietnam, it is understood that just the devolution of functions without any devolution of finances is futile. Even after decentralization, when the higher tiers of government still hold the resources and decisive power to approve or overrule, then the effectiveness of decentralization and participatory governance becomes diluted.

Table 2: Summary of experience of participatory governance in countries of global south

	Brazil	The Philippines	Vietnam	
Central Act	No	Local Government Code, 1991	Decree 29, 1998	
Empowerment of local government	Yes	Yes	No	
Participatory tiers				
City	Municipal Assembly	Local Development Councils (LDC)	Commune People's Councils	
Zone	Regional Assemblies			
Ward		Barangay Assemblies (BA)	-	
Level of implementation in all cities	Partial	Partial	Partial	
Devolution of clear functions and powers to participatory tiers	Non-uniform across cities	LDC : Yes BA: No	No	
Elite capture of spaces	Not known	LDC : Yes BA : Not known	Yes	

Source: Analytical structure based on the paper 'Participatory Local Governance in Asian Cities' by (Patel et al., 2016)

#### 2.2 INDIAN CONTEXT

Considering the exponential growth of urban population and complexity of urban areas in India, there is a strong need for decentralization and improved governance in the cities. This can be achieved by the institutional strengthening of the lowest tiers. The Covid pandemic has once again reinforced this belief as many states had perforce to adopt a decentralized approach to tackle the situation by devolution of powers and functions to local governments.

In India, the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts (CAAs), in 1992, stipulated a constitutional mandate for decentralization and participatory governance in rural and urban areas respectively. The report of the core group on poverty (Government of India, 2008) had defined two dimensions of participation. The first dimension is associated with civic engagement at the local level to improve the quality of life, especially of the urban poor. This dimension focuses on the outcomes of participation such as equitable service delivery and accountability. The second dimension is linked to the deepening of democracy and is focused more on the process of participation and its embedment in representative democracy. In India, there has always been more emphasis on the first dimension of participation as seen in the design of various development programs (Government of India, 2008). Mobilizing community groups as Self-Help Groups (SHGs) in the National Urban Livelihood Mission (NULM), the Mahila Arogya Samitis (MAS) in the National Urban Health Mission (NUHM), encouraging people's participation in the Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT) through the People Public Private Partnership (PPPP) model are a few examples where this approach is evident. The second dimension is equally important and can be directly linked to the decentralization and institutionalization of participatory platforms or participatory urban governance. The 74th Constitutional amendments and the Community Participation Law of 2005 have been instrumental in strengthening urban participatory governance in India and correspond to both the dimensions of participation.

#### 2.2.1 Decentralisation and Participatory Urban Governance in India

In India, there were multiple attempts at decentralization after independence in 1947. The central government and various state governments appointed several commissions and committees for examining issues regarding municipal affairs. The 74th CAA, 1992 gave a thrust to all these efforts in urban areas.

#### 74th Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992

The primary objective of the 74th CAA was to strengthen democracy at the grassroots levels through urban local government and participatory governance. The 74th CAA granted constitutional status to the municipal bodies through devolving powers, functional responsibilities, and authorities to them. It includes the constitution of three types of urban local bodies, viz. "Nagar Panchayat," "Municipal Council" and "Municipal Corporation."

Article 243I of the Constitution of India mandated the constitution of a State Finance Commission (SFC) every five years in order to decide the resource allocation between the State Government and the local bodies. Article 243Y brought the three types of urban local bodies under the purview of the SFC. The resources are allocated to the urban local bodies in the form of collection of taxes, duties and levies to by the state and the local bodies. The SFC also recommends allocation of grants-in-aid to the local bodies.

Article 243W of the 74th CAA provided for devolution of functions and powers to the municipal bodies to support them to function as effective "institutions of self-government". State legislature had to specify these

powers and functions by law. The 12th schedule of the Constitution lists 18 functions that may be carried out by the urban local bodies.

Creation of ward committees is one of the important steps towards ensuring participation from the grassroots level. Article 243S of the Act provides for "constitution of ward committees in municipalities having population of three lakh (0.3 million) or more". The legislature of state, by law, may decide the territorial area, composition, the manner of filling the seats in the committee etc.

In the context of urban India, the 74th CAA is aimed at devolution of adequate powers and resources to the urban local governments. "The primary aim of decentralization is that of taking power to the people; giving them an efficient and responsive mechanism for provisions of local public goods and services" (PRIA, 2008). However, despite the details provided through the 74th CAA, all states have neither ratified this legislation completely, nor have they devolved enough functions and resources, and they have also not constituted ward committees. Also, in cities that have constituted the ward committees, each city has interpreted it differently in terms of composition, proximity, devolution of functions and powers (Patel et al., 2016; Patel, 2016; PRAJA. ORG, 2020; Sivaramakrishnan, 2006; Wit et al., 2008)

Mandates for participatory governance and decentralization processes were again reinforced through Community Participation Law (CPL) in 2015. CPL also known as Model Nagar Raj Bill was proposed as one of the reforms under Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM).

#### Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) – Community Participation Law (CPL)/ Model Nagar Raj Bill

The objective of CPL was to "deepen democracy, facilitate efficiency and socio-economic growth and promote pro-poor initiatives" (Community Participation Law, 2005). The aim was to strengthen municipal governments by institutionalizing another tier of citizen participation below ward level that are "Area Sabhas" which consist of all the registered voters in one or more polling booths. Thus, it envisaged a minimum of three-tiers in a municipality, viz., the municipality, the ward committee, and the area sabhas with invited spaces for citizens in the bottom two tiers. These area sabhas were meant to be the equivalent of the gram sabha in a village panchayat.

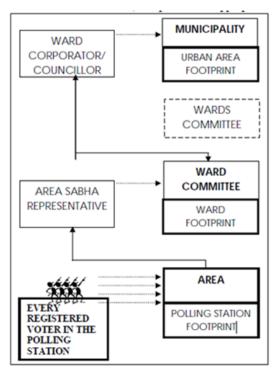


Figure 5: Three-tier structure of urban local governance Source: JNNURM Primer

CPL was a mandatory reform to avail funding through JNNURM which made it mandatory for States to either enact a separate CPL or make appropriate amendments to their existing municipal laws. Its aim is "to encourage reforms and expedite planned development of identified cities with a focus on efficiency in urban infrastructure and service delivery mechanisms, citizen participation, and accountability of municipal governments towards citizens. None of these can be achieved without effective devolution of the three 'F's – Funds, Functions and Functionaries" (PRIA, 2008).

Ratification of these acts will help deepen democracy, improve service delivery, promote transparency and accountability, encourage citizen participation in planning from the grassroots, and eventually lead to improved governance. Ward committees and area sabhas were designed to act as participatory platforms of local governance. They are envisioned "to increase proximity between local government and citizens through invited spaces for citizen participation". By far, various state governments have ratified the 74th CAA and the CPL at different levels, though their implementation has a far more mixed to poor record (Baud & Wit, 2008; Nainan & Baud, 2008; Patel et al., 2016; TERI, 2010).

#### 2.2.2 First level of Decentralization - Devolution of power and functions to local governments

Transfer of power and functions from state government to local government can be termed as the first level of decentralization. Further rescaling of power and functions to lower tiers can be referred to as the second level of decentralization that is 'participatory governance.'

As discussed earlier, the 12th schedule of the 74th CAA gives a list of 18 functions that can be devolved to the local level (Appendix B1.1). As these functions and powers are to be devolved through the state legislature, the number of functions devolved in each State is different. No state has devolved all 18 functions at the local level according to the study carried out by Praja.org in 2019-2020.

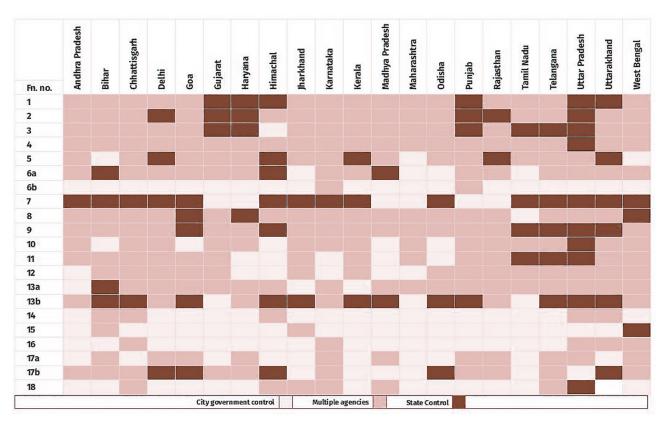


Figure 6: Status of devolution of 18 functions

Source: PRAJA's National Consultation on Urban Governance (2020)

This result collated from 21 cities from 21 States shows that none of the state governments have devolved all 18 functions at the local level. In the case of Maharashtra, nine functions have been completely devolved to local government whereas there is control of multiple agencies and parastatals on the remaining nine functions.

#### 2.2.3 Second level of decentralization - Participatory Governance

Since the passing of the 74th CAA, a slow process of urban decentralization has commenced across India. While most part of the legislation refers to "functions, funds and composition of municipalities," there is another important section related to the constitution of ward committees. The second level of decentralization includes devolution of power and functions at sub-local level. This ensures participation from the grassroots level. This further devolution is envisioned through ward committees at ward level (through the 74th CAA) and area sabhas at polling station area level (through JNNURM CPL). As discussed earlier, the level of implementation of both these Acts is different in different States.

In 2006, the first major study on ward committees by the Institute of Social Sciences, New Delhi was documented by Sivaramakrishnan (2006). The study found that while only 19 states out of 29 had enacted an enabling state legislation for the creation of ward committees, only eight states out of these 19 had actually constituted ward committees. The Energy and Resources Institute's (TERI) report (2010) also presents case studies of various ward committees in various cities. Studies show that only Kerala and West Bengal have a ward committee for each ward. Bengaluru has one ward committee for three to four wards whereas in cities like Mumbai, Delhi, and Chennai, more than ten wards are combined to form one ward committee (Sivaramakrishnan, 2006; TERI, 2010; Kuruvilla & Waingankar, 2013). This contradicts the very purpose of the ward committees i.e., the proximity. The composition of these ward committees also varies across the cities. Delhi and Tamil Nadu do not mandate representation of civil society in the ward committee whereas Maharashtra has limited representation. The functions and fiscal powers devolved to the ward committees also vary across the states. The studies pointed out that the ward committees have been formed in a small number of cities. The cities in which the ward committees have been formed also have concerns with their proximity, composition, and functioning (Sivaramakrishnan, 2006; TERI, 2010).

Recently in 2019-2020, Praja.Org undertook a study in 21 cities from 21 different states to understand status of ward committees and area sabhas. A similar study is being undertaken by 'Janaagraha Centre for Citizenship and Democracy'. The inputs from this on-going study have also been incorporated in this section (Appendix C1). There is provision for the constitution of ward committees in all States. However, ward committees have been constituted only in ten cities. Out of these ten, ward committees in seven cities are functioning. Cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Panaji, Coimbatore, Vijayawada and Raipur have one ward committees for more than one ward.

Like ward committees, not all States have provision for constitution of area sabhas. Out of the 21 cities studied, 13 cities have provision for the constitution of area sabhas through their respective state legislatures. But none of these cities have constituted area sabhas.

Both the states in focus in this case study viz., Kerala and Odisha, have provided for the constitution of ward committees through their respective Municipal Acts. The Odisha Municipal Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2015 has even proposed constitution of area sabhas in Odisha. But the mandate for constitution and composition, and status of implementation is different in both the states. In Kerala, ward committees have been formed in all the wards of urban local bodies (refer section 4.3 for details.), whereas in Odisha, ward committees have not been formed in all the wards.

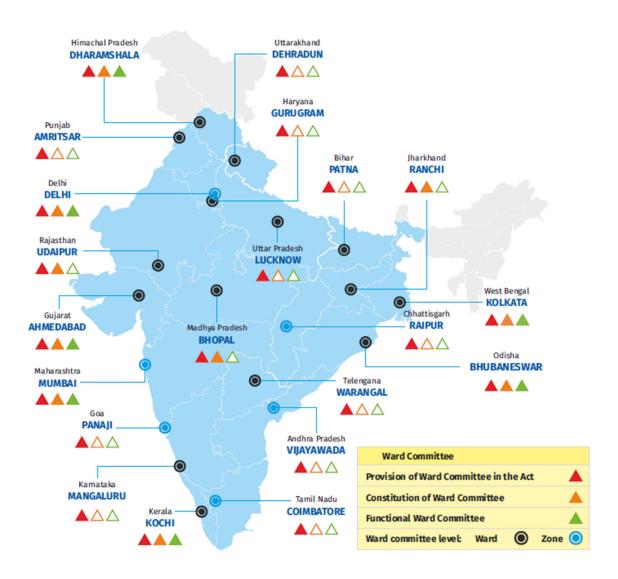


Figure 7: Status of Ward Committees

Source: PRAJA's National Consultation on Urban Governance (2020), Janaagraha

#### Participatory platforms in project/ program realm

Ward committees and area sabhas are two institutionalized participatory platforms mandated through constitution and state statutes. There are also platforms for participation of the marginalized communities offered within the framework of a pro-poor program or project. These platforms may be created through the national, state or local guidelines. Participation may occur in the decision making, implementation, and monitoring stages of the program/projects within these platforms. Such citizen participation is voluntary and mostly limited to pro-poor programs or projects, e.g., community participation in Slum Networking Projects and other slum upgrade programs implemented across India, participation of urban poor in self-help groups (SHGs) of National Urban Livelihood Mission (NULM) and Mahila Arogya Samitis (MAS) of National Urban Health Mission (NUHM) etc.

Even after the 74th CAA, not all States have amended their laws to create institutionalized participatory spaces, but such participatory platforms continue to exist in the realm of development programs/missions, giving citizens the opportunity to influence the decisions and their implementation. However, such programmatic participatory platforms tend to close upon the closure of the program (Patel et al., 2016).



# PART - 2 WARD COMMITTEES AND WORKING GROUPS IN KERALA AND ROLE OF KUDUMBASHREE

3

# EVOLUTION OF PARTICIPATORY PLATFORMS IN KERALA

3.1 BACKGROUND

3.3 PARTICIPATORY SPACES IN KERALA

#### 3.2 DECENTRALIZATION IN KERALA

- Ratification of 74th CAA in Kerala
- First level of decentralization in Kerala -Devolution of power and functions to local governments
- Second level of decentralization in Kerala Participatory Governance

#### 3.1 BACKGROUND

Kerala – often lauded for its 'Kerala Model of Development' is acclaimed worldwide for its achievement in the human development sphere and in the social sectors. It has shown remarkable propensities in terms of education, literacy levels, poverty reduction and positive sex ratio. According to Census 2011, Kerala's literacy rate stood at 94 per cent whereas average literacy rate in India is 73 per cent. Kerala's low Infant Mortality Rate of 12 per 1000 births is comparable to developed countries like the United States of America. Human Development Indices (HDI) released in 2019 show Kerala to be ranked first in India with the highest HDI of 0.782. Kerala's achievements are a result of social, political and cultural transformations. The 'Kerala Model of Development' has emerged as a result of a century of struggle for improved education, public health, land reforms, workers' rights etc. in their milieu. In Kerala, Civil Society thrives with more than half of population belonging to various organizations such as trade unions, peasant associations, laborers' unions, employees' organizations, and student, youth and women's organizations (T. M. Thomas Isaac & Richard W. Franke, 2002). "The actions of these organizations, movements against social, political and economic oppression, and the policy actions of governments have been the most important domains of public action" (Balan et al., 2014). Various organizations have emphasized upon "people's participation, awareness creation, sensitizing government to the people's needs" and alternative models of development (Kannan, 2000).

#### 3.2 DECENTRALIZATION IN KERALA

The process of democratic decentralization in Kerala has its roots in the Library Movement started during 1940s which promoted literacy in the state and the commitment shown by the first elected Government in 1956. In 1957, the agenda of decentralization was first formulated in the form of a bill but remained stalled in the coming years. The Kerala Panchayat Act enacted in 1961 mandated the formation of local governments. In Kerala, District Development Councils were first introduced during the 1960s; the District Administration Act was enacted in the 1970s and during 1990-91, District Councils were formed although they existed for a very short period. (Kannan, 2000; Kerala State Planning Board, 2020; Local Government Commission GOK, 2016). "These preliminary efforts for administrative decentralization at district level paved the way for decentralized planning in the State. All decentralization activities in Kerala got a thrust with the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments. The third tier of government i.e., rural and urban local governments were empowered through the Kerala Panchayat Raj Act 1994 and the Kerala Municipality Act 1994 respectively. Devolution of functional and fiscal powers to the local governments supported the decentralized planning at the local level."

Along with devolution of resources, the state government promoted participatory democracy by mandating that institutions and processes would directly involve citizens in planning and budgeting activities. Government of Kerala operationalized the decentralization process through a participatory local level planning initiative – People's Planning Campaign (PPC). The campaign was a most ambitious and concerted effort by the Government of Kerala to build local institutions for participatory governance (Heller et al., 2007; T. M. Thomas Isaac & Richard W. Franke, 2002).

#### 3.2.1 Ratification of 74th CAA in Kerala

Urban local bodies (ULB) in Kerala had a few civic functions, a few development functions and some regulatory functions before enactment of the Kerala Municipality Act, 1994. It was drafted based on the decentralization principles mentioned in the 74th CAA.

In 1996, a committee on decentralization was appointed by the then Chief Minister Mr. E. K. Nayanar to review the "Kerala Panchayati Raj Act, 1994" and "Kerala Municipality Act, 1994." The committee, popularly known as the Sen Committee after its first chairman S. B. Sen, recommended "institutional reforms and legislative framework for functional, financial, and administrative autonomy." The Kerala Municipality Act of 1994 was restructured through a series of amendments in February 1999 based on the Sen Committee recommendations.

# 3.2.2 First level of decentralization in Kerala – Devolution of power and functions to local governments

Section 4 of the Kerala Municipality Act, 1994 provides for constitution of Municipalities by notification in the Gazette (The Kerala Municipality Act, 1994). The Municipality could be a "Town Panchayat for a transitional area, a Municipal Council for a smaller urban area and a Municipal Corporation for a larger urban area."

Section 30 of the Act empowers the municipalities with the powers and responsibility to prepare and implement schemes for economic development and social justice, and carry out functions as prescribed in Schedule 1 of the Act. Section 30 also provides for transfer of powers, funds, institutions, offices, and functionaries along with functions.

#### **Devolution of functions at local level:**

The devolution of functions is based on the 18 functions prescribed in the 12th Schedule of the 74th CAA. Though all the functions are not transferred to the local level, Table 3 gives an overview of the transfer of functions to various levels of governments and parastatals.

In Kerala, out of 18 functions, 15 functions are devolved to ULBs and three functions are primarily under the state government. Out of 15 functions, eight functions are completely devolved to local government level, whereas there is no complete devolution in the remaining seven functions.

Table 3: Devolution of functions

No.	Functions as per 12 <sup>th</sup> Schedule	Responsibility
1.	Urban planning including town planning	ULB + Town and Country planning department
2.	Regulation of land use and construction of buildings	ULB + Town and Country planning department
3.	Planning for economic and social development	ULB + District Planning Committee (DPC)
4.	Roads and bridges	ULB + Roads and Bridges Development Corporation of Kerala (RBDCK)
5.	Water supply	Primarily State
6.	Public health, sanitation, SWM	ULB + State Heath Department
7.	Fire services	Primarily State
8.	Urban forestry, protection of environment and ecology	Primarily State
9.	Safeguarding the interest of weaker sections	ULB
10.	Slum improvement and upgradation	ULB
11.	Urban poverty alleviation	ULB + Kudumbashree (SPEM) + other
12.	Provision of urban amenities and facilities - parks, gardens etc.	ULB + Kudumbashree (SPEM) + other
13.	Promotion of cultural, educational, aesthetic aspects	ULB
14.	Burial grounds, crematoriums etc.	ULB
15.	Cattle pounds, prevention of cruelty to animals	ULB
16.	Registration of births and deaths	ULB
17.	Public amenities including street lighting, parking lots, bus stops and public conveniences	ULB
18.	Regulation of slaughterhouses and tanneries	ULB

(Source: Kerala Municipality Act 1994 and PRAJA Urban Governance Report - Kerala, 2019; Compiled by Authors)

"Water Supply, fire services, and urban forestry, protection of environment and ecology" are the three functions in which the State Government has primary responsibility. Water supply is primarily carried out by the state government through the Kerala Water Authority (KWA). ULBs have a role in providing and maintaining water connections, building tanks, conservation of water sources etc.

Multiple agencies are responsible for carrying out the remaining seven functions. Roles of multiple agencies in these functions are:

**Urban Planning and Town Planning:** It is the responsibility of the Local Government to prepare and implement the Town Planning Scheme, whereas the Town and Country Planning department is involved in Master Planning.

**Regulation of Land-use and Construction of Buildings:** Land-use planning is done by Town and Country Planning department, whereas the City Government has the power to approve construction of buildings.

**Planning for Economic and Social Development:** Development plans are prepared by Local Government, but final approval is needed from the District Planning Committee.

**Roads and Bridges:** Local Government can construct and maintain roads except National Highways, State Highways and major District Roads within its jurisdiction.

**Public Health, Sanitation, Conservancy and Waste Management:** City Government and State Health Department share these responsibilities.

**Urban Poverty Alleviation:** Urban Poverty Alleviation is the main function of Kudumbashree - the State level poverty alleviation mission. Local Government also shares this responsibility.

**Provision of Urban Amenities and Facilities:** This function is also jointly carried out by Kudumbashree and the Local Government.

To summarize, the local governments are mainly acting as a regulatory and implementing authorities. For some functions, the local government also has the responsibility of formulating plans, but the approval from the state government is necessary. Kudumbashree - the State Poverty Eradication Mission (SPEM) has a major role in the functions related to poverty alleviation and delivery of basic services along with the local government.

#### **Devolution of power at Local level:**

The PPC was launched in 1996 to operationalize decentralization. The Government devolved 35 - 40 per cent of the state plan funds to the local governments. This percentage has decreased over the years. PPC was proposed in a campaign mode during the 9th Five-Year Plan. It was proposed to be implemented in six phases as given in Figure 8 (Isaac & Richard W. Franke, 2002).

The process encouraged the participation of citizens in planning through ward sabhas. All the citizens of the ward could participate in the ward sabhas and raise issues. The processes of PPC have undergone multiple changes since its inception. (Details of PPC are explained in Section 4.4.)

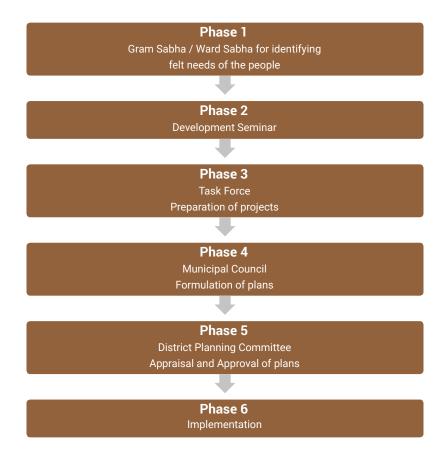


Figure 8: PPC Planning process proposed during 9th Five Year Plan

Source: Compiled by Authors

#### 3.2.3 Second level of decentralization in Kerala - Participatory Governance

The second level of decentralization includes devolution of power and functions at sub-local level. This ensures participation from the grassroots level.

1996-97 onwards, ward sabhas existed in most of the wards in Kerala as a mandate of the PPC. These ward sabhas were then institutionalized with the amendment in Kerala Municipality Act. The Act mandated creation of ward committees in the wards where population of the municipal area exceeded 0.1 million. The ward committee is a platform provided for citizen participation in the local urban governance. (Details of the ward committees are explained in Section 4.3)

With this background, Kudumbashree was launched in 1998 as "a community network that would work in tandem with local governments for poverty eradication and women's empowerment." Kudumbashree is considered as a further step to strengthen the decentralization process. Inclusive and empowered community-based organizations of Kudumbashree work in partnership with the local government. (Details of Kudumbashree are explained in Section 4.2)

#### 3.3 PARTICIPATORY SPACES IN KERALA

As seen in the previous section, decentralization in Kerala has led to creation of multiple participatory platforms at different levels. The Kerala Municipality Act 1994 has mandated creation of "ward committees." These ward committees provide an institutionalized platform for participation within urban governance. The second platform for participation was provided through PPC. PPC/Janakeeya Asoothranam was an attempt to achieve decentralization. Though started in a campaign mode, this process was later institutionalized. It provides ward sabhas, working groups and development seminar as venues for participation in this process, out of which the 'working groups' are the most important.

The Kudumbashree Mission is considered a further step in strengthening the decentralization process. Community network of Kudumbashree works in tandem with local government in planning and poverty eradication. The Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) of Kudumbashree constitute the third platform for participation in Kerala. NHGs, ADSs and CDSs are the mandated spaces for participation within the mission realm.

The next section focuses on Kochi Municipal Corporation (KMC) to understand the functioning of these participatory platforms.

#### Community based Organizations of Kudumbashree (SPEM)

- Mandated through the State Poverty Eradication Mission (SPEM)
- Neighborhood Groups (NHG), Area Development Society (ADS), Community Development Society (CDS)

#### **Ward Committees**

· Mandated thourgh the Kerala Municipality Act, 1994

# Working groups of People's Plan Campaign (PPC/ Janakeeya Asoothranam)

Mandated through Government Order for every Five Year Plan and Annual plan preparation

Figure 9: Participatory platforms in Urban Governance in Kerala

Source: Authors





#### 4.1 BACKGROUND

- Kochi Municipal Corporation
- Committee system
- Funding to the local governments and annual budget

## 4.3 WARD COMMITTEES - STATE MANDATES AND LOCAL PRACTICES

- Background
- State Mandates
- Local Practices

#### 4.5 OUTCOMES

- Effectiveness of participatory platforms in Annual plan preparation
- Emerging framework for convergence of participatory platforms

# 4.2 STATE POVERTY ERADICATION MISSION (SPEM) - KUDUMBASHREE – STATE MANDATES AND LOCAL PRACTICES

- Background
- State Mandates
- Local Practices

### 4.4 PEOPLE'S PLANNING CAMPAIGN - STATE MANDATES AND LOCAL PRACTICES

- Background
- State Mandates
- Local Practices

This section reviews the participatory platforms in Kochi based on the logical framework with the following indicators:

- 1. Input National and State mandates for creation of platform
- 2. Output Implementation of mandates through local practices
- 3. Outcome Effectiveness of participatory platforms in improving access to shelter and basic services for urban poor; Convergence of multiple participatory platforms.

As discussed in the literature earlier, these spaces will be analyzed with respect to three main parameters; proximity, composition, and devolution of power (framework adopted from (Patel et al., 2016)). The next section will give a brief overview of the local governance processes and administrative structure of the city under study i.e., Kochi before delving into participatory platforms.

#### 4.1 BACKGROUND

#### 4.1.1 Kochi Municipal Corporation

Kochi also known as Cochin is situated in Ernakulum district of Kerala on the western coast. 98.77 sq. km. area of the city accommodates around 0.6 million population (Census 2011). The city is administered by the Kochi Municipal Corporation.

The Kochi Municipal Corporation (KMC) was formed on 1 November 1967. The city is divided into 74 electoral wards, from which the members of the corporation council – councilors are elected for a period of five years.

KMC is responsible for providing basic infrastructure and other civic services within its jurisdiction. Apart from KMC, several State level agencies are involved in planning and providing urban services in Kochi city such as Kerala Water Authority (KWA), Greater Kochi Development Authority, Kerala Public Works Department, Cochin Port, Kochi Metro Rail Limited and various private sector organizations. KMC also has the Centre for Heritage, Environment and Development (C-HED). "It is an autonomous institution functioning as the Research and Development wing of the Kochi Municipal Corporation, in the domain of governance, environment, culture and heritage" (PRAJA.ORG, 2019).

Kerala has an empowered mayoral system. The Mayor is the head of the corporation with Administrative and Executive powers. He/she is supported by the Deputy Mayor, Secretary (equivalent to Municipal Commissioner), and the councilors. Various committees are envisaged in the Kerala Municipality Act for taking decisions and to implement them effectively.

#### 4.1.2 Committee system

The local governments have the authority to take appropriate decisions to discharge the functions assigned to them with support of various committees envisaged in the Kerala Municipality Act 1994. Decisions are taken and implemented by the local government collectively and this collective responsibility is ensured through the committee system (KILA, 2016).

#### **Standing Committees of Kochi Municipal Corporation:**

Section 20 of the Kerala Municipality Act 1994 mandates the creation of eight Standing Committees in a Municipal Corporation. Standing Committees are the forums for the initial discussion on any decision proposed to be taken by the Municipal Corporation (Section 22 of Kerala Municipality Act 1994). The responsibility of ensuring effective implementation of the decision taken by the local government also rests with the Standing Committees.

Eight standing committees in KMC are (Kochi Municipal Corporation):

Standing Committee for Standing Committee for **Standing Committee** Standing Committee for **Finance and Taxation** Development for Health **Town Planning Standing Committee** Standing Committee **Standing Committee for** Standing Committee for for Works for Welfare Tax Appeal **Education and Sports** 

Figure 10: Standing Committees of Kochi Municipal Corporation

Source: https://cochinmunicipalcorporation.kerala.gov.in/

51

#### **Ward Committees:**

In accordance with Section 42 of the Kerala Municipality Act, ward committees are formed in Municipalities with population more than 0.1 million. These are constituted in each ward and are responsible for studying and reporting the needs of each ward. Kochi Municipal Corporation has 74 ward committees (PRAJA.ORG, 2019).

#### 4.1.3 Funding to the local governments and annual budget

Various sources of funds are available to the local governments. The sources can be categorized under four major heads viz. "grants-in-aid, loans, own funds, and other receipts" (Comptroller and Auditor General of India, 2010, 2018; Kerala State Planning Board, 2021). Grants-in-aid are further divided into development fund, funds for maintenance expenditure, general purpose fund, scheme-specific funds from State Government, and funds for centrally sponsored schemes from Central Government. The Development Fund is "the amount devolved by the State Government to local governments for implementation of decentralized planning programs as recommended by the State Finance Commissions (SFC)." The Development Fund is the main source of funding for the local governments. According to the Economic Review 2020, a breakup of the expenditure pattern of the Municipal Corporations for the year 2019-20 reveals that the largest expenditure of about 78 per cent was incurred through the development fund (Appendix C4). Loans from World Bank, ADB etc. and the funds for centrally sponsored schemes are disbursed to the municipal corporation through Poverty Alleviation Units, State Poverty Eradication Mission (SPEM) etc. or as specified by the fund provider. Own funds consist of tax and non-tax revenues of the Municipal Corporation. All the other funds are categorized under other receipts.

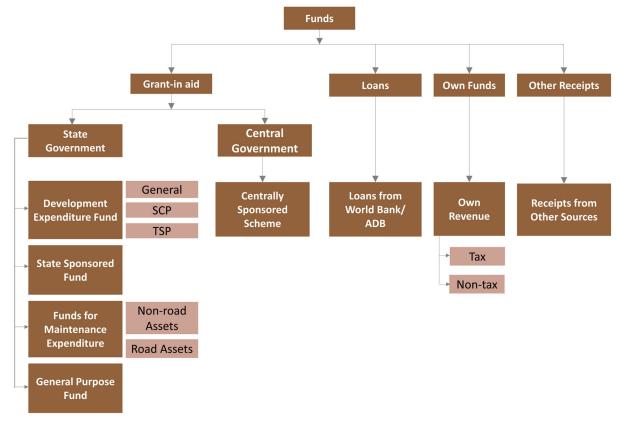


Figure 11: Sources of funds to urban local governments in Kerala Source: Compiled by authors

The following sections give the detailed view of participatory platforms in Kochi. Each platform is analyzed with respect to three parameters: composition, proximity, and devolution of power and functions (framework adopted from (Patel et al., 2016)).

# 4.2 STATE POVERTY ERADICATION MISSION (SPEM) - KUDUMBASHREE - STATE MANDATES AND LOCAL PRACTICES

#### 4.2.1 Background

Kudumbashree is a State level mission for poverty eradication and women's empowerment. It was formulated in context of devolution of power to the local governments in Kerala and the People's Plan Campaign (1996). It attempted mobilization of communities on an exceptional scale for social and economic development.

In 1996, the absence of women was very evident in the ward sabhas conducted during the first phase of PPC as women did not come forward to participate due to lack of awareness and capacity. To address this issue, the State Government was mulling over the idea of creating a community network of women and making them a part of various community structures. The idea of Kudumbashree emerged out of series of such events and experiences. The Government of Kerala announced the formation of the State Poverty Eradication Mission (SPEM) – Kudumbashree in the state budget of 1997-98. It was launched by then then Prime Minister of India on 17 May, 1998.

Core areas of intervention of the mission include economic empowerment through microfinance and livelihood opportunities; social empowerment through destitute rehabilitation, addressing the differently-abled, tribal development; women's empowerment and infrastructure development (Department of Local Self Government, 2015; State Poverty Eradication Mission, 2017). The mission aims at the empowerment of women by ensuring financial inclusion, providing livelihood opportunities and encouraging entrepreneurial activities. It assists women in becoming active leaders rather than just being the passive recipients (Siwal, 2009).

Women's empowerment can be assessed through their participation in decision making that could be at HH level or at state policy level. Studies by various researchers have focused on the role of Kudumbashree in women's empowerment and capacity building (Arun et al., 2011; Basheer, 2018; John, 2017; Kadiyala, 2004; Panackal et al., 2017; Prabhu, 2015; Praveen & Suresh, 2015; Raghavan, 2009; Siwal, 2009). According to the report published by the Kerala State Planning Board in 2020, the percentage of women participating in decision making in their families is higher (92 per cent) in Kerala than average percentage of India (86 per cent). The participation of women electors is also higher in Kerala than the national average. In local governments as well, the participation of women in Kerala (52 per cent) is higher than national average (46 per cent) (Kerala State Planning Board, 2020). A study conducted in Mukkam Municipality in Kerala by Annie John (2017) has revealed that there has been a drastic improvement in socio-economic status of women after joining Kudumbashree. Average of 80 per cent respondents of this study stated that their decision making capacities, participation in public meetings, confidence level while negotiating, ability to coordinate meetings, capacity to plan and implement have improved (John, 2017).

It is evident from the literature and various studies that Kudumbashree has been instrumental in improving socio-economic conditions in Kerala through poverty eradication, women's empowerment etc. But there is very low attention on the role of Kudumbashree CBOs as participatory platforms in urban governance in Kerala. The coming sections will try to focus on investigation of Kudumbashree with respect to this role.

#### 4.2.2 State Mandates

The Government of Kerala announced the setting up of the State Poverty Eradication Mission (SPEM) - Kudumbashree vide Government Order - (MS) No. 240/97 of 29 October, 1997. It summarized the objectives of the mission as:

- "Enlisting of poor HHs by the communities based on a 'Poverty Index'.
- Empowering poor women through organizing them into Community Development Societies (CDS) and enhancing their capabilities.
- Developing CDSs into informal banks of the poor by promoting thrift and credit.
- Enhancing women's incomes through self-employment.
- Making health services available to the poor.
- Improving basic amenities such as drinking water, sanitation, and housing for the poor.
- Ensuring education for children of 'risk' families.
- Promoting participation of the poor in the decentralization process through local government institutions."

It is evident that while the government order was categorical about the poverty alleviation program, it is also clear that the mission aims at women's empowerment and community participation in governance process. Government Order no. 198/2014 of 13 November 2014 states the bye laws of Kudumbashree.

#### **Composition and Proximity**

The Community organization network of Kudumbashree has a three-tier structure. Neighborhood groups (NHGs) are the smallest unit of this network. Area Development Societies (ADSs) are formed at ward level with the representatives from each NHG. These ADSs are then federated into registered Community Development Society (CDS) at city level. Detailed mandates for these CBOs are given in Table 4.

NHG, ADS and CDS are the CBOs that work in tandem with the local governments. Community structure of Kudumbashree is embedded in the local government. The Evaluation Committee of CDS formally brings together the community structure and the local government. "The Welfare Standing Committee is responsible for monitoring and guidance of the community structure as part of its constitutionally mandated role" (Department of Local Self Government, 2015).

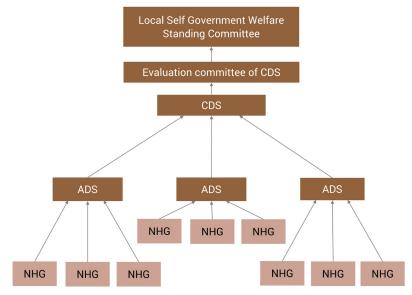


Figure 12: Community Organization Structure of Kudumbashree

Mandates for creation and functioning of these CBOs are prescribed through GO (P)No. 198/2014/LSGD 13/11/2014 as follows (Kudumbashree - Revised Bye Laws, 2014);

Table 4: Mandates for creation of Kudumbashree CBOs

	Neighborhood Group (NHG)	Area Development Society (ADS)	Community Development Society (CDS)
Composition			
General body	10-20 women per NHG from EWS families	All executive body members of all NHGs.	All executive body members of all ADSs.
Executive body	President, Secretary, Income generating volunteer, Health & Education volunteer, Infrastructure volunteer	Chairperson, Vice-chairperson, 5 members	Chairperson, vice chairperson, one member from each ADSs.
Proximity	Neighbourhood	One ADS per ward	30+ ADS in a ULB require 2 CDS 60+ ADS in a ULB require 3 CDS 90+ ADS in a ULB require 4 CDS
Meeting	Weekly once 1 Annual meeting to present the accounts 1 Election meeting	Once in 3 months 1 Annual meeting to present the accounts	Once in 3 months 1 Annual meeting to present the accounts
Quorum	100%	50%	50%

Source: Compiled by Authors

#### Functions of Kudumbashree Community Based Organisations (CBOs)

#### Functions of NHG:

The basic function of NHG is thrift and credit. Decisions regarding these are taken in the weekly meetings. Finding various means of livelihood for the NHG members is one of the important functions. NHGs have to carry out administrative functions such as maintaining documents like minute book, membership register, financial register etc. They are involved in planning and implementing programs proposed by the State Government, local government and Kudumbashree State Mission, undertaking training and awareness programs. One of their functions is to take active part in Gram Sabha/ Ward Sabha/ Ward Committee meetings. Their participation in ward committees is mandated through the Municipal Act, while as registered voters residing in a village or a ward, they become members of the Gram Sabhas or Ward Sabhas.

#### Functions of ADS:

Monitoring the growth of thrift is one of the responsibilities of the ADS. Other functions of the ADS include: promoting NHGs to take up micro-enterprises, finding business ventures, marketing opportunities for the members, arranging training and seminars for women to enhance their leadership qualities. The ADS acts as a link between NHGs, Gram Sabha/ Ward Sabha/ Ward Committee and CDS. The ADS must lead the NHGs and should facilitate data collection and dissemination of information through its network.

#### Functions of CDS:

One of the important functions of CDS is preparation of component plans and schemes for Local Economic Development. CDS should liaise with the ULBs for implementing various schemes and, identification of beneficiaries for Central and State government schemes being implemented through local governments.

Other functions of CDS include facilitating income generating activities, arranging loans for economic activities, and conducting training programs and seminars etc. for the women members. It tries to impart leadership qualities to members of NHGs and ADSs. It is the role of CDS to coordinate the activities of local government and other departments and organizations in the sector of poverty alleviation. It is the responsibility of the CDS to prepare the 'CDS Action Plan.'

#### **CDS Action Plan**

The CDS action plan is an annual demand plan prepared by consolidating development requirements from the NHG to the CDS level. The main objective of the CDS action plan is "to enable participatory, bottom-up consolidation of development demands in the community. It provides a tool for the local government to converge resources for community development and poverty alleviation from various sources."

#### Preparation of CDS action plan:

Information and demands collected at the neighborhood level by the NHGs are consolidated first at the ADS and then at the CDS level. The CDS action plan is prepared and then presented to the CDS executive committee for approval. This is then presented before the welfare standing committee. On discussion and approval by the welfare standing committee, it is discussed and approved by the evaluation committee and funds are allocated. Final approval is given by the Local Government Council. The CDS action plan also feeds into the annual plan of the local government.

CDS Action Plan contains general information of the CDS, microfinance status, micro-enterprises, farming, marketing support activities and CDS annual budget. It also contains details of the landless, homeless, number of houses without sanitation facilities, drinking water requirements, employment requirements etc.

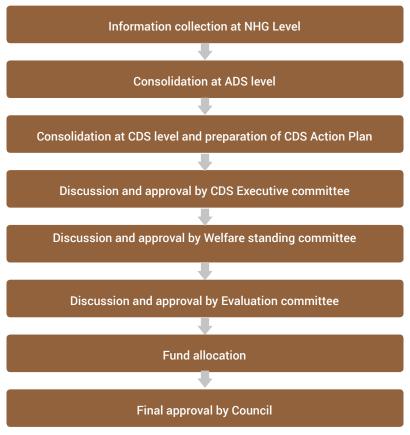


Figure 13: Process for preparation of CDS Action Plan

#### Overall functions of Kudumbashree:

Kudumbashree is responsible for the economic development of urban poor through micro-finance, creating opportunities for livelihood in the form of micro-enterprises, farming, animal husbandry, skill development, wage employment etc. It brings about social development through destitute rehabilitation, tribal development and addressing the issues of differently abled etc. One of the main functions of the Kudumbashree – women's empowerment is achieved through capacity building of women to analyze their own status and to address the issues before them.

It is in effect the State Urban Development Agency of the Government of Kerala. Kudumbashree plays an important role in coordinating urban poverty alleviation schemes of the Central and State governments.

It is evident from the prescribed functions of community groups of Kudumbashree that the community network of Kudumbashree is responsible for taking the planning process and the development programs to the grassroots level. The NHGs, ADSs and CDSs were visualized to be partners of local government, and they cannot be subordinated. Their autonomy has been protected. NHG is the smallest and most proximate participatory platform. The NHG idea in Kudumbashree is different from the concept of Self-Help Group (SHG) that had been promoted in many countries as well as in several Indian states. The NHGs in Kerala are also forums for planning and development action.<sup>ii</sup>

#### 4.2.3 Local Practices

#### **Kudumbashree CBOs in Kochi**

In Kerala, there are a total of 291,507 NHGs which have around 4.4 million members (Panackal et al., 2017). This covers almost 25 per cent of the female population of Kerala. There are 71,572 Joint Liability Groups (JLGs) and 21,365 women's enterprises which cover 0.35 million and 57,000 women respectively. JLGs and enterprises are the main income-generating activities of Kudumbashree and one of the biggest contributors in women's empowerment in Kerala.

In Kochi, there are total of 2,979 NHGs in 74 wards. As 30 ADSs need to be federated into one CDS and the number of ADSs in Kochi is 74, there are three CDSs namely East CDS, West CDS and South CDS. The number of wards in East, West and South zones is 28, 24 and 22 respectively. Figure 14 shows the federation of NHGs and ADSs into three CDSs in Kochi.

Wards in the west zone of KMC constitute the highest number of urban poor in the population. The number of NHGs is also higher for the West Zone. Out of a total of 2,979 NHGs, more than 50 per cent are in the west zone.

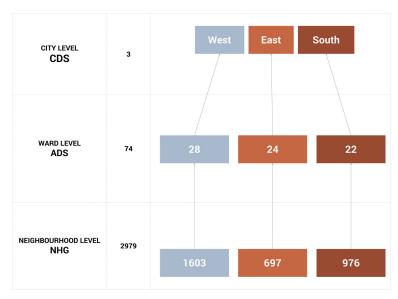


Figure 14: Kudumbashree CBOs in Kochi Source: Compiled by authors

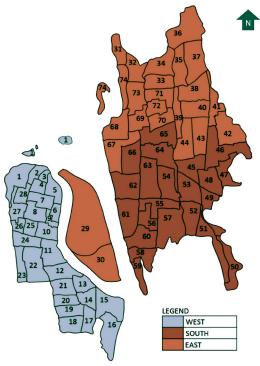


Figure 15: Three zones of Kochi Municipal Corporation Source: Compiled by authors

#### **Functioning of Kudumbashree CBOs in Kochi**

During the NHG meetings, women members come together to participate in the savings program, discuss the livelihood opportunities offered by National Urban Livelihood Mission (NULM) and also discuss who could be beneficiaries for the month. Thrift and credit are the main functions of NHG groups. NHGs are very small and close-knit groups, hence, they are aware about each-others' families, their problems, and they discuss this during the meeting. This helps in the identification of issues and problems which are then consolidated at the ADS level along with other information. It further contributes to the preparation of the CDS Action Plan as the process requires identification of issues from the bottom. A special meeting is convened by orders of the ADS to discuss the problems of the locality.

NHGs contribute to the CDS Action plan through data collection. Every NHG collects data on the unemployed youth in their area along with their educational qualification and submits it to the ADS. This list is further submitted to the CDS and is updated every year as it is part of CDS action plan. Education related data is also

collected by NHG members in order to provide them with scholarships and other assistance.

NHG is a very empowering platform for women to participate and express opinions. Women are keenly aware about the incentives derived from participation such as livelihood opportunities, access to credit and benefits from development schemes to improve their social and economic status and hence, participation is continuous.<sup>iv</sup>

#### **Kudumbashree** in local governance

Kerala Municipal Act 1994 mandates participation of NHGs in ward committee meetings (details about ward committees in the Section 4.3). It was envisioned to play a key role in mobilizing communities to make ward sabha/ ward committee meetings more effective. It is believed that the presence of NHGs in the ward committee meetings takes the urban governance process to the grassroots level. The community network of Kudumbashree supports the local bodies in planning through participation in working groups, ward sabhas and in the development seminar as a part of PPC (details in Section 4.4).

Most elected representatives in Kerala come from the Kudumbashree background. Out of 50 per cent reservation for women in KMC, 70-80 per cent is from Kudumbashree NHGs.<sup>v</sup>

#### Kudumbashree in urban development programs

In the urban development programs, the Kudumbashree CBOs play various roles such as credit channelizing agency, implementing agency, community contracting etc. Kudumbashree has been the Nodal Agency for implementation of many Central Schemes such as Basic Services to Urban Poor (BSUP under JNNURM), Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY), Rajiv Rinn Yojana (RRY), and Interest Subsidy Scheme for Housing Urban Poor (ISHUP) (www.kudumbashree.org/).

Kudumbashree members act as division level facilitators for the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana/ LIFE Mission (State level mission for housing for all) who coordinate surveys to identify beneficiaries in Kochi. Initial surveys are carried out at neighborhood level to create a priority list of beneficiaries by the respective NHGs which is then published and verification done.

The Urban Poverty Alleviation Department (UPAD) of Kochi Municipal Corporation is responsible for uplift of the urban poor through implementation of poverty eradication programs, formulation of housing policy and program, data collection, slum development etc. All the supporting ground work for all these activities is done through community-based groups of Kudumbashree due to their proximity and outreach to all the sections of society. In addition to this, the south and east CDSs in Kochi are also headed by the UPAD project director which further embeds the CBOs into the governance structure.

NHGs were also quite instrumental in tackling the Covid situation in Kerala. NHGs were mobilized to spread awareness about COVID and related campaigns of the government. They were involved in identifying problem areas and in offering quick measures to mitigate them.

Kudumbashree's role in the urban development sector can be summarized as facilitating implementation through project design; providing staff and project monitoring; creating awareness; training; community mobilization; and empowerment of urban local governments.

Kudumbashree was started as a state level mission with the community network as participatory platform to facilitate all the activities. Over the years, this community network has become instrumental in implementation of development programs. It supports the local bodies in planning, through participation in working groups, ward sabhas and in the development seminar as a part of the PPC (details in Section 4.4). The community network of Kudumbashree is responsible for taking the planning process and the development programs to the grassroots level. Community groups started as platforms for participation in the mission realm have become institutionalized in the urban governance processes as well.

#### 4.3 WARD COMMITTEES - STATE MANDATES AND LOCAL PRACTICES

#### 4.3.1 Background

In 1994, The Kerala Municipality Act was enacted to conform to the 74th CAA. In this act, the ward committee was to be chaired by the elected councilor and he/she would also nominate the ten members on the committee. In 1996, a committee on decentralization – 'Sen Committee' recommended "institutional reforms and legislative framework for functional, financial and administrative autonomy." The aim of the recommendations was maximum decentralization of powers, authority and resources to discharge the responsibility of bringing about economic development and justice. The Sen Committee in 1996 had strongly emphasized on Gram Sabha/ Ward Sabha for achieving genuine people's participation in planning, implementation and monitoring of development programs. Based on the recommendations of the Sen Committee, the Kerala Municipality Act, 1994 was restructured through a series of amendments in February 1999. The amendments in the Act made a provision for the creation of 'Ward Sabhas' for municipal bodies with population less of than 0.1 million and 'Ward Committees' for municipal bodies with population more than 0.1 million.

#### 4.3.2 State Mandates

Sections 42 to 46 of the Kerala Municipality Act, 1994 provide details about constitution, composition and functioning of ward committees. In Kerala, Ward committees are to be constituted in ULBs with population of 0.1 million or more whereas ward sabhas are to be constituted for ULBs with population less than 0.1 million. By the Census 2011, the population of Kochi Municipal Corporation is 0.6 million and hence ward committees were constituted.

#### **Composition and Proximity**

Table 5: Mandates for constitution and composition of ward committees

	Section	Ward Committee
Constitution	42	One per ward for ULBs with population 1 lakh (0.1 million) or more
Composition	43	<ul> <li>Councilor of ward</li> <li>15 elected members from Resident Welfare Associations (RWA)</li> <li>20 elected members from Neighborhood Groups (NHG)</li> <li>Representatives from political parties</li> <li>Heads of recognized educational institutes in ward</li> <li>10 representatives from organizations in ward nominated by councilor</li> <li>5 professionals working in ward nominated by councilor</li> <li>5 representatives from trade unions in ward nominated by councilor</li> </ul>
Frequency of meeting	42B	Once in three months
Quorum of meeting	Rule 5	1/5
Convener	44(2)	Councilor of the ward

A ward committee in Kerala has to serve a relatively smaller population which leads to better proximity. Also, most of the ward committee members are residents of the ward who are more likely to be familiar with their ward issues. Inclusion of members from NHGs in ward committees ensures participation of two vulnerable sections of society namely women and the urban poor. Their presence in the ward committees also attempts to avoid chances of elite capture. A wide range of civil society organizations from the wards can participate in the ward committee. The representative structure of ward committees may lead to more democratic discussion and deliberative decision making. It may also enhance the transparency and accountability.

#### **Functions and Rights of Ward Committees**

Another set of recommendations of Sen Committee were enacted as Section 45 and 46 of Kerala Municipality Act. Section 45 of the Act describes the functions of the ward committees and ward sabhas, whereas Section 46 describes their rights.

Function of ward committees and ward sabhas:

- "Assist the collection and consolidation of details necessary for formulation of development scheme.
- Formulate proposals on development schemes to be implemented in the municipal area, determine priority.
- Obtain detailed information regarding development programs in the ward and observe their implementation.
- Observe and assist beneficiary committees conducting developmental programs.
- Prepare a final list of eligible beneficiaries for beneficiary-oriented schemes.
- Provide and mobilize voluntary service and assistance in cash or kind for social welfare programs, promote harmony and unity.
- Prepare order of priority for the location of street lights, water taps, etc., Identify deficiencies within these services and suggest remedial measures.
- Assist in functioning of public health centers, cooperating with the employees of the ward area in the sanitation arrangements, encouraging kitchen gardens, and promoting horticulture.
- Discuss and formulate literacy programs; assist in parent teacher associations in the school
- Create awareness of prompt payment of taxes.
- Identify lapses in building rules, spatial planning.
- Discuss the development program of the previous year and give suggestions and recommendations in the audit report."

Rights of ward committees and ward sabhas:

- Assist the collection and consolidation of details necessary for formulation of development schemes.
- Formulate proposals on development schemes to be implemented in the municipal area; determine priority.
- Obtain detailed information regarding development programs in the ward and track their implementation.

Ward committee's functions include: information dissemination, data collection, development scheme formulation, beneficiary identification, service gap identification and assisting in ward activities. It is the right of the ward committee members to know of proposed activities, earmarked budget, detailed plans and estimates, current status and reasons for delay of projects and placing its suggestions and recommendations for discussions before the Municipality.

#### The Kerala Municipality (Constitution of ward committee and Procedure for Meeting) Rules, 1995

These rules prescribe the detailed guidelines for the conduct of ward committee meetings (The Kerala Municipality (Constitution of Ward Committees and Procedure for Meeting) Rules, 1995). Section 8 of the rules describe that the proceedings of the meeting need to be recorded by the Secretary or an officer authorized by him. This will include minutes, opinions and general suggestion, resolutions etc. The chairman of the ward committee shall place the suggestions and resolutions of the ward committee before the municipal council for consideration. A meeting should be called before the end of the financial year to prepare development schemes for the ward. These schemes are to be submitted to the council in order of priority (Section 9).

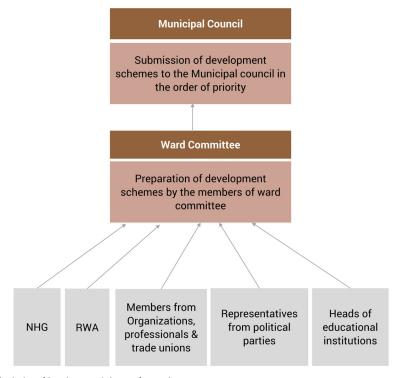


Figure 16: Formulation and submission of Development Schemes for ward

#### 4.3.3 Local Practices

#### Constitution of ward committees in Kochi

There are 74 divisions/ wards in KMC. Each ward has a ward committee in place. A ward covers an average of approximately 9000 by population (Census 2011).

The study focused on five wards of KMC viz., Ward 3 - Eraveli, Ward 19 - Palluruthy-Kacheripady, Ward 35 - Ponnekkara, Ward 49 - Vyttila and Ward 68 - Ayyappankavu. The wards were selected purposively based on criteria of having low, medium and high number of urban poor and they are geographically located in three zones of KMC.

Interviews were conducted with elected ward councilors, ward committee members from Residents Welfare Associations (RWA) and NHGs. The findings on functioning of ward committees in Kochi have been highlighted in this section.

Table 6: General details of the selected wards in Kochi Municipal Corporation

Division No.	3	19	35	49	68
Division Name	Eraveli	Palluruthy - Kacheripady	Ponnekkara	Vyttila	Ayyappankavu
Zone	West	West	East	South	East
Population	6426	11146	8748	8592	5971
No. of slums (As per RAY data)	2	2	2	0	2
No. of slum HHs (As per RAY data)	1140	378	105	0	44
No. of NHGs in ward	57	68	32	29	11

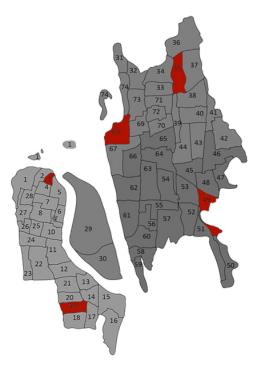


Figure 17: Location of selected wards within Kochi Municipal Corporation

Table 7: Composition of ward committees

Ward No.	Ward Name	Composition	Ward Committee meetings in a year	
		Members	Total Representation	
3	Eraveli	<ul> <li>Councilor</li> <li>Secretary</li> <li>RWA</li> <li>NHG (Strong representation) 20 people</li> <li>Principal and teachers from Govt. school</li> <li>ASHA workers</li> <li>Anganwadi workers</li> <li>Representation from political parties</li> </ul>	70-80	4 Ward committee meetings; 2 Ward sabhas
19	Palluruthy Kacheripady	<ul> <li>Councilor - the chairman of WC</li> <li>Secretary</li> <li>RWA (Strong representation)</li> <li>NHG (around 10 people)</li> <li>Representation from political parties</li> <li>Anganwadi workers</li> <li>Professionals (bank professionals, engineers, advocates)</li> <li>Club members (Rotary Club, Lions Club)</li> </ul>	90-110	4 Ward committee meetings; 1 Ward sabha before project submission
35	Ponnekkara	<ul> <li>Councilor - the chairman of WC</li> <li>Secretary</li> <li>RWA (Strong representation)</li> <li>NHG Members</li> <li>Members from political parties</li> <li>Veterans retired from government jobs</li> <li>More representation from shop owners</li> <li>Club members (rotary, lions)</li> <li>Anganwadi workers</li> </ul>	50-55	4 ward committee meetings
49	Vyttila	<ul> <li>Councilor the chairman of WC</li> <li>Secretary</li> <li>RWA (Strong representation)</li> <li>Members from political parties</li> <li>1-2 representatives from NHG groups</li> <li>Veterans retired from government jobs</li> <li>1-2 Palliative care members</li> </ul>	55-70	4 ward committee meetings
68	Ayyappankavu	<ul> <li>Councilor - the chairman of WC</li> <li>Secretary</li> <li>8-12 members from RWA</li> <li>8-14 representations from different political parties</li> <li>8-12 members from NHG</li> <li>Persons from trade union</li> <li>Persons from religious community (priest)</li> <li>ASHA workers.</li> </ul>	55-70	3- 4 ward committee meetings; 1 special meeting if necessary

#### **Composition of ward committees:**

The composition and number of ward committee members varies across the wards. Wards 3 and 19 have a higher number of ward committee members as compared to the other three wards. Representation of various participant groups also varies across the divisions. Out of the five wards under study, Ward 3 - Eraveli has highest number of urban poor. It stands at third highest in urban poor population among all the 74 wards. Among the five wards, Ward 3 shows higher representation from NHGs in the ward committee.

Ward 19 - Palluruthy-Kacheripady and Ward 35 - Ponnekkara show strong presence of RWAs in the ward committee. Representatives from Rotary clubs, Lions clubs are also present. Representatives from NHG are comparatively low. Strong presence of RWA members has led to higher middleclass representation in these ward committee meetings and RWAs are the more vocal groups. Also, Ward 35 has more representation from the shop owners and trade unions.

Ward 49 - Vytilla - a comparatively well-off ward without presence of any slum, has comparatively lesser representation from NHGs. The number of NHGs in Ward 49 and 68 is also comparatively smaller i.e., 29 and 11 respectively. Despite of presence of only 11 NHGs in Ward 68 - Ayyappankavu, an equal representation from RWAs and NHGs is seen. All the ward committees have Anganwadi workers, ASHA workers as their members who are also part of NHGs.

The number of NHG representatives and their activeness in the ward committees does not fully depend on the number of urban poor or number of NHGs in the ward. There are other factors too which influence participation of the urban poor. Willingness of the councilors to listen to the urban poor and make them part of the deliberations also plays an important role. In some wards, RWAs are favored by councilors over NHGs. This shows the occurrence of elite capture in participatory urban governance. In such cases, NHGs prefer the option of the CDS Action plan to address their issues and express demands. Through Kudumbashree, NHGs also have an opportunity to influence larger level questions which cannot be addressed in the ward committees (e.g., proposing changes in the beneficiary norms of the welfare schemes).

#### **Functioning of ward committees:**

All five wards under study carry out four ward committee meetings a year as prescribed in the Kerala Municipality Act, 1994. Ward sabha meetings with attendance of all citizens of the ward is a mandate prescribed as a process for the annual plan preparation through the PPC. From the five wards, not all wards carry out these ward sabha meetings. Invitations for ward committee meetings are extended to the president and secretary of the RWAs present in the ward, president and secretary of the ADS of the division, professionals, one representative from the educational institutes in the ward.

As observed in the ward committee meeting of Ward 19, around 100-110 attendees were present. Despite having large number of NHGs present in the ward, stronger presence of RWA members was observed in the ward committee meeting. The discussion was led by the RWAs. NHG members also raised a few issues individually as well as through the ADS. The issues raised by various groups included sanitation in the ward, waste collection and waste disposal problem, lack of streetlights in certain areas, furniture requirement for the Government School, preparation of the beneficiary list of PMAY-LIFE Mission etc. The discussions in the meeting were noted. In Ward 68, the meeting was conducted in a different manner. Around 60 members attended the meeting. Working group-wise discussion on the proposals took place (according to the guidelines of PPC). In contrast to the issues raised in Ward 19, very few questions regarding the basic services were raised in Ward 68.

It is observed that a sense of harmony is maintained despite representatives from other political parties being present in the meetings. The mode of communication is mostly spoken. The meetings have an open agenda. The political background and socio-economic context of the ward influences the type of attendees, meeting proceedings and has a bearing on the issues discussed in the meetings.









Figure 19: Ward Committee meeting in Ward 68 - Ayyapankavu



#### **Functions of ward committees:**

The functions carried out by the ward committee reflect that the ward committee mainly takes part in the grassroots functions related to basic facilities in the ward area, whereas activities such as formulation of literacy programs, awareness programs, voluntary services, promotion of kitchen gardens, assisting activities in schools are rarely undertaken (table 8). The kind of functions undertaken by ward committees also depends on the socio-economic condition of a ward and the types of attendees.

Table 8: Functions carried out by ward committee members

No.	Functions	Wards				
		3	19	35	49	68
1	Collection and consolidation of details necessary for the formulation of development schemes					
2	Formulate proposals on development schemes					
3	Prepare the final list of eligible beneficiaries					
4	Render necessary assistance for the effective implementation of development schemes					
5	Seek and obtain detailed information regarding the development programmes					
6	Provide and mobilise voluntary service and assistance					
7	Prepare the order of priority as to the location of street lights, water taps etc. and of public sanitation Units in the street or at other public places					
8	Discuss and formulate literacy programmes necessary for the Ward area					
9	Promote harmony and unity among the people belonging to different sections in the Ward area and to organise arts and sports festivals					
10	To observe and assist the beneficiary committees which are conducting developmental programmes in the Ward					
11	To verify the eligibility of persons getting various kinds of welfare assistance					
12	To make aware the people for the prompt payment of taxes, fees, rents and other sums					
13	To co-operate with the employees of Ward area in the sanitation arrangements					
14	To encourage the residents of the ward area to plant kitchen gardens and to engage in horticulture activities					
15	Identify the deficiencies in the systems of water supply, street lighting etc					
16	To identify the lacunae and lapses in following the building rules and in implementing spatial planning					
17	To assist the activities of the parent-teacher associations in the schools					
18	To assist the functioning of public health centres in the ward area					

Source: (Nandana et al., 2021)

One of the important functions of ward committees is preparation of development schemes. The issues are identified by the members of the ward committee across various sectors in the division. These are prioritized in the ward committee meeting and are put forth for consideration. The proposals are submitted to the council where they are further discussed among all the councilors of the 74 wards. The experience of the councilor and familiarity with the plan making process play an important role at this stage as the councilor has to present the proposals and convince the council. After discussion in the council meeting, the proposals are submitted to the respective standing committees (figure 20).

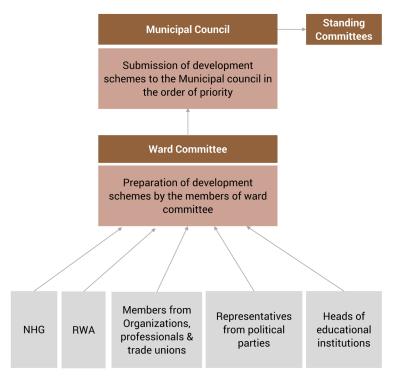


Figure 20: Preparation and submission of development scheme for a ward Source: Compiled by authors

The functions of ward committees are limited to ward level issues, activities dealing with information dissemination, data collection, development scheme formulation, beneficiary identification, service gap identification and assisting ward activities. Though the ward committee has a right to know what the earmarked budget is, the decision making regarding ward level budget allocation does not fully take place at ward level. There is no devolution of fund to the ward councilor apart from the emergency fund. Also, approval is needed from the council for utilization of the emergency fund. All the funds are earmarked in the local government budget which is prepared through PPC. The role of the ward committee is more of a consultative nature.

# 4.4 PEOPLE'S PLANNING CAMPAIGN - STATE MANDATES AND LOCAL PRACTICES

# 4.4.1 Background

In 1996, the Kerala State Planning Board devolved 35-40 per cent of the State plan outlay of the 9th Five Year Plan (1997-2002) to the local governments. In order to operationalize the decentralization in Kerala, the PPC was launched in 1996. It encouraged citizen participation in the planning of the devolved fund. It was a major political and administrative initiative of the Left Government of Kerala. The objective of this campaign was "to empower local governments to prepare plans and utilize resources, to encourage transparency and accountability in the planning process, and to institutionalize the new rules and practices of governance." The PPC transformed the planning process from a mere "administrative process" to "a mass movement for decentralization" by inducing citizen participation (Ramakumar & Nair, 2009).

The initiative started by Left Democratic Front (LDF) in 1996 was institutionalized in 2001 as 'Kerala Development Program' when United Democratic Front (UDF) came into power. As LDF came back to power in 2006, PPC/ Janakeeya Aasoothranam was revived.

After the inception of National Institution for Transforming India (NITI) Aayog, Government of India stopped formulating Five Year Plans with the 12th Five Year Plan (2012 -2017). However, the Government of Kerala continued with the Five Year Plans. The 13th Five Year Plan (2017-22) was formulated by the Kerala State Planning Board. Year 2020-21 is the fourth year of this 13th Five Year Plan. This study will attempt to decipher the annual plan for the year 2020-21 to understand the effectiveness of the various participatory platforms involved.

#### 4.4.2 State Mandates

The process is prescribed through Government Order in the beginning of the five year plan. For the on-going 13th Five Year Plan, the Government Order GO (MS) No. 17/2018 dated 02/02/2018 is referred. This order gives detailed information about the process to be followed, constitution of various committees and groups, their composition, functions etc.

#### 4.4.2.1 Process

The Municipalities are required to follow the nine steps as described in the Government Orders. The nine steps are as shown in figure 21.

The first phase of the annual plan preparation process includes constitution of planning committee and working groups in each Municipal Corporation and preparation of the development document with support from the working groups.

#### **Planning Committee:**

Planning Committees are formed in each Municipal Corporation to ensure continuous participation of civil society and other stakeholders in the planning and implementation process. The main function of the planning committee is to assist in coordinating the planning, implementation and evaluation of the projects.



Figure 21: Steps to be followed for annual plan preparation (GO (MS) No. 17/2018)

Source: Compiled by authors

The Mayor is the chairperson of the planning committee. The vice-president is an expert who can assist the Corporation in the planning process. The Municipal Secretary acts as the Municipal plan coordinator. All the standing committee chairpersons are the members of the planning committee. Other members include volunteer experts. More members can be included in the planning committee if the Municipal council feels the need for more representation.

#### **Constitution of Working Group:**

Working Groups are meant for preparing plans and projects by consolidating the different views of the public, especially the five groups – people's representatives, officials, local experts, voluntary activists and the beneficiaries. The working groups operate under the direct supervision and control of respective standing committees. There should be minimum 16 working groups in a Municipal Corporation. (The details of the working groups are attached in folder C)

#### **Structure of the working group:**

The standing committee chairman or any member of the standing committee could be the chairman of the working group. An expert in the relevant field should be the vice-chairman of the working group. A senior official in the relevant area of the Corporation in should be convener of the working group. Working groups for women's development, scheduled caste and scheduled tribe development should be chaired by women, SC and ST councilors respectively. Each working group should consist of 10-15 members including experts

in the relevant field. There should be women's and SC/ST representation in each working group. The SC/ST promoters, Kudumbashree CDS members, youth coordinators, ASHA workers, bank representatives could be part of the working group. There is no mandate to include some or all of these members as a part of working group. A sub-committee of working group could be formed based on the requirement.

The main function of the Working Group is to scientifically analyze the situation of the concerned sector and prepare the plan accordingly. Various functions of the working group include:

- Seeking suggestions from city-dwellers to ensure public participation.
- Consultation with banks and cooperatives; providing academic support, ward council meetings, discussion in development seminar.
- Collect and analyze statistics related to respective sectors.
- Collect primary data and prepare database
- Identify problems and possibilities in respective sectors, analyze and formulate solutions.
- Prepare status report including challenges, potentials and strategies to be adopted.
- Define long-term objectives along with more precise objectives of the five year plan.
- Advise on project formulation to the standing committees.
- Advise on coordination of local projects with other on-going government initiatives.
- Prepare technically and economically feasible projects.
- Work as monitoring committee to monitor the effective implementation of projects.

#### Preparation of status report and development document:

A status report is to be prepared by the working groups at the beginning of the five year plan based on primary and secondary data. The status report outlines the major challenges faced by each development sector, gaps in the development, opportunities for development and strategies. Based on the status report, the draft development document should be prepared through the joint efforts of working groups and planning committees. The document needs to be divided into four chapters viz. Introduction, Development Strategy, Resource Mobilization and Development Areas.

Once the status report is revised in accordance with the achievements of the previous years, working groups prepare draft project proposals based on status report and development plan. This draft document is then presented and discussed in the ward sabhas and then in the development seminar before finalization.

#### Meeting of Ward Sabhas/ Area Group meetings:

The prepared draft proposals need to be discussed in the ward sabha meetings. One of the mandatory functions of ward sabhas is to create proposals and assign priorities. It is also suggested that before convening such meetings, meetings of various neighborhood/ community groups could be convened to get inputs from more grassroots levels. These neighborhood groups could be from Kudumbashree NHGs, trade unions, youth organizations, farmers and fishermen etc. But this step is not mandatory. Area group meetings should be held for divisions availing SC or ST funding.

The ward sabha meetings are required in order accept suggestions from ward committee members on draft project proposals. In these meetings, detailed discussions are organized on the working group basis. Each working group discusses the respective proposals during the meeting. The development issues discussed in these meetings are needed to be categorized and prioritized accordingly. The GO advises to hold a referendum during ward sabha meetings to prioritize the development issues to be taken up by the Corporation. From each ward sabha, two women representatives, one SC representative and three others should be elected to attend the development seminar.

# **Development Seminar:**

The draft development document is discussed in the development seminar and suggestions are received from the participants. The objective of the development seminar is to formulate annual plan proposals with maximum public participation. Participants of the development seminar are: councilors, members of working groups, ADS and CDS representatives, representatives from ward committees, officers, representatives from Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe (SC/ST), representatives of financial institutions, representatives from NGOs, schools, colleges, social activists, volunteers etc.

## Finalization of plans and projects:

The working group prepares the annual plan and projects by incorporating suggestions from ward sabhas and the Development Seminar in consultation with banks and cooperative societies. These plans are finalized after recommendations from Standing Committees. This plan is then presented to the local body; on approval of which it is escalated to the District Planning Committee (DPC).

Project reports are prepared by the respective subject executive officers with assistance from working groups. The projects are classified into three sectors, Productive, Service and Infrastructure. The collated information is updated on Sulekha Software.

# **Vetting and approval:**

On approval of plan and projects from DPC, projects are scrutinized by the project vetting officer. The projects are approved by ensuring that they are prepared by following the prescribed guidelines and that they meet the requirements according to the Kerala Municipality Act, 1994. On approval, these projects are passed for execution.

#### Implementation and monitoring:

Once the annual plan has been approved by the Planning Committee, the projects have been approved by the vetting officer; the projects are passed on to the executive officer for further action. The Executive officer then needs to prepare the implementation plan in collaboration with the working group. The progress of the implementation is monitored with respect to this plan. A draft list of eligible beneficiaries of the projects is prepared by the ULB with the help of the respective working groups.

#### 4.4.2.2 Mandatory Allocation

The details of the devolved fund to be planned under PPC are mentioned in "Appendix IV" of the State budget of each respective year. The devolved plan fund consists of "general sector fund," funds for "Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan (SCP)" and "Tribal Special Plan (TSP)." The "general sector fund" consists of usual state share, World Bank assistance, special grants and Finance Commission awards etc. Devolved non-plan fund consists of "general-purpose fund," "maintenance fund for road assets and non-road assets." Table 9 is from "Appendix IV" of the State budget for the year 2020-21 showing budget provision to the municipal corporations in Kerala (Appendix B2.4).

Table 9: Budget provision to local governments in 2020-21 for development expenditure

തദ്യേശസ്യാംഭരണ സ്ഥാപനങ്ങളുടെ വികസന ചെലവുകൾക്ക് 2020 - 2021 മേയ്ക്കളെ ബജറ്റ് വിഹിതം BUDGET PROVISION TO LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENTS IN 2020 - 2021 FOR DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURE കോർച്ചരാഷതകൾക്കുള്ള ബജറ്റ് വിഹിതം Budget Provisions To Corporations

(രൂപ ആയിരത്തിൽ (Rs. in Thousands)

			രത്തിൽ	നിക്ക് പിരിപിനെ അടിസ്ഥാനമാക്കിയുള്ള വിഹിതം Share as per Tax effort criterion		പൊതു വിഭാഗം General Sector							
നമ്പർ No.	കോഡ് Code	തദ്ദേശ ഭരണ സർക്കാർ Local Self Government	സംസ്ഥാന പദ്ധതിയേതര വിഹിതത്തിൽ നിന്നും 10% കിഴിവ് ചെയ്യ ഇക State Non Plan Jess 10%	നികതി പിരിവും പട്ടികജാത്യ് പട്ടികവർധ്യതര ജനസംഖ്യയ്യം അടിസ്ഥാനമാക്കിയുള്ള ഇക Based on Tax collection and non SC/ST population	ആകെ ജനസംഖ്യ അടിസ്ഥനമാക്കിയുള്ള ഇക Based on total population	സാധാരണ വിഹിതം Normal Share (4+5+6)	ലോക ബാങ്ക് സഹായം World Bank Assistance	പ്രത്യേക ഗ്രാന്റ് Special Grant	15 -oo ധനകാര്യ കമ്മീഷൻ ആവാർഡ് 15 th FC Award	ணுகை Total (7+8+9+10)	പ്രത്യേക ഘടക പദ്ധതി SCP	പട്ടികവർഗ്ഗ ഉപ പദ്ധതി TSP	ആകെ Total (11+12+13)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1	C010100	തിരുവനന്തപുരം Thiruvananthapuram	1234478	0	0	1234478	0	0	1434018	2668496	360495	14409	3043400
2	C020100	കൊല്ലം Kollam	509224	0	0	509224	0	0	575495	1084719	121493	2961	1209173
3	C070100	കൊച്ചി Cochin	552954	0	0	552954	0	0	642337	1195291	80471	7209	1282971
4	C080100	തൃശൂർ Thrissur	347365	0	0	347365	0	0	403514	750879	97264	1971	850114
5	C110100	കോഴിക്കോട് Kozhikode	577999	0	0	577999	0	0	671430	1249429	87931	3486	1340846
6	C130100	കണ്ണർ Kannur	139133	0	0	139133	0	0	117106	256239	46326	3017	305582
6		ருகை OTAL	3361153	0	0	3361153	0	0	3843900	7205053	793980	33053	8032086

Source: Appendix 4 of State Budget 2020-21

The Government order prescribes some mandatory allocations to be provided by the local government in the annual plan. Government Order no. 17/2018 has set these allocations for the annual plans under the 13th Five-Year Plan under Section 5.4. The projects under the annual plan are broadly classified into three sectors viz. "Production sector," "Service Sector," and "Infrastructure Sector". Ten per cent of the normal share under general sector fund is to be allotted for production sector and a maximum of 50 per cent of the general sector fund should be allocated to the infrastructure sector.

A Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan (SCP) is to be prepared for the benefit of schedules caste and Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) is to be prepared for the benefit of tribal population. When the development fund is allotted to the urban local body, these two funds are also allotted separately. These funds cannot be used for the benefit of people of any other community. Not more than 30 per cent of these two funds can be used for infrastructure projects for the SC and ST.

Ten per cent of the total plan outlay should be earmarked for the Women's Component Plan (WCP). At least five per cent of the development fund should be earmarked for the development of children, people with disabilities and transgender people. At least five per cent of the development fund should be earmarked for the welfare of the elderly and for palliative care.

#### 4.4.3 Local Practices

Kerala has continued with the five year plans although the practice of five year plans in India has ceased. Currently, Kerala is implementing their 13th Five-Year Plan and 2020-21 was the fourth year of this plan. The budget provision for 2020-21 for KMC was given in Appendix IV of the state budget 2020-21 (Table 9). Out of total budget provision of about INR 1282 million, INR 1195 million was to be allocated under general sector, INR 80 million under Special Component Plan (SCP) and INR 0.7 million under Tribal Sub Plan (TSP). In Kerala, there is no ward-wise distribution of budget, but there is need-based division of the budget based on plans prepared under PPC or 'Janakeeya Asoothranam'.

In the PPC, the role of participatory platforms is extended beyond deliberations, prioritization and monitoring, into preparation of proposals and project documents through working groups, selecting beneficiaries through ward committees and execution.

Going by the prevailing guidelines, the process of annual plan preparation for the year 2020-21 started in early December, 2019 with the reorganization of planning committee and working groups. The process followed included nine steps in accordance with the guidelines.

#### **Constitution of participatory platforms within PPC - Working groups**

There are 20 working groups under eight standing committees of Kochi Municipal Corporation.

Table 10: Composition of Working Groups in Kochi Municipal Corporation

Standing Committees	Working Groups	No. Of Members	Representation
Finance and Accounts and Taxation Finance 13 Vice Chairperson: Finance 13 Convener: Secretar		Chairperson: Councilor Vice Chairperson: Retd. IEO Convener: Secretary Other Members: 3 councilors, 2 professionals, 5 CDS members	
	Agriculture and allied sectors; Animal Husbandry and Dairy development	13	Chairperson: Councilor Vice Chairperson: President, RWA Convener: Agri. Feed Officer Other Members: 2 councilors, 1 professional, 4 CDS members, 3 other members
Development	Fisheries	12	Chairperson: Councilor Vice Chairperson: Retd. GM, Fish Feed Convener: Fisheries Inspector Other Members: 3 councilors, 1 professional, 5 CDS members
	Local Economic Development	12	Chairperson: Councilor Vice Chairperson: Taluk Trade Development Officer Convener: Industries section officer, KMC Other Members: 2 councilors, 1 professional, 6 CDS members
Town	Town Planning	10	Chairperson: Councilor Vice Chairperson: Ret. Town Planning Officer Convener: Exe. Engineer Other Members: 2 councilors, 5 CDS members
Planning	Art, Culture, Protection of monument, Urban beautification	10	Chairperson: Councilor Vice Chairperson: Director, C HED Convener: Health Officer Other Members: 2 councilors, 5 CDS members

Standing Committees	Working Groups	No. Of Members	Representation
	Poverty alleviation and slum development	12	Chairperson: Councillor Vice Chairperson: CASP Rajagiri College Convener: Project officer, UPAD Other Members: 2 councillors, 1 professional, 6 CDS members
	Social Welfare	14	Chairperson: Councilor Vice Chairperson Convener: Child Development Project Officer, Kochi Urban 2 Other Members: 2 councilors, 1 engineer, secretary (Ekam Jilla Parivar), special school representative, special NHG representative, disabled people's association representative, senior citizen representative, 1 member from CPK plus, Joint Secretary (Kerala Federation of Blind, Kochi Taluk), Secretary
Welfare	Scheduled caste development	13	Chairperson: Councilor Vice Chairperson: Retd. Dist. Officer SC Development Dept. Convener: Scheduled Caste Development Officer Other Members: 2 councilors, 1 professional, 6 SC promoters, 1 CDS member
	Schedule Tribe Development	16	Chairperson: Mayor Vice Chairperson Convener: Tribal Extension Officer Other Members: 2 councilors, 11 members
	Development of women and children	13	Chairperson: Councilor Vice Chairperson Convener: Child Development Project Officer, Kochi Urban Other Members: 3 councilors, 1 professional, 6 CDS member
	Public works, Energy	11	Chairperson: Councillor Vice Chairperson: Retd. AXE, KSEB; Convener: Corporation Engineer Other Members: 3 councilors, 5 CDS members
	Transportation	11	Chairperson: Councilor Vice Chairperson: Retd. Corporation Engineer Convener: Corporation Engineer Other Members: 3 councilors, 5 CDS members
Works	Water logging Mitigation	10	Chairperson: Councilor Vice Chairperson: Retd. Corporation Engineer Convener: Corporation Engineer Other Members: 3 councilors, 4 CDS members
	Housing	11	Chairperson: Councilor Vice Chairperson: Retd. Corporation Engineer Convener: Project Officer, UPAD Other Members: 2 councilors, 6 CDS members
	Drinking Water	9	Chairperson: Councilor Vice Chairperson: Retd. KWA Convener: Corporation Engineer Other Members: 2 councilors, 4 CDS members
Education and sports	Education, Art, Culture, Sports, Youth affairs	11	Chairperson: Councilor Vice Chairperson: Dominic Convener: Principal, Vocational HSS Other Members: 3 councilors, 1 CDS members, 3 Saksharata Prerak, Sports Representative

Standing Committees	Working Groups	No. Of Members	Representation		
Health	Health	11	Chairperson: Councilor Vice Chairperson: Dist. Program Manager, NRHM Convener: Superintendent, Taluk Hospital, Fort Kochi Other Members: 2 councilors, 2 CDS member, coordinator palliative program, 3 palliative nurses		
	Sanitation and Solid waste Management	10	Chairperson: Councilor Vice Chairperson: Retd. Corporation Health Officer Convener: Health Officer Other Members: 2 councilors, 5 CDS member		
	Diversity Management, Climate Change, Environmental Protection, Disaster Management	10	Chairperson: Mayor Vice Chairperson: Director, C HED Convener: Secretary, KMC Other Members: 2 councilors, 5 members		

Source: (Nandana et al., 2021)

The Working Groups are one of the important invited spaces for participation in the urban governance processes. They have a major role in the PPC process right from development of status report, steering ward committee meetings for the annual plan, project preparation, and execution to monitoring.

It is evident from Table 10 that almost all groups have the participation of CDS representatives of Kudumbashree. Due to the way in which the community structure of Kudumbashree works, presence of CDS representatives in working groups takes the PPC process to the grassroots level.

#### **Ward Committee meetings before Development Seminar**

Projects prepared by the working groups are discussed in the ward sabhas convened specifically for that purpose, in accordance with the guidelines. These meetings are to be convened in all the wards before the development seminar. But this year (2021), as the local elections took place in December, 2020 and when the new council was elected, it was observed that there was not enough time to convene ward sabha meetings in all the wards. The processes were hurried as the plan needed to be completed before start of the new financial year.

#### **Development Seminar**

The Development Seminar is a negotiating space. It is open to the public. Along with the participants listed in the guidelines (refer Section 4.4.2.1), all citizens can attend any development seminar. It is held in a town hall or a public school in order to accommodate larger groups. In 2002, average number of public attending development seminars was around 221, out of which 22 per cent were women. In 2020, around 500 participants attended the development seminar in Kochi, out of which 70 per cent were women (Rajesh & Kulshrestha, 2020). It was observed that members of the general public are unaware about the seminar. The main channel of communication is through Kudumbashree. Significant presence of Kudumbashree members in the development seminar represents higher participation of vulnerable groups; women and poor. When the working group-wise discussion takes place in the development seminar, it is observed that the women's empowerment group and social welfare groups get more importance with very low attention paid to other important sectors (Rajesh & Kulshrestha, 2020). The large number of participants in the development seminar has also led to a dilution in the participatory nature of the platform.

#### **Plan Finalization**

After consultations and prioritizations in the ward sabhas and in the development seminar, the plan and projects are presented to the standing committee and then to the municipal council. The Municipal Council's own priorities for that specific year play a major role in the approval of the projects.

#### Annual Plan 2020-21

Annual plan 2020-21 of KMC was studied to understand the output of the planning process. Sector-wise fund allocation is:

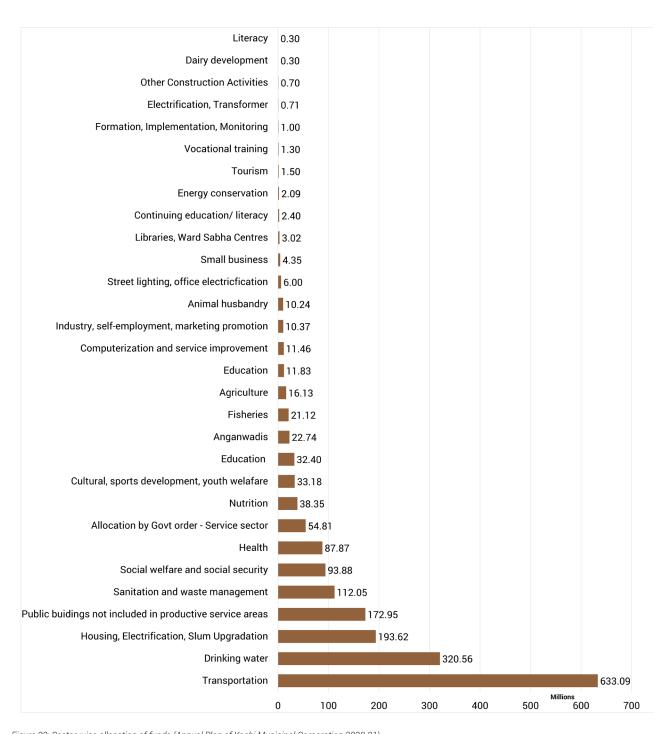


Figure 22: Sector-wise allocation of funds (Annual Plan of Kochi Municipal Corporation 2020-21)

Source: Authors

The graph in Figure 22 depicts the sector-wise allocation of funds. It is observed that maximum i.e., 33 per cent funds are allocated to the transportation sector. Projects covered under this sector mainly include tarring and re-tarring of roads, paving of roads and footpaths, maintenance of roads etc. A large portion of funds i.e., approximately 66 per cent is allocated to the four sectors related to delivery of shelter and basic physical infrastructure viz. housing, electrification and slum improvement, drinking water, sanitation and waste management, and transportation.

Out of the 1049 projects (approved by DPC as on February, 2021) (Appendix C2), 349 projects are general projects which are not ward-specific; whereas 700 projects are ward-specific. The chart (figure 23) depicts the fund allocation to each ward overlaid on the number of slums HHs in each ward (Appendix C3). The logic here was to understand how active the urban poor are in the context of developmental planning. If it is deliberated that citizen's activeness influences the fund allocation, then this graph gives some idea about the correlation between the urban poor and the extent to which they can influence the fund allocation. The graph shows that there is no direct correlation between the fund allocated and the number of urban poor. This has been analyzed further in the next section by focusing on just five wards.

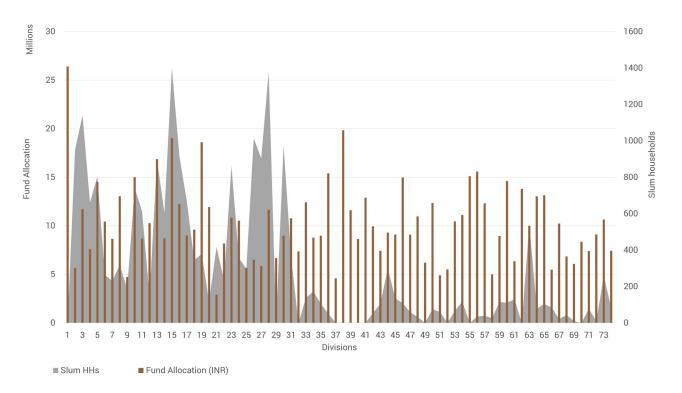


Figure 23: Ward-wise allocation of fund Vs. Ward-wise slum HHs (Annual Plan of KMC 2020-21) Source: Authors

# 4.5 OUTCOMES

# 4.5.1 Effectiveness of participatory platforms in Annual plan preparation

Though the process for annual plan preparation is prescribed through the guidelines of PPC, the process involves participation through all the platforms as mentioned in the previous section. All these platforms may influence the allocation of funds to various degrees.

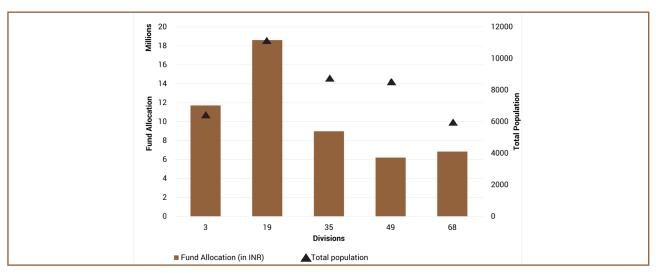


Figure 24: Fund allocation (INR) vs. Ward population

Source: Authors

Table 11: Select ward-wise fund allocation

Ward No.	Ward Name	Population	Fund Allocation (In INR)	Per capita budget* (In INR)
3	Eraveli	6426	11,703,000	1,821
19	Palluruthy - Kacheripady	11146	18,603,761	1,669
35	Ponnekkara	8748	8,985,192	1,027
49	Vyttila	8592	6,207,494	722
68	Ayyappankavu	5971	6,840,000	1,146

Source: Compiled by Authors

Out of the selected five wards, it was found that maximum fund allocation was for Ward 19. It is also the most populated ward among the five. But it cannot be generalized that the allocation of funds for a ward is directly proportional to the total ward population (figure 24). Fund allocated per person is highest in Ward 3 whereas it is lowest in Ward 49 (table 11). The graph (figure 25) shows that total fund allocation does not indicate direct relation with the number of urban poor in the ward either.

The number of slum HHs is used as a proxy for urban poor population in the ward. Ward 3 has highest number of slum HHs, whereas there are no slums in Ward 49. It can be seen from the graph that the budgetary allocation is not proportional to the number of urban poor. Other factors like influential groups, ward councilor biases, and municipal council's priorities could be influencing the budgetary allocation. The allocated funds cover

<sup>\*</sup>Per capita budget is derived from the fund allocation for ward-specific projects (approved by DPC as on February, 2021), the funds for city-wide projects are not included.

several sectors. Graph shows the sector-wise distribution of funds in the wards (figure 26). It can be seen that maximum fund allocation is in the transportation sector in all the wards.

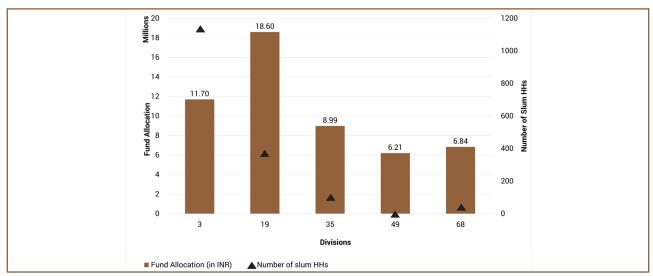


Figure 25: Fund allocation (INR) vs. Number of slums HHs

Source: Authors

As the focus of the study is on shelter and basic services for the urban poor, all the projects in five wards were studied to check which projects directly influenced this delivery and what is the fund allocated towards them. These projects included projects related to housing development, housing improvement, slum development, sanitation, solid waste management, drinking water facilities, social welfare and social security related projects.

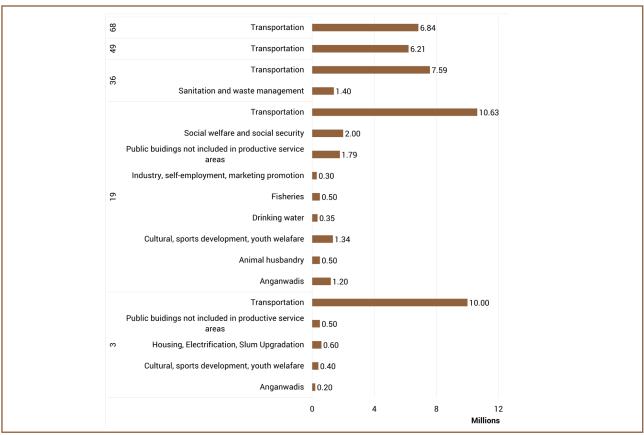


Figure 26: Sector-wise fund allocation (in INR) in five wards

Source: Authors

Through the study undertaken in five selected wards in Kochi, it emerged that there was no direct connection between the slum population in a division and the fund allocation for their shelter and basic services, but there was some correlation in numbers. Out of the selected wards, the fund allocated for the shelter and basic services is higher for the ward with higher number of slum HHs i.e. Ward 3 (Table 12). In Ward 68, though the number of slum HHs is lower, there seems to be substantial fund allocation for shelter and basic services for the urban poor. The urban poor are able to influence the decision making in annual plan preparation through available participatory platforms to a certain extent. However, the extent of this influence may depend on the macro and micro, social and political contexts as discussed earlier.

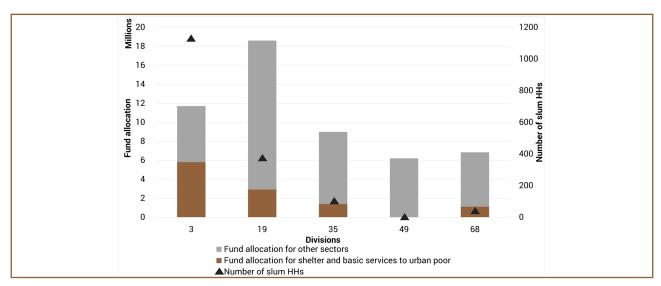


Figure 27: Fund allocation for shelter & basic services for urban poor vs. number of slum HHs in selected wards

Source: Authors

Table 12: Fund allocation for shelter and basic services

Ward No.	Ward Name	No. of slum HHs in ward	Total Fund Allocation (In INR)	Fund Allocation for shelter & basic services (In INR)	Percentage of fund allocated for shelter and basic services
3	Eraveli	1140	11,703,000	5,800,000	50%
19	Palluruthy - Kacheripady	378	18,603,761	2,920,000	15%
35	Ponnekkara	105	8,985,192	1,400,000	15%
49	Vyttila	0	6,207,494	0	0
68	Ayyappankavu	44	6,840,000	1,110,000	16%

Source: Compiled by authors

# 4.5.2 Emerging framework for convergence of participatory platforms

Though the process for annual plan preparation is prescribed in accordance with PPC guidelines, there are multiple ways through which demands from the grassroots level are consolidated and approved. Multiple participatory platforms being available for the urban poor increase their opportunities to participate and negotiate their needs. All these participatory spaces follow the state mandates, hence, are invited spaces. In local practice, it is observed that these participatory spaces converge at various levels (figure 28).

If ward committees are captured by elites, and the councilors are not supportive enough and if the urban poor are not able to address their issues through ward committees for any other reason, they always have the alternate option of 'CDS action plan' through which they can address their issues and demands. Through proposals in ward committees, the urban poor can only address local issues but through Kudumbashree and its network which reaches the District and State Mission, they can also point out larger issues such as problems with policies and give recommendations to amend them.

Working groups offer the most important platform in the annual plan preparation process. Through working groups, citizens can participate in the project formulation and monitoring process. Large participation of Kudumbashree CDS members in these working groups opens a third avenue for the urban poor to participate in the decision making process.

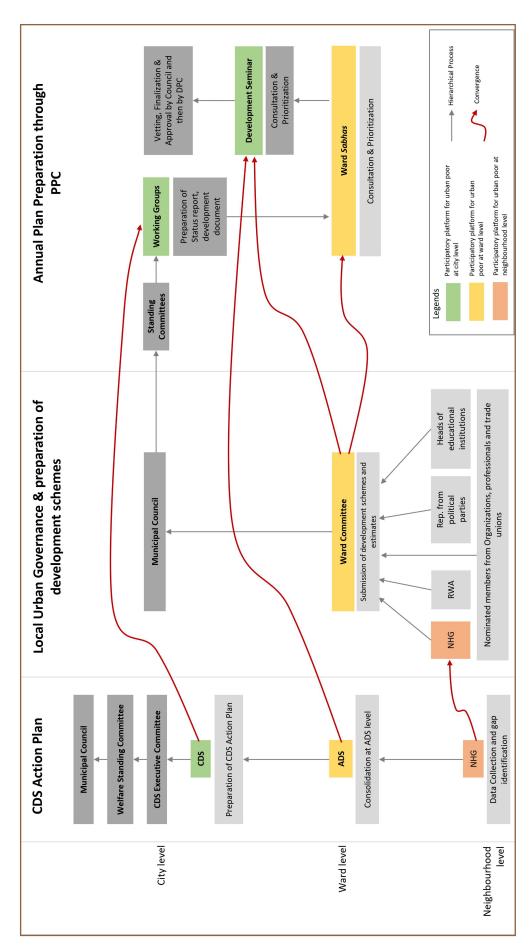


Figure 28: Emerging framework for convergence of participatory platforms

Source: Compiled by authors





# **5.1 DISCUSSIONS**

- Level of participation in different platforms
- Dynamics of multiple participatory spaces
- Participation fatigue

# **5.2 LEARNINGS**

- Importance of social and political context
- Multiplicity of participatory platforms
- Livelihood opportunities through participatory platform
- Capacity building of the urban poor
- Limited fund devolution

# 5.1 DISCUSSIONS

This section discusses the findings backed with literature and participation theories.

# 5.1.1 Level of participation in different platforms

The outcomes of the participatory platforms can be discussed in relation to the participatory theories to identify the level of participation that these platforms offer. Theoretically, through the prescribed mandates, the participatory platforms may envision a higher level of participation, but in practice, due to various external factors, the actual degree of participation is much below that.

Kudumbashree – SPEM has offered participatory spaces through the community organization network of NHGs, ADSs and CDSs. It is a nodal agency for implementation of many Central and State schemes. These community groups are very instrumental in the decision making and execution processes at grassroots levels and hence, going by Arnstein's ladder (1969), they fall between the rungs of 'Citizen Control' to 'Delegated Power'. By Choguill's ladder (1996), the level of participation of these groups falls between 'Partnership' and 'Empowerment.'

Ward committees are the platforms that were created to strengthen the decentralization and devolve decision making power at sub-local level. In its ideology, the ward committees are envisioned for a higher level of participation i.e., the 'Partnership' according to both Arnstein (1969) and Choguill's ladders (1996). But in practice, many socio-political factors affect the functioning of this platform and hence, the ward committee actually falls on the 'Placation' rung of Arnstein's ladder (1969) and 'Conciliation' rung of Choguill's ladder (1996). This is the level where citizens start to have some degree of influence. They have the power to plan, suggest or ratify the plans prepared by higher authorities, but the final decision regarding legitimacy of the suggestions and its feasibility stays with those who are at a higher level. Hence, there is only partial power. In ward committees, the members can submit development schemes but the legitimacy and feasibility of those schemes is checked at higher levels. Also, there is no budget provision to ward committees and hence, they always have to seek approval from the Council for any project.

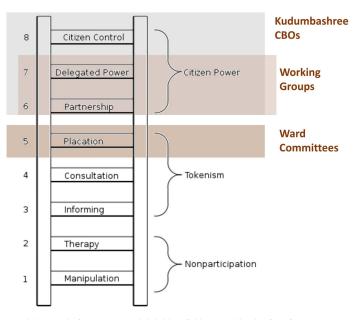


Figure 29: Level of participation of three participatory platforms on Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (1969) Source: Compiled by authors

Ward committee is a platform for 'expression of needs' whereas working groups are where the actual the 'projectization' takes place. Projects prepared by working groups are approved by the ULB based on their own priorities.

Out of all three platforms, it appears that Working Groups are the most efficient platforms as not only are they consultative in nature, they are directly involved in project preparation and decision making. Working groups are at the 'Partnership' rung of Arnstein's (1969) and Choguill's ladders (1996). Working groups offer a platform where community representatives along with officials and other experts are made part of planning and decision making process. Kudumbashree community organizations form an important part of this platform through the CDS. Their presence takes the process to the grassroots level. As discussed earlier, Kudumbashree community organizations are already at a higher rung due to their important roles in development programs, but their participation in working groups strengthens their role in urban governance as well.

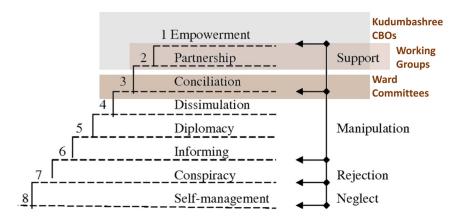


Figure 30: Level of participation of three participatory platforms on Choguill's ladder of community participation (1996)
Source: Compiled by authors

#### 5.1.2 Dynamics of multiple participatory spaces

Multiple participatory platforms are available to the urban poor in Kerala at different levels with varying powers. All these participatory spaces are in accordance with the state mandates, and are hence, invited spaces. When the local practices of these invited spaces are analyzed, it becomes evident that these spaces are integrated. Emerging convergence of these platforms in practice gives more meaning to each of the platforms and makes the participation more effective.

According to Gaventa (2006), "multiple spaces exist in dynamic relationship to one another, and are constantly opening and closing." When the participatory spaces in ward committees are captured by elites, or the urban poor cannot be a part of it due to some other reasons, the space is perceived as a closed space. In Kerala, when one participatory space closes, the urban poor have the option of participating and addressing their issues through other available spaces.

Another advantage of having multiple converging platforms is that, the power gained in one platform, in the form of new skills, capacity and experiences, can be used to enter and influence other platforms. For example, in Kerala, analytical and negotiating skills gained by the community groups of Kudumbashree are important in order to be able to participate in ward committees and working groups, and influence decision in their favor and hence, make participatory platforms much more meaningful.

# 5.1.3 Participation fatigue

Literature has focused on participation fatigue in context of Kerala (Harilal, 2013). The reasons for this reducing participation have been identified as intensification of social division of labor, rising opportunity cost of participation, certain overpowering community groups, free riders etc. Other reasons for declining participation in ward committees are that there is no direct influence on budget formulation and it fails to provide any livelihood opportunities to the urban poor. On the other hand, in NHGs, continuous participation of urban poor is observed. The first reason is that it is directly linked to their livelihoods and over the years, they have understood the benefits of participating in these platforms. The second reason is that the participants are from the same social strata and hence, there are no concerns of possible elite capture.

Though the overall participation in ward committees, development seminars etc. has decreased over the time, it should be noted that the participation percentage of the marginalized communities has increased. This is also a result of the convergence of platforms. Embedment of community groups of Kudumbashree in the other platforms has led to greater representation of the urban poor.

# 5.2 **LEARNINGS**

In Kerala, participation of people is very crucial for efficient working of the local governance system. The study concludes that, through the available participatory platforms in Kerala, the urban poor are able to influence the decisions regarding delivery of housing and basic services in their favor. Some of the key lessons from the practices in Kerala are:

# 5.2.1 Importance of social and political context

Kerala is a welfare-oriented state; the socio-political context of which has played an important role in the implementation of participatory platforms. The history of decentralization, political will and social factors have been responsible for inception of these participatory platforms in Kerala.

The state mandates in the form of Acts and Government Orders encourage participation through creation of participatory platforms. Vigilant citizenry and political willingness have led to the setting up of these platforms at the local level. Though their implementation varies based on the micro context, the aforementioned aspects largely contribute to the extent of their execution.

# 5.2.2 Multiplicity of participatory platforms

Presence of multiple platforms also improves the participation of the urban poor in governance. If one platform closes due to elite capture, lack of fiscal powers or any other factor, then there is an option of an alternate platform through which decisions concerning them can be influenced.

# 5.2.3 Livelihood opportunities through participatory platform

Participatory platforms that also offer livelihood opportunities tend to be more effective. Kudumbashree NHG meetings are carried out more regularly and with 90-100 per cent attendance as it is directly linked to the livelihood opportunities and improving life. Ward committees rarely take decisions regarding livelihood opportunities in their area. But they can submit proposals related to livelihood activities (productive sector which mainly comprises fishing and agriculture) which are also subject to approval from higher levels of government.

#### 5.2.4 Capacity building of the urban poor

Only creating participatory platforms is not enough, it is important that citizens are trained so that they can express their demands more articulately. They should also be made to understand the complex processes and the importance of participation within these platforms.

Kudumbashree has been building capacities among women below the poverty line and these groups strengthen the bottom-up planning. They are able to articulate their issues and make demands in a better manner and hence, contribute meaningfully to the planning process.

#### 5.2.5 Limited fund devolution

As discussed earlier, devolution of functions to the participatory platforms without any matching power is futile. In urban governance, this power can be seen in the form of fiscal devolution or the ability to influence fund allocation in the absence of direct fiscal devolution. In the case of Kerala, a declining trend of fiscal devolution is seen from state to local government; it dropped from 40 per cent in 1996 to 25 per cent in 2021. There is no ward level budget. Approval is needed from the council for the utilization of the emergency funds which are available with the councilor. Ward committees remain consultative bodies as the funds are not devolved at ward level.

It is observed that some of the important functions related to water supply, roads, highways etc. are still not completely devolved at the local level. This means that ward committees have many constraints even in raising issues with delivery of these critical urban services. This reduces the effectiveness of the outcomes that can be achieved by ward committees. Though the process of budgeting is envisioned as a bottom-up process, the complex guidelines, mandatory allocations and compulsory approval from the DPC, still highlight a prevalent top-down system.



# 6.1 BACKGROUND

Odisha is one of the poorest states in India in terms of per capita income and socio-economic development. Odisha also has high percentages of socially marginalized communities in the country. According to Census 2011, whereas the population of scheduled tribes in India as a whole is 8.6 per cent, in Odisha, it is 22.8 per cent. Odisha is part of the 'red corridor' in India, considered to be the hub of Naxalite activities. Many parts of Odisha are deprived of development due to this reason. "In spite of these socio-economic landscapes, Odisha has registered a higher economic growth of 6.16 per cent in the year 2019-20 compared to all India growth of 5 per cent" (Planning and Convergence Department - GoO, 2020). This economic development has naturally led to rise in the level of urbanization in Odisha. According to the Census 2011, the percentage of urban population of the total of Odisha population increased to 16.67 per cent in 2011 from 14.97 per cent in 2001.

Along with higher growth, Odisha has also emerged as a leading reform state with a stable and committed political leadership. Odisha has built its strength to tackle critical issues based on administrative efficiency, welfare-orientation and experience in handling disasters. The alliance that is in power in Odisha had won the election in 2000 on account of its promise of providing good governance and reducing corruption. Promise of transparency and accountability again contributed to its re-election in 2004. The intensive efforts and various initiatives of the Government of Odisha on urban governance and urban infrastructure play a major role in facilitating the process of urbanization. It has started adopting decentralization as an efficient means of service delivery. Odisha does not have a robust culture of bottom-up planning but the Government of Odisha has started encouraging active involvement of the fourth tier of Government under the local government i.e., the citizens, by empowering them in the handling of affairs that concern them in various urban development sectors.<sup>xi</sup>

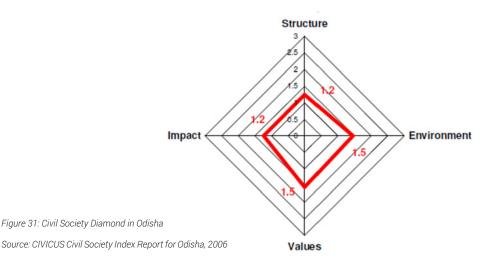
# 6.2 PARTICIPATORY SPACES IN ODISHA

# 6.2.1 Civil Society culture in Odisha

In the post-independence period, people's movements in Odisha emerged in protest against development projects which were often responsible for displacement of local citizens. People's movements against the construction of the Hirakud and Rangali dams (1972), Lower Suktel dam (1997) are some examples. There are numerous examples of movements for forest and environment protection, anti-industry campaigns, students' movements etc. This activism has been instrumental in effecting policy changes in the past. There was a continuous pressure from NGOs and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) on the Government for provision of good governance.

The Government has recognized the proactive role of NGOs and CSOs of Odisha in mobilizing and fostering social development. The Government has been assigning these Organizations an important role in major initiatives such as literacy missions, population control measures etc. Despite this, Civil Society in Odisha is very weak and does not have much impact on public life (CYSD & CIVICUS, 2006). A CIVICUS Civil Society Index Report for Odisha by CYSD (Centre for Youth and Social Development) has elaborated on four dimensions of civil society. These four dimensions are Structure, Environment, Values and Impact – depicted as 'a civil society diamond' (figure 31).

According to the report, this civil society diamond indicates that the structure of civil society in Odisha is very weak. Factors responsible for this weak structure are described as; "lack of collective community action, lack of charity for social purposes, voluntarism for personal reasons rather than social causes, lack of representation of all social groups and inadequate financial and technological resources." The external environment is supportive with respect to factors like political rights and civil liberties. The Values dimension of civil society in Odisha is the strongest. Odisha's history of social movements has strengthened this dimension with qualities such as tolerance, efforts for sustainable development, non-aggression etc. "A weak structure, an only partially enabling external environment, and modest values score lead to a low level of impact as reflected in the Diamond." The Report indicates that if an already existing sound value system is supported by an enabling external environment, it can not only strengthen civil society in Odisha it can also improve the impact factor (CYSD & CIVICUS, 2006). Efforts to create an enabling environment through decentralized and participatory approaches have begun taking place in Odisha in recent years.

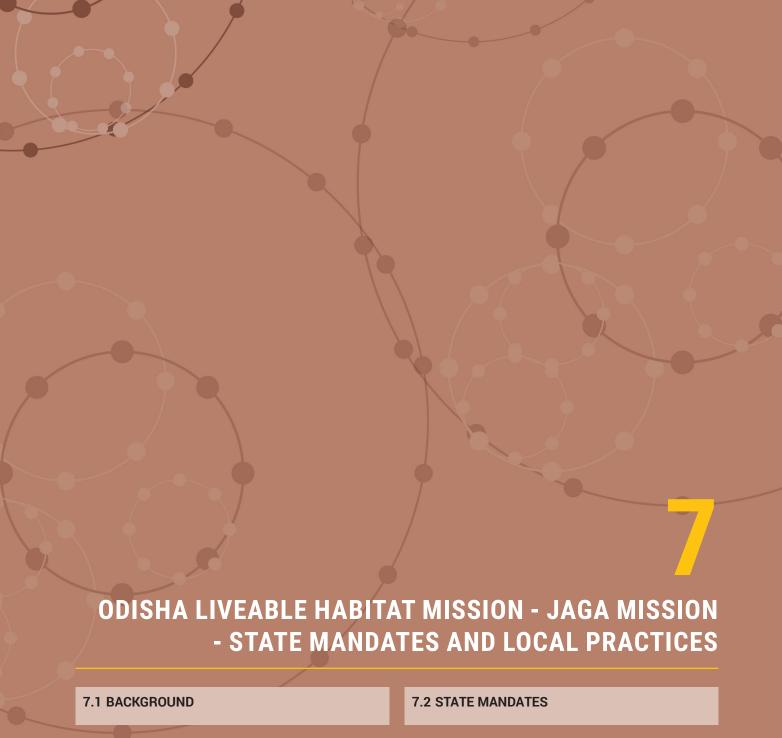


# 6.2.2 Emergence of participatory approach in Odisha

The state government of Odisha has recognized the role of community organizations and devised various methods for partnership in implementation of government programs and schemes. Various central government schemes, external donors have started to place more power and responsibility on local governments (World Bank, 2008). In Odisha, the efforts to strengthen local governments began only recently and hence, capacity building is quite low in the local governments. Need for local level implementation and the inherent weakness of local bodies has led to more dependency on community groups. In Odisha, it is observed that the State Government and external donors are delegating duties to women's self-help groups (SHG) for strengthening service delivery and implementation (Review, 2014; World Bank, 2008).

In 2001, the Chief Minister of Odisha launched 'Mission Shakti' for the purpose of women's empowerment through promotion and strengthening of women's SHGs. Mission Shakti was then converged with the National Urban Livelihood Mission (NULM) in Odisha leading to further strengthening of SHGs. In Odisha, these have become extremely instrumental in the urban development sector. There are several ways through which these SHGs are involved in provision of water supply, sanitation and other urban services. They are mobilized as 'Jal Sathis' and 'Water Monitors' to facilitate water supply in urban areas, as 'Swachh Sathis' to facilitate sanitation and solid waste management etc. These and such other platforms are discussed briefly in Section 8.1 in context of Bhubaneswar. These community groups are responsible for effective decentralization of basic urban services in Odisha.

A similar approach has been adopted in JAGA Mission which aims at transforming slums through decentralization and participatory approach. The community groups in the form of Slum Dwellers Associations (SDAs) are formed in each slum to provide platforms for participation. The next section details this mission, and delves into the decentralized process adopted and looks at its efficiency as a participatory platform.



- Odisha Land Rights to Slum Dwellers' Act, 2017
- Odisha Municipal Corporation (Amendment) Act
   2017

# 7.3 DECENTRALIZED IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

- Process adopted for Phase 1 (September 2017

   September 2020) Distribution of Land Rights
   Certificate
- Process adopted for Phase 2 (September 2020 -Ongoing) - Upgradation and delisting of slums
- Slum Dwellers' Associations (SDAs) as a participatory platform

# 7.4 LOCAL PRACTICES

- Phase 1: Distribution of Land Rights Certificates in Municipalities and Notified Area Councils (2017 -2020)
- Phase 2: Slum upgradation and delisting in Municipal Corporations, Municipalities and Notified Area Councils (2020 -ongoing)

# 7.1 BACKGROUND

The census 2011, states that 1.56 million population of Odisha lives in 0.35 million (HHs) in slum areas. In Odisha, the slum population of the State constitutes 3.72 per cent of the total population and 22 per cent of urban population. Odisha covers an area of around 156,000 sq.km and includes a population of over 42 million. There are 30 districts with a total urban population of nearly 7 million living in 114 Urban Local Bodies (ULBs). Out of 114 ULBs, there are five Municipal Corporation (MCs), 48 Municipalities and 61 Notified Area Councils (NACs).

According to the Census 2011, in Odisha, while the total growth over the decade was 14 per cent, the growth in urban population was 27 per cent. Migration of poor people from rural to urban is one of the reasons for this growth. This has resulted in the growth of informal settlements in urban areas. As much as 22 per cent of the urban population of the state lives in slums without any security of tenure. Bhubaneswar and Cuttack had the highest slum population of 0.16 million each followed by Rourkela with 0.11 million slum population in 2011. The increasing urban poor population creates high demand on the ULBs to provide housing and basic services. Nonfulfillment of this demand leads to formation of slums. Residents of these slums seek to earn their livelihoods in the neighboring areas and become service providers.

Odisha Government adopted a unique strategy that would not only solve the issues of the slum dwellers but would also empower them. The Government recognized the need to confer slum dwellers with land titles. This was achieved through enactment of a landmark legislation – "Odisha Land Rights to Slum Dwellers Act, 2017." The overall goal was not limited to issuing of land rights certificates to slum dwellers; rather it was considered the entry point for turning existing slums into liveable habitats and simultaneously enhancing the capacity of local governments to address the issues of urban poverty (Pichel et al., 2019).

Just conferring land rights alone was not going to solve all the problems of the slums. A more integrated approach was required to transform slums into liveable habitats, and hence the JAGA Mission was launched on 7 May, 2018. "Odisha Liveable Habitat Mission (OLHM) – JAGA aims at transforming the slums into liveable habitats with all the necessary civic infrastructure and services on par with other areas within the same ULB and to continuously improve the standard of the infrastructure and services, along with access to livelihood opportunities. It also aims at leveraging and converging various schemes/ programs/ funding opportunities by strengthening collaboration among various stakeholders."

# 7.2 STATE MANDATES

JAGA Mission is under the overall administrative control of the state government (JAGA Mission - Memorandum and Bye Laws, 2019). A society by the name 'Odisha Liveable Habitat Mission - JAGA' was registered under "the Societies Registration Act, XXI of 1860." All the activities of the mission are carried out through this society. The area of operation of the society is across all the urban areas in Odisha. The mission covers 2919 slums under municipal corporations, municipalities and Notified Areas Councils (NACs). Distribution of these 2919 slums within ULBs is:

Table 13: Distribution of slums within ULBs

Urban Local Bodies	Tenable Slums	Untenable Slums	Total Slums	
Corporation (5)	540	654	1194	
Municipality (48)	644	576	1220	
NAC (61)	283	222	505	
Total	1467	1452	2919	

Source: Tata Trusts

There are nine main components of the mission:

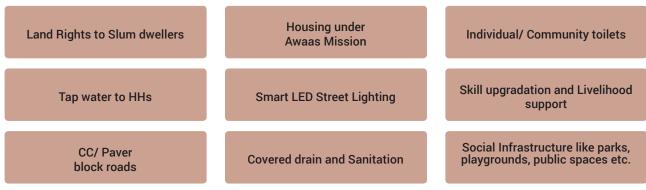


Figure 32: Nine main components of JAGA Mission

Source: Tata Trusts

As a part of first phase of the JAGA Mission, the first important component i.e., land rights to the slum dwellers, was implemented through the enactment of "Odisha Land Rights to Slum Dwellers' Act, 2017" in Municipalities and Notified Area Councils. For the Municipal Corporation, "Odisha Municipal Corporation (2nd Amendment) Act, 2017" was enacted to make provision of property rights to slum dwellers.

# 7.2.1 Odisha Land Rights to Slum Dwellers' Act, 2017

The main objective of the Act is to empower the slum dwellers by giving them land rights (Odisha Land Rights to Slum Dwellers Act, 2017). It involves "In-situ settlement of land rights of tenable slums and development of new habitats for untenable slums."

According to Section 3.3 of the Act, Land Right is:

- Heritable but not transferable
- Only for residential and residential cum livelihood purpose
- Mortgageable for housing loan but not transferable
- Land right certificate to be accepted as valid address proof.

Section 3.4 of the Act states that the certificates should be issued "jointly in the name of both spouses (in case of married couples) and in the name of a single person (in the case of HHs headed by a single person)." The Act is applicable for slums in "all the Municipalities and NACs." Only the land under "the state government and Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) can be settled," whereas "lands under forests, railways, etc., and private land, cannot be settled under this Act."

The cut-off date in the Act is 10 August, 2017. Section 3.8 prescribes the documents required to prove eligibility like proof of identity and address, proof of income and photographs of the beneficiaries.

A slum dweller shall be entitled to "land area not exceeding 45 sq.mt. for slums in Municipality areas and not exceeding 60 sq.mt. for those in NAC areas." For both Municipality and NACs areas, "in case of relocation, a maximum 30 sq.mt. of land area is settled."

For urban poor (EWS category), the settlement is free of cost up to 30 sq.mt. and 25 per cent benchmark value needs to be paid for any excess of 30 sq.mt. For HHs other than EWS category, the settlement is at 50 per cent of the cost linked to the benchmark value of land. This money paid by the slum dwellers is contributed to the Urban Poor Welfare Fund and is earmarked for use of improvements only within that slum.

#### **Urban Area Slum Redevelopment and Rehabilitation Committee (UASRRC):**

The Act mandates formation of "Urban Area Slum Redevelopment and Rehabilitation Committee (UASRRC)" at city level (Section 8). "The Odisha Land Rights to Slum Dwellers Rules, 2017" detail the composition and functions of this committee (Odisha Land Rights to Slum Dwellers Rules, 2017). The committee shall have an Executive Officer, Tehsildar, Superintendent of Police, Ward Councilors, Urban Planner, representatives from NGOs, SDAs, CBOs as its members and the District Collector as its Chairperson.

#### **Functions of UASRRC:**

- Undertake necessary surveys to prepare slum maps, establish locations and spatial dimensions on GIS, collect socio-economic data, spatial information regarding basic services in the slum.
- Maintenance and revision of survey records.
- Approve the list of slum dwellers eligible for land rights.
- Ensure time-bound provision of land right certificates.
- Ensure preparation of database regarding tenable and untenable slum areas and share with the State Government.
- Identify available lands for rehabilitation.
- Formulate plans and projects & facilitate implementation.
- Constitute sub-committees
- Review and coordinate the activities of the sub-committees, agencies and experts.

### **Urban Poor Welfare Fund (Section 10):**

The Urban Poor Welfare Fund is at the ULB level and this fund is to be used for slum infrastructure development purposes. The fund is administered by a sub - committee.

A total of 25 per cent of the State fund should be earmarked for urban slum development. Urban poor welfare fund consists of this 25 per cent of state fund, and money collected from slum dwellers. It also includes any contributions from central government, multilateral or bilateral organizations, philanthropists, NGOs or other sources. The money collected from slum dwellers from a specific slum has to be used only for the same slum.

# 7.2.2 Odisha Municipal Corporation (Amendment) Act, 2017

The Act is applicable for slums in all the municipal corporations (The Odisha Municipal Corporation (Amendment) Act, 2017, 2017). By Section 483 of the Act, every landless person in occupation of land in a slum in any corporation area should be entitled to allotment of a dwelling space as provided under the scheme notified by the government, from time to time. Every eligible slum dweller is issued a 'certificate of property rights' by the Authorized Officer. As far as possible, slum dwellers should be provided property rights in the same slum, but in case of untenable slums, the Government may decide to rehabilitate them elsewhere.

#### The property right is:

- Heritable but not transferable
- Mortgageable for housing loan
- Dwelling unit can be transferred to another eligible beneficiary after ten years.
- Land right certificate to be accepted as valid address proof.

The evidence for grant of certificate of property right in favor of slum dweller shall include "Aadhaar card, voter identity card, ration card, smart card under Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana (RSBY) or passport and Government records such as Census, survey, maps, satellite imagery, plans, reports."

Similar to "Odisha Land Rights to Slum Dwellers' Act, 2017", this Act also makes provision for the constitution of a Slum Rehabilitation and Redevelopment Committee and Urban Poor Welfare Fund.

# 7.3 DECENTRALIZED IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

Subsequent to enactment of the acts, the state government reached out to the Tata Trusts for support in implementing the law. The decentralized process adopted for implementation of the mission is as unique and important as the legal framework discussed in the earlier section. The Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) involves state of the art technological interventions along with participatory approaches using grassroots organizations and slum dwellers associations. The processes are designed in such a way that outputs of one phase of the program can become data for the next phase. Though the Housing and Urban Development Department (HUDD) is the overarching body overseeing the implementation of the mission, most of the powers have been devolved at local level through the creation of UASRRC. The process is taken further to the grassroots level through involvement of the Slum Dwellers' Associations (SDAs).

# 7.3.1 Process adopted for Phase 1 (Sept 2017 – Sept 2020) - Distribution of Land Rights Certificate

Tata Trusts was approached to be the implementing partner of the mission. The first phase of the mission involved implementation of the Odisha Land Rights to Slum Dwellers Act, 2017 for granting land rights to the eligible slum dwellers in municipalities and NACs. The implementation of the project started with community mobilization including continuous dialogues with slum dwellers, conducting door-to-door surveys, stickering and numbering of dwellings with the participation of slum dwellers.

The process adopted for land rights distribution can be explained as: (For detailed process, please refer (The Bridgespan Group, 2019))

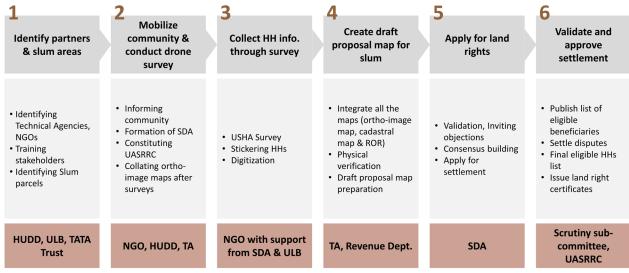


Figure 33: Process adopted for granting Land Rights Certificates

Source: Compiled by authors

#### Step 1: Identifying partners and slum areas

As a first step, HUDD and District Urban Development Agency (DUDA) need to identify and partner with a Technical Agency (TA) and NGO respectively. Tata Trusts is the implementing partner. Once all the stakeholders are on board, including the TA, NGO, other District and ULB officials, they are trained through classroom sessions and field visits. Tata Trusts is responsible for creation of learning material as well as actual delivery. Identifying slums and eligible HHs is one of the important steps in the implementation process and its responsibility lies with the Executive Officer of the respective ULB.

# Step 2: Mobilizing community and conducting drone surveys

The second step in the process involves identifying key influencers within the community and apprising the community about the Act and the implementing activities. UASRRC is formed at the ULB level. SDAs are formed at slum level with assistance from the NGO. SDAs have to undergo extensive training. Drone surveys are conducted and maps are prepared by the TA.

#### **Step 3: Collect HH information through surveys**

Urban Slum Household Area (USHA) surveys are carried out and the data is digitized. NGOs are assisted by SDAs and the ULB during the survey process.

#### Step 4: Create draft proposal map for slums

Draft proposal map is created by integrating ortho-image map, cadastral map and Record of Rights (RoR). TAs seek inputs from the Revenue Department and NGOs before preparation of the map. The proposal maps are then shared with the SDA for validation.

# Step 5: Apply for land rights

Technical agencies submit the draft proposal maps along with area statement to the SDAs who then validate this data by inviting objections from slum dwellers and initiating building consensus. After the validation, SDA submits application for the land rights to the UASRRC.

# Step 6: Validate and approve settlement

UASRRC forms the Scrutiny sub-committee within itself which verifies land rights applications, HH information, eligibility and settlement details. The list of eligible HHs is released and objections, if any are invited. It is the responsibility of the UASRRC to resolve the objections and prepare a final list of HHs. This list is then sent to the authorized officer for approval of the settlement for the listed HHs and the Land Rights Certificates (LRC) are issued. The official records are also updated.

# 7.3.2 Process adopted for Phase 2 (September 2020 - Ongoing) - Upgradation and delisting of slums

The objective of second phase of the JAGA Mission is a comprehensive slum improvement and upgradation process to provide the slum settlements with necessary basic services and amenities – such as "piped water supply, pucca roads, street lighting, sanitation, drainage, HH electricity, community centres, open spaces etc." Slum upgradation and delisting are the next critical steps towards transforming slums into liveable habitats and integrating them with the remaining urban area. The SOP for the second phase aims 'to further embed participation of slum residents in urban planning, development and decentralization of decision-making processes to achieve its vision of inclusive, egalitarian and liveable urban habitats.' The Ward officer is the nodal officer.

Process flow for upgradation and delisting of slums (Participatory Slum Upgradation and Delisting - Standard Operating Procedure, 2020):

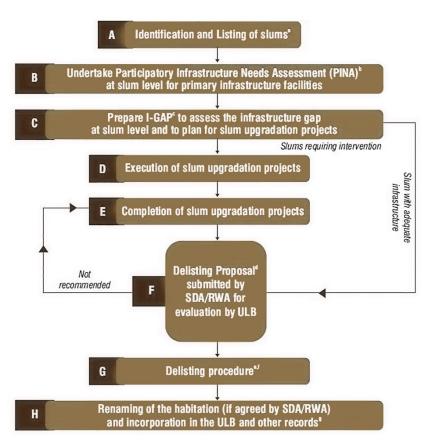


Figure 34: Process flow for upgradation and delisting of slums

Source: SOP for Participatory Slum Upgradation and Delisting, 2020

#### **Step 1: Identification of slums**

UASRRC mandates ULB to identify slums and maintains a list at the ULB level.

#### **Step 2: Primary Infrastructure Needs Assessment (PINA)**

PINA should to be undertaken by the Ward Officer to cover the status of "access to water supply, pucca roads, pucca storm water drainage, street lights, access to toilet facilities and in-house electricity," through group discussion and discussion with SDA/ RWA office bearers. The Ward Officer and SDA/ RWA are to be supported by a team comprising the ULB engineer, city-level volunteers, JAGA fellows (if available), Community Organizers and an ULB MIS expert.

#### **Step 3: Infrastructure Gap Assessment Profile (I-GAP)**

Infrastructure Gap Assessment Profile (I-GAP) should be developed by the ULB in coordination with the Ward Officer. If any slum has adequate infrastructure, it may directly be taken up for delisting. If the gaps are identified, then the upgradation needs to be initiated by the Ward Officer.

#### **Step 4: Execution**

Execution is carried out under the supervision of the ward officer with SDA/RWA as Implementing Partners

#### Step 5: Ward Officer on behalf of ULB should ensure the completion.

#### Step 6: Application for delisting

A resolution stating "the slum is eligible for delisting" should be passed by SDA/RWA and followed by submission of proposal to the ULB who should verify and pass with council resolution. This is forwarded to UASRRC for delisting. If found inadequate, it is sent back to SDA with comments and observations for purposes of attaining the adequate level of infrastructure.

#### **Step 7: Delisting Scrutiny Sub-Committee**

UASRRC should constitute Delisting Scrutiny Sub-Committee (DSC) to validate recommendation received from SDA through ULB. DSC will either validate the process of delisting or refer to the SDA through UASRRC to take actions for further upgradation. Upon validation, UASSRC will issue a public notice and invite objections. After redressing any objection, UASRRC will direct the ULB to issue an order for delisting. After this, the SDA will pass a resolution converting SDA to RWA with intimation to the ULB.

#### Step 8: Changes in the record

Upon formal delisting, RWA may seek change of name through a resolution. The ULB shall make necessary changes in the record.

From the Act and the implementation process, UASRRC and SDAs emerge as the two platforms of participation. The powers are devolved at the ULB level through UASRRC. The committee is headed by the Collector instead of local representatives to avoid any biases in the process which may arise due to political inclinations of the representatives. Also, land is a State subject; there could be hindrances to the process from the Revenue Department; presence of Collector, Tehsildar in the committee and involvement of Revenue Department from the beginning avoids such situations. A participatory and a transparent process is envisioned through the involvement of slum dwellers from the data collection stage to the application for land rights stage. The slum dwellers also have a representation in UASRRC. SDAs have the important role of addressing issues in the slums related to their basic infrastructure facilities. SDAs are also the implementing partners of these projects.

#### 7.3.3 Slum Dwellers' Associations as a participatory platform

SDAs are not explicitly defined in the Act. But this community-based entity is formed in each slum that represents the interests and preferences of the community. The NGO/ Tata Trusts are responsible for forming the SDA, enabling the selection of executive members and providing all kinds of support. SDAs are representatives of the community and assist in implementation of the Act.

The SDA of a specific slum comprises one member from each HH within that slum. A governing body of 11 members consisting of a President, Secretary and Treasurer is elected for each SDA by the community. The SDAs must have at least 50 per cent women members. The governing body of 11 members should also include a minimum of six women.

SDAs are registered with local government. The Bye laws and guidelines for the working of SDAs have been prepared by HUDD with support from Tata Trusts. The rules are streamlined and roles of committee members are described. All the records of the SDAs are maintained at the local level. Bank accounts are opened for all the SDAs.

#### **Role of SDAs in JAGA Mission**

SDAs ensure that the implementation on ground involves active community participation. Key roles and responsibility of the SDA include (The Bridgespan Group, 2019):

- Assisting the NGO in spreading awareness, data collection and community mobilization.
- Validating slum maps and building consensus among the community.
- Applying for land rights to the UASRRC.
- SDAs act as 'implementing partners' in the second phase of the JAGA Mission.

#### 7.4 LOCAL PRACTICES

### 7.4.1 Phase 1: Distribution of Land Rights Certificates in Municipalities and Notified Area Councils (2017 -2020)

Phase 1 of JAGA Mission was restricted to Municipalities and NACs. The initial pilot for distribution of land rights was implemented in nine ULBs – Konark NAC in Puri district and eight ULBs - Chatrapur, Hinjalicut, Khallikote, Chikiti, Gopalpur, Digapahandi, Polasara and Kabisuryanagar NACs in Ganjam District. The pilot helped in development of standard operating procedures (The Bridgespan Group, 2019), to define the scope of the work for different stakeholders, and analyzed the costs involved.

#### 7.4.1.1 Implementation

Tata Trusts was responsible in facilitating implementation of Phase 1 of the mission. After the successful implementation of pilots, the mission was extended in all the NACs and Municipalities of Odisha. The participation in the JAGA Mission is not compulsory for all the slums. It is a voluntary process. If the slum does not want to become a part of the mission for any reason, they can declare so. For example, in Konark, there are a total of ten slums, out of which three slums did not want to identify themselves as slums and hence, opted out of the Mission.

As part of the first phase, SDAs were formed in all 1725 slums in Municipalities and NACs. The first phase focused on building capacities of the stakeholders, mainly SDAs. Geospatial and HH database of all 1725 slums covering 168,141 HHs was created within a very short time at the beginning of the phase. The first phase focused on giving land rights to as many eligible slum dwellers as possible. In some cases, the slum dwellers did not possess the proof of eligibility in spite of being eligible. In order to address this issue, camps were arranged to issue Aadhar Cards (which is one of the acceptable documents of identity proof). Some slums were listed under untenable slums because the lands which they had settled on were once burial grounds, non-existent water bodies or grazing lands. Such slums are being converted to tenable slums as the lands were no longer being used as burials grounds or grazing lands neither does a water body exists there.

In local practice, it is observed that all the stakeholders right from Principal Secretary to slum dwellers are connected on a WhatsApp group. The issues related to execution are raised and resolved through communication on these groups.<sup>xv</sup>

#### Participation of slum dwellers:

In Odisha, slums are relatively small, more cohesive and homogenous. They are generally governed by informal community leaders. SDAs were formed in all the slums in the municipalities and NACs by assistance from NGOs and Tata Trusts. These SDAs constituted 50 per cent women along with youth and the traditional community leaders from the slums. SHGs from the slums played a dynamic role in the mission as they have already been part of such development projects. They are active members of the SDA. SHG group leaders mentioned that in the beginning of the mission, they had to persuade slum dwellers to become part of the process, but after understanding the benefits, they started participating in the mission. Intensive capacity building workshops were carried out for the benefit of these SDAs.

In the first phase, the slum dwellers' roles were limited to validating drone surveys, finalizing boundaries etc., and hence, were mostly of consultative and assisting nature. Involvement of SDAs at various stages of the process has brought transparency into the process. This has led to no major disputes or litigations occurring

till today. In this phase, the slum dwellers did not receive any monetary benefits as a part of SDA but they worked with their own interest to upgrade their liveability and make their community better.

#### **Land Entitlement Certificate:**

There is no provision of Land Entitlement Certificates (LECs) under the Act. By local practice, LECs are issued after verifying eligibility of the beneficiaries from untenable slums. LECs are issued also if the land on which the slum is situated is not currently in leasable form. Slum dwellers with LECs are assured of getting LRCs after the land issues are sorted. Some of the untenable lands in the form of burial grounds, non-existing water bodies, non-existing grazing lands etc. are converted to tenable lands following the prescribed procedure. This avoids relocation of slum dwellers.

#### **Empowerment of UASRRC:**

Devolution of powers and functions at local level through UASRRC was achieved through the Act and the prescribed guidelines. The 'Urban Poor Welfare Fund' was also administered by the local body. UASRRC also created a participatory platform for the slum dwellers and community organizations at city level where they are able to be part of the decision-making process and are also able influence the decisions.

#### 7.4.1.2 Progress and Achievements

Survey and mapping of 1725 slums has been completed using drone and geo-spatial technology. Family and socio-economic details of 168,141 HHs have been captured through these surveys.

As a part of the first phase including the pilot phase, around 60,000 LRCs have been granted to the slum dwellers from the Municipalities and NACs. Around 0.1 million LECs have been granted so far. Out of the slum HHs that have been granted land rights certificates, around 20,000 have been linked with the Beneficiary-led Construction (BLC) vertical of Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY). xix

The State has won the prestigious "World Habitat Award", a global recognition for its ambitious initiative - JAGA Mission. Government of Odisha and Tata Trusts were also awarded the "India Geospatial Excellence Award" for technological innovation in the JAGA Mission.





Figure 35: Houses built under BLC vertical of PMAY after receiving LRC in Mausma Sahi Slum, Ward 9, Konark NAC

## 7.4.2 Phase 2: Slum upgradation and delisting in Municipal Corporations, Municipalities and Notified Area Councils (2020 - ongoing)

Land rights are not linked with slum upgradation and hence, although there is no provision of getting land rights in the municipal corporation areas, their basic infrastructure facilities are still improved. Phase 2 covered all 114 ULBs in Odisha. As a part of Phase 2, SDAs were formed in all the slums in municipal corporation areas as well.

#### 7.4.2.1 Implementation

The implementation module for second phase of the JAGA Mission was tested though Urban Wage Employment Initiative (UWEI) and this module was then formally inaugurated in the form of an SOP for the second phase of the Mission.

#### **Urban Wage Employment Initiative (UWEI)**

UWEI was started in Odisha as a component of Mission Unnati to create wage employment for unorganized labor during the pandemic (UWEI Government Order No. 8391/HUD - dated 22.4.2020). It also aimed at empowerment of SHGs and SDAs, creation of community assets, building partnership with community-based institutions to achieve community-centric and community-led development. Small civil works were carried out without involvement of contractors. SDAs and SHGs were made implementing partners in this program. A ward level committee was formed with the ward officer as its convener, representatives of SHGs, SDAs, Area Level Federation (ALF) of SHGs and Swachh Sathis as its members. A ward level committee had to prepare a list of projects which was to be finalized by a committee at the ULB level which is chaired by the Municipal Commissioner.

SDAs were involved in UWEI along with SHGs. The overall vision was the handholding of SDAs by SHGs and their capacity building, so that they get trained to address the affairs that concern them.

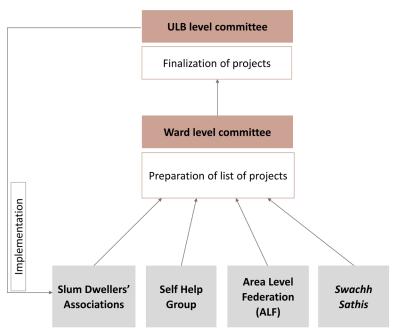


Figure 36: Process adopted in UWEI

Source: Compiled by Authors

#### **Observations from slums**

As prescribed in the SOP, for the delisting process, every slum should have all the components, (i) Tap water to HH, (ii) Individual or Community Toilets, (iii) Covered Drainage System, (iv) Smart LED Street Lighting, (v) In House Electricity, (vi) Paver Block Road and (vii) Social Infrastructures (Appendix B3.6). Once they are 100 per cent saturated with these components, then the SDA will send the proposal to the Delisting Committee which has been formed under the chairmanship of the Collector. After receiving the proposal from the SDA, the sub-committee will visit those slums and check the on-ground condition and the level of satisfaction of the local people. After getting the confirmation from the committee, the proposal will be sent to UASRRC for the final delisting and renaming of the slum.

It is observed that in some of the slums, the process prescribed by UWEI is followed for the identification and preparation of the list of projects in which a ward level committee is also involved. For the slums which are not covered under UWEI, the aforementioned process (Section 7.3.2) is followed. The Ward Officer plays a key role in both the processes. Ultimately, the decision regarding delisting is taken by UASRRC only.

The funds for the implementation of projects are directly transferred to the SDA Bank Account. There are implementation experts in each local body. The implementation expert of local bodies along with the ward officer visits the slums periodically to monitor the progress of work.

Overall, the slum dwellers are satisfied with the development works in the slums and the livelihood opportunities that they are getting. But for some of the larger slums under the Municipal Corporation, it was found that development work takes place very slowly. The SDA members also complain about not being involved in the decision making and implementation.



Figure 37: Paved roads under JAGA Mission in Maa Mangala Sahi slum, Bhubaneswar



Figure 38: Community Centre - Parichaya developed under JAGA Mission in Maa Mangala Sahi slum. Bhubaneswar





Figure 39: Development of open recreational areas under JAGA Mission in Ishaneshwar Basti, Bhubaneswar

#### Participation by slum dwellers

In the second phase of JAGA Mission, slum dwellers' role was more than just consultative; they also had a role as an implementing partner. Involvement of SDAs in UWEI built their capacities to take up such responsibilities in the second phase of JAGA Mission.

To carry out upgradation projects in the slums, material components were provided by the ULB whereas the labor component came from slums. The slum dwellers contributed their labor in the process. In case of works with an estimated cost of up to INR 0.1 million, the implementation partner shall be paid at 7.5 per cent of the total estimated cost of the project as Supervision Charges. In case of works with an estimated cost of more than INR 0.1 million, the implementation partner shall be paid at 7.5 per cent of the wage component of the project as Supervision Charges. This way the slum dwellers not only improved their habitats but also benefited from livelihood opportunities. Participation of slum dwellers throughout the process not only builds their capabilities by making them aware of the development and planning process, but also develops a sense of responsibility for the maintenance of the facilities that have been provided.

#### Further decentralization of decision-making process

The SOP for Phase 2 of the JAGA mission envisioned further decentralization of the decision making at ward level by empowering the ward officer and the further embedding of slum dwellers in the planning and development processes. Ward officers are the nodal officers who represent the ULB.

Ward officers in consultation with the SDA have a very important role throughout the process. They are responsible for needs-assessment, coordination with ULB for I-GAP, necessary preparation for upgradation of slum-level infrastructure, supervising execution by the implementing partners and ensuring completion of the slum upgradation projects.

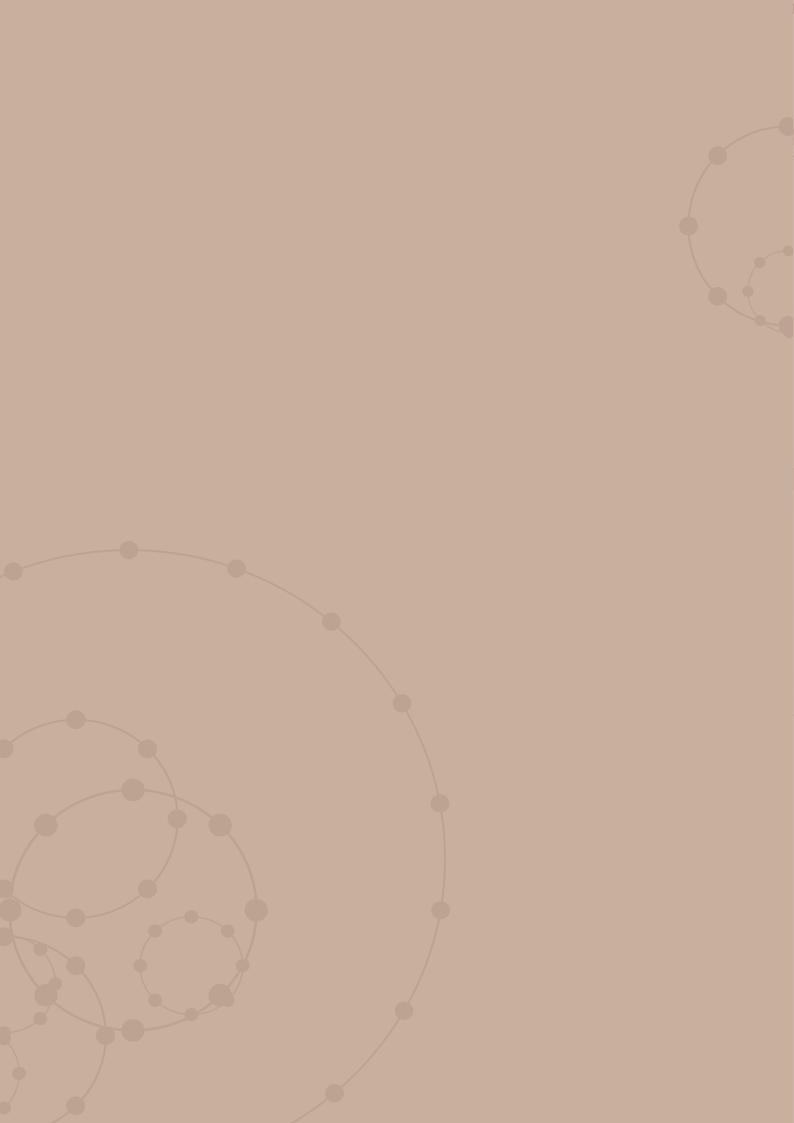
#### Registration of Slum Dwellers Associations as Resident Welfare Associations

Slum dwellers associations are only registered with the ULBs. All the records of the SDAs are maintained at the ULB level. Once the slums have been delisted, the SDAs can apply for getting registered as a Residents Welfare Association. They can also opt to apply for a change in name. This new identity is one step closer to the integration of slums with the other areas in the city.

#### **7.4.2.2 Progress**

The aim of Phase 2 is to upgrade and delist 1000 slums in Odisha every year so that all the slums will be delisted in three years. A total of 521 slums have been delisted and converted to Adarsh Colonies by April, 2021 (Appendix C5).

In Odisha, the Government is pro-poor and people are aware about that and hence, the mission is largely accepted by the people of the State. There are very few barriers to the mission. Even if any such issues arise in one area, the mission shifts focus to another area. This way, the pace of the mission is maintained. However, the extensive spread and fast speed of the mission has also led to communication gaps and irregular monitoring processes. It is observed that progress in some slums is monitored regularly whereas some slums feel neglected.\*\*





- Women's Self-Help Groups (SHGs) of Mission

#### 8.3 OUTCOMES

- participatory platforms in the urban area

**AND AREA SABHAS** 

As discussed in Section 6.2.2, the Government of Odisha has been focusing on decentralization of service delivery and empowering the fourth tier of Government i.e., developing citizen participation platforms to facilitate the process of decentralization. Along with the JAGA Mission, there are various initiatives by the Government of Odisha which seek participation from community organizations to implement urban development programs. Government of Odisha has been encouraging decentralization and involvement of community groups as the key to improved service delivery and achieving responsive governance. These platforms are discussed in this section in brief.

#### 8.1 MANDATED PARTICIPATORY PLATFORMS IN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

#### 8.1.1 Women Self-Help Groups (SHGs) of Mission Shakti

'Mission Shakti' was started in 2001, for the purpose of women's empowerment through promotion and strengthening of SHGs. It was then converged with the National Urban Livelihood Mission (NULM) and Odisha Urban Livelihood Mission (OULM – for urban areas in Odisha not covered under NULM) leading to further strengthening of SHGs.

The main function of these SHGs is thrift and credit along with engagement in other livelihood opportunities. According to the guidelines prescribed by NULM and OULM (Appendix B3.8 and B3.9), the SHGs are federated at the slum level/ ward level into Area Level Federations (ALF). These ALFs have representatives from the SHGs as their members. ALFs monitor functions of existing SHGs, facilitate bank linkages, capacity building of SHGs etc. ALFs are federated into City Level Federations (CLF) at the city level. ALFs and CLFs are registered as Society/ Association under the relevant State law.

In Odisha, SHGs have become extremely instrumental in the working of the urban development sector. These SHGs present since 2001 have been involved in various urban development projects as implementing partners. Various Central Government schemes and external donors have started delegating more power and responsibility to local government. In Odisha, efforts to strengthen local governments started only recently and hence, the capacity is still quite low in the Local Governments (World Bank, 2008). Need for better implementation at local level and the weakness of local bodies has led to more dependency on community groups. In Odisha, it is observed that the state government and external donors are delegating duties to women's SHGs for strengthening service delivery and implementation (World Bank, 2008).

#### 8.1.2 Participatory platforms in Water and sanitation sector

The Universal Coverage of Water Supply Scheme aims at achieving universal access to piped water supply to all HHs in all the wards of 114 ULBs including all categories of slums in mission mode. It is based on massive community participation and robust project monitoring. Community participation is ensured through the Ward level Water and Sanitation Committee (WATSAN Committee) and engagement of ward level Water Monitors. WATSAN committees are responsible for successful delivery of services such as water supply, solid waste management, waste water and septage management. The members of the WATSAN committees include (Jal Jogan Mela - Standard Operating Procedure, 2018):

- Councilor of the ward Chairperson
- Ward Water Monitor Convener
- Representatives of ULB
- Representative of Public Health Engineering Organization (PHEO)
- Representative of Discom
- ASHA Worker
- Maximum six members: President/ Secretary of local SHG, President/ Secretary of Mahila Arogya Samiti (MAS), Members of Biju Yuva Vahini

Ward level water monitor could be an individual or a group. He/she could be from an active SHG or MAS or members of Biju Yuva Vahini from the ward. Water monitors are responsible for monitoring proper services delivery, coordinating and ensuring timely delivery of services. They also support execution of Jal Jogan Melas (Appendix B3.2). This special drive initiated by HUDD is a citizen connect program at ward levels to sensitize citizens, collect applications for water connections and to redress grievances. "The melas are also

being used as a platform to conduct awareness among citizens on optimum utilization of water, prevent wastage and prevent unauthorized connections or withdrawal of excess water" (Planning and Convergence Department - GoO, 2020).

The next step after achieving universal piped water supply is the 'Drink from Tap Mission' (Appendix B3.1). The objectives are that tap water can be directly used for drinking and cooking without further filtration, 100 per cent water monitoring, equitable, sustainable and people centric service provision (Government of Odisha & WATCO, 2019). The mission was initiated by the Water Corporation of Odisha (WATCO). Jal Sathis are delegated the responsibility of Water Supply Distribution and Consumer Management at ward level. They are the links between WATCO and the consumers. Jal Sathis are responsible for facilitating new connections, reading water meters, generating, distributing water bills and collecting user charges, field water quality testing, support in consumer complaint redressal, sensitizing people on water conservation etc.

Jal Sathis are selected ward-wise from active SHGs in the ward. The SHGs are incentivized for their services. Government of Odisha believes that the Jal Sathi model has demonstrated that urban decentralization and partnership with the community is the key to improved and responsive governance.xxi

#### 8.1.3 Participatory platforms for Solid Waste Management

Decentralized and community-centric approach has been adopted for solid waste management in the ULBs. A Swachh Sathi is the community link and acts as change agent for decentralized solid waste management. They are nominated for different areas by the selected SHG in the ward. Each Swachh Sathi is responsible for creating awareness among 600 HHs. They are responsible for sensitizing all HHs in the locality about segregation of waste materials at HH level, information about micro-composting in the locality etc. An incentive of INR 4,000 per month is paid to the SHG on the basis of the work done by each Swachh Sathi.

#### 8.1.4 Other Participatory Platforms

Urban decentralization and partnership with community groups is being used as an important strategy in other sectors as well. Aahar - An affordable feeding program was launched by the Government of Odisha in 2015. Mission Shakti SHGs are the implementing partners of this program. As a part of National Urban Health Mission (NUHM), Mahila Arogya Samitis (MAS) are to be formed in each slum with 10-15 women from the slums. The MAS could also be an already existing SHG in the slum. These are responsible for promotion of behaviour change and demand generation related to health and hygiene in the slum. They participate in Ward Kalyan Samitis (WKS) to raise the issues related to health, nutrition, water, sanitation and hygiene of their respective areas.

# 8.2 MANDATED PARTICIPATORY PLATFORMS IN URBAN GOVERNANCE - WARD COMMITTEES AND AREA SABHAS

Ward Committees were envisioned to strengthen participatory governance by providing venues for participation in routine governance processes. In Odisha, Section 21 of the Odisha Municipal Corporation Act, 2003 provides for constitution of ward committee in each ward (Appendix B1.5). This section mandates that a ward committee is composed of elected representative of that ward, an elector from the ward nominated by the mayor and the Municipal Commissioner or any other official authorized by the commissioner. Hence, the opportunity for the urban poor to participate in the ward committees is very meager. Odisha Municipal Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2015 was introduced in the Odisha Legislative Assembly in 2015 through which Section 21 of the Act will be replaced (Appendix B1.6). The new Section 21 provides for creation of ward committees as well as area sabhas in Odisha (Odisha Municipal Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2015). The new mandates for creation of ward committees are:

Table 14: Mandates for constitution of ward committees and area sabhas

	Section	Ward Committee	Section	Area Sabha
Constitution	21(2)	One per ward for all the ULBs	21C(1)	One or more per ward
Composition	43	<ul> <li>Corporator - Chairperson of WC</li> <li>Sanitary inspector/ officer nominated by the Municipal Commissioner- Secretary of WC</li> <li>Representative of each Area Sabha in the ward</li> <li>MLA representing the constituencies which comprise wholly or partly the ward.</li> <li>Maximum 10 persons of eminence from the ward</li> </ul>	21C(2)	All persons included in the electoral roll
Frequency of meeting	21(7)	WC shall meet at least once in a year	-	-
Quorum of meeting	-	-	-	-
Convener	44(2)	Councillor of the ward		-

Source: Compiled by authors

The persons of eminence in Ward Committees include; representatives of NGOs, associations of persons – established, constituted or registered under any law and working for social welfare and must include the CBO, professional institutions and civic, health, educational, social and cultural body or any trade or industrial organization and such other association or body as the Corporation may decide.

Sections 21(A) and 21 (B) describe functions and duties of Ward Committees as:

- Assistance in solid waste management and sanitation works.
- Assistance in preparation and implementation of development scheme in ward.
- Identification of eligible beneficiaries for development and welfare schemes.
- Mobilize voluntary labor for social welfare programs etc.
- Maintenance of street lights, parks etc.
- Assistance in collection of taxes and other fees.
- Create awareness of prompt payment of taxes.
- Other function assigned by the Corporation.

- Prepare Annual ward plans and ward budget in accordance with this plan.
- Take measures necessary for general beautification of ward.
- Prepare reports related to housing and other public distribution systems.

Sections 21(D) and 21(E) describe functions of the area sabhas as:

- Evolve proposals and determine priorities of development schemes.
- Identification of eligible beneficiaries for development and welfare schemes.
- Mobilize voluntary labor for development works.
- Suggest location infrastructure and other public amenities.
- Identify defects and deficiencies in service delivery.
- · Assist the activities of the public health center.
- Other functions assigned by the Corporation.
- Awareness regarding payment of taxes.
- Obtain information from the Corporation and the WC relating to development works proposed and the decision taken regarding the area.
- Cooperate with ward committee regarding sanitation arrangements within area.
- Promote harmony and unity.

The Bill details the composition, powers and functions of the ward committees and area sabhas. The composition of ward committees according to new Section 21 is more participatory and democratic in nature. The ward committees also have the power to prepare ward plans and ward budgets along with other important functions. The provision of the bill to constitute area sabhas further reinforces participation from the grassroots level.

#### 8.3 OUTCOMES

#### 8.3.1 Effectiveness of participatory platforms

In Odisha, various participatory platforms are proving to be very efficient in the delivery of services in the urban areas and in taking decentralization to the next level. Involvement of community groups is also bringing transparency into the process. As many as 60,000 LRCs have already been granted in Municipalities and NACs in the first phase of the JAGA Mission. Out of these HHs with land rights, 20,000 have been linked with BLC vertical of PMAY. In the second phase of the mission which was launched in September 2020, 521 slums have been delisted as on 13 April, 2021 (Appendix C5). Out of 521 slums, 115 and 116 slums are from larger municipal corporations like Bhubaneswar and Cuttack respectively.

JAGA Mission through its two phases has been steadily devolving powers to lower tiers of government. In the first phase itself, it has empowered local government through creation of UASRRC and vesting it with powers and functions. The first phase also focused on capacity building of SDAs in order to prepare them to handle responsibilities in the next phase. In the second phase of the mission, more responsibility has been devolved at ward levels and to the community groups of SDAs and SHGs hence, further decentralization has taken place.

Odisha Government has been focusing on decentralization of various services with assistance from communities. It would have been difficult to partner with individuals and hence, in Odisha, this is achieved through partnership with community groups such as SHGs and SDAs. These community groups have been offloaded with certain responsibilities of ULBs as explained in Section 8.1. As seen in table 15, there are various venues where these community groups of urban poor can participate. The basic unit is the SHG of Mission Shakti which plays different roles in various missions and programs. They are Jal Sathis, Swachh Sathis, and Water Monitors and are also part of SDAs. Area level and city level federations of SHGs are part of ward level and city level committees.

Convergence of multiple programs is envisioned in the JAGA Mission. The convergence takes place at the topmost level in terms of funding. At local level too, overlap of various participatory platforms can be seen. For example, Jal Sathis are responsible for water supply in the urban areas, but when water supply within the slum areas is concerned, SDAs play an important role. As SDAs are comparatively newer groups, Jal Sathis and other community groups can train them in the relevant activities and once trained, the SDAs can take the responsibility to address their concerns in the slums.

Through creation and empowerment of participatory platforms for urban poor, the Government of Odisha is trying to create a fourth tier in the form of SDAs in slum areas and SHGs in non-slum areas. In the third phase of the JAGA Mission, it is envisioned that there will be more focus on the governance aspect and attempts to institutionalize this fourth tier.<sup>xxii</sup>

Table 15: Various Participatory Platforms in development programs in Odisha

Development Program/	Year	Participatory spaces		
Mission		Neighbourhood level/ Slum level	Ward-level	City-level
Mission Shakti	2001	Self-help Groups (10-		
NULM	2013	15 women from poor	Area-level Federation (ALF) (Slum/ ward level)	City-level Federation (CLF)
OULM	2015	families)		
National Urban Health Mission (NUHM)	2013	Mahila Arogya Samiti (MAS)	Ward Kalyan Samiti (WKS)	
Jal Jogan Mela (Universal coverage of water and sanitation service)	2018	SHGs/ MAS	WATSAN Committees - Water monitors, President/ Secretary of SHG, MAS, WKS	-
JAGA Mission	2018	Slum Dwellers Association (SDA)	-	Urban Area Slum Redevelopment and Resettlement Committee
Drink from Tap Mission	2020	Jal Sathis	-	
Program for decentralized solid waste management	2020	Swachh Sathis	-	
Urban Wage Employment Initiative (UWEI)	2020	SHGs/ SDAs	Ward-level Committee	ULB-level Committee

Source: Compiled by Authors

#### 8.3.2 Emerging framework for convergence of participatory platforms in the urban area

In the urban areas of Odisha, multiple participatory platforms are offered by various urban development programs in sectors such as water supply, health, slum development etc. There is one more overarching platform i.e., the women's SHGs of Mission Shakti. These SHG members are part of almost all participatory platforms as seen in the convergence diagram (figure 40). This convergence of the platforms contributes to strengthening of the platforms. Presence of SHG members in newer platforms like SDAs really empowers the platform with the handholding of the new members. Through these platforms, urban poor, especially women are responsible for delivery of various urban services as partners in implementation of the development programs/ missions.

If the Odisha Municipal Laws (Amendment) Bill 2015 is passed, and the ward committees and the area sabhas are formed in accordance with the mandates, it will lead to more meaningful convergence. All these participatory platforms which currently run in the program realm will get institutionalized. As a part of ward committees, these groups will not just remain as partners in the implementation, but will actually become partners in decision making and policy influencing.

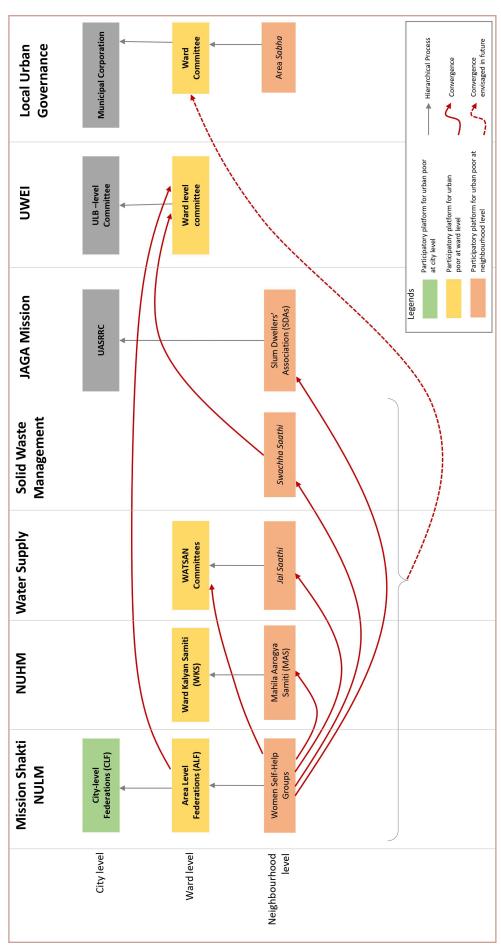
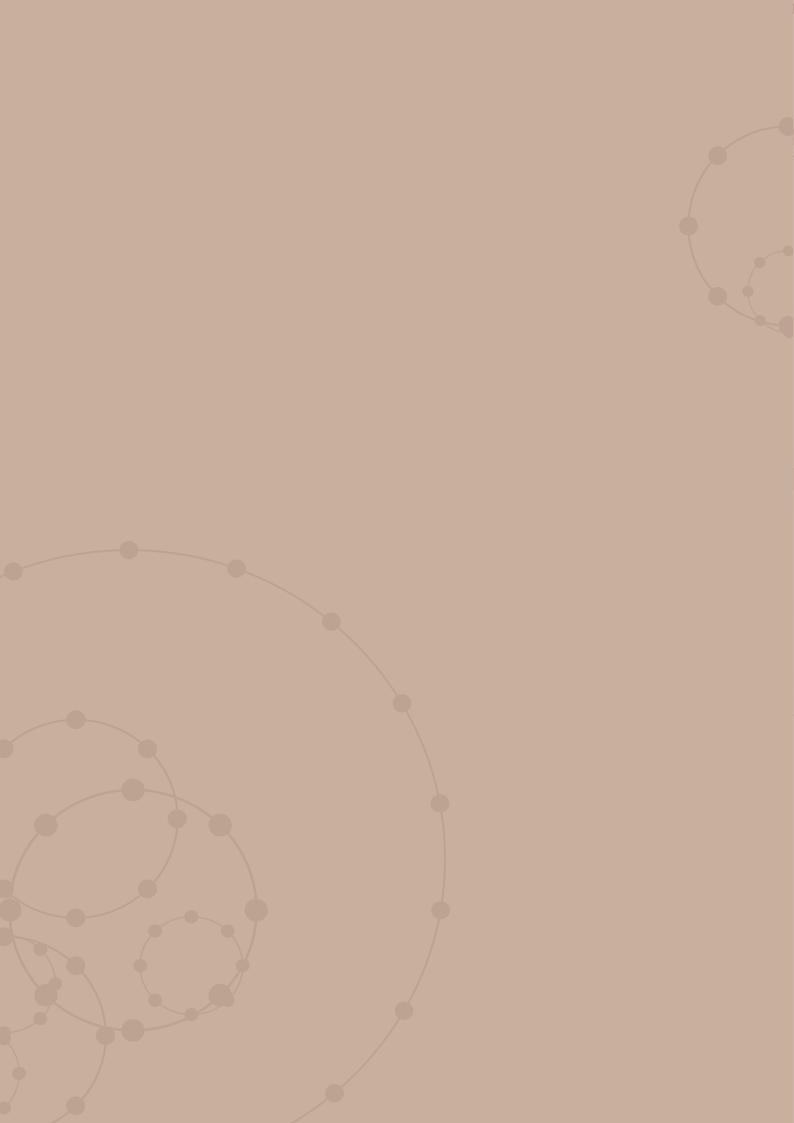


Figure 40: Emerging framework for convergence of participatory platforms in Odisha Source: Compiled by Authors





#### 9.1 DISCUSSIONS

Though all the participatory platforms in Odisha have been empowered to implement and monitor development programs on the ground, most of these programs are driven from the top, which are then only implemented on the ground by communities. SDA has been partially active in addressing issues at ground level and articulating their demands. But overall, it can be observed that there is still a higher control from government. And due to these reasons, on the participatory ladders, these platforms fall on the rungs between 'Placation to Partnership' on Arnstein's ladder (1969) and between 'Conciliation to Partnership' on Choguill's ladder (1996); but with more inclination towards placation and conciliation in respective ladders.

The invited spaces in different programs are occupied by SHGs of the Mission Shakti. SDAs also have SHG members. These SHG members are also part of the various invited spaces at ward level and city level where they have more decision-making powers. It can be observed here, that the power gained by an invited space in the form of skills and capacities at one level or in one program is being used at another level or in another program. These skills can be used more effectively if more of such participatory platforms evolve in routine urban governance practices and they are devolved with more responsibilities and powers.

One cannot comment on the participation fatigue in these platforms as the platforms are relatively new and are still evolving. But these platforms are mostly linked to livelihood opportunities and the participation within them directly benefits individuals and hence, generally the resultant participation fatigue might not cause a problem in the near future.

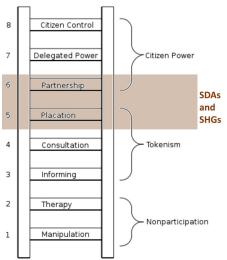


Figure 41: Level of participation of participatory platforms on Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (1969) Source: Compiled by Authors

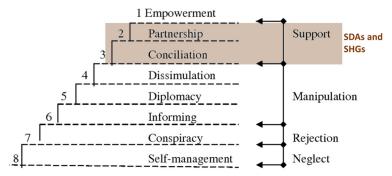


Figure 42: Level of participation of participatory platforms on Choguill's ladder of community participation (1996)

Source: Compiled by Authors

#### 9.2 KEY LEARNINGS

#### 9.2.1 Socio-political context

Odisha does not have a history of very active community participation in Urban Governance. It has a very strong civil society but some factors have not made it work as effectively as it should (CYSD & CIVICUS, 2006). The Government of Odisha is now going ahead and delegating responsibilities to the community groups, and focusing on building a fourth tier of government.

All the participatory platforms in Odisha as listed earlier were not demanded by the community but were created by the government, hence, government's willingness to decentralize certain functions of ULB and making the community part of the development programs is quite evident. It has also been observed that the government is very active in making the services available to as many people as possible. The approach is that none of the eligible beneficiaries should be left behind.

#### 9.2.2 Extensive capacity building to become partners

As discussed earlier, the communities need training to meaningfully contribute in the development process. The first phase of JAGA Mission has extensively worked on this aspect of making the SDAs ready for the coming phases and the capacity building continues as they are being delegated with more functions.

#### 9.2.3 Livelihood opportunities

The participatory platforms offer livelihood opportunities to the community groups and hence, continuous participation is achieved. Opportunity cost to urban poor is one of the main reasons of participation fatigue (Harilal, 2013). But when the participation is linked to livelihood opportunities, it avoids the chances of fatigue and instead encourages participation.

#### 9.2.4 Limited power to participatory platforms

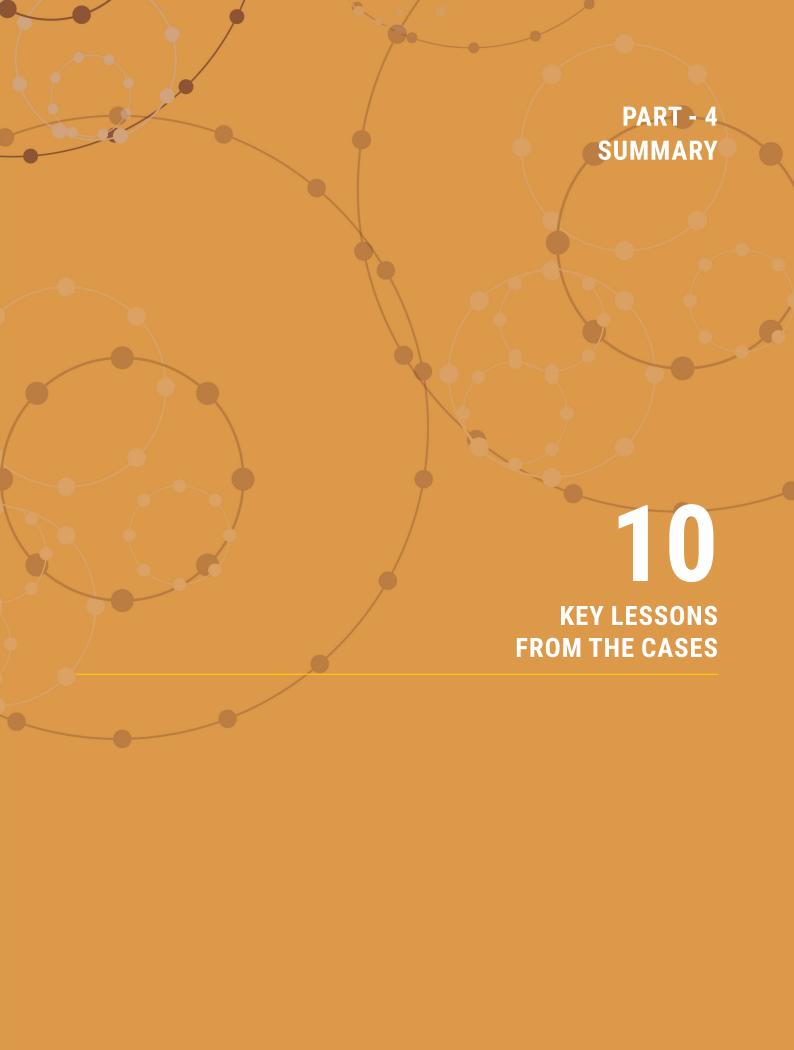
The participatory platforms in Kerala are mainly responsible for implementation of programs/ missions on the ground. Through these platforms, the urban poor can influence decisions in their favor to some extent, but ultimately, they have to seek approval from the higher tiers. Their participation in the platforms and the contribution is rewarded by the government through some monthly incentives, but there is no fiscal devolution to these platforms to make their own decisions.

#### 9.2.5 Need of Institutionalisation

The philosophy of the JAGA Mission was to create institutions/ grassroots agencies through the execution of the mission. These agencies will get trained through the execution of the mission and eventually become sustainable institutions and are expected to continue to participate in the local governance and development processes even after the mission ends. It is envisioned that the third phase of the mission will focus on the governance aspect and the institutionalization of these platforms.

The institutionalization of platforms is very important to establish long-term alliances. As observed in the cases globally, the temporary nature of Government and changing political ideologies largely influence the working of the participatory processes. Hence, it is necessary that these platforms are institutionalized and

be made permanent. In the case of Odisha, through the passing of the Odisha Municipal Laws (Amendment) Bill 2015, it is possible that these platforms become institutionalized by becoming parts of ward committees and area sabhas. Necessary actions are required to be taken to strengthen participatory governance by ensuring implementation of the Odisha Municipal Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2015.



The case study explored two empirical responses to the need for creating participatory mechanisms for citizen engagement:

- Ward committees and working groups in Kerala and role of Kudumbashree within them.
- Participatory platforms in JAGA Mission in Odisha.

The Kerala response constitutes redesign of democratic institutions with the formation of ward committees and working groups whereas the Odisha response envisions innovations through which citizens can participate in solving the problems that afflict them. Though both the cases differ in the details of their design, approach, and scope, both eventually aspire to develop the ways in which citizens can effectively participate, influence the decision-making for the issues that directly affect their lives and also improve service delivery.

Both the practices have been celebrated as good practices globally. Kudumbashree is a two-decade old program whereas JAGA Mission is just three years old. Kerala has a long history of decentralization and participatory practices whereas Odisha has only recently started focusing on decentralization and building a fourth tier of government under the ULBs. As discussed in the previous chapters, participatory practices adopted in both the cases reflect the adaptations of learnings from the global discourse and theories in their respective empirical contexts.

All the participatory platforms discussed in the two cases are not created through citizen-demand but created by the Government. In the case of Kerala, Kudumbashree was a platform not only for poverty eradication and women's empowerment, but was also an avenue for strengthening decentralization and deepening democracy. Similarly, in the case of Odisha, SHGs and SDAs not only help in service delivery, but also help in building an active and conscious citizenry. In both the cases, political will at State level has played an important role in careful design of the platform. When it comes to local level, again political will plays an important role in the implementation of platforms. This is evident from the non-uniform performance of these participatory spaces. All the global cases also support the fact that providing conducive political and social environments are vital for the good performance of participatory platforms. The case of Kerala and other international practices such as in Brazil (Serageldin et al., 2005) prove that only when enough fund is devolved to the local level and enough autonomy is awarded, only then will innovations like participatory processes occur.

For participation to be effective, an enabling legislative framework and streamlined guidelines are required. It is evident from the national and international cases that a central mandate or a law provides a thrust to the state's efforts of operationalizing participatory governance. In India, the 74th CAA provided this push.

Ward committees as envisioned in the 74th CAA are a tool to strengthen participatory governance in the ULBs, but just the creation of ward committees is not enough. For any participatory platform to be effective, there are three main factors, proximity, composition and devolution of power. Ward committees in Kerala represent a smaller number in population (approximately 9000) as compared to ward committees in other states and hence, they are more proximate. The composition of the ward committees is also an important factor so that all social/ community groups in the ward have a representation and they are not dominated by only one group. This helps in more democratic deliberations. Composition of Kerala's ward committees has been lauded by many experts and researchers for being very inclusive in nature. All these factors become all the more meaningful when there is enough devolution of power. In Kerala, the ward committees lack this factor as the functions of ward committees are of consultative nature due to lack of fiscal devolution at ward level. Constitution of ward committees without devolution of power is futile. Hence there is a felt need to empower them through fiscal devolution. In India, these three parameters of participatory platforms differ across the states, leading to varying performance and occurrence of failure even in many cases.

Creating participatory platforms is important, but building the capacities of people for engagement is also quite vital in the participatory processes. Inviting citizen participation involves more than inviting or inducing people to participate. Only when the people are well aware about their rights and responsibilities and the changes that are needed, will they will be able to put forward their demands in a better articulated manner which will lead to meaningful participation. Hence, extensive capacity-building of people is necessary. Kerala has a long history of such civil society actions and the participatory platforms have built upon them. Kudumbashree has further strengthened their capacities. In the case of Odisha, JAGA Mission and Mission Shakti are doing this job.

The inherent temporary nature of Government and changing political ideologies largely influence the working of the participatory processes. In particular, the participatory processes in the realm of a development program or a mission face this challenge. The participatory platforms might dissolve when the program/ mission ends or when the government changes or when a different approach is adopted. Hence, there is a dire need for long-term alliances. Such an alliance can be realized with the institutionalization of the participatory platforms. One of the threats to institutionalized participatory practices is the 'participation fatigue' or unwillingness of people to participate in the platforms created for them. Ensuring participation in the form of mobilized communities such as SHGs, NHGs in various livelihood-oriented schemes, urban poororiented schemes could be one of the alternatives to address this issue. Similar practices adopted through Kudumbashree NHGs in Kerala, and SDAs and SHGs in Odisha are proving to be more effective ways to engage citizens in functions of local bodies. As observed in the case of Kerala while emerging from a programmatic platform, these communities can eventually become a part of the larger system. It appears that Odisha is also taking a similar path by training and empowering the communities and eventually institutionalizing them into routine local urban governance systems. Through such platforms, involvement of the urban poor in the development processes will make them aware about the decision making processes of the government. It also helps Governments to tackle the issue of scarcity of human resources. The urban poor can acquire valuable skills for identifying, analyzing and prioritizing development issues, and for articulating their needs and concerns to the relevant authorities. These skills are extremely invaluable for institutionalized platforms such as ward committees and area sabhas.

Availability of multiple platforms and their dynamic synergy are also emerging as very important factors for the success of participatory platforms. As observed in Kerala, the multiplicity of participatory platforms and their convergence has resulted in more effective participatory urban governance. With multiple platforms, urban poor have access to more opportunities for participation, hence, leading to increased participation. If one participatory space closes or becomes inaccessible to urban poor due to some political or social factors, then an alternate space is open for them to participate. In Kerala, these participatory platforms converge at various levels. With the converging nature of these platforms, the urban poor are able to use the experience or skills gained in one platform to influence the decisions through other platforms. In Odisha as well, an emerging convergence of various participatory platforms is becoming evident as participatory platforms in various development programs are already converging. An emerging convergence with institutionalized platforms in urban governance is also envisioned. For effective co-existence of such multiple platforms, a proper synergy needs to be established between them.

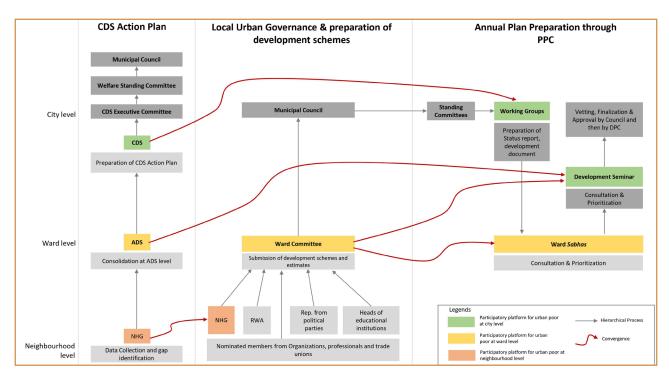


Figure 43: Convergence of participatory platforms in Kochi

Source: Authors

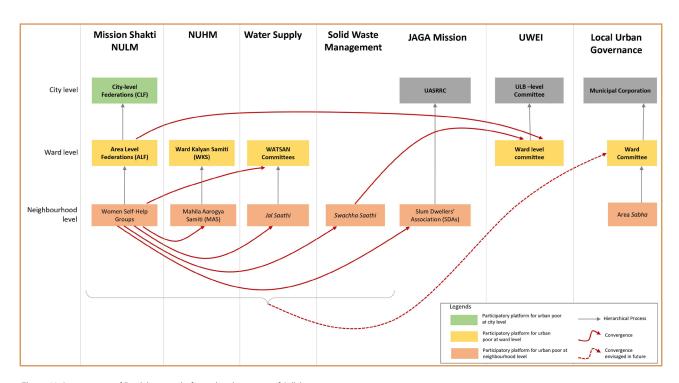


Figure 44: Convergence of Participatory platforms in urban areas of Odisha

Source: Authors

Both the cases highlight the importance of context as well as various government mandates and orders. There is no standard template for creation of effective participatory platforms, but the theories and practices need to be molded according to specific empirical contexts. Another important factor for sustenance of active participatory urban governance is the devolution of power at the sub-local level. On the other hand, sustained engagement with communities is an important factor for making participatory platforms work. The case study echoes Gaventa's (2004) discussion on "working both the sides of the equation."

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# **ENDNOTES**

'Sarada Muraleedharan IAS, Additional Chief Secretary, Department of Local Self Government, Government of Kerala - in a webinar on 'Making decentralization work in India: Learning from Successes' arranged by Janaagraha Centerfor Citizenship and Democracy on 12 January 2021.

"Online consultation with Director General, Kerala Institute of Local Administration on 24 September 2020.

<sup>III</sup>A Joint Liability Group (JLG) is an informal group comprising 4-10 individuals coming together for the purpose of availing bank loan on individual basis or through group mechanism against mutual guarantee.

<sup>iv</sup>Meeting with Executive member of Area Development Society of Kudumbashree, Kochi on 8 January 2021.

<sup>v</sup>Online consultation with Director, Center for Heritage, Environment and Development (C-HED), Kochi on 15 June 2020.

<sup>vi</sup>Meeting with Project Director, Urban Poverty Alleviation Department (UPAD), Kochi Municipal Corporation - at UPAD Office, Kochi on 9 February 2021.

wiiMeeting with Project Director, Urban Poverty Alleviation Department (UPAD), Kochi Municipal Corporation - at UPAD Office, Kochi on 9 February 2021.

viiiOnline consultation with Director General, Kerala Institute of Local Administration on 24 September 2020.

<sup>ix</sup>Online consultation with Professor, University of Reading, UK on 1 October 2020.

\*Online consultation with Professor, University of Reading, UK on 1 October 2020.

<sup>xi</sup>Online consultation with Senior Researcher, CPR and State Team Lead, Slum-free and Slum-proof cities, JAGA Mission on 19th October 2020.

il Meeting with Implementation Expert, JAGA Mission, Konark NAC – at Konark NAC Office on 13 April 2021.

xiiiOnline consultation with Lead, Urban Habitat, Tata Trusts on 20 June 2020.

xivG. Mathi Vathanan IAS, Principal Secretary, Housing and Urban Development Department, Government of Odisha in a webinar on 'The Inside Stories of the JAGA Mission' as a part of seminar series - 'Land, housing and property rights' arranged by Centre for Urban Policy and Governance, TISS on 15 March 2021.

xvOnline consultation with Lead, Urban Habitat, Tata Trusts on 20th June 2020 and meeting with Consultant, Tata Trusts at JAGA Mission Office, Bhubaneswar on 4 February 2021.

<sup>xvi</sup>Meeting with Self-Help Group (SHG) members at Raghunath Nagar slum, Sukha Bihar, Bhubaneswar or 2nd February 2021.

<sup>xvii</sup>G. Mathi Vathanan IAS, Principal Secretary, Housing and Urban Development Department, Government of Odisha in a webinar 'The Inside Stories of the JAGA Mission' as a part of seminar series - 'Land, housing and property rights' arranged by Centre for Urban Policy and Governance, TISS on 15 March 2021.

xviiiDiscussion with members of Slum Dwellers' Associations (SDAs) from slums in Bhubaneswar and Konark.

xixOnline consultation with Lead, Urban Habitat, Tata Trusts on 20 June 2020.

\*\*Meeting with members of Slum Dwellers' Association (SDA) of Shikharchandi slum, Bhubaneswar on 13 April, 2021.

xxiG. Mathi Vathanan IAS, Principal Secretary, Housing and Urban Development Department, Government of Odisha on winning 'Janaagraha best Civic Agency award for piped water supply' on 12 January 2021.

wii.G. Mathi Vathanan IAS, Principal Secretary, Housing and Urban Development Department, Government of Odisha in a webinar on 'The Inside Stories of the JAGA Mission' as a part of seminar series - 'Land, housing and property rights' arranged by Centre for Urban Policy and Governance, TISS on 15 March 2021.

# FOLDER-C: TEACHING NOTES AND CASE ARCHIVE

# IMPROVING ACCESS TO HOUSING AND BASIC SERVICES FOR URBAN POOR THROUGH PARTICIPATORY PLATFORMS

**LEARNINGS FROM KERALA AND ODISHA** 





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# CONTENTS

# **TEACHING NOTES**

#### Overview

This case study on participatory urban governance covers two distinct cases set in two different empirical contexts and draws learnings from these globally celebrated good practices.

The case study titled 'Improving access to shelter and basic services for urban poor through participatory platforms' examines the efficiency of participation platforms in the urban areas of Kerala and Odisha. There is an increasing focus worldwide on participatory governance and participatory spaces for marginalized groups for an equitable distribution of services and just policies. Participatory platforms are provided to the urban poor through the Kudumbashree community network, ward committees and working groups in Kerala, and Women's Self Help Groups (WSHGs) and Slum Dwellers' Associations (SDAs) in Odisha. The case study has tried to understand these platforms with respect to their inception, implementation and efficiency. The key lessons from both the cases have been listed in the main case (Folder B).

The case study in its current form is structured to be used by urban policy makers, key decision makers for cities and governance experts. The case study is divided into four parts. The first part sets the theoretical and empirical contexts for the case studies. It also throws light on the inception of decentralization and participatory governance practices in India. The second and third parts elaborate the cases of 'Ward committees, working groups in Kerala and role of Kudumbashree within them' and 'Participatory platforms in JAGA Mission in Odisha' respectively. It covers the local context, State mandates for creation of these platforms, implementation of these mandates at local level, their effectiveness and key learning from the local practices. The fourth part summarizes the two case studies followed by key learnings which will be useful for other cities which aspire to create and implement such participatory platforms.

The case can be taught in four sessions following the current divisions. It can also be taught in multiple sessions depending on the target group, level of details, time constraints etc.

The table on the next page summarizes for the instructor: learner prerequisites, pedagogical methods as well as the broad learning outcomes from each part of the case study.

Learner Prerequisites, Teaching Methodology and Learning Outcomes for the Case Study

Part/ Chapter	Learner Prerequisites	Teaching Methodology	Learning Outcomes	
Part I: Setting the context				
1. Theoretical framework	Basic understanding of the concept of participatory urban governance.	Literature review, group discussions and further readings.	<ul> <li>Understanding of the global discourse on participation and participatory urban governance, decentralization, evolution of various theories and concepts.</li> <li>Framework for the analyses of the cases.</li> </ul>	
2. Empirical context	Basic understanding of the 73 <sup>rd</sup> and 74 <sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act.	Literature review, review and comparative analysis of various Municipal Acts, group discussions.	<ul> <li>Brief understanding of decentralization and participatory urban governance in global south countries.</li> <li>Detailed understanding of the mandates for decentralization in India and overview of ratification by various States including Kerala and Odisha.</li> </ul>	
Part II: War	rd Committee and worki	ng groups of Kerala and role	of Kudumbashree within them	
<ol> <li>Evolution of participatory platforms in Kerala</li> </ol>		Literature review	<ul> <li>Socio-political contexts responsible for formation of the participatory platforms in Kerala</li> </ul>	
4. Participatory platforms in Kochi	Basic understanding of the socio-political context of Kerala, urban governance practices in Kerala.	Log-frame analysis with Input as mandates for participatory platforms, Output as local practices and Outcome as effectiveness of participatory platforms in service delivery to the urban poor.	<ul> <li>Overview of urban governance practices and participatory platforms in Kochi.</li> <li>Detailed understanding of mandates and legislative framework for creation of participatory platforms with respect to proximity, composition and devolution of power to platforms.</li> <li>Level of implementation through local practices in Kochi Municipal Corporation</li> <li>Effectiveness of participatory platforms.</li> </ul>	
5. Discussions and learnings		Debates and group discussion on findings vis a vis literature and lessons from the findings.	<ul> <li>Discussion with concepts in literature.</li> <li>Key learnings from the case study.</li> </ul>	

Part/ Chapter	Learner Prerequisites	Teaching Methodology	Learning Outcomes
Part III: Participatory platforms in JAGA Mission, Odisha			
<ol><li>Evolution of participatory platforms in Odisha.</li></ol>	Basic understanding of the socio-political context of Odisha, urban governance practices in Odisha.	Literature review	Socio-political contexts responsible for formation of the participatory platforms in Odisha
7. JAGA Mission		Log-frame analysis with Input as mandates for participatory platforms, Output as local practices and Outcome as effectiveness of participatory platforms in service delivery to urban poor.	<ul> <li>Overview of JAGA Mission</li> <li>Detailed understanding of mandates and legislative framework for creation of participatory platforms with respect to proximity, composition and devolution of power to platforms.</li> <li>Level of implementation through local practices in Konark and Bhubaneswar.</li> </ul>
8. Participatory platforms in Odisha		Analysis of primary and secondary data	<ul> <li>Other participatory platforms in development programs and urban governance.</li> <li>Effectiveness of participatory platforms.</li> </ul>
9. Discussions and learnings		Debates and group discussion on findings vis a vis literature and lessons from the findings.	<ul> <li>Discussion with concepts in literature.</li> <li>Key learnings from the case study.</li> </ul>
Part IV: Summary			
10. Cross-learnings		Group discussion	<ul> <li>Key lessons for other States from the two practices.</li> </ul>

#### Assignment questions to the learners:

- Discuss the prerequisites for effective implementation of participatory governance.
- · What are the basic differences and similarities in the approaches adopted in Kerala and Odisha?
- Do you think that the Kerala model is replicable in other States? If yes, how?
- · Do you think that the Odisha model is replicable in other States? If yes, how?
- Describe the role of various tiers of government in strengthening decentralization and participatory governance.
  - Central Government
  - State Government
  - Local Government
- Debate on the topic 'Participation of community groups in development programs/ service delivery is a better participatory platform than institutionalized ward committees.'
- What do you think are the factors responsible for sustenance and success of Kudumbashree and NHGs in Kerala?
- Do you think that Odisha's Women's Self-Help Groups (WSHGs) and Slum Dwellers' Associations (SDAs) will sustain over a longer period? What are the factors that need to be considered for their sustenance?
- Discuss ways to avoid elite capture and participation fatigue in the participatory platforms.

## PEDAGOGICAL POSSIBILITIES

There are multiple ways in which this case can be taught, based on the target audience, and learning outcomes intended. The research output can be used in the following ways:

- To create a case to understand the importance of the socio-political context for inception and successful implementation of decentralized processes and participatory governance.
- To create a case to understand the alternative ways to foster participation in urban governance processes.
- To create a case to understand the decentralization processes adopted by various State governments through ratification of the 74th CAA and JNNURM's CPL.
- The learners can be asked to brainstorm for finding alternative ways of research design or frameworks given the aim and objectives of the study.
- There could be immersive visits to Kochi and Bhubaneswar to apply these research designs.
- To create cases using similar framework by taking up urban local bodies in the states that the participants come from.
- As practice, to enable experiential and applied learning by engaging with real life situations.
- The detailed repository of the case study introduces the possibility of flipped classrooms.

There are many more ways in which this case can be used or taught, the choice of which would be best left to the faculty member intending to use the case in order to explore various detailed case outputs.

# AREAS OF FURTHER RESEARCH EMERGING FROM THIS CASE-STUDY

The study of participatory platforms in Kerala and Odisha can be explored further both theoretically and on the ground. The conceptual convergence framework formulated through the study can be validated through conducting studies in other ULBs of the State. Such an analysis will give a better picture of the factors that affect the participation and service delivery to the urban poor. Using the same framework, the analysis of all the ULBs can be done and compared with the developmental progress of each of the ULBs in the state.

Another aspect that can be compared to the conceptual framework formulated from the study is the impact of the political context on citizen participation. The current study has only touched upon the involvement of the political party in Kochi. But it has a partisan political environment and was therefore not taken into consideration. This may not be the case with other districts or cities in Kerala. this factor can be compared with the involvement of citizens in PPC and Kudumbashree programs. What influence does the ruling party bring upon these participatory platforms, and how does it affect the lives of the urban poor in the city.

The Kudumbashree Mission as a nodal body handles many convergences with various organizations where they extend their skill and manpower. The potential of Kudumbashree as a National Resource Organization (NRO) is needed to be studied further to understand the extent to which a participatory platform can grow.

As the focus of the second case study was on the JAGA Mission, the other participatory platforms in the form of Mission Shakti SHGs were not studied in detail. An overview of these SHGs and their work has shown similarities to the Kudumbashree of Kerala. A detailed study of these platforms to understand their spread in Odisha and the power to influence decisions in local urban governance can be understood. This will make a good case to analyze Kudumbashree and Mission Shakti together.

The JAGA Mission is a relatively new program and the participatory platforms – SDAs are still evolving. Hence, it is difficult to predict its future. The Government aims to build capacities of the SDAs to become part of urban governance processes. One could undertake a detailed study of the Mission and SDA after a gap of a few years to effectively understand the outcome of the efforts by the government and the communities.

# CASE ARCHIVE

The Case Archive contains interviews, maps, matrixes, infographics, databases, spreadsheets, relevant sections of Town Planning Legislations of States and Development Plans of selected cities. The Case Study Instructor can use these to help the learner better understand the case.

(Case data repository is available at https://sukalp.crdf.org.in/)

#### **APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF INTERVIEWEES**

The following interviews were conducted as a part of the research investigation. The minutes of the meeting are available in the Case Archives Folder C > Subfolder Interviews.

Sr. No.	Date	Position / Title	
1	15 June 2020	Dr. Rajan Chadambath, Director, Centre for Heritage, Environment and Development (C-HED), Kochi, Kerala	
2	15 June 2020	Dr. Tathagata Chatterjee, Professor, Xavier University Bhubaneswar, Odisha	
3	20 June 2020	Mr. Shishir Ranjan Dash, Lead, Urban Habitat, Tata Trusts	
4	23 June 2020	Mr. I P Gautam, IAS (Retd.)	
5	14 July 2020	Mr. Srikanth Viswanathan, Chief Executive Officer, Janaagraha Centre for Citizenship and Democracy, Bangalore, Karnataka	
6	24 September 2020	Dr. Joy Elamon, Director General, Kerala Institute of Local Administration (KILA), Thrissur, Kerala	
7	1 October 2020	Dr. Angelique Chettiparamb, University of Reading, UK	
8	19 October 2020	Mr. Antarin Chakrabarty, Senior Researcher, CPR & State Team Lead, Slum Free and Slum-proof Cities, JAGA Mission, Odisha	
9	8 December 2021	Ms. Bhavya Singh, Founder and CEO, Built Empathy	
10	23 December 2020	Ex-Ward councilor (2015-20), Ward 49, Kochi Municipal Corporation, Kerala	
11	31 December 2020	Neighborhood Group meeting, Vytilla, Kochi, Kerala	
12	6 January 2021	Ward councilor, Ward 52, Kochi Municipal Corporation, Kerala	
13	6 January 2021	Ward councilor, Ward 68, Kochi Municipal Corporation, Kerala	
14	8 January 2021	Jigy Alby, ADS Chairperson, Kochi, Kerala	
15	8 January 2021	Dr. Rajan Chadambath, Director & Ms. Simi, Program coordinator, Centre for Heritage, Environment and Development (C-HED), Kochi, Kerala	
16	12 January 2021	Neighborhood Group meeting, Ayyapankavu, Kochi, Kerala	
17	2 February 2021	Meeting with Women's Self Help Group (SHG), Raghunath Nagar, Sukha Bihar, Bhubaneswar	
18	3 February 2021	Meeting with Slum Dwellers' Association, Nolia Sahi, Konark	
19	4 February 2021	Ms. Preeti Prabha Panigrahi Consultant, Janaagraha	
20	4 February 2021	Ms. Suchismita Sahoo, Consultant, Tata Trust, Bhubaneswar, Odisha	
21	4 February 2021	Mr. Harsh Kothari, Policy & Governance Advisor, Urban Wage Employment Initiative, Odisha	
22	4 February 2021	Ward Committee Meeting, Ward 19, Kochi Municipal Corporation, Kerala	

Sr. No.	Date	Position / Title
23	9 February 2021	Ms. Nissa, Project Director, Urban Poverty Alleviation Department (UPAD), Kochi Municipal Corporation, Kerala
24	9 February 2021	Ex-Ward councilor, Ward 1, Kochi Municipal Corporation, Kerala
25	16 February 2021	Ward Committee Meeting, Ward 68, Kochi Municipal Corporation, Kerala
26	10 April 2021	Meeting with Slum Dwellers' Association, Isaneshwar Basti (Ward no- 14), Bhubaneshwar, Odisha
27	11 April 2021	Meeting with Slum Dwellers' Association, Maa Mangala Sahi (Ward no-14), Bhubaneswar, Odisha
28	11 April 2021	Meeting with Slum Dwellers' Association, Sikharchandi (Ward no- 2), Bhubaneswar, Odisha
29	13 April 2021	Mr. Biswajit Mitra, Implementation Expert, Urban Wage Employment Initiative, Konark, Odisha
30	13 April 2021	Meeting with Slum Dwellers' Association, Mausma Sahi (Ward no- 9), Konark, Odisha
31	15 April 2021	Mr. Antarin Chakrabarty, Senior Researcher, CPR & State Team Lead, Slum Free and Slum-proof Cities, JAGA Mission, Odisha

# APPENDIX B: STATUTORY DOCUMENTS, GOVERNMENT ORDERS AND MISSION DOCUMENTS

The relevant statutory documents, government orders and mission documents are available in the Case Archives Folder C > Subfolders Appendix B1, Appendix B2 and Appendix B3 respectively.

#### **B1: Statutory documents – Relevant Acts and Rules**

- 1. 74th Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992
- 2. JNNURM's Community Participation Law, 2005
- 3. Kerala Municipality Act, 1994
- 4. Kerala Municipality (Constitution of ward committees and procedure for meeting) rules, (1995)
- 5. Odisha Municipal Corporation Act, 2004
- 6. Odisha Municipal Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2015
- 7. Odisha Municipal Corporation (Amendment) Act, 2017
- 8. Odisha Land Rights to Slum Dwellers Act, 2017
- 9. Odisha Land Rights to Slum Dwellers Rules, 2017

#### **B2: Relevant Government Orders**

- 1. Government Order (MS) No. 240/97 of 29th October, 1997 Setting up of Kudumbashree
- 2. Government Order 198/2014 of 13th November 2014 Kudumbashree Revised bye laws, (2014)
- 3. Government Order (MS) No. 17/2018 dated 02/02/2018 Process for annual plan preparation from year 2018-19 to 2021-22
- 4. "Appendix IV" of the State budget for the year 2020-21 Budget provision to Local Self Governments in Kerala

#### **B3: Relevant Mission Documents**

- 5. Drink From Tap Mission, 2019
- 6. Jal Jogan Mela Standard Operating Procedure, 2018
- 7. JAGA Mission Memorandum and Bye Laws, 2019
- 8. JAGA Mission Land Rights to Slum Dwellers Compendium, 2019
- 9. Sample Land Rights Certificate
- 10. JAGA Mission Participatory Slum Upgradation and Delisting Standard Operating Procedure, 2020
- 11. Urban Wage Employment Initiative Standard Operating Procedure, 2020
- 12. National Urban Livelihood Mission
- 13. Odisha Urban Livelihood Mission

#### **APPENDIX C: LIST OF DATABASES**

The following database is available as spreadsheets in Folder C Case Archive > Database

- 1. Data regarding Area Sabhas and Ward Committees from Janaagraha
- 2. List of projects in KMC approved by DPC as on February 2021
- 3. Slum data for Kochi Municipal Corporation (As per Rajiv Awas Yojana)
- 4. Breakup of the expenditure pattern of the Municipal Corporations in Kerala for the year 2019-20
- 5. List of Adarsh Colonies, Odisha

#### **APPENDIX D: LINKS TO RELEVANT WEBINARS**

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tzBtNPMHU7Q&ab\_channel=Janaagraha

 $https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qS0kAf-17qA\&ab\_channel=CentreforUrbanPolicyandGovernance$ 









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