

March 2025



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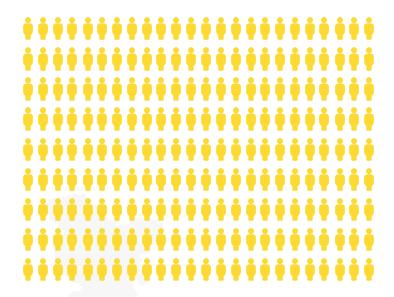
Urban India

One of the greatest challenges that India faces in the 21st century is the governance of its cities. Cities are centers of innovation, opportunity, and growth, and are home to a steady flow of migrants. In 2011, Mumbai, Delhi, and Kolkata were the only three cities with more than ten million people each, and 53 cities had populations of more than one million each.¹

As of 2022,

India stands at almost 400 cities with populations between 0.1 to 1 million.





A UN report has estimated that urban population in India, will stand at



675 million people by 2035

and the percentage of India's urban population will be 43.2 percent.² However, the physical growth of cities has paced much ahead of our ability to govern them, which has put huge pressure on the existing development infrastructure, resources, and governance systems.

With recent studies suggesting a stabilization of population growth in the top-tier cities, it is believed that the future expansion of India's urban population is likely to be primarily driven by the smaller statutory towns (those with less than 0.1 million population) and Census Towns. These segments together accounted for a significant 50% of India's urban population in 2011. The narrative of India's urbanization is, therefore, becoming less top-heavy. Instead, there is a strong indication of more balanced urbanization, with small and medium cities poised to play a significant role. Understanding and addressing the specific needs and opportunities of these areas is fundamental for achieving inclusive urban development.

City-Systems

Our work collects and presents data on the state of basic services and infrastructure in Indian cities to highlight the extent of these challenges. At the same time, relating the delivery of such services to mechanisms of governance. The ability of a city to deliver good quality of life (e.g. at a minimum, good quality of basic services and infrastructure) depends to a large extent on the complex, mostly-invisible factors (such as laws, policies, institutions, institutional processes) that underpin urban governance. To conceptualize these factors, diagnose urban problems and - more importantly - solve them, we need to view them in a systems framework. The "City-Systems" framework is a framework created by Janaagraha that helps us identify the root causes of our urban challenges. This City-Systems framework comprises four components:



1. Urban Planning & Design



2. Urban Capacities & Resources



3. Empowered & Legitimate Political Representation



4. Transparency, Accountability & Participation

Janaagraha undertakes regular reviews of the laws, policies, institutions and institutional processes that lie within each of these four components. Entitled 'Annual Survey of India's City-Systems', this work has identified significant challenges with urban India's City-Systems.

The work in this project focuses particularly on the fourth component. With such large populations living in smaller geographical areas, it is crucial to deepen citizen participation in all governance systems, in order to improve quality of life. Citizens should not only be aware, but empowered to have a say in how their cities and neighbourhoods are planned and managed. In any democracy, the quality of governance is inextricably tied to the quality of citizenship. Our work, therefore, also collects data on the current status quo of citizen participation and considers its relationship to service delivery in urban India.

The Urban Governance Project

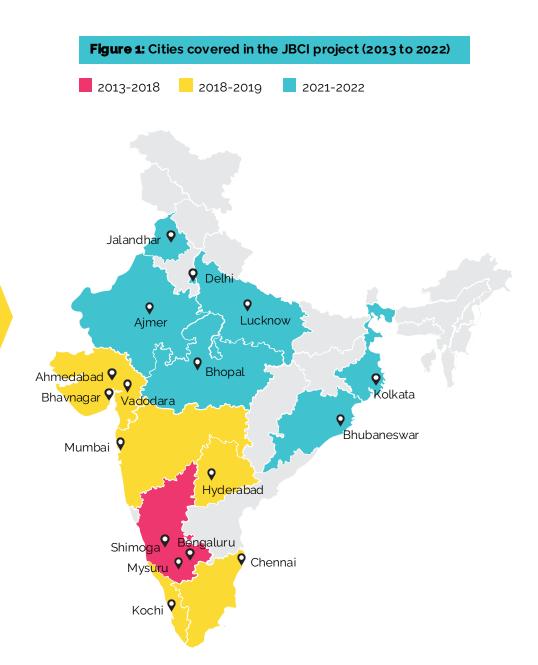
The Urban Governance project aims to gather systematic and robust data on the relationship between citizenship, basic services, and infrastructure delivery in cities across India. We argue that effective citizenship means essentially being able to use one's rights, that is to effectively participate in public life and engage in public activities across social boundaries. Second, effective citizenship means being able to claim and obtain public goods, basic services, and infrastructure from the local state.

Till date we have collected data from over

38,000 citizens

in 17 cities across India.





Research Design

O1 Key respondent interviews

City commissioners, police commissioners, corporators, heads of departments, prominent academics in the city/state, and civil society activists were interviewed in each city to understand local context on service provision, issues, reference terms and inform the nuance for each city's survey instrument.





O2 Focused Group Discussions (FGDs)

- 2 FGDs per city.
- Male and female citizens participated who were from marginalised communities, typically from very low-income neighbourhoods, especially in shack settlements and informal slums.
- Goals:
 - a. To collect qualitative data on how citizens access services, how they engage with politicians and the state, how communities are organized and how maginalised communities understand their rights
 - b. To use responses to adapt and fine tune our survey instrument to actual conditions and practices in these communities.

O3 Large, quantitative, representative household surveys

- Systematic random sampling that stratified polling parts to generate a representative sample of polling parts across each city taking care to ensure citizens from marginalised communities were included.
- Manual counting, listing, and classification, of all residential buildings within the sampled polling parts in each city.

 Classification into one of five housing type categories: HT-1

 (informal shacks), HT-2 (informal slums), HT-3 (lower middle class), HT-4 (middle class) and HT-5 (upper class housing).
- Manual counting of number of households within each listed residential building.
- Systematic sampling of households across polling parts.
- Quantitative household surveys with 1,000-3,0004 citizens per city.
- Top-up sampling to ensure sample match to listings (by housing type) and to account (and increase in the sample) for low numbers of certain housing types to allow for adequate 'within housing type' analysis.

04 Weighting

Rake weighting (or iterative proportional fitting) was used to create weights that are unique to each city. For the seven cities, each response was assigned a weight according to housing type of each housing structure, which is unique for each city according to the difference between the sample margins and the population distributions of the five housing types in the city (as determined by the listing data).

For more details on the methodology, please refer to Appendix 1.



CITY IN FOCUS: BHUBANESWAR

In this report, we provide a comprehensive overview of our quantitative findings from Bhubaneswar. Where appropriate, we compare our findings to six other cities from the most recent phase, for which our data analysis is completed.

About the city

Current population estimate

2023 – 12,58,000 people,⁵ about

3% 47% Female⁶

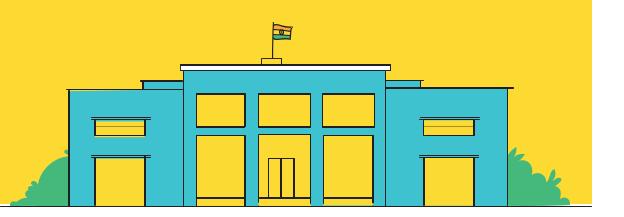
• One of the first planned cities of India, similar to Chandigarh and Jamshedpur.



 Bhubaneswar has an area of 186 sq.km⁷ and is the largest city in the state of Odisha.

- In 2022, Odisha secured 9th place in the Swachh Sarvekshan Awards,⁸ and four cities of Odisha including Bhubaneswar were among the top 100 cleanest cities of India.
- The capital city has developed into a major IT industry centre, and a hub for education and advanced medical care.⁹
- The city is also known for its metals and metal processing industries, which has helped Bhubaneswar become one of the fastest developing Indian cities in recent years.¹⁰

- 5 Population projection 2021: https://population.un.org/wup/DataQuery/
- 6 chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://cms.bhubaneswarone.in/uploadDocuments/content/WARD_WISE_Household_POPULATION_3.pdf. As per national census of 2011
- 7 https://www.bmc.gov.in/about/profile. Area mentioned is city corporation area.
- 8 https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/odisha/2022/oct/02/odisha-placed-9th-four-cities-in-top-100-of-cleanliness-survey-2504151.html#:~:text=BHUBANESWAR%3A%20Odisha%20improved%20its%20position, Housing%20and%20Urban%20Affairs%20on
- 9 https://www.bmc.gov.in/about/organization.
- 10 Ibid



About Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation (BMC) and local governance:

- The Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation came into effect in 1994, from being a municipality earlier (from 1979).
- The Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation Act of 2003, lists the obligatory and discretionary services of the BMC. The obligatory services include creating and maintaining public parks, public latrines, scavenging, public health and vaccination, public streets, primary education and others.
- The BMC is divided into three zones and 67 wards.
- 11 https://pheoodisha.gov.in/
- 12 http://www.owssb.nic.in/Home/About
- 13 https://www.bmc.gov.in/about/organization
- 14 https://www.tpcentralodisha.com/
- https://www.bmc.gov.in/services/city-bus-services. The city bus service was initiated under the PPP mode in 2010 between Capital Region Urban Transport (CRUT) and Dream Team-Sahara (DTS). The equity holders of the company are BMC (40%), BDA (40%), OSRTC (10%), PKDA (5%) and Puri Municipality (5%).
- 16 https://www.bmc.gov.in/departments/engineering.

• List of agencies providing basic services to citizens:



1. Water & sewage:

The Odisha Public Health Engineering Organization (OPHEO), under the administrative control of the Housing and Urban Development Department, is the public health engineering organization responsible for providing water supply and sewerage facilities in the urban areas of Odisha, and the Odisha Water Supply & Sewerage Board (OWSSB) is the nodal agency for urban sanitation projects across the Odisha. Both are different bodies working under the Odisha state government. 11, 12



2. Garbage and Waste Disposal Service:

City local government i.e., Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation (BMC)¹³



3. Electricity:

Joint venture between Tata Power, and State government of Odisha i.e., TP Central Odisha Distribution Limited (TPCODL)¹⁴



4. Public transport:

City local government under JNNURM through a public-private partnership¹⁵

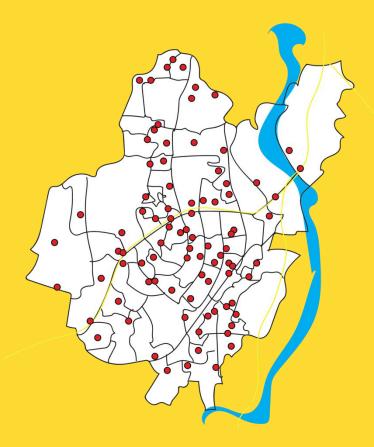


5. Road construction, repairs, and maintenance:

City local government i.e., Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation (BMC)¹⁶

Achieved sample for Bhubaneswar survey

Figure 2: The sampled polling parts for urban Bhubaneswar survey



Dates of Survey - July to October 2022

Total achieved sample for Bhubaneswar - 2058 citizens across 79 polling parts as shown in Figure 2.

The achieved raw sample is a broad reflection of population data (see Table 1) though with a larger proportion of female respondents to the survey than in the population. The Housing Type (HT) distribution of the achieved sample also broadly reflects the HT distribution of the listing data in Bhubaneswar. There is however, some deliberate over-representation of HT1s and HT5s in the sample (at the detriment of fewer HT2s and HT3s). This was done deliberately through top-up sampling throughout the survey period to ensure adequate coverage of these HTs for 'within HT comparisons' (see Table 2) though only a limited number of HT5s were found on the field during listing and surveying. To adjust for this, weighted data (using Housing type listing proportions 1-5) is used throughout the report when not doing within HT type analysis. It is important to note that the listing data proportion of HT1 and HT2 (which in combination represents all slum-type housing in our work), at 34.9% is greater than the slum proportions for Bhubaneswar from Census 2011 which stands at 18.5%.17

Table 1: Census data and JBCI sample compared for Bhubaneswar

Total population				Religion %					
	Total (n)	Male%	Female%	Literacy %	Hindu	Muslim	Others	SC	ST
Census ¹⁸	885363	53	47	83	95	3	2	9	5
Raw Sample	2058	44	56	96	96	2	2	11	9
Weighted data	2058	43	57	98	97	2	1	10	8

Table 2: Housing Type structure listing and Achieved Sample data for Bhubaneswar

Data	HT1	HT2	НТ3	HT4	HT5	Total no.
Housing type listing (structures)	5.1	29.8	31.1	33.4	0.6	6910
Achieved (raw) sample (%)	9.8	25.1	25.8	37.7	1.7	2058

GOVERNANCE

Key findings

In Bhubaneswar, citizens believe the local government's top priority should be the provision of education.

Most Bhubaneswar citizens believe the corporator is most important in ensuring that the neighbourhood receives public services from the provider (not the provider themselves).

Since COVID-19, citizens of Bhubaneswar indicate their opinion of their corporator is considerably more positive than before the pandemic.



Don't know/

Citizens' opinions about delivery of basic services

The awareness, involvement, and opinions of citizens on what the municipal governments should be doing and how are they doing it is integral to understanding urban governance.

Table 3: Urban citizens' opinion about the most important service that the local government should provide (data in percentage)

		Water	Sanitation	Health Service	Education	Electricity	Others ¹⁹	no answer
	Ajmer	35	36	+ 6	19	° 3	1	0
	Bhopal	14	25	10	31	9	6	6
	Bhubaneswar	19	/i 8	37	32	0	2	1
	Delhi	35	20	13	15	ў 5	11	1
	Jalandhar	23	√ 1 9	21	27	° 5	11	4
	Kolkata	32	<i>₃</i> i 3	29	21	? 4	11	0
	Lucknow	33	1 6	9	29	§ 3	9	2

- Citizens of Bhubaneswar feel that provision of health is the most important service that the local government should provide. This is not a top priority for any of the other sampled cities.
- Provision of education ranks second as the most important service to be provided by the local government, chosen by almost one-third of the respondents.
- While provision of water is considered the most important service by almost one-third citizens in the other six cities, this is the third preference of Bhubaneswar citizens.

- Corporators, and elected representatives in general enjoy very high regard in all cities including Bhubaneswar, as a majority of the citizens feel that the elected representatives care for their constituents.
- An interesting pattern emerges when we break the response for every housing type. We observe that HT2, Ht3, HT4 residents are more positive about their elected representatives, than the residents of HT1s and HT5s.
- The effect of the Covid-19 pandemic is especially relevant here, since 50 percent of citizens have had a positive shift in opinion regarding the local corporators since the pandemic.



Figure 3: Percentage of citizens who feel each elected representative cares about the well-being of the people of their constituency

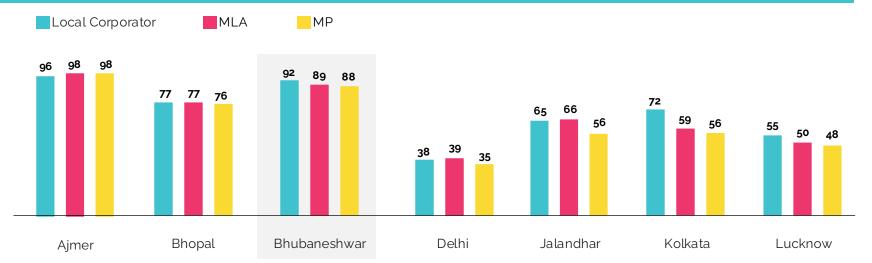


Figure 4: Percentage of Bhubaneswar citizens who feel each elected representative cares about the well-being of all the people of their constituent

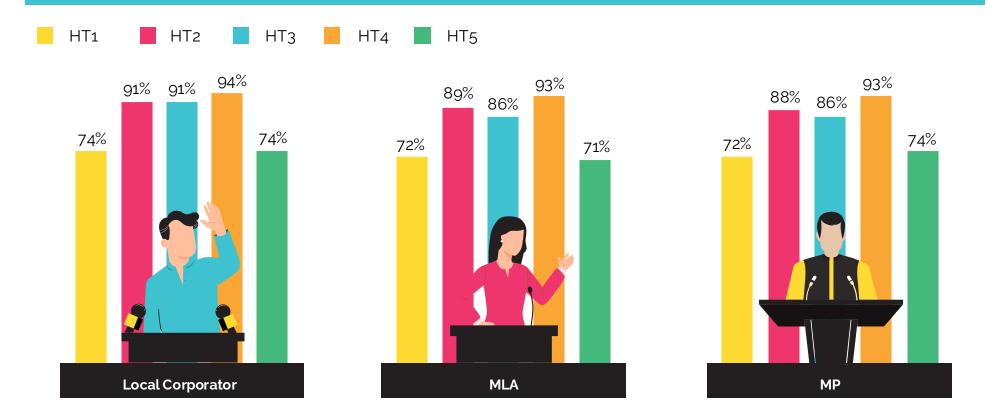




Table 4: Percentage of citizens who feel more positive about specific stakeholders since the COVID-19 pandemic (data in percentage)

		Police	Local Corporator	MLA	Local leader (unelected)	Govt. agencies	NGOs	Neighbours
		•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	Ajmer	47	38	33	35	34	35	38
	Bhopal	50	43	38	39	41	45	41
	Bhubaneswar	r 57	50	52	50	47	51	49
-	Delhi	61	36	33	35	43	50	55
	Jalandhar	62	51	45	42	42	51	49
	Kolkata	50	57	45	43	37	37	56
	Lucknow	58	45	35	40	35	43	42

Citizens' opinions about the role of key governance stakeholders in service delivery

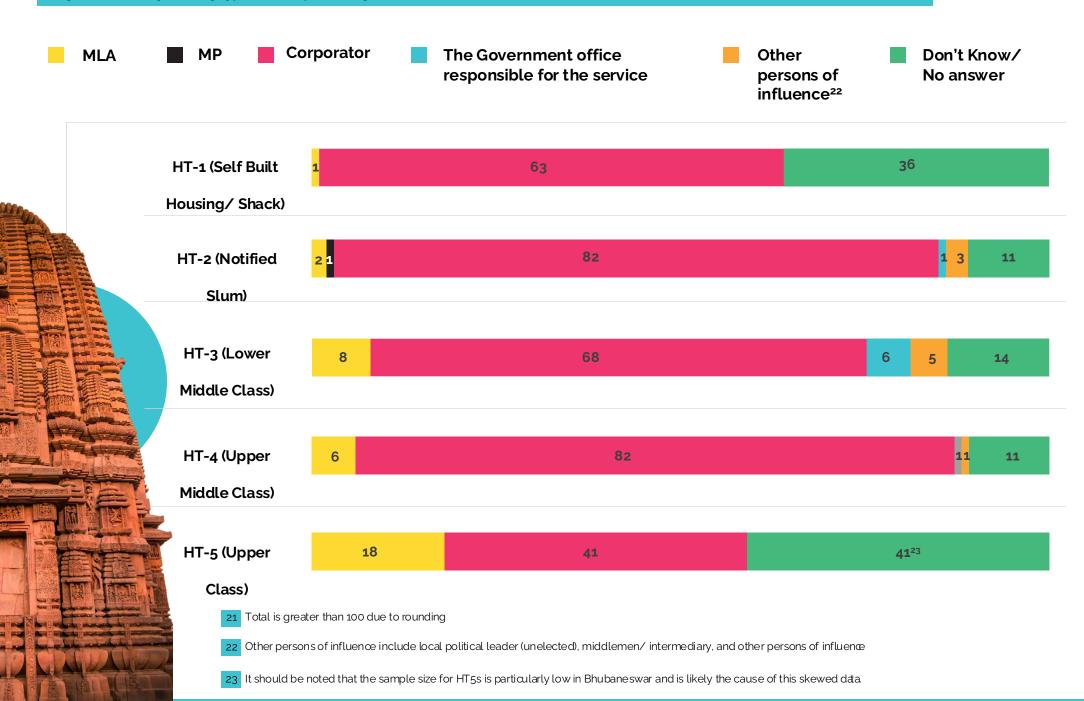
Urban Bhubaneswar citizens' opinions about local and elected representatives

- Across all cities, the local corporator is felt to be the most important person to ensure basic services for the citizens and not the actual service provider.
- In Bhubaneswar, those residing in HT2s and HT4s are most likely to say that the corporator is the most important resource to ensure basic delivery of services. Large proportions of those in HT1s and 5s indicate they're not sure. However, among those who have an opinion, they are also most likely to note it's the corporator.
- Almost one-fifth of those residing in HT5s say the MLA is most important.
- Almost no one (across all citizens in all housing types) believes that the government agency actually responsible for providing the service is the most important resource in ensuring basic services are delivered.



Figure 5: Urban citizens' opinion about the most important resource in ensuring basic services are delivered to the neighbourhood (data in percentage) Corporator The Government office Other Don't Know/ MLA MP responsible for the service persons of No answer influence²⁰ 2 **Ajmer** 91 65 3 10 16 **Bhopal Bhubaneswar** 5 3 12 Delhi 16 3 14 41 25 18 **Jalandhar** 23 7 31 5 17 16 Kolkata 73 Lucknow 2 5 10 15 57 12 Other persons of influence include local political leader (unelected), middlemen/ **EMERGENCY** intermediary, and other persons of influence 1111111

Figure 6: Bhubaneswar citizens' opinion about the most important resource in ensuring basic services are delivered to the neighbourhood by housing type (data in percentage)²¹



CITIZENSHIP

Key findings



Bhubaneswar citizens consider voting as their top responsibility in a democracy.

h

Bhubaneswar city residents have the highest self-reported voter registration among all sampled cities.



Citizens' opinions about their responsibilities in a democracy

- All urban residents in our sample have more vertical citizenship than horizontal. By vertical citizenship, we mean how citizens view their rights and obligations vis-a-vis the state, and by horizontal citizenship we mean how citizens view their obligations and rights vis-a-vis fellow citizens.
- Bhubaneswar is no exception, where citizens consider voting as their most important responsibility and self- reported voter registration stands at 87 percent. This responsibility is followed by respecting the law, while treating others as rights-bearing and engaging in civic activities is less embedded in their consciousness.
- In Bhubaneswar, the highest response rate for voting as an important responsibility comes from those residing in informal shacks (HT1), followed by those residing in notified slums (HT2).
 Respecting the law is considered as the most important responsibility by a considerably larger proportion of citizens in HT2-5 inclusive as compared with those residing in HT1s.

Table 5: Urban citizens' opinions about the most important responsibility of citizens in a democracy (data in percentages)

	VOTE				
Most important responsibility	Voting	Respecting the law		Being involved in your community	
Ajmer	75	21	3	1	<1
Bhopal	73	12	8	5	
Bhubaneswar	60	34	1	1	3
Delhi	46	23	16	6	9
Jalandhar	46	20	19	7	8
Kolkata	49	26	22	1	2
Lucknow	76	11	7	3	2

Table 6: Urban Bhubaneswar citizens' opinions about the most important responsibility of citizens in a democracy by housing type (data in percentages)²⁴

		VOTE				· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	Most important responsibility	Voting	Respecting the law	Treating others as equal	Being involved in your community	Don't Know
	HT-1 (Self Built Housing/ Shack)	81	7	2	NA	9
	HT-2 (Notified Slum)	69	24	1	2	3
	HT-3 (Lower Middle Class)	55	40	2	2	3
	HT-4 (Upper Middle Class)	58	39	1	1	2
	HT-5 (Upper Class)	50	32	6	3	9

Citizens' self-reporting about being registered to vote

Figure 7: Urban citizens' self-reporting about being registered to vote in municipal/state/union elections (data in percentage)

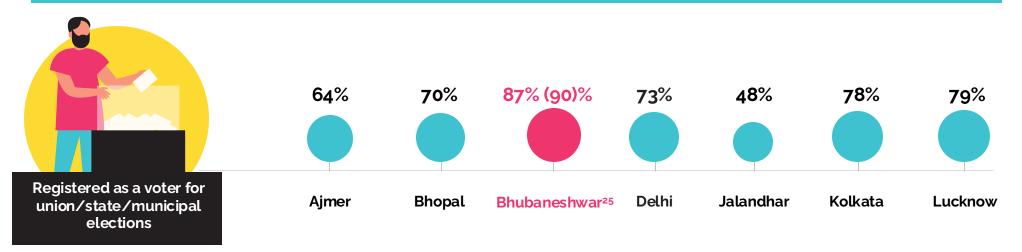
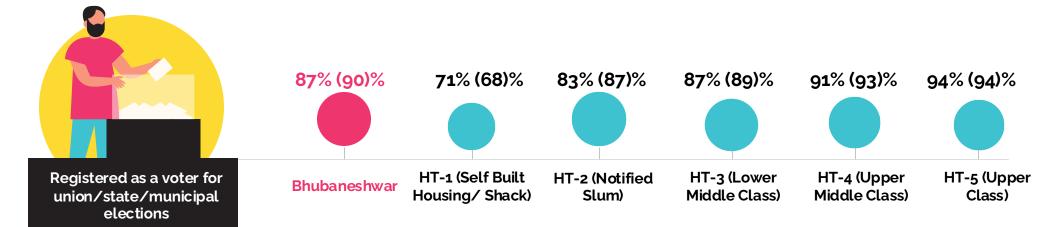


Figure 8: Bhubaneswar urban citizens' self-reporting about being registered to vote in municipal/state/union elections by housing type (data in percentage) ²⁶



In an unstarred question (no.1516) asked in Lok Sabha on 10th February 2021, the Minister of Law and Justice clarified that all states and union territories are sharing the voter list. Hence, the same electoral rolls are used for national, state, municipal, and panchayat elections. However, in Bhubaneswar local knowledge suggested the separate electoral lists may still be in use, so separate questions were asked about municipal elections. Self-reported voter registration for municipal elections is given in brackets.

²⁶ Municipal elections self-reported voter registration in brackets.

• In Bhubaneswar, 87 percent citizens report they are registered to vote for the state and union level elections, and 90 percent citizens report that they are registered for municipal level elections. We observe a variation among housing types, where the most self-reported registrations are from HT5s and HT4s respectively. At 71 percent, HT1s are the lowest at self-reporting of being registered as voters, in Bhubaneswar. There is a considerable increase in self-reported voter registrations from HT1s to HT2s, which increases with each subsequent housing type, for local as well as state and union elections.



CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Key findings

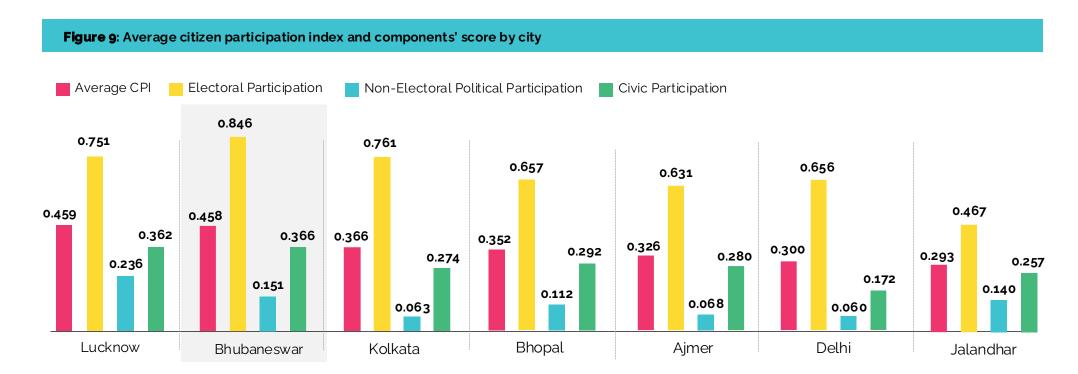
The citizen participation index score for Bhubaneswar is the second-highest compared to other cities.

The participation scores for Bhubaneswar urban citizens in HT3s i.e., lower middle-class housing, are the highest among all other housing types in the city. Bhubaneswar's HT2s' and HT3s' participation scores are the highest, among all HT2s and HT3s of other surveyed cities.



Citizen participation

To create a holistic picture of citizen participation, we created a citizen participation index (CPI). The index comprises of three components including political participation (electoral), non-electoral political participation and civic participation. The index is created from the responses to multiple questions. The index calculates a score between 0 and 1, which means that a score closer to zero would signify low participation, and a score of one would mean that the citizen participated in all activities.²⁷



02



01

The CPI scores of all sampled cities is on the lower end of the range.

Bhubaneswar has the second highest

CPI score as among the sampled cities.

As for most urban citizens,

Bhubaneswar citizens participate most
by voting, in an average of 2 out of the

by voting, in an average of 2 out of the last 3 elections of different tiers of government

03

Urban citizens of Bhubaneswar tend to participate more in civic or community activities, than in non-electoral political activities.

27 For more information on the CPI, please refer to Appendix 2.

Table 7: CPI scores by Housing Type

	HT-1 (Self Built Housing/ Shack)	HT-2 (Notified Slum)	HT-3 (Lower Middle Class)	HT-4 (Upper Middle Class)	HT-5 (Upper Class)
Ajmer	0.195	0.323	0.325	0.325	0.369
Bhopal	0.362	0.368	0.347	0.343	0.425
Bhubaneswar	0.267	0.443	0.476	0.461	0.438
Delhi	0.198	0.280	0.299	0.327	0.311
Jalandhar	0.102	0.187	0.309	0.238	0.260
Kolkata	0.353	0.387	0.363	0.343	0.326
Lucknow	0.245	0.403	0.460	0.483	0.448





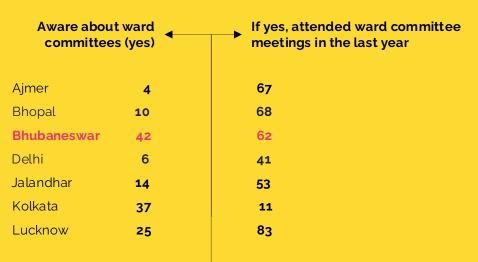
In Bhubaneswar, the citizens residing in HT3s, participate the most in civic and political activities, among all other housing types. There is a considerable increase in participation from HT1s to HT2s, and then a slight increase to HT3s, followed by a decline for respective housing types after that.

Overall, participation by HT1s is third highest among HT1s of all cities, though considerably lower than HT2s in most cities.

However, in Bhubaneswar, HT2s' and HT3s' participation is the highest among all such HTs in other cities.

Citizens' awareness of ward committees and engagement with corporators

Table 8: Urban citizen's awareness and attendance in ward committee meetings (data in percentages)

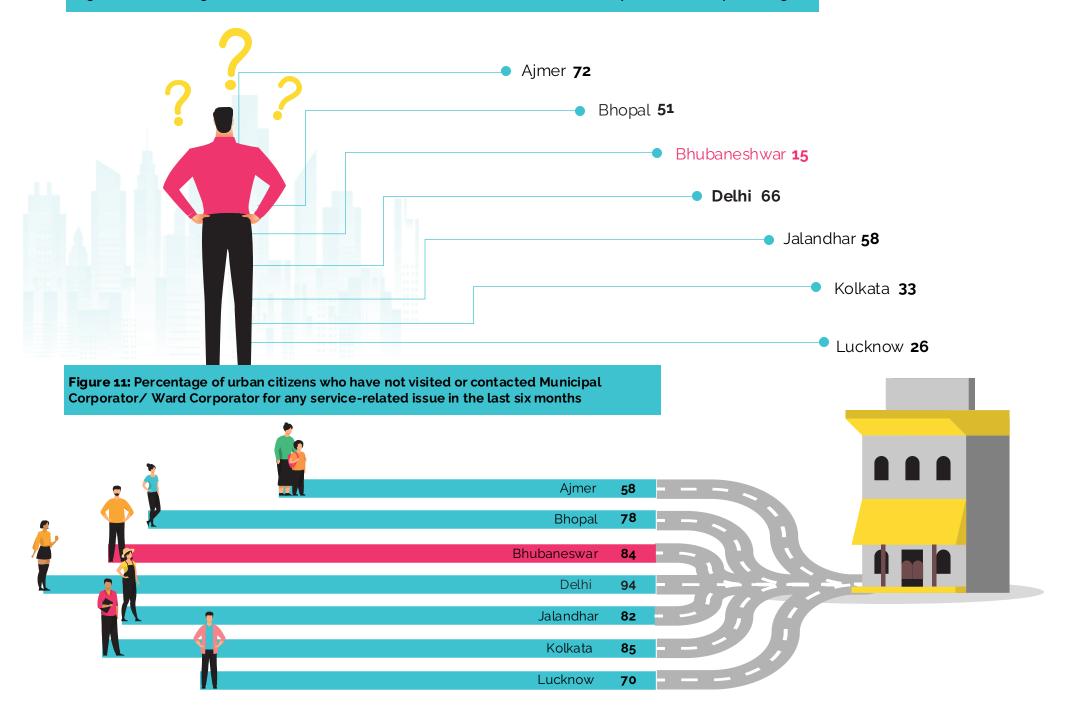




- Among all other sampled cities, Bhubaneswar and Kolkata respectively report a much higher percentage of citizen awareness about ward committees.²⁸
- The number of citizens in Bhubaneswar, who report that they do not know how to contact their ward corporator, is the lowest among all cities. However, over 80 percent of citizens report that they have not visited the municipal corporator/ward corporator even once in the last six months. This is especially interesting since over 75 percent of Kolkata residents suggest that the corporator is the most important resource in ensuring basic services to the neighbourhood.

In Bhubaneswar, though the ward committees (in the strictest sense of what ward committees are) are not that active, it is the slum development associations (SDAs), that are very active, and have been constituted through government intervention. In Kolkata as well, while the area sabhas or ward committees are not very active (in each ward), there are borough committees (constituted for a few wards together) that are much more active.

Figure 10: Percentage of urban citizens who don't know how to contact their ward corporator (data in percentages)



Key findings

Urban Bhubaneswar residents have the lowest score in basic service delivery, as compared to all other sampled cities.

Bhubaneswar is last even among the other two tier-II cities of Bhopal and Lucknow in terms of service delivery.

In urban Bhubaneswar, the service delivery score for HT1s is the lowest, and has a marked improvement for HT2s. The scores increase for HT3 but dip a little for HT4s and HT5s.

Piped water connections are present for less than 50 percent of HT1s but almost 98 percent or above for HT2s and beyond. While most of the households report some water coming in on all days of the week, HT2s and HT3s are least likely to report water coming in for more than 2 hours every day.

About 20 percent of all residents depend on borewells across all housing types, with almost 40 percent residents of HT4s reporting getting water from borewells.

Reporting of compromised sanitation is the highest among HT1s, and it gradually reduces for HT2s and HT3s.



Basic Service Delivery Index (BSDII)

To provide a composite picture of the quality of basic services, we created an index which was a comprehensive measure of access to services including drinking water, sanitation, electricity, condition of roads in front of the house, and the likelihood of the house getting flooded The index goes from 0 to 1, with:

- **0-** meaning that a household gets no services and is often subject to flooding,
- **1-** meaning continuous 24/7 delivery of water and electricity, a flush toilet that is connected to a sewer line (or septic tank) and does not get clogged, and good roads, and no flooding in the house or neighbourhood (see Appendix 3 for more details).

Figure 12: Basic service delivery index scores for sampled cities

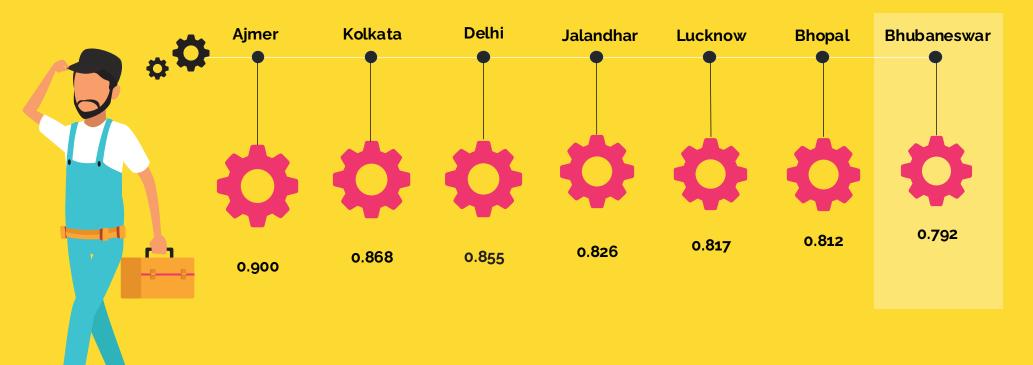
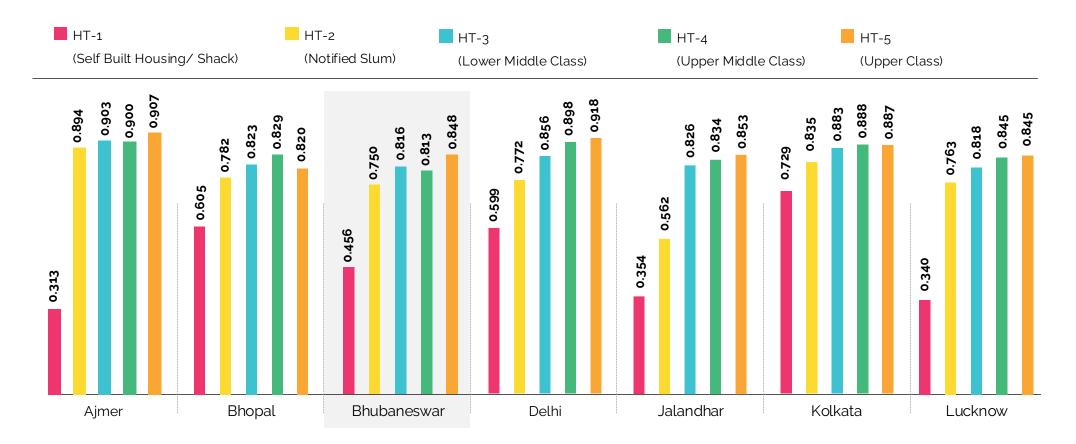


Figure 13: BSDII score by city and household types





01

Most cities overall report a relatively high BSDII score but these scores are highly differentiated by socioeconomic class.

02

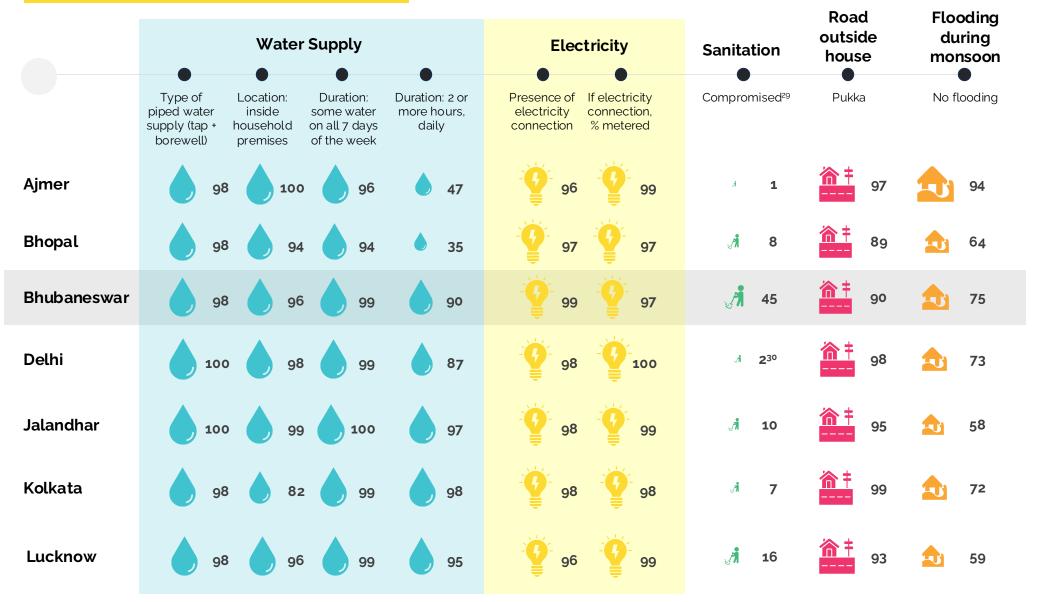
Service delivery drops off markedly from HT2 to HT1 settlement households in most cities and it is the latter who receive the lowest quality of basic services. 03

In most cities, including Bhubaneswar, there is little difference in basic service delivery between those in HT3s, HT4s and HT5s. 04

Bhubaneswar comes last for the overall BSDII score. A lack of piped water connections, as well as a high number of households with compromised sanitation, pull down the overall score.

Breakdown of basic service provision

Table 9: Availability of basic services (data in percentage)



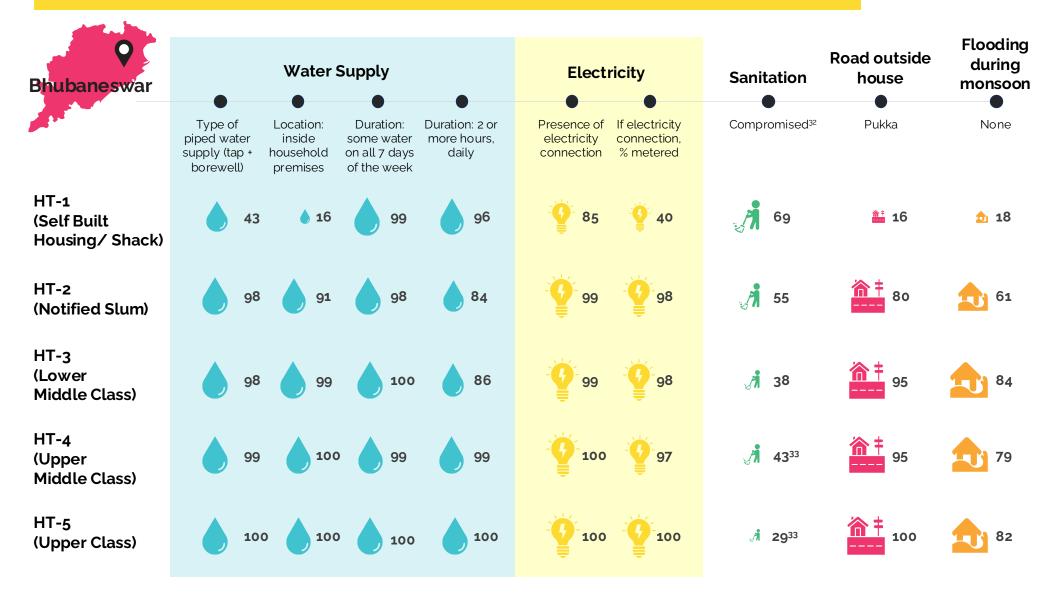
²⁹ Compromised Sanitation: (1) No Latrine within Premises: (1) Open Defecation (2) Public Latrine (Open) (4) not connected to any Other System (not connected to a sewer line): Open drainage into the ground or into water body through a covered drain or uncovered drain.

This figure is counter-intuitive from our understanding of the ground realities. There may have been some mis-interpretation of the question when translated into Hindi and this is being explored.

- Bhubaneswar faces class differences in the availability of water, sanitation, and metered electricity.
- While overall percentages show that almost all
 Bhubaneswar residents report availability of piped water in
 the household, less than 50 percent HT1s report having
 access to a piped water connection and less than 20
 percent reporting a connection within the household. There
 is more than 100 percent increase in piped water
 connections as we move from HT1s to HT2s.
- There is high dependence on borewells, especially in HT4s in Bhubaneswar.
- While HT2 and beyond housing types report near 100 percent of metered electricity, the HT1s face a disadvantage for metered connections.
- Citizens in HT1s also face severe issues of compromised sanitation.³¹
- During FGDs, it was reported that most people use water provided by the corporation, which is supplied for 2-4 hours daily. In one neighbourhood the water supplied was considered potable, but this wasn't the case in the other neighbourhood. In one of the neighbourhoods, very few residents had toilets inside their houses, connected to a septic tank. But most of the others defecated in the open. The other neighbourhood reported of having toilets inside their houses, under the Swachh Bharat scheme, and all toilets were connected to a septic tank.



Table 10: Availability of basic services in / around the houses of Bhubaneswar citizens by housing type (data in percentage)



³² Compromised Sanitation: (1) No Latrine within Premises: (1) Open Defecation (2) Public Latrine (3) Pit Latrine (Open) (4) not connected to any Other System (not connected to a sewer line): Open drainage into the ground or into water body through a covered drain or uncovered drain.

Use of compromised sanitation is counter-intuitive for these housing type groupings. There may have been some mis-interpretation of the question when translated into Hindi and this is being explored.

Relationship between citizen participation and service delivery

For assessing the potential impact of participation on service delivery we begin by comparing the citizen participation index scores with the basic service delivery and infrastructure index scores for all cities.

Table 11: Comparison of CPI and BSDII scores by city

	Lucknow	Bhubaneswar	Kolkata	Bhopal	Ajmer	Delhi	Jalandhar
СРІ	0.459	0.458	0.366	0.352	0.326	0.300	0.293
BSDII	0.817	0.792	0.868	0.812	0.900	0.855	0.826



Bhubaneswar has the second highest CPI score in comparison to other sampled cities, but the lowest BSDII score. We also notice that Lucknow tops the list for CPI scores, and there is a 0.001 percentage point difference between Lucknow and Bhubaneswar. However, when we look specifically within cities, we see a much more nuanced and clearer picture emerge. As can be seen in Figure 14, in all cities, except Kolkata, those citizens who have above average participation scores, also have higher BSDII scores. In Kolkata, the BSDII score remains high, even in the face of below average citizen participation.



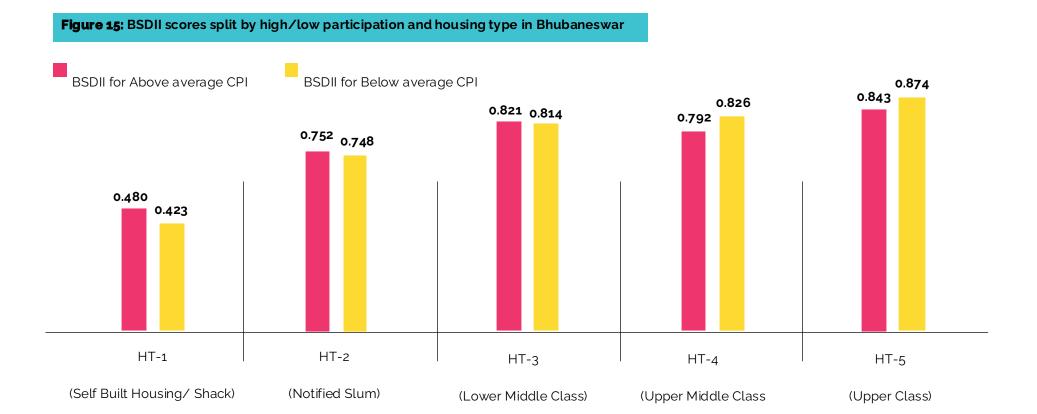




0 1.0

When we look at the same distinction of high/low participation within different housing types in Bhubaneswar, we see some particular differentiation of service and infrastructure delivery, notably by those residing in HT1-3s inclusive. In these housing types, those with below-average participation in households have a lower BSDII score than those with above-average participation.

Generally speaking, across cities, we have seen that BSDII scores improve as we go up the housing ladder. In all cities, the largest jump in improved services is from HT1 to HT2, which is visible in Bhubaneswar as well. What is particularly interesting however, is that in HT1s in all cities, except Bhopal, those who participate more, have better services. It is important to note that the findings in this section describe the overall relationships found within the data. These need further exploration and context on a city-by-city basis.



WAY FORWARD

Urban Bhubaneswar residents have the lowest score in basic service delivery, as compared to all other sampled cities. Moreover, service delivery is lowest for those residing in shacks (HT1s), as is the case across cities, with a marked improvement even as you move to those residing in slums (HT2s). At the same time, citizen participation is the second highest in Bhubaneswar compared with other cities and characterized mostly by voting and civic and community activities, rather than non-electoral activities. In Bhubaneswar, those residing in HT1-HT3s inclusive with above-average participation in households have a higher BSDII score than those with below-average participation.



Improve transparency, accountability and participation

To enhance citizen participation in Bhubaneswar, there are a series of innovations that can be brought in from the policy perspective as well as implementation of already existing regulations. These include:

- Mandating constitution of ward committees and area sabhas across Bhubaneswar and notifying rules for the same.
- Amend Odisha Municipal Corporation Act, 2003 to mandate:
 - i. Participatory budgeting/public consultation as part of municipal budgeting and notify corresponding rules to institutionalize the same and ensure continuity.
 - ii. The Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation (BMC) to conduct an **annual internal audit** of processes and internal controls and mandate the **publication of the internal report in the public domain**.
 - iii. The BMC to adopt open data standards and publish key financial and operational data in open data format on the city government websites at regular intervals.
 - iv. Formulate a citizen charter providing for target levels of services, with time-bound service delivery and penal consequences and compensation for non-adherence along with other such relevant information.
 - v. The BMC to have a **digital governance policy/roadmap**, as a tool of accountability and grievance redressal.
- Amending the Kolkata Municipal Corporation Act, 1980 to provide for a Municipal Ombudsman, to redress citizen grievances related to service delivery and failure of civic agencies and empower the Ombudsman to investigate corruption suo motu and resolve inter-agency disputes.
- Notifying rules for public disclosure to be **compliant with the model public disclosure law**, that mandates disclosure of audited financial statements on a periodic basis, information on service level benchmarks, major works done, plan and budget details, etc.



Fix other City-Systems

As described in the introduction of this report, the ability of a city to delivery good quality of life depends on the laws, policies, institutions and institutional processes that underpin urban governance. To conceptualize these factors, diagnose urban problems and - more importantly - solve them, we need to view them in a systems framework. The "City-Systems" framework is a framework created by Janaagraha that helps us identify the root causes of our urban challenges and its components are regularly reviewed through the Annual Survey of India's City Systems (ASICS).34 'Transparency, Accountability and Participation' is a key component of the City-Systems framework. However, there are three other key areas under which reforms and amends need to be considered which would help to strengthen the governance system to deliver good quality of life to citizens in Bhubaneswar. These include urban planning and design, urban capacities and resources - finance and human resources and empowered and legitimate political representation.

34 Janaagraha Centre for Citizenship and Democracy (2017): Annual Survey of India's City-Systems – Shaping India's Urban Agenda. Available: https://www.janaagraha.org/asics/report/ASICS-report-2017-fin.pdf [accessed 15-05-2023].



Urban planning and design

As mentioned in ASICS (2017, p. 8),³⁵ 'well-made and well-executed Spatial Development Plans (SDP) lie at the heart of economically vibrant, equitable, environmentally sustainable and democratically engaged cities. India's cities suffer from acute lack of planning.'

Relevant to Bhubaneswar therefore, the Orissa Town Planning and Improvement Trust Act, 1956 can be amended to mandate decentralized planning (at regional, municipal and ward levels). In addition, it can be amended to include the participation of parastatals, civic agencies and the public in the planning process through formal platforms like ward committees and area sabhas. In addition, to ensure plan enforcement, the act can be amended to prevent approval of plans not in conformity with the spatial plan, ensure effective monitoring systems for ongoing projects and strengthen penalization provisions for plan violations. Mandate planning authorities to develop and share a common digital spatial development plan, so that relevant sectoral agencies may update data through GIS periodically. The BMC should have a single window clearance for projects conforming to SDPs. Bhubaneswar could have a land titling policy to secure land titles within the city.

35

Janaagraha Centre for Citizenship and Democracy (2017): Annual Survey of India's City-Systems – Shaping India's Urban Agenda. Available: https://www.janaagraha.org/asics/report/ASICS-report-2017-fin.pdf [accessed 15-05-2023].

Urban capacities and resources – finance and human resources

ASICS (2017) also highlights the need for large amounts of capital to be available for cities to invest. These investments need to be in bridging the gaps in current infrastructure as well as new developments. Additionally, it's needed for revenue expenditure such as operations and maintenance (including HR) and hiring of talent to deliver the same.

Pertinent to Bhubaneswar, amendments can be made to the Odisha Municipal Corporation Act, 2003 to empower city governments to levy and collect profession and advertisement tax, raise borrowings without prior approval from the state/union government and mandate the creation of medium-term fiscal plans to ensure fiscal prudence. In addition, ensuring the timely constitution of the State Finance Commission is imperative to positively impact the financial position of Urban Local Bodies and Odisha recently constituted the 6th State Finance Commission³⁶.

Furthermore, the Odisha Municipal Corporation Act, 2003 should mandate medium-term and annual workforce plans that align with these fiscal plans and are underpinned by a Performance Management System (PMS) with quantitative performance metrics at the staff and department level.

Empowered and legitimate political representation

Mayors and Councilors in Indian cities don't have full decision-making authority over critical functions and services such as planning, housing, water, environment, fire and emergency services etc.'(ASICS, 2017, p. 14).³⁷ As per Janaagraha's ASICS, 2017,³⁸ the Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation was responsible for **9 out of the 18 functions devolved as per the twelfth schedule of the Constitution**. This signals the challenge of fragmentation in governance, having no single authority being responsible for the city. Therefore, it is recommended to amend the Odisha Municipal Corporation Act, 2003 to **devolve all 18 functions** as obligatory/mandatory functions as per the 12th schedule. The Act can be further amended to empower the mayor/council to appoint the Municipal Commissioner. Amendments can also be made to the Odisha Municipal Corporation Act, 2003 to empower city governments to assess their own staff requirement and in particular **mandate induction and periodic training** for elected representatives.

- 38 https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/odisha/2025/Jan/23/odishas-6th-sfc-to-be-headed-by-arun-panda-to-submit-report-in-six-months
- Janaagraha Centre for Citizenship and Democracy (2017): Annual Survey of India's City-Systems Shaping India's Urban Agenda. Available: https://www.janaagraha.org/asics/report/ASICS-report-2017-fin.pdf [accessed 15-05-2023].
- 38 https://www.janaagraha.org/asics/city/ASICS_City_Score_card_BHU.pdf

APPENDIX 1

Methodology

Key respondent interviews

Key respondents were interviewed in each city, before the start of the formal quantitative survey, to understand the local context on service provision, municipal and urban issues faced by the city, and also to get specific information on wards and neighbourhoods for sampling purposes.

For Bhubaneswar, the key respondents' interviews were conducted in March 2022. As mentioned earlier, we spoke to Municipal Commissioners, Mayors in each city, and some local and state level elected representatives as well.



Focus group discussions

In Bhubaneswar, the focus group discussions took place on 22nd and 23rd March 2021. The two discussions were held in neighbourhoods with marginalised communities.. As part of the discussions, the respondents were asked questions on basic services such as water, electricity, sanitation, health and education etc., in their neighbourhood. A few points on their local corporator, as well as the access to BPL cards, Aadhaar cards etc. were also noted during the discussions. These FGDs took place after the first wave of the Covid-19 pandemic, hence, questions related to the pandemic were also asked. Questions related to the pandemic were also included in the quantitative survey later on.



Large, quantitative, representative household surveys

Sampling: We employed a multi-stage stratified systematic random sampling strategy that stratified polling parts to generate a representative sample of polling parts across each city taking care to ensure citizens from marginalised communities were included. After identifying the wards and assembly constituencies falling within the city municipal corporation area, and all polling parts within each of these political-administrative units, the polling parts were stratified.

Household listing and classification: Listing and categorization of all houses within a sampled polling part was done by a field team which literally walked through the entire area identified in the base maps and drew the buildings onto the base maps and assigned the housing type. The listed data thus provided a full inventory of all the households located in our geographically delineated sections of our randomly selected polling parts giving us a complete distribution of residential structures by housing type classification and formed the sampling frame from which we ultimately selected households.

Each sampled polling part in the city was mapped in a spatial manner, and each building was allocated a Housing Type (HT Category- HT1 are un-notified slums/ shacks, HT2 are informal settlements or slums, HT3 are the lower middle-class housing, apartments, mostly single floor, made of only concrete, HT4 include middle-class housing of independent houses or apartment buildings, and HT5 are upper class Housing, including apartment complexes/gated communities with amenities.)

Survey: The quantitative survey in Bhubaneswar was conducted after the second phase of the COVID-19 pandemic. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in Odia language, and through CAPI method (computer-assisted personal interviews). Since Bhubaneswar was a mid-tier city (tier-II city), the targeted sample was 2000 respondents. However, we achieved a total sample of 2058 respondents at the end of the survey.



Weighting and index creation:

Rake weighting (or iterative proportional fitting) was used to create weights that are unique to each city. We have chosen to reweight the sample data according to the respondents' housing type (at the structure level from our household listings). From our previous work, we know that our housing type measure is the biggest predictor among all our socio-economic variables for levels of service delivery and citizenship. As a principle, weighting necessitates that there are reliable population margins for all categories of a variable upon which one seeks to adjust one's data.³⁹ Since we lack reliable population counts for OBCs and General/Forward Castes (the census only reports SC/ST), we cannot adjust our data using Census data. Given the relatively poor economic conditions of many individuals belonging to SC/ST groups, we expect that weighting along the housing type will reduce bias and make our sample more representative. Note that our household listing data, collected between 2021-2022 in 7 project cities, provides a comprehensive, census-like account of the distribution of dwelling types in each city at the structure and unit/household level.

We did not weight on gender because the focus of the survey is on the household, rather than individual level, and so should not greatly affect results. Empirically, religion and gender weights were shown not to significantly affect the reported results for a representative subset of the questionnaire. We have reason to believe that reweighting along housing type mitigates the effect of higher proportions of Dalits and Adivasis. From a theoretical perspective, housing type serves as a reasonable proxy for socioeconomic status. Given the relatively poor economic condition of many individuals belonging to SC/ST groups, we expect that weighting along housing type will reduce bias introduced through larger proportions of this subpopulation.⁴⁰

aveen, Metros", Firdaus a and

- 39 Solon, Gary; Steven J. Haider, and Jeffrey M. Wooldridge. 2015. "What Are We Weighting For?," Journal of Human Resources, 50(2): 301-316.
- There is evidence emerging in the literature on segregation and housing type. For more, read Bharathi, Naveen, Deepak Malghan and Andaleeb Rahman (2019), "Neighbourhood-scale Residential Segregation in Indian Metros", Economic and Political Weekly, 54(30):64-70. Thorat, Sukhadeo, Anuradha Banerjee, Vinod K Mishra and Firdaus Rizvi (2015), "Urban Rental Housing Market", Economic and Political Weekly, 27:47-53. and Vithayathil, Trina and Gayatri Singh (2012), "Spaces of Discrimination", Economic and Political Weekly, 47(37):60-66

APPENDIX 2

Construction of the Citizen Participation Index (CPI)

The CPI has three components:

- (1) Electoral participation
- (2) Non-electoral participation and
- (3) Civic participation.
- (1) Electoral participation Voting in national, state, and municipal elections is coded 1 if a respondent voted in an election and 0 otherwise;
- **(2) Non-voting participation** includes whether a respondent is a party member, contributes time during election campaigns, attends political rallies and meetings between elections, and discusses specific candidates among family, friends, and others within the community. Each of these elements takes the form of a dummy variable and is coded 1 for "yes" and 0 if "no".
- (3) Civic participation that includes whether a respondent attends ward committee meetings, holds membership in non-political, non-government organizations and associations, and perceptions of community participation in preventing harassment of women in the neighbourhood. Each of these is coded 1 if "yes" and 0 if "no". While the end-points of the index mark the two extremes of citizen participation no participation to full participation, and are clear to understand, the values in-between represent different combinations of the three components of participation.



APPENDIX 3

Construction of Basic Service Delivery and Infrastructure Index (BSDII)











2. Sanitation

3. Electricity 4. Flooding /water-logging

5. Type of Road

The BSDII is based on 5 dimensions of household infrastructure:

1. Water Infrastructure component of BSDII comprises of:

- Access to water,
- ii. Convenience in accessing water,
- iii. The usability of the water a household receives,
- iv. The ability (and methods) of households to store water, and
- v. The frequency of water supply for a household.

2. The electricity infrastructure dimension is based on three elements of electricity supply.

- i. Does a household have power?,
- ii. How often are there power outages in a week?, and
- iii. How many hours does a household go without power during such outages?

In order to measure sanitation infrastructure in a household we consider the following elements,

- i. The type of toilet a household has and (among those with a modern sanitation system connected to a main sewer line), and
- ii. Whether, and how often, the line connecting the household to the main sewer gets blocked.

4. In order to measure the vulnerability of households to flooding and water logging during monsoon we asked:

- i. Does the ground floor of the building you live in get flooded during monsoon?
- We measure the type of road by classifying it into paved (pucca) or unpaved (kuccha).

BSDII assigns equal weights to the three components that are directly connected to household infrastructure - water, power, and sanitation, and half-weights to flooding and roads. Implicit is the notion that the first three components "count" more for a household than the latter two. Our index equation is therefore:

BSDII = [(Water) + (Power) + (Sanitation) + 0.5*(Flooding) + 0.5*(Road)]/4

About Janaagraha Centre for Citizenship and Democracy

Janaagraha is a non-profit trust working towards the mission of transforming the quality of life in India's cities and towns. It works with citizens to catalyze active citizenship in city neighbourhoods and with governments to institute reforms to city governance (what we call "City-Systems"). Civic Participation, City Finance, and Urban Policy & Research are Janaagraha's three major strands of work to accomplish its mission.

The interpretation of the survey and results as presented are entirely those of Janaagraha Centre for Citizenship and Democracy.

