Governance and Citizens in Urban India: Evidence from Lucknow

March 2025

Content

INTRODUCTION

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.

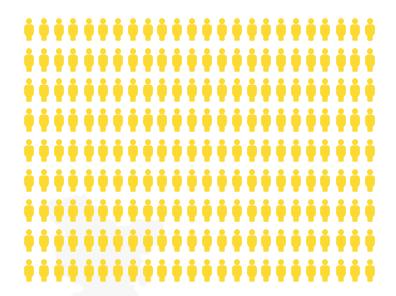[1] chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://www.janaagraha.org/files/publications/Citizen-Index-Book-Dec-2014.pdf

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.

2   https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/indias-urban-population-to-stand-at-675-million-in-2035-behind-chinas-1-billion-un/article65584707.ece

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',[3] 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.

3 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].
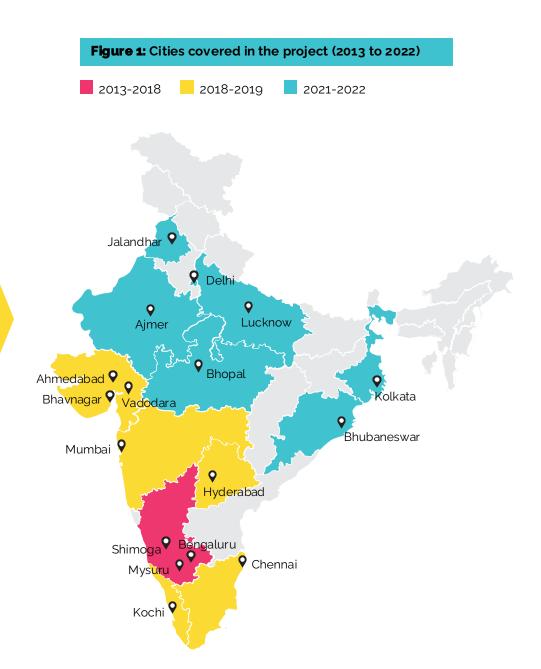
The Urban Governance Project

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.

Figure 1: Cities covered in the project (2013 to 2022)

■ 2013-2018 ■ 2018-2019 ■ 2021-2022

Jalandhar
Delhi
Ajmer
Lucknow
Bhopal
Ahmedabad
Bhavnagar
Vadodara
Kolkata
Mumbai
Bhubaneswar
Hyderabad
Shimoga
Bengaluru
Mysuru
Chennai
Kochi

Research design

01 **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.

02 **Focus 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.

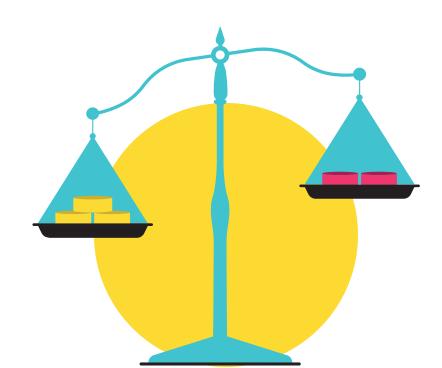## 03 Large, quantitative, representative household surveys

- 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 1,000-3,000[4] 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.

4 Depending on city population size.

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: LUCKNOW

In this report, we provide a comprehensive overview of our quantitative findings from Lucknow. 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

  2021 – 37,65,000 people,[5] about

  52% male   **48% female[6]**

- Lucknow city's total area is of 350 sq.km.[7]

Lucknow
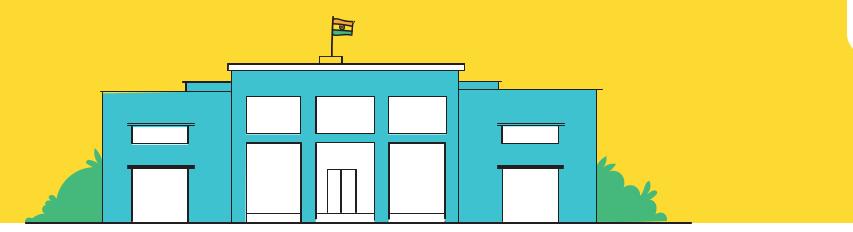
- The city is famous for its small-scale industries[8] based on unique styles of embroidery, i.e., Chikankari and Lakhnawi Zardozi. Clothes with these styles, are very big contributors to foreign exchange for the state.

- It is also felt that Lucknow's infrastructure development and heritage are major factors in propelling the city towards its steady growth.[9]

5   Population projection 2021: https://population.un.org/wup/DataQuery/

6   Gender population as per 2011 census: https://censusindia.gov.in/nada/index.php/catalog/1251.

7   https://lmc.up.nic.in/pdf/Summary%20Lucknow%20CDP.pdf

8   https://pcdacc.gov.in/home_lucknow.html

9   https://www.rprealtyplus.com/cover-story/lucknow-the-next-big-thing-in-real-estate-107834.html#:~:text=Lucknow%20is%20playing%20an%20integral,3.85%25%20of%20the%20state's%20GDP

About Lucknow Municipal Corporation (LMC) and local governance:

- There are six zones and 110 wards under Lucknow city municipal corporation.[10].

- In 2015, the LMC started the process of making a smart city proposal for Lucknow.[11]

- The Uttar Pradesh Municipal Corporation Act, 1959, highlights the obligatory functions of the municipality as maintenance of public places and streets, collection and removal of sewerage; managing and maintaining all corporation waterworks, provision of water to the public; provision of health facilities and construction and maintenance of public hospitals, dispensaries etc.; provision of primary education; town planning, urban poverty alleviation, and slum improvement and others. The discretionary functions include maintaining social services and infrastructure; construction and maintenance of public buildings; maintenance or management of public transportation systems; surveys of land and buildings; and similar activities.

- The municipal body in Lucknow has devolved only seven functions as opposed to the 18 listed in the 74th Constitution Amendment Act (CAA)[12] .

- The city mayor is directly elected by its citizens and has a 5-year term.

10 https://lmc.up.nic.in/pdf/Summary%20Lucknow%20CDP.pdf

11 https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/uttar-pradesh/lmc-prepares-roadmap-to-make-lucknow-smart-city/articleshow/49332301.cms

12 https://www.janaagraha.org/asics/city/ASICS_City_Score_LUCKNOW.pdf

- Research studies show that the ward committees in Lucknow city are not active, and the citizens do not have access to any platform for civic participation and deliberation.[13]

- List of agencies providing basic services to citizens:

1. Water and Sewerage:
City local government i.e., Lucknow Municipal Corporation (LMC), through Jal Kal - Jal Sansthan.[14]

2. Garbage and Waste Disposal Service:
City local government i.e., Lucknow Municipal corporation (LMC).[15]

3. Electricity:
State government through a company, i.e., Madhyanchal Vidyut Vitran Nigam Ltd., for distribution of electricity in select districts of Uttar Pradesh (MVVNL).[16]

4. Public transport:
City local government i.e., Lucknow Municipal Corporation, through city-based service Lucknow City Transport Service Ltd., under JnNURM.[17]

5. Road Repairs/Maintenance:
State government through Public Works Department.[18]

13 https://praja.org/praja_docs/praja_downloads/State%20Consultation%20Report%20of%20Uttar%20Pradesh.pdf

14 https://jklmc.gov.in/

15 https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/lucknow/lucknow-municipal-corporation-begins-waste-collection-drive/articleshow/98107097.cms?from=mdr

16 http://www.mvvnl.in/

17 http://lctsl.co.in/en/page/about-lucknow-city-transport-services-ltd

18 http://uppwd.gov.in/

Achieved Sample for Lucknow survey

Figure 2: The sampled polling parts for urban Lucknow survey

Dates of Survey - July to October 2022

Achieved Sample for Lucknow Survey
Total achieved sample for Lucknow - 2167 citizens across 84 polling parts as shown in Figure 2.

The achieved raw sample is a broad reflection of population data, particularly by religion and gender (see Table 1). The Housing Type (HT) distribution of the achieved sample broadly reflects the HT distribution of the listing data in Lucknow (see Table 2).There is however, some deliberate over-representation of HT2s, and HT5s in the sample (at the detriment of slightly fewer HT1s 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'. 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 16.6% is a good reflection of the slum proportions from Census 2011 which stands at 12.95%.[19]

19 Census slum population data:
https://censusindia.gov.in/nada/index.php/catalog/6190 .
Also refer to https://census-2021.co.in/lucknow-population-2021/#:~:text=Total%20no.,a%202.39%25%20increase%20from%202020.

Table 1: Census data and JBCI sample compared for Lucknow

	Total population			Literacy %	Religion %			Caste %	
	Total (n)	Male %	Female %		Hindu	Muslim	Others	SC	ST
Census[20]	2817105	52	48	74	72	26	2	11	<1
Raw Sample	2167	55	45	87	74	23	3	11	2
Weighted data	2167	53	47	92	74	22	4	9	1

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

Data	HT1	HT2	HT3	HT4	HT5	Total No.
Housing type listing (structures)	11.8	4.8	64.9	14.8	3.8	9208
Achieved (raw) sample (%)	9.7	6.0	61.1	18.6	4.6	2167

20 Figures for population as per 2011 census data: https://censusindia.gov.in/nada/index.php/catalog/1251. For religion- https://www.census2011.co.in/census/city/127-lucknow.html.

GOVERNANCE

Key findings

- In Lucknow city, the residents believe that water should be a top priority of the local government, followed by education provision.

- Over 50 percent of residents in Lucknow city believe that the corporator is the most important in ensuring that the neighbourhood receives public services from the provider (not the provider themselves).
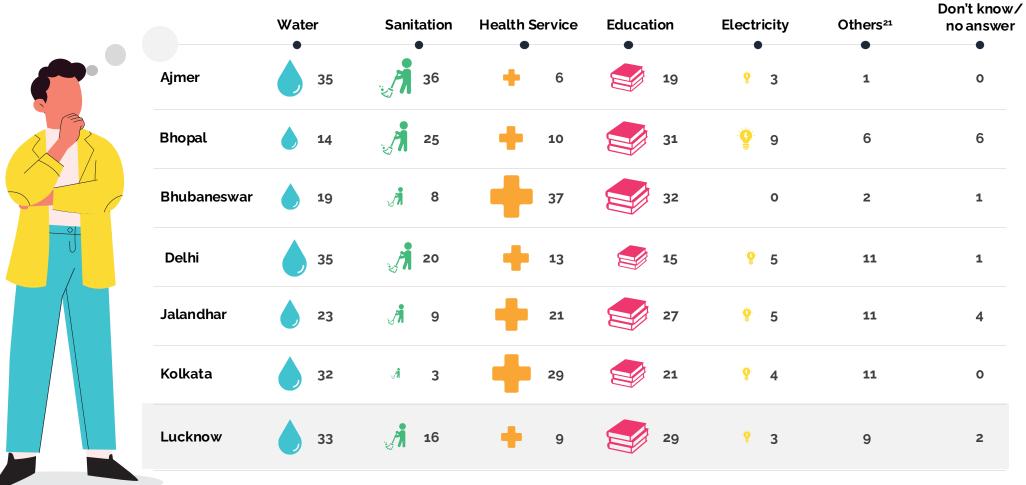
- Since COVID-19, citizens of Lucknow indicate that their opinion of their corporator is considerably more positive than before the pandemic.

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[21]	Don't know/ no answer
Ajmer	35	36	6	19	3	1	0
Bhopal	14	25	10	31	9	6	6
Bhubaneswar	19	8	37	32	0	2	1
Delhi	35	20	13	15	5	11	1
Jalandhar	23	9	21	27	5	11	4
Kolkata	32	3	29	21	4	11	0
Lucknow	33	16	9	29	3	9	2

- The citizens of urban Lucknow feel that water is the most important service to be provided by the local government. Water is considered the most important service by citizens in Ajmer, Delhi and Kolkata too.

- Provision of education is considered a second top priority service to be provided by the local government, as per the citizens of Lucknow. In the other tier-two cities of Bhopal, Bhubaneswar, and Jalandhar, education provision is seen as needing to be one of the top priority of local government.

21 Others include - safety and personal security, clean air, public transportation, and housing.

Citizens' perceptions of key stakeholders in society

- Corporators, and other elected representatives in general enjoy a high regard in all cities. However, in Lucknow this sentiment is slightly less than most other cities (except Delhi) in our sample with just about half the respondents in Lucknow city feeling that their elected representatives care for their constituents. Just under one-third of respondents feel that the elected representatives only care about certain communities within their constituencies in Lucknow.

- There is little variation in the perceptions of elected representatives across citizens residing in different housing types. However, overall, those in HT2s tend to be least likely to feel that each elected representative cares about the well-being of all those in their constituency.

- As in all cities, many citizens note feeling more positive about different stakeholders since the pandemic. The perception shift is greatest for the police and in Lucknow, 45% of citizens feel more positively about their corporator.

Figure 3: Percentage of citizens who feel each elected representative cares about the well-being of the people of their constituency
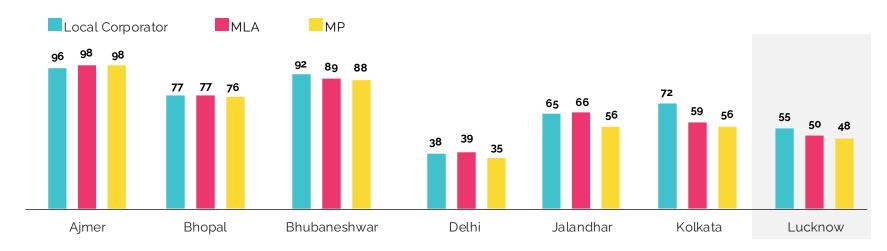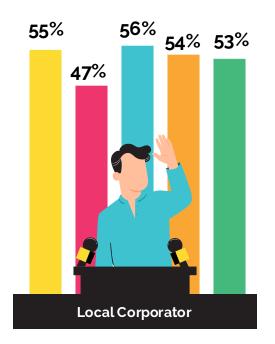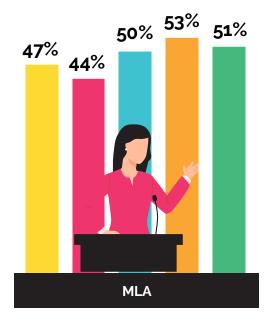
Figure 4: Percentage of Lucknow citizens who feel each elected representative cares about the well-being of all the people of their constituency

■ HT1 ■ HT2 ■ HT3 ■ HT4 ■ HT5

Local Corporator
- 55%
- 47%
- 56%
- 54%
- 53%

MLA
- 47%
- 44%
- 50%
- 53%
- 51%

MP
- 48%
- 41%
- 48%
- 51%
- 51%
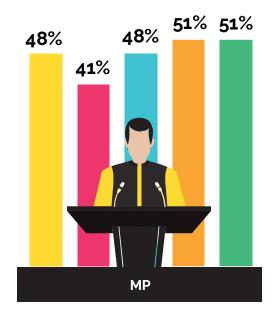
Table 4: Percentage of citizens who feel more positive about specific stakeholders since the COVID-19 pandemic (data in percentage)

	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	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 Lucknow 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.

Shockingly, the office responsible is mostly considered negligibly important across the cities in our sample for providing services. However, in Lucknow the largest proportion of citizens feel their importance, but this is still only by 12% of citizens.

Most citizens in HT1s in Lucknow don't know who is most important in providing services but out of those who do, most feel it is the corporator followed by other persons of influence.

Figure 5: Urban citizens' opinion about the most important resource in ensuring basic services are delivered to the neighbourhood (data in percentage)

Legend:
- **MLA** (yellow)
- **MP** (black)
- **Corporator** (pink)
- **The Government office responsible for the service** (teal)
- **Other persons of influence[23]** (orange)
- **Don't Know/ No answer** (green)

City	MLA	MP	Corporator	The Government office	Other persons of influence	Don't Know/No answer
Ajmer	4	2	91	1	1	2
Bhopal	10	1	65	3	4	16
Bhubaneswar	5	<1	77	2	3	12
Delhi	16	1	25	3	14	41
Jalandhar	23	7	31	5	18	17
Kolkata	16	1	73	1	6	2
Lucknow[22]	5	2	57	12	10	15

22 Total is coming to 101 due to rounding.

23 Other persons of influence include local political leader (unelected), middlemen/ intermediary, and other persons of influence

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

Legend:
- MLA (yellow)
- MP (black)
- Corporator (pink)
- The Government office responsible for the service (teal)
- Other persons of influence[24] (orange)
- Don't Know/ No answer (green)

Housing Type	MLA	MP	Corporator	Government office	Other persons of influence	Don't Know/No answer
HT-1 (Self Built Housing/ Shack)	1		32	4	15	47
HT-2 (Notified Slum)	2	1	56	10	7	24
HT-3 (Lower Middle Class)	4	2	58	12	10	15
HT-4 (Upper Middle Class)	13	2	55	12	9	8
HT-5 (Upper Class)	7	3	54	13	13	10

24 Other persons of influence include local political leader (unelected), middlemen/ intermediary, and other persons of influence

CITIZENSHIP

04

Key findings

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

Self-reported voter registration stands close to

80% **in Lucknow**

which is the second-highest across all sampled cities.

VOTE

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.

- Lucknow is no exception, where citizens consider voting as their most important responsibility (highest among all cities) and self-reported voter registration stands at 79 percent (second highest among all cities). 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 Lucknow, the highest response rate for voting as an important responsibility comes from those residing in upper class housing (HT5). As we go up the housing ladder, the response for voting as an important responsibility increases. There is a 22-percentage point increase from HT1s to HT5s.

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

Most important responsibility	Voting	Respecting the law	Treating others as equal	Being involved in your community	Don't Know
Ajmer	75	21	3	1	<1
Bhopal	73	12	8	5	2
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
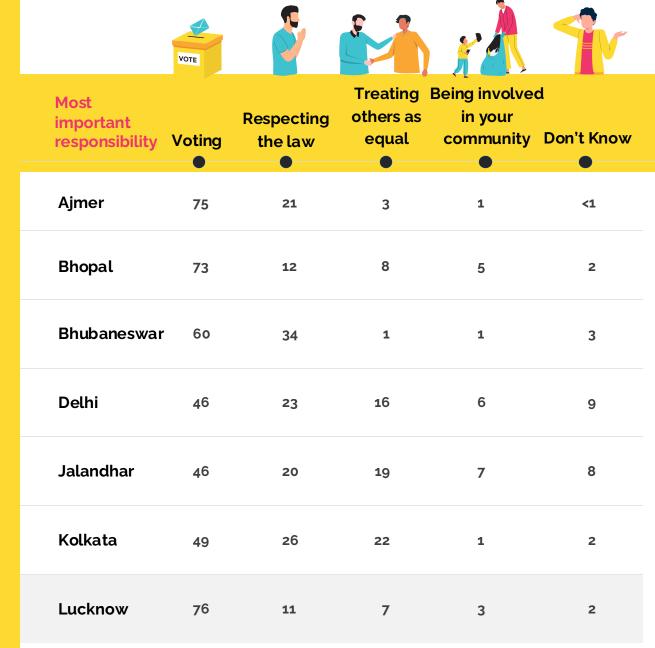
Table 6: Urban Lucknow citizens' opinions about the most important responsibility of citizens in a democracy by housing type (data in percentages)

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)	65	16	4	2	12
HT-2 (Notified Slum)	69	11	8	4	8
HT-3 (Lower Middle Class)	74	11	8	3	3
HT-4 (Upper Middle Class)	83	12	3	1	0
HT-5 (Upper Class)	87	6	1	3	3

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)

Registered as a voter for union/ state/ municipal elections

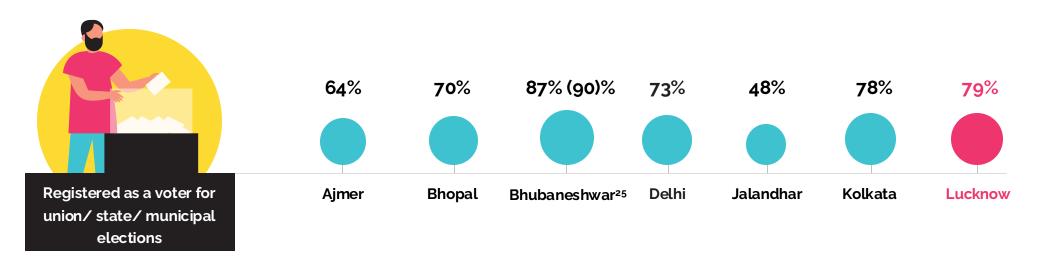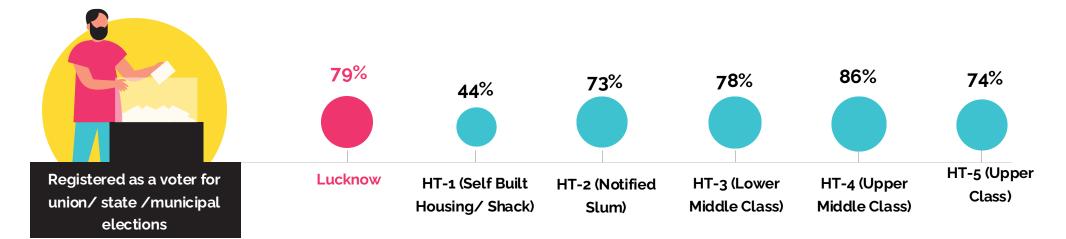| Ajmer	Bhopal	Bhubaneshwar[25]	Delhi	Jalandhar	Kolkata	Lucknow
64%	70%	87% (90)%	73%	48%	78%	79%

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

Registered as a voter for union/ state /municipal elections

Lucknow	HT-1 (Self Built Housing/ Shack)	HT-2 (Notified Slum)	HT-3 (Lower Middle Class)	HT-4 (Upper Middle Class)	HT-5 (Upper Class)
79%	44%	73%	78%	86%	74%

25 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.

- In Lucknow, 79 percent citizens report they are registered to vote for all layers of government. This is the second highest number among all sampled cities. We observe a variation among housing types, where the most self-reported registrations are from HT4s and HT3s respectively. At 44 percent, HT1s are the lowest at self-reporting of being registered as voters, in Lucknow. There is a difference of almost 30 percentage points in the self-reported voter registrations of HT1s and HT2s, and this continues to increase till HT4s, slightly dipping at HT5.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Key findings

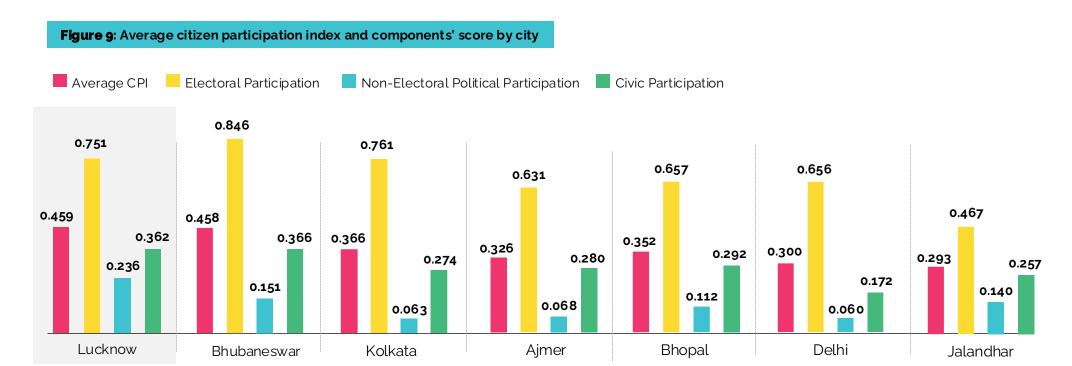The citizen participation index scores for Lucknow city residents are the highest, compared to other cities.

As in all cities, those in HT1s in Lucknow participate least. There is little difference in the participation of those in HT2-HT4s.

One-fourth of residents of Lucknow are aware of ward committees, and residents report the highest attendance in the committees over the past year as compared with other 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 of 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.[26]
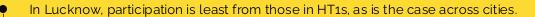
Figure 9: Average citizen participation index and components' score by city

Legend:
- Average CPI
- Electoral Participation
- Non-Electoral Political Participation
- Civic Participation

	Average CPI	Electoral Participation	Non-Electoral Political Participation	Civic Participation
Lucknow	0.459	0.751	0.236	0.362
Bhubaneswar	0.458	0.846	0.151	0.366
Kolkata	0.366	0.761	0.063	0.274
Ajmer	0.326	0.631	0.068	0.280
Bhopal	0.352	0.657	0.112	0.292
Delhi	0.300	0.656	0.060	0.172
Jalandhar	0.293	0.467	0.140	0.257

Key findings

01
The CPI scores of all sampled cities is less than 0.5. Lucknow has the highest score among the sampled cities.

02
As is true for most urban citizens, Lucknow citizens participate most by voting, in an average of 2 out of the last 3 elections of different tiers of government.

03
Urban citizens of Lucknow tend to participate a little more in civic or community activities than in non-electoral, political activities.

26 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)
Lucknow	0.245	0.403	0.460	0.483	0.448
Bhubaneswar	0.267	0.443	0.476	0.461	0.438
Kolkata	0.353	0.387	0.363	0.343	0.326
Ajmer	0.195	0.323	0.325	0.325	0.369
Bhopal	0.362	0.368	0.347	0.343	0.425
Delhi	0.198	0.280	0.299	0.327	0.311
Jalandhar	0.102	0.187	0.309	0.238	0.260

Key findings

- In Lucknow, participation is least from those in HT1s, as is the case across cities.

- There is little difference in the participation levels of those in HT2-5s in the city though those in HT4s appear to participate most.

- While overall, participation by HT1s is lowest across all cities and considerably lower even than HT2s in most cities, in Lucknow, HT1s' participation is the lowest among the other tier-two cities of Bhopal and Bhubaneswar.

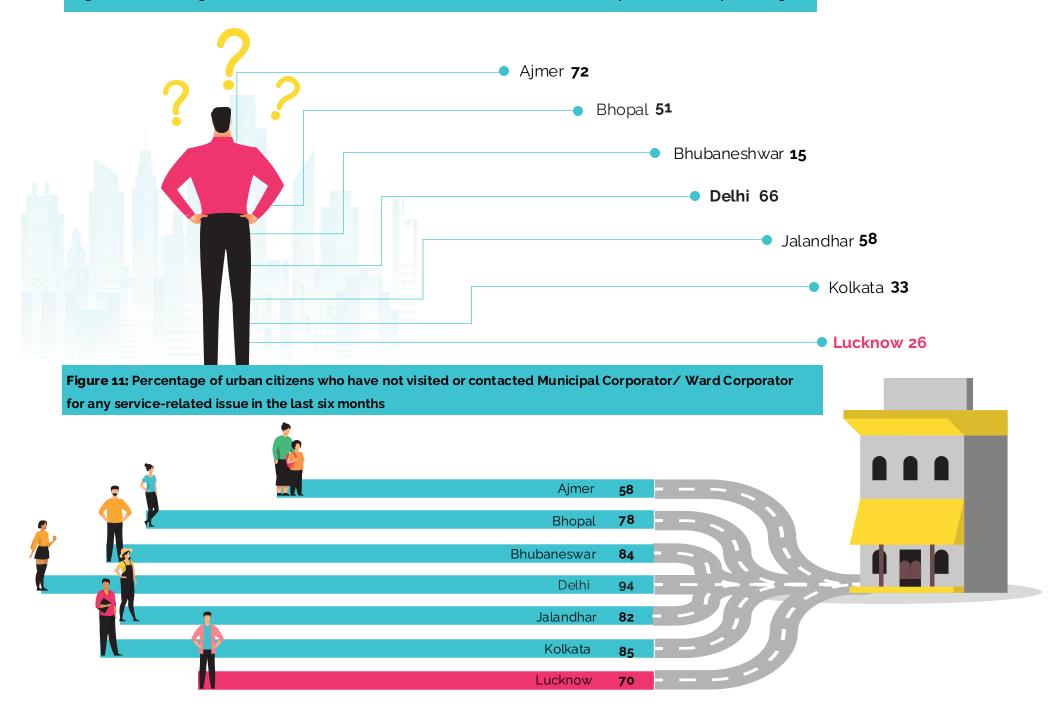# Citizens' awareness of ward committees and engagement with corporators

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

	Aware about ward committees (yes)	If yes, attended ward committee meetings in the last year
Ajmer	4	67
Bhopal	10	68
Bhubaneswar	42	62
Delhi	6	41
Jalandhar		53
Kolkata	37	11
Lucknow	25	83

- Among all sampled cities, Bhubaneswar and Kolkata report the highest percentage of citizen awareness about ward committees.[27] Lucknow residents are placed at third spot regarding awareness about ward committees, but with only one-fourth saying that they are aware. Among those who are aware of ward committees, Lucknow residents report the highest attendees during the ward committee meetings. This is unexpected given limited operation of such committees in the city.[28]

- About one-fourth citizens of Lucknow do not know how to contact their local ward corporator, and the majority have not visited the municipal corporator/ward corporator in the last six months. This is especially interesting since close to 60 percent of Lucknow residents suggest that the corporator is the most important resource in ensuring basic services to the neighbourhood.

27   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.

28   As per a Praja Foundation study (2019), Ward Committees are not active in Lucknow, even though the Municipal Corporation Act of 1959 mandates so. Additionally, ASICS 2017 shows Lucknow to have a score of 4.5/ 10 in the matrix of transparency, accountability and participation, since the area sabhas are not mandated to be constituted under the Uttar Pradesh Municipal Corporation Act, 1959. See https://praja.org/praja_docs/praja_downloads/State%20Consultation%20Report%20 of%20Uttar%20Pradesh.pdf and https://www.janaagraha.org/asics/report/ASICS-2017-Press-Conference-PPT.pdf

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

Ajmer **72**

Bhopal **51**

Bhubaneshwar **15**

Delhi 66

Jalandhar **58**

Kolkata **33**

Lucknow 26

Figure 11: Percentage of urban citizens who have not visited or contacted Municipal Corporator/ Ward Corporator for any service-related issue in the last six months

City	Percentage
Ajmer	58
Bhopal	78
Bhubaneswar	84
Delhi	94
Jalandhar	82
Kolkata	85
Lucknow	70

BASIC SERVICE DELIVERY

Key findings

All three tier-II cities of Lucknow, Bhopal, and Bhubaneswar, report the lowest scores in service delivery, respectively.

In urban Lucknow, the service delivery score for HT1s is the lowest, and there is a marked improvement for HT2s. The scores increase slightly for HT3 and plateau for HT4 and HT5.

Less than half HT1s have piped water connection within the household, and less than 40 percent have metered electricity connections

Piper water connections are available to almost all the residents of Lucknow, but the HT1s are at a huge disadvantage as only 15 percent of them have a connection inside their household premises. Equally, those in HT1s are less likely to have access to water on all days of the week and for more than 2 hours at a time.

About one-fourth of all residents depend on borewells for water supply.

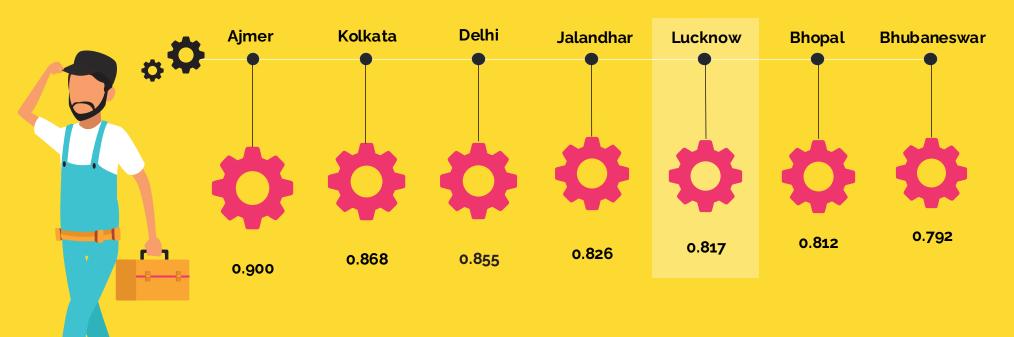Almost three-fourths of HT1s report compromised sanitation.
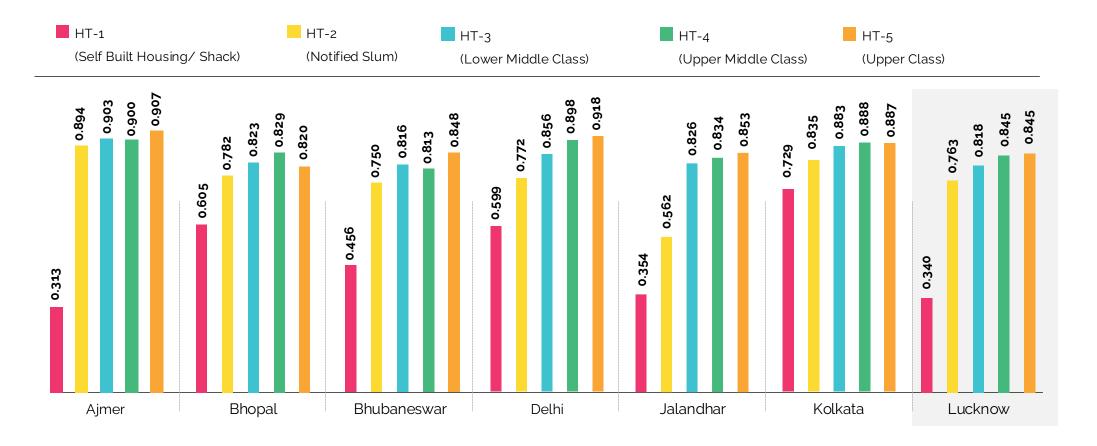
Basic Service Delivery Index (BSDII)

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

Ajmer	Kolkata	Delhi	Jalandhar	Lucknow	Bhopal	Bhubaneswar
0.900	0.868	0.855	0.826	0.817	0.812	0.792

Figure 13: BSDII score by city and household types

■ 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: 0.313, 0.894, 0.903, 0.900, 0.907
Bhopal: 0.605, 0.782, 0.823, 0.829, 0.820
Bhubaneswar: 0.456, 0.750, 0.816, 0.813, 0.848
Delhi: 0.599, 0.772, 0.856, 0.898, 0.918
Jalandhar: 0.354, 0.562, 0.826, 0.834, 0.853
Kolkata: 0.729, 0.835, 0.883, 0.888, 0.887
Lucknow: 0.340, 0.763, 0.818, 0.845, 0.845

Key Findings

01 Most cities overall report a relatively high BSDII score but these scores are highly differentiated by socio-economic class.
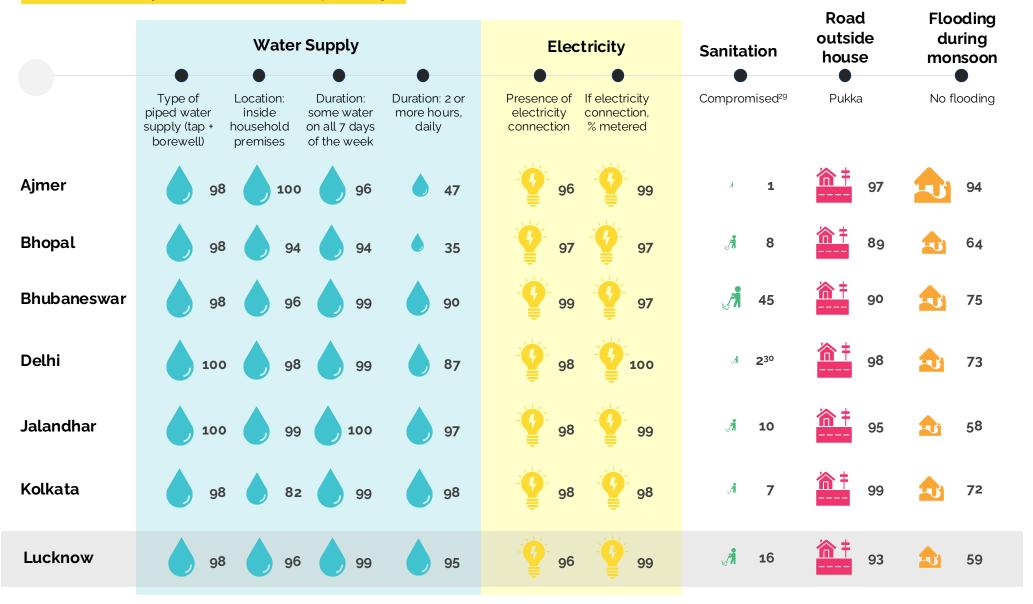
02 Service delivery drops off markedly from HT2 to HT1 settlement households and it is the latter who receive the lowest quality of basic services.

03 n most cities, including Lucknow, there is little difference in basic service delivery between those in HT3s, HT4s and HT5s.

04 Lucknow comes third from last for the overall BSDII score. Lack of metered electricity connections, flooding during monsoon and extremely high compromised sanitation in HT1s, pull down the overall score.

Breakdown of basic service provision

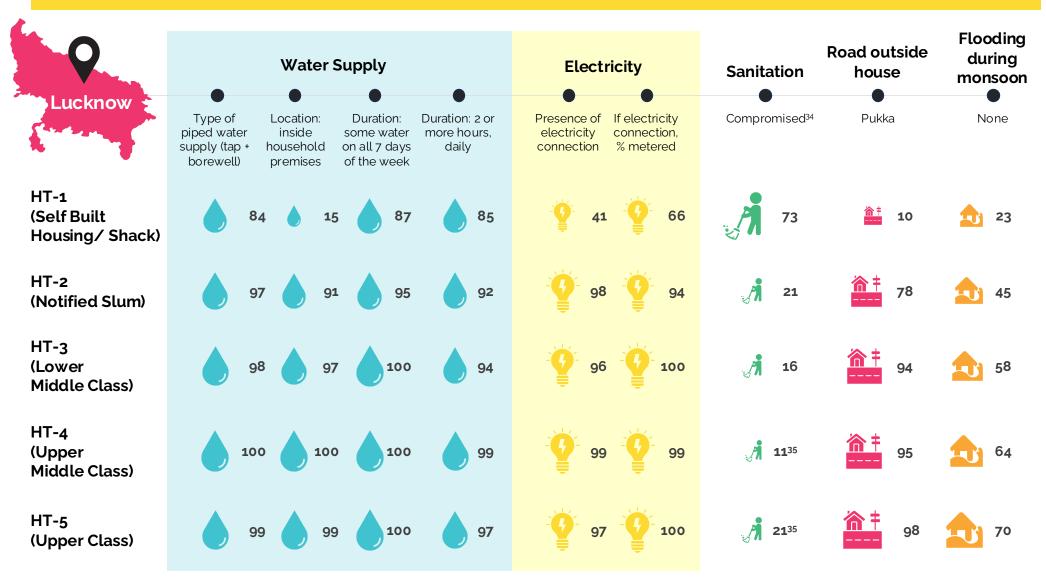**Table 9:** Availability of basic services (data in percentage)

	Water Supply				Electricity		Sanitation	Road outside house	Flooding during monsoon
	Type of piped water supply (tap + borewell)	Location: inside household premises	Duration: some water on all 7 days of the week	Duration: 2 or more hours, daily	Presence of electricity connection	If electricity connection, % metered	Compromised[29]	Pukka	No flooding
Ajmer	98	100	96	47	96	99	1	97	94
Bhopal	98	94	94	35	97	97	8	89	64
Bhubaneswar	98	96	99	90	99	97	45	90	75
Delhi	100	98	99	87	98	100	2[30]	98	73
Jalandhar	100	99	100	97	98	99	10	95	58
Kolkata	98	82	99	98	98	98	7	99	72
Lucknow	98	96	99	95	96	99	16	93	59

29 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.
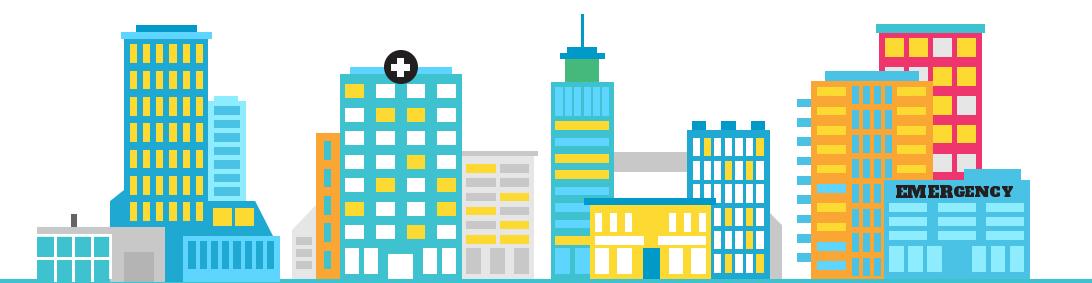
30 This figure is counter-intuitive from our understanding of the ground realities. There may have been some mis-interpretation of the question when translated into Hindi and this is being explored.

- A high percentage of Lucknow residents report availability of piped water in the household, but all the housing types have dependence on borewells as well.[31]

- The majority of citizens in Lucknow have water for at least two hours a day on all days of the week. However, HT1s are most likely to have less than 2 hours of water a day.

- There is also a clear class division when it comes to electricity and sanitation in Lucknow. Citizens in HT1s face severe issues of availability of metered electricity connections,[32] as well as covered and piped sanitation.[33] As we move from HT1s to HT2s, there is a 57-percentage point increase in electricity connections, and a large increase in metered connections.

- Compromised sanitation is the reality for the vast majority of those residing in HT1s in Lucknow. This drops of markedly as we move to HT2s.

31 During FGDs, it was reported that in one neighbourhood, the water is accessed through a community water tank, for those who do not have piped connections at home. For most people in this neighbourhood, water was available for 2 hours a day, and they reported serious issues with respect to water supply. In the other neighbourhood, no one had a water connection at home, and they accessed water through those households which had a borewell, for a monthly price.

32 During FGDs, while in one neighbourhood everyone reported having a metered electricity connection, the second neighbourhood reported that almost no one had an electricity meter, and that they use jumper connections (illegal connections). They also narrated that they pay even for illegal connections, and that electricity gets disrupted sometimes when the electricity work is going on.

33 It was pointed out during FGDs that very few people in both neighbourhoods had functional toilet facility at home. Most of the people had filled in forms under the swachh bharat scheme, but the team did not come back, and no one received the toilet.

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

Lucknow

	Water Supply				Electricity		Sanitation	Road outside house	Flooding during monsoon
	Type of piped water supply (tap + borewell)	Location: inside household premises	Duration: some water on all 7 days of the week	Duration: 2 or more hours, daily	Presence of electricity connection	If electricity connection, % metered	Compromised[34]	Pukka	None
HT-1 (Self Built Housing/ Shack)	84	15	87	85	41	66	73	10	23
HT-2 (Notified Slum)	97	91	95	92	98	94	21	78	45
HT-3 (Lower Middle Class)	98	97	100	94	96	100	16	94	58
HT-4 (Upper Middle Class)	100	100	100	99	99	99	11[35]	95	64
HT-5 (Upper Class)	99	99	100	97	97	100	21[35]	98	70

34 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.

35 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.
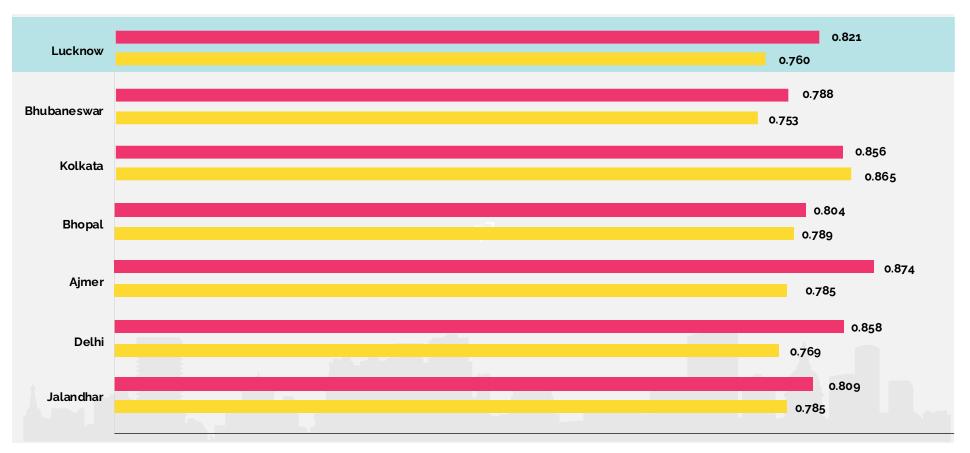
Table 11: Comparison of CPI and BSDII scores by city

	Lucknow	Bhubaneswar	Kolkata	Bhopal	Ajmer	Delhi	Jalandhar
CPI	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

Lucknow tops the score for CPI in comparison to other sampled cities, with Bhubaneswar a close second. However, Lucknow is third from the bottom of the list in the BSDII scores. 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.

Figure 14: Above and Below average CPI scores, and corresponding BSDII scores

- BSDII for above average CPI
- BSDII for below average CPI

City	BSDII for above average CPI	BSDII for below average CPI
Lucknow	0.821	0.760
Bhubaneswar	0.788	0.753
Kolkata	0.856	0.865
Bhopal	0.804	0.789
Ajmer	0.874	0.785
Delhi	0.858	0.769
Jalandhar	0.809	0.785
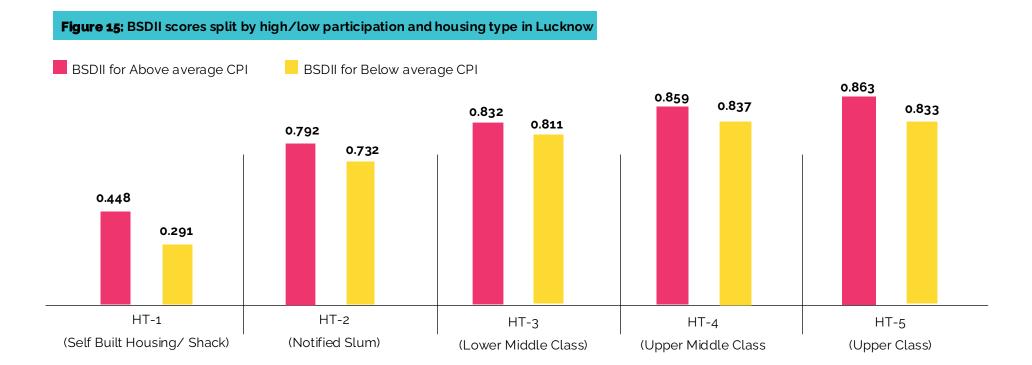
0   1.0

In Lucknow, there is a positive difference between service and infrastructure scores for those who participate an above average amount as compared to those who participate a below average amount. Additionally, when we look at the same distinction of high/low participation within different housing types in Lucknow city, we see that participation shows up to be important in improved service delivery. The citizens with above-average participation in all housing types have a higher BSDII score than those with below-average participation.

Generally speaking, across cities, as we have seen, the BSDII scores improve as we go up the housing ladder. In all cities, the largest jump in improved services is from HT1 to HT2. What is particularly interesting however, is that in HT1s in all cities, except Bhopal, those who participate more, have better services. This differentiation that participation makes is seen most strongly in HT1s as compared with other HTs, regardless of city. 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.

Figure 15: BSDII scores split by high/low participation and housing type in Lucknow

■ BSDII for Above average CPI   ■ BSDII for Below average CPI

	HT-1 (Self Built Housing/ Shack)	HT-2 (Notified Slum)	HT-3 (Lower Middle Class)	HT-4 (Upper Middle Class)	HT-5 (Upper Class)
Above average CPI	0.448	0.792	0.832	0.859	0.863
Below average CPI	0.291	0.732	0.811	0.837	0.833

WAY FORWARD

Urban Lucknow residents have the third lowest score in basic service delivery, as compared to all other sampled cities. 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 in Lucknow is at the top, compared with other cities and characterized mostly by voting and to some extent through civic and community activities, rather than non-electoral, political activities. Whereas participation is greatest in Lucknow among HT4s and HT3s, those in HT4s and HT5s in the city participate considerably more than citizens in respective HTs in other cities. However, the relationship between participation and service delivery needs further exploration.

Improve transparency, accountability and participation

While citizen participation is highest in Lucknow, compared with our other cities, to enhance it further 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 the constitution of ward committees and area sabhas and notifying the rules for the same.

*   Amending the Uttar Pradesh Municipal Corporation Act, 1959 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 LMC 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 LMC to adopt **open data standards, and publish key financial and operational data in open data format on the city government websites at regular intervals.**

*   **The LMC could 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

*   The LMC to have a **digital governance policy/roadmap**, as a tool of accountability and grievance redressal.

*   Amending the Uttar Pradesh Municipal Corporation Act, 1959 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.**

*   Amending the Uttar Pradesh Municipalities (Public Disclosure of Information) Rules, 2010 to be **compliant with the model public disclosure law,** that mandates disclosure of: audited financial statements, particulars of major public works, minutes of meetings, service level benchmarks, etc.

Fix other City-Systems

As described in the introduction of this report, the ability of a city to deliver 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).[36] '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 Lucknow. These include urban planning and design, urban capacities and resources – finance and human resources, and empowered and legitimate political representation.

[36] 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),[37] '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 Lucknow therefore, the Uttar Pradesh Planning and Development Act, 1973 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. While sector specific planning should be encouraged, the planning authorities need to develop and share a common digital spatial development planning map and mandate relevant sectoral agencies to update data through GIS with fixed periodicity. The LMC can be mandated to have a single window clearance process in place for social development projects that are in conformity with SDPs.

[37] 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 is needed for revenue expenditure such as operations and maintenance (including HR) and hiring of talent to deliver the same.

Specific to Lucknow, amendments can be made to the Uttar Pradesh Municipal Corporation Act, 1959, to empower city governments to levy and collect profession and advertisement tax, raise borrowings, and invest surplus without prior approval from the state/union government and mandate the creation of medium-term fiscal plans to ensure fiscal prudence. In addition, ensuring timely constitution of the State Finance Commission is imperative to positively impact the financial position of Urban Local Bodies. and Uttar Pradesh recently constituted the 6th State Finance Commission. Moreover[38], it is important to mandate external/ independent audit of municipal accounts and their publication in public domain.

Furthermore, the Uttar Pradesh Municipal Corporation Act 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 levels. The city commissioner should have a minimum tenure of 2 years, along with induction and periodic training of municipal officials.

Empowered and Legitimate Political Representation

Mayors and Councillors 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).[39] In Lucknow, amendments can also be made to the Uttar Pradesh Municipal Corporation Act, 1959 to empower city governments to assess their own staff requirement and in particular empower the Mayor/Council with the authority to appoint the Municipal Commissioner. There is also a need to amend the Act to devolve all 18 functions as obligatory/mandatory functions as per the 12th schedule.

[38] https://cdnbbsr.s3waas.gov.in/s316026d60ff9b54410b3435b403afd226/uploads/2024/12/20241230176286612.pdf

[39] 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].

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 Lucknow, the key respondents' interviews were conducted in January 2020. 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 Lucknow, the focus group discussions took place on 14th and 15th January 2020. 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 before the first wave of the Covid-19 pandemic, hence, no questions related to Covid were asked. However, questions related to the pandemic were 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 Lucknow was conducted after the second phase of the COVID-19 pandemic. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in Hindi, and through CAPI method (computer-assisted personal interviews). Since Lucknow was a mid-tier city (tier-II city), the targeted sample was 2000 respondents. However, we achieved a total sample of 2167 respondents at the end of the survey.
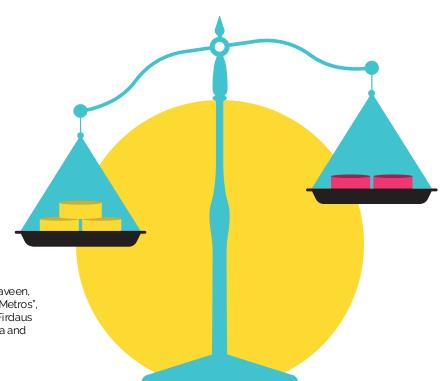
Weighting and Index creation:

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.[40]. 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.[41]

40 Solon, Gary; Steven J. Haider, and Jeffrey M. Wooldridge. 2015. "What Are We Weighting For?," Journal of Human Resources, 50(2): 301-316.

41 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)

1. Water **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:
  i.   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?

3. 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),
  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?

5. 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.

Lucknow