JANAAGRAHA

JANAAGRAHA CENTRE FOR CITIZENSHIP & DEMOCRACY

BROWNNDIA
INITIATIVE

CITIZENSHIP INDEX

# CITIZENSHIP IN BANGALORE

## A PRACTITIONER'S VIEW

DECEMBER 2014

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**ABOUT THE JANAAGRAHA-BROWN CITIZENSHIP INDEX**

The Janaagraha-Brown Citizenship Index (JB-CI) project focuses on measuring the quality of citizenship in urban India by measuring the extent to which Indian citizens can effectively use their civil, political and social rights in cities. The inaugural JB-CI survey in Bangalore covered more than 4,000 respondents. The project will eventually be scaled up across India.

The project is a unique and equal partnership both in concept and execution between academic researchers and practioners on a crucial contemporary subject.

**ABOUT THE BROWN-INDIA INIATIVE**

The Brown-India Initiative is an interdisciplinary hub for the study of contemporary India. The Initiative's goals are twofold: to produce first-rate academic research, and to contribute to public discourse on, and in, India through talks, events, and the convergence of figures from across the lines of academia, civil society, literature, public policy and journalism.

**ABOUT JANAAGRAHA CENTRE FOR CITIZENSHIP AND DEMOCRACY**

Janaagraha Centre for Citizenship and Democracy (Janaagraha) is a Bangalore based not-for-profit having the mission of transforming quality of life in India's cities and towns. It defines quality of life as comprising quality of infrastructure and services, and quality of citizenship. Janaagraha, along with its sister organisation Jana Urban Space Foundation, operates ten programs all of which are based on a robust City-Systems framework. To achieve its mission, Janaagraha works with both citizens and governments in advocating policy, creating platforms for citizen engagement and forging partnerships to attain scale.

Over its ten year existence, Janaagraha has built a proven track-record in systemic change in city-systems and in catalyzing citizen engagement.

Janaagraha was founded by Swati and Ramesh Ramanathan and is led by a management team comprising engineers, management graduates, public policy professionals, researchers and a military veteran driven by a passion for transformative change.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# INTRODUCTION

**Urbanization, Quality of Life and Citizenship in India**

In 1951, India was just 17 percent urban and only five Indian cities had populations greater than one million. By 2011, three Indian cities — Mumbai, Delhi and Kolkata — were megacities with populations of more than ten million and 53 cities had populations of more than one million. Over the next 35 years, India is expected to add 404 million urban dwellers to its cities with four more cities — Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Chennai and Hyderabad — becoming megacities by 2030. Depending on what measures are used, India's population, 32 percent urban in 2011, could be well over 40 percent urban within the next 15 to 20 years and 50 percent urban by 2050[1].

At this point, agriculture, the dominant, if not the overwhelming, economic activity of rural India, accounts for less than 15 percent of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Urban India has become, and will continue to be, the primary source of India's economic growth and innovation with McKinsey predicting that, by 2025, 69 metropolitan cities will be responsible for more than half of India's GDP[2]. In addition to generating economic benefits, the density of urban settlements makes it possible for the government to deliver basic services, such as sanitation, education and healthcare, more efficiently and more cheaply than in rural settings. However, rapid urbanization in India has also been accompanied by unplanned growth of slums, intensification of socioeconomic inequalities and rising levels of urban poverty[3]. Unsurprisingly, governance of India's cities is fast becoming a central issue and its importance will only continue to grow.

Although laws grant basic civic and political rights to all Indian citizens, the trends described above, along with factors such as corruption, lack of trust between government and citizens, and poor government infrastructure, obstruct many Indians, especially the urban poor and other marginalized groups, from exercising their rights. These factors make it challenging for citizens to engage in civic and political life, limit their access to economic opportunities and restrict their social citizenship, which is dependent on their ability to access basic public goods and social services, such as water, education and healthcare[4].

This truncation of citizenship, therefore, has a huge impact on development, democracy and, fundamentally, quality of life. As Heller and Evans note: "Citizens are made not only at the national level through constitutions and elections, but also in their day-to-day engagements with the local state"[5]. Importantly, with more than half of the world's population living in urban areas today, cities are critical locations where the battle to ensure high-quality of life for all will be won or lost.

As India continues to urbanize, it is critical to understand:
- What is the quality of citizenship in urban India and what factors impact this quality?
- How do citizens relate to one another and engage with civic and political activities?
- What forms of discrimination are common in urban settings and how does discrimination impact the extent to which Indians can exercise their rights?
- Has urbanization strengthened the quality of citizenship in India with rights-based politics or

[1] UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2011; 2014a; 2014b.
[2] McKinsey & Company, Brar, J. et al, 2014.
[3] World Bank and International Monetary Fund, 2013; UN-Habitat, 2008; 2013.
[4] Zerah, Rewal, Dupont, & Chaudhuri, 2011.
[5] Heller and Evans, 2010, p. 435.

**The Janaagraha-Brown Citizenship Index**

Data that answers the above questions can enhance our understanding of the relationship between urbanization and citizenship. It can also aid the development of policies to improve citizen engagement in India's cities, thus strengthening democracy at the grassroots and bringing citizens in as partners in the journey to better quality of life. It is in this spirit that the Janaagraha-Brown Citizenship Index (JB-CI) project was conceived in 2012. We — a group of scholars and practitioners — hope the Citizenship Index (CI) will act as a powerful tool to infuse debates about citizenship, civic engagement and constitutional rights in urban India and provide policymakers with information they can use to improve the quality of citizenship in India's cities.

Importantly, indices present an opportunity to bring together complicated variables into a format that can be reviewed quickly and easily. Over the past several decades the policy world has seen an important shift towards understanding development in terms of quality of life and equity, rather than in solely economic terms. This shift has, in large part, been catalyzed by the creation and use of simple, yet powerful, indicators, such as the United Nations Human Development Index (HDI). By quantifying select quality of life indicators in a way that was easy to understand, the HDI played an important role in getting policymakers to focus on non-economic aspects of development. It drew attention to the idea of development as a "process of enlarging people's choices" by determining their level of political freedom and their ability "to live a long healthy life, to be educated and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living"[6].

The focus on quality of life in the policy sphere has also helped to draw attention towards notions of rights-based governance. In India, concerns about equity and quality of life have manifested themselves in various public debates and resulted in several tangible actions, including the push for affordable housing for all (through the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission), the Right to Food Act, the Right to Education Act, the Right to Information Act and the Total Sanitation Campaign. But poor governance and the persistence of various forms of discrimination and inequality in urban areas all mean that the government needs to take more tangible action to ensure that Indians living in cities can exercise the rights they are legally entitled to in a meaningful manner. There is an urgent need to understand the dynamics of citizenship in India and how and why citizens are not able to effectively use their rights.

With this in mind, the JB-CI has two aims. The first is to construct an index to measure citizenship so that we can assess the quality of citizenship — defined by knowledge of civic and political issues, as well as participation in civic and political life — across individuals within a city to determine how citizenship is distributed across the various categories of class, caste and religion (Figure 1 shows the components of the CI). The second aim is to assess what factors determine the level of access that citizens have to basic services in urban areas. The latter is accomplished through the construction of our Basic Service Delivery and Infrastructure Index (BSDII), which measures quality of access to water, electricity, sanitation and roads. The BSDII is then analyzed in relation to the CI to understand the influence of citizenship on access to goods and services. We also measure the ability of citizens to engage with the state without having to pay a bribe, call in favours, mobilize personal networks or otherwise leverage social power, and analyze this engagement in relation to access to services.

The first leg of the project was completed in Bangalore with a survey of over 4,000 households in 2013. This report is based on the findings from that survey. We plan to extend the survey to several cities across India and to ask roughly the same questions in all cities. The data will then be used to make cross-city comparisons related to the quality of citizenship in India.

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[6] United Nations Development Programme, 1990, p. 1.

Citizenship Index

Knowledge

Participation

Knowledge about politics

Knowledge about opportunities for civic and political participation, and about how to redress grievances

Voting

Political participation other than voting (e.g. rallies, contributions to political parties)

Civic participation (e.g. neighbourhood groups, voluntary organizations)

**Figure 1: Components of the Citizenship Index**

*The flow chart above illustrates the components of the CI. The CI is made up of two equally-weighted components: (1) knowledge of civic and political issues, and (2) participation in civic and political life.*

# DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN OF SAMPLE

A REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLE OF
## 4,093 CITIZENS
FROM ACROSS BANGALORE

**Jain**
0.1%

**Christian**
8.8%

**Others**
0.2%

**Muslim**
18.0%
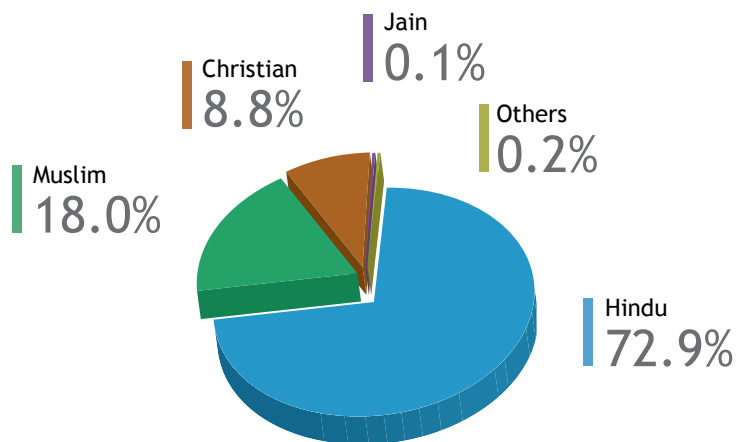
**Hindu**
72.9%

**Figure 2: Religion breakdown of sample**

*The three most common religions in our sample were Hinduism (72.9%), Islam (18%) and Christianity (8.8%).*

**OBC**
17%

**Other/FC**
54%

**ST**
5%

**SC**
24%
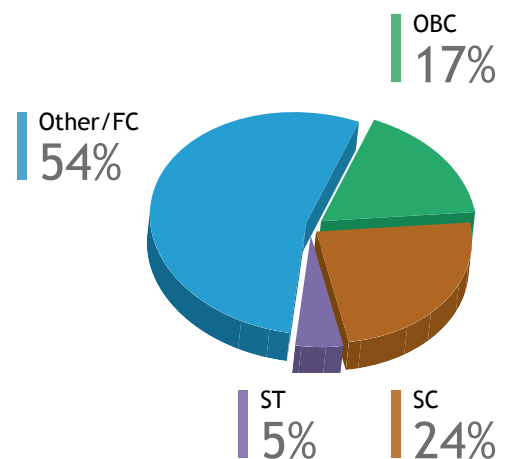
**Figure 3: Caste breakdown of Hindu citizens in sample**

*The majority of Hindus classified as Forward Castes (54%), although this likely includes Lingayats and Vokkaligas who self-classified as FC. The next largest group was Scheduled Castes (24%) followed by Other Backward Castes (17%) and Scheduled Tribes (5%).*
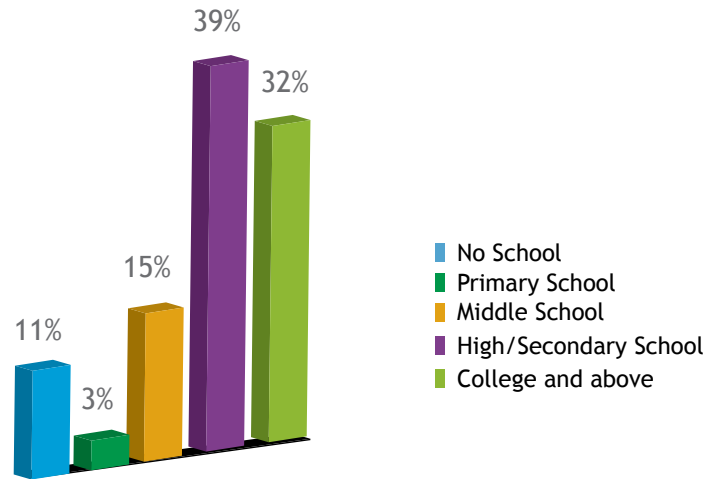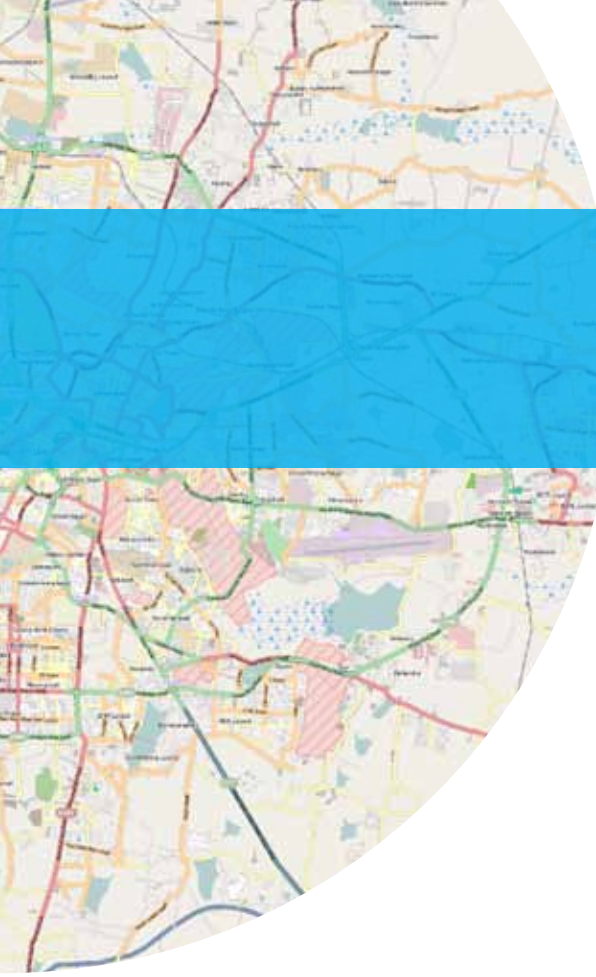
**Figure 4: Educational attainment breakdown of sample**

*Our data indicates that the population of Bangalore is fairly well-educated. The graph above shows that the majority of our sample (70.8%) attended secondary school or above. However, about one-tenth of respondents (11%) did not attend school at all.*
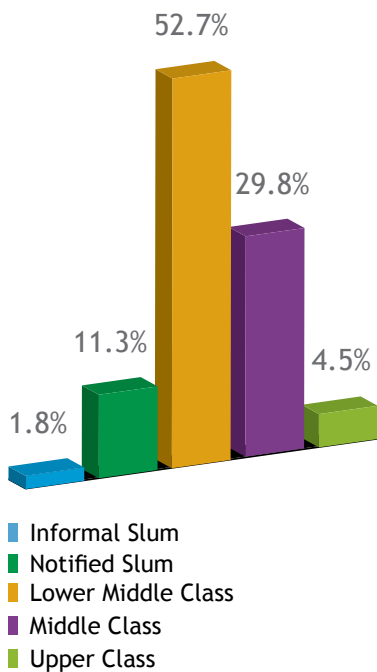


**Figure 5: Housing type breakdown of sample**

*Housing was used as a proxy for class. More than half of the sample (52.7%) lives in lower middle class housing and about one-third lives in middle class housing (29.8%). A small portion of the sample lives in upper class housing (4.5%), with the remainder living in notified slums (11.3%) and informal slums (1.8%). When the lower middle class housing type is disaggregated, we find that nearly half of these households live in mixed neighbourhoods; with either lower middle class housing and sizable slum populations or lower middle class housing and a sizable proportion of middle class housing (see key finding 2 for further information).*

**Figure 6: Gender breakdown of sample**

Women
**55.6%**

Men
**44.3%**

*The remainder of our sample classified themselves as "other".*

# KEY FINDINGS

## 1.  Public engagement in Bangalore virtually begins and ends with voting.

Bangaloreans vote at high rates — of those surveyed, 77.5 percent voted in the last state election, 71.4 percent voted in the last municipal election and 70.2 percent voted in the last national election — but they do not participate much in civic or political activities, such as political rallies, ward meetings and voluntary organizations, between elections. Although about 80 percent of Bangaloreans know who is in power at the state and national level, less than one-tenth participate in political activities outside of elections. In addition, Bangalore's residents are less engaged with municipal politics than national or state-level politics even though they are more likely to be able to use their rights at the local level.  Only about one-third know the name of their municipal councillor, less than ten percent contribute time to political campaigns in municipal elections and more than 90 percent do not know if there is a ward committee in their ward.

In short, Bangaloreans tend to vote a lot and know a bit about politics, but are not engaged with civic issues or activities outside of elections. This is reflected in the city's average score of 0.32 on the CI. This means that, on average, those surveyed answered three to four questions correctly out of the 12 questions that they were asked about national, state and local political actors, institutions and state service providers. This CI score also indicates that, on average, those surveyed participated in three civic or political activities. These activities likely consisted of voting in two (or three) elections and one other activity un-related to elections. In Bangalore, democracy would be deeper and bring better outcomes to its citizens if, in addition to voting in such high numbers, citizens also participated more vigorously in civic life between elections — a point that has been made for urban India in general[7].

The primacy of voting as a defining aspect of citizenship in Bangalore is underscored by the fact that Bangaloreans consider the vertical dimension of citizenship — their obligations and rights vis-à-vis the state — to be more important than the horizontal dimension of citizenship — their obligations and rights vis-à-vis their fellow citizens.  When asked what they considered to be the two most important responsibilities that accompany citizenship, Bangaloreans placed voting (72%) and respecting the law (71.8%) far above treating others as equals (48%) and being involved with civic issues (5.8%).

## 2.  Though Bangalore is unequal, it may very well be that it is much less unequal than other Indian cities.

Our findings provide confirmation of the widely held view that Bangalore has a proportionately larger middle class than the other big Indian cities. About two-thirds of Bangaloreans live in homes in lower middle, middle or upper class neighbourhoods (see Figure 7 below).

In order to identify the type of neighbourhood that respondents lived in, we looked at two factors. First, we looked at whether they lived in an illegal slum, a notified slum, a lower middle class home, a middle class home or an upper class home (see Figure 5)[8]. Then we reclassified those living in lower middle class homes (52.7% of our sample) into three categories because they lived in three types of neighbourhoods: (1) mixed neighbourhoods with lower middle class housing and sizeable slum populations, (2) neighbourhoods with mostly lower middle class housing, and

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[7] Varshney, 2013.

[8] See the Appendices of the *Janaagraha-Brown Citizenship Index Study - Citizenship in Urban India: Evidence from Bangalore* for more details on housing classification.

(3) mixed neighbourhoods with lower middle class and middle class housing. In fact, as Figure 7 shows, nearly half of those in lower middle class housing as per the original parameters lived nearly equally in neighbourhoods 1 and 3 as described above. Therefore, what first appeared to be a large and homogenous lower middle class turns out to be much more disaggregated.

There are notable inequalities in Bangalore. Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes (SC/ST) account for the majority of informal slum and designated slums dwellers (71 percent and 65 percent respectively) and they also account for 47 percent of the households in the lower middle class housing surrounded by sizeable slum housing. In contrast, only 16 percent of the Other Backward Castes (OBCs) and 8 percent of Forward Castes (FCs) live in these neighbourhoods. It was also found that roughly half of SCs/STs live in what might be described as ghettoes, that is, neighbourhoods that have high concentration of either group and receive poor basic services. In proportional terms, the SCs/STs are four times as likely as the OBCs or FCs to live in these neighbourhoods. However, there does appear to by some caste mobility in Bangalore, with 24 percent of SC/ST households in lower middle class neighbourhoods and 26 percent in upper middle class neighbourhoods.

The findings also show that Muslims are twice as likely as Hindus to live in slum and lower middle class neighbourhoods, but do not on average receive lower levels of services than Hindus. This suggests that many Muslims live in ethnic enclaves, neighbourhoods where members of a certain group choose to live to share cultural resources and other desirable assets[9].

Given these findings, it is possible that the Muslims of Bangalore are less underprivileged than Muslims in other parts of India and that there are more people from Scheduled Castes in the middle class than elsewhere. But we won't know for sure until research in other cities is carried out.
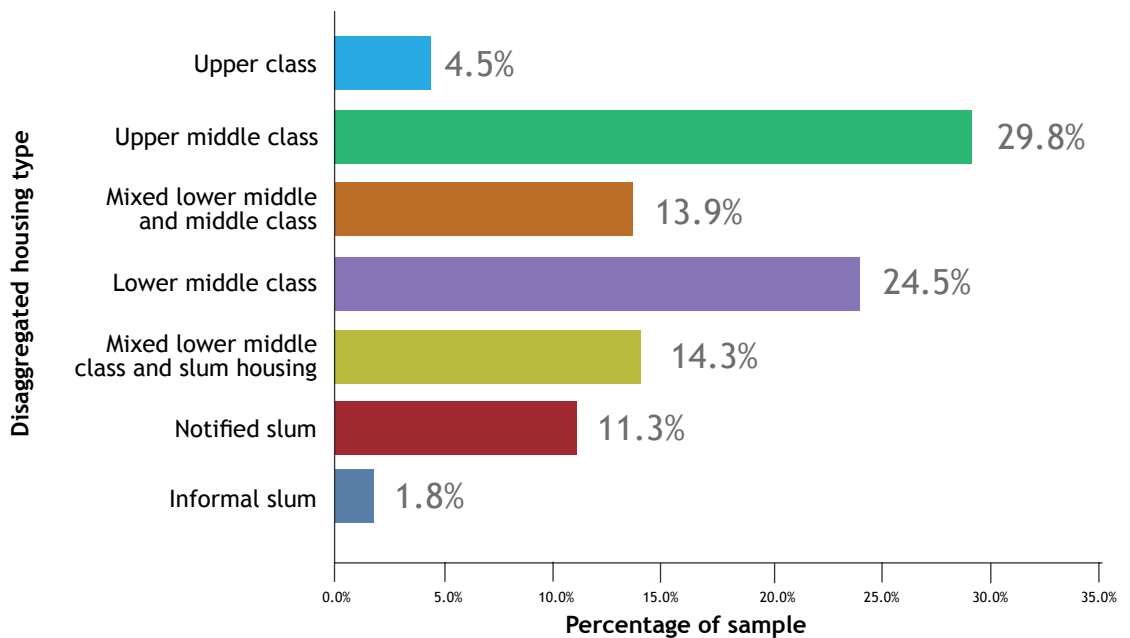


**Figure 7: Breakdown of sample by disaggregated housing type**

*The bar graph above shows the breakdown of the sample based on the disaggregated housing type respondents live in.*

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[9] In contrast to enclaves, ghettoes are places where ethnic minorities are stuck, because of social exclusion or inadequate economic resources to live in more advantaged neighbourhoods.

## 3. Levels of citizenship in Bangalore are closely intertwined with education, class religion and caste.

Generally speaking, the higher a Bangalorean's class and level of education, the higher their level of citizenship with one important exception — members of the upper class have a slightly lower level of citizenship than their middle class counterparts with average CI scores of 0.34 and 0.36 respectively.

The type of housing a person lives in, which was used as a proxy for class, had a strong impact on their citizenship score. Figure 8 below shows average CI scores by housing type. Those living in informal settlements and designated slums have far lower levels of citizenship — with average CI scores of 0.16 and 0.26 respectively — than members of the middle and upper class.

Religion and caste also have some influence on citizenship. Forward castes tended to score higher on the Citizenship Index than scheduled castes. Muslims scored slightly lower and Christians scored slightly higher than other religious groups, but the differences across Muslims, Hindus and Christians are not that pronounced.
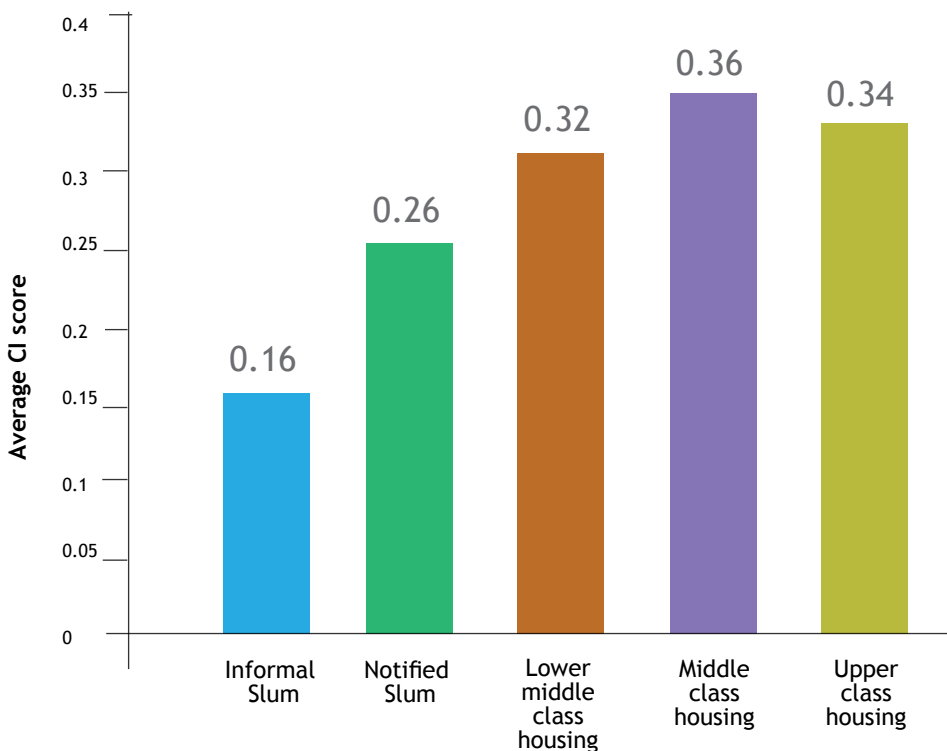


**Figure 8: Average CI Score by Housing Type**

*The graph above shows how the average CI scores of our sample varied by housing type, which was used as a proxy for class. The data indicates that, as a person's class increases, their citizenship also tends to increase. Those living in informal slums had an average score of 0.16 out of 1, those in notified slums had an average score of 0.26, those in lower middle class housing had an average score of 0.32, those in middle class housing had an average score of 0.36 and those in upper class housing had an average score of 0.34.*

The main factor driving socioeconomic differences in levels of citizenship is knowledge (Figure 9 shows differences in levels of participation and knowledge by class). It is hardly surprising that knowledge and class are highly correlated. But it is notable that participation partly compensates for knowledge differences across class. Thus, residents of notified slums and lower and middle class housing participate more than the upper class. Participation in civic activities is comparable across different groups with Muslims and lower castes participating more than higher castes, Hindus and Christians. On the other hand, the level of knowledge that people from different groups have about civic and political issues varies greatly.
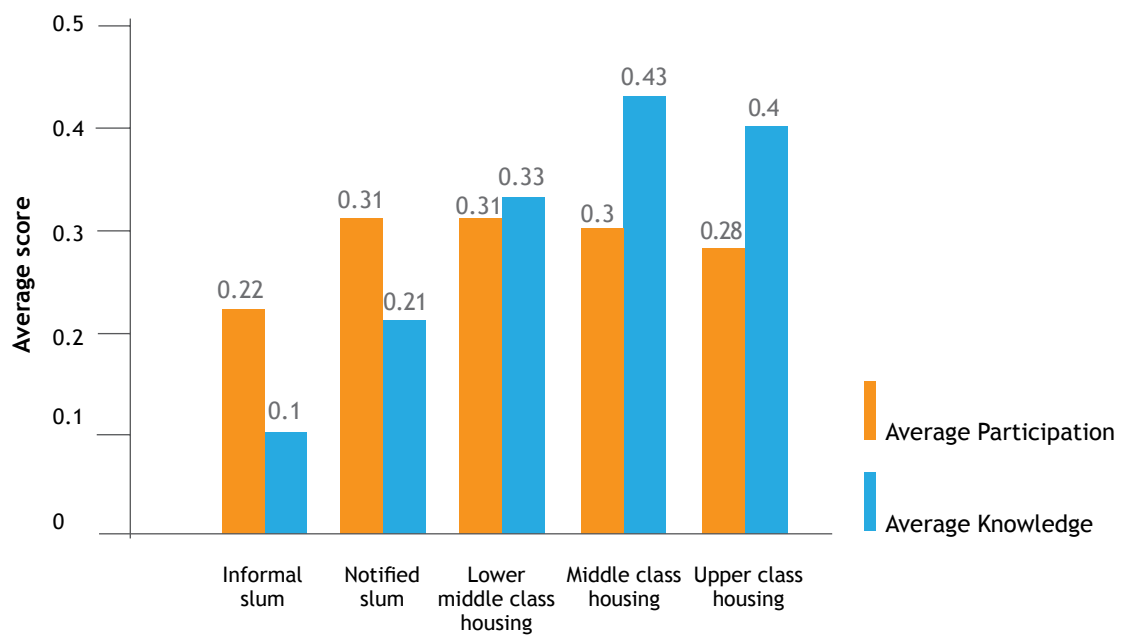


**Figure 9: Average knowledge and participation scores by household type**

*The graph above shows the average scores of our sample on the knowledge and participation components of the CI based on household type, which is a proxy for class. On average, the higher a person's class, the higher their level of knowledge, with one exception — the upper class had slight lower levels of knowledge (0.4) than the middle class (0.43). The participation score was the lowest for informal slum dwellers (0.22), but about the same for all other groups (ranging between 0.28 and 0.31).*

**4.** **There are significant inequalities in access to basic services and infrastructure in Bangalore.**

The fulfilment of social rights, including the right to basic public goods and social services like water, education and healthcare, has a critical impact on quality of life and is an important aspect of modern democracies. In Bangalore, access to basic services and infrastructure is closely related to class and caste, though not religion. More than a third of Bangaloreans in our sample (approximately 37%) receive "very poor" and "poor services" as measured by our BSDII index, the components of which are outlined in Figure 10. In such households, the water supply and sanitation are typically located outside of the household and shared with others, while the conditions of surrounding roads are poor. Water, along with electricity if they have access to it, is typically characterized by significant gaps and shortages in supply. At the same time, less than 1 percent of households have high-quality access to all services. The bulk of the sample clusters into the poor to mid-levels of service delivery and infrastructure, and only about 27 percent receive good-quality services.

Critically, the wealthier someone is and the higher their caste, the better their access to water, sanitation, electricity and roads. In other words, social citizenship is not guaranteed to all citizens in practice, even though they might have such rights on paper. However, as we explain below, the level of citizenship that poor people have plays a role in determining their level of access to goods and services.
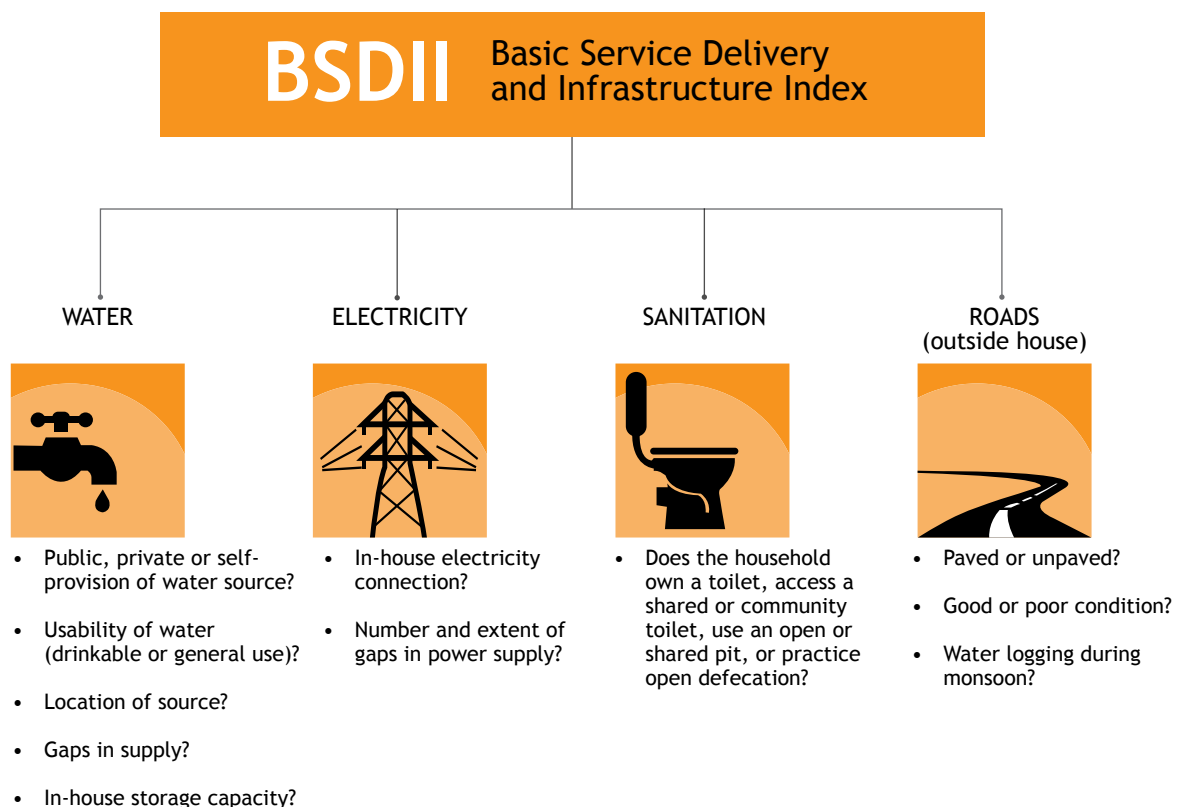


**Figure 10: Composition of the Basic Service Delivery and Infrastructure Index**
*The flow chart above illustrates the components of the Basic Service Delivery and Infrastructure Index (BSDII). The BSDII is made up of four equally-weighted components: (1) access to water, (2) access to electricity, (3) access to sanitation and (4) the quality of roads outside the household.*

## 5. The poor and illiterate have the most to gain from civic engagement.

The survey highlighted significant inequality in access to public services based on class, but it also had one promising finding. Although the poor and illiterate have lower levels of citizenship than the rich and educated — mostly because they know less about politics and civic institutions — they have the most to gain from exercising their citizenship. In other words, as a poor or illiterate person's level of citizenship increases, their access to basic services and infrastructure — as measured through the BSDII — also improves. Poor or illiterate people who are civically engaged have better access to water, sanitation, electricity and roads than their class position would otherwise predict. Figure 11 shows the impact of level of citizenship on the type of infrastructure that people of different classes ha ve access to. High CI indicates a CI score above the average Bangalore CI of 0.32, while low CI indicates a CI below this average. While a high CI score had little impact on the type of infrastructure people from lower middle, middle and upper class housing had access to, it had a statistically significant impact on the type of infrastructure that people in notified and informal slums combined had access to. The most dramatic impact was in informal slums[10], where those with a high CI score saw their BSDII score more than double.
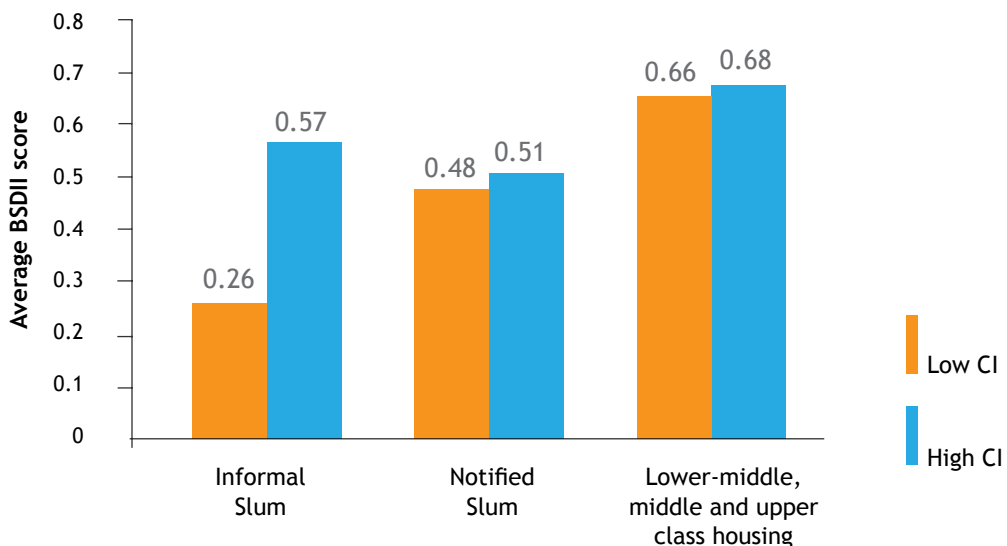


**Figure 11: Average BSDII score by household type and level of citizenship**

*The graph above shows the impact of the level of citizenship on the type of infrastructure that people of different classes have access to.*

[10] The number of citizens surveyed in informal slums was less than 100 and therefore findings related to this household type should be interpreted with some caution.

**6. A quarter of our sample did not engage with the state to solve problems related to basic services over the past two years or to obtain government IDs over the past ten years.**

The JB-CI survey recorded household level engagement related to nine goods and services (electricity, water supply, ration shops, applying for a caste certificate, applying for a ration card/BPL card, obtaining a driver's license or vehicle registration, public hospitals, public schools and police) over a generous time-span — two years for services and ten years for government identification. The idea was to capture as broad a range of engagement as possible by asking respondents about their household's experiences in relation to a variety of services, at least some of which they were likely to have required engagement with once within the timespans given.

Given how much citizens in urban India are dependent on the state for urban services, what is probably most surprising is that almost a quarter of respondents (23%) in our sample had not engaged with state agencies to solve problems related to basic services or acquiring a ration/BPL and/ or caste card (see Figure 12). In other words, a quarter of people did not once engage with the nine state agencies mentioned above to solve any problems related to services over the previous two years and to acquire a ration/BPL or caste card over the previous ten years. This is a very low bar for engagement.

There are two possible interpretations of this data. One is that citizens have very low expectations of the returns to engaging with the state and thus poor service provision is accepted as a norm to live with. The other is that the transaction costs of engaging the state are high because it is very time-consuming, otherwise expensive (finding an intermediary or paying a bribe) or does not result in expected outcomes. Therefore, citizens have an extremely strong incentive to opt out by either not using the state to solve basic service and infrastructure problems or, if they have the means, to engage an intermediary or pay a bribe to get the service more efficiently. With respect to our sample, about a quarter (27%) of those who reported engaging with the state, either on their own or through an intermediary, reported being asked for a bribe. Importantly, both opting out and using a bribe or intermediary can be seen as poor quality engagement.
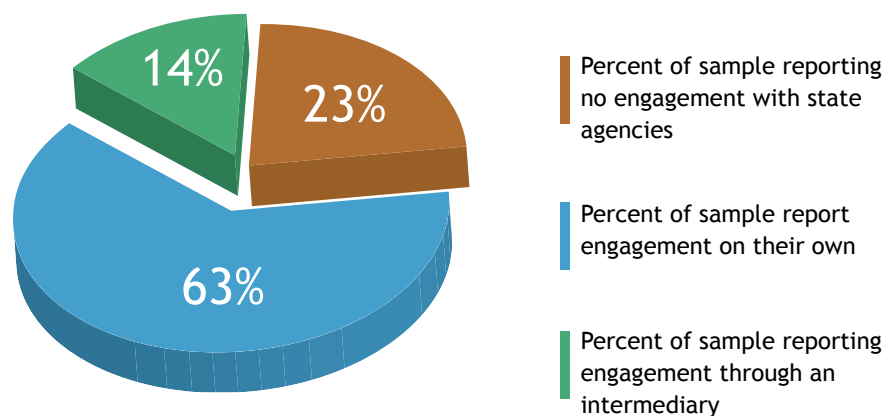


**Figure 12: Total engagement across all services**

*This pie chart presents a breakdown of how our sample engaged with the state over the previous two years in relation to basic services and over the previous ten years in relation to government identification. The majority (63%) engaged with the state directly, while about a quarter (23%) did not engage with the state at all and the remainder (14%) engaged with the state through an intermediary.*

On the other hand, high-quality engagement for our sample meant that if a service was needed the individual went to the government department and had their issues resolved without paying a bribe or using an intermediary. The quality of engagement varies widely within the sample, but it does not vary significantly across socioeconomic categories with two exceptions that are worth noting from a policymaking perspective. First, the outer wards have a less positive experience engaging the state than inner wards do[11]. This no doubt reflects the fact that state institutions and practices are less well established in newly settled areas.

Second, class seems to have an impact on quality of engagement, but this impact does not follow a clear pattern (see Figure 13). Somewhat counter-intuitively, the level of "poor engagement" — that is, those who used an intermediary or paid a bribe in their interaction with the state — actually increases quite dramatically going from shacks to the upper class from 21 percent to 38 percent. Indeed, the upper class has both the highest level of "poor engagement" and the lowest level of "good engagement". Since it is highly unlikely that the state discriminates against the upper classes, the only plausible explanation is that the upper classes are more likely to use an intermediary or to pay a bribe to get things done.
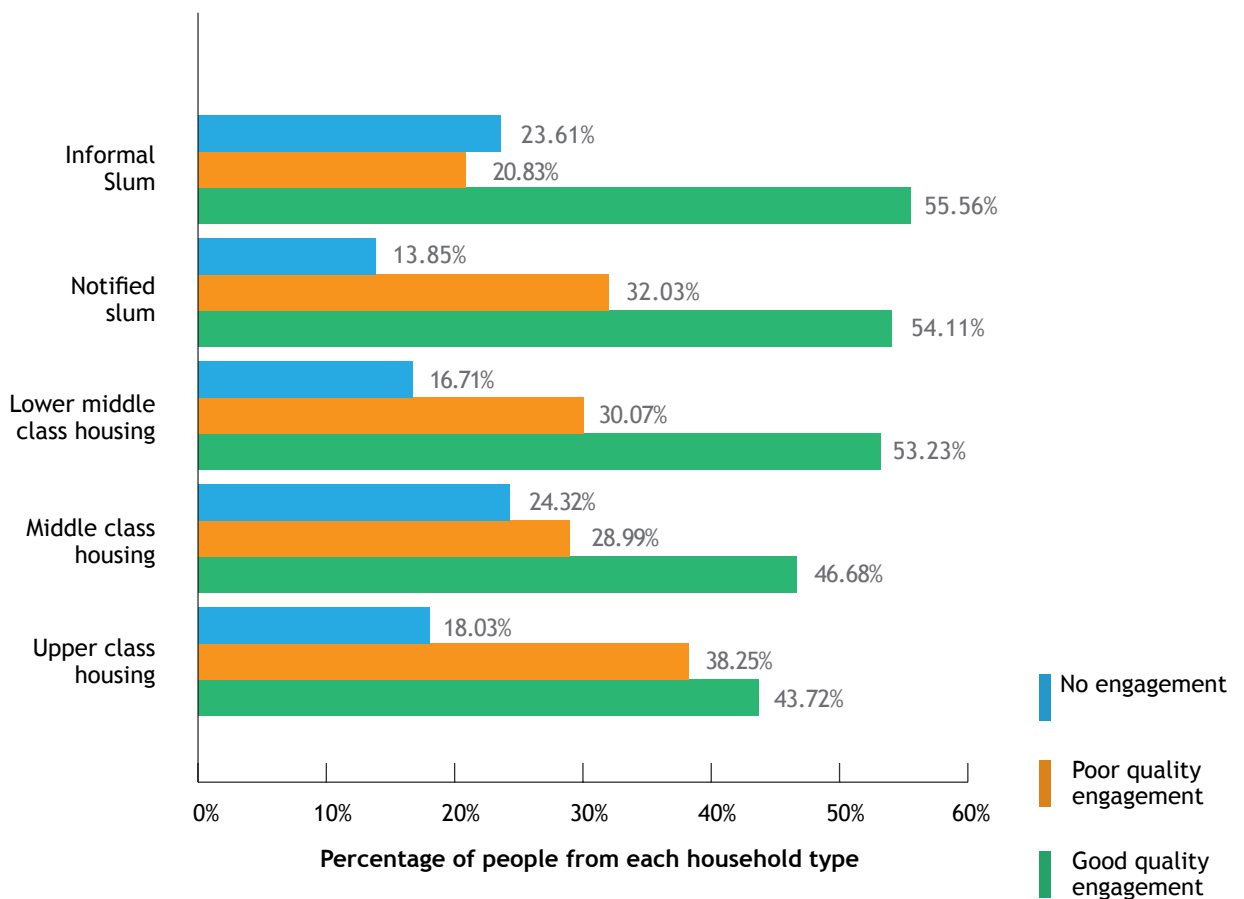


**Figure 13: Quality of engagement by housing type**

*The graph above illustrates that the level and quality of engagement varies by class. Interestingly as class increases, good-quality engagement decreases. This may be because, as people are able to access more resources, they are more likely to pay bribes or use intermediaries in their interactions with the state. At the same time and contrary to what we had anticipated, the data does not provide any evidence that the state discriminates against any particular class in its day-to-day interactions with citizens.*

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[11] In classifying the wards as either central or outer wards, we followed the Bruhat Bangalore Mahanagara Palike (BBMP) categorization of Bangalore wards into zones. Currently, Bangaore has eight zones, three of which are central or inner and five of which are outer or peri-urban.

# POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The JB-CI highlights that the quality of citizenship in Bangalore is closely linked to socioeconomic factors. Not all Bangaloreans have the full ability to use their rights, or effective citizenship, with education and class being the biggest predictors of whether an individual's effective citizenship will be low or high.

The JB-CI study provides a wealth of data that can support government officials and civil society practitioners in Bangalore in creating evidence-based policy. We provide policy recommendations on key target areas for enhancing civic engagement and improving the quality of citizenship in Bangalore below.

## 1. Increasing Citizen Awareness

Knowledge is an important component of high-quality citizenship. Having knowledge about who is in power at various levels of government, which offices are responsible for key services and documents, how to report corruption, and if, when, and where, platforms exist within local areas to get engaged in municipal decision-making is critical for empowering citizens to access rights and privileges. In other words, in order to practice citizenship, or use the rights legally given to you, you need sufficient knowledge and understanding to fully engage in public life.

As discussed above, the JB-CI study indicates that Bangaloreans have a fairly high level of knowledge about civic and political issues at the national and state-levels. Importantly, however, they tend to know far fewer things about their municipal government, such as which functions are performed by which agency and where to report corruption.

In addition, there are important differences in how much different categories of people in Bangalore know. Those who have higher levels of education have higher levels of civic and political knowledge. People from higher castes tend to be more knowledgeable about civic and political issues than those from lower ones. Women have significantly lower knowledge then men. Muslims also have lower levels of knowledge than Christians and Hindus, though the difference between Hindus, Christians and other religious groups is not significant. Lastly, 93 percent of those living in shacks and 82 percent of those living in slums have low levels knowledge, whereas a majority of the middle and upper classes have high levels of knowledge. This data shows that marginalized populations tend to have lower levels of knowledge and are, thus, at a disadvantage for fully engaging in public life

### Call to Action: Build a City that Communicates

Since local governments impact citizens most on a day-to-day basis, communication strategies that increase awareness of how the local government functions could play a key role in improving the practice of citizenship in Bangalore. Government agencies operating in Bangalore should ramp up their efforts to inform citizens about how they function, providing timely, accurate, clear and complete information about what public agencies do and how citizens can engage with them to provide suggestions or rectify complaints. It is critical for citizens to have information on a wide variety of areas, such as elections, public services including healthcare and education, laws and other issues that affect their rights, benefit and obligations vis-à-vis the local government. Creating an effective communication strategy is critical for any government, but even more

pertinent in the context of the deep diversity and inequality found in Indian cities, where language, religion, socio-economic status, caste, and literacy all shape the quality of citizenship and need to be considered when designing awareness campaigns.

Bangalore, like other Indian cities, is confronted with the challenge of reaching individuals who are illiterate, do not attend school, do not have a mailing address or access to the internet or television, while at the same time needing to harness the power of technology to reach those who are active on the internet, social media and mobile phones. Civil society organizations, political parties, government agencies and other groups in India use a wide variety of tools to reach those not accessible by technology. These include street plays, engaging community leaders, neighbourhood-level speaking campaigns and posters. However, municipal bodies generally fail to have comprehensive communication strategies, and lack the resources and expertise to effectively harness technology. To its credit, the Government of Karnataka has made e-governance a priority. For example, as a part of the Karnataka Sakala Services Act (2011), which strives to deliver services to citizens in a timely manner, the government launched an e-governance platform that citizens can use to inquire about delays in service delivery via an online portal or SMS messages[12]. However, more must be done to reach those who do not have access to such technology, as well as Bangaloreans more generally.

Communications outreach in Bangalore should prioritize information concerning the functioning of local government. For example, government agencies can disseminate simple 'how-to's instructing citizens about their rights to and about how to access basic services and infrastructure in public offices, online and through targeted neighbourhood campaigns with oral presentations. The local government can also create multi-lingual telephone hotlines specifically designated to provide information on the same basic services. Lastly, the Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike (BBMP) should work with Karnataka's Ministry of Education to ensure that civic education units in schools include information about how the local government works and the importance of civic participation.

## Action Points Summary

Local governing bodies in Bangalore, such as the BBMP, Bangalore Water Supply and Sewerage Board (BWSSB) and Bangalore Electricity Supply Company Limited (BESCOM), should:

- Disseminate timely, accurate, clear, objective and comprehensive information about what they do, their obligations to citizens and how citizens can connect with them to provide suggestions or make complaints.
- Maintain clear and accessible channels of communication with citizens that make it easy for them to hold government institutions accountable and provide information in various formats so that it can be accessed by Bangalore's diverse citizenry.
- Routinely identify and integrate communication efforts into the formulation and design of new programs, services and policies.

[12] Bose, 2012.

## 2. Enhancing Civic Participation

If citizenship is to be meaningful, individuals must enjoy full freedom to participate in public life. This cannot simply be confined to voting, but means enjoying full associational freedom to engage in activities of public relevance across social boundaries, including gender, religion, caste and class. There is a large literature that argues that the quality of democracy depends significantly on the breadth and depth of participation. The literature also indicates participation is systematically linked to achieving the substantive outcomes that rights and freedoms are supposed to engender. However, the JB-CI found that Bangaloreans do not participate much in civic life beyond elections.

As noted in the Key Findings section, participation had an equalizing effect on JB-CI scores in Bangalore. Even as they had relatively low levels of knowledge about civic and political issues, marginalized groups participated in civic and political life at relatively high levels. Thus, only 35 percent of SC/STs in our sample have high knowledge, defined as a knowledge score on the CI above the Bangalore average of 0.348, but 72 percent have high levels of participation, defined as a participation score above the Bangalore average of 0.301. Similarly, only 36 percent of Muslims have high knowledge, but 71 percent have high participation. Finally, while only 18 percent of designated slum dwellers have high knowledge, 68 percent have high levels of participation in political and civic life. In fact, those with college degrees or higher are most likely not to participate. The lower-middle class and notified slum dwellers participate the most, but the upper class participates the least. Only those living in shacks — whose status in the city is by definition highly tenuous — participate less than the upper class. While the relatively high amount of participation among marginalized groups is encouraging, there is still much the government can do to improve the quality of participation and quality of citizenship for all.

### Call to Action: Create Formal Platforms for Public Engagement

When it comes to exercising rights and freedoms, citizenship can be enhanced tremendously by opportunities for citizens to engage with issues that affect their daily lives, such as zoning issues, the construction of a school or a playground in their neighbourhood, and opportunities to hold local institutions accountable for their actions. This type of input cannot be gained through elections alone.

Although rural India has seen tangible success in civic engagement in policymaking through the constitutionally backed Panchayati Raj system, India's cities cannot boast similar success. The need for greater decentralization and more platforms for participation was articulated by the 74th Amendment to the Constitution. The Nagara Raj Bill (or the Community Participation Law), a mandatory reform under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission, mandated the creation of Area Sabhas and provided financial incentives for those cities who take tangible action. Unfortunately, according to Janaagraha's 2014 Annual Survey of India's City-Systems (ASICS), which surveyed 21 major Indian cities, only Hyderabad has operational Area Sabhas in place. Clearly, enshrining the principal of local participation in the law has not been enough. State governments need to demonstrate leadership to put Area Sabhas in place and facilitate citizen participation.

Policymakers can also facilitate greater participation through participatory budgeting — the allocation of public funds through debate about spending priorities and a decision-making process involving both citizens and elected representatives. The decision to allocate money to one program, service or public work over another is an issue that many residents have strong opinions about and rightfully so. Like Area Sabhas, participatory budgeting opens up a space at the local level that allows people to bring the issues they care about to the table and to work together in concert with government to decide on public priorities.

A growing number of cities in Latin America, Europe, the United States and Canada engage in participatory budgeting, but only one Indian city — Pune — has a participatory budgeting process[13]. In Bangalore, consistent underfunding to complete public works and a lack of data on how the government allocates funds are constant sources of public grievances. The BBMP should partner

[13]Janaagraha Centre for Citizenship and Democracy, 2014a.

with local parastatals, such as BWSSB and BESCOM, to run a participatory budgeting process that gives citizens a chance to set funding priorities. Such an approach could shed lights on the government's accounts and play a critical role in improving the quality of citizen engagement in Bangalore.

## Call to Action: Make Participatory Platforms Accessible, Empowered and Accountable

Whatever the chosen range of platforms, measures must be taken to ensure that they are accessible to all citizens, empowered with sufficient funds and decision-making power, and accountable to the people they are meant to serve.

Firstly, policymakers must consider the views of the entire community and ensure that everyone has the opportunity to access the platforms. Possible obstacles to widespread participation should be identified and specific strategies to remove or minimize them should be created in advance. Women, the poor, religious, ethnic or linguistic minorities, people from low castes, the disabled and migrant communities face particularly acute obstacles to utilizing public engagement platforms for a variety of reasons, including discrimination, perceived or real inability to understand or contribute, transportation, lack of time, awareness, etc. However, evidence shows that participatory platforms can play a role in giving marginalized groups an opportunity to voice their concerns and hold the government accountable for its policies[14]. Therefore, it is critical that efforts need to be made to ensure engagement of these groups.

Policymakers can compensate for barriers by creating a range of tools to target different groups. Such tools might include targeted information and awareness campaigns through SMS, hoardings, newspapers, websites and auto-rickshaw advertisements. Policymakers should also work with a third party that has the trust of citizens, such as an NGO or a specialized government initiative, to spread information and facilitate the participation of marginalized communities. Finally, public forums that involve a range of stakeholders and make special efforts to include members of the public from all types of backgrounds could make it easier for a broad segment of society to participate in the chosen initiative.

Secondly, policymakers must invest adequate money, staff and other resources, as well as design short, mid and long-term strategies, to ensure that the platform is sustainable, has the power to meet its objectives and responds to popular demands. These objectives can be achieved, in part, by communicating the importance of the platform to the public and involving would-be participants right from the start with outreach sessions that request their feedback on platform design. Such co-creation can generate public interest in the platform's success and can help create a culture of civic participation.

For example, if a participatory budgeting program is created, the government must dedicate part of its budget to the priorities selected by citizens who participate in the process. Such a program should also have the resources to reach a broad range of citizens and have the approval to run for a defined period of time. Such measures can set the foundation for the success of the platform and ensure that both government officials and citizens do not become cynical towards participatory platforms. In addition, the local government and/or civil society organizations should undertake a wider campaign that links the obligations and duties of citizenship to participation. When asked what the two most important responsibilities of citizens are, Bangaloreans ranked "voting" and "respecting the law"(72% and 71.8% respectively) far above "being involved in your community" (5.8%). In doing so, they put the vertical dimension of citizenship — their relationship with the state — well above civic participation. Focusing on the importance of participation within state platforms and between fellow citizens can catalyze a normative shift towards citizens embracing these actions as a sense of civic duty. In this way, participatory platforms can significantly enhance the quality of local democracy.

[14] World Bank, 2006.

## 3. Improving the Quality of State Engagement

State engagement refers to the frequency and quality of interaction with public and private agencies that provide basic services. When citizens approach the state or other agencies that provide public services, they often do so, not as right-bearing citizens, but as bearers of various political or socio-economic attributes. On the one hand, institutions might treat citizens differentially depending on their caste, religion, gender or class. On the other hand, some citizens may have more connections, authority or capacity to deal with the state because of their stature in society. A citizen should be able to engage the state and all its myriad offices and institutions without having to pay a bribe, call in favours, mobilize personal networks or otherwise leverage social power to obtain services and exercise rights to which he or she is legally entitled.

As noted in the key findings section, about a quarter of those surveyed for the JB-CI did not engage with state agencies to solve problems related to water or power, to acquire a ration/BPL or caste card, or in relation to other basic services. There are two possible interpretations of this data. One is that citizens have very low expectations of the returns to engaging with the state and thus poor service provision is accepted as a norm to live with. The other is that the transaction costs of engaging the state are high because it is very time-consuming, otherwise expensive (finding an intermediary or paying a bribe) or does not result in expected outcomes. Therefore, citizens have an extremely strong incentive to opt out by either not using the state to solve basic service and infrastructure problems or, if they have the means, to engage an intermediary or pay a bribe to get the service more efficiently. These dynamics contribute to the endurance of patron-client relationships and undemocratic arrangements. If citizens are to feel empowered or obligated to approach the state to receive the goods to which they are entitled, the government must work to improve the quality of the experience of engaging with the state.

**Call to Action: Make it Easy and Make it Work**

Even though many Bangaloreans face poor basic service delivery and infrastructure, they rarely ask government agencies to fix such problems. For example, over 50 percent of our sample reported having frequent water shortages, yet only seven percent of our sample went to the water department to report a problem in the two years prior to the survey. Difficulties citizens face in engaging the state include knowing the correct agency to approach, finding a local office, receiving fair treatment and ensuring the process culminates in a tangible, time-bound outcome.

Streamlining which organizations take care of basic functions and creating a communication campaign to educate citizens regarding who to interact with, where to find them, and how various processes work is key. For example, if a citizen faces a problem with a local neighbourhood streetlight, in some Indian cities there are up to eight different organizations that are responsible for streetlights, with many of them having little to no public presence. Therefore, policymakers

need to group unique services under single entities, ensure these entities have a public presence and provide citizens with clear information about how to engage with these entities. Greater web presence, telephone helplines, increased face-to-face information service and the availability of clear information within government offices are all mechanisms that can be used to improve the quality of citizen engagement.

Policymakers should develop strategies to ensure that individuals receive fair and timely service. Possible mechanisms include:
- Using CCTV cameras to prevent harassment and corruption.
- Penalizing state employees who breach protocol through wage deduction, suspension or firing.
- Dedicating staff to help the illiterate, linguistic minorities, women and others who might face barriers to engagement.
- Placing clear pamphlets and posters within government offices that detail the rights citizens have to public services, processes and fees for obtaining these services, and how to lodge complaints if something is not working properly.
- Employing citizen observers to monitor government offices and ensure they are meeting their obligations.
- Harnessing technology to cut down on unnecessary redundancies, collect data on the delivery of public services and increase accountability.
- Strengthening efforts to provide services and respond to complaints in a timely and efficient manner, such as the Sakala scheme used by government agencies in Karnataka.

## Action Points Summary

Local government in Bangalore should:
- Inform the public about the who, where and what of public services.
- Take proactive measures to ensure that discrimination, including bribery, unfair treatment, or inaccessibility, does not occur during engagement with public services.
- Introduce and strengthen programs and schemes that ensure time-bound resolution of services and have built-in penalization mechanisms to incentivize state workers to meet targets.
- Ensure information and facilitators are present in offices to assist those facing obstacles to excercising their rights, and to monitor and increase accountability.

## 4. The Importance of Urban and Spatial Planning

Critically, the JB-CI survey found that the largest predictor for the type of basic services citizens receive is class and caste. The fact that certain groups are clustered in specific neighbourhoods in the city and also receive very poor access to basic services is a form of social exclusion. Social exclusion has detrimental impacts for those who are marginalized. The difference between poor and rich neighbourhoods can produce what UN-Habitat describes as "a spatial poverty trap" in which characteristics of poor neighbourhoods, such as long and costly commutes to the centre, high crime rates, poor living conditions and restricted economic opportunities, entrench social differences and income inequality[15]. Moreover, this type of social exclusion is also bad for society as a whole, as inequalities have detrimental impacts on sustainable development and economic growth.

## Call to Action: The Need for Spatial and Neighbourhood Plans

The existence of ghettos, slums, and the overall low quality of basic services in Bangalore puts front and centre the need to prioritize infrastructure, social housing and planned development to make Bangalore more equitable and increase its citizens' access to social rights. Without robust spatial and neighbourhood plans, authorities are not able to keep up with the pace of

[15] UN-Habitat, 2008, p. xiii.

urban growth and infrastructure is allocated and constructed in a haphazard and ad hoc fashion. Moreover, the prevalence of slums, as well as the often ad hoc placement and strategies for housing and infrastructure for the poor, are markers of poorly planned cities.

Presently, Bangalore has two draft master plans — the Bangalore Development Authority (BDA) Master Plan 2015 and the Bangalore Metropolitan Regional Development Authority (BMRDA) Master Plan 2031 — that provide guidelines for metropolitan and municipal planning, but there are no provisions for ward-level planning[16]. Bangalore is not alone in failing to develop provisions for neighbourhood planning. Janaagraha's ASICS 2014 survey indicates that only one of the 21 major Indian cities surveyed had ward-level spatial plans. Neighbourhood plans help to incorporate community needs and priorities to realize vibrant neighbourhoods that are adequately serviced and integrated into the larger city strategy. Consequently, it is important for the agencies responsible for urban planning in Bangalore to create ward-level plans that are coordinated with the broader spatial plans for the city. Given the rapid pace at which Bangalore is expanding, planning for peripheral growth, including budgeting for civic infrastructure and amenities at the edge of the city, is critical.

In addition, multiple government agencies, including the BBMP, the BDA, the BRMDA, the Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development and Finance Corporation (KUIDFC) and the Archaeological Survey of India are responsible for different, but often overlapping, aspects of planning[17]. Differences between the agencies and a lack of coordination can result in policy and implementation failures. For example, during the 2013-2014 fiscal year, the Government of Karnataka allocated INR 300 crores for the BBMP to build low-income housing in Bangalore, but the money has still not been utilized because of a coordination failure between the two government bodies[18].

Plans need to be created that forge partnerships between all relevant agencies and levels of government, such as development authorities, municipal government and slum redevelopment boards. New plans must also link to and coordinate between multiple existing plans at the federal, state, regional and municipal levels. It is also crucial for the government to engage citizens throughout various stages of plan design to ensure that the plan meets their needs and to employ technical experts so that inputs by citizens, politicians and bureaucrats can be integrated effectively.

It is also important for the government agencies involved to make social equity a priority so that the plans address the spatial issues of exclusion, such as slums, imbalanced provision of basic services, social housing, transportation, the need for zoning innovations, and density allocations. One way this could be addressed is through integrating plans for mixed-income housing and policies that encourage a good mix of renting and ownership into neighbourhood plans. The government could also consider planning for a mix of religious and community centres to encourage integration between different communities.

Importantly, spatial plans can only succeed with the investment of political will, financial capital, and technical expertise, linkages across authorities, and timelines that take into account realistic year-on-year actions.

## Action Points Summary

The BBMP, the Government of Karnataka and parastatals responsible for urban planning in Bangalore should:

- Ensure creation of spatial plans that coordinate between existing plans and various levels of government to ensure one unified vision for the development of Bangalore.
- Use spatial plans in conjunction with neighbourhood plans to ensure prioritization of local needs and impact and allow for more specific citizen participation.
- Ensure social equity is a core focus of plans so that projects and strategies incorporate solutions to combat inequality.
- Hire staff with the necessary technical competencies to create plans that are accurate, innovative and tangible.

[16] Janaagraha Centre for Citizenship and Democracy, 2014.
[17] Idiculla, 2010; Sudhira, 2008.
[18] Mahesh, 2013.

## 5. The Importance of Local Government

Any meaningful discussion of citizenship and policy recommendations arising from the JB-CI study must acknowledge and discuss the role and current state of local government. As the level of the state that citizens most often interact with, the local government is the most critical node for implementing all the targeted actions listed above.

Importantly, the laundry list of obstacles hampering the improvement of governance and citizenship in Indian cities is lengthy. These challenges include:

- Limited autonomy and almost no independent sources of revenue for city governments, both of which make it difficult to build good quality, democratic institutions at the municipal level and limit the role that local government can play in upholding citizenship rights.
- Top-down bureaucratic rule full of patron-client relationships built around inequalities of caste, community and class.
- Few, if any, meaningful points of contact between state and citizens.
- Inequalities related to gender, caste, community, ethnicity and migration that shape access to resources, including housing, services and jobs, and the extent to which people can exercise their citizenship rights[19].

In order for the recommendations in this report to be properly implemented, local government in Bangalore must play a major leadership role. However, municipal governments in India's cities typically have limited financial resources and decision-making power. Though the Indian Constitution, per the 74th Amendment Act, calls for the devolution of power related to a variety of issues, such as water supply and town planning, to urban local bodies (ULBs), this has not been realized in practice.

State governments have failed to amend their constitutions to decentralize urban governance, leaving their Chief Ministers responsible for decisions that typically fall to mayors in other countries. Meanwhile, municipal leaders have very limited powers and may not have the authority to enact short-term projects or plans, let alone long-term ones. Mayors are often appointed by the state government, rather than elected by the people. Furthermore, city governments are typically responsible for a fraction of the tasks and services that impact urban quality of life. Instead, major services such as electricity, water, planning and transportation are typically provided by parastatals, organizations run by the state or central government.

As a result of such institutional fragmentation, it is incredibly challenging for government agencies to plan and implement projects that require input from various institutions, resulting in ad hoc decision making and massive wastage of funds. It also makes it extremely challenging for citizens to solve problems or receive a service they are entitled to because they often do not know which institution is responsible or how to interact with them. All of this negatively impacts the quality of engagement as well as the ability of the municipal government to strategize and implement needed reforms across a wide range of issues.

### Call to Action: Overcome the Lack of Autonomy

Bangalore is no exception to the pattern described above. Though elected, the city's mayor has a term of only one year and holds a largely ceremonial role. Furthermore, several urban services are delivered by parastatals, including BWSSB, BDA, Bangalore Metropolitan Transport Corporation (BMTC), BESCOM and Karnataka State Pollution Control Board (KSPCB).

[19] Heller & Evans, 2010.

In order to improve the quality of citizenship in Bangalore and implement the recommendations outlined in this report, the Government of Karnataka must take steps to empower the BBMP with more decision-making power, more autonomy and more financial resources in the long-term. In the short-term, the authorities responsible for urban governance must make a special effort to increase coordination and share resources to carry out the projects and policies suggested above.

**Call to Action: Focus On What Local Government Is Made Of**

The local government in Bangalore is incredibly stretched. The shortage of human resources must be urgently addressed in order to meet the needs of the growing city and affect the policy changes suggested in this report. The BBMP has only filled 10,000-odd working posts out of approximately 19,000 sanctioned ones. Furthermore, even if the sanctioned posts were filled, the numbers would be grossly inadequate for the BBMP to meet all of its service obligations to a population of more than eight million. An independent workforce-planning exercise carried out by Aon Hewitt and Janaagraha estimated that Bangalore requires a workforce of about 27,000 — a 63 percent shortfall. Significantly, the BBMP has far fewer staff in relation to its population than other Indian cities and major cities in other developing countries (see Figure 14).

In addition, the skills and competencies of employees are not commensurate with their responsibilities and the complexity of urban service delivery. Ninety percent of BBMP staff are Grade C and D employees, such as sweepers, gardeners, drivers and peons. The middle and senior management is emaciated. Furthermore, the BBMP has two IAS officers managing a city of more than eight million. In contrast, Chennai, with a population of less than five million, is led by an IAS officer supported by a senior management team of six or seven[20].

Lastly, the positions that are filled are by personnel whose skills and competencies are different from what their roles demand. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that the Chief Accounts Officer is a Masters in Physics and the Deputy Commissioner Revenue, responsible for revenue mobilization, a PhD in Geography. Poor resourcing has also led to weak revenue mobilization, which, in turn, has led to a weak financial position. It is not an exaggeration to say that the lack of appropriate competencies among municipal officials is directly linked to issues that affect the quality of citizenship and the quality of basic services and infrastructure such as the poor-quality of roads, lack of platforms for participation, poor local state engagement and a whole gamut of inefficiencies that affect quality of life on a daily basis[21].

In the short to mid-term, the BBMP must focus on adequately staffing local government. But this is not enough. The BBMP should also take stock of the staff it currently employs and compare it to the number of people it ideally needs and the type of skills sets those people must have in order for it to effectively fulfil its obligations. Such an exercise, which can take the form of institutional maps called 'Destination Organization Charts', can help the government plan recruitment for its most critical needs and design a long-term human resource strategy[22].

[20] Viswanathan, 2014a.
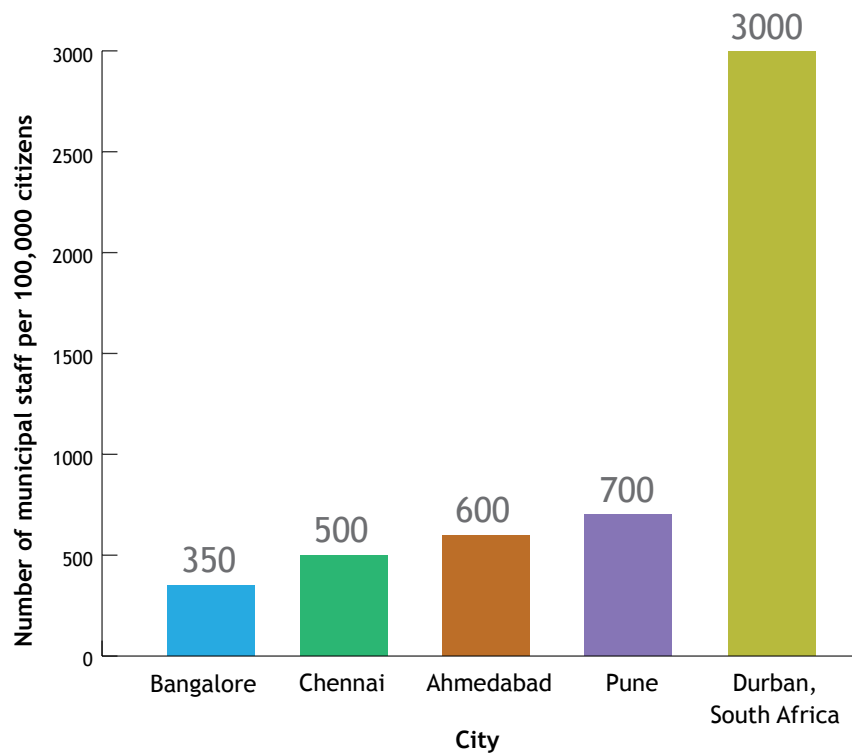[21] Ibid.
[22] Rajadyaksha, 2014.

**Figure 14: Municipal staff to citizen ratio for different cities**[23]

**Call to Action: Fill the Empty Urban Wallet**

India's cities face a major funding shortfall. The McKinsey Global Institute (2010) estimates that India needs 53.1 trillion rupees in capital investment — almost eight times the current level of spending in per capita terms — to meet the infrastructural and service needs of India's growing cities. Similarly, the High Powered Expert Committee (HPEC) for Estimating the Investment Requirements for Urban Infrastructure and Services identified shortages of investment in urban infrastructure ranging from 50 percent to 80 percent across Indian cities. The committee also observed that "urban local governments in India are among the weakest in the world both in terms of capacity to raise resources and financial autonomy"[24].

In Bangalore, the BBMP faced a budget shortfall of 56 percent in the 2012-2013 fiscal year. While the BBMP's proposed budget for the year 2012-2013 was initially 9,915 crores, it spent 4,358 crores[25]. The city's municipal government must find a way to fill its coffers if it is to meet Bangalore's infrastructural need and do a better job of engaging citizens, such as through the initiatives suggested in this report.

Although cash transfers from the central and state government to ULBs have increased in recent years, municipal tax bases are narrow, fixed and lack buoyancy, resulting in a decline in the total revenue of Indian cities from 63 percent in 2002 to 53 percent in 2008. Local governing bodies should consider engaging in Public Private Partnerships (PPP) and incentivized investment schemes to fund needs that cannot be met with taxes[26].

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[23] Data source: Viswanathan, 2014a.
[24] HPEC, 2011, p. 124.
[25] Janaagraha Centre for Citizenship and Democracy, 2013; 2014b.
[26] McKinsey Global Institute, Sankhe, S. et al, 2010; HPEC, 2011.

At the same time, local governing bodies in India, including the BBMP, lack rigorous and transparent procedures for reporting and planning of expenditures. Consequently, it is difficult for the public to demand accountability for how public funds are spent. Annual audits of the BBMP's expenditures by an external body, such as the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India, and publication of the outcomes in a timely fashion would act as a key tool for Bangaloreans to hold the government accountable. Such a policy could also help the government to raise additional capital to fund public needs[27].

Local governments can take a number of measures to increase their financial base. These interventions, many of which have been advocated for by the 14th finance commission and the HPEC commission, include:
- Performance audits on public expenditure management systems of ULBs.
- Strategic capacity building of finance and accounts departments of ULBs based on a five-year roadmap.
- Conditional release of central or state grants based on submission of audits.
- Enactment of a fiscal responsibility and budget management legislation for ULBs.
- Revisions to municipal taxation schemes to ensure tax levied is at current value rates.
- Greater moves towards innovative financing schemes for autonomous raising of funds including PPPs, innovative taxation, and public investment such as in the form of municipal bonds.

## Call to Action: Fill the Need For Data

Without the collection of timely accurate data on wide-ranging aspects of local governance such as finances and budgets, infrastructure provision, geo-spatial maps, human resource head counts and requirements, population statistics, economic projections, quality of life indicators, efficiency and performance audits of service providers, it is difficult, if not impossible, for ULBs to adequately plan for, make decisions about and meet local needs.

In order to overcome this dilemma, the BBMP and other relevant agencies should create strategies for data collection across a wide range of areas, harness the power of technology to collect data more efficiently and effectively, and liaise with third-parties such as NGOs, academics and the private sector, to share and leverage data collection.

## Action Points Summary

The Government of Karnataka and the BBMP should:

- Work together to make local government agencies central actors in implementing policy recommendations throughout this report.
- Grant greater autonomy and decision-making power to the BBMP with respect to decisions related to urban planning, services and infrastructure.
- Improve coordination between existing ULBs to make urban governance in Bangalore more efficient and effective.
- Take steps to ensure that ULBs and parastatals responsible for urban service delivery have adequate human and fiscal resources to meet their obligations.
- Obtain current and accurate data on a wide variety of indicators to empower ULBs to make effective decisions.

[27] Viswanathan, 2014b.

# CONCLUSION

The promise of cities is, among other things, the promise of citizenship. The JB-CI study has sought to answer important questions related to whether citizens can use their rights effectively irrespective of socio-economic status, religion and other factors. The data arising from the JB-CI project offers important insights into critical determinants of the quality of citizenship, the quality of life and the quality of democracy in Bangalore.

By providing evidence of the extent to which socio-economic factors determine a person's quality of citizenship and his or her access to basic services, the JB-CI data presents a foundation for policymakers to take steps to counter these patterns. Equally important is the finding that very poor people who have relatively high levels of citizenship in Bangalore get access to higher levels of basic service delivery and infrastructure than others in their class who have lower levels of citizenship. For the most marginalized, therefore, citizenship can play a powerful role in abating social exclusion.

We hope these findings, along with the data underlying them, will spark an important discussion about how policies can be designed to improve the quality of citizenship in Bangalore and ensure greater equity for marginalized groups.

This practitioner's report identifies a full range of possible policy initiatives related to communication strategies, participatory platforms, improved state engagement and accountability, spatial planning and the empowerment of local government. It is our hope that policymakers will use our findings and recommendations as a foundation for improving the quality of citizenship and furthering democracy in Bangalore.

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