

**Impact of Infrastructure and Governance Transformations on
Small, Medium and Big Cities in India**

**'Impact of JNNURM on Urban Governance in Pune
City'**

***Governance Case study focus on Sewerage, Roads and
Transport sectors***

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Introduction

This mixed methods case study of Pune focuses on the passage of JNNURM through the Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) and the larger governance ecosystem it is part of. It enquires into the dynamics of this process and to understand whether JNNURM has had the intended impact on the functioning of the ULB. It also enquires into the impacts the program has had on the urban poor in Pune.

This research follows the approach and design set out broadly in the overall project focusing on eight cities in India. Accordingly, this case study takes the institution of the ULB, PMC in this case, as the focus of attention. It examines whether the structural and cultural transformation of ULBs that JNNURM was premised on has actually occurred in Pune. This examination is conducted keeping in view the larger governance ecosystem of the city. Two aspects of ULB functioning are examined in relation to JNNURM. On the one hand, the study examines its general institutional trajectory, arrangements and practices, as well as its relationships with other actors like the state government, the neighbouring ULB, and other institutions. On the other hand, the study also examines JNNURM projects in three sectors—Roads, Transport and Sewerage – to deepen the understanding of the internal governance realities, but without a direct examination of outcomes on the ground.

The final analysis combined insights from secondary data from municipal, state and academic sources, with information from primary field interviews with key informants within the ULB, other city institutions, local politicians, journalists, academicians, and activists.

Such an approach involves a qualitative synthesis of diverse kinds of data of variable definitiveness or verifiability. This approach was necessary since many key realities and dynamics shaping urban process, policy and outcomes are not amenable to direct observation and analysis. In adjudicating on the dependability of insights, information and opinion (as well as in developing the specific research plan in the beginning of the project), we have relied on the tacit contextual knowledge of the lead researchers from the Pune based NGO Parisar, who have a long engagement with urban processes in Pune as activist researchers. Researchers from TISS have contributed their understanding of relevant findings and insights about contemporary urban issues in India and especially about JNNURM in the scholarly, policy and activist literature, to this analysis.

A number of challenges marked the research process apart from usual research constraints of time and resources

- Variability of definitiveness and verifiability already mentioned
- Difficulty and limitations (durations of interviews, possibility of follow up interviews etc) of access to senior municipal officers.
- Variable openness of serving officers to provide information
- Retirement or shifting of key personnel involved in JNNURM

To address these challenges, we did two things. We interviewed a diverse pool of respondents from different institutions and professional backgrounds. And we triangulated information and analyses across interviews and documentary sources like official, media and research reports.

The broad conclusion of the study is that JNNURM has not had a major impact on the functioning of the Pune Municipal Corporation as a whole, even though it has had some benefits to the city through specific projects. In fact, it appears that PMC has ‘cracked the code’ to turn JNNURM into a funding program for its projects without submitting itself to any fundamental changes that JNNURM intended. Part of the reason for the lack of transformation is that PMC was already ahead of the transformation curve JNNURM had in mind. Given PMC’s relatively well developed institutional capacities, many of the projects have certainly benefited the city, though the avoidance of necessary structural changes in the organisation’s capacity and culture mean that institutional weaknesses will continue into the future. JNNURM may thus be viewed as a missed opportunity on this count. In fact, an analysis of the lessons from this missed opportunity yields some useful conclusions about the limitations and contradictions in the way the program was designed and implemented. These could be useful for future policy making for the urban domain.

There are three informal parts to the case study that follows. The first part provides a profile of Pune city, and its governance ecosystem, and key actors in its political economy. The next part focuses on the passage of JNNURM through the ULB, and is followed by a section that lays out broad conclusions and lessons that emerge from the research.

PART 1: PUNE AND ITS GOVERNANCE ECOSYSTEM

- **Pune**

Pune, formerly Poona, is the eighth largest urban agglomeration and ninth largest city in India, the second largest in the state of Maharashtra after Mumbai, and the largest city in the Western Ghats. Once the centre of power of the Maratha Empire, it is situated 560 metres above sea level on the Deccan plateau at the confluence of the Mula and Mutha rivers. It is situated on the leeward side of the Sahyadri mountain range, which forms a barrier from the Arabian Sea. It is a relatively hilly city, with its tallest hill, Vetar Hill, rising to 800 m above sea level.



History

Pune is known to have existed as a town since 937 AD. In 1730, Pune became an important political center as the seat of the Peshwa, the prime minister of the Chhatrapati of Satara. It was during this era that Pune became the centre of Indian politics. After the town was annexed to British India in 1817, it served as a cantonment town and also as the "monsoon capital" of the Bombay Presidency until the independence of India.

The Social, Economic and Spatial Profile of City

Economy and Industry

After independence Pune saw a lot of development, such as the establishment of the National Defence Academy at Khadakwasla and the National Chemical Laboratory at Pashan. Pune serves as the headquarters of the Southern Command of the Indian Army.

In July 1961, the Panshet and Khadakwasla dams broke and their waters flooded the city, destroying many buildings in the older sections of the city, facilitating the subsequent introduction of modern town planning concepts and the development of parts of Pune. The economy of the city witnessed a boom in the construction and manufacturing sectors. Geographically, by 1966, the city had expanded in all directions.

Education

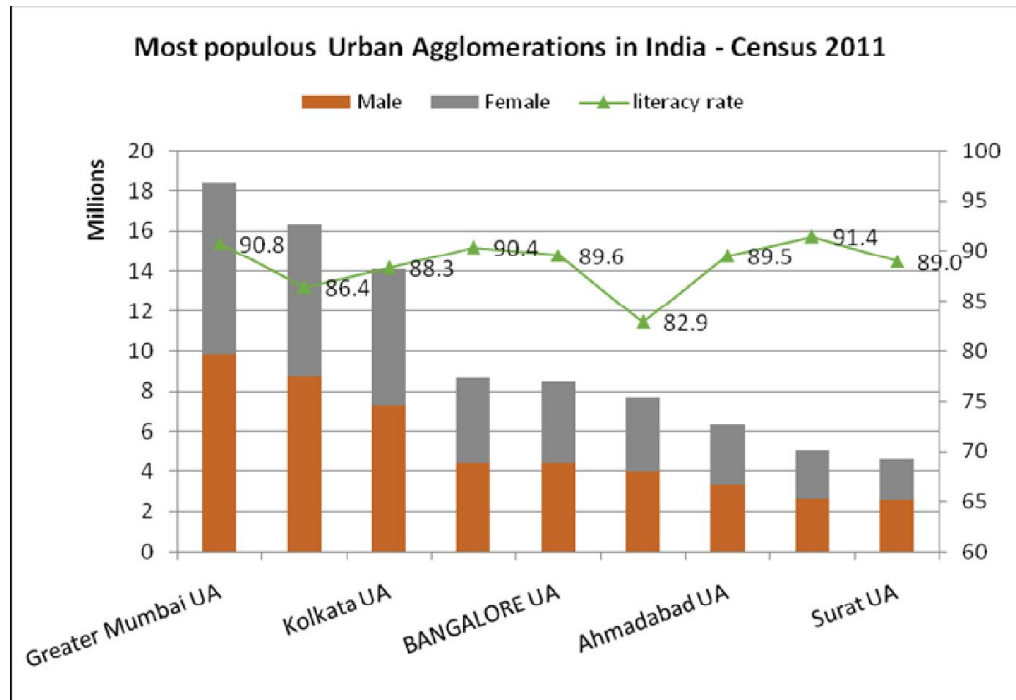
Pune has more than a hundred educational institutes and nine universities. Pune has a large student population, including those from abroad and a large number of quality academic and research institutes.

Cultural

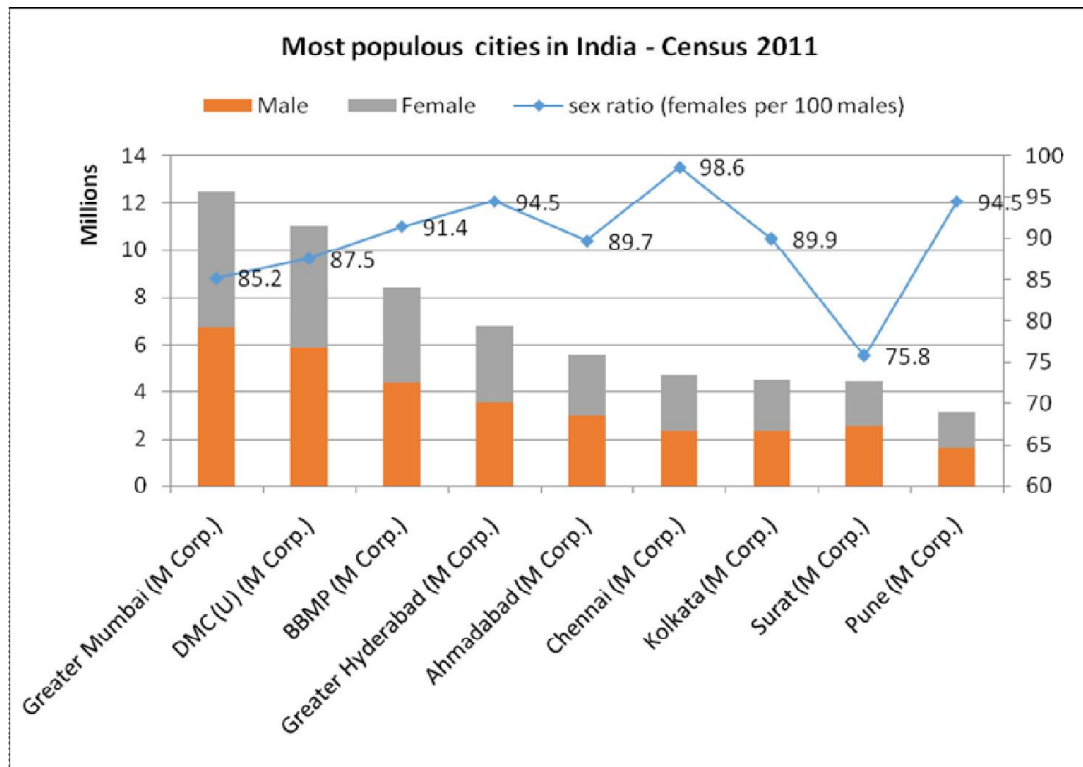
Pune is considered by many to be Maharashtra's cultural capital. The culture of Pune encompasses both the traditional Maharashtrian lifestyle that is prevalent in the heart of the city, as well as a cosmopolitan character resulting from its being a hub for education institutions. People from multiple religions and speaking different regional languages reside here. It also hosts various cultural events throughout the year. Due to a large student population, Pune also hosts many youth festivals.

Demographics

Graph 1: Most populous Urban Agglomerations in India - Census 2011



Graph 2: Most populous cities in India - Census 2011



The Pune Municipal Corporation area can be divided into two parts. The “old city” with an area of 146 sq. km and the fringe area consisting of 23 villages that were merged with the city in 1997 and having an area of 98 sq. km. The total area of Pune city is therefore about 244 sq. km¹.

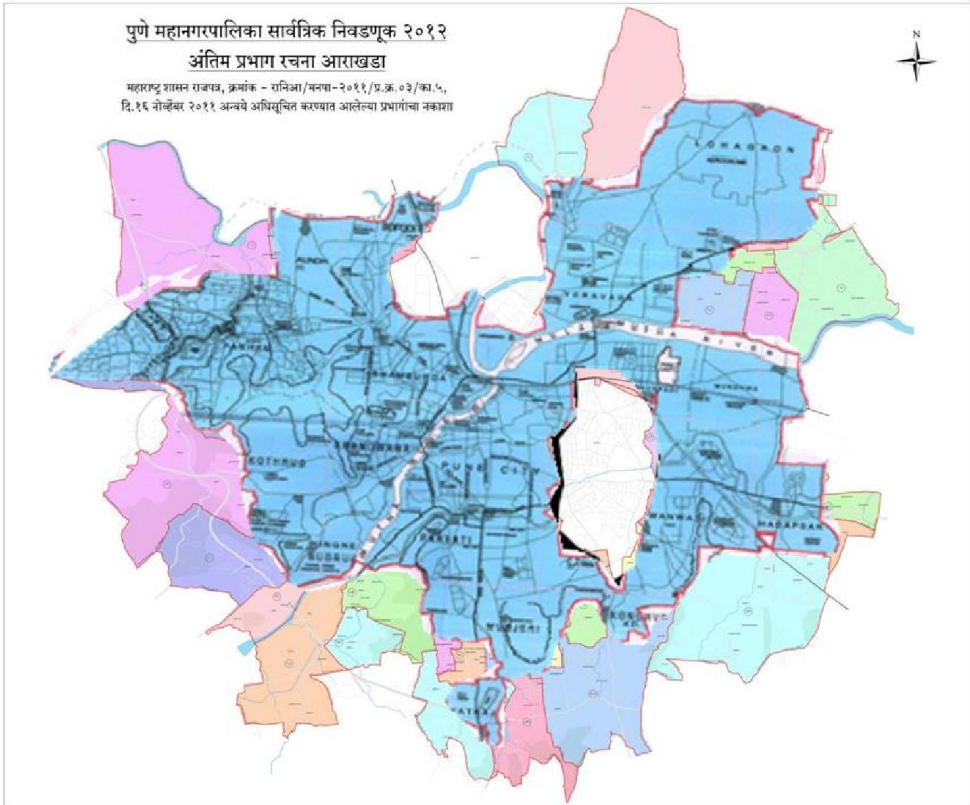
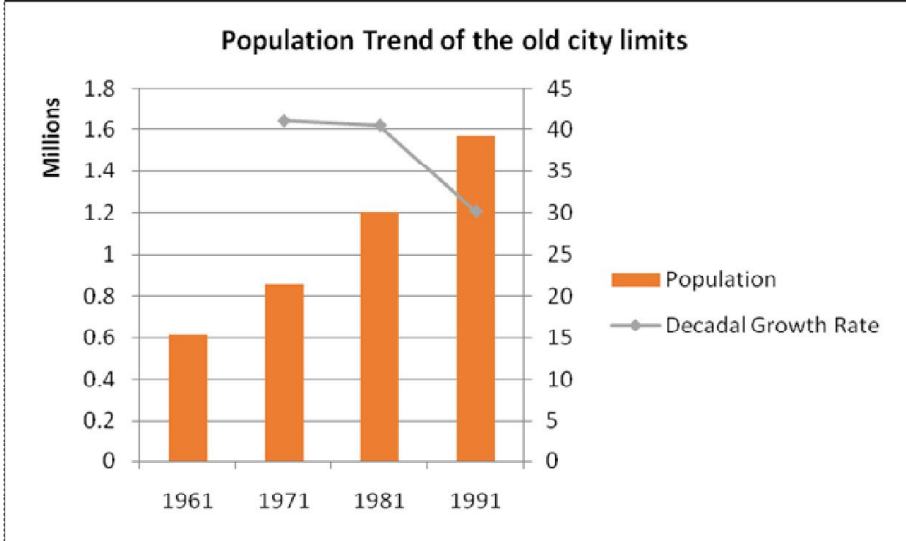


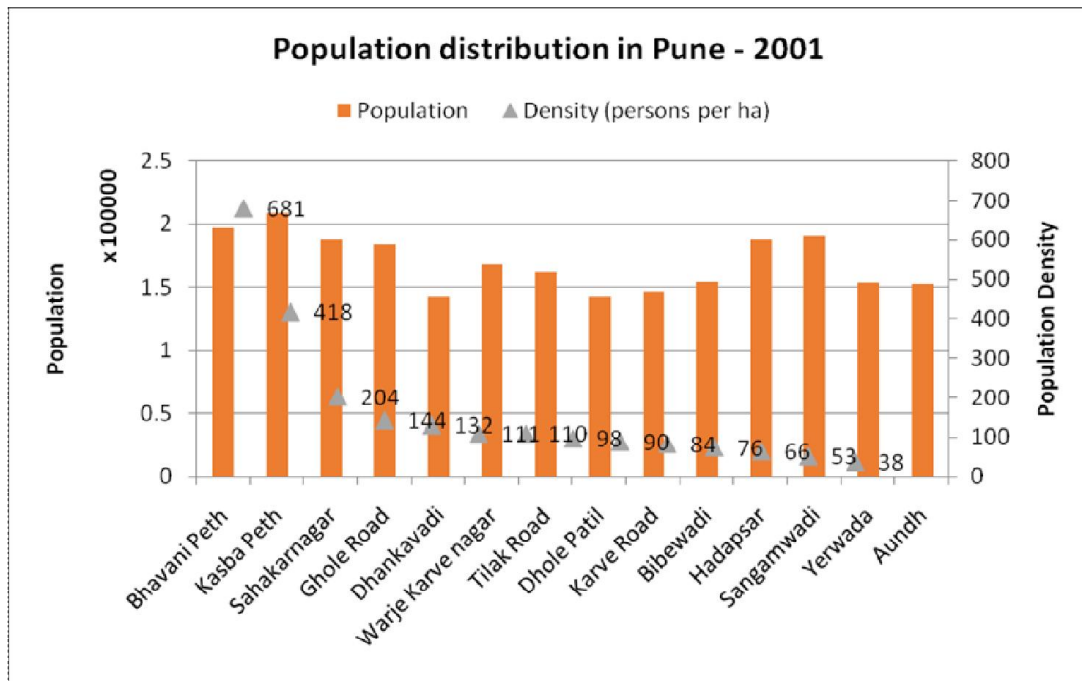
Figure 1: Old Pune (blue) against current total area

Graph 3: Population Trend of the old city limits



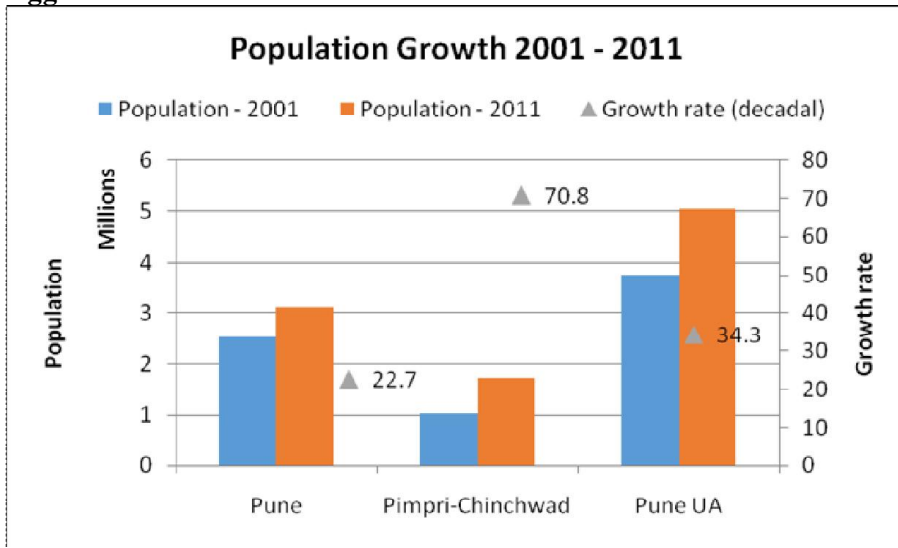
The decadal population growth rate of the old city was 40% in the 60s and 70s, but dropped to 30% in the 80s. One finds that the core city is the most densely populated area with some pockets having more than 1 lakh persons per sq kmⁱⁱ. The BhavaniPeth ward located right in the centre of the city has the highest density followed by Vishrambagh Wada-KasabaPeth. This area includes Laxmi road which is the hub of the city. Tulsibagh, a major market, is also located in this area.

Graph 4: Population distribution in Pune - 2001



The city appears to be growing in the southeast and southwest directions. As per the 2005 population estimates, the Tilak Road ward on the southwest side of the city is experiencing a rapid growth of 50%. The Karve Road ward is also growing at a rate of 32%. In the southeast direction, the Bibwewadi ward with its proximity to the Solapur bypass is growing at a rate of 38% followed by Hadapsar at 26%. The dynamic process of population growth is beyond the control of the authorities; it is actually a function of land prices and ease of accessibility to work place and availability of basic services. As a result, population growth is being witnessed in the fringe areas of the city and just outside the PMC limits, especially in the southwest direction. The average population density of the city in 2008 was recorded to be approximately 10,410 persons/sq km. As per 2011 census, this has grown to 12,800.

Graph 5: Population growth 2001-2011 in Pune, PimpriChinchwad and Pune Urban Agglomeration

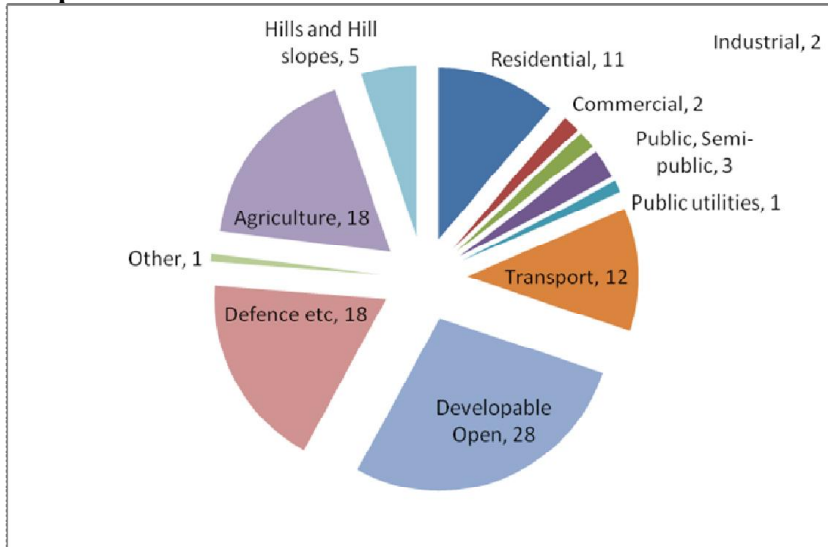


In the last decade one observes a much slower growth of Pune city; only 22.7%. In contrast one sees an astonishing growth of 70% in the neighbouring city of Pimpri-Chinchwad^{iiiiiv}. The Pune Urban Agglomeration (UA) grew close to 35% and has now reached a population of 5 million^v.

It is worthwhile to note that most population projections for Pune have been in far excess of what is observed.

It is also observed that during the last decade, 50% of growth has been due to in migration¹.

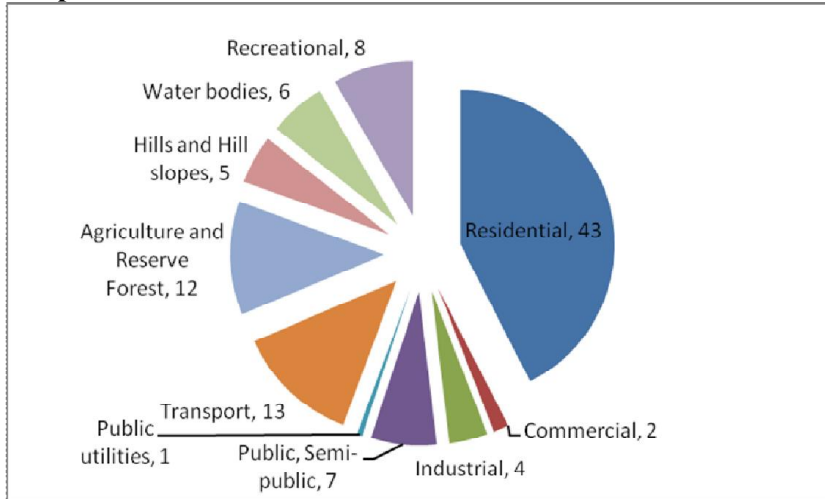
Graph 6: Land use 1978-79



Source: Draft DP, 1982

1 CDP 2006-2012, page 47

Graph 7: Land Use 2001



Source: CMP 2008

A comparison in the land use pattern in 1978 and 2001 brings out the following things;

- i. A continuous rise in the area of residential use, from 11% to 43% of the total area of the city. Around 104 sq km of the city is consumed by residential complexes.
- ii. The land under transport has increased by 1% from 12% in 1978 to 13% in 2008.
- iii. Public utilities, public and semi-public area show marginal increase in land usage.
- iv. Recreational use of land has been mentioned in the 2008 land use pattern to consume 8% of the total land.
- v. Other areas such as industrial, commercial, hill slopes have maintained their share or increased marginally.

Slums

As of 2009, Pune has around 40.56% of its population, which is around 12 lakh persons living in slums². This is a tremendous increase from 1951, wherein 8% of the total population lived in slums³. Out of the 564 slums in Pune, 353 have been notified as slums, making them eligible for redevelopment, whereas 211 are not notified.

Approximately 25% slum population of Pune lives in areas not notified. Also, population density in such areas is 2,399 people per hectare which is excessively high. As per the PMC's records, data base related to access to basic facilities by slum dwellers is not yet available⁴.

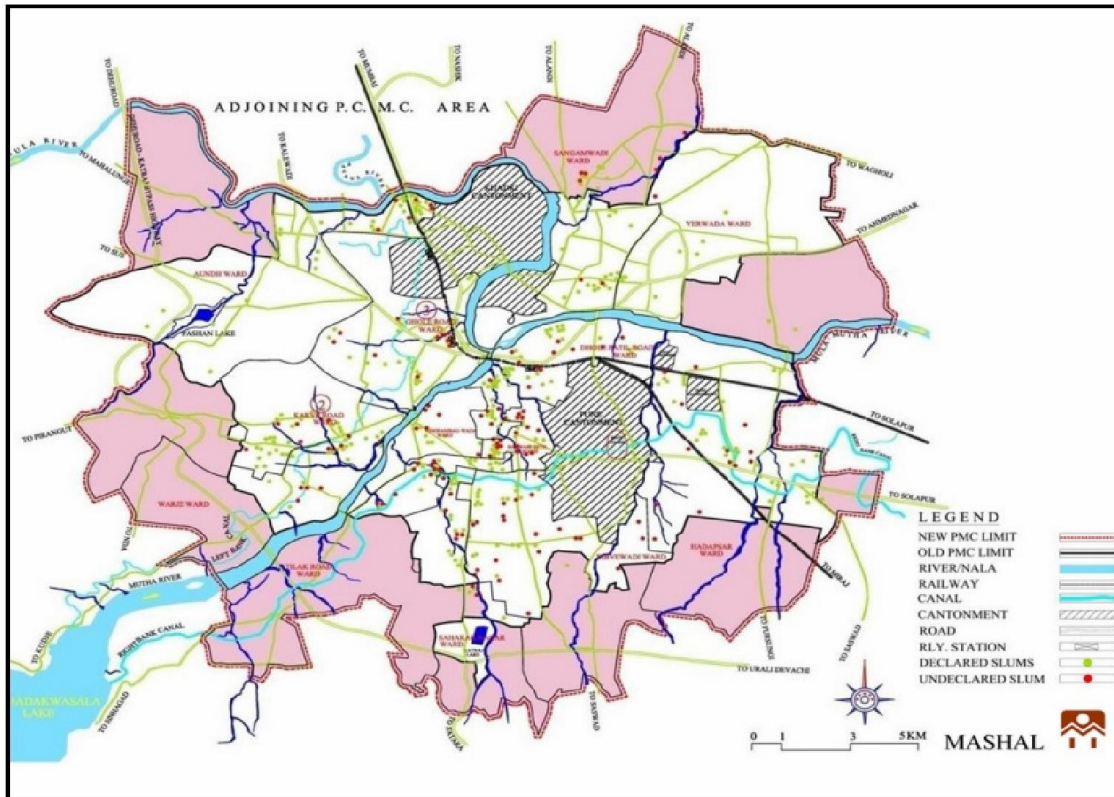
²Development Plan Executive Summary 2007-2027, page 24, 25, 26

<http://www.punecorporation.org/pmcwebn/informpdf/City%20Engineer%20office/Executive%20Summary%20-%20English.pdf>

³ DP Draft 1982, part 5, page 65

⁴ "Urban planners rue state's pro-slum policy", July 2014

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/Urban-planners-rue-states-pro-slum-policy/articleshow/38939228.cms>



Source: Census of India, ESR 2004-05 and MASHAL, 2009

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The Governance Ecosystem of Pune

This section will describe the main contours of the ‘governance ecosystem’ that is active in Pune city and the wider metropolitan region. Institutions are, and operate within, what may be called a ‘governance ecosystem’. This ‘ecosystem’ must be understood as an open, unpredictable, socially and historically produced, politically alive and indeterminate system of relations between various individual and institutional actor. It is organized around explicit rules as well as implicit protocols. Needless to say, the governance ecosystem is constantly produced and reshaped by the larger system of social relations within which it operates, and which it also shapes in return to varying extents and over varying durations. Naturally, power relations that organize the wider social system of relations, as well as between concrete individual and institutional actors, also condition the operation of this ecosystem. This is an analytical conceptualization of the institutional ‘field’ that may be useful for certain research tasks. It is not to be assumed that the governance ecosystem exists as an empirical reality corresponding exactly to the concept. The ecological metaphor signals the relationality, multidirectionality of influence between various actors, responsiveness and changefulness assumed in the system. A key function of the concept is to help operationalise a multi-dimensional and multi-directional relationship of influence between key objects of enquiry (institutions like ULBs in our case, but could be departments within or larger organizations outside) and the context they operate in.

The rest of this section begins with a detailed portrait of Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC), followed by an examination of other institutions active in the city, and ends with a discussion of important actors in the political economy of the city.

Pune Municipal Corporation

Pune's municipal body has a long history. Pune was established as a municipality by the British in 1858. Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) was established in 1950 under the Bombay Provincial Municipal Corporation Act (BMPC) Act, 1949. PMC has

The population of Pune according to the 2011 census is 31,24,458, and resides in an area of 244 sq km. For administrative purposes Pune city is divided into 4 zones further sub-divided into 15 administrative wards.

Functions of the Corporation

The Bombay Provincial Municipal Corporations (BPMC)⁵ Act defines the scope and extent of responsibilities of the Corporation. The Act has entrusted PMC the responsibility for the maintenance, operation and development of certain public utilities in the city. The services presently being provided by the PMC are classified as obligatory and discretionary services.

Elected representatives in PMC

Pune city administration of 15 wards is further divided into 76 'prabhags' classified into two groups namely 'A' and 'B' with a total number of 152 councillors/corporators. These councillors and five appointed members comprising the general body are headed by the Mayor. 50% reservation to women is given across various categories including General Category, Schedule Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Backward Class. The governance is distributed in terms of policy making as a responsibility of the General Body, financial decision making as a responsibility of the Standing Committee and Municipal Commissioner as the Chief Executive of the authority.

Standing Committee is the most powerful body in Pune Municipal Corporation as per the BPMC Act, responsible for all the decisions pertaining to municipal finance matters. The Standing Committee comprises 16 members out of the 152 elected from the corporation elections. These 16 members of the standing committee then elect a chairman of the committee. While preparation of the civic budget is one of its significant functions, it is a stakeholder in almost all financial decisions such as approval of project tenders.

In the elected wing the Mayor is the head and is subordinated and supported by wards committees/ prabhagsamitis. Councillors are elected representatives of 76 electoral wards of the city who are elected every 5 years and the meeting of the councillors is held once in a month. The electoral wards and their "structure" keeps changing. It went from being 48 wards with 3-member panels, to 144 single member wards, to now 76 2-member panels.

The mayor, the first citizen of the city, is elected by the councillors and holds office for a period of two and a half years, according to the BPMC Act. The Mayor presides over the General Body Meetings of the councillors. Along with the General Body there are different committees which work in the city. Wards are represented by the wards committees, whose

⁵ BPMC Act is now changed to Maharashtra Municipal Corporations Act, which governs Pune's administrative structure and functioning.

main function is to approve the cost of works for the wards, incorporate the expenses in the budget etc. There are 15 Prabhag Samitis in Pune city. According to BMC, Act 1949 Sec 29A the minimum number of wards committees in a corporation has to be 13 with a population threshold of 24 lakhs. But this can increase to an excess of 25 wards committee with each committee added per 6 lakh population. Accordingly, Pune has 15 wards committees for a population of 30 lakhs.

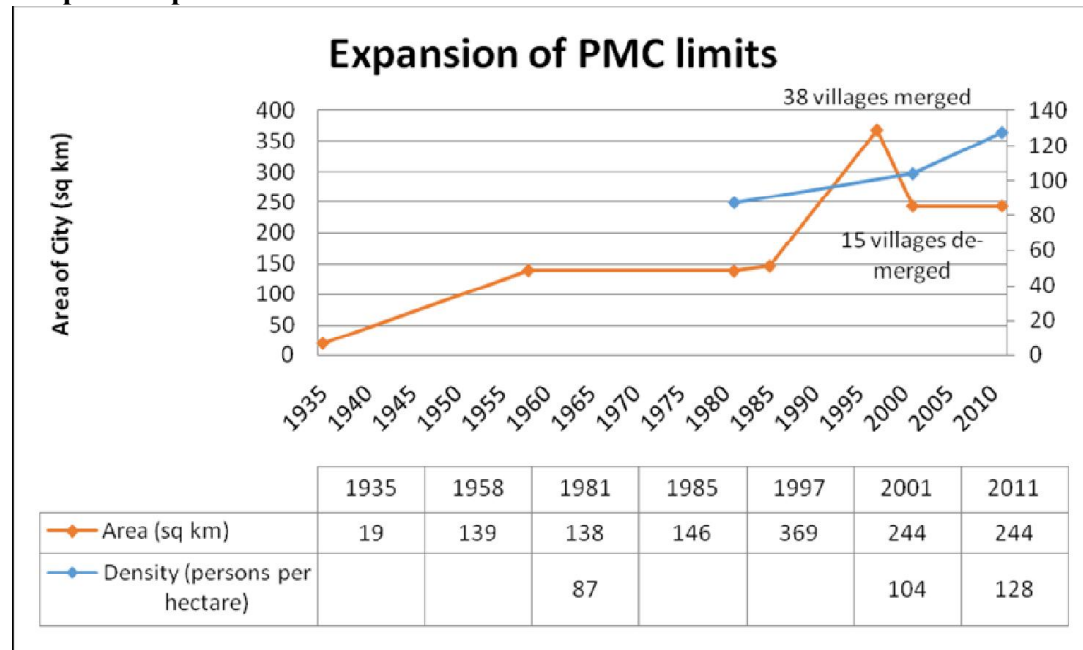
Administrative cadre in PMC

The Administrative wing of the PMC works under the command of Municipal commissioner who is heading a team of official from Additional commissioner level to Deputy Commissioner and other line of officials who administer their respective domains. The Administrative wing is responsible for all the developmental works in the city, maintenance of infrastructure, collection of taxes, preparation of developmental plans and budgets.

Role of ULB in urban planning and service delivery

Pune Municipal Corporation is the sole provider of services, right from planning to execution. While the city has grown in area regularly, PMC continues to take on the responsibility of providing essential services to the increased area.

Graph 8: Expansion of PMC limits



A recent move is to include 34 new fringe villages into the city which will make Pune the largest civic body in the state, area wise, surpassing even Mumbai. The area will drastically increase from the existing 244 sq km to a whopping 560 sq km.

The Nationalist Congress Party (NCP), which suffered a severe setback in the Loksabhaelection held in May 2014, has been pushing for clearance to the proposal to extend PMC limits, which was first considered way back in 1997. According to media analysis, the

NCP will reap maximum political benefits from the move since it already controls gram panchayats in a majority of the villages proposed to be merged. Sources said their inclusion in the PMC limits would strengthen NCP's political hold in the PMC, while influencing market rates for properties in these villages⁶.

In the wake of this significant increase in size, questions remain as to whether the Pune Municipal Corporation is capable to provide basic amenities to this increased area, especially considering the fact that these newly added villages do not have proper roads, water supply or solid waste management systems in place. Debate on whether Pune should have a separate municipal corporation for the administration of the added villages has begun. Some elected members and town planners seem to support the proposition of a separate municipal corporation.

Former Assistant Director of Maharashtra Town Planning Department, urban planner RamchandraGohad said, "The principles of town planning support the idea of decentralization of city limits and it should be followed while taking any decision to merge the villages in PMC limits. There is no need to burden the present infrastructure in Pune. If more villages are to be converted into urban areas, then a separate municipal corporation should be formed⁷."

Urban planning for the city is done under the Maharashtra Regional Town Planning(MRTP) Act, with the first development plan being prepared as early as in 1966⁸. Planning is done by the Town Planning Cell of PMC, which falls under the city engineer's office and isn't an independent, fully formed department as such⁹. While the city engineer's office deals with important permissions such as building permissions, a conflict of interest may arise as planning is also done under the same authority. The recent development plan has been made by an entity known as the Development Plan Cell. Another anomaly of sorts in planning is the stand alone planning process for 23 villages added in the year 2011, which has resulted in two separate plans for a single city.

The city has shown a lack of capacity and will to execute the 1987 Development Plan. The current development plan is almost disconnected with the previous one, inviting criticism from NGOs and experts¹⁰. The introduction to the Draft Development Plan, 2007-2027 reads;

"It is clear that both the Development Plans, i.e. 1966 and 1987 have to a large extent remained as paper only, with the extent of implementation of both plans being extremely pathetic."

Pune Municipal Budget

⁶ "Pune to beat Mumbai as the biggest civic body in Maharashtra"

<http://indianexpress.com/article/cities/pune/pune-to-beat-mumbai-as-the-biggest-civic-body-in-maharashtra/>

⁷ "State plans separate municipal corporation for new villages"

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/State-plans-separate-municipal-corporation-for-new-villages/articleshow/30875576.cms>

⁸Development Plan Executive Summary 2007-2027

<http://www.punecorporation.org/pmcwebn/informpdf/City%20Engineer%20office/Executive%20Summary%20-%20English.pdf>

⁹ Stakeholder interview number 19, 21

¹⁰ Draft Development Plan for Pune, 2007-2027

The PMC budget provides a breakdown not by sectors but by PMC departments (which are not directly aligned with different sectors) and by accounting convenience. To understand sectoral budget allocation, data from seven different parts of the budget had to be collated. These seven parts are:

- a. Revenue expenditure - Includes all running expenses of each of the budget departments
- b. Capital expenditure - Includes all capital expenses budgeted for each department except those budgeted for ward works, JnNURM projects, special projects as well as the projects that are executed from funds given to Corporators, MPs and MLAs.
- c. Ward works - Minor capital works undertaken at the ward level. Some of these projects are suggested by the citizens themselves.
- d. JNNURM - projects under JnNURM where financial assistance is partly given by the Centre and the State. The only projects undertaken under JnNURM are those related to transport, water and sewage, bridges and river improvement and slum rehabilitation.
- e. Special Projects - Projects that are undertaken by a Special Purpose Vehicle and are just related to the transport sector. This includes both projects which are undertaken to meet targets set by the Comprehensive Mobility Plan (classified under “CMP projects”) as well as certain projects that are classified as “Non Comprehensive Mobility Plan”.
- f. Corporator’s Fund – Pune has 76 wards. Each ward has an elected representative (corporator) who is given a particular amount every year (Rs. 20 lakhs in 2011-12) to undertake certain development activities in his/her ward. This also includes the money that has been given to the Mayor (Rs.2 crores in 2011-12) and 5 nominated members.
- g. MP + MLA Funds –This is the money that is allotted to MPs and MLAs to undertake certain development activities and the amount to be allotted is fixed by the Central /State Government.

Since each of these seven parts of the budget was given according to departments, they had to be further analyzed to club and split certain departments to identify sectoral budget allocations.

Gender Budgeting

Gender budgeting started in Pune in 2008-09, with 5 crores being allocated for schemes and projects aligned with women’s welfare. However, the process has hardly been rigorous¹¹. Issues like poor attendance¹² at gender budget meetings and inconsistent allocations¹³ mar the whole concept.

¹¹ “Ruckus in civic meeting over gender budget”, February 2010

<http://archive.indianexpress.com/news/pune-ruckus-in-civic-meeting-over-gender-budget/583818/>

¹² “Only five women corporators attend gender budget meeting”, January 2013

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/Only-five-women-corporators-attend-gender-budget-meeting/articleshow/19940858.cms>

¹³ “Gender Budgeting gets lukewarm response”, January 2012

http://dnasyndication.com/dna/dna_english_news_and_features/%E2%80%98Gender-budgeting%E2%80%99-gets-lukewarm-response/DNPUN46131

The gender budget typically includes projects like public toilets, vocational guidance centres and courses, schemes related to improved health and education for women and so on.

Status of the ULB as a political/ representative body:

Pune is a big city considering that it is a non-capital city. Even so, it does not have the presence of any significant parastatals, or a strong regional development authority¹⁴. All decisions are made and implemented through the PMC. The Municipal Corporation is thus the power centre of Pune.

Decisions are ideally to be made through debate and discussion in general body meetings. However, it has been observed¹⁵ that councillors, typically lack the vision and knowledge to intelligently debate on issues of a city wide nature, and are more concerned about their particular wards. Only handful active corporators participate actively in the general body discussions¹⁶.

The Municipal Commissioner is an important actor in the process of decision making. Though he may be seen to be working under the patronage of influential political leaders, his ability to accelerate decision making or conversely delay certain other decisions makes him an important variable in the city's development trajectory¹⁷. Decision making is thus concentrated in the hands of a few, either enlightened corporators, political leaders or the Municipal Commissioner. The Municipal Commissioner is also perceived to be under considerable pressure from politicians, who may be involved in affecting decisions related to transfers, promotions and appointments¹⁸.

The corporation's interface with the State government is very restrained. The state government becomes a stakeholder in decision making in events like finalization of the development plan, implementation of the Slum Rehabilitation Act and merger of Pune Municipal Transport (PMT) and PimpriChinchwad Municipal Transport (PCMT) to form PMPML. Also, the relationship with the State is largely connected with grants received. For instance, no state approval is required for any projects which are being funded fully by the PMC itself. The State Govt. also decides on important revenue issues such as fixing octroi rate and local body tax rates.

Other institutions and relationships

1. PMC-PCMC relationship

Pune, as with most other large cities in India, is part of an ever growing Urban Agglomeration. In the case of Pune, this is made especially complicated by the proximity of Pimpri-Chinchwad, once considered an industrial township, but now

¹⁴ **A Pune Metropolitan Regional Development Authority (PMRDA) was established but has largely been non-functional**

¹⁵ Interview with two corporators, senior journalist

¹⁶ Stakeholder interview number 20, 23

¹⁷ Stakeholder interview 2, 9, 19, 21, 23

¹⁸ "Pune Municipal Corporation officials complain about political pressure"

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/Pune-Municipal-Corporation-officials-complain-about-political-pressure/articleshow/15141300.cms>,

"Arun Bhatia hopes to get third time lucky"

<http://indianexpress.com/article/cities/pune/arun-bhatia-hopes-to-get-third-time-lucky/>

rapidly developing into a fully formed city. Both cities are managed by their respective Municipal Corporations, fiercely independent and often at political loggerheads, but with their futures and that of the surrounding areas intertwined.

It needs to be understood here that the two municipal authorities are seen to be competing with each other rather than working together. PCMC gets largely overshadowed by the presence of Pune, in terms of both funds received and media attention as well. The presence of civil society in PCMC is also sparse. However, this is now changing. The recent uproar over the transfer of Municipal Commissioner ShrikarPardeshi points towards an increasing civil society intervention¹⁹.

Already the two cities have come up against one another with respect to three major transport projects. The city bus services of the two Municipal Corporations have been merged into one, PMPML, which while providing slightly better and seamless service to commuters has been kicked around by both the Corporations, who have both tried to maintain their control while starving it of much needed funds and resources. The two cities have independently planned and are now executing their Bus Rapid Transit systems, even though they connect with one another, going to the extent of proposing different structures (island bus stations vs. split bus stations) until the Central Govt. stepped in and played the role of mediator. The left hand-right hand door conflict²⁰ while implementing the BRTS displayed this disconnect clearly. This conflict is also largely indicative of the different styles of BRTS being adopted by the two cities. While PimpriChinchwad had agreed upon the ITDP model, Pune had adopted the IIT-Delhi model, although after the intervention of the Urban Development Department, Govt of India Pune BRT has also been retrofitting the ITDP model for its BRT. It must also be noted here that the execution of BRT in PimpriChinchwad has the visible impact of World Bank involvement, which is lacking from Pune. Though the actual involvement of the World Bank is limited to the building of railway overbridges on two of the four BRTS corridors in PimpriChinchwad, they are observed to be equally concerned with the outcome of the whole project, demanding accountability and efficiency in the project implementation²¹. The fact that Pune did not want any kind of World Bank funds²² for their projects is perceived to be on account of their unwillingness to adhere to the former's strict guidelines²³.

¹⁹ "PCMC chief ShrikarPardeshi shunted out, Pimpri erupts in anger"

<http://indianexpress.com/article/cities/pune/pcmc-chief-shrikar-pardeshi-shunted-out-pimpri-erupts-in-anger/>

²⁰ "PMC-PCMC need to work in coordination while implementing BRTS: Experts"

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/PMC-PCMC-need-to-work-in-coordination-while-implementing-BRTS-Experts/articleshow/4684910.cms>

²¹ Stakeholder interview number 15

Presence of World Bank representatives at a meeting on BRTS with MoUD, PMPML ad both corporations –

http://www.nagrikchetna.com/BRT_JT_Meeting_190610.pdf

²² "PMC may not push for Rs 254 cr loan from GEF", The Indian Express, July, 2009

<http://indianexpress.com/article/cities/pune/PMC-may-not-push-for-rs-254cr-loan-from-gef/>

²³ Stakeholder interview with 15, 21

The Metro corridor connecting Pune and Pimpri-Chinchwad - a higher priority corridor selected by DMRC, similarly got shelved due to differences between the two Municipal Corporations²⁴.

It has long been suggested that a Pune Metropolitan Regional Development Authority (PMRDA) would be the answer to more seamless development of the area, but there has been little thought paid to the setup of this agency and to decide to whom and how it would be answerable. Similarly the National Urban Transport Policy proposes the creation of a Unified Metropolitan Transport Authority (UMTA), but suffers from the same lack of clarity as to how it operates.

2. Metropolitan Planning Committee:

The Mumbai, Pune and Nagpur Metropolitan areas were declared in July 1999. The Pune Metropolitan Area is ~ 3000 sq.km and at the time had a population of 53.88 lakhs. It consists of the Pune and Pimpri-Chinchwad Municipal Corporations, the Lonawala, Talegaon-Dabhade and Alandi Municipal Councils and about 400 villages. In accordance with Clause (2) of Article 243-ZE of the Constitution of India, the State of Maharashtra promulgated the Maharashtra Metropolitan Planning Committees (Constitution and Functions) *Ordinance*, 1999. Thereafter the Maharashtra Metropolitan Planning Committees (Constitution and Functions) (Continuance of Provisions) *Act*²⁵, 1999 came into force with effect from 7th January, 2000. As per the Act, the MPC is to have 45 members, 30 being elected from the various constituent bodies.

The Pune MPC was only constituted in December 2008, after the MPC rules were created in 2005 and the process of finalization of the representation from the various areas and election process was completed. Until 2013, the MPC has met only twice, once in January 2009 and then again in June 2010²⁶.

The MPC was apprised of its functions in its first meeting and three sub-committees for Land Use, Traffic and Transportation and Resource Management were formed. Terms of Reference for a Comprehensive Transport Plan for the Metropolitan area have been created. The MPC's functioning has however been hampered by a lack of funds, manpower and the absence of even office space²⁷. As new elections have taken place in 2012 and nominated members have tenure of 3 years, all members of the MPC will have to be reconstituted²⁸.

²⁴ "Pune Metro Rail project in a limbo", 25th December, 2012

<http://www.dnaindia.com/pune/report-pune-metro-rail-project-in-a-limbo-1781492>

²⁵ <http://bit.ly/MPC-Act>

²⁶ "30 member Metropolitan Planning Committee to be reconstituted", April 2012

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/30-member-Metropolitan-Planning-Committee-to-be-reconstituted/articleshow/12513398.cms>

²⁷ PCNTDA refuses to give funds for PMPC; Times of India, March 2011

http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-03-24/pune/29182630_1_pcntda-sahas-divise-pcmc

²⁸ 30-member Metropolitan Planning Committee to be reconstituted; Times of India, April 2012

http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-04-03/pune/31280951_1_mpc-draft-development-plan-town-planning

The question of why the MPC has largely remained ineffective should be seen in the light of the politico-administrative dynamics of the region. With a stronghold of the municipal corporation over all services and civic procedures, it is perceived that neither the administrative officers nor politicians stand to gain anything from its functioning. More than active resistance to a MPC, it is more likely to be sheer lethargy and lack of initiative²⁹.

3. State Government

It figures significantly in the planning process, as it approves the development plan for the city. The State Government also impacts the development of the cities through its control of the region and the developmental initiatives in the vicinity of the cities. In particular the development of the Rajiv Gandhi InfoTech Park (locally known as the Hinjewadi IT park), other industrial “clusters”, Special Economic Zones (SEZs), Special Townships (such as Magarpatta and Nanded City) and the potentially new International Airport, all play havoc on the residential developments and transport patterns. Yet, the city itself cannot influence these State-level decisions, nor can it easily change the Development Plans to manage some of the stresses on the city and its urban infrastructure. Only an empowered Metropolitan Planning Committee (MPC) can begin to address some of these issues.

While Pune is free of the influence of any para-statal agencies (there being no functional Regional Development Authority), one of the state agencies that has had a negative influence on the transport scenario has been the Maharashtra State Road Development Corporation (MSRDC). Brought in to implement the so called “Integrated Road Development Project for the Pune Metropolitan Region” the Government of Maharashtra sanctioned a comprehensive project package at a cost of 260 crores which included 33 works in which there were 6 road improvement works, 9 Railway Over Bridges, widening of 1 Railway Over Bridge, 2 River Over Bridges and 15 Flyovers. The legacy of the flyover projects proposed by MSRDC is being faced even today, as many of these were added without any justification to the more recently sanctioned Comprehensive Mobility Plan. It is only disputes between the PMC and MSRDC over payments that have fortuitously stalled many of these ill-advised projects³⁰.

This sudden entry of MSRDC into the city has to be seen in the context of the construction of the Pune- Mumbai expressway, completed in 2002. It is believed that the sudden spate of road projects was initiated right after the completion of the expressway, as MSRDC had acquired a lot of heavy and costly equipment for this project, and could find no use for it after its completion. After approaching a very encouraging MLA from Pune, namely Kalmadi, and garnering his support, these road projects took off smoothly in that period³¹. A strong political figure is observed to drive the development of the city.

²⁹Stakeholder interview number 21

³⁰ Meet between PMC, MSRDC officials to discuss dues to state corporation; Indian Express, Oct 2007
<http://www.expressindia.com/latest-news/meet-between-pmc-msrdc-officials-to-discuss-dues-to-state-corporation/227282/>

³¹Stakeholder interview number 21

4. Slum Rehabilitation Authority:

Slum Rehabilitation Authority³² was established in 2005 to rehabilitate slums in Maharashtra. This could be linked to the promises for free slum rehabilitation by the Shivsena – BJP alliance in 2004³³. According to unofficial numbers Mumbai needs 20 lakh houses to fill in the gap in housing. The much talked about and now idolised SRA (Slum Rehabilitation Authority) model, which in very simple terms allowed the private builder to monetise urban slum land by dispossessing the poor, has only added at best 2 lakh housing units over the past two decades of its implementation³⁴.

The SRA is responsible of surveying slum population, propose rehabilitation schemes and get them implemented in the city.

The Authority is also responsible for identifying slum dwellers, penalising slum dwellers who are not participating in the scheme, updating the property card for remaining sellable land, registration of co-operative housing society scheme and so on.

All members of the Authority, headed by the Chief Minister, are appointed by the state government, with the Municipal Commissioner acting as the CEO, who is again a state appointed officer. The slum areas come exclusively under its jurisdiction with separate development control rules for the same³⁵.

5. PMPML:

Another issue which has suffered considerably due to apathy of the State Government, which nonetheless continues to exert a controlling influence, is the state of the integrated bus service for the Pune Metropolitan Region, PMPML, formed by the merger of the two erstwhile city transport undertakings of Pune and Pimpri-Chinchwad. The composition of the board of PMPML was decided to be in the ratio of 60:40 for Pune and PimpriChinchwad respectively. The structure of the merged company was determined by the State Government (opting for a company under the Companies Act), with powers to appoint the Chairman and Managing Director vested with the State Government.

The merger of PMT and PCMT as an independent undertaking was the outcome of state level bureaucrats insisting it be independent, thereby putting it in a vulnerable position financially and operationally due to losses and general lack of capacity. With PMPML bearing continuous losses, neither of the municipal corporations were or are willing to bear any responsibility towards it³⁶.

³² http://srapune.gov.in/documents/pdf/Const_Function_Resp.pdf

³³ http://www.unipune.ac.in/dept/mental_moral_and_social_science/politics_and_public_administration/ppa_webfiles/pdf/Link_Occ_Paper_Suhas_Palshikar_Coalition%20CAS.pdf

³⁴ "Of smart cities and (un)smart decisions – A tale of misplaced priorities", DNA, June 2014
<http://www.dnaindia.com/analysis/standpoint-of-smart-cities-and-unsmart-decisions-a-tale-of-misplaced-priorities-1998212>

³⁵ http://srapune.gov.in/documents/pdf/Const_Function_Resp.pdf

³⁶ Stakeholder interview number 19, 21

Since its formation there has been no full-time appointment to the post of Chairman and Managing Director, and those appointed have either been given additional charge or transferred often. The lack of a full-time, full-term and capable person at the helm of PMPML has left the organization in shambles, leaving the citizens of Pune and Pimpri-Chinchwad in a lurch, who have moved to personal modes of transport in increasingly escalating numbers³⁷.

Key stakeholders in Pune's political economy:

As a rapidly developing city, Pune has its own set of stakeholders and the equation they share with each other often influences the city's growth. Following are some of the important stakeholders;

1. Politicians

There are very few politicians from Pune who have had a national presence, and they have been the most important drivers of the direction of Pune's growth. Suresh Kalmadi, member of Indian National Congress and member of Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha for multiple times, has been one such leader who brought about noticeable shifts in the city's development. His stint at the Commonwealth Youth Games as the Chairman of the Indian Olympic Association brought in a lot of money and infrastructure development for the city, along with a lot of corruption as well³⁸. The CYG package under JNNURM was the largest chunk of funds received by the city for a range of infrastructure works, with a maximum component for roads and transport³⁹.

An indicative incident of the style of his politics was the initiation of the Pune Vyaspeeth⁴⁰, an open forum for citizens to interact with political leaders to discuss the issues and needs of the city⁴¹. Citizens groups, environmentalists were invited for its first meeting where they voiced their opinions about the way the city was developing in a straightforward way. These groups were never entertained again at the forum's future meetings. The forum later became a place to discuss 'events' like the Pune Marathon, Pune Festival and others. An indicative incident of the style of his politics was the initiation of the Pune Vyaspeeth⁴², an open forum for citizens to interact with political leaders to discuss the issues and needs of the city⁴³. Citizens groups and environmentalists were invited for its first meeting where they voiced opinions about the way the city was developing in a straightforward way. After a few meetings, these groups were never invited again for the forum's future meetings. The forum later became a place to discuss 'events' like the Pune Marathon, Pune Festival and others, and increasingly saw active participation from the corporate sector and the builder-promoter lobby.

³⁷ <http://www.parisar.org/activities/analysesreports/159-pmpml-report-card-2012-13.html>

³⁸ Stakeholder interview number 2, 9

³⁹ Analysis of the CYG package under JNNURM

⁴⁰ <http://punevyaspeeth.org/index.html>

⁴¹ Stakeholder interview number 21

⁴² <http://punevyaspeeth.org/index.html>

⁴³ Stakeholder interview number 21

The influence of Ajit Pawar – Nationalist Congress Party member, former Deputy Chief Minister of Maharashtra and the guardian minister of the city cannot be ignored. As a member of the ruling coalition from 2009-14 in Pune, he certainly exerts control over which projects are done and with what speed⁴⁴.

The local political circle is characterised by a handful of knowledgeable politicians, with others having a very ward specific interest and understanding⁴⁵.

2. *Citizens Groups*

Pune has a very vibrant civil society presence, exerting considerable pressure on administration on various issues. This presence can be traced back to 1970s, when groups of individuals interacted with PMC officials and sought change on various issues like waste management, conservation of trees and so on⁴⁶. Communication with the Commissioner was a regular phenomenon then, which has continued with varying parameters of ease and effectiveness of communication, depending upon who the Municipal Commissioner was at any given point of time.

The recent example of mass mobilisation⁴⁷ by such organisations to bring out maximum suggestions and objections to the draft development plan is evidence of this presence. RTI activists also work as a constant check on all administrative processes and have likely played an important role in ensuring higher levels of transparency and citizen involvement in Municipal affairs.

Another such example is that of Biodiversity Park reservation⁴⁸ in Pune. In 2003, the Government of Maharashtra decided to merge 23 fringe villages into the Pune Municipal Corporation. For these villages, a Development Plan was formulated by the PMC which inter alia proposed that the Hills and Hill slopes encircling Pune amounting to about 1674 hectares would be reserved as a Bio Diversity Park and no construction would be allowed on it. This plan was passed in the General Body of the PMC not just once but twice. This DP was labelled by the citizens as the Green DP as it was the first of its kind in the country which made available substantial area to absorb the carbon generated by the city.

During suggestions and objections filed by citizens, as envisaged under the Maharashtra Regional Town Planning Act, the citizens of Pune filed almost 90,000 suggestions and objections opposing any kind of construction on the hills encircling Pune and for reserving them as Bio Diversity Parks⁴⁹. The Pune Municipal

⁴⁴ "Why Ajit Pawar pulled up Pune Municipal Corporation staff"

<http://www.dnaindia.com/pune/report-why-ajit-pawar-pulled-up-pune-municipal-corporation-staff-1997258>

"Demolition drive may gain momentum again"

<http://www.dnaindia.com/pune/report-demolition-drive-may-gain-momentum-again-1775088>

<http://indianexpress.com/article/cities/pune/delay-in-cctvs-ajit-tells-pathak-pol-to-act-fast/>

⁴⁵ Stakeholder interview number 9, 12, 20, 23

⁴⁶ Stakeholder interview number 21

⁴⁷ "PMC receives 87 thousand suggestions objection to DP"

<http://www.loksatta.com/pune-news/pmc-receives-87-thousand-suggestions-objection-to-dp-139237/>

⁴⁸ <http://www.nscppune.org/Bio%20Diversity%20Park%20Reservation>

⁴⁹ BDP scrapping: state ignored 90,000 wishes, July 2010

Corporation accordingly sent the proposal for ratification to the State Government. However due to the opposition from certain section of Members of Legislative Assembly and the representations made to the Chief Minister time and again, the Chief Minister constituted an Expert Committee (Jain Committee)⁵⁰ to study the matter. This committee also opined that no construction should be allowed on the hills and that the Hills and Hill slopes be reserved as Bio Diversity reserves and the owners of the land holdings be compensated by way of a Green TDR. The Jain Committee went even further and asked the PMC to adopt preservation of the BDP as a mission.

Judicial activism is also high in the city, with various important issues being taken up such as the development plan, transport projects, environmental issues etc. Several of these have led to important changes in the working of the Municipal Corporation. Parisar's attempt to bring about a stay on construction of a road in the river bed area of Muthariver in 2012 was successful, however the existence of a road already constructed could not be challenged⁵¹. A PIL⁵² filed against the Pune Tree Authority in 2009 led to the Bombay High Court completely freezing the authority's decision making power, until a proper set of rules was established. RTI activist Vijay Kumbhar's case⁵³ against the conversion of a plot of land reserved for a school into a residential plot for an eminent builder and relative of the then Chief Minister Manohar Joshi, also ended favourably for the activist, though after a long fight of 13 years.

3. *Workers Unions*

The general sense is that they have ceased to a major influence on decision making. If at all, the municipal corporation's workers' union may have some influence⁵⁴.

Trade Unions

Trade unions are present as Pune is a big retail market. They are organised and possess some negotiating power, but as demonstrated in the LBT⁵⁵ case, they too can be overcome by the administration.

4. *Real estate*

Land is an important asset, especially in a growing city like Pune. Land owners and developers therefore tend to control important decisions regarding land use, particularly where rules and regulations are weak. As a growing city, Pune is

http://epaper.timesofindia.com/Repository/getFiles.asp?Style=OliveXLib:LowLevelEntityToPrint_MIRRORNEW&Type=text/html&Locale=english-skin-custom&Path=PMIR/2010/07/11&ID=Ar00400

⁵⁰"Committee uphold biodiversity park in Pune", September 2012

<http://www.dnaindia.com/pune/report-committee-upholds-bio-diversity-park-in-pune-1735438>

⁵¹<http://bombayhighcourt.nic.in/data/judgements/2012/CSA1976211.pdf>

⁵²<http://bombayhighcourt.nic.in/generatenewauth.php?auth=cGF0aD0uL2RhdGEvanVkZ2VtZW50cy8yMDEzLyZmbmFtZT1DUeIMNzYxNzA5LnBkZiZzbWZsYWc9TG==>

⁵³<http://indiankanoon.org/doc/1949858/>

"SC upholds HC order on ex-CM kins bldg.", Times of India, October, 2011

<http://lite.epaper.timesofindia.com/mobile.aspx?article=yes&pageid=8&edlabel=TOIPU&mydateHid=13-10-2011&pubname=Times%20of%20India%20-%20Pune%20-%20Front%20Page&edname=&articleid=Ar00800&publabel=TOI>

⁵⁴ Telephonic interview with social activist (Neeraj Jain), interview with Activists Mukta Manohar, Kiran Moghe

⁵⁵ "Traders oppose LBT octroi – ask Pune Municipal Corporation to seek state funds"

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/Traders-oppose-LBT-octroi-ask-Pune-Municipal-Corporation-to-see-state-funds/articleshow/36454860.cms>

becoming a hotspot for investment in real estate, especially in the newly added villages⁵⁶. Stakeholder interviews reveal that huge expanses of land in the newly added villages are owned by politicians and may in fact be instrumental in their pushing for inclusion of these villages in the city limits.

Looking back into the city's growth, during the 70s, land use was treated with much respect and firmness. The city engineer in PMC wielded good control on how land was used and permissions granted for construction activities. This gradually is perceived to have changed, wherein land use is being compromised rampantly in the current scenario⁵⁷. There is a general perception among people and the media that builders wield significant influence on the development of the city, and also receive patronage from politicians for the same⁵⁸.

Big builders and developers are also known to have better access to crucial information like the Development Plans, much before common citizens have any knowledge of it. Common citizens are in fact actively denied access⁵⁹.

The vision of these builders largely suffers from the same problem as with corporators. It is restricted only to their particular project and has little or no coherence with the city's logical development goals.⁶⁰

5. *Industrial lobbies*

Industrial development started in the 1950s and '60s in Hadapsar, Bhosari, Pimpri, and Parvati. Telco (now Tata Motors) started operations in 1961, which gave a huge boost to the automobile sector. It is home to the Automotive Research Association of India. All sectors of the automotive industry are represented, from two-wheelers and auto rickshaws to cars, tractors, tempos, excavators and trucks. Automotive companies like Tata Motors, Mahindra & Mahindra, Mercedes Benz, Force Motors (Firodia-Group), Kinetic Motors have set ups in Pune. Automotive companies including General Motors, Volkswagen, and Fiat have set up greenfield facilities near Pune, leading Pune to be often called as India's "Motor City". Several automotive component manufacturers like Saint-Gobain Sekurit, TATA Autocomp Systems Limited, Robert Bosch GmbH, ZF Friedrichshafen AG, Visteon, and Continental Corporation are located here.

According to the Indo-German Chamber of Commerce, Pune is the single largest hub for German companies, with over 225 German companies having set up their businesses in Pune.

⁵⁶ <http://businesstoday.intoday.in/story/best-investment-options-how-land-can-make-you-rich/1/185471.html>

⁵⁷ Stakeholder interview number 21

⁵⁸ "Builders lobby behind pipeline project in Pune"
<http://www.dnaindia.com/mumbai/report-builders-lobby-behind-pipeline-project-in-pune-bharatiya-kisan-sangh-1575523>,

"Builders confusing flat owners about VAT payment"
<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/Builders-confusing-flat-owners-about-VAT-payment/articleshow/16933624.cms>

⁵⁹ Stakeholder interview number 21,24

⁶⁰ Stakeholder interview number 9, 12

The Hinjawadi IT Park (officially called the Rajeev Gandhi IT Park) is a project being started by MIDC to house the IT sector in Pune. When completed, the Hinjawadi IT Park is expected to have an area of about 2,800 acres⁶¹.

Industrial lobbies like Maharashtra Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture (MCCIA), Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), Hinjawadi Industries Association (HIA) influence decisions like allocation of industrial zones, location of the airport and so on⁶².

6. *Committees*

Apart from the official administrative machinery, various committees are formed to deal with specific issue such as the Urban Heritage Committee, Traffic Committee, River Improvement Committee, Town Vending Committee⁶³ and so on. These committees typically consist of experts, municipal officials and citizen representatives at times. Some committees are statutory/permanent while others set up for a particular task. Experience from the traffic committee reveals that these committees are not very organised in terms of functioning and implementation.

Considering that the main theme of these committees is to either involve citizens in decision making or get an expert opinion, their impact on decision making cannot be quantified easily. While communication between civil society and PMC has been a consistent phenomenon, whether this would always translate into a decision is arguable. For example, in the River Improvement Committee established by PMC, the road within the river banks was strongly opposed by civil society members. Consequently, instead of paying heed to the opposition, a separate committee was constituted by the Municipal Commissioner specifically for taking the decision on the road within the river bed from which all who had opposed the road were excluded⁶⁴.

⁶¹“One city, many faces”, Frontline, December 2009

<http://www.frontline.in/static/html/fl2625/stories/20091218262511400.htm>

⁶² Stakeholder interview number 21

⁶³ “City Khaugallis may turn into 76 food malls”

<http://www.punemirror.in/pune/civic/Citys-khau-gallis-may-turn-into-76-food-malls/articleshow/41116919.cms>

⁶⁴ Stakeholder interview number 21

PART2: JNNURM IN THE URBAN GOVERNANCE ECOSYSTEM

JNNURM's stated objectives were broadly two fold. On the one hand, it sought to redress the infrastructure deficit in cities through central grants to cities. In the process it sought to achieve its second more structural objective that of reorganising urban governance, by changing the way ULBs functioned. Fundamentally, the program sought to reorganise the functioning of ULBs to make them competitive, that is, capable of raising finance from the market. Funding the ULBs to fulfil the first objective was conceived as the incentive that would encourage them (and the concerned state governments) to enact a set of 23 reforms to achieve the second objective.

Detailed objectives and strategies that were expected to lead to the achievement of the twin objectives above related to instituting a more comprehensive and integrated approach to urban management and governance (e.g. through double-entry accounting, and comprehensive development plans). In parallel, there was also an emphasis on universalising the reach of civic services, instituting transparency and accountability towards citizens, and providing basic services (including serviced housing) to the urban poor. Our understanding of the effect JNNURM had on urban governance in Pune must be constructed in relation to the objectives outlined above. As a first step it is useful to briefly glance at the institutional situation of PMC just before the entry of JNNURM.

On the one hand, over the course of its long history as well as other factors PMC was already a strong ULB in terms of institutional and financial capacity. Moreover, it had already initiated and completed many important infrastructural projects (e.g. sewage treatment plants) as well as reforms prior to JNNURM. Examples of the latter were the beginning of migration to double entry accounting, as well as the introduction of the system of user charges in water supply in 2000. The institutional strength had formal and informal aspects. An important formal function like urban planning, that JNNURM insisted be transferred to ULBs from state government, were already with PMC. Informal state government practice, meanwhile, had historically ensured that senior IAS officers were always posted as PMC's Municipal Commissioner leading to better administrative systems and traditions as compared to other cities (apart from Mumbai). PMC also already had some experience working with funding agencies like ADB and private consultants. Of relevance to JNNURM's insistence on pro-poor reforms, PMC had long provided basic services to declared as well as undeclared slums in the city. On a number of counts, thus, it was relatively better prepared to deal with the central program. This readiness was complemented by a possibly urgent need for funds to undertake major projects that was beginning to be felt at this point in time. Pune's limits had been extended in 1997 supposedly on the insistence of the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP), which was dominant in the 23 villages.

The review of the process by which JNNURM was brought to Pune by PMC, and the way it was implemented begins with a focus on 2 key strategies of the program: the Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP) and Reforms. How these two strategies were implemented reveals a lot about PMC's attitude towards the JNNURM agenda of restructuring urban governance.

CDP: Process of formulation and practical relevance

The Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP) was a mandatory document for all cities seeking JNNURM funds⁶⁵. It was a key strategy promoted by JNNURM for instituting the often missing approach of integrated and planned development of infrastructure in cities.

The document is defined as a comprehensive plan, outlining the vision and strategy for future development of the city, prepared in **consultation with a wide range of stakeholders** to identify the thrust areas to be addressed on priority basis in order to achieve the objectives and the vision. It thus provides the **overall framework within which projects are identified and put forward in a City Investment Plan**⁶⁶.

Accordingly the first CDP was taken up for preparation by PMC in 2005, by the then Municipal Commissioner Nitin Kareer. In an interview in 2014, he revealed that he felt the need for money at that particular time, as the situation of Pune could possibly bend towards instability. He said that though Pune Corporation was always a financially sound body, the recent addition of 23 villages could have put it under pressure.

A news article has this to say about the process through which the CDP was prepared:

“The process of the formulation and approval of CDP however was less than perfect. The CDP was prepared by Credit Rating Information Services of India Limited (CRISIL) with technical assistance from the Financial Institutions Reform and Expansion-Debt (FIRE-D) Project of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). This document is what decides the future course of Pune's development under JnNURM. But other than being posted on the Pune Municipal Corporation's (PMC's) website since February 2006, it has hardly been circulated or read in Pune. Citizen groups have alleged that proper public consultation was not carried out before finalising the CDP. Sources point out that CRISIL was hired not by the state government but by USAID. In August 2005, he initiated the CDP process with select citizens and NGOs, without defining their terms of reference, said an NGO representative involved in it⁶⁷.

Stakeholder meetings conducted by Parisar with various civil society representatives in this context, reiterated the fact that very few representatives were actually consulted, and those that were found no consideration of their suggestions/ objections in the CDP⁶⁸.

While the CDP is envisioned as a document of importance for a city's development, its actual value is evident from the process followed for its finalisation. The plan was passed overnight by the GB, with negligible discussion on any aspect of the plan. It was felt that the plan was pushed by the then Commissioner, Nitin Kareer, for the huge amounts of funds that would be made available for the city once the plan was passed⁶⁹. The corporators weren't very

⁶⁵JnNURM guidelines, www.jnnurm.nic.in

⁶⁶<http://jnnurm.nic.in/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/CDP-Toolkit-Book-Second-Revised-2012-as-printing.pdf>

⁶⁷<http://www.downtoearth.org.in/node/8251>

⁶⁸ “It is not that there was no consultation *at all*. PMC Commissioner Kareer *chose*, and *invited*, a number of NGOs as stakeholders to work alongside CRISIL. But there was no response from to the critique that CRISIL-PMC have not gone through a larger consultation process with stakeholders such as those noted above.” – <http://indiatgether.org/punecdp-government>

Stakeholder interview with 6, 7, 19, 21

⁶⁹Stakeholder interview number 11, 20

concerned with what was in the plan, as they didn't think it would affect them in any substantial way.

While the first CDP was passed without much participation from corporators, according to stakeholder interviews, the realisation of its impact came as projects started being implemented in different wards. Corporators started voicing their concern as being totally unaware of when and how these projects got approved in the general body. A very peculiar case came out of this confusion, wherein the then Municipal Commissioner Nitin Kareer replied to these queries by showing a resolution passed in the General Body itself, wherein all executive powers concerning JnNURM projects were entrusted to him⁷⁰. This is an important indicator of the level of involvement of corporators in JnNURM as well as the level of power concentration JnNURM could bring about.

Pune's CDP was cleared by the MoUD and a MoA signed on February 13 within five days of its submission, without National Institute of Public Finance and Policy's (NIPFP) approval. The MoA⁷¹, has no date, no signature of witnesses⁷² or the governor's signature or seal⁷³.

The process for preparation of a revised CDP by consultant Voyants Solutions Pvt Ltd. was initiated in 2011, as the first CDP was envisioned only till 2012. Interestingly, this revised version sought towards achieving the long term vision for the city within the JnNURM framework, until 2041. Firstly, this sudden jump in plan period has not been explained. Secondly, it is clearly not in line with the plan period of the development plan, which is 20 years. The process of preparation of the revised CDP has been considerably compromised with regard to stakeholder involvement. Again, the views of different civil society representatives were merely recorded. Parisar was consulted again for the same. When asked about follow up of the outcomes of the last stakeholder meeting, and an appraisal of the last CDP, the consultants had no answers and didn't try to contact the organisation again. The city hasn't made any statement about the current status of the revised CDP.

Pune has also prepared a Comprehensive Mobility Plan (CMP), mandated under JnNURM, which is required to be compliant with the National Urban Transport Policy (NUTP), to give a detailed road map of proposed transportation projects. M/s Infrastructure Leasing & Financial Services Limited (IL&FS) was appointed as a consultant, who assigned the task to M/s Wilbur Smith Associates Pvt Ltd, a renowned transport planning consultant. The CMP, approved by the PMC Standing Committee, but not approved by the General Body, was submitted to the Ministry of Urban Development, thus fulfilling the pre-condition for JNNURM funds.

The General Body of the Pune Municipal Corporation finally approved the plan in May 2012, almost 4 years after it was first tabled in the house. While approving the plan the following proviso was added, "the General Body will have the authority to make changes in the Comprehensive Mobility Plan made as per the guidelines of the Central Government and approval is given for any changes made by the General Body from time to time to be

⁷⁰Stakeholder interview with 4, 11, 20, 23

⁷¹<http://jnnurm.nic.in/moa-of-pune.html>

⁷²http://jnnurm.nic.in/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/Pune_MoA5.pdf

⁷³ <http://www.downtoearth.org.in/node/8251>

incorporated into the report⁷⁴." This statement nullified the sanctity of the plan, by empowering the GB to change the plan as it pleased. While the political class had been disconnected when the CMP was being made, it later transpired that many projects proposed by them got opposed by both transport activists as well as political opponents on the basis that they were not part of the CMP. The approval of the CMP, this the addition of the proviso, was meant specifically to ensure that the CMP did not become an impediment to the implementation of projects (such as flyovers, skywalks, etc.). This is also reflected in the actual implementation of the CMP; most projects in it have not been implemented and projects not in it are being implemented. The PMC even went to the extent of filing an affidavit in the HC stating the CMP was only a guideline and not binding on the Corporation⁷⁵. An important instrument for ensuring that the National Urban Transport Policy is implemented by cities was thus easily blocked by the city. In retrospect, the non-insistence of JNNURM to implement the CMP (as opposed to just making it), also indicates the reluctance of the Ministry itself to push for reforms that it had proposed through its own policy.

It is important to note here, that the CDP, CMP are not statutory documents like the development/ regional plans. Furthermore, no effort has been made in Pune to harmonise the CDP with documents such as the development plan. While the CDP is a project document, the Development Plan has to be consulted to check the availability of land for JnNURM projects. This has been a problem with projects declared in the CDP, especially transport and housing, where the CDP declared projects in blocks without looking at the availability of land for the same. Land acquisition has become a bottleneck for the implementation of projects in a time-bound manner. However, efforts are now being made to give some legal mandate to the CMP. MoUD has instructed municipal corporations to notify the CMP⁷⁶.

Reforms

Reforms under JnNURM were bifurcated between mandatory reforms and optional reforms. The table below shows how PMC has reported its implementation of the reforms that were to be undertaken by ULBs.

Table 4: Mandatory Reforms⁷⁷

No.	Reforms	Year of Completion	Notes
1	E-Governance	2009-10	Most of the reforms under this head were completed by 2007-08, the last one being GIS mapping of utilities being completed in 2010. Road mapping, water supply line mapping, sewerage line mapping completed. Mapping of Properties on GIS platform is under progress, since 2008, thereby hindering the property tax reform component as well.

⁷⁴ "War of words over transport plan", October 2013, Times of India

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/War-of-words-over-transport-plan/articleshow/23858435.cms>

⁷⁵ "War of words over transport plan", October, 2013

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/War-of-words-over-transport-plan/articleshow/23858435.cms>

⁷⁶ <http://jnnurm.nic.in/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/Guidelices-for-JnNURM-II.pdf>

⁷⁷ Based on analysis of Quarterly Progress Reports published by PMC found on <http://pmc.gov.in/>

			<p>A customary line keeps on appearing in this component since 2008, the meaning of which is difficult to understand – “Out of 22 layers PMC defined 16 layers. PMC have done GIS application for particular Department in isolated way.” This is probably another way of saying the GIS is not functional/ cannot be checked.</p> <p>Why the reform is recorded as ‘completed’ since 2009-10 is not understandable, as some important components are not in place at all.</p> <p>Also, a repetition of 144 kiosks being established and other 86 sites identified makes no sense since whether the reform meant establishing a random number of kiosks or not is unclear.</p>
2	Accounting system	2009-10	<p>Most reforms completed in 2006-08, the last being preparation of balance sheet and audit of financial statements, which was completed in 2009-10</p> <p>Migration to double entry accounting system happened only in 2008-09, conflicting with what the Chief Auditor said in an interview (accounting systems were already in place).</p> <p>Under the sub reform ‘completion of registers and valuation of assets and liabilities’ – a reform completed in 2006, the same status (Balance sheet of 2006 has been prepared) appears until the latest QPR. Whether this was supposed to be a onetime exercise or a regular one is unclear. In the case of the latter, the report is obviously misleading.</p>
3	Property Tax Collection	2008-09	<p>The collection is claimed to be 99% as compared to the target of 85% and 90% collection efficiency is targeted. Whether it has been achieved or not is not given in any QPR. The QPR has been claiming assessment of 6,00,000 properties since 2008. In a city like Pune, one would presume that in 6 years, property ownership must have changed/ increased. Why this hasn’t been updated is an obvious question. As mentioned earlier, use of GIS based property taxation is stuck because the GIS mapping is not yet done.</p>
4	User Charges	2009-10	<p>Maximum target for unaccounted water and solid waste management were the last ones to be ‘officially’ termed as completed.</p> <p>It states that “all charges against O&M cost of service are being recovered in the present tax system and this will continue further, no separate policy has been formulated. PMC budget separately accounts for water supply and sewerage expenses. Operations and maintenance income expenditure under solid waste management can be ascertained from separate budget</p>

			<p>heads in the budget. The public transport services is now been structured under a separate company hence its book of accounts is separate from the overall budget of PMC.”</p> <p>SWM has the same status since 2008, the latest available QPR (July-Sept 2014) still reads the same - Already recovers for Bio-medical waste. For domestic services 100% cost recovery will be achieved by 2010. However, the sub component records as being ‘completed’.</p> <p>User charges for public transport and achieving new service standards for the same are termed to be completed without any explanation, numbers to support the fact. The mere formation of PMPML is supposed to assure readers of the claim that these reforms have been completed.</p>
5	Internal earmarking of funds for services to the urban poor	2007-08	<p>Strategic document which outlines the requirements both physical and financial, timeframes, sources of funding and implementation strategies including community participation, monitorable output indicators for each of the services, including outlining convergences, if any hasn’t been published since 2008, the reason stated as awaiting sanctioning of the list by GoM (again which list is unclear).</p> <p>Percentage of funds allotted wasn’t specified until 2010. In 2014, 24% has been stated as allocated. Schemes which already existed in the municipal budgets have been shifted under this head.</p>
6	Provision of basic services to urban poor	2007-08	<p>Everything under this head is recorded as completed in 2007-08. This component, however is not even mentioned in the 2008 QPR.</p> <p>The QPR mentions surveying 1,38,000 families residing in slums since 2008. However, a study⁷⁸ done by NGO Mashal in 2011 shows that around 2,11,423 families reside in slums in Pune. Why the corporation complacently stopped at 1,38,000 families, is an obvious question.</p> <p>This reform covers components like access to toilets, water, anganwadis, education, night shelters, street sweeping, street lighting, pucca housing, pucca roads, community halls, health care, community participation, secured housing and small and medium entrepreneurship opportunities.</p> <p>It is not clear what is meant by community participation in roads, water supply, solid waste management and</p>

⁷⁸ “32.5% population of city lives in slums”, Times of India, 19th January 2011
<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/32-5-population-of-city-lives-in-slums/articleshow/7315211.cms>

			<p>sewerage. These components are termed as completed in 2008, and the only description available for water supply and sanitation components is that under Community Participation Fund various organisations were asked to submit proposals for development. No such description is available for roads and SWM, only the label of completion.</p> <p>Maximum level of household toilets is said to be achieved at a mere 5%.</p>
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Table 5: Optional Reforms⁷⁹

No.	Reform	Status	Year of Completion	Notes
1	Introduction of property title certification system	Incomplete		This reform is not listed in the QPRs at all since 2008.
2	Revision of building bye-laws to streamline approval process	Completed	2006-07	The Auto-DCR system has been put in place.
3	Revision of building byelaws to make rainwater harvesting mandatory in all buildings in future and adoption of water conservation measures	Completed	2006-07	
4	Earmarking at least 20-25% of developed land in all housing projects (both public and private agencies) for EWS/LIG with a system of cross subsidisation	Completed	2008-09	Since 2008, it reads “Earmarking at least 20-25 percent of developed land in all housing projects (both public and private) for EWS/LIG category with a system of cross subsidization: About 20% area has been marked for EWS in sanctioned Development Plan. About 20% area has been marked for High Density Housing in Draft Development plan forwarded to GOM for final approval.”
5	Simplification of legal and procedural frameworks for conversion of	Complete	2009-10	Not mentioned in the QPRs

⁷⁹ Based on analysis of QPRs published by PMC found on <http://pmc.gov.in/>

	agricultural land for non-agricultural processes			
6	Introduction of computerised process for registration of land and property	Incomplete		The reform itself is not given in the latest QPR.
7	Byelaws on reuse of recycled water	Completed	2007-08	
8	Administrative reform	Completed	2008-09	<p>In the latest QPR, it is mentioned that the reform is complete as the powers of commissioner about tendering, financial sanction, building permission, are delegated to H.O.D., zonal officers.</p> <p>It also contains a number of other sub components like Management Review System - Generation of performance reports, reduction in establishment expenditure - outsourcing of certain functions, developing staff training curriculum, conducting staff training and so on. It is important to note that staff training and knowledge upgradation is a continuous process. The word 'completed' therefore isn't the best way to quantify/ grade the reform's success.</p>
9	Structural reforms	Completed	2008-09	This includes decentralisation, new initiatives planned for inter-agency co-ordination and creation of cadre with updated skills. All are completed. How so is not mentioned. Decentralisation is claimed to have improved by improving communications between zonal officer and commissioner.
10	Encouraging public private partnership	Completed	2009-10	The component reads the same since 2008, "Already in place - Various e-governance initiatives like kiosks, CFC, e-tendering etc, for Octroi & Property tax gateways are provided to submit them in banks like ICICI, HDFC. BOT proposal to relocate & reconstruct

				the old property of corporation. Development of cycle track by Hirwai institute. In pipeline-River Navigation in Mutha River thru PPP, Biodiversity park at Baner, Metro rail, monorail, and formation of SPV for special projects.”
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From the above it is clear that the reporting makes it difficult to get a clear picture of exactly what has been accomplished on the reforms agenda. Status reports are either incomplete, ambiguous or misleading. In many cases, like e-governance, reforms have not been completed. In others like that related to property tax collection, the logic of the report on status is questionable.

According to the QPR dated, September 2014, all mandatory reforms have been fully executed. In optional reforms, all except reform numbers 1 and 6 have been successfully implemented⁸⁰.

A deeper analysis of the QPRs, however, reveal a very different picture as observed in the notes on each reform. The term ‘completed’ is used in a confusing, if not misleading way in all QPRs since the beginning. This can be better understood by some very specific examples. Apart from what looks like PMC’s misleading reporting, the very format of these QPRs is at fault. The break-up of reforms into sub-components has rendered the outcome of the reform meaningless. To illustrate, the appointment of a consultant to prepare a GIS database is equated with the reform being completed, irrespective of whether it really exists or not. Continuous processes such as maintenance of balance sheets, training programmes, surveying slums, e-governance initiatives have been turned into a onetime exercise. Administrative and structural reforms are mundane and vague at best. It is impossible to get a sense of what the situation is on ground from these reports. Interestingly, an analysis of CSMC minutes of meetings available online from 2007 until 2013 record no mention of reform progress. The panel comments largely on projects.

State level reforms

While there were 6 mandatory reforms that ULBs had to undertake the 7 below were to be accomplished at the level of the state government

- Repeal of ULCRA

⁸⁰ A list of initiatives for the establishment of a Revolving Fund has been under progress since 2008. This was mentioned as part of the mission strategy in the modified guidelines⁸⁰ for Urban Infrastructure and Governance component of JnNURM in 2006. The State was to be responsible for managing this fund. The report elaborates further;

‘Funds would be released as Additional Central Assistance (100% Central Grant in respect of central share) to the State Government or its designated State Level Nodal Agency. The nodal agency will disburse central assistance to ULBs or para-statal agencies as the case may be as soft loan or grant-cum-loan or grant. However, grant-cum-loan may be sanctioned in such a manner that 25% of central and state grant put together is recovered and ploughed into Revolving Fund to leverage market funds for financing of further investment in infrastructure projects. At the end of the Mission period, the Revolving Fund may be graduated to a State Urban Infrastructure Fund.’

- Reform Rent Control Act
- Rationalize Stamp duty
- Assign City Planning Functions to ULBs
- Implementation of the 74th CAA
- Enactment of Public Disclosure Law (PDL)
- Enactment of Community Participation Law (CPL)

Important governance related reforms have been the last four in the list. It may be mentioned here that the PMC already had planning functions, even prior to JNNURM.

The state of Maharashtra enacted PDL in June 2007. PDL of Maharashtra makes it mandatory for ULBs to disclose certain specified information about its operations at regular intervals. There is a major deviation in the model PDL made available by the Government of India and the one enacted by GoM in respect of frequency of disclosure. Model PDL expects that ULBs shall disclose the set of information every three months, whereas PDL enacted by Government of Maharashtra is not only silent on this critical aspect but has also not pinpointed the responsibility of such disclosures in the ULB administration. The fact that even after three years of passing of PDL no Rules have yet been framed underlines the lack of commitment of the political establishment in the state to make functioning of the ULBs transparent. **The PMC does not disclose any such information regularly on its website⁸¹.**

One of the Reform Proposal under JNNURM is enactment of Community Participation Law (CPL) by each state. The Act was enacted in Maharashtra in June 2009 by amending the existing four Municipal Laws. One of the major deviation in the CPL of Maharashtra from the model CPL bill provided by the GoI, is in respect of Area Sabha. The Model Bill has suggested that Area Sabha need to be constituted for each polling booth, the Maharashtra CPL allows such Area Sabhas to be formed at the level of each Municipal Ward and further that, the Sabha may be Chaired by the sitting Councillor of the ward himself. Thus, it may be seen that even-though GoM has technically complied with the Reform Proposal, it has almost killed the spirit underling the CPL and denied a platform for communities to participate in the functioning of ULBs. There are no area sabhas existing in Pune. No committee to formulate regulations and guidelines for the city has yet been formulated. As no rules have been framed, area sabhas aren't operational⁸².

It may be seen that that all 23 reform proposals envisaged under JNNURM need not be treated on par in terms of political sensitivity or their potential to impact lives of common urban citizens. For example, at one end of the spectrum there are politically sensitive reforms aimed at creation of land markets as also encouraging private sector investments in urban infrastructure and on the other, there are almost non-controversial reforms aimed at encouraging 'rain-water harvesting' and reuse/ recycling of water⁸³.

Changes in user charges:

User charges was an important concern within mandatory reforms. An analysis of property tax details for the last decade show that no significant changes in user charges have been

⁸¹Stakeholder interview number 24, observation of public disclosures on PMC website

⁸²<http://www.indiaurbanportal.in/News/News6/News60.PDF>

⁸³<http://www.tiss-uirf.in/documents/ResearchReports/WorkingPapers/SRUR.pdf>

carried out post JnNURM. User charges for water were introduced as early as in 2000, thereafter the whole tax structure was revised in 2004. User charges is a politically charged issue as politicians fear losing their popularity if citizens are asked to pay up front for basic services. This also means that citizens will demand better services.

Table 6: Revenue source trends in PMC⁸⁴

Year	Import/ Local taxes	Income tax	Development tax	Water tax
2014-15	1239	580	880	170
2013-14	1357	597	799	188
2012-13	1357	612	546	168
2011-12	1253	615	525	113
2010-11	886	437	265	136
2009-10	850	483	279	105
2005-06	400	375	135	60
2004-05	327	211	82	52

*based on Standing Committee budgets

An urban development official clearly stated, “Central government's Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) to improve infrastructure in Indian cities failed because local bodies did not improve their working and finances. This mission included reforms like rationalisation of user charges, taxation, ways to increase non-tax revenue and unlocking land value. But local bodies do not recover the user charges for services they provide due to vote-bank politics. The BJP government, however, is likely to be strict in this regard.⁸⁵”

Public Private Partnerships and their impact:

PPPs have existed in Pune prior to JnNURM. The PMC established a BOT Cell⁸⁶ in 2000, to carry out work under PPP mode in the city. PMC has also set up a Committee to assess and if found feasible grant permission to the BOT project, or recommend to Standing Committee or General Body for permission as per the requirements.

Different types of projects are undertaken by this cell, ranging from maintenance of gardens, to building subways, road dividers, providing signages etc. These are small projects, mostly involving scope for revenue from advertisement spaces. The proposed Public Bicycle System project was also supposed to be a BOT project.

Some examples of projects done so far on BOT basis are as follows;

- Subway at Modern College Chowk, Jangali Maharaj Road
- Computerisation of Octroi Posts and administration Bldg
- Construction & maintenance of Extension to SNTD FOB, Karve Road

⁸⁴ Analysis of PMC Budget Books from 2004-2014

⁸⁵ <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/Draft-manual-in-place-citizens-may-have-to-start-paying-for-waste/articleshow/39259226.cms>

⁸⁶ http://www.punecorporation.org/gardens/how_Can_You_Help_BOT_PPP.aspx

- Directional Overhead Signages and Foot Over- Bridges on main roads
- Development & maintenance of Firodia Garden, Model Colony and Gul Poonawala Garden, Salisbury Park, Kamla Nehru Park
- Playing equipment for physically challenged Children at Sambhaji Park
- Solar Traffic Signals at Simla Office Chowk, University Road
- Directional Map at Simla Office Chowk
- Energy saving fittings at Model Colony
- Touch Screen at Main Bldg, PMC
- Traffic Island, Natraj Chowk, JangliMaharaj Road
- Road Dividers and Traffic islands on main roads

The PMC has proposed PPP as a mode for many road related projects⁸⁷, with financial crunch⁸⁸ being the main motivator. However, corporators have voiced their opposition to this model due to escalated prices quoted by private contractors⁸⁹.

Use of land and other assets to earn revenue:

Transferable Development Rights (TDR) as a concept originated in 1960s in the USA, with the first TDR program starting in 1968 in New York City for preservation of live performance theatres⁹⁰. It was mainly used for preservation of historical sites. In Pune however, heritage was never a concern in issuing TDR, when the concept was introduced in 1997. It is mainly used to acquire privately owned land for public purposes, by giving equal or more development rights elsewhere in the city.

Land acquisition is a very important part of transport projects, many of which are delayed for the same reason. In this light the recent permission from State to empower the Municipal

⁸⁷ "PMC mulls PPP mode to lay concrete on 33 roads", November 2013

<http://archive.indianexpress.com/news/pmc-mulls-ppp-mode-to-lay-concrete-on-33-roads/1192793/>

"PMC to privatise building of roads", January 2014

<http://www.sakaaltimes.com/NewsDetails.aspx?NewsId=5727421844833864715&SectionId=5494605966908300850&SectionName=Civic&NewsDate=20140120&NewsTitle=PMC%20to%20privatise%20building%20of%20roads>

"PMC plans to construct old ring road on PPP basis", September 2012

<http://www.sakaaltimes.com/NewsDetails.aspx?NewsId=4741837099290459147&SectionId=5171561142064258099&SectionName=Pune&NewsDate=20120911&NewsTitle=PMC%20plans%20to%20construct%20old%20ring%20road%20on%20PPP%20basis>

⁸⁸ "With revenue shrinking, Pune Municipal Corporation looks to PPP model", January 2013

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/With-revenue-shrinking-Pune-Municipal-Corporation-looks-to-PPP-model/articleshow/18042256.cms>

⁸⁹ "Pune Municipal Corporation Committee wants road tenders scrapped", February 2013

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/Pune-Municipal-Corporation-committee-wants-road-tenders-scrapped/articleshow/18537154.cms>

⁹⁰ http://depts.washington.edu/open2100/pdf/3_OpenSpaceImplement/Implementation_Mechanisms/transfer_development_rights.pdf

<https://envstudies.brown.edu/theses/99COLAS.pdf>

Commissioner to grant 100% TDR in the ShivaneKharadi elevated road project is significant⁹¹.

The corporation also uses grant of extra FSI to aid implementation of development works. However, this is done more or less arbitrarily as in the case of Metro⁹², where a random 4 FSI is proposed to be granted throughout the Metro corridor. The slum rehabilitation model is also based on using land as a resource, wherein vertical relocation of residences opens up land to be handed over to the builder who can sell or redevelop it with profits.

While JnNURM had placed emphasis on cities being able to leverage the value of land or more specifically “land value capture” which would allow a city to capture the increase in land value, especially when infrastructure such as roads or Metro rail is put in, this has not really materialized, beyond what was already happening in cities like Pune. The reasons for this are perhaps quite complex and beyond the scope of this research project, but the builder-politician nexus is likely a large impediment to legislation/rules that would truly allow the city to benefit from land value escalation.

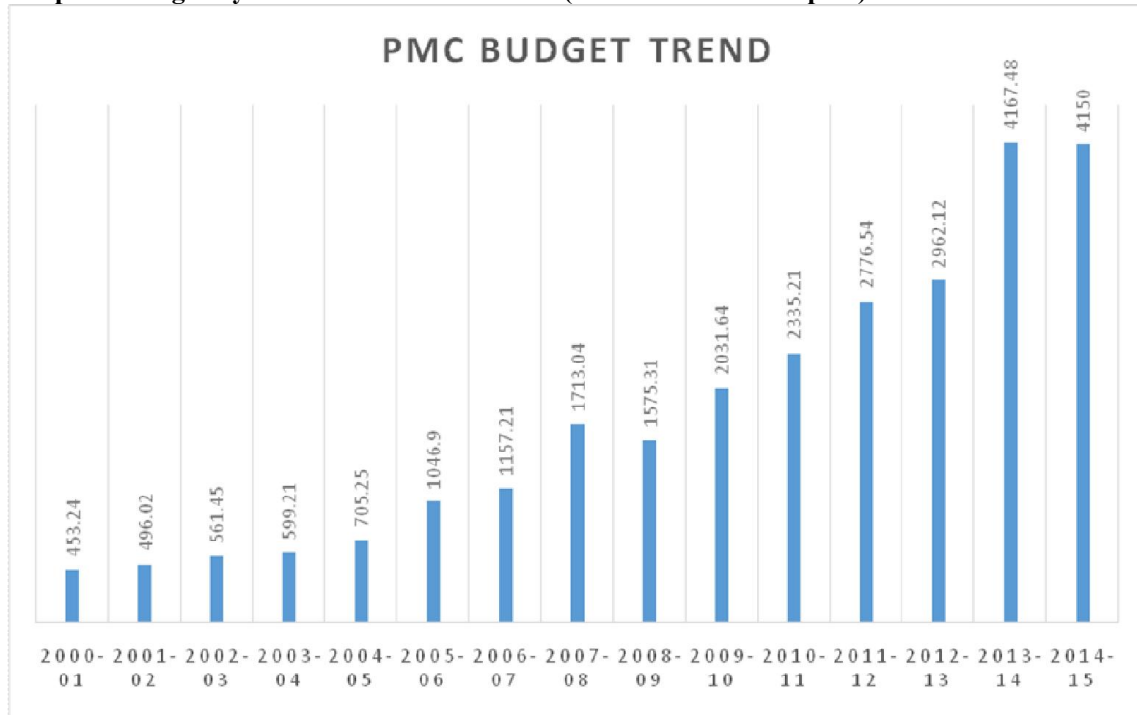
Budget Effects

According to clause 96 of Bombay Provincial Municipal Corporations Act, 1949, Pune’s budget is divided into two parts. Part ‘A’ relates to all expenses and receipts excluding those that are related to water and sewerage while Part ‘C’ of the budget consists of only expenses and receipts related to the water and sewerage. But, this method has not been followed for JNNURM related expenses, as all JNNURM expenses are listed under part A of the budget even if it is being spent on water and sewerage related works.

⁹¹<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/Municipal-chief-authorized-to-issue-100-TDR/articleshow/28202823.cms>

⁹² “Experts lash out at PMC for granting 4 FSI along Metro corridor”, August 2014
<http://www.sakaaltimes.com/NewsDetails.aspx?NewsId=4953710168586496671&SectionId=5494605966908300850&SectionName=Civic&NewsDate=20140808&NewsTitle=Experts%20lash%20out%20at%20PMC%20for%20granting%204%20FSI%20along%20Metro%20corridor>

Graph 9: Budgetary trend over the last decade (amount in crores rupees)



An analysis of the revenue for the Pune Corporation's budget (actual) reveals the following:

Table 1: Pune Municipal Corporation Annual Budget (Actual). (Amount in crores)

Revenue Source	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13
Octroi	219	247	265	325	442	553	683	646	632	941	1093	1149
Property tax	91	116	111	120	175	189	180	239	245	294	379	444
Development Charges	47	51	63	100	141	206	352	245	288	584	609	620
Water tax	57	63	76	73	89	90	91	111	106	136	127	153
Other	50	50	45	39	47	59	89	157	147	249	237	358
Grants	32	35	40	49	53	62	318	178	449	132	331	238
Debt	0	0	0		100	0	0	0	165	0	0	0
Total Budget (actual)	496	561	599	705	1047	1157	1713	1575	2032	2335	2777	2962

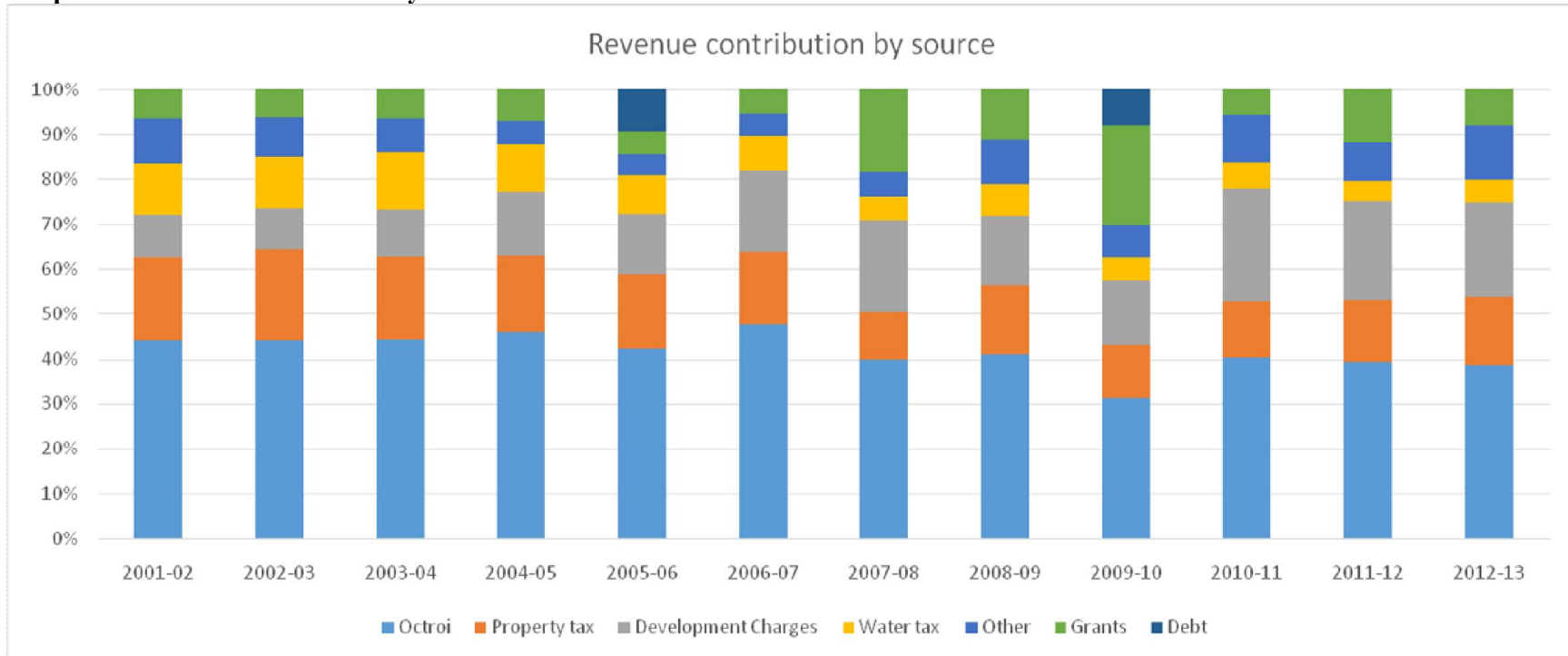
The first large JNNURM grant came in 2007-08. Hence we look at trends before and after that budget year.

Table 2: Pune Municipal Corporation Budget – contribution % by revenue source

Revenue Source	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13
Octroi	44%	44%	44%	46%	42%	48%	40%	41%	31%	40%	39%	39%
Property tax	18%	21%	19%	17%	17%	16%	10%	15%	12%	13%	14%	15%
Development Charges	9%	9%	10%	14%	13%	18%	21%	16%	14%	25%	22%	21%
Water tax	11%	11%	13%	10%	8%	8%	5%	7%	5%	6%	5%	5%
Other	10%	9%	7%	5%	4%	5%	5%	10%	7%	11%	9%	12%
Grants	6%	6%	7%	7%	5%	5%	19%	11%	22%	6%	12%	8%

We find that contribution of Octroi, property tax and water taxes generally decreased, while development charges tend to make up 25% of the Corporation's revenue, upwards from the 10-14% earlier. Note that in the years highlighted in yellow, the contribution from grants has remained more or less the same.

Graph 10: Revenue contribution by source



The average annual growth in revenue from Property taxes, Development charges and Water taxes are compared in the five year period between the years 2001-02 to 2006-07 and 2007-08 to 2012-13.

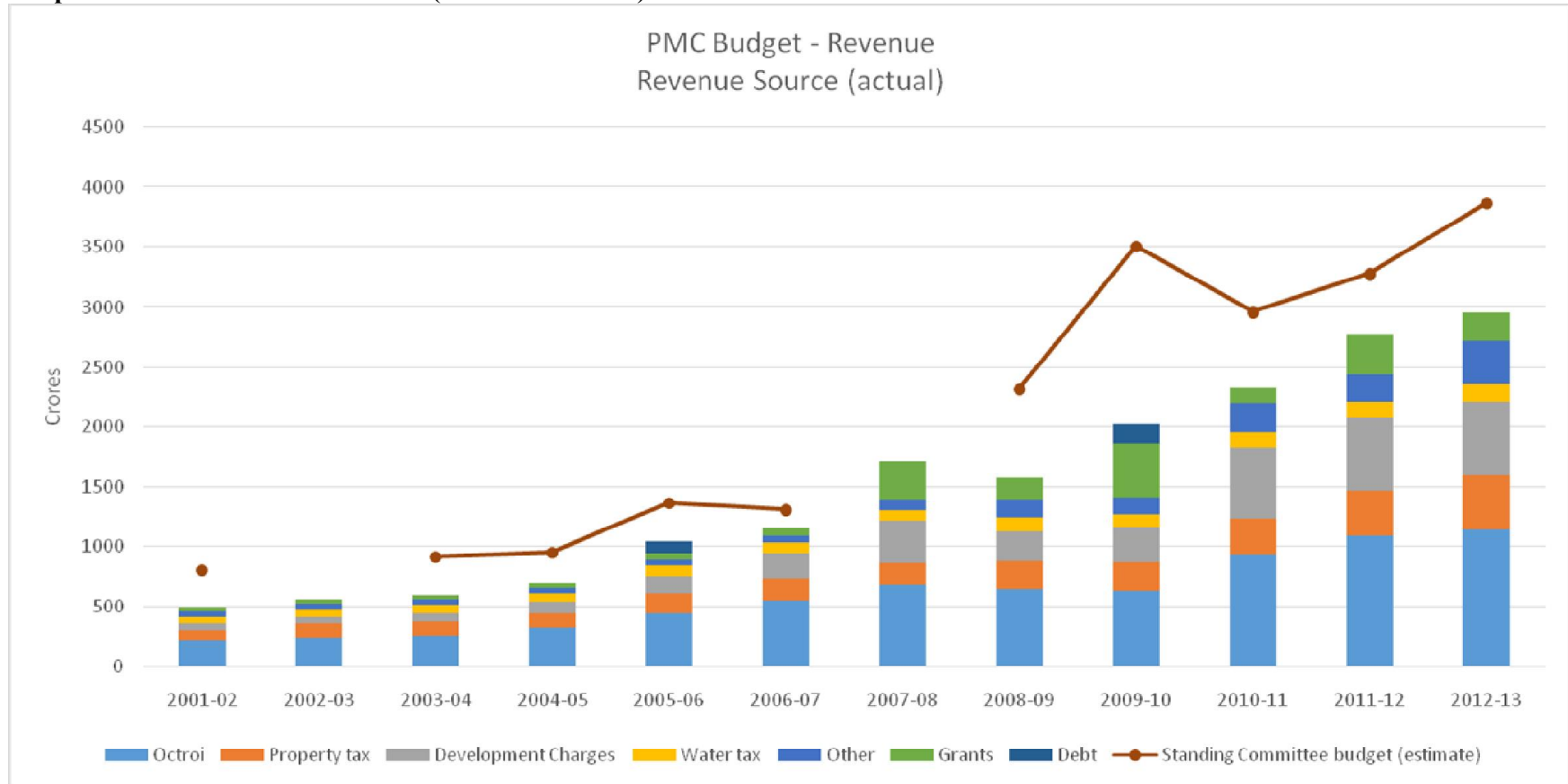
We find:

Average Annual Growth Rate	2001-02 to 2006-07	2007-08 to 2012-13
Property tax	16%	20%
Development Charges	34%	12%
Water tax	10%	11%

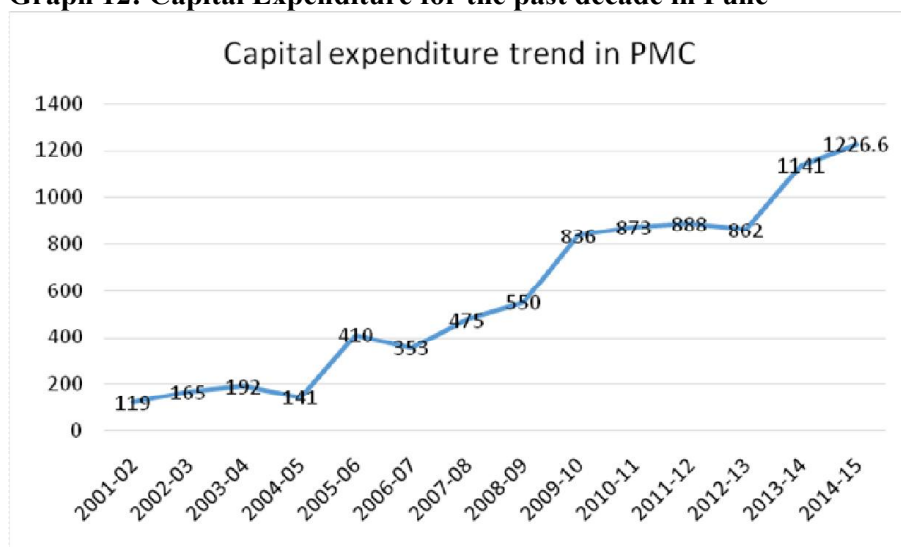
In the years preceding JNNURM it would appear that revenue from Development Charges increased quite rapidly, probably due to a combination of increased development and revision of development charges. However, the rate at which water and property taxes have grown, show no significant change after the advent of JNNURM. While data for Street Tax (actual) was not available, we find that in the estimated budget (prepared by the Standing Committee), street taxes have not increased differently prior to and after the advent of JNNURM.

The overall budgetary trend prior to and after JNNURM also doesn't show any large changes. In fact the lack of any trend whatsoever is itself a matter of surprise. The overall budget (actual) increases in random fashion, sometimes by less than 10% and at times by 20% or even 30%. The Standing Committee estimate budget, as noted earlier, tends to be extremely ambitious/unrealistic, exceeding the final budget in varying amounts, usually in the range of 30%.

Graph 11: Revenue source for PMC (actual collections)



Graph 12: Capital Expenditure for the past decade in Pune⁹³



Amount in crore Rupees

The capacity of the PMC to undertake and successfully complete projects has not been very good. There is a pattern of proposing big projects, starting with some budgetary allocation, ending in either shelving of projects or haphazard and delayed implementation of the same. Recent example of this tendency is that of the BRT which bears the brunt of haphazard implementation till date. A similar trend has been observed in the case of the Pune Skybus project, proposed in as early as 2003⁹⁴, further revived in 2005⁹⁵. The project has not started till date. A comment⁹⁶ by Commissioner Mahesh Pathak recently is also indicative of this behaviour. He requested the General Body and Standing Committee not to unnecessarily inflate the budget by proposing new projects, but concentrate on completion of ongoing projects.

The huge quantum of money however doesn't seem to have improved the corporation's ability to undertake and successfully complete projects. Instances of delays and haphazard implementation have always been witnessed in the city. In fact, it is even observed⁹⁷ that unless a particular occasion so calls for (like Commonwealth Games/ National Games), works are always delayed.

⁹³ Analysis of Municipal Budgets for Pune from 2001 to 2014

⁹⁴ "PMC green signal for Skybus project"

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/pune/PMC-green-signal-for-Skybus-project/articleshow/100226.cms>

⁹⁵ "Finally, Skybus ready for comeback"

<http://epaper.timesofindia.com/Repository/ml.asp?Ref=VE9JTS8yMDA1LzA5LzI3I0FyMDA2MDE=&Mode=HTML&Locale=english-skin-custom>

⁹⁶ "PMC Budget tries to keep pace with Pune's growth"

<http://www.samachar.com/pmc-budget-tries-to-keep-pace-with-pune-s-growth-obsdNNhifci.html>

⁹⁷ Stakeholder interview no. 2

Operational Consequences

Two other possible consequences are worth considering. Did the implementation procedure adopted for JNNURM make any significant difference to the actual institutional structure and processes of PMC? And did the greater involvement of consultants lead to an introduction of 'private sector efficiencies' into the PMC, an important broad objective of the program?

JnNURM Cell:

The JnNURM Cell was established in 2007 to fast track JNNURM projects⁹⁸. At the outset it made a list of 10-12 consultants and works were distributed among them simultaneously.

The process of implementation is as follows. Detailed drawings are made by the consultants, followed by tender floating, and later followed by actual contractors implementing the work. The process of issuing tenders greatly improved capacity of the corporation as they got to see new practices and technology in the process.

JNNURM Cell has multiple offices as follows:

1. JnNURM I – Roads infrastructure
2. JnNURM II – Special Projects (eg – River improvement, BSUP)
3. JnNURM III – Water supply, sewerage

Appointments to the cell from PMC officials are not based on any fixed criteria⁹⁹. The office is located in a commercial complex away from PMC and a perception exists that it is a kind of a parallel administration divorced from PMC¹⁰⁰. From the interviews with a variety of officials, politicians, observers and activists engaged with city affairs, no structural impact of the implementation process of JNNURM through the special cell is discernible.

Role of Consultants:

PMC employed consultants on a regular basis to prepare DPRs even before JNNURM¹⁰¹. Under JNNURM, IL&FS was appointed to prepare the CDP for Pune and to make a DPR for the pilot BRTS in 2007. The agreement clearly states the responsibilities of the consultant as the program manager and also states the share of payment they would receive on getting proposals approved from the Centre. Thus, the consultant has become more than a technical aid, he has become a liaison agent as well. His plans may well be affected by what may or may not be acceptable at the Centre, thereby displaying a clear conflict of interest¹⁰².

The need for a consultant was felt more strongly in JnNURM related procedures due to the constant requirement of correspondence between the State and the Centre, and the specific technical requirements. The agreement between PMC and IL&FS clearly brings out this need

⁹⁸ Resolution passed by PMC to the effect

⁹⁹ Stakeholder interview number 3,5 , Official document on formation of JNNURM Cell

¹⁰⁰ Stakeholder interview with 20

¹⁰¹ Stakeholder interview number 5, 14

¹⁰² Stakeholder interview number 2, 9

wherein IL&FS is entrusted with the responsibility of assisting PMC in day to day project related activities and carrying out all correspondence¹⁰³.

Though some officials said that dealing with consultants had increased their capacity¹⁰⁴ and knowledge, most other sources did not confirm to this¹⁰⁵. While the outcome of the consultants isn't the best, the perception is that the PMC is not even capable enough to provide clear terms of reference to these consultants¹⁰⁶.

Having documented the approach to and fate of CDPs, reforms as well as other possible consequences of JNNURM for the functioning of PMC, it would be appropriate to now reflect the appraisal mechanisms at the state and central level, as well as the role of the State Level Nodal Agency.

Appraisal Mechanisms

Like many other centrally sponsored schemes, measurement of outcomes is quantitative, rather than qualitative. The criterion for measurement is physical outcome and expenditure. This kind of measurement cannot be deemed as an 'impact assessment' in its true sense, which should have ideally taken place.

The appraisal mechanisms start as early as at the detailed project report (DPR) stage. The connection between CDP and DPRs has been loosely described by JNNURM¹⁰⁷. DPRs are expected to give details about projects for funds to be sanctioned accordingly. Appraisal of DPRs is done by existing agencies like Central Public Health and Environmental Engineering Organisation¹⁰⁸ (CPHEEO) for water supply and sanitation projects, Central Public Works Department¹⁰⁹ (CPWD) for general construction projects and so on.

Quarterly Progress Reports are submitted by the PMC, which typically document amount of work done, expenditure incurred, and causes for delays. The Independent Review and Monitoring Agency (IRMA) has also been set up which assesses on site implementation of projects. The review covers pre-construction, construction, commissioning and post construction stages. The last step is to review additional facilities created and utilized, user satisfaction, operation and maintenance, financial sustainability and so on.

Review meetings are regularly held by the Ministry of Urban Development, which calls for attendance of officials from different cities to present their progress reports and explain reasons for delays.

Apart from these, another instrument of appraisal of outcomes has been provided, namely the Service Level Benchmarks¹¹⁰. These benchmarks attempt to grade the services provided by the city under JnNURM and bring out gaps in the same. However, the PMC does not make or send these reports to the MoUD, even though it is a guideline under JnNURM.

¹⁰³ MoU of PMC with IL&FS, 20th June 2007

¹⁰⁴ Stakeholder interview number 14, 18, 5

¹⁰⁵ Stakeholder interview number 6, 16

¹⁰⁶ Stakeholder interview number 12

¹⁰⁷ http://jnnurm.nic.in/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/RTP_MOD-2.1.pdf

¹⁰⁸ <http://cpheeo.nic.in/>

¹⁰⁹ <http://cpwd.gov.in/>

¹¹⁰ <http://jnnurm.nic.in/service-level-benchmarks.html>

Parisar, in collaboration with other NGOs came up with a Transport Status Report¹¹¹, based on these benchmarks. It was observed that not only does the PMC not conduct these studies, but also that the benchmarks themselves were flawed and superficial.

JNNURM also incentivises better performance by giving out annual awards for different sectors in cities. According to the Reforms Progress Card¹¹² for Maharashtra published by JNNURM, Pune scores full marks on all reforms. According to credit rating, Pune receives an AA- rating by FITCH¹¹³. Pune Commissionerate of Police was also awarded the runners up position for Best Intelligent Transport System in 2011.

The Central Sanctioning and Monitoring Committee was established as part of the JNNURM set up, chaired by the secretary MoUD. Its members included officials from various ministries and concerned organisations such as Finance, Environment, and Planning Commission and so on. An observation of the CSMC meeting minutes¹¹⁴, brings out the factual nature of proceedings. A typical document consists of instalments of funds released to different states, cities and reasons for delays, along with certain instructions given by the committee members for proper implementation of projects. The committee supervises the implementation of projects by looking for requisite documents like the IRMA reports, QPRs along with presentations from respective city officials.

It is evident from the QPRs as well as other sources that there has been tremendous delay¹¹⁵ and escalation of costs¹¹⁶ in most transport projects.

State Level Nodal Agency:

The role of MMRDA as the state level nodal agency for Maharashtra is crucial in understanding how JnNURM has unfolded in ULBs. The mandate¹¹⁷ of MMRDA is as follows;

- Appraisal of projects submitted by ULBs/Para-statal agencies
- Obtaining sanction of State Level Steering Committee for recommending proposals to Mission Directorate
- Management of grants received from Central and State Government
- Release of funds to ULBs/Para-statal agencies as grant, and soft loan
- Monitoring physical and financial progress of sanctioned projects
- Monitoring implementation of reform as entered into MoA

¹¹¹ <http://www.parisar.org/activities/analysesreports/164-transportation-status-report-2012-13-calls-for-improvement-in-public-transport-and-non-motorised-transport-facilities.html>

¹¹² <http://jnnurm.nic.in/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Maharashtral-Reforms-31Jan14.pdf>

¹¹³ <http://jnnurm.nic.in/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/Current-credit-rating-v-final-.pdf>

¹¹⁴ <http://jnnurm.nic.in/csmc-minutes-of-meetings.html>

¹¹⁵ <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/Incomplete-JNNURM-projects-under-Centres-lens/articleshow/36454252.cms>

¹¹⁶ http://dnasyndication.com/dna/City-Pune/dna_english_news_and_featuresCorporator-demands-JNNURM-work-audit/DNPUN40043

¹¹⁷ <https://mmrda.maharashtra.gov.in/jnnurm#>

There have been conflicting views about the efficacy of the SLNA, often being viewed as a mere medium for passage of funds and project proposals to and from the Centre to the ULB¹¹⁸. However an insight in the working of the agency revealed detailed evaluations and documentation being done regularly in an attempt to quantify and improve performances in ULBs. While the rigour and regularity of such evaluations has been person oriented, a common strand running throughout the tenure of multiple Urban Development Secretaries has been the lack of evaluation of actual impact of projects implemented¹¹⁹. Evaluation is not only just restricted to physical and monetary completion but is also influenced by a number of considerations such as political presence in the ULB. An interview with an MMRDA official revealed that visits to the ULB involved meetings with select officials, restricting access to others. While PMC fared badly in the evaluation for the first two years of JnNURM¹²⁰, post 2008 it understood the key to manage compliance to the processes of JnNURM on paper. It became a play of documentation after that, with no real impact on ground¹²¹.

Another interesting fact revealed was that in the initial years of JnNURM no limit was put on how much funds a particular ULB could receive, as such it was perceived to be an unlimited kitty and proactive ULBs got the major chunk of funds. It was in 2009 that GOI communicated its decision to SLNA to restrict submission of DPRs on account of funds paucity¹²². It then became the responsibility of the SLNA to prioritise DPRs received from various ULBs and pass them on to the Centre.

Role of MoUD in appraisal and as a guiding force:

The Ministry of Urban Development sitting at the ultimate decision making seat at the Centre can at best be described as giving mixed signals in terms of the way cities should use funds under JnNURM. While reform bound funding has been a novel and central tenet of this scheme, Pune seems to have faltered in implementation of reforms without much delay in receiving funds. MoUD issues circulars and advisories regularly to cities as a guiding principle for development. However, these have not been made mandatory as such. These circulars¹²³ therefore carry no consequence as such for the cities. Circulars cover issues like congestion charging, promotion of pedestrian and non-motorised modes, disability friendly transportation, and safety for women travelling in public transport and so on.

Sectoral Impact of JnNURM Roads and Transport Sector

The foregoing description of the more general aspects of the ULB's functioning in the context of JNNURM will be deepened through a more detailed examination of how the

¹¹⁸ Stakeholder interview number 1, 2, 12, 23

¹¹⁹ Stakeholder interview number 16

¹²⁰ <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/PMC-scoring-good-in-progress-card/articleshow/2869873.cms>

¹²¹ Stakeholder interview number 13, 16, 20

¹²² Stakeholder interview number 16

http://www.saiindia.gov.in/english/home/Our_Products/Audit_Report/Government_Wise/local_bodies/Table_d_Legislature/Maharashtra/10_11/Chap_5.pdf

¹²³ <http://moud.gov.in/policycircular>

program fared in 3 specific sectors: Roads, Transport and Sewerage. As is explained later, Roads and Transport Sectors are best examined together in Pune, as will be done below.

As observed in the municipal budget analysis, transport as a sector received a boost post JnNURM. These projects have been largely related to road network augmentation. Transport sector works can be classified under the following headings;

- Roads upgradation – widening, strengthening
- New roads
- High Capacity Mass Transit Route, Integrated Road Development Plan
- Developing major corridors
- BRTS
- Traffic Management

City Investment Plan in the CDP

The total investment proposed under the transportation and traffic management sector in Pune CDP 2006-12 proposed was Rs. 2,248.34 crore. The first CDP suggested increase in the carrying capacity through road widening and also to improve riding quality through strengthening of existing roads to cater to the missing links and developing areas by providing efficient, safe and accessible mass transportation system for entire region. For achieving the above strategies road upgrading, new road building, road widening and strengthening, utility corridors and shifting for major roads, Railway overbridges, flyovers, public transport/BRTS and High Capacity Mass Transit Route (HCMTR) had been proposed. Out of the total amount proposed, Rs. 1,072.70 crore has been approved under JnNURM . BRTS and Road improvements are the main projects which are sanctioned under JnNURM¹²⁴.

Table 7: Summary of CIP for Traffic and Transportation till 2006-12 (as per CDP 2006-12)

Sector/ Component	Estimated Investment (Rs. Crore)	Approved under JNNURM (Rs. Crore)	Balance Project Cost (Rs. Crore)	Additional DPRs prepared (Rs. Crore)	Remarks	Balance DPR to be Prepared (Rs. Crore)
Transportation & Traffic Management	2,248.34	1,072.70	1,175.64	122.00		1,053.64
1 Roads Upgradation	195.48	1,058.83	526.31			
2 Roads New Formation	327.78					
3 Roads Widening & Strengthening	315.00					
4 Utility Corridors & Shifting for Major Roads	646.88					
5 Public Transport/ Improvements/ BRTS	100.00			42.00	DPR to be submitted to JNNURM	
6 HCMTR/ IRDP	243.92		243.92			
7 ROB/Flyover/Bridges	179.28	13.87	165.41	80.00	Parnakuti&Juna Bazaar FOs submitted to MMRDA	
8 Land Acquisition for Road Improvements	200.00		200.00			
9 Traffic Management / Junction Improvement	40.00		40.00			

Source: Pune Municipal Corporation & CDP Pune 2006-07

¹²⁴ http://www.punecorporation.org/pmcwebn/informpdf/CDP/2_CDP_Physical_Social_infra.pdf

Table 8: Details of sanctioned projects under JnNURM

SN	Project	Revised Sanctioned Cost (Rs. Crore)	Tender Awarded Amount (Rs. Crore)	Amount Utilized till now (Rs. Crore)	% of expenditure incurred against tendered Amount
1	Pilot BRT	103.14	135.03	132.42	Completed
2	CYG BRT	434.22	436.73	360.54	82.55
3	BRTS Phase I	476.62	489.05	467.04	95.50
4	Nagar Rd. Subway	6.61	8.83	7.81	88.45
5	Baner Road Subway	7.26	7.9	7.76	Completed
6	Sangamwadi Approach Road	7.82	9.51	8.26	Completed
7	New Alandi Road	37.03	37.36	24.26	64.93
	Grand Total	1072.7	1124.41	1008.09	89.65

Source: Pune Municipal Corporation, 2012

The above tables from the revised CDP could be used to infer certain patterns of prioritisation of projects in roads and transport. While projects like HCMTR have not been touched at all, road widening and upgradation, flyovers and the BRT component seems to have been fairly completed. It is important to understand here, that under the BRT component, rather than actual functional BRT routes being in place, again, mainly concretization of main carriageway, adding of utility ducts and in many cases footpaths and cycle tracks have been completed.

JnNURM Packages for roads and transport in Pune:

Under JnNURM, funds for transport are received under three heads- namely Roads/ Flyovers/ Bridges, Mass Rapid Transit System (MRTS), Other Transport and Parking. However, packages received involve projects of all or some of the categories above. It would be very difficult to treat roads and transport as different sectors, as both are closely inter related and are both executed by the JnNURM Cell.

Pune received two major JnNURM packages for roads and transport, while a different process altogether was followed for procuring buses. While the two major packages received were for BRT, it was mostly related to roads.

Table 9: Funds for Roads and Transport under JnNURM¹²⁵:

Project Title	Approved cost	Date of Approval	Total Central commitment	Utilisation as per March 2014 QPR	% of Amount utilised against approved cost	% of work completed (Physical progress)	Date of completion as per latest QPR
BRT Pilot project for Pune city (KatrajSwargateHadapsar Route 17.00 Km)	10,313.50	11-Aug-06	5,156.75	13,474.35	131%	Completed	Completed
Bus Rapid Transit (Phase I) for Pune city - 48.77 Km	47,662.20	25-Oct-06	23,831.10	56,758.50	119%	95%	Spill over
Bus Rapid Transport system for Commonwealth Youth Games, 2008) - 36.00 Km	43,422.00	05-Mar-07	21,711.00	45,216.60	104%	94%	Spill over
Subway on Westerly Bypass at Baner junction	726	22-Feb-08	363	775.96	107%	Completed	Completed
Approach Road to Sangamwadi Bridge	782	22-Feb-08	391	1,020.28	130%	Completed	Completed
Improvement and Strengthening of New Alandi Road as BRT corridor for Pune (13.9 kms from Vishrantwadi to DighiOctroi Naka)	3,649.09	19-Aug-08	1,824.55	3,555.43	97%	Completed	Completed
BRTS Corridor-Kalewadi-KSB Chowk to Dehu-Alandi Road (Trunk route 7) - PCMC 11.2 kms	21,920.00	21-Nov-08	8,768.00	11,469.13	52%	44%	Spill over
BRTS Corridor-Nashik Phata to Wakad (Trunk route no. 9) PCMC 7.08 km	20,682.00	21-Nov-08	8,272.80	21,838.73	106%	85%	Spill over
	3,18,317.58		1,54,898.59	3,52,053.64	111%		11

It should be noted that the table above also includes stretches of BRT in PimpriChinchwad, included in Pune itself, in spite of the latter having a separate CDP.

¹²⁵<http://jnnurm.nic.in/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Maharashtra.pdf>

Table 10: Allocation for roads and transport in Pune under JNNURM¹²⁶

Sector	Allocation (amount in lakhs)
MRTS	1,36,314.70
Roads	2,169
Other transport	NIL
Buses	

Table 11: Details of BRTS Phase 1 package¹²⁷

Component	Allocation (in lakhs)
Road works	184
Utility Services	178
Electrical works	21
Road furniture	10
Bridges/ Flyovers/ Subways	55
BRT Component	40
Total	488

CYG Package details:

JnNURM funds are released in combined packages of multiple projects. The Commonwealth Youth Games (CYG) package was one of the most important ones in the record. A major chunk of this package was related to roads and transport.

This package invited the interest of CAG due to the manner and quantum of spending. A number of irregularities were found in the implementation of the whole CYG event¹²⁸.

¹²⁷DPRs of projects in Phase 1

¹²⁸ <http://dnasyndication.com/showarticle.aspx?nid=DNPUN33309>

Table 12: Details of the CYG package¹²⁹

Sr. No.	Particulars	Amount In Crores
1	BRT Corridors	153.33
2	Road improvement for connectivity	68.67
3	Tunnels and flyovers	171.54
4	Pedestrianisation/ NMT schemes	25.36
5	Terminal facilities	7.18
6	Junction development	
	Area Traffic Control System	4.50
	Civil works	26.84
7	Heritage and excursion facilities	3.00
8	Sewerage	2.00
Total		462.42
3% Contingencies		13.88
Total		476.30

The details of packages clearly show the issue with separating roads from transport as sectors. BRTS which is essentially Mass Rapid Transit under JNNURM, contains a large component of roads, flyovers and bridges.

Funding for buses:

JnNURMat the outset did not have buses as a component for funds allocation. It was only added in 2009¹³⁰, with Pune receiving 40.5 crores for buying 175 buses as the first instalment of 650 (500 for PMC, 150 for PCMC) sanctioned buses¹³¹. It is perceived to be an outcome of the effort of Suresh Kalmadi, then MP from Pune¹³². The funding came with certain guidelines, and

¹²⁹ DPRs of CYG package received

¹³⁰ http://jnnurm.nic.in/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/buses_funding_revised.pdf

¹³¹ "Rs 40.5 cr sanctioned to buy 175 buses under JNNURM", July 2009

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/Rs-405-cr-sanctioned-to-buy-175-buses-under-JNNURM/articleshow/4735849.cms>

¹³² Stakeholder interview number 2, ref no. 77

inability to conform to these has made Pune and PimpriChinchwad ineligible for further funds for buses¹³³.

Currently, out of 2090 buses in the fleet of PMPML, 650 buses have been bought under JnNURM¹³⁴.

The buses buying under JnNURM has been erratic since the beginning due to various reasons. The buses were to be received only after costs owed by all three authorities, i.e. the Centre, State and ULB were paid. However, evidence of delays¹³⁵ from State and ULB were found out by activists. An analysis of QPRs have revealed the following status of JnNURM projects in the city related to transport;

Table 13: Projects under Roads and Transport

Project Title	Project Approval	Approved cost (in crores)	% Amount utilised against approved cost	% work completed	Date of Completion
BRT Pilot for Pune City (Katraj-Swargate-Hadapsar 17 km)	Aug-06	1,030	131	100	Completed
Bus Rapid Transit (Phase I) for Pune City - 48.77 km	25th October 2006	476	116	96	Spillover
BRTS (Development of infrastructure for CYG, 2008) - 36 kms	5th March 2007	434	100	94	Spillover
BRTS Corridor for Mumbai Pune Highway (8.5 kms) and Aundh Rawet Road (14.5 kms)	28th December 2007	312	147	70	Spillover
Improvement and strengthening of New Alandi Road as BRTS Corridor	19th August 2008	36	97	100	Completed
BRTS Corridor - Kalewadi- Dehu Road- PCMC (11.2 kms)	21st November 2008	219	46	34	Spillover
BRTS Corridor Nashik Phata to Wakad (7.08 kms)	21st November 2008	206	103	79	Spillover
3 Pedestrian subways, 1 vehicular underpass	22nd February 2008	6.5	166	85	Dec-14
Subway on Westerly Bypass at Baner junction	22nd February 2008	7	107	100	Completed
Approach Road to Sangamwadi Bridge	22nd February 2008	8	130	100	Completed

¹³³ "Funding for buses may dry up", July 2014

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/Funding-for-buses-may-dry-up/articleshow/36405460.cms>

¹³⁴ Official data from PMPML, as in November 2014

¹³⁵ "PMPML bus plan hits roadblock as PMC, PCMC sit on JnNURM funds", The Indian Express, September 2009
<http://indianexpress.com/article/cities/pune/pmpml-bus-plan-hits-roadblock-as-pmc-pcmc-sit-on-jnnurm-funds/>

Table 14: Project delays

Project Title	Scheduled completion date	Actual/ estimated completion date	Reason for delay
Bus Rapid Transit (Phase I) for Pune City - 48.77 km	Dec 2010	March 2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Delay in tendering process •Cost escalation •Project mgmt issues: land acquisition, shortage of skilled labour, monsoon, shifting utilities etc
BRTS (Development of infrastructure for CYG, 2008) - 36 kms	Dec 2010	March 2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Delay in tendering process •Cost escalation •Project mgmt issues: land acquisition, shortage of skilled labour, monsoon, shifting utilities etc
BRTS Corridor for Mumbai Pune Highway (8.5 kms) and Aundh Rawet Road (14.5 kms)			
Improvement and strengthening of New Alandi Road as BRTS Corridor	Dec 2010	Dec 2012	Project mgmt related issues – Land acquisition
BRTS Corridor - Kalewadi-Dehu Road-PCMC (11.2 kms)			
BRTS Corridor Nashik Phata to Wakad (7.08 kms)			
3 Pedestrian subways, 1 vehicular underpass	Feb 2009	March 2014	Project mgmt related issues
Approach Road to Sangamwadi Bridge	Nov 2008	Sept 2011	Project mgmt related issues

BRT Case Study – An insight into the entry of JNNURM in the city

The idea of BRT was initiated in Pune in 2004 before JnNURM. That JnNURM presented itself as a convenient funding opportunity was a coincidence, intelligently sought by the then Municipal Commissioner, Nitin Kareer. He is said to be the mastermind behind Pune receiving an edge in funds receipt under JnNURM. The entry of JnNURM in the city was a very non-ceremonial affair. No one knew about it, except certain politicians and the Commissioner. It was Kareer who sent one of the first DPRs to the Centre for funding. These proposals were assembled by him on the basis of various discussions he had with experts, civil society members and the select politicians who had an understanding of the issues of the city¹³⁶. It was only after money started pouring in that corporators realised that such a scheme existed.

The BRT in Pune (Hadapsar-Swargate-Katraj) was started without a proper DPR in place. It was later prepared by IL&FS. At an escalated cost of 134 crores (previously 103 crores) for the pilot stretch of 12 kms, Pune became the first Indian city to have a BRTS. The political mileage of being the first Indian city with a BRTS and the haste it brought with it led to haphazard implementation of the project. When work started, people had no inkling of what was being built and in the lack of any form of awareness campaigns, a strong negative impression took hold in people’s minds about the system. Exaggerated media reports about accidents in the BRT lane

¹³⁶ Stakeholder interview number 2, 12, 21, 23

caused more trouble¹³⁷. The BRTS lacked many essential components failing to capture the public's imagination. The pilot BRT was also criticized by expert groups as being hastily planned and implemented, without proper studies¹³⁸. Subsequently detailed designs for the corridors have been prepared by Mott McDonald and more recently by IL&FS. One of the major drawbacks of the Pune BRT has been the introduction of the idea of "mixed BRT", i.e. the absence of dedicated bus lanes along some lengths of the corridors. The total "mixed" portions are as high as 40%. This concept was however rejected by the Ministry of Urban Development¹³⁹ and severely criticised by civil society organisations¹⁴⁰ and experts. New plans are being made for the implementation of the BRT starting with 4 corridors¹⁴¹.

The role of the State's evaluation in this case is also crucial. Jairaj Phatak, the then Commissioner of Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation, approved of the haphazard BRT, in spite of obvious shortcomings¹⁴². The SLNA – MMRDA shows a complete lack of evaluation of quality of outcome, if one is to go by the level of services provided in various projects. It was found that MMRDA officials found themselves approaching PMC through a range of external pressure points such as strong political interference and backing in PMC. Also, why shortcomings in implementation are not identified while the implementation is still ongoing is another question. It was only when Mr S K Lohia, OSD MoUD came to Pune, that the actual situation was understood and reprimanded¹⁴³.

As per the Comprehensive Mobility Plan¹⁴⁴, there is a need to augment the planned BRT network, by adding another 50 km to the already 100 km sanctioned under JNNURM. It had also recommended that the BRT network should be completed by 2010, a deadline already 4 years overdue. While paucity of funds is often cited as a reason for delays, an analysis¹⁴⁵ of the annual budget of PMC in 2011-12 shows clearly how a re-allocation of funds could help achieve the goals mentioned in the Comprehensive Mobility Plan, including the BRT network.

The perception that crores have been wasted in the so called BRT is turning out to be true, with not even a single BRT corridor operating with consistent dedicated lane for buses or possessing other important features of a BRTS. The BRT Corridor from Hadapsar to Katraj is now the site of multiple flyovers and subways, none of which have been planned in subordination of the

¹³⁷ Stakeholder interview number 1, 11, 21

¹³⁸ Stakeholder interview number 9, 12, 21

"On Pune's roads, BRTS is losing steam", September 2013

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/On-Punes-roads-BRTS-is-losing-steam/articleshow/22612653.cms>

"Pune's BRT stumbles at the start", January 2007

<http://indiatgether.org/brtpune-economy>

¹³⁹ Mixed BRT Plan draws flak; Times of India, Apr 9, 2011

http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-04-09/pune/29400009_1_brts-corridors-brt-projects-sustainable-transport

¹⁴⁰ "Civic body disappoints public- only 40% of brts for bus lanes", February 2010

<http://archive.indianexpress.com/news/civic-body-disappoints-public-only-40--of-brts-for-bus-lane/575946/>

¹⁴¹ <http://www.sakaaltimes.com/20120524/5321215050031093128.htm>

¹⁴² Stakeholder interview number 19, 21

¹⁴³ http://www.nagrikchetna.com/BRT_JT_Meeting_190610.pdf

¹⁴⁴ Comprehensive Mobility Plan, Table 9.1

¹⁴⁵ <http://www.parisar.org/activities/analysesreports/135-transport-budget-analysis-2011-12.html>

existing BRT¹⁴⁶. A recent safety audit report¹⁴⁷ published by PMC on the BRTS corridor describes the route as being hazardous and recommends removal cycle tracks to enable traffic movement among other things. The cycle tracks on these routes and across Pune suffer from poor planning and maintenance with little regard for usability and convenience of cyclists. As a result they have become dysfunctional spaces which then get used for parking, hawking and vending and walking¹⁴⁸. BRT is not functional on a single road, while most of the money has already been spent on widening roads.

The BRTS case is a classic example of why most sources believe that JnNURM has not improved the city in any visible way, even though it has led to a marked improvement in passenger experience of bus travel. What looks like a complete lack of planning in projects, could also be a pattern of constructing and deconstructing and reconstructing endlessly to invite larger projects with more capital investment. Another notable observation is the absolute disinterest in involving people in any way in the implementation process. In case of the BRT, in spite of repeated reminders and suggestions on how to reach out to the people, neither the corporation nor the politicians showed any interest to do so¹⁴⁹. Civil society representatives attempted giving different proposals for better outreach. For example, it was proposed that a 500 meter stretch of BRT with all its features like a bus station showcasing level boarding, pre board ticketing, and a dedicated lane be constructed for people to see and use and give suggestions on to the PMC. However, these were never considered. A tendency to tick mark reforms and projects without understanding their intentions is noticed. Another indicative example is that of the Citizen Volunteer Technical Committee, a committee to be formed for JnNURM projects where qualified citizens were invited to deliberate and give their opinion on various projects was formed in 2010. Not a single meeting of this committee was held. The nominated committee members themselves had no idea that they were part of such a committee¹⁵⁰. Such is the state of affairs of public participation in JNNURM projects.

While municipal officials unanimously feel that the funds have helped their functioning and the city's development immensely, this seems to be a more money centric approach. There is a perception that even with such large amounts of money spent the impact is not visible¹⁵¹.

While the BRTS is a particularly challenging proposition to execute, and a hard parameter for judging the performance of JnNURM, other components of JNNURM haven't lived up to their promise, even though, like in the sewage sector specific infrastructural projects have certainly brought some important benefits to the city.

¹⁴⁶<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/All-vehicles-can-ply-in-BRT-lane-on-Satara-Road/articleshow/24563803.cms>

¹⁴⁷http://www.punecorporation.org/pmcwebn/informpdf/BRTS/Safety_Audit_Report.pdf

¹⁴⁸<http://www.parisar.org/activities/analysesreports/144-cycle-track-assessment.html>

¹⁴⁹Stakeholder interview with 19, 21

¹⁵⁰ "Follow guidelines for success of JNNURM projects: Citizens", 14th July 2014

<http://epaperbeta.timesofindia.com/Article.aspx?eid=31814&articlexml=Follow-guidelines-for-success-of-JNNURM-projects-Citizens-14072014002050>

¹⁵¹Stakeholder interview number 9, 12, 21

Sectoral Impact of JnNURM – Sewerage sector

The First Environment Status Report¹⁵² of Pune claims that Pune's first 4 decades growth rate to be 2.2% to 3.5%. In 1991 density of Pune city was 107/ha, while within the city it was as high as 523 in Bhavanipeth and 425 people/ Ha (PPH). Other cities like Delhi had 143 PPH, Ahmedabad 150 PPH and Mumbai had 403 PPH.

ESR also claimed that a total of 602 MLD water supply was supplied to the city and rural area serving a population of 25 lacs. The condition of sewage was not satisfactory, as only 22% of sewage water was treated i.e. 1/5th of gray water then generated by Pune city. Report claimed that some septic tanks partly treat gray water. Interviews with people involved in preparation of first ESR reveals that 22% was a part of "Guess-ology" i.e. educated guess due to lack of authentic data.

As per the ESR 2003-04, first sewerage system for Pune was installed in the year 1928. The scheme covered an area consisting of the Pune Gaothan, parts of Shivajinagar and Erandawane. A collection system was also installed and primary treatment was given at the Bhairoba Pumping Station. The treated sewage was then used for irrigation.

Sanitary system, which includes a number of units, begins with the collection system and ends after the purified water is returned to the receiving bodies". The sanitary works can be broadly classified as:

- Collection works,
- Treatment works and
- Disposal works

Collection work

The collection system starts from the house drainages. These join the network of sewer lines in any town, designed to collect the wastewater from individual houses, public places and industries.

Treatment work

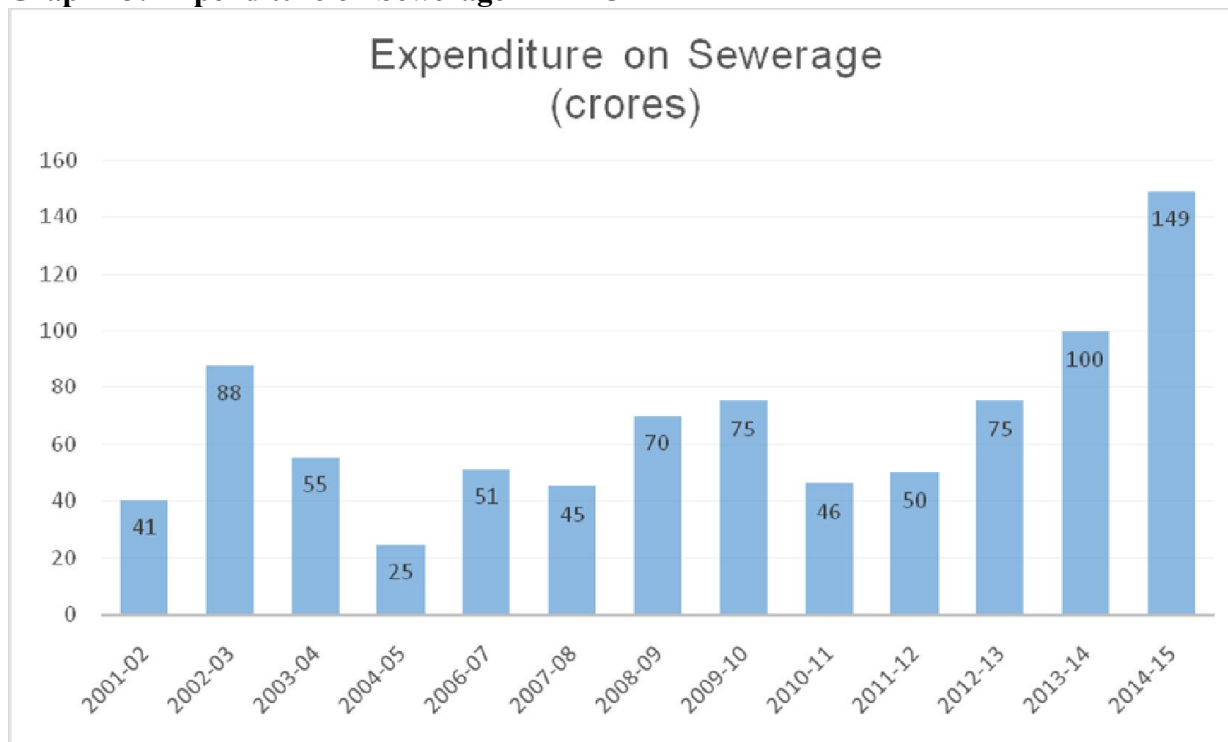
Waste water treatment is required before disposal so that it may not pollute the atmosphere and the receiving body of water. If untreated, it could be responsible for pollution of water supplies for downstream towns, destruction of food, fish and other valuable aquatic life, contamination of bathing places, creation of unpleasing sights, cause of bad odour, air pollution, contamination of water making it unfit for recreation and commercial use.

Disposal work

¹⁵² As per section 67 (A) of BPMC Act-1949, it is mandatory for urban local bodies (ULB) to publish annual Environmental Status Report (ESR) before 31st July of each year. ESR is one of the forms of State of Environment (SoE) reporting with a primary function to categorize the information and allow effective understanding of complexities and interlinkages between environmental issues and causes. Pune and PimpriChinchwad produces an Environmental Status Report (ESR) every year, and it has done so since 1997. This is mandated in the state-level legislation (the BPMC Act) following the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act and the Twelfth Schedule.

The treated waste water is finally disposed by irrigating fields or discharging it into the natural water course. In Pune 450 million litres of used water is drained everyday through the drainage system, of which, at present, 90 million litres is treated at the Dr. Naidu Sewage Water Treatment center and released into the river. Likewise the capacity of Bhairoba Treatment Plant was enhanced from 45 MLD to 130MLD and the treated water from this plant is supplied to farmers in Hadapsar and Mundhwa.¹⁵³

Graph 13: Expenditure on Sewerage in PMC



Source: PMC Budget

Table 15: Trajectory of Sewage sector before and after JnNURM

Year	Total sewage treatment capacity of PMC	Analysis / Remarks
1995-96	Reports say that the condition of sewage is not satisfactory, only 22% of sewage water was treated and in 1996, the city would be able to treat only 1/5th of gray water. Report claims some of the septic tanks partly treat waste water. Condition of city as compare to other city was not satisfactory. New Govt. order made it mandatory for PMC to serve villages adjoining to PMC limits as well.	Fist ESR of PMC after 74 th Amendment, leading to feedback to PMC on poor status of sewage treatment
1996-97	Report claims 100% collection of waste and sewage however septic tanks at some locations were proposed. 22% treatment is reported	No improvement in the status of sewage treatment

¹⁵³ ESR 2003-4

1997-98	Total generation is 0.48 MLD, Accumulated 0.27MLD, Treated 0.07 MLD non treated 0.20 MLD	No improvement in the status of sewage treatment
1998-99	Total sewage treatment capacity 22% (estimated). Two pumping stations were proposed for collection of sewage of 38 villages and to pump it to sewage treatment plants, Naidu and BhairobaNala sewage treatment Plant were planned.	No improvement in the status of sewage treatment. However, addition of new villages was a add on challenge for PMC
1999-2000	Total Sewage treatment of 45% Reports proposed Phase I(2005) Water supply to be 791 MLD with sewage generation 451 MLD. Phase II (2015) Water Supply was to be 1074 MLD and Sewage generation- 622 MLD Phase III (2025) Water Supply 1506 MLD and sewage generation of 875 MLD- Base cost of Water Supply 201 core and Sewage treatment was 191 Core Highlights: 8 major nallas connect to Mulariver, two major projects were to start within a month. Pilot Project with NCL1. NagzariNala- 20 MLD/ day capacity 2. Gayakwadnala- 12 MLD/ day @7 Core proposed cost – 1996 onwards Mula River Improvement Scheme was proposed with 48 Core cost. Five year time bound scheme aimed to have clean river beds after dredging, removal of 4 cubic meter silt.	No change in the actual treatment of sewage treatment capacity. It might have taken few years to PMC to commission the Sewage Master Plan. Kirloskar Consultants were awarded the work for developing the Water Supply and Sewage master plan. Projections of Phase I, II and III of Kirloskar Report were part of the ESR
2000-2001	Quantity of sewage generated 500 MLD Underground drainage system 50% Bhairoba treatment plant capacity 32 MLD Naidu treatment plant capacity 90 MLD Treated effluent 25% Released into rivers and soil (untreated) 75%	No change in the actual sewage treatment capacity.
2001-02	As per the Phase I of Sewage Master Plan - total sewage generation around 451 MLD. Reports 50% construction work of Bhairobanalla STP (largest in India) and Bopodi STP was completed and both were be commissioned by January 2003. About 40% civilwork of Erandawane STP and 60% that of Tanajiwadi STP was completed and theplants will be commissioned by March 2003 and October 2002 respectively. The sewage collection systemcovers about 132 Km2 area in the old Municipal limit whereas, about 49 Km2 areawould be covered by the sewer lines in the merged villages during 2002. A total of88.96Km length was added to the existing drainage lines. Nevertheless,about 265 MLD sewage was to be carried through open gutters and nallas. It has led to an adverse impact on theenvironment in the surrounding areas. In an effort tomitigate pollution in nallas, their channelization program had been undertaken.Also, a large number of housing schemes in the outer area were depend on the onsite sanitation in the form of septic tanks. The effluents in the nallas and rivers wereaffecting the ecological balance of the city. Report claims that massive program	First promising reporting on the proposed improvement in the sewage treatment capacity

	<p>to augment the sewage treatment capacity was already launched by the PMC.</p> <p>In the newly merged villages 545 km length of sewage collection systems was planned; of which 80 km has been already laid while another 163 kms was to be laid in the years to come.</p>	
2002-03	<p>Assumption of 500 MLD water supply and 400 MLD gray and black water generated in city barely 50% of total liquid effluents are being carried through an underground drainage system while the rest is being released directly into the open channels or into the river .ESR gives details of 12 Pumping stations and 5 STPs including proposed ones. Also has information on Number of drainage line laid by PMC under city Limits in Running meters which are right from 150 mm to 32528mm.</p>	<p>No reporting on the promises made in the previous ESR.</p>
2003-04	<p>Almost same information as in the previous year ESR. Water Supply of 500 MLD, sewage generation of 400 MLD and total treatment capacity was 215 MLD i.e. around 50%</p>	<p>First reporting on enhanced sewage treatment capacity from 22 % to 50%</p>
2004-05	<p>Total sewage generation of 451 MLD out of which 305 MLD treatment capacity is reported. i.e. 68% of 5 STPs i.e. Bahiroba 130, Erandwane 50 MD, Tanajiwadi 17 MLD, Bopodi 18 MLD, Naidu Hospital 90 MLD , However, for treatment of remaining 146 MLD sewage construction of STP of 115 MLD near Naidu STP is reported. Naidu (new) STP would increase treatment capacity by 32%.</p> <p>Projection of 2005- water supply 771 MLD sewage generation-451 MLD</p> <p>Projection of 2015-Water supply-1074- MLD Sewage generation 622 MLD</p> <p>Projection of 2025 –water supply- 1506MLD sewage generation - 875 MLD.</p> <p>It has been reported that 50 MLD sump well are proposed near river bank on eastern side of screen chamber. Budgetary provisions are made for the same in 2005-06 budget. Its claimed that by above STPs 100% treatment of 451 MLD will be achieved</p>	<p>Capacity of sewage treatment enhanced from 50% to 68%</p>
2005-06	<p>Total Sewage generation 451 MLD, 5 Functional STPs- BhairobaNala- 130 MLD(82 sq km with 37.5 core cost), Erandwane 50 MLD (26 Sq Km with 11.12 Cr cost), TanajiWadi 17 MLD (18 sq km with 7.43 core cost), Bopodi 18 MLD(15 sq km with 5.69 core cost), Naidu 90 MLD (cost and area not given) . Total treatment= 305 capacity 68%, rest 146 MLD is non treated sewage. Work in progress - Naidu STP (new) 115 MLD and Vitthalwadi 32 MLD .</p> <p>Report Shows that with Proposed 2 new plants ageist 451 MLD generations, treatment capacity will be 452 MLD. Mudhawa 45 MLD, Kharadi 40 MLD and Baner 30 MLD were planned STPs. Population projection as per sewage master plan was 34 lacs-2005, 47lacs in 2015 and 66 lacs in 2025. PMC got Govt of Maharashtra Special Award under SantGadagebaba Cleanliness drive for Sewage Management</p>	<p>STP Master Plan Phase I was completed and STP Master Plan Phase II and III was to be implemented in the year 2006.</p>

2006-07	Total treatment capacity -305 LMD benefiting 1906250 people. Proposed : ESR Point 11.3 gives Performance indicators in Sewage, sanitation and drainage systems. There is possibility that this might have come from Service level Benchmarking for Sewage Sector. Details of scope of work for doing watershed mapping of river basin is given Observation: Only 4 plants are mentioned Vitthalwadi 32, Naidu-115, Mundhawa- 45 and Baner -40. In previous year Baner capacity was 30 MLD which changed to 40 MLD. This may be by mistake as Kharadi Plant name was missing which has 40 MLD capacities.	Impact of JnNURM is seen as performance indicators of Sewage sector have been reported. One can also track this information in the MoA as well.
2007-08	Only Admin ward wise status of sewage generation but not at the city level data	-
2008-09	Total Sewage Generated 567 MLD (Domestic -510 MLD and 56 MLD for Commercial) Total STP- 7 Sewage treatment Capacity- 382 MLD , total Pumping stations- 10 Pumping station capacity- 402 MLD, Total Sewer lines network 2200 km	
2009-10	Sewage generation is 744 MLD (9.50 TMC/day) Total Treatment 497 MLD (6.4 TMC per day) i.e. 67% 247 i.e. 33 % untreated sewage in let off in the rivers A total of 270 Crores is required to develop infrastructure to achieve 100% treatment of sewage. F Y 2010-11 INR 65 Cr were year marked. A target to achieve 100% sewage treatment in the next two years has been set.	
2010-11	Pune's Sewage generation is 744 MLD (9.50 TMC/day) Total Treatment 527 MLD 217 MLD Untreated sewage in let off in the rivers	
2011-12	Total Treatment 567 MLD 217 MLD untreated sewage in let off in the rivers	
2012-13	Total Treatment 567 MLD 217 MLD untreated sewage in let off in the rivers	

ESRs had helped city understand its underperformance in sewage treatment. This lead to setting up separate Sewage Project Dept with PMC.

CDP 2006 on Sewage and Sanitation

CDP mentions that the total length of sewer network is 975 km. of which 187 km. are the truck mains. The current system covers about 54 % of the total road length. This also includes newly-laid sewer mains of 380 km. in the added areas. Though the current coverage of the sewerage network is 54%, it is estimated that about 80% of the population is covered as all developed areas have access to Under Ground Drain (UGD).

The following were identified as the key issues with regard to the sewerage system.

- Though the current coverage in terms of road length is 54%, it is observed that 90% of the developed area has access to UGD covering about 80% of the population. But this gap needs to be covered as and when development takes place in the added areas.
- Almost one-third of the total sewerage generated remains untreated and is disposed into the Mula-Muthariver. Thus the river water gets polluted and this leads to water-borne diseases.
- Though at the current level of water losses, the shortage in sewerage treatment capacity is only 239 MLD, assuming PMC would be able to minimise losses at 15% of supply, the gap would be only 143 MLD.

Table 16: List of projects approved under JNNURM to Pune

Project Title	Approved Cost (lakhs)	Date of Approval	Utilization as per September 2013 QPR (lakhs)	% of Amount utilised against approved cost	% of work completed (physical progress)	Date of completion as per latest QPR
Augmentation and Up gradation of Sewage Treatment Plants and Pumping Station	8,613	10-05-2006	18,231	212%	Completed	Completed
Construction and Improvement of drains to prevent contamination of natural water bodies and development of Heritage sites	9,996	08-Sep-06	7,919	79%	84%	Mar-14
Renewal and Management of sewerage and drainage system in Pune (augmentation of weris, restoration of lakes, bioremediation and landscaping of nalla and rivers)	9,778	08-Sep-06	8,786	90%	Completed	Completed
Total	28,387		34,937			

Pune's City Sanitation Plan 2011

The City Sanitation Plan is a comprehensive document which details out the short, medium and long term measures for the issues related to governance, technical, financial, capacity enhancement, awareness and pro-poor interventions to achieve the goal of the National Urban Sanitation Policy¹⁵⁴ (NUSP, 2008) to create community driven, totally sanitized, healthy and liveable cities and towns.¹⁵⁵

Pune's City Sanitation Plan (CSP) claims "Participatory approaches are needed to consult the poor settlement and involve them in the process of planning and management of sanitation arrangements mainly at community was being practiced. In order to build capacities for preparation of city sanitation plans involving poor community, social mapping exercise was conducted. In this process around 350 R.C.V.s residing in various slums were trained, baseline data collected in specified formats, maps prepared and conclusion withdrawn after completion and summarization of this need based data. This exercise helped to identify existing service delivery gaps at slum level, to indicate the required actions, to consolidate and mainstream several areas of work done by ULBs and also provided opportunity to bring the community together."¹⁵⁶

Water Supply

The total water supplied to the city is 732 MLD. Coverage of Water supply connections is 94.19 percent and per capita water supplied is 194 lpcd. The metering of water connections is 29.71 percent and non-revenue water is almost 32 percent. On an average the city receives water supply for 4-6 hours a day in two shifts, but with variations from ward to ward. Some wards receive 24x7 supply of water. The cost recovery is 70.67 percent.

As per City Sanitation Plan of year 2011, in Pune 7,72,610 households have individual toilet facilities. There are 4009 community toilet seats, 13110 public toilets seats and 631 group toilet seats in the city. Approximately 24,000 properties in the city do not have access to a toilet within walking distance. There are 103 open defecation spots in the city. Plans to construct community toilets promote individual toilets and construct separate toilets for the floating population, differently able, children and women are proposed.

Sewage: PMC claims that their coverage of sewage network is 97.57 percent. Most of the toilets are connected to the underground drainage system. Septic tanks are also connected to the underground system. ***Thus all types of toilets can be categorized as safe.*** This claim could not be investigated through data analysis of number of toilets connected to the sewage network. However, assumption that all types of toilets are safe cannot be taken on face value. As only functional toilets should be taken into consideration than number of toilets.

Out of the total 744 MLD of sewage generated, 70.83 percent is treated of which 5.38 percent is reused for irrigation purpose. Efficiency of cost recovery in sewage management is 76.05 percent. Constructions of new STPs are underway to treat more sewage and achieve the goal of 100 percent treatment. Also several options are being considered for re-using the treated sewage.

¹⁵⁴ http://moud.gov.in/sites/upload_files/moud/files/NUSP_0.pdf

¹⁵⁵ City Sanitation Plan of Pune Municipal Corporation, Chapter -2, Page-21

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

Table 17: Budgetary Requirement for CSP

CSP component	Total Budgetary Requirement (in crores)	Funds from other schemes (in crores)	Contribution from PMC (in crores)	Funds expected for CSP (in crores)	Remark
Water Supply Services	1681		410.28	1270.72	Contribution from PMC 100 percent of 1 st year and 20 percent each of next 4 years
Toilet Facility	70.88		28.54	42.34	Contribution from PMC 100 percent of the year 2011-12 and 20 percent for the year 2012-13
Sewerage System	845.48	511.33	66.83	267.32	Rs. 511.33 crores expected under NRCP scheme. The DPR has been submitted for approval
SWD	1806.55	210.00	361.98	1234.57	PMC contribution for carrying out immediate works to prevent water logging only. JNNURM funds for work on 4 basins received
SWM	1253		1049	204	PMC contribution will be 80 percent of phase wise funding required till year 2015-16
IEC	4.16		0.10	4.06	PMC will contribute 10 lakh of the total budgetary requirement for two years.
Total	5661.07		1916.73	3023.01	

For the successful implementation of all CSP components, PMC requires a total of Rs. 7379.04 Crores. The contribution from PMC for achieving city wide sanitation objectives will be 1220.34 Crores (approximately 20 percent). The goal of Totally Sanitized City can be achieved by significant contribution (approximately 80 percent) from the State and Central Government.

Social Mapping

NUSP emphasizes the need for participatory approach and consulting the poor settlements and their involvement in the process of planning and management of sanitation arrangements. To fulfil this requirement, All India Institute of Local Self Government and Centre for Study of Social Change (CSSC), Mumbai incorporated the concept of social mapping to reach the unserved population and urban poor in the city.

Social mapping enables understanding the presence of the social structures and institutions found in a particular area. It also helps us to learn about social and economic differences between the households. Three social mapping training were conducted for SamuhaSanghatika (Group Organizers) and Residential Community Workers (RCVs) to familiarize them with the techniques(personal interview, focus group discussion, time line,

transect walk, community mapping) of social mapping.(Details of the trainings conducted is annexed herewith).

The RCVs conducted focused group discussions and carried out the exercise of community mapping in 104 slums of the city. This enabled to get a glimpse of the grass root level situations and problems faced by the slum dwellers.¹⁵⁷

Projects implemented under JnNURM and their status

On studying the latest quarterly progress report under JnNURM for the sewage sector following was the status of the projects that were approved

Table 18: Projects implemented by Sewage Department under JnNURM and their status

Sr. No.	Sewerage Treatment Plants (STP), Sump and Pump (SP) houses and Retail Markets (RM)	Capacity	JNNURM Sanction Amount (in lacs)	Tender Amount (in lacs)	Work order date	Gross Total Expenditure(Including star rate escalation up to March 2012) Rs in Lacs	Remark
1	Baner STP	30	984	3160	24-12-2007	3401	Completed and commissioned in Jan-11
					12 Months		
2	Mundhwa STP	45	1387	3088	06-03-2007	3212	Completed and commissioned in March 09
					12 Months		
3	Naidu STP	115	2301	4015	06-03-2007	4380	Completed and Commissioned in April 10
					12 Months		
4	Kharadi STP	40	1258	3950	11-12-2009	3368	Completed, Testing and Commissioned started
					16 Months		
5	Vithalwadi STP	32	1067	1443	24-02-2006	1179	Completed and commissioned in March 09
					15 Months		
6	New Kasba P.S.	160	554	843	01-12-2006	816	Completed and commissioned in April
					12 Months		

¹⁵⁷ CSP- PMC page 31-32

							10 and under 5 years of O&M
7	Topkhana S.P.	90	492	710	12-12-2006	707	Completed and commissioned in April 10 and under 5 years of O&M
					12 Months		
8	New Kasba R.M.	-	245	309	14-03-2006	339	Completed and Commissioned
					12 Months		
9	Topkhana R.M.	-	325	422	14-03-2006	447	Completed and Commissioned
					12 Months		
10	Others	-				223	
Total			8613	17940		18072	

Conclusion

JnNURM has benefited PMC's sewage treatment capacity. Post JnNURM PMC has 10 treatment plants against 5 sewage treatment plants before JnNURM.

Strategy of Sewage Dept was simple and clear. Kirloskar Consultant Report based Sewage Master Plan had recommended Phase I & II to achieve 100% Sewage treatment. Sewage Dept had a well set up Project office to implement Phase I & II. Sewage Dept used the DPRs of Phase II for getting the JnNURM grant. Project office put in their efforts to complete the phase II of Sewage Master Plan. It is a classic example of how norms are misreported to getting grants.

PMC at present supplies approximately 296 LPCD water to its citizens. This is based on rough calculation of distribution losses and non-revenue water. PMC is not reporting actual supply of water while submitting the sewage treatment proposal, relevant ministries may not approve sewage treatment plants which are due to access supply of water.

PART 3: CONCLUSION: CRACKING THE CODE IN PUNE

The general sense that came through from the various stakeholder consultations and the trends one sees in both the project implementation as well as the reforms agenda is that there has not been a major impact of JNNURM on the governance eco-system of the Pune Municipal Corporation. JNNURM sought to change the manner in which the cities operated with an ambitious goal of making them financially viable and credit-worthy, thus allowing them to leverage markets for the much needed infusion of funds for developing urban infrastructure. This was sought to be accomplished by a slew of reforms and what might be called “seed funding” for various infrastructure projects.

The main aspects of the governance eco-system that one may consider are

1. The balance of powers between the administrative and the political arms of the PMC

It has been the general observation that the political class in the Pune Municipal Corporation was already empowered to a large extent. The various committees of the Municipal Corporation wield their powers accordingly. The Prabhagsamitis (Wards Committees) as envisioned under the 74th CAA were already in place and increasingly powers were devolved to them. It has not been possible to establish any link to this devolution to JNNURM but seems like a natural progression of the earlier trends in the city.

The discussions and the decisions in the General Body also point to assertiveness of the political body.

One major revelation during the course of this investigation was that councillors often tend to focus on ward-level issues and have scant interest in city-wide issues that are not linked to specific projects. The City Development Plan (CDP) and the Comprehensive Mobility Plan (CMP) required as per the JNNURM, received little interest from the political class. Only when the specific projects affected their local interests – such as the BRT system passing through their areas or the limits imposed by the CMP (for instance) on the ability to propose projects in their area (such as flyovers or pedestrian subways) did the political class pay attention to these documents.

Eventually the political class managed to 'work around' these documents, ensuring that their self-interests/ward-interests were not hampered by such “City Vision” documents.

An important consideration therefore is that if City Strategies are to be evolved with the involvement of local councilors then these must necessarily be ward-centric.

2. The relationship of the public/CSOs with the Municipal Corporation.

While JNNURM placed much emphasis on the involvement of citizens and greater transparency, once again we find that this aspect of governance has not been greatly affected by JNNURM. During the course of our investigation we were unable to find any significant changes that happened due to the Mission. Once again several systems existed prior to the Mission and many of them continued in their evolution. Citizens have been involved through the various ad hoc committees that have been created over the past. Several statutory committees that exist, such as the Tree Authority, Planning Committees (for the purpose of

the Development Plan), and the more recent Town Vending Committee have all had citizen representation, which while susceptible to hijacking by the political class (by appointing members of politically affiliated NGOs) have also had genuine citizen representation, who have managed to represent the larger interests of the city.

With regards to transparency, Pune has been at the forefront of the RTI movement and not surprisingly there is strong advocacy for transparency. Occasionally decisions taken in a personal capacity, such as the institution of an 'open file' day by erstwhile Commissioner Mahesh Zagade, cannot be ascribed to JNNURM.

The other significant aspect of citizen involvement has been the institutionalization of 'Participative Budgeting', again an initiative taken up by several NGOs which found favour with erstwhile Commissioner, Dr. Nitin Kareer.

In fact the only citizen forum under JNNURM, the so called 'Citizen Technical Advisory Group' has been defunct. Citizens however continue to be involved informally in projects such as the BRT, one of the major projects funded by JNNURM. There is also the sense that the administration has figured out how to go through the motions of citizens' participation, without it making any substantive difference to the final decision. Cities like Pune, in a manner of speaking have "cracked the code" (see box 2), thus making it seem to outside agencies that participation and public consultations are indeed taking place. A typical example are the consultations that happened when the CDP-II document was prepared. Consultations were indeed done and have even been recorded, but this does not seem to have any impact on the final report itself.

One may therefore conclude that it is an active and aware citizenry that had managed to create a space for its involvement. Superficial measures instituted by JNNURM have had little if any impact on this relationship.

3. The manner in which projects are implemented – costs, efficiency and processes

The Pune Municipal Corporation has clearly benefited from large allocations received under JNNURM. Primarily projects have included the large BRT system, funds for making EWS housing under the BSUP scheme and Sewage Treatment Plants.

The BRT system, as our report indicates, has failed to be implemented. The BSUP housing project has also remained largely unsuccessful, in part due to the fact that it involved removal of existing settlements for rehabilitation. The only projects that have been implemented are the STPs, in addition to several small one-off projects such as some parking lots and pedestrians subways etc.

We have not found any evidence for cost escalations due to JNNURM. However various politicians have commented that JNNURM costs were indeed higher than normal. We have not been able to ascertain the causes of this. Largely the same processes have been followed for JNNURM vs. non-JNNURM projects and the final contracts are approved by the Standing Committee. One possible explanation is that JNNURM projects have more technical specifications, which can only be fulfilled by specialized or fewer contractors, leading to cost

escalations. Whether this has resulted in any measurable improvement in quality is not evident and there is no systematic analysis of this that we have come across.

The creation of a JNNURM Cell to handle JNNURM projects has essentially been an extension of the respective Municipal department with personnel freely moving across the Cell and the Department. In fact the Cell has also taken on projects which are not JNNURM funded.

The Cell structure is not unlike the departments of the PMC itself. There are verticals within the JNNURM Cell (with somewhat confusing labels such as JNNURM-I, JNNURM-II, etc.) each assigned a certain set of projects. These verticals are headed by senior officers of the PMC who more often than not hold multiple charge. (For e.g. Srinivas Bonala, the Additional City Engineer (Projects) also serves as head of JNNURM-I). There seems to be, therefore a somewhat arbitrary assignment of projects to this Cell. Some officers in the past have been OSD (on special deputation) from the State Government, but this is not unusual, since this also has been the case in the past within the PMC itself.

Other than the physical separation of the Cell from the main PMC building, nothing in our investigation suggests that the Cell has either facilitated or impeded the execution of projects or has led to cost escalation. The processes for project approval also are the same. It was mentioned by one stakeholder that some of the internal audits for JNNURM projects are expedited, since the projects have a deadline. An analysis of the projects and their delays however point to the fact that this arrangement has not contributed much to the success of the projects. The physical separation of the Cell may well be purely a matter of convenience, due to availability of space.

This may also be contrasted with the neighboring Pimpri-Chinchwad Municipal Corporation (PCMC), where such a cell was not created. Unlike IL&FS, there is no “JNNURM consultant” for PCMC, but whether this has therefore improved the execution of JNNURM projects is not clear. Pranjali Agashe-Deshpande, opined that while IL&FS (along with subcontracted consultant UMTC) are technically more qualified and have therefore provided more technical inputs to the design of the BRT projects, equally, the PMC engineers have resisted these inputs, in many cases overriding the instructions of the consultants. Additionally it was felt that these administrative decisions are driven almost solely by the Commissioner and when the Commissioner changed, these arrangements also changed.

4. Financial reforms

While a detailed assessment of the financial reforms is beyond the scope of this investigation, we nonetheless found that many of the reforms envisaged under JNNURM were already being pursued by the Pune Municipal Corporation. There is testimony to the effect that JNNURM helped to move these reforms along, since previously they had been taken up on individual initiative.

The political class and citizens alike have been largely unconcerned with these more technical reforms.

While several reforms have indeed been “completed” by the Pune Municipal Corporation, the actual outcome of these is unclear. The larger goal of creating greater financial viability for the Corporation seems to have been eluded, as the city continues to struggle with raising funds for infrastructure development. The removal of Octroi as a revenue source, an outcome of the JNNURM reform, led to the adoption of Local Body Tax (LBT), which more or less replaced the revenue. While Octroi was itself an unpopular arrangement, LBT also met with stiff resistance from the traders in the city. The new BJP Government has pledged to remove LBT¹⁵⁸. The city will then have to depend on transfers from the State, thus reducing its financial autonomy. Whether this eventually leads to the PMC raising revenues more efficiently from land, development charges and user service charges, thus fulfilling the aims of JNNURM remains to be seen.

Impact on the Urban Poor

In the course of our investigation we have attempted to understand the impact on the poor due to JNNURM.

The sectors which we considered for this project, namely transport, roads and sewerage, have only an indirect impact on the poor (unlike say housing) and makes it difficult to quantify any impact on the poor.

Roads and Transport

There has not been a pro-poor approach to transport planning in the city. The National Urban Transport Policy places an emphasis on public transport, cycling and walking as a way to solve urban congestion and pollution, while acknowledging that these modes also serve the urban poor. JNNURM required cities to prepare a Comprehensive Mobility Plan in line with the NUTP and specified that funding under JNNURM would be contingent on such a plan.

The Comprehensive Mobility Plan itself does not seek to make transport affordable as a primary goal. However it does give priority to bus based transport (used by the poorer sections of society), cycling and walking.

The Pune Municipal Corporation received funds for creating a city-wide Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system as well as for the purchase of buses under JNNURM. The BRT design was also required to have dedicated cycle tracks. Implementation of these would have improved public transport, thus benefiting the poor.

However the BRT system has not been implemented. The purchase of buses for PMPML (the bus service provider) has been dogged with delays. The cycle tracks built by the PMC remain unused due to the poor design.

So in a sense the JNNURM processes and projects themselves have done little to improve transport services for the poor.

However this also ought to be seen against the context of what has happened in the city apart from JNNURM.

- By using the BRT funds most major roads in Pune have been widened and concretized. Many of them have been provided with footpaths (and cycle tracks are used as footpaths

¹⁵⁸ “Will LBT’s abolition bankrupt the PMC?”, <http://www.punemirror.in/pune/civic/Will-LBTs-abolition-bankrupt-the-PMC/articleshow/45182052.cms>

also). The PMC claims that the availability of funds for tackling the major roads in Pune has allowed funds to be utilized for concretizing smaller lanes and alleys, especially in slums. It has not been possible to verify this independently, but in general road quality seems to have improved in the city.

- The political class of the Corporation has always attempted to portray itself as pro-poor. It has instituted free bus passes for school children since 2009¹⁵⁹ and also undertaken a project of free cycle distribution to school children¹⁶⁰. The fares of the BRT system (for the pilot project) was pegged at the same rate as the basic bus service. JNNURM has not led to a re-structuring of the Bus Company and BRT with an eye to privatization, a fear often expressed by certain sections of society.
- Whether PMPML has indeed benefitted on the whole from JNNURM is contested, with Pranjali Agashe-Deshpande, stating in an interview, that only adding buses to PMPML, under the JNNURM bus scheme, without any corresponding improvements in the operations, addition of much needed land and upgradation of infrastructure (depots, terminals, bus stands) has resulted in little if any improvement in the actual service to people. Losses in PMPML continue to mount, leading inevitably to fare hikes, which hit the poor hardest.
- We have not witnessed any “sanitization” of streets under JNNURM and largely street hawkers and vendors have continued to operate in the same manner as before (with the same difficulties and threats, until the advent of the Street Vendors Act, 2014)
- The general thrust of the city, which is to build more roads and flyovers etc. to try and solve congestion in the city, continues. This largely shows the failure of JNNURM to change this attitude in any significant manner. That having been said, NUTP, JNNURM and other documents and guidelines of the Ministry have all created an opportunity for change in the city, and which have been leveraged by CSOs, officers and other change agents to varying degrees.

Impact of Reforms

The reforms, which were supposed to play a catalytic role in changing the processes, culture, efficiency etc. of the Municipal Corporation have not yielded much results. While some of the reforms were underway and were completed during the course of the Mission, some remained completed only on paper.

The JNNURM funds helped to boost the Municipal budget, which seems to have helped the city in terms of the types of projects it took up. However, the ability of the city to raise its financial strength and for it to have reduced the perceived gaps in urban infrastructure remained unfulfilled.

While the stated aim of JNNURM was to ensure delivery of services for the urban poor, we have not found any evidence of any transformation within the PMC governance eco-system

¹⁵⁹ <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/Forms-for-free-bus-passes-from-June-22/articleshow/8930886.cms>

¹⁶⁰ <http://www.thepunekar.com/pmc-announces-free-cycles-for-schoolkids/2011/02/>

that would indicate that either during the Mission period or in a more sustained manner, the poor have benefitted or negatively impacted specifically. The projects themselves or the reforms cannot be linked to any perceptible impact on the poor at a city-wide level, even though specific BSUP in situ projects appear to have benefitted certain communities. At the same time, it must be noted that the displacement of the poor, increase of service charges or other forces that may put pressure on the poor, especially the informal sector were not noticed during the course of our investigations.

Lessons learnt from the JNNURM experience

Some lessons that could perhaps be gleaned from the Pune experience vis-à-vis JNNURM are

- Cities such as Pune were in many ways already ahead of the curve and hence did not experience JNNURM as a transformative process. Changes, if any, were mild and easily digested by the city.
- The manner in which JNNURM played out, the State Govt. was largely uninvolved and led to a greater synergy between the city and the Ministry of Urban Development. This in turn made the Municipal Commissioner a very key person and determined to a large extent the funds and types of projects that the city got under the Mission. That being the case, the Mission did little to strengthen the involvement of the political class. However in Pune, the political class did catch up and the actual unfolding of the Mission on the ground ultimately hinged on the support (or otherwise) for the projects.
- The planning instruments conceived under JNNURM such as the CDP, CMP as well as the reforms were at the city-scale. Given the de-centralized political structure of the city (no City Mayor in the conventional sense) where the electoral ward is the focus of each individual Corporator, such city-level planning and vision exercises receive scant attention. It was stated again and again that Corporators care only about their own wards. So while political interest in the city documents and studies was minimal, as the projects themselves started to get implemented in each ward, the local corporators got involved.
- The lack of any true “enforcement” by the Govt. of India as the Mission unfolded, often sent a signal that it was possible to get away without adhering to the various norms stipulated by the Ministry. This was seen in the implementation of BRT as well as the purchase of buses. Various “advisories” on implementation of various sustainable transport practices remained largely ignored without any consequences.
- The Mission focused on cities, not urban agglomerations. In the case of Pune and Pimpri-Chinchwad, the two cities were clubbed into one (“Pune”) for the purpose of being included in the list of Mission cities, yet the actual implementation of the mission; reforms, planning, projects and funds, took place as if both the cities were separate entities. Critical transport projects, namely the BRT and bus fleet augmentation for PMPML also happened as if the two cities were separate entities. Only when this dichotomy reached a level of absurdity in the case of the BRT design (wherein Pune and Pimpri-Chinchwad adopted different BRT designs that would have made it inoperable across the two cities) did the Ministry of Urban Development step in and force the issue. Even in that case, it was more the intervention of an individual (S.K Lohia) who took up this responsibility rather than an institutional response. The State Government, which

ought to have played a role in matters of inter-city coordination, remained largely uninvolved¹⁶¹.

What do these lessons, and the research they are based on, tell us about the way JNNURM was conceived and implemented by the central government? The following are our interrelated conclusions:

1. **Local diversity overlooked:** JNNURM does not appear to have cognized the diversity of urban realities, and thus missed an opportunity to set the bar differentially, that is, higher for cities like Pune that were already ahead of the learning curve. Moreover, Pune's sewerage example suggests that program success even at the level of infrastructure projects, depended on existing competence. This reality reduced the hope of improving overall institutional capacity through JNNURM to wishful but circular thinking.
2. **Poor Anticipation:** The design of the program including its provisions and conditionalities reveal inadequate effort at anticipating possible challenges, the reality of available human and technical resources in the country, the possibility of departures from the script etc. For instance, while BRTS was encouraged, a ULB like Pune found that there were hardly any consultants with a real capacity for designing BRTS systems in the country. Another example is the general overreliance on paper reporting and inadequate ground level verification of claims of completion of tasks by ULBs, that was reported by a variety of sources including from the state government. Not surprisingly, then, there was little monitoring of the actual qualitative dimension of completion, which is crucial for actual outcomes on the ground.
3. **Self-Contradiction:** Design and Implementation decisions of the central policy formulation and monitoring mechanism appear to have frequently belied the program's stated and implicit Intentions. Take for instance the focus on comprehensive and urban agglomeration level planning. Reforms, planning, projects and funds disbursement, took place in Pune and PCMC as if both the cities were separate entities. UA vision not translated into insistence on comprehensive regional approach by PMC and PCMC cities to transport. Monitoring too led to possible contraventions of project intent: the dubious invention called 'mixed' BRT persisted for a while and was only challenged very late by the central government. There was also a contradiction between the strategy of issuing 'advisories' and the essential carrot-and-stick logic of funding: unaccompanied by carrot or stick, advisories have tended to be disregarded in Pune.

¹⁶¹ Stakeholder interview #24

Appendix

List of stakeholder interviews

Sr no	Stakeholder name	Profile	Date	Venue
1	AbhayChhajed	President, Pune Congress Committee, City Councillor(Parvati) for five consecutive terms	3 rd July, 2014	Congress Bhavan, Pune
2	Abhijit Atre	Editor, Times of India Pune	3 rd July, 2014	TOI Office, Pune
3	AmbarishGalinde	Chief Auditor, PMC	21 st April, 2014	PMC
4	Anil Pawar	City Engineer, PMC		PMC
5	Ashish Agarwal	Senior Manager, IL&FS, Pune	28 th June, 2014	PMC
6	Kiran Moghe	Maharashtra State President of All India Democratic Women's Association, head of Pune ZillaGharKaamgar Sangha, member of the Communist Party of India- Marxist.	28 th March, 2014	Parisar, Pune
7	MedhaThatte	General Secretary, Pune District MolkarinSanghatana, ShramikMahilaMorcha	27 th March 2014	Mudra, Narayan Peth, Pune
8	Mukta Manohar	President, Pune Municipal Workers Welfare Union	27 th March 2014	Mudra, Narayan Peth, Pune
9	MukundSangoram	Editor, Loksatta (Marathi newspaper)	2 nd July 2014	Loksatta Office, Pune
10	Neeraj Jain	Convener, Lokayat	July 2014	Telephonic interview
11	Nitin Kareer	Commissioner of Sales Tax, Maharashtra Government, ex PMC Commissioner	9 th September, 2014	Sales Tax Office, Mumbai
12	Parag Karandikar	Editor, Maharashtra Times		Maharashtra Times Office, Pune
13	PoornimaChikarmane	Founder member, KKPKP And Associate Professor, SNTD, Pune		Workshop at Yashada, Pune

14	PramodNirbhavane	City Engineer, PMC	12 th February, 2014	PMC, Pune
15	Pranjali Deshpande	Programme Leader, Pune ITDP	22 nd January, 2015	ITDP Office, Pune
16	Prasad Shetty			
17	PratapRawal			
18	Pravin Ashtikar	CMD, PMPML, ex OSD JNNURM Cell Pune	27 th May 2014	PMPML Office, Pune
19	RanjitGadgil	Programme Director, Parisar		Parisar, Pune
20	SiddharthDhende	City Councillor for two consecutive terms, member of Republican Party of India	20 th March, 2014	Nagpur Chawl, Pune
21	SujitPatwardhan	Trustee, Parisar		Parisar
22	Sunil Mali	Editor, Sakal	10 th July, 2014	Sakal Office, Pune
23	UjwalKeskar	Ex councillor, Standing Committee Member, PMC	14 th July 2014	Sahawas Colony, Pune
24	Vijay Kumbhar	RTI Activist	2 nd July, 2014	Aryan Hotel, Pune

The sewerage sector analysis is based on interviews conducted with the following people

1. Mr Nirbhavane, Additional City Engineer, PMC
2. Dr Praveen Ashtikar, Ex-OSD, JnNURM Cell
3. Mr MangeshDighe, Environment Officer, PMC
4. Mr Sanjay Gayakwad, Junior Engineer, Sewage Department
5. Mr Anil Pawar, OSD, JnNURM Cell
6. Mr Ashish Agarwal, ILFS (Consultant)
7. Mr Sharad Mahajan, Architect, Mashal (NGO)
8. Ms ZigishaMaskar, CHF / Global Communities (NGO), Architect
9. Dr PratapRawal, Department of Town Planning, CoEP
10. Ms Seema Kakde, Ex-Prayas (NGO), now with Yashada

Till 2007 Mr Sharad Pawar was looking into matters of Pune city. There was a shift in the NCP leadership at city level. Pune Dist Guardian Minister and DyCM Ajit Pawar was given the portfolio of PMC in addition to PCMC¹.

As year 2007 was PMC election year. Indian National Congress and Nationalist Congress Party decided to fight elections independently. 'Pune Pattern', a post poll alliance was formed between the NCP, BJP and Shiv Sena. These political parties came together for the first time in the history of electoral politics of local self-governments in Maharashtra. Suresh Kalmadi offered post of Mayor to BJP's Mukta Tilak and wanted their support in return. However, dealing between Ajit Pawar and Girish Bapat of BJP and Sena leaders led to formation of this post poll alliance in Pune. As this formula emerged in Pune, it got the name "Pune Pattern". This post poll 'Alliance of Convenience' of NCP-BJP and Shiv Sena coming to power in Pune led to overthrowing power of Suresh Kalmadi's control over PMC. For the first time Indian National Congress had to sit in opposition.

After such an alliance of convenience in Pune, wherever there were negotiations between political parties with different ideologies, it was termed as Pune Pattern. After elections of Nasik Municipal Corporation, similar dialogue and negotiations were initiated and they were termed as 'Pune Pattern'. Pune Pattern is getting used as synonym of alliance which has power sharing formula.

The proximity of the formation of this alliance and the introduction of JnNURM were observed to be coinciding. Based on stakeholder interviews conducted with various politicians, it can safely be concluded that the Pune Pattern was the outcome of the political equations prevailing at that time and had nothing to do with the inflow of JnNURM funds.

-Based on interviews with Aba Bagul (Deputy Mayor, Pune), Ganesh Bidkar (BJP politician, ex- Standing Committee Chairman, PMC), Ashok Harnaval (Shivsena politician), Sunil Parkhi (Municipal Secretary, PMC)

Appendix Box 1: Pune Pattern

In recent years municipal governments have been increasingly called upon to address vocal and often strident complaints from city residents, regarding poor civic services. Some of this engagement has been driven by government initiative for greater community participation. Having said that, the demands from the residents end and the response from the government have not necessarily translated into better service provision or governance outcomes. This is not the space to explore the full extent of the reasons. I will however touch upon some.

For one, the municipal administration, at first floored by a belligerent citizenry, has now learnt to 'manage' dissent. So meetings, consultations, colloquiums, workshops, seminars between the administration and residents fora have become fairly commonplace. Residents' participation is usually limited to the more vocal, middle class and elite residents of the city who get the space to air their grievances. Such associations are not representative of the city, omitting as they do several sections of the population. This seeming engagement in discussion and planning while an important gain from participants' perspective serves the purpose of a venting platform rather than translating into real changes on the ground.

The real proposals and plans come from the municipal administration and from the elected representatives. The power to weigh competing claims and to decide, vests with the latter. Elected representatives are also the means through which the ordinary residents, including the poor, access the municipal system. There may sometimes be a mismatch between the priorities of different classes of residents and between what the residents think is important and what the elected representatives perceive as important.

The important difference between the municipal administration and the elected representatives is that the latter have to periodically seek the confidence of the voters. Some degree of accountability is therefore built into the system. Municipal administrators on the other hand have no such compulsions. They are comfortable with 'managing dissent' and in many ways 'have cracked the code', as it were.

The workings of the local self-government are for the most part shrouded in officialise and secrecy. The RTI Act has been extremely empowering for citizens and has served as the key to Pandora's Box. However, information in itself does not automatically lead to change. It has to be used by people's movements to drive change. The municipal administration is keenly aware of that and is able to use it to its advantage because often times, ordinary residents do not have the wherewithal to stay the course with the issue till its logical conclusion. The 'cracking of the code' is evident here as well. There is no pro-active disclosure, except of the most inane kind. RTI applications are not rejected but mining information requires successive applications as well as dedication and application of mind.

The fact that Municipal Commissioners have a short tenure at the helm, and one that is frequently prematurely truncated, is also a problem. A visionary municipal commissioner has very little time to implement his/her ideas through a consultative process and to negotiate the decision making process.

Reflecting upon some of the initiatives during the past few years, we find that the Pune CDP, which articulated a vision of the city, a requirement of JNNURM was relegated to the shelves, the moment it was submitted to the central government. Admittedly the preparation of the CDP itself was not inclusive of all sections of society. The transport and SWM works implemented during the JNNURM period did not draw from the CDP and neither the JNNURM evaluation refer to the vision in the CDP. Likewise with Participatory Budgeting and the comprehensive mobility plan. And more recently, bye laws for hawkers and vendors that have not been implemented.

Box 2: Cracking the code - PoornimaChikarmane, Social Activist, Pune

ⁱStrategic Environmental Assessment – Chapter 1 www.punecorporation.org/pmcwebn/informpdf/Strategic_Env_Report/Chapter1.pdf accessed May 31, 2012

ⁱⁱⁱ2001 Census figures http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Dist_File/datasheet-2725.pdf and Ministry of Urban Development http://urbanindia.nic.in/theministry/subordinateoff/tcpo/CITIE_TOWN/CITIE_TOWN.PDF

^{iv}Wikipedia – List of most populous cities in India, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_most_populous_cities_in_India

^vPress Information Bureau, Govt of India, <http://pibmumbai.gov.in/scripts/detail.asp?releaseld=E2011IS3>