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URBAN GOVERNANCE AND SERVICE DELIVERY IN BANGALORE: PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP

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Abstract

The paper explores public-private partnership in the light of persistent state failure, institutional constraints, and systemic weakness, which impede the service delivery. The paper focus is on key issues: whether public-private partnership facilitate innovation, and thereby enhance quality services, and essentially pro-poor reflecting equity concerns. The study examines various types of partnership at work for service delivery in metropolitan Bangalore. The paper is presented in five sections. The first section presents conceptual understanding of PPP in urban context while second section explores empirical evidence of PPP models in Bangalore. The third section deals with outcomes in terms of Efficiency and Equity issues. Final section presents policy prescription.

Introduction

Bangalore: A City that beckons…

Bangalore is the sixth most populous[1] city in India and 43rd largest metropolis[2] in the world with a population of 60 lakhs[3] spread across 595 sq kms geographical area (2001). It is the one of the fast growing city and poised to become mega city with 88 lakhs population and 1,000 sq.kms in 2015. The city is a leading science centre with its internationally comparable educational and research institutes. It is a centre for India's space research and aviation technology. Bangalore[4] is emerged as 'Silicon Valley' of India with a booming IT industry of over 125 multi-national companies, 1150 software export companies and 1,20,000 IT professionals. The software exports from the city have been estimated to be around US $2.5 billion in 2003.

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Stress on Urban Infrastructure

With the increase of population and stimulated economic growth[5] there has been an enormous strain on the existing infrastructure[6] and service delivery. The problems related to traffic, roads, water[7], sanitation, solid waste, electricity[8] and transport in urban areas are quite acute (Sivaramakrishna and Kundu, 2005: 106; NIUA, 1995; GoI, 2005: 363). The government has neither capacity nor required finances to cope with rising demand for public services.

In this context, many governance reforms have been initiated both by state and civil society to improve the quality of governance and service delivery. The major reforms include Public Private Partnership (PPP), privatization of government activities, and partnership with civil society organizations, transparency and accountability in administration and so on. Against this backdrop, the study examines the implications of governance reforms particularly public private partnership on service delivery in terms of efficiency and equity in Bangalore.

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Public-Private Partnership for Service Delivery: Conceptual Framework

There is lack of consensus over definition of PPP. PPP is deferred as 'working arrangements based on a mutual commitment between a public sector organization with any organization outside of the public sector' (Gerrad 2001: 49; Bovaid 2004: 200). It is a contractual agreement formed between a government agency and a private sector that allows the latter in public service delivery towards financing, designing, implementing (Peirre 1999:374; Osborne 2000; Awortwi 2004: 213; Bovaid 2004: 200; DEA and ADB 2006: 17; Hodge and Greve 2007:545; Rajan 2007: 2).

PPP is innovative, flexible collaborations in which the partners are bound by shared values and mutual trust to share cost, risks, and benefits (Batley 1996; Ghere 2001: 441; Teisman and Klijn 2003: 197;

Prosper Ngowi 2006: 3; Bloomfield 2006:400). PPP is also understood in terms of inherent power dynamics shared mutually among the partners (Lister 2000:228). Power might be political information, or organizational power. PPP is alternative service delivery model to achieve efficiency and address shortages, although unlikely to replace fully traditional service deliver by governments. The partnership concept is linked to the network forms of governance, in which public actors co-opt other actors to solve the governance problems. PPP therefore, represent a new way of doing business to improve the quality and efficiency of public services.

Typology of Public-Private Partnership

PPP encompasses a range of partnerships based on (i) number of partnership involved (ii) governance level at which partnership is evolved and (iii) the objectives or purpose for which partnership is constituted (Sekar 2002: 5). Other classification include: type of partnership, size of partner (measurable in terms of funding, revenue, investments etc), extent of collaboration/level of commitment, role and functions, stage of partnership, type of actors involved, area of intervention for output, scope of partnership, organizational form, capacity in partnership, and geographic location. All these forms of partnership imply some degree of complementarity or synergy or collaboration or co-production, dialogue, contracting, co-ownership, market friendly regulation and trust between public and civic actors in pursuit of common set of social objectives (Robinson and White 2001: 107; Sansom 2006:210)).

The classification includes public-public, public-private, and public- civil society and International- development partners as shown in the chart 1. Partnership between public- public is most common to cooperate and coordinate in service delivery (Hall, *et al,* 2005: 7). The coordination between the Bangalore City Corporation (BCC)[9] and Karnataka Slum Clearance Board (KSCB) can be mentioned in this regard. The partnerships between local and central or state governments for power sharing (for setting policy priorities, policy design or planning and policy implementation) are also come under this category.

PPP in partnership with 'private' sector include interalia corporate bodies, consulting firms, contractors, maintenance companies, private investors and son on. The public-private also include: service contracts, operation and management contracts, Leasing-Buy-Build-Operate (BBO), Lease-Develop-Operate (LDO), Wrap-Around Addition (WAA), Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT), Build-Own-Operate-Transfer (BOOT) etc. Most contracts cover the finance, design, management, and maintenance obligations. These contracts are usually financed by user fees or tariffs or by government subsidies. The argument is private[10] participation results in better efficiency. The PPP helps to raise resources (funds, techno-managerial skill and expertise), innovation, cost saving and construction and commercial risk sharing, entrepreneurial spirit and improve services simultaneously.

Chart 1: Typology, Nature and Purpose of Public-Private Partnership for Service Delivery

Nature of PPP	Purpose of Partnership				
	Sector/Number of Partnerships Involved	Type of Partnership	Role of Partnership	Area of Partnership	Scope Partnership
Public- Public	Intergovernmental or Inter-Municipal	Power sharing	Supply Side	Policy Objectives	Vertical
Public-Private	Public authority with private sector	Contractual/ Out Sourcing	Demand Side	Customer Focus/Quality Services	Mixed Partnership
Public-Civil Society	Third sector	Dialogue/ Contestation	Demand Side	Empowerment/ Citizen Participation/ Monitoring	Horizontal
Public-Development	Both private and civil society	Loose Network	Mixed (both Supply & Demand side)	Social Inclusion	Mixed Partnership or PPP
Public-International	Private sector	Contractual	Supply side	Economic Productivity	Mixed Partnership or PPP

Source: Complied from different sources

The partnership with third sector such as local NGOs, community organizations, trade unions and so on (Brinkerhoff and

Brinkerhoff 2004) is to achieve transparency, accountability, social equity (Laquian 2005: 307). Partnership with NGOs or Community Based Organizations also varies depending whether primarily, a deepening role or stretching[11] role (Krishna, 2003: 365). Such engagements facilitate co-production without undue interference of government (Sansom 2006: 213).

These civic groups play a predominant role in mobilizing services, pressing for micro-policy reforms, engage in mass campaigns, demand for better services, monitor actual provision and for ensuring accountability from service providers (Chowdhury Roy 1999:1097; Jalal, 2000: 43; Robinson and White 2001: 100; Paul, *et al* 2004: 933). The horizontal engagement of public civil society is aimed to promote consultative process and prioritize service options and widen the participatory democracy. In fact, the process of decentralization has resulted in the empowerment of the common people through local-level planning and community resource mobilization. Norms of such cooperation on networks of civic engagement among ordinary citizens and public agencies are used for developmental ends and serve as socialization agents of partnership (Chowdhury Roy 1999:1098; Vigoda 2002:536; Sangita, 2005: 75) and realize collective pressure to usher policy changes. Instead of remaining passive recipients, the participation of civic groups has in fact inspired the undertaking of a unique state-citizen dialogue in a big way by '**pressurizing**' or '**lobbying'** the existing state for change. These structures are effective beyond their social role, by linking the public issues at the grassroots into the appropriate platform at the local level. The deliberative structures hope to promote civic values, civility as a precondition for governance and thereby determine their own development paradigms.

The state and international partnership include a public authority from a country (preferably high income country) enters into a partnership with a public authority with a lower income country usually to assist the latter with its development projects (Hall, *et al*, 2005: 7-8; Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2004: 254).The second type of partnership is between international partners when public authorities (Hall *et al* 2005: 6) from

different countries work together to address common set issues and agendas. These partnerships are important inter-organizational mechanism for delivering international development assistance. For instance, transnational agencies or international donor agencies like World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) or United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has major funding or contribution for infrastructure such as water supply; sanitation; energy or power sector.

Potential Drivers for Public-Private Partnership

There are many potential drivers for promoting partnership in developing countries. First, glaring infrastructure deficit, in the areas such as water supply, sanitation, local transportation, and waste treatment compel the government to opt private sector for financing, design, construction, and operation (Lquian 2005: 312). Partnership would help to overcome impediments posed by state failure, institutional constraints, and distributing costs and risk among partners. In addition, partnership constitutes the most significant methods to generate performance of essential services that tends to reflect the incorporation of market-based principles and practices into the public provisioning of services (Pinto 1998: 394). In the field of local governance, the governmental organizations are increasingly dependent on private or semi-private actors for implementation of their policies and service delivery.

Objectives and Outcomes of Public-Private Partnership

Public-Private Partnership (PPP) is recognized as the most innovative tool for resource generation, quality and better services. PPP reduces the gap of meeting increasing infrastructure needs and social exclusion. Partnership further can bring creativity, dynamic, resilient, innovation, energy, vibrant and capacity building to improve service delivery. PPP is critical in promoting innovation in technological, institutional, and organizational behaviors and practices in service delivery.

The objectives of PPP in service delivery vary with wider political and private interest. The PPP promotes clear customer focus through reduced cost, faster services, and improved service quality. Further, PPP

promotes greater efficiency in terms of improved coverage, access and enhanced social service (Cook and Minogue 1990: 398; Kaul 1997: 21; Brown and Potoski, 2006:657; Bloomfield, 2006:401). PPP ensures recovery of user charges by better risk allocation and procure additional revenue streams. Thus, PPP is seen as the best way, to govern the complex relations and interactions in a modern network society (Teisman and Klijn 2002: 198). The chart 2 clearly enumerates the objectives.

Chart 2: Objectives and Outcomes of PPP

Objectives	Outcomes
Service Efficiency or effectiveness	a. Efficient mode of Improved service delivery b. Improved coverage and access to services c. Promotion of equity in service delivery
Mobilization and Capacity Building	a. Public awareness programs and training methods
Accountability and Transparency	a. E-governance or e-services b. Simplification of procedures
Civic Participation and Citizen engagement	a. Consultative process with citizens and other stakeholders b. Public or interactive or redressal forums
Equity of Services	a. Measured locally in terms of access, standards, or level of services and affordability

PPP enable mobilization of resources and capacity building (through sharing skill, management, expertise, new-technology and training programs). PPP symbolizes market driven competition, risk sharing, and transparency (Brown and Potoski, 2006: 666; Bloomfield, 2006: 401). PPP ultimate goal is to obtain more 'value for money' (Ranjan 2007: 2) and thereby safeguard consumer and public interest.

Constraints for PPP

The major constraints for PPP are: fragmentation, duplication, heterogeneity and uncertain outcomes. Power relationship in

partnership is often asymmetrical and less ambivalence. The most vexed issues of a partnership approach are fragmented structures and processes, blurring responsibilities and accountability. Effective coordination in partnership seems to be the area of contention which includes: duplication of services, heterogeneous approaches, competition for resources, lack of integration, corruption, inter-institutional coordination, bureaucratization, and dependence (Robinson and White 2001: 103; Krishna 2003: 368). Key concerns include poor framework, lack of clarity, inadequate capacity to manage the process, and an overly narrow transaction focus (Ghere, 2000: 448; Bloomfield, 2006:410).

Public authority in partnership is eclipsed in its traditional weakness of monitoring and evaluation. Public authorities rarely have access to such resources leading to weak relations. They also do not have adequate control over the PPP, especially for local contracts with private sector involved in the provisioning of urban services that likely to result in higher cost to local taxpayers (Bloomfield, 2006:402;Hodge and Greve 2007: 553). The long-term partnership entitling innovative methods of financing public facilities are susceptible to transparency problems (Ghere, 2000: 448; Bloomfiled, 2006: 403) and within-partnership coordination costs are a major challenge to successful PPPs. Staff reduction or downsizing leads to mistrust and poor management. Tariff increase, layoffs, and poor stakeholder's coordination have contributed for its weakness. Further, private investors are basically profit-oriented. PPPs tend to focus on markets where revenues are easily generated. The poor are often excluded from PPPs because of institutional constrains that prevent the development of an attractive market that involves the poor (Robinson and White 2001: 104; Laquian 2005: 312; Leung and Hui 2005: 14).

Many PPPs have failed due to strong opposition from civil society, local media, and other stakeholders. Even in the absence of this bias, governments often lack the financial resources and the technical

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capacities to provide services to the poor. Partnership would be further marginalised the poor as they focus on markets for profits. Further, the availability of private financing for infrastructure projects has essentially provided governments an opportunity to use a 'mega-credit' card to charge on infrastructure deals (Hodge and Greve 2007: 552). Lastly, the partnership projects have generally undermined the significance of local cultural ethos. Overcoming these institutional constrains often require innovative solutions and an inclusive partnership that will bring in all relevant stakeholders.

Enabling Conditions for Public-Private Partnership

The full potential of PPP can be achieved by careful planning and application through a clear framework for partnerships. Governments need to work on accountable and transparent structures to formulate and enforce. First the establishment of proactive mechanisms (such as ombudsman, ethical training, and citizen grievances processes) would ensure partnership legitimacy. Second, PPP needs to do preparatory work defining procedure (specificities), tasks, quality indicators and monitoring process. Improved and more independent regulation of public utilities is achieved by an effective entry point for future well defined PPP contracts (Sansom 2006:215). Some necessary pre-requisites include strong political commitment, transparency and consistency of policy, effective regulation, careful design of the contract with appropriate risk apportionment and attention to cost recovery, and clearly defined stakeholder roles, project financing, and extent of competition. And creation of a good information base is also an important factor. Feedback and consultations with citizens, labour unions, relevant government agencies, private investors, civil society organizations, and media will ensure support, client focus, and overall improved implementation of PPP and protect public interest.

Thus successful PPP stems from the nature of goods and services produced and depends on transformation of inputs into outputs and tradeoffs that partnership face (Orts, 1996: 1080; Rudolph,
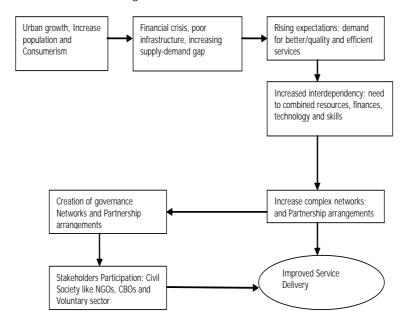
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2000: 1768). Further, the successful partnership depends on the form of rates paid to public officials and the opportunity costs facing citizens for inputs like knowledge, skills and time (Ostrom, 1996: 1081). Finally, effective conflict resolution, contradicting social and political goals, complicated contractual agreements, expertise, consultation, cooperation and attending to their suggestions are all potential areas of concern.

Public-Private Partnership in Urban Context

Cities of the world experience tremendous pressure in terms of management and operation of urban systems as well as service delivery. Important changes are taking place in the governance of cities in developing countries, one of the important being the proliferation of various forms of networks and partnership between public-private and civil society. Many urban reforms such as partnerships with public-private and civil society organisations are introduced to improve quality of governance and service delivery. The broad stakeholders in this reform process include differing in sectors and levels. Changes in rules, norms and values, practices have been brought to facilitate coordination among various agencies to improve efficiency. Privatisation, decentralisation, restructuring of departments and administrative procedures, laws and regulations, social audit, e-governance, citizen charter, redressal grievances, transparency and sound personnel policies constituted major strategies of urban governance reform (World Bank, 2003). Many Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) introduce innovations to improve billing and collection, rationalisation of service charges, simplifications of tax assessment system, computerization of services, and improved accounting and financial management systems.

New Partnership Situation

The emergence of partnership and networks in urban context can be shown in the following illustration.

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┌──────────────────┐     ┌──────────────────┐     ┌──────────────────┐
│ Urban growth,    │     │ Financial crisis,│     │ Rising expectations; │
│ Increase         │────▶│ poor             │────▶│ demand for better/   │
│ population and   │     │ infrastructure,  │     │ quality and efficient│
│ Consumerism      │     │ increasing       │     │ services             │
│                  │     │ supply-demand gap│     │                      │
└──────────────────┘     └──────────────────┘     └──────────────────┘
                                                            │
                                                            ▼
                                                  ┌──────────────────┐
                                                  │ Increased        │
                                                  │ interdependency; │
                                                  │ need to combined │
                                                  │ resources,       │
                                                  │ finances,        │
                                                  │ technology and   │
                                                  │ skills           │
                                                  └──────────────────┘
                                                            │
                                                            ▼
┌──────────────────┐                             ┌──────────────────┐
│ Creation of      │                             │ Increase complex │
│ governance       │◀────────────────────────────│ networks; and    │
│ Networks and     │                             │ Partnership      │
│ Partnership      │                             │ arrangements     │
│ arrangements     │                             └──────────────────┘
└──────────────────┘                                        │
         │                                                  ▼
         ▼                                            ╭─────────────╮
┌──────────────────┐                                 │  Improved   │
│ Stakeholders     │                                 │  Service    │
│ Participation:   │────────────────────────────────▶│  Delivery   │
│ Civil Society    │                                 ╰─────────────╯
│ like NGOs, CBOs  │
│ and Voluntary    │
│ sector           │
└──────────────────┘
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1. The rising expectations of citizens challenged in the existing service delivery processes both in terms of participation and quality of services. The demands are no longer met in isolation by government alone.

2. Numerous inter-governmental networks, alliances and partnership arrangements are developed. These in turn would create complex arrangements and processes.

3. Due to private sector participation, alternative service arrangements are defined and experiments are carried out through partnerships.

4. Increase in multi-stakeholders partnership representing people voice and dialogue.

Public-Private Partnership:
Empirical Evidence from Bangalore City

Pubic versus Pubic Partnership (Networking/Vertical Partnership)

Partnership among various government agencies has been evolved to address the changing needs of growth and development of Bangalore. City Improvement Trust Board (CITB) in 1945 and later Bangalore Metropolitan Planning Board (BMPB) in 1961 was responsible for preparation of master plan for Bangalore (Heitzman 2004: 48). In their place, Bangalore Development Authority (BDA) came into existence in 1976. The BDA prepared Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP) in 1985 to promote inter-agency coordination. Bangalore Metropolitan Regional Development Authority (BMRDA) was set up in 1985 to plan, coordination and supervise orderly development of the Bangalore Metropolitan Region (8721 Kms). State departments like Urban Development Department (UDD), Directorate of Municipal Administration (DMA) and the State Town Planning Directorate (STPD) State Town Planning Board (STPB) and Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development and Finance Corporation (KUIDFC) are responsible for policy, supervision and coordination. Major private and and public planning bodies such as Nandi (Mysore Highway Corridor)-Bangalore Mysore International Corridor Planning Authority (BMICPA), BIALI for construction of New International Airport-Bangalore International Airport Planning Authority (BIAPPA) and IT corridor are involved in planning and development activities in the city. The problem of vertical networking is compounded with poor inter-governmental coordination and fragmented interventions. To overcome this, Bangalore Agenda Task Force (BATF) was constituted to mobilize resources, improve infrastructure and transform Bangalore a better performing metropolis.

BATF and Partnership (Policy Formulation, Enforcement and Implementation)

BATF[12] is one of the most exciting and fruitful experiments in public-private partnership, which perhaps the first ever in independent India. To develop Bangalore as class one city of the country by 2004 and strengthen its position as an engine for Karnataka's economic growth, BATF[13] was constituted in the year 2000. It consisted of 15 members representing government, corporate sector and civil society. The BATF represented entrepreneurial class influencing public policy space as partners in setting the urban agendas as well as implementation (Heitzman 2004: 103; Raghunath and Sen 2003: 206). Over the years, the BATF has been silent catalyst translating its mandate into action projects and creation systems to enable PPP for realizing the city's potential.

BATF worked with 7 civic stakeholders (BMP, BDA, BWSSB, BCP, BMTC, BESCOM, and BSNL)[14]. BATF assisted them in implementation of short-term and long-term projects. In addition BATF undertook projects on its own initiative to build credibility with the stakeholders and show case best practices (BATF, 2003). Such experiment has enabled the stakeholders to access skills and resources of the various civic and administrative stakeholders. These efforts aimed efficiency, cost effective implementation projects and schemes that encouraged participation of public and private sectors, professionals and citizen groups for enhancing quality of life for the city of B'lore. The thrust areas of BATF include: Up-gradation of infrastructure; public health and sanitation; roads and traffic; and introduction of local financial reforms.

Urban Infrastructure and Upgradation: BATF Partnership

With the partnership of BATF, BDA developed infrastructure facilities like ring roads, fly-overs, grade separators, parks and lakes and other infrastructure facilities. These were undertaken at cost of Rs 300- 400 crores without any assistance from the state government and other civic bodies (BDA, 2004: 32). These projects have been completed with in 18 to 24 months. These enabled BDA to turn out financially vibrant and developed the quality city infrastructure with no burden on the citizens. Further, BDA allotted 40,000 housing sites were during 2000 to 2003.

The Bangalore city police introduced many changes primarily on prevention of crime and maintaining of traffic management, with the help of BATF. Police force has created innovative solutions to address the city's traffic problems through one-ways. Under the guidance of BATF, many citizen-friendly initiatives such as 'Pay and Park' facility was installed in 95 locations. This enabled BMTC to earn over 1.25 crore revenue per year. BATF with BMTC constructed 100-125 bus shelters on BOT basis at no cost. BMTC earned over 1.25 crore revenue per annum carrying 25 lakh passengers everyday. The introduction service centres (information-cum-complaint lodging system) by BMTC enabled passengers to enquire about bus routes, arrivals and departures (BATF 2003). In addition, 40 Modern High-Tech Bus Shelters were constructed along Outer Ring Road. Other highlights of the period were installation of 647 new power transformers, installation of 1.3 lakh new telephone connections, introduction of one-way traffic on major roads, a modern fingerprint system for crime detection, renovation of five ground-level reservoirs and allocation of 5,000 housing sites. The BATF in collaboration with the BMP, the Bangalore Traffic Police and the BMTC has taken up a Central Area Traffic Management Plan (CATMP). This has helped to some extent in reducing air pollution, travel time and fuel consumption, and make pedestrian crossings safe.

Public Health and Sanitation: BATF Efforts

BATF partnership has resulted in defining a new approach to health, sanitation, solid waste collection and management. The introduction of door-to-door collection of garbage, as part of the 'Swachha Bangalore' campaign has been one of the most successful initiatives. BATF is also responsible for the creation of help line to register citizen complaints and monitor garbage collection. The BATF is involved in the facilitation of scientific plans for sanitary landfills. Similarly under 'Nirmala Bangalore' 30 out of 100 '**pay and use**' toilets were constructed with the support of corporate sector. Funds to the tune of Rs 35 lakhs for each toilet were donated by the corporate sector which includes the Shuchi Mitras, local volunteers who monitor the sanitation work in their areas, and waste minimisation measures.

Financial Reforms and BATF

BATF along with BMP has also undertaken a number of citizen friendly initiatives like the introduction of the Sarala Katha Scheme (SKS), easy plan (Sulabha Nakshe) for sanction of building plans, setting up a computerized complaints management system, easily accessible round the clock control room and Self-Assessment Scheme (SAS) of property tax. Although the exact numbers are not known, the BMP officials claim that the citizen's response has been very good for SKS. Bangalore thus became the first city in India to adopt a comprehensive unit area method based, property tax assessment scheme. The BATF has contributed in developing communication strategy, delivery mechanism and computerization of data. The Kannada name of the scheme, Swayam Ghosane, was coined by BATF. Also, BATF funded the communication initiatives of BMP to the extent of Rs.36.8 lakhs (Raghunath and Sen 2003: 207).

In 2002-03, about 2000 Khata booklets were sold. Besides, Fund Based Accounting System (FBAS)[15] was introduced in the area of accounting and budgeting reforms and along with various stakeholders viz. BMP, BCP and BMTC formed a mechanism to address the tax problems in Bangalore (BATF, 2003). As a result the BMP property tax collection had gone up to Rs 200 crores from Rs. 100 crores within 3 years. A thorough revised financial module was done with all required technical inputs. These measures have helped to mobilize additional resources.

Urban Government and Civil Society Partnership

The partnership between government and civil society in Bangalore can be classified into two categories as shown in the chart 3. In the first category, the government and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have come together to set priorities and formulate, implement and monitor policies and programmes. In the second category, the CSOs are undertaking various programmes on their own without collaborating with government. Some of the organizations have contested the government actions by mobilising and empowering the people to raise their voice. These civic groups exhibited a range of organizational forms which include the loose debating style, the entrepreneurial style, and

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the confederation of neighbourhood interests. Such 'third force' activism reflects augmentation of social capital that articulated collective visions of urban based problems and offer solutions. (Heitzman 2004: 110).

The government has collaborated with civic groups for policy formulation, implementation and monitoring. The organizations like 'Janaagraha' and 'Swabhiman' collaborated with BMP in setting agenda and identifying the needs of citizen. While NGOs like, AVAS and CIVIC mobilised slum dwellers through 'Slum Jagruthu' programme. To promote policy and action planning consultation, UNCHS funded CIVIC on urban management programme (Heitzman 2004: 160). Community Based Organizations, NGOs and residential associations raised their voice and local concerns for the provisioning of services. (Paul, 2004) NGOs like 'Centre for Environment Education', 'Bangalore Environment Trust', INTACH, Exnora and Shanthinagar Residential Associations have set the dialogue and provide engineering and technical inputs to BMP for improving Integrated Solid Waste Management. A citizen-local government initiative for cleaner, greener and safe Bangalore was launched by 'Swabhimana' (Nair 2005: 114). Citizens groups like CIVIC and others aimed to empower citizens with the Right to Information Act (RTI) and vision campaigns. Initiatives have been taken by corporate sector like Wipro and Intel software companies in education through I-shiksha services (a network of computer tools) to enhance teaching and learning process. Similarly, the Rag-pickers Education and Development Scheme (REDS); and the Tata Council for Community Initiatives worked on community programmes for the city (Heitzman 2004: 162).

Public and civil society partnership has also brought through public hearings forums for providing services like electricity, water, and so on. Nearly 3591 cases related to water disputes, non-receipt of bills, metering faults, were resolved during 2001-2005 through water adalats conducted by BWSSB. NGOs were also involved in educating citizen about citizen charters to redress grievances through inter-voice recording system, RTI cell (Right to Information) and so on. Some of the citizen groups like Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs, Samudaya and Kannada Shakti Kendras have redefined urban space by mobilizing social class and promote civic

activism. To this effect, BATF, PAC (Public Affairs Centre) and CIVIC shared the concern for the management of city. NGOs like CIVIC, Citizen's Action group and Bangalore Environment Trust, and Nagarlok were involved in legal activism against BMP for the poor state of transportation, private use of public spaces (Nair2005: 196).

Chart 3: State- Civil Society Synergy for Public Service Delivery

Activities	Group	Organization Form	Strategies	Outcomes Efficiency/ Sustainability
Empowerment: Information and Awareness	Public Affairs Centre	Entrepreneurial	**Strategies** Report card surveys	Citizen Feedback; Responsiveness; Awareness; Information Dissemination; and Accountability
Citizen Mobilization	Janagraaha[18]	Loose Debating	"**Representative Democracy**" to "**Participative Democracy**"	Public debate, periodical summits and civic awareness
Citizen Participation	Udhyana Bengaluru	Environmental Protect/ Ecological Concern	Tree plantation and garbage disposal.	(b) Preservation and improvement of the City's environment and ecology. Institutionalize Door-Door garbage collection
Empowerment of Citizens	CIVIC (Citizens Voluntary Initiative for the City	Loose Debating	City Visioning and Strategic Planning Consultation (CIVIC) Civic sense through '**Customer Mela**', and '**Slum Jagathu**' slum revitalization prog-ram, and RTI (Right to Information) and accountability.	'Stakeholders Forum' and a 'Stakeholder Fund' mobilize citizens for planning, administration and city management
Empowerment of Women	Institute for Social Science (ISS)	Academic/ think-tank inputs	Build leadership capacities.	Effective PRIs Administrative aspects and delivery of services
Empowerment of Wards	Participatory Budget	Devolution of Powers	(a) Janaagraha, and PROOF (Public Record of Operations and Finance) and '**Ward Vision Campaign**' [19]	(a) Citizen's empowerment

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Activities	Group	Organization Form	Strategies	Outcomes Efficiency/ Sustainability
Slum Empowerment Community Mobilization	Voluntary Action and Service (AVAS).	Community Interest	Slum up gradation and Revival	Build strong and self-reliant communities, civic sense, Policy intervention, Citizen Directory
Community Mobilization and Empowerment	Centre for Environment Education (CEE); Residental Association and Waste	Neibhourhood Green Interest	Solid Waste Management	Civic group participation, Public Health and Solid Waste Management
Mobilization of Neighbourhood	The 'Karnataka Local Fund Authorities Fiscal Responsibility Act 2003'	Devolution of Powers	Fiscal Accountability	Mobilize people and neighborhood
Community Mobilization	RISE (Residential Association)	Neibhourhood Interest	Environmental protection	Community mobilization
Monitoring/ Performance Evaluation	Social Audit	Devolution of Powers	Review and evaluate the performance	Visionary Reforms
Monitoring	Sulabh Nakshe (Easy Plan)- Sarala Katha- Building Bye-Laws. Citizens Charter	ICT (Information and Communication Technology)	Centralized Computerized complaints	Electronic Clearance System facility, 24 Kiosks, Quick response, grievance redressal s high-tech, 24 hrs Intra-Voice Recording System (IVRS).
Performance Monitoring	PROOF (Public Record Of Operations and Finance)[20]	Loose Debating	Performance measures	Information dissemination and transparency
Tracking Ward Work; Supervision/ Monitoring	Bangalore Environment Support Group (BESG)	Neibhourhood Ecological/Green Movement	Mobilize Community and Neighborhood	Environmental Protection; Tracking ward work; Prevent tree cutting/felling, public hearings, and mobilized neighborhoods
Effective Monitoring Practices	Shanthinagar (Ward 70) Residential Association	Neibhourhood Interest	'Integrated Sustainable Waste Management (ISWM)'	Effective monitoring, Solid Waste Management Practices; Community Neighborhood mobilization, Information dissemination, education and awareness, people's participation; recycle of waste

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Activities	Group	Organization Form	Strategies	Outcomes Efficiency/ Sustainability
Collective Action/	Adopt Park	Neibhourhood Interest	Community and Neighbourhood Mobilization	10 municipal wards, Empowering Community
Implementation Implementation and Supervision	Swabhiman	Neibhourhood Green Movement	Community mobilization	PPP-Solid Waste Management, Capacity building of Pourakarminkas. Swabhimana', A Peoples Movement for Cleaner Bangalor

Ward Committees and Partnership

The 74th Constitutional Amendment Act 1993[16] facilitated state-civil society partnership in provisioning of services (Subha and Bhargava 1999; Sekhar, 2005). This arrangement has given legitimacy to the civic groups and improved the credibility of BMP[17]. This has facilitated efficient delivery of services and empowered the ULBs. Civic groups like 'Jaanagraha', 'Civic' and 'Proof' are involved in participatory budgeting practices at grass-roots level.

III

Partnership and Privatisation (Outsourcing and Efficiency)

Public Private Partnership (PPP) has been classified into three categories namely (i) Contracting/Outsourcing (ii) BOT and (iii) private participation for public good as shown in the chart. In the first category, activities like sweeping, garbage collection and disposal and transportation have been outsourced. In the second category, maintenance of roads, bus shelters, sewerage treatment plants and water connections have been outsourced. Parks and parking facilities were privatized and user charges were collected. Thirdly, infrastructural facilities such as police stations, bus shelters were provided with the financial assistance from corporate houses.

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BATF with BMTC constructed 100-125 bus shelters on BOT basis at no cost. Further, BWSSB have recruited administrative staff on contract basis. In 2003, BWSSB has contracted out water supply leakage detection services to private organization for 229 kms.

Public Health and Sanitation in BMP and daily maintenance of Sewerage Treatment Plants (STPs) has been contracted out. Physical infrastructure (Buildings, Computers and so on) and human capital (Capacity building/Training of teachers) in educational health and police departments were provided with the assistance of corporate sector.

Chart 4: Public Private Partnership: Privatisation of Public Services in Bangalore

Department	Activities	Form of Partnership	Coverage	Mechanism	Outcomes/ Efficiency
Water Supply Administration Un-accounted for Water	Security guards, Computer Operators, Car-Drivers Leakage Detection	Contract Out Contract Out	Main Brach of BWSSB Office 35 sq.kms covering Five Service Stations and 40,000 connections	There are 572 contract-based workers since 8 years. Mostly lift-operators, car drivers, data entry operators and GIS staff are managing the administrative work. Contract for leak detection (2004) was to extent for 229 sq.kms at the cost of Rs. 4,50 crores for the entire city.	(a) Efficiency levels in BWSSB had gone up from 78 t to 82 t to 95 per cent (b) Economical, satisfactory with no performance liability.
Public Health & Sanitation Sewerage Treatment Plant (STP)	O&M of STP major and minor repairs Supply of spares and consumables Supply natural water bodies	Contract Out	STPs (covering 5 major and 2 minor STPs.	There are 5 STP. The daily maintenance is contracted out for 3 years. For rehabilitation works and delivering secondary effluents.	(a) Efficiently managed. (b) Cost saving and no large staff c) Economy
Solid Waste Management Sweeping, Garbage collection, disposal and Transportation Toilets	Road Sweeping, Removal of debris, Garbage collection, disposal, maintenance of SW, drains, Spraying of Insecticides etc Construction & Maintenance of Community Toilets	Contract Out Contract Out	183 Health Wards Nirmal Toilets 26 in number	The Contracting Out since 1986 onwards. There are 7,000 contract workers. Contracting in 82 packages. based on competitive tenders. Supervised by 30 Medical Officers- Each Zone 10 Medical Officers and Health Inspectors and Technical support rendered by local NGOs and Residential associations	(a) Maintenance efficiency (b) Economical and Less Expenditure (C) Efficiency is 100 per cent; No strike, No additional staff (d) Resulting 20-25 per cent of revenue saving. (e) Collection of User charges ; Increase in Revenue (C) Construction of Nirmal Toilets worth Rs. 24 crores (Infosys Foundation)

Department	Activities	Form of Partnership	Coverage	Mechanism	Outcomes/ Efficiency
Development of Parks and Gardens	Develop large number of parks/gardens/open spaces all over Bangalore	Contract Out	Within the jurisdiction of BCC	(a) Adoption of parks/gardens by institutions/NGOs/residential associations. (b) Maintenance by Private agencies. (c) There are about 581 open spaces, 435 parks (large and small). (d) 211 Contracts for maintenance of parks in the city.	(a) The cost-saving per Park (b) Ensures better maintenance, prevent over-staffing and increase the functional efficiency/control
Educational Facilities	To provide Infrastructure facilities to schools.	Contract Out	To 8000 schools	'Dattu Yojana' or 'Adopt a School' programme provided by private participation in 8000 schools at a cost of Rs. 56.45 lakhs.	(a) Better Infrastructure; better performance and quality of education.
Road Maintenance & Street lights, Bus Shelters	Repair and Maintenance, Repairs and operation through 36 Contracts	Contract Out	The entire BMP Jurisdiction (100 wards)	36 contract packages for Operate, undertake minor repairs and arrange manpower for repairs. They are also subject to penalty if the proportion of non-working lights is more than 5 per cent and repairs must be done within 12 hours.	(a) There are over 1,82,000 lights in Bangalore of which 50,000 are Sodium Vapour Lamps. And 1,00,000 tube light fittings. Cost effective and saving on large establishment (b) Avoid pilferage in material use and minimum energy loss c) No staff strike

Source: Details of Privatization of Civic Amenities was collected from BMP and other public utilities

Transparency and Partnership

Government has also involved private organizations in providing e-services through e-governance for quick and quality services (Krishna 2003:368; Sangita and Bikash 2005: 2). Government has been providing multiple hassle free services at one place for 24 hours through the citizen service centres known as Bangalore One (B1) with the private vendor's participation. Nearly 24 kiosks and 57 service stations were installed in 2005 (The Hindu 2004). Facilities like getting of a death/birth certificates, payment of water bill, passport application or lodge a complaint and make miscellaneous payments are available in these centres. Similarly, partnerships with BATF, procedures were simplified for issue of licenses, approvals and certificates. For instances, the Sarala Khata scheme taken up with the BATF is to simplify procedures for obtaining title deeds within the stipulated time. BMP brought out manuals like 'Sulabha Naksha' (easy plan), 'Sarala Kata' (building by-laws) for easy access of services. Approximately, 60 percent of the tax payers connected to this option. The new method increased tax collection from Rs/ 113.00 crore in 1999-2000 to Rs. 157.00 crore in 2000-01.

Infrastructural facilities (network of computer tools) have been improved in educational and other institutions with the support of corporate sector. On similar line, BCP (Bangalore City Police) introduced 'Simputers' to record violations of traffic. BESCOM (Bangalore Electricity Supply Company) set up Electronic Clearance System (ECS) at 39 sub-divisions for easy payment bills.

Outcomes: Efficiency

Efficiency levels of service delivery has improved and shown results in some of the public utilities in Bangalore. By limiting manpower and outsourcing its activities, the efficiency levels in BWSSB had gone up from 78 per cent to 82 per cent and further to 95 per cent. While BDA per capita productivity went up from Rs. 21 lakhs to Rs.1 crore, salary as percentage of budget dropped from 7 per cent to 3 per cent. Through contract out maintenance of streetlights by BMP resulted to avoid pilferage in material use and minimum energy loss and increase in efficiency level to 95 per cent as compared to 45 per cent earlier. It helped to avoid pilferage in material use and minimum energy loss (Urban Finance 2004;

Sangita 2006: 49-50). Corruption and harassment of the common man has declined in registration deeds after the introduction of Kauvery software, and has ensured the speedy delivery and better access to information. The study conducted by PAC and BATF provides ample evidence of increasing satisfaction levels of citizens over the years (shown in Figure 1 and 2).

Figure 1
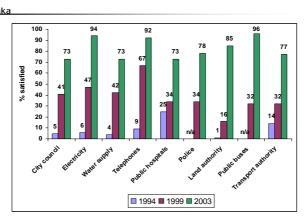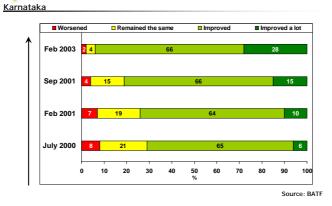

Improvements in Satisfaction: Public Services in Bangalore

Karnataka

Figure 2

Trends: Services in Bangalore

Karnataka

Source: BATF

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Equity and Service Delivery

Privatisation adversely affects the interests of the vulnerable sections and backward regions in having access to government resources and employment. The basic services like water, sanitation and electricity provided by the private organisations and contractor may not be available to the disadvantaged and backward regions. Even their number in government employment may also come down with the shrinking state. Such a situation may lead to social tensions, which are manifested in the form of radical movements over sharing resources and jobs (sons of the soil and mandal agitation) in the past. Social networks and partnership do not guarantee greater effectiveness in the social sphere. Civil society is highly biased towards higher income and educated middle class. Information asymmetries, principle-agent problem and the problem of sustainability affect minority group adversely in making their voices heard (Merrien, 1998: 64). Studies like Chandhoke (2005) in Delhi found that the citizens repose little faith on civil society institutions as saviour of their problems and prefer the government (state) for solutions. Similar study by Harris (2005) in Delhi concluded that poorer and less educated are more likely to seek political parties and government support to solve their problems rather than civil society.

Partnerships have a limited impact on urban poor in Bangalore. In spite of BWSSB all-round performance, the availability of water to the poor and low-income group is very low. In a study of five slums in Bangalore, it was found that the water consumption was only 25 per cent of the city average which was less than half the water norm fixed by public health engineers. One-third of the population has only partial or no access to potable water (Subramanium 1988; Benjamin 2000). It was found that Bangalore slum population depends upon public fountains many of which supply contaminated water due to poor maintenance and broken pipes. Two out of five slums (studied in 1996) had no water supply. Most get water from public fountains (Loes-Schenk 1996).

Access to other services such as toilets in Bangalore is also not satisfactory. An official report for 1994 stated that there were 113,000

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houses without any latrines, while 17,500 had dry latrines (Benjamin 2000: 39). In another study of 22 slums (Loes-Schenk 1996) 9 had no latrine facilities. Similarly, while addressing the infrastructure needs, the lofty ideals and aims of BATF did not trickle down the benefits of its activities to the poorer sections in the city (Ghosh 2005). Further, ward committees do not constitute effective platform for interface between citizens and representatives, as the latter do not have awareness about their respective ward office and their representatives (Sekhar 2005). The satisfaction levels of service among the poor was not very high. PPP strategy has failed to address the basic needs and problems of the poor satisfactorily. Partnerships tend to be ad hoc, donor-dependent, and loosely coordinated, highly supply-driven rather than end-user and limited in scope to impact on poverty reduction.

IV

Policy Prescriptions

Vibrant partnership is an essential paradigm with a mission to modernise the city of Bangalore. Local governance reforms highlight the critical importance of partnership in the negotiation, delivery and monitoring of services. The new trend of partnership represents culture of new deliberative forums impacting on policy institutions. This is understood in the context of competing social demands that pressurise for public action/ policies. Despite tangible accomplishments, the above findings clearly demonstrate the fact that nexus through PPP do not by itself guarantee equity and holistic participation. PPP alone is not a panacea, rather it is one tool, and government has at their disposal for service delivery – a tool that needs careful application. The government is committed to empower citizens with more opportunities to influence public services in ways that are relevant and meaningful to them, and in ways that will make a real difference to services.

An important prerequisite for partnership and reforms to be effective is ensure that citizens are equipped with knowledge, skills and confidence to play an active role in public dialogue, consultation and

local decision making. Only then, they can scrutinize public services, hold them to account and help them to improve. To this end, the government must support capacity building; scale up citizen governance. The bottom line: interventions through innovative models such as partnerships must adequately ensure the provisioning of services to poor for better urban governance. Greater attention must be paid to broaden decision making process that determine distribution pattern and deepen to include low income communities in service delivery systems and thereby contribute for poverty reduction.

Notes

1. The density varies from 25 persons/Ha to more than 1000 persons/Ha. Worker's participation rate is more than 30 per cent . There are 3538 schools in the city, with nearly 1.3 million students. The 21 engineering colleges in the city makes it the highest in the world for any city. The literacy rate is more than 80 per cent.

2. The area of metropolitan Bangalore is less than 0.5 per cent area of the State. Yet it supports 30 per cent of the urban population of Karnataka.

3. According to Census 2001, the current population of Bangalore is 5,686,844 with exponential growth rate of 3.20. It is also observed that the core city of Bangalore is fast growing than periphery city. The growth rate of core of the city during 1991-2001 is 3.09 and 4.18 (Sivaramakrishnan and Amitab Kundu 2005: 41-43).

4. Bangalore (Head Quarter of the state government) epitomizes the growth of global economy in the south India, concentration of direct foreign investment and networked transnational institutions with its overwhelming workforce.

5. The share of the urban sector in the GDP increased from 29 per cent in 1951 to 37 per cent in 1971. A further increase was during 1990-91 in which the contribution of urban centers was estimated to be 50 per cent. In the year 2001 the urban centers contributed 60 per cent of national wealth. It is also estimated that by 2021, the level of urbanization would be 35-40 per cent, and GDP contribution would range between 72-75 per cent (Gupta 2004: 1).

6. Infrastructure is generally defined as the physical framework of facilities through which goods and services are provided to the public.

7. For instance the per capita availability is as low as 80 to 110 lpcd as against 150 lpcd as per national standards. Less number of hours; higher connection rates; highly erratic and insufficient supply. The wastage of water accounts around 30 to 35 percent.

8. For more information on infrastructure and urban development please visit Social Infrastructure and Environment: Urban Development (http://www.adb.org/Documents/CAPs/IND/0302.asp).

9. Throughout the paper Bangalore City Corporation (BCC) and its official name in regional language-Bangalore Mahanagarapalike (BMP) are interchangeably used.

10. PPP is considered to be the first step towards privatization.

11. Stretching role corresponds to the idea prescribed by Brinkeroff (2002) describing 'contracting' and 'extension', as opposed to true partnership (Krishna, 2003:365).

12. PPP – synergy is an essential paradigm such as BATF between state and civil society with a mission towards modernization in the city of Bangalore and particularly to improvise the inter-sector coordination.

13. The genesis of the task force was through a vision, which was translated into reality by the then Chief Minister, Shri S.M. Krishna. In this regard, BATF, served as facilitator between state and civil society.

14. BMP- Bangalore Mahanagarapalike, BDA-Bangalore Development Authority, BWSSB-Bangalore Water Supply and Sewerage Board, BCP-Bangalore City Police, BMTC-Bangalore Metropolitan Transport Corporation, BESCOM-Banglore Electricity Supply, and BSNL-Bangalore Sanchar Nigam Limited).

15. Fund Based Accounting (FBAS) system for the BMP involving over Rs.1.7 crores and 300,000 men-hours that allows accurate user cost tracking, asset-liability and budgetary control.

16. In Karnataka, after the reorganization of the state (1956) a comprehensive Municipal Act was passed in 1964 to create Municipal bodies and empower them to perform civic functions. In 1976 a separate Act was passed creating City Corporations. For the first time in India, local bodies acquired constitutional status for local self-governance, thereby spreading democracy at the grass-root level in conformity to good governance.

17. Rau, (2004). One agency can't handle unwieldy Bangalore, Times of India, August 17, p.15.

18. For more information on the activities of Janaagraha in Bangalore City visit (www.Janaagraha.org).

19. One of the spillover goals of this campaign is to get people to re-engage with their communities, and foster a collective sense of ownership over the city.

20. Please refer to PROOF: The Citizen-Government bridge Bangalore Municipality's fourth quarter results round up and other updates from the city' Public Records of Operations and Finance (PROOF) campaign. (http://www.indiatogether.org 2004/jun/gov-munibudg.htm).

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