



Urbanisation - Poverty - Climate Change

A SYNTHESIS REPORT - INDIA

Volume I



November, 2013

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This synthesis report forms deliverable of Asian Cities Climate Change Resilience Network (ACCCRN, www.acccrn.org) India Phase III.

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ABOUT THIS REPORT

1.1 BACKGROUND

The cities across the developing world are facing the challenges of rapid urbanization, growing poverty and climate change related risks. Most of the cities are already facing hydro-meteorological risks-both high intensity disasters like floods and cyclones as well as perpetual challenges like water scarcity and health.

The developing countries have are still facing rapid population growth, resulting in reducing per capita natural resource availability (land, fisheries, forests etc.). Rapid urbanization is creating point-sources of demands in already resource scarce areas (e.g. semi-arid regions). Also, the cities already facing resource and service inadequacy cannot take additional stress, without rising conflicts over services. High land prices have marginalized slum dwellers to high risk areas with inadequate and often unsafe lifeline services resulting in higher disaster and environmental health risks.

Expansion of cities have resulted in ever increasing demands for land, water, food energy and other basic needs like housing and industrial goods to support the growing population. With limited investments available with the local bodies, most cities are unable to provide services to meet the existing and growing demands, where a significant section of the urban society lives in poor living conditions. Slums and low income settlements with limited or no access to lifeline services have increased the vulnerability of the poor arising out of any changes in the environment. The push migration from the rural hinterlands due to narrowing of livelihood base, amplified by recurrent droughts and floods, further stresses the city's lifeline infrastructure. The climate change is expected to exacerbate the risks in the infrastructure/resource deficit urban environments across the country.

Indian urban challenge can be analysed through framework of Legacy-Current context-Future issues. Legacy of very dense pockets of enclave villages and irregular settlements lacking basic infrastructure (e.g. roads, water supply, and sewerage), essential services, control over resources like water, land use and development control regulations are faced by almost every Indian city. Conflicting demands for sustaining population growth and need for industrial growth to sustain the economy are pressing current issues that need to be addressed in the context of emerging demands on sustaining the cities. These

past and current issues are resulting in vulnerability of significant proportion of urban population. Shrinkage of livelihood options in rural areas combined with low skill levels of people creates additional challenges of migration to the cities and urbanisation of poverty. While future technologies and emerging models of e-governance systems can be opportunities for change, the legacy and current context constrain realisation of these opportunities. Unbundling and understanding the interface between these three issues would be essential to explore options based on paradigms shift from the past legacies of unmet demands and institutions. Radical changes in the technologies, planning and governance paradigms would be essential to ensure universal and adequate access of services, reduction of vulnerability and improving resilience of Indian urban systems.

Increasing risk and growing exposure of poor can increase vulnerability of urban population, especially the poor. Climate change is likely to further amplify the hydro-meteorological risks, where increasing number of urban people in developing world are expected to be exposed to additional risks. These risks and impacts are likely to be differential, with some sections of population able to afford mitigative, coping and resilience measures, while the rest are exposed to higher risks with little or no protective measures.

Considering growing size of vulnerable population and lag in infrastructure & services as well as erosion of formal protective mechanisms, the cities of developing world need to develop resilience at a much faster pace than the developed world. While proportion of poor is decreasing, the actual numbers are growing. The poor are already subjected to repeated daily stresses from limited access to lifeline infrastructure and services, thus requiring building on local knowledge based coping mechanisms that can be formalized and strengthened. Since the technical and financial capacities of the cities are limited, the resilience building in these cities would require contextualized solutions.

ACCCRN is one of the early initiatives to develop, test and demonstrate practical strategies for responding to the impacts of rapid urbanisation, poverty and climate change. Covering ten Asian Cities across four countries, it aims to develop replicable strategies that can be

applied across the cities-especially urban areas across the developing world. The ACCCRN network partners focus on developing city level climate resilience, while sharing and advocating the success stories and lessons to country, regional and global levels. This network aims to expand and deepen the base of urban climate change resilience practice that can be contextualised to other cities in the developing world.

In India, the ACCCRN Phase I (2008) identified and shortlisted a set of three core cities for developing resilience strategies and demonstrate them. Surat, Indore and Gorakhpur were selected based on criteria of rapid urbanization, poverty and vulnerability to climate change impacts and interest to engage with ACCCRN. During the Phase II (2009-2010), the team worked with city level stakeholders to deepen the understanding of current city level risk and vulnerability, potential climate change impacts and possible impacts over different sectors. The city stakeholders undertook several sector studies and pilot projects, which facilitated learning and capacity building of city stakeholders. This process led to development of city resilience strategies and action plans. The Phase III (2011-2014) focuses on implementation of urban resilience strategies through active participation of local partners in implementing demonstration projects and to disseminate the lessons and success stories with national and international partners. In addition a large number of cities are part of the replication efforts (of Bashirhat, Bhubaneswar, Gorakhpur, Indore, Jorhat, Leh, Mysore, Panaji, Saharsa, Shillong, Shimla, Surat and Guwahati).

1.2 AUDIENCE

This synthesis report forms deliverable of Asian Cities Climate Change Resilience Network (ACCCRN, www.acccrn.org) India Phase III. This is the first synthesis report produced under ACCCRN India programme. It is intended mainly for urban local bodies, policy makers, business, community based organizations, individuals and researchers engaged in the subject of urban development and management, climate change and urban resilience.

1.3 REPORT PRESENTATION

ACCCRN works at the nexus of climate change, vulnerable and poor communities, and urbanization. ACCCRN programme through its collective knowledge and evidence pooling had built an emerging practice area of urban climate change resilience (UCCR). This synthesis report considers the effort undertaken in India during the last five years and also showcases the evidence from cities involved in developing the City Resilience Strategy and practical interventions adopted to create urban resilience. Synthesis Report on ACCCRN India is brought out in two volumes. Volume 1 contains five chapters. This chapter lays out a brief overview of the current urban situation and outline of the report. Continuing with the analysis of Urbanization - Poverty- Climate change challenges, the second chapter explains the urbanization trends in the country and prognosis. It explores the trends in terms of size and distribution of Indian cities and their expected expansion over coming decades. It explores the trends in terms of size and distribution of Indian cities and their expected expansion over coming decades. It also analyses the main challenges of urbanization including resources, governance, infrastructure and services situation and emerging challenges that cities will face in the future. The third chapter discusses the Future scenarios of urban growth and challenges. The Fourth chapter discusses on the vulnerability of Indian cities towards climate change. It gives an overview to the factor which increases the vulnerability of the cities for example poverty, gender, age composition and illiteracy. Beside this the chapter also discusses other factors like the soft nature of the state and behaviour aspects of the population which impact the vulnerability of the cities.

Volume 2 of the Synthesis Report is a collection of City Resilience Strategy (CRS) from core ACCCRN Cities (Gorakhpur, Indore, Surat) and one Replication City (Guwahati). The information to Volume 2 is provided by key ACCCRN partners engaged with the local government and city institutions in the development of CRS. The subsequent version of the synthesis report will bring in information from cities of Bashirhat, Bhubaneswar, Jorhat, Leh, Mysore, Panaji, Saharsa, Shillong and Shimla.

The complete list of activities under ACCCRN is available in the website www.acccrn.org.

1.4 USE OF TERMS

Climate change resilience is the capacity of an individual, community, or institution to dynamically and effectively respond to shifting climate impact circumstances while continuing to function at an acceptable level. Simply, it is the ability to survive, recover from, and even thrive in changing climatic conditions. *ACCCRN Website, www.acccrn.org*

Resilience is the ability of a social or ecological system to absorb disturbances while retaining the same basic structure and ways of functioning, the capacity for self-organisation, and the capacity to adapt to stress and change. *IPCC, Fourth Assessment Report, 2007.*

Urban Climate Change Resilience (UCCR) is relatively new and constantly evolving. UCCR brings together researches, policy makers, practitioners and community leaders from multiple disciplines and backgrounds including climate science, development agencies, organizations working in hazard mitigation, disaster risk reduction and emergency relief, global donors, and institutions focusing on globalization, urbanization and sustainability. One of the distinguishing features of UCCR is its focus on systems. Cities depend on both natural ecosystems and engineered services, draw on distant resources as well as utilizing local resources to meet basic needs, and function through complex social and governance systems which can result in the marginalization and increased vulnerability of groups within the community. Cities form a complex web of inter-dependencies, whereby the functioning of the whole system relies on the effective functioning of its constituent parts. *ACCCRN Website, www.acccrn.org*

Vulnerability is the degree to which a system is susceptible to, or unable to cope with, adverse effects of climate change, including climate variability and extremes. Vulnerability is a function of the character, magnitude, and rate of climate variation to which a system is exposed, its sensitivity, and its adaptive capacity. *IPCC, Third Assessment Report, 2001.*

2

URBANISATION AND RISK PROFILE

2.1 CITIES, RESOURCE BASE AND RISKS

Most of the Indian cities have evolved from small towns formed along river banks, trade centers, administrative centers and army cantonments. At the time of their formation, they were reliant on local sources of water, since pumping and long distance water conveyance technologies did not exist. Therefore, access to year round water sources was one of the main considerations for the formation and survival of these towns. The rise and fall of cities were often linked with water resources ever since Indus valley civilization. A majority of those towns are river bank or coastal towns.

Indian cities present diversity in hydrological situations ranging from river banks (e.g. Delhi, Kanpur, Kolkata, Cuttack) to upper catchments/small river basins in semi-arid regions (e.g. Bangalore, Hyderabad, Indore). Water resource base of the large riparian cities has been exploited upstream, especially over last two centuries of intense development of irrigation infrastructure. This has led to saline water intrusion in to the local sources in many coastal cities especially Calicut, Mangalore and Surat. With agricultural development upstream and the city growth, competition and conflict over traditional sources of water, large cities like Delhi, Agra and Bangalore have been impacted.

The cities across India are already facing insufficient access to lifeline services and infrastructure to cater the existing population. Both urban population growth (31% over 2001-2011) as well as change in lifestyles has led to increase in total water demands. The decadal gross water demand growth can be more than 50%, considering both the factors. For large cities, additional demand implies tapping distant water sources, which need large investments or unsustainable levels of ground water withdrawal as the case of Indore and Bangalore.

India has renewable resource availability of only about 1,550 cubic meters (cum)/capita/year with 30.5% accounted by resources flowing from outside the country. India is already a water deficit country with the total renewable water resources of about 1,907 cu.km. per year, as against a minimum need of about 4,000 cum/capita/year of water required for all uses¹. (FAO, 2010). With the expansion of cities and water demands, new water infrastructure depending on distant sources

are necessary to enable cities to expand to sizes beyond their local resource base as discussed previously.

The quality of life has suffered in the urban centres due to the cities' inability to meet growing demands of lifeline services as well as overcrowding. Although small towns are numerous, the 400 odd cities harbouring about two-third of India's urban population (offering diverse employment opportunities and means of livelihood) are the main centres of attraction for migration, despite the fact that physical infrastructure in terms of housing, drinking water supply, drainage are inadequate and unreliable. Therefore, quality of life has suffered in these urban centres not only due to migration, but more so due to expanding gap between the demand and supply of necessary services and other infrastructure facilities. Unchecked land prices and unaffordable housing forced the poor to search for informal solutions resulting in mushrooming of slums and squatter settlements (Mundu & Bhagat 2008). Slums usually develop to meet these unmet demands on peripheral and marginal lands on the outskirts of city, on hill slopes and low lying areas, drainage lines, and also on the land where the owners have either no control or ownership is uncertain and not contested.

Growing traffic and congestion is another major challenge arising out of high density and preference of private vehicles for commuting. As reported earlier, neglect of public transport over decades has given rise to this situation along with formal and informal Para-transit system trying to fill the gap. The cities have resorted to knee jerk actions of building flyovers, ring roads and bypasses, without paradigm shift towards better public transport systems. Only recently, some of the cities have chosen to opt for metro railway systems or Bus Rapid transport systems. With already congested narrow-road dominant central business districts, it would be a challenge to extend these public transport systems to bring about a radical shift to public transport.

With natural growth as well as push migration from rural hinterlands, most of the cities are likely to expand significantly over the next few decades and the risk profile expected to worsen. Improved access from new bridges and growing real estate demand,

¹ It includes water required for agriculture and industrial production, drinking water and environmental services to support a person.

the cities have expanded from one bank to both banks of rivers, thereby constricting the flood plains. As the city expands, the demand for high value land within and periphery leads to blockage of natural drainage, encroachment of flood buffers (reservoirs and tanks) by landfills, narrowing of river channels and flood plains. These encroachments increase the flood risks of the cities. The haphazard peripheral growth led by the private sector and individual houses by multiple land owners further add to the complexity of the challenge. As the cities expand by multitude of land developers, natural drainage is often blocked and increase in impervious areas as well as filling of lakes have increased the pluvial flood risks.

Growing gap between master plan projections and actual expansion of the cities can lead to increased risks of floods, water logging as well as water scarcities in many cities over coming decades even without any significant change in precipitation pattern. The recurrent floods and water scarcities in cities like Delhi, Ahmedabad, Vadodara, Pune, Surat, Cuttack, and Kolkata highlight this challenge. While urban planners are expected to incorporate these issues in developing expansion plans and master plans, in practice the hydrological issues are not incorporated in master plans.

2.2 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

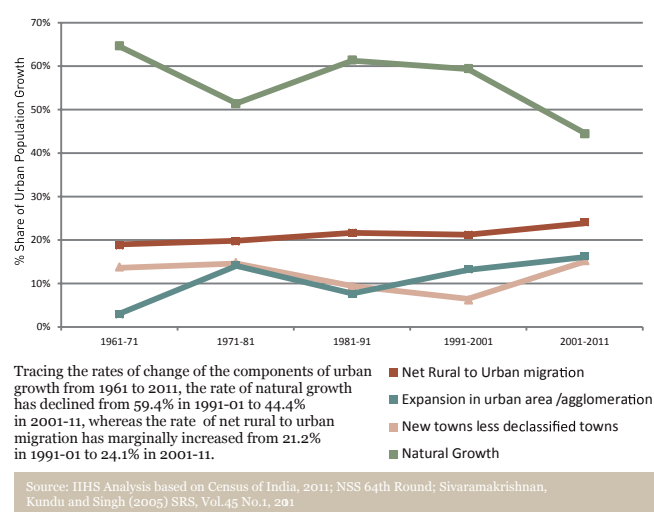
For the first time since 1921, increase in India's urban population was more than the rural population during 2001-2011. At 833.1 million, India's rural population today is 90.6 million more than 2001, while the urban population is 91 million higher. The national decadal population growth rate was 18%, with the urban growth rate of 32% and rural growth rate was 12%. The Urban Rural Growth Differential² (URGD) is a rough and ready index of the extent of rural-urban migrations, which is 19.8% for 2011 Census, which is the highest in 30 years. Decreasing per capita agricultural land as well as agrarian crisis are some of the factors driving push migration.

The birth rate in India was 20.97 births/1,000 persons, whereas in urban areas it is 18.5 (Census 2011). The population, however, continues to grow, as the decline in the birth rate is not as rapid as the decline in the

death rate. Beside the natural growth of the city, other factors like migration, net reclassification and expansion of the city boundaries also affect the overall population growth.

Natural growth, migration, expansion of the boundaries and net reclassification has contributed to the urban population growth. In 2011, almost one fourth of the urban population growth was accounted by net rural-urban migration to the cities. With the expansion of boundaries from peripheral rural to urban areas is also taken in to account, the proportion of growth increased to 40% of the total urban growth (2001-2011). With decreasing per capita land and lack of alternate livelihood opportunities, rural to city migration is likely to increase over coming decades.

Figure 2.1: Source of increase in urban population (in %)



Source: IIHS 2011

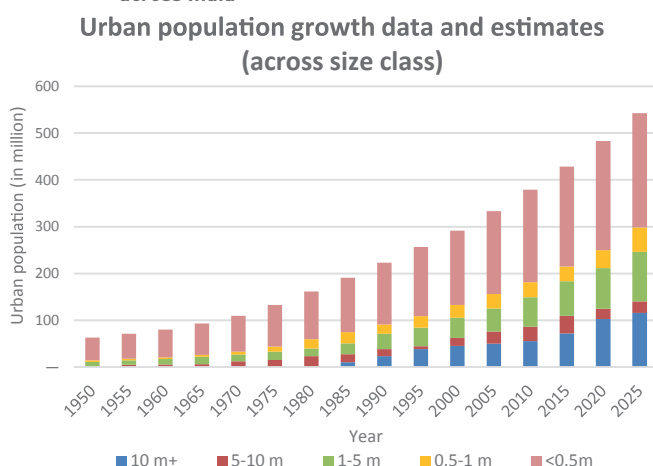
2.2.1 Current growth scenario of Indian cities

India shows a lag in urbanization compared to other developing countries, especially across Asia. Total population of India has increased from 238.4 million in 1901 to 1.210 billion in 2011 (5 times), while the urban population has increased from 25.8 million to 377 million (14 times). The urban agglomerations (UA)/towns have increased from 5,161 in 2001 to 7,935 in 2011—a rough rate of five new towns per week for 10 years running. The total includes 4,041 statutory towns and 3894 Census towns³. The following Figure 2.2

3 Settlements with i) A minimum population of 5,000; ii) At least 75 per cent of the male main working population engaged in non-agricultural pursuits; and iii) A density of population of at least 400 persons per sq. km.

presents the distribution of urban population across different size classes of cities.

Figure 2.2: Population growth trend and projection by size class across India



Source: UN Population Division 2011

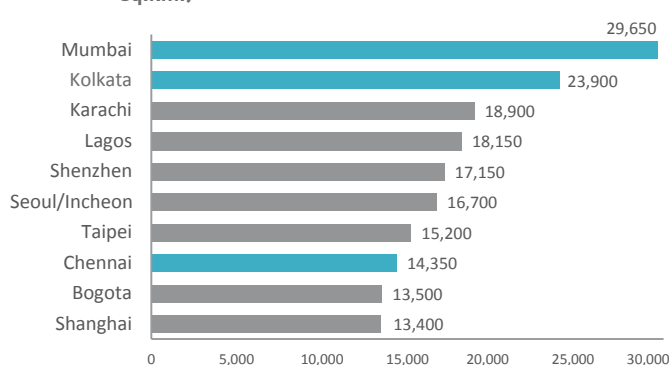
In 2011, there were 468 Class I cities (population >0.1 million). These cities are expected to drive the urbanization process in the coming decades. Out of these, about 160.7 million persons (or 42.6% of the urban population) live in 53 Million plus UAs/Cities. 18 new UAs/Towns have been added to million plus city list over last decade.

There are three mega cities, Greater Mumbai UA (18.4 million), Delhi UA (16.3 million) and Kolkata UA (14.1 million), accounting more than 12 % of urban population as per Census 2011 or 16% as per UN projections (UN 2012). These trends show growing importance of larger cities in driving the urbanization. These trends also imply that the large cities will demand very high amounts of water and food, which cannot be met by local resources, especially in semiarid and dry regions of the country. With the gross population densities of more than 10,000 persons per sq.km. (most cities of >5 million population) the annual demand for domestic water alone can be as high as 0.5 million cum/sq.km. or 500 mm equivalent of rainfall.

In 2011, the top 10 cities of India accounted for almost 8% of India's total population and produced 15% of total economic output but occupied only 0.1% of the total land area. Similarly, the 53 million plus cities account for 13% of the population produce about a third of total economic output and occupies only 0.2% of the land. The top 100 cities, account for 16% of the population,

produce 43% of India's total output and occupy 0.26% of the land (IIHS 2011).

Figure 2.3: Top 10 cities of the world with highest density (per sq.km.)



Source: City mayors statistics (2007)

India has 3 out of 10 highest density cities of the world with two Indian mega cities Mumbai (29,650) and Kolkata (23,900) occupying first two ranks. Chennai is ranked as eighth city with highest population density of 14,350 people per sq.km. In India, Delhi (11,050) is the fourth most densely populated city, followed by Bangalore (10,100) and Hyderabad (9,100). With low FSI limits (mostly less than 2) in most cities, this means a combination of very low allocation of land for public use (roads, parks etc.) and low per capita residential floor areas and dominance of low rise buildings. With nearly 93 million people (MHUPA 2011b) living in slums (with mostly overcrowded single or two storied informal buildings) and an equal amount of persons living in low income semi-formal settlements, the urban population densities are no doubt very high, despite having low FSI limits.

Even though urban planning has changed relatively little in most countries since its emergence about 100 years ago, a number of countries have adopted measures like strategic spatial planning, use of spatial planning to integrate public-sector functions, new land regularization and management approaches, participatory processes and partnerships at the neighbourhood level, and planning for new and more sustainable spatial forms such as compact cities and new urbanism. However, in many developing countries, older forms of master planning have persisted. Here, the most obvious problem with this approach is that it has failed to accommodate the ways of life of the majority of inhabitants in rapidly growing and largely poor and informal cities, and has often directly contributed to social and spatial marginalization.

- UN Habitat (2009)

Low Rise High Density Paradigm: During the 1970's and 1980's "preventing congestion" was the conceptual basis of urban planning that shaped most Indian cities. The problems of high private vehicle ownership due to longer commuting distances or traffic jams were still unknown. The urban development debate in India evolved from low-rise high density (LRHD) built-form and single use zoning of 1980s to compact form with high density, mixed land use and efficient public transport planning of the proposed future.

Compact city paradigm: The National Mission on Sustainable Habitat has recently initiated compact city debate in the context of urban transport. Unfortunately, with fragmented and overlapping roles of different stakeholders in the urban development sector, implementation of compact city paradigm may take many years to be implemented. Examples of New York and Hong Kong are often used to drive the compact city argument for better public transport with high density use. Unfortunately these debates have ignored the fact that the Indian cities are some of the densest cities in the world, even with low FSIs and low floor area per persons no more increase is possible without severe congestion of streets and increasing the vulnerability of population to vagaries of unreliable lifeline service delivery.

The City master plans did not integrate land use with spaces for transportation, power and communication networks. This has resulted in major challenges to introduce public transport with dedicated corridors. Considerable retrofitting as well as land acquisition etc. is necessary to commission Bus Rapid transport systems in the cities recently. Their success would depend on actual availability of free road spaces for public transport.

The major challenges to shift towards compact cities would include universal coverage of lifeline services and round the clock availability of energy and water services and shift to public transport on a large scale. With low per capita built spaces and overcrowding on one hand and old and decrepit lifeline infrastructure networks (especially underground water supply and sewerage networks), further increasing the FSI would subject these services to additional loads and possible increase in frequency of breakdowns. This would make larger proportion of the population vulnerable.

Such transformation options would need to start with addressing infrastructure and service networks

including roads (including traffic planning, and street congestion), electricity, water supply and sewerage. Universal access as well as reliability of lifeline services like energy and water would be critical for transformation to a compact city. With densities of more than 10,000 persons per sq.km., installing and maintenance of new higher capacity networks and resources would be challenging in overcrowded, dense built environments. In an energy and water hungry country, with little control over population growth and densities, compact cities can result in increasing risks of lifeline services failures as evidenced by routine power cuts, water supply disruptions and traffic jams even in low rise high density environments.

In developing countries, where there is an enormous range of people, cultures and economies, the size of the problem (explosive urbanisation) is immense and growing fast. Nevertheless, there are a number of points of comparison. Compactness appears to be an aspiration and a hoped-for solution to the problems of the explosive growth of urban areas, and it has some meaning when applied to the intensification of many sub-centres within a metropolitan region. Mixed use does not feature as an issue, as the vitality exists in abundance and problems are more likely to arise from there being too much rather than too little of it.

Good public transport exists, and in some cases is better than that found in developed countries, although this is the exception rather than the rule. Even so, public transport use is generally much higher in developing countries, but this is more usually the result of low per capita incomes rather than any explicit sustainability policy. The ease with which traffic becomes saturated is a function of dense urban forms, and these in turn become highly polluted. Pollution is a problem even in rich cities like Hong Kong, and while 'clean technology' may help its reduction, it would give no alleviation to congestion. Concerning the other characteristics, neither environmental controls nor urban management measure up to those found in developed countries. In all but a few countries, local government controls are weak.

- Jenks (2000)

In India, one of the major issues has been the soft state and weak governance with limited control of ULBs over the urban growth. The existing rules are often anachronistic to the emerging needs and major shifts in paradigms and policies (e.g. from LRHD to Compact city) would be time consuming and require cooperation

between different departments within the ULBs with fragmented and overlapping roles.

Major changes in land use or decongestion in Indian cities are often unpopular causing “unresolvable conflicts,” especially in core areas, where land prices and stakes are too high. Elected bodies are constrained by public opinion to introduce such measures. Major disasters provide window of opportunities as indicated by partial decongestion of Surat after plague of 1994. Most of the cities miss such rare opportunities as indicated by inaction followed by earthquakes, recurrent floods in some of the major cities across the country. Unless sufficient land areas are allocated for lifeline networks and public spaces, simply increasing FSI is only going to complicate issues of street congestion, traffic jams and power cuts in high energy dependant built spaces.

The debate on urban development is likely to lead to a shift towards high FSI led growth over low public space/ narrow road environments without sufficient dedicated spaces allocated for public transport or other common facilities. Even though compact city paradigm has come to the forefront, concrete action is yet to take root under the prevailing political and policy context. More intense planning efforts are necessary to understand available options for transforming our cities from low-rise, high-density- low public space areas (roads, parks etc.) to more energy, land and water efficient urban systems.

2.2.2 Urban sprawls

Beside large population and high urban density, urban outgrowth/urban sprawl is another characteristic of Indian cities today. Recently, the urban sprawls have given way to isolated multi-storied gated communities due to high land prices. Cities has the tendency to grow outwards of their traditional boundaries due to congestion and high land prices. The total number of urban Agglomerations/Towns is 6,166 in the country (Census 2011). During 2001-2011, number of urban agglomerations has increased from 385 to 468 comprising of more than 900 peri-urban outgrowths with limited or negligible access to lifeline urban services of the main city. The number of towns has increased by 2,774 during 2001-11 period.

Most of the highways have emerged as Desakota regions; some of those regions are likely to form new

urban areas over coming decades. This process is also catalysed by new highway/ freight and industrial corridors being planned across the country.

LAND REGULATIONS AND URBAN SPRAWL

“Combined effect of multiple layers of poorly conceived central, state and municipal regulations contribute to an artificial urban land shortage. As a result urban land prices are abnormally high in relation to India’s household income, and households consume less floor space than they could afford if the regulatory environment were reformed. In addition, some regulations have a negative impact on the spatial structure of cities. By unreasonably reducing the amount of floor space that can be built in centrally located areas, and by making land recycling difficult, some regulations tend to “push” urban development toward the periphery. As a result, commuting trips become longer, public transport become difficult to operate and urban infrastructure has to be extended further than what would have been the case if land supply had been unconstrained”

- Bertaud, 2002

Since Independence, several urban development authorities (UDA) were set up by the state governments for overseeing and sanctioning construction and infrastructure development (roads, water supply, sewerage, storm water drainage, street lights etc.) and build townships in the suburbs of the respective cities. The UDAs are responsible for land use change from agricultural/other uses to urban uses and they derive most of their incomes from sale of developed lands and buildings. In most cases, rural settlements engulfed by the cities (enclave villages) are left to densify themselves within the larger developed area leading to a mix of chaotic pockets amidst of planned development. Unfortunately, many of these UDAs act as real estate developers and hand over the partially developed areas with inadequate services to the ULBs. The ULBs are then saddled with the additional responsibilities of rebuilding infrastructure and augmentation of services. Urban sprawls and spatial mismatch are result of intensive development in the periphery, especially newly areas developed by the service sector industries.

Another reason for the increasing urban sprawl is blurred rural buffers and formation of Desakota regions. Due to the better connectivity and development

of corridors, the nearby villages and hamlets are getting connected to the cities and are becoming part of the growing city as people move daily for work from these areas. Also, changing livelihood patterns (from primary activities to secondary and tertiary activities) in large villages lead to formation of towns in situ, and emergence of new unplanned development in these new towns driven by market forces.

Urban sprawls are expensive to live in due to high capital costs of basic infrastructure as well as high recurrent costs of service delivery and transport due to long distance from the core city. They also tend to form exclusive gated cities predominantly owned by upper socio-economic classes. They consume large tracts of land, often very good quality agricultural lands and floodplains causing additional risks of flooding. Also they become high fossil fuel consumers due to distances from the main business districts and proliferation of private vehicle ownership. Also, with poor infrastructure and services, these areas mostly depend on ground water and lack of sewerage, storm water drainage and solid waste disposal results in contamination of surface water bodies and aquifers. Since the real estate developers have no long term stakes, the buyers of the developed land and buildings or the ULBs end up retrofitting infrastructure and services as the city limits expand.

2.3 URBAN POVERTY

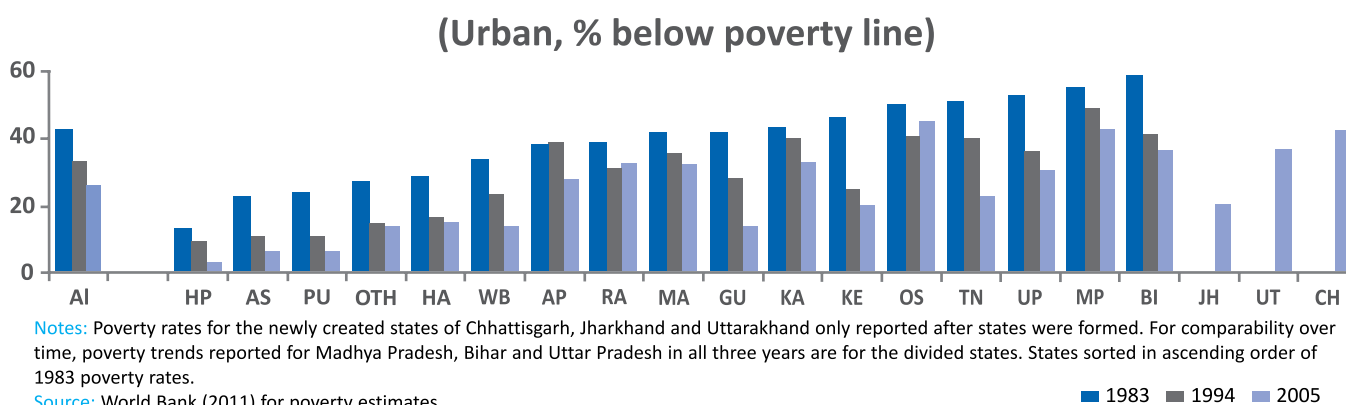
The poverty estimates are some of the most contentious issues in India. Earlier, India used to define the poverty line based on a method defined by a task

force in 1979. It was based on expenditure for buying food worth 2,400 calories in rural areas and 2,100 calories in urban areas. The World Bank's definition of the poverty line for under developed countries is US\$ 1/day/person (Rs. 60 at current exchange rate) or about Rs. 21,900/yr). As per this definition, more than 75% of all Indians are probably, below the poverty line (Wakeupcall website).

In 2011, the Suresh Tendulkar Committee defined the poverty line on the basis of monthly spending on food, education, health, electricity and transport. According to this estimate, a person who spends Rs. 27.2 in rural areas and Rs. 33.3 in urban areas a day are defined as living below the poverty line. The provisional results of NSSO 68th round livelihood surveys indicate that the bottom 10% of the urban households have daily per capita expenditure of less than Rs. 23.40 only. This is less than 0.5 USD/capita/day (Moneylife website). Other indicators like accessibility of lifeline services are equally relevant for delineating poor in urban context, since lack of access of these services severely handicaps the households to pursue their livelihoods.

The poverty status across states and years is presented in Figure 2.4 (World Bank, 2011). In addition to slum dwellers with lack of access to basic services, at least an equal number of low income socio-economic class exists in most of the urban areas. These communities have poor access to most urban services due to marginalization by the rest of the socio-economic groups and neglect by the service providers. As they are unlikely to have access to lifelines services like water supply, they are unable to get benefit to subsidies on these services and forced to purchase water and other services at market prices or more.

Figure 2.4 Percentage of urban population below poverty line 2011



In most cities of India, urban poor and slum dwellers who constitute about 25% of the city population occupy not more than 3-5% of city land space (MoHUPA, 2011b). Out of a total of 78.9 million urban households, 13.7 million were slum dwellers (17%) in 2011 (Census 2011). About 38% of the slum households were reported 46 Million plus Cities (Census 2011). Official poverty rates in large cities (with population of one million or more) are dramatically lower than that in small and medium towns.

In 2009, there were a total of 48,994 slums reported from across the country (NSSO 2009). Out of them 50.6% were notified slums and rest were categorized as non-notified slums. The 2011 Census categorised slums into Notified (37,072 numbers), Recognised (30846) and Identified (40,309) categories.

Informal sector

Seasonal labour demand (especially in single crop areas) and low wages in rural areas creates push factors while year round labour demand and better wages in cities creates pull factors leading to excess supplies of labour in the urban areas. With few relevant skills or education, a large section of rural to urban migrants have no option except to work in informal sector. In the face of a high natural growth of population, rural-urban migration aggravates the situation of excess supplies of labour in the urban areas. Within the urban informal sector push migration tends to reduce the level of earnings and get manifested in a high incidence of urban poverty. Thus in the process rural poverty gets transformed into urban poverty – the phenomenon is also described as 'urbanisation of poverty' (Mitra & Murayama, 2008). Construction and services (Transport driver, plumbers, domestic help, small stores etc.) in India is mostly informal. India has a large informal economy, with about half of its GDP estimated to be informal, and 84% of non-agricultural workers work informally (Credit Suisse 2013).

The income instability in informal sector increases the vulnerability of the poor to disasters. Also, poor accessibility to lifeline services add additional burden of lost time and money to access water, electricity and other basic services.

Location and differential exposure: Since the poor cannot afford to buy land or houses due to high costs, they settle mostly in uncontested areas like river

and gully banks, adjacent to railway lines and other unoccupied government/public lands. These are generally higher risk areas and often unsuitable for permanent housing.

More than 40% the slums are located along Nallahs/ drains, along railway lines, on river banks, river beds, and other areas. An estimated 24% of all slums were located along Nallahs and drains and 12% along railway lines. About 22% of slums were located on the fringe or border area of towns and 78% in other areas (NSSO 2009b).

Table 2.1: Percentage distribution of slums by location of slums (All India)

Location	Notified	Non-notified	All
Along Nallah/drain	22	26	24
Along railway line	10	15	12
River bank	8	5	7
River bed	2	0	1
Other	59	53	56
All	100	100	100

Source: NSSO 2010b

Being located in high risk areas, the slums are naturally more exposed to water logging and flooding. About 48% of the slums were usually affected by waterlogging during monsoon with following variations in waterlogging:

- 32% of slums reporting waterlogging inside of slum as well as approach road,
- 7% reporting only slum getting waterlogged and not the approach road,
- 9% of slums where only the approach road was waterlogged in the monsoon.

It means that nearly 45 million slum dwellers are prone to waterlogging that can affect their livelihoods as well as expose them to vector-borne and water-borne diseases. Any increase in amount or intensity of precipitation can cause more impacts on the houses as well as livelihoods of slum residents.

2.4 CURRENT CHALLENGES OF URBAN INDIA

2.4.1 Housing

As per Census of India, 2001, 52.4 million people lived in slums in 1,743 towns which constitute 23.5% of the population of these towns. The Technical Group on the Estimation of Housing Shortage projected the total shortage of dwelling units in urban areas in 2007 to be 24.71 million units and the shortage during the plan period (2007-12) including the backlog is estimated to be 26.53 million of which 99% pertains to the EWS & LIG segments of the urban population (MoUD, 2010). It indicates unmet demand for poor housing, which is largely due to inadequate/ inappropriate land use and building regulatory regime and lack of inclusion of economically and socially weaker sections in urban planning. On the other hand, there are significant number of middle income and high income residential units lying vacant or unsold in most cities. This in turn creates distorted land markets and very high cost of housing due to high land costs. Uncontrolled land prices and unaffordable housing in cities are some of the most pressing issues that have defied solution so far. With housing costs unaffordable, poor are forced to search for informal solutions resulting in mushrooming of slums and squatter settlements.

Gross densities in Mumbai (29,650 persons/sq. km.) and Kolkata (23,900 persons/sq.km.) with medium rise buildings dominating these cities indicate very low per capita floor area for the residents. The average per capita floor area in urban India during 2008-09 was 9.8 sq.m, while the lowest MPCE quintile having only 4.5 sq.m. About 8 percent of the total households live in Semi-Pucca or Kuchha houses. Only about 24% of the urban households lived in flats, while 58% lived in individual houses, rest in other types of houses (NSSO, 2010).

The FSI limits prevented raising the number of floors under the LRHD paradigm and now the city planners are increasingly debating about compact cities and multi-modal urban regions. As per the debate for compact cities, they are preferred due to lower costs of infrastructure and services (public transport, water supply and sewerage electricity, communication etc.). Poor public transport has resulted people opting for private transport, which has led to overcrowding of road network. High cost of extending infrastructure and

services, transport congestion and land scarcity are some of the reasons for compact city debate as of now (Jenks& Dempsey 2005), (Chattopadhyay, 2007).

CHALLENGES AND BENEFITS AND OF HIGHER FSI IN CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICTS

“A higher FSI would require a better performing infrastructure. However, coupling impact fees with an increased FSI could generate the revenues needed to upgrade existing city services. This increased in FSI will result in higher land prices in the CBD but it will lower the price to property ratio. It will also tend to slightly lower the sale price of floor space in the area. Land prices in peripheral areas will tend to become lower. The economic gain to the city, in the long run will be extremely large. In addition, raising the FSI from 1 to 4 in the CBD alone will also reduce trip length, improve the efficiency of public transport and decrease air pollution.”

- *Bertraud (1996)*

However, with already high population densities, low per capita floor areas, uncertainties in quality of lifeline services, high rise building based townships are unlikely to be feasible or attractive unless major improvements are done in quality of infrastructure and services. The following Box presents the uncertainties in power and water supply in Mumbai and Chandigarh as well as grid failure affecting nearly 600 million people. These issues can cripple high energy demanding compact cities for days together.

Fire at substation causes outage October 16, 2011

Express News Service: Mumbai, Mon Oct 17 2011, 03:11 hrs: South Mumbai suffered its worst power outage in a decade after a fire at the BEST undertaking's Backbay substation caused disruption in supply to areas including Colaba, Cuffe Parade, Marine Drive and Navy Nagar for most of Sunday (16th Oct 2011). While supply to some areas resumed after a few hours, parts of Colaba and Cuffe Parade went without power for over 16 hour

By evening, with some traffic signals dysfunctional, minor traffic pile-ups ensued. Parts of Colaba lost electricity for the second time and shop fronts were plunged into darkness too. Some establishments did business by candlelight. Streetlights in some parts of the affected areas were intermittently dysfunctional too and a small part of the Queen's necklace at Marine Drive remained unlit — a surreal darkness in an area that never goes to sleep.

Major buildings such as Maker Towers, Jalkiran, Sealord, Palm Spring and Cuffe Castle had no power all day on Sunday, Padmakar, who lives in Jalkiran, added. “We pay the highest taxes, but we are still not getting electricity. I spoke to Mayor Shraddha Jadhav and requested her to start the supply as soon as possible.” (City population Website 2011)

Express News Service: Mumbai, Tue Oct 18 2011, 00:01 hrs: Parts of Cuffe Parade and Navy Nagar had to go without electricity for the second day on Monday as the Brihanmumbai Electric Supply & Transport (BEST) undertaking could not completely fix the technical snag that had caused a major power outage in parts of south Mumbai on Sunday.

Express news services, 2011

Power & water cuts worsen winter woes

“Tue Dec 27 2011, 01:58 hrs: UT (Union Territory) facing 20-30% electricity shortage; power department may fix time of rotational cuts for industry; water crisis to continue for some days.

City residents are facing a tough winter this time. The electricity and water supply cuts that are being faced in Chandigarh during the winter season are likely to continue in the coming days. The rotational cuts in electricity supply are being faced as due to outage of central generation plants, the entitlement of power to the city has decreased. While rotational power cuts are faced in summers, the winter months used to be generally free from these”

Express News Service- Chandigarh

Peak power scarcity and two grid failures- July 2012

“To leave one in 20 people on the globe’s surface without electricity, that lifeblood of modern society, in the hairdryer heat of an Indian summer is unfortunate. To do it again to one in 12 of the world’s population a day later is an unpardonable carelessness” .

“Tuesday, 19 states and more than 600 million people spent hours without electricity in the world’s biggest blackout. The power outages are reportedly the result of northern states likes UP, Punjab and Haryana drawing more than their allotted share from supply grids (the states have denied the charge)”.

“The Northern power grid has been strained this summer as a weak monsoon meant farmers used pumps extensively to water their fields. But the dual blackouts this week also highlight the growing gap between the demand and supply of power. More than half of India’s power is generated using coal. Many plants are not able to deliver the sort of power they’re capable of generating because of a shortage of coal”

NDTV 2012

“It (Grid failure) occurred twice over period of two days and took more than 6 hours and affected railways, hospitals, water supply and other essential services across whole of North and East India. The urban areas are prone to such blackouts that can cripple life on a mass scale and would take several days to recover, if there are insufficient backup systems.”

The Guardian 2012

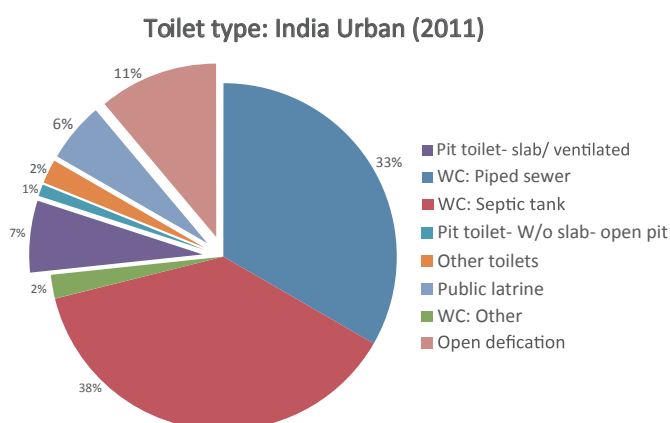
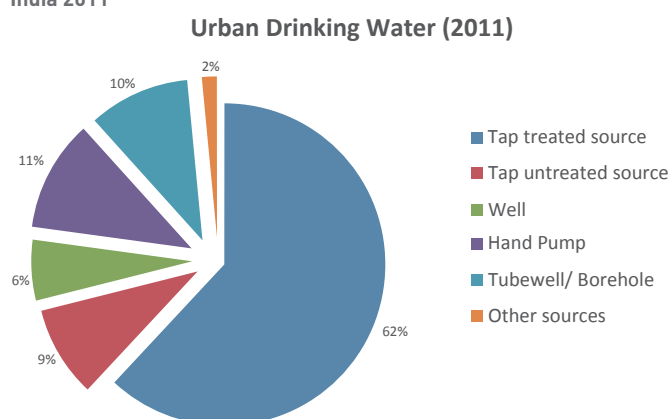
Multi-storeyed buildings dependent on electricity for lifts, water supply and other services can face major problems for aged and physically challenged persons. The compact growth paradigm should be seen in the light of such vulnerabilities in lifeline services in energy and water hungry/deficit environments with uncertain quality of services.

2.4.2 Lack of infrastructure

The efficiency of any urban system depends on the availability of infrastructure and services to support its population. But almost all the Indian cities today are facing serious deficiencies in infrastructure and lifeline services today. None of the cities have been able to provide universal access to lifeline services.

In 2011, only 70.6 percent urban households had access to tap water and only 60.6 percent had access to tap water from treated sources. About 27 percent of urban households depended on ground water sources including wells, hand pumps and borewells (Census 2011). Considering poor sewerage conditions, the ground water sources in urban areas are mostly contaminated. Only about 81.4 percent of urban households had toilet facility within their premises and only 72.4 percent had water closets. Only about 32.7 percent of urban household toilets were connected to sewerage system (Census 2011). These figures indicate nearly two third of the households dispose the untreated sewage in to ground or to surface water bodies. Except for metros and some large cities, the sewage treatment is either non-existent or insufficient. Lack of recycling water and contamination of local and downstream resources are two major opportunities lost in the water scarce Indian urban environment. The water supply and sanitation statistics of 2011 is presented in the following Figure 2.5.

Figure 2.5: Drinking water and sanitation arrangements: Urban India 2011



Source: Census of India, 2011

Poor infrastructure-especially storm water drainage and sewerage, has resulted in increased risk of water logging and floods during rainy seasons while high leakage losses are exacerbating water scarcity conditions in most cities. These services are de-jure managed by the ULBs, but is often modified by the residents through illegal connections as well as using sewerage system to drain waterlogged areas. Poorly managed sewerage systems also result in increased breeding of pests and disease vectors and occasional epidemics like malaria and Dengue, which have become more common in the recent years. With the sewerage systems not fully maintained, they become breeding areas for vectors like cockroaches and rats and support a growing pest control industry.

The urban growth over the current backlog of

infrastructure imposes major challenges to urban service delivery. Even though the leakage and unaccounted for water (UFW) is quite high in most cities, the ULBs are not exploring for soft options like leakage reduction and metering. Also, the lack of financial, technical and managerial capacities of the ULBs to fill the growing gap in infrastructure and services further imposes very high burden on the citizens who have to invest on coping measures.

India Infrastructure Report in 2006 noted that “Though there are vast improvements in basic amenities such as access to telecom services, electricity, water supply and sanitation, etc., the quality of basic services except that of telecom, is declining. In other words increasing coverage of infrastructure is not matched by improvement in the service levels. While there are more taps today in sheer number, there is less water once the taps are turned on” (3iNetwork 2006). This observation is still valid with inordinate delays and bottlenecks in building infrastructure and managing the services due to a variety of governance issues.

This current gap in urban infrastructure and services in cities is due to building up of lag due to historic lack of functional and financial autonomy given to urban local bodies by the state governments. Only after the 74th Amendment was enacted, some degree of autonomy was delegated to the urban local bodies. The issue of autonomy and delegation of functions, funds and functionaries is still being addressed by enforcing reforms through conditionality to access the urban development funds under JNNURM programme. The thrust of the infrastructural development strategy is on generation of larger tax and non-tax revenue through internal sources, external borrowing, private-public partnerships, mobilizing funds through bonds and other innovative financial instruments. The development plans and investments (e.g. JNNURM) over last decade have also focused on limited number of large cities with less focus on investments for small and medium towns.

2.4.3 Water Supply services

Inadequate coverage, intermittent supplies, low pressure and poor quality are some of the most prominent features of water supply in the cities of India. Even those covered by centralized water supply get intermittent supply with attendant problems of low pressures and contamination from sewerage network.

With rapid increase in urban population and continuing expansion of city limits, the challenge of delivering water in Indian cities is growing rapidly (MoUD 2011). Without sufficient coping measures like storage tanks, pumps and water purifiers at household level, the vulnerability to waterborne diseases would remain high. The scarcity has given rise to a growing private sector of borewell drillers, tanker water suppliers and capital goods like PVC storage tanks, booster pumps and various types of water purification systems. The city horizons are dominated by PVC storage tanks.

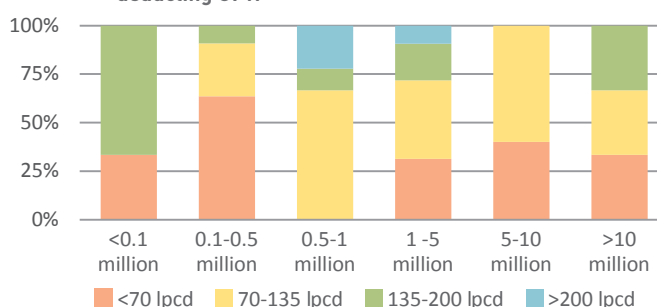
While the burden of unreliable water supply is felt by all sections of the society, it is more pronounced among the lower-income households and coping costs for water supply is highest for the urban poor. An intermittent water supply or collection of water from tankers/distant sources forces the poor to forgo work or lose part of their earnings. Alternatively, they also have to pay much higher cost for supply (often many times that of formal supply) from illegal or informal networks. Slums are often not taken into consideration for planning purposes and such habitations are typically bypassed at time of service expansion. Even if they are provided water supply, “elite capture” upstream leads to poor supplies to slums. The responsibility of ULBs with respect to slums is often restricted to supply through public stand posts or delivering water through ad-hoc arrangements such as water tankers. Since provision of municipal water connection may be seen as regularizing an illegal slum and leads to subsequent demand for tenure rights, ULBs and state governments have not extended themselves to provide house service connections in slums (Banerjee & Pratap 2011). On the other hand, water is used as a political tool, especially during elections.

Of the 27 Asian cities with populations of over a million, Chennai and Delhi are ranked as the worst performing metropolitan cities in terms of hours of water availability per day, while Mumbai is ranked as second worst performer and Calcutta fourth worst. While the 2001 Census data shows that 90% of urban India has access to “safe drinking water”, only about 50% of this population was directly connected to the distribution system, and another 24% was accessing public standpipes. By 2011, the percentage connected to some form of tap water supplies (treated or untreated) went up to 71% only.

The water availability is another major issue. With

high leakages, the actual availability is much less than water supplied in to distribution network. The following Figure 2.6 presents the per capita treated water made available. About 77% of the total population of the 63 largest cities of India (also covered under JNNURM. 154 million population in 2011) gets less than 135 lpcd.

Figure 2.6: Per capita water availability in 63 Indian cities after deducting UFW



Source: ADB 2007, Taru analysis, City population Website. City CDPs

With metering system abandoned and flat tariff system introduced over the decades, households and other users now have no incentives to control water use. In addition, lack of access to round the clock water supply has created several perverse incentives like elite capture, created water markets often relying on the existing system itself. The poor maintenance and inadequate replacement lead to technical losses in the distribution network. Errors in metering, unbilled water consumption and plain theft contribute to commercial losses. This leads to high levels of non-revenue water with no monitoring system in place and no incentive to reduce inefficiencies, the urban water scenario in India is one of poor service delivery, poor maintenance of physical systems, poor recovery of costs, and poor generation of revenues (MoUD 2011).

The Central Public Health and Environmental Engineering Organization (CPHEEO) allows for a maximum of 15% unaccounted for water (UFW), but levels in many Indian cities are as high as 40% with some cities surpassing 50%. This arises from both the old and decrepit infrastructure and unauthorized tapping of the supply. In most metros, households spend both on capital investments (bore/tube wells, storage tanks, pumps, purification systems) as well as running expenses on water tankers, bottled drinking water, alongside what they pay to the utility. Also, households spend many hours daily managing water at household level (NIUA 2005).

The cost is not computed or understood when cities map out the current and future water scenario. In most cases (as evident from the city development plans submitted to JNNURM for funding), cities emphasize the need to augment supply, without estimating what it will cost, in physical and financial terms. Data suggests that most cities spend anywhere between 30-50 percent of their water supply accounts for electricity to pump water. As the distance increases, the cost of building and then maintaining the water pipeline and its distribution network also increases.

Since most of the distribution infrastructure is old and decrepit and also not maintained, water losses also increase. The end result is that the cost of water increases and the state may not be able to subsidize the water supply. The situation is worse in the case of the poor who often have to spend a great deal of time and money to obtain water since they do not have house connections. Worse, as the city municipal water system collapses under the weight of under-recoveries, the rich move to private water sources like bottled water. The poor suffer the cost of poor health.

Coping measures: The coping measures include, increasing household level storage capacity to overcome water supply uncertainties, use of household filtration equipment and reliance on bottled water for drinking and cooking. Almost all middle and upper class households have invested on these “mini-utilities” to overcome intermittent water supply and water quality issues. Also, since the new housing and other development projects have to internalize these costs, the additional costs have to be borne by the prospective buyers of houses. While the household level coping measures alleviate some of the issues, at city scale they often aggravate the problems due to elite capture.

Improving the quality of services under the urban growth scenarios is the greatest challenge today and will continue over next several decades. If not addressed, these issues can lead to violent protests and law and order problems especially during peak scarcity periods. Such semi-organized protests have become common in cities facing water scarcity. Indore is one of the best examples where the city is facing water scarcities and organized protests leading to violence during every summer.

The public is willing to pay, provided reasonable services are made available to them and confidence building measures to overcome historic poor

performance is taken up and reasons for the water charges increases explained to them. For example, many ULBs have been able to simultaneously improve services and increase the water tariffs without protests by the residents. The production costs in cities depending on distant sources are quite high and cross subsidies are given to enable domestic users to pay less than O&M costs. This system leads to commercial and industrial users shifting to other sources like groundwater, resulting in overall insufficient revenue to pay for the production costs.

Beside these challenges, cities are also facing threat from climate change. Increasing temperature, changing rainfall patterns, reducing natural resources, sea level rise and urban floods are imposing threat to infrastructure and livelihood of the urban citizens in India.

2.4.4 Sewerage and Sanitation services

The challenge of sanitation in Indian cities is acute. With very poor sewerage networks, a large number of the urban poor still depend on public toilets. Many public toilets have no water supply while the outlets of many others with water supply are not connected to the city's sewerage system. Only 13.5 % of the sewage from Indian cities was treated the rest being let out untreated leading to pollution of land and water-bodies, while the treatment capacity installed was only 30%. The actual treatment was estimated at 72.2 % of the sewage collected which implies that only about 20% sewage generated was treated before disposal in Class I cities and Class II towns (CPCB, 2009).

Over 50 million people in urban India were estimated to be defecating in the open every day in 2008. None of the 423 cities studied by MoUD in 2008 were found to be 'healthy' and 'clean'. The scoring done for these cities indicated that the Municipal Corporations of Chandigarh, Mysore, and Surat and the New Delhi Municipal Council were the only four ULBs that fared relatively better. Close to 190 cities in the study were rated to be in a state of emergency with respect to sanitation and public health (MoUD, 2008). Eradicating practices of manual scavenging, and mobilizing states and cities to accord sustained priority to urban sanitation (MoUD & MoRD, 2011)

Diseases linked to poor sanitation and hygiene lead

to substantial loss of life and potential. It is estimated that one in every ten deaths in India is linked to poor sanitation and hygiene. Diarrhoea, a preventable disease, is the largest killer and accounts for every twentieth death. Around 450,000 deaths were linked to Diarrhoea alone in 2006, of which 88% were deaths of children below five. Monetized economic losses linked to poor sanitation in 2006 was of the order of Rs.2.4 Lakh Crore (US\$ 53.8 billion), or Rs.2,180 (US\$ 48) per person. This works out to 6.4% of Gross Domestic Product (WSP, 2010).

The poor are worst affected by the poor water supply and sanitation services. Water related diseases result in disproportionately high medical expenses as well as infant mortality, which is compounded by the location of slums and poor settlements along the drainage lines, which receive the sewage from the rest of the city. Also, since poor predominantly depend on contaminated groundwater for water supplies without treatment, their vulnerability to water borne diseases are higher. They also suffer disproportionately during water crisis periods due to elite capture of centralised supplies.

2.4.5 Electricity

About 92% of the urban households used electricity for lighting, indicating that they have access to electricity (Census 2011). Also, National sample survey indicated that only about 86% of the lowest quintile of MPCE in urban households had access to electricity (NSSO, 2010). It is not the access, but frequent power cuts that is an issue in poorer sections of urban population. Also, a significant proportion of poor households have illegal connections, which pose revenue loss to the utilities.

In 2008, lighting accounted for approximately 30 percent of total residential electricity use, followed by refrigerators, fans, electric water heaters and TVs. Approximately 4 percent of total residential electricity used is for standby power. In 2009, the urban India had estimated number of 179 million fans, 28.3 million air coolers and 4 million air conditioners. By 2030, the numbers of fans are expected to grow to 527 million fans, 107 million air coolers and about 40 million air conditioners (10 times). This would mean an increase of 4-6 times energy for space cooling alone. Appliance penetration, particularly of refrigerators and air conditioning units, is expected to be the main driver for the growth of residential energy demand by 2020 (World

Bank, 2008). Frequent power cuts and low quality of electricity occasional damage to the appliances that constrain the urban households.

2.5 URBAN GOVERNANCE

2.5.1 Urban Governance in India

History of Municipal Governance: Municipal Governance in India exists since 1687 with the formation of Madras Municipal Corporation and then Calcutta and Bombay Municipal Corporation in 1726. In early part of the nineteenth century almost all towns in India had experienced some form of municipal Governance. In 1882 Lord Ripon's resolution of local self-government laid the democratic forms of municipal governance in India. In 1919 Government of India act incorporated the need of the resolution and the powers of democratically elected government were formulated. In 1935 Government of India act brought local government under the purview of the state or provincial government and specific powers were given. (City managers Orissa, website 2012).

However, decentralization through the Constitution Seventy- fourth Amendment Act, 1992 (CAA) is considered to be a watershed development in urban policy initiatives in India. This is due to the fact that for the first time in the history of urban governance, the municipal bodies were provided the Constitutional Status of the third tier of government. It is however, well known that the local governments in India are confronted with poor finances, state control over local governance and multiplicity of agencies- often with overlapping functional and geographical jurisdictions. With the increase in responsibilities as a result of the devolution of eighteen functions mentioned in the 12th Schedule of the 74th CAA, empowerment of the ULBs became inevitable. Moreover, the decline in the budgetary support from the higher tiers of Government, as a result of the second generation of reforms that aimed at reducing state fiscal deficits, made devolution of powers to ULBs imperative. It took nearly two decades for decentralisation initiative after the second generation of reforms triggered during the early nineties (Bagchi & Chattopadhyay 2004). Still, some of the states have not devolved all the functions to the ULBs.

The institutional arrangement for municipal governance

and urban service delivery mainly comprises the Constitutional provisions, State Municipal Laws, role of State Finance Commission (SFC) and Central Finance Commission (CFC), and status of ULBs and parastatals (DEA, 2009). Under the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution, the state government has the exclusive domain of the Local government, including the constitution and powers of municipal corporations, improvement trusts, district boards, mining settlement authorities and other local authorities for the purpose of local self-government or village administration. The statutory urban areas have one of the following administrative bodies:

- Nagar Panchayats for areas in transition from a rural area to urban area;
- Municipal Councils for smaller urban areas;
- Municipal Corporations for larger urban areas.

The Census towns are administered by respective Panchayats, pending declaration as the statutory towns and formation of Municipalities. The 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA) came into force in June, 1993, which sought to strengthen decentralization. The CAA devolved most of the urban management and planning functions to the ULBs (funds, functions and functionaries), but actual devolution across states show very high diversity. The CAA did not lay down revenue base for ULBs and the power to determine the revenue base continues to remain with state governments (DEA, 2009).

With the long history of state government's control over ULBs, the ULBs are typically weak in terms of finances, technical capacity and functional autonomy is only slowly taking root. The fragmentation and duplication of roles between many agencies exists resulting often unmanageable situations. Despite the devolution of the functions, the problem continues and is often aggravates due to lack of capacity of ULBs and expansion of the cities. In most states, the infrastructure development is still being managed by the parastatal (Urban development Authorities) and state departments.

the Bangalore Water Supply and Sewerage Board (a Parastatal Agency), while the storm water drainage is managed by the ULB. With the result, storm water and sewerage gets mixed up and causing the natural drainage carrying the sewerage during normal periods while during rainy seasons, the sewerage system overflows in to the streets with storm water. Also, this results in the sewage treatment plants not getting sufficient load to treat waste water. Similar cases are reported from many other cities across the country.

- TARU analysis 1994

Institutional arrangements for water supply and sanitation in Indian cities vary greatly. Typically, a state-level agency is in-charge of planning and investment, while the local government is in-charge of operation and maintenance. Some of the largest cities have created municipal water and sanitation utilities (parastatal) that are legally and financially separated from the local government. Tariffs are also set by state governments, which often subsidize operating costs. However, due to subsidization of services, the utilities generally remain weak in terms of financial capacity. In spite of decentralization, ULBs remain dependent on capital subsidies and capital investments from the state governments.

Role of Parastatal Agencies

The extent of devolution of powers from the state governments across the country has been quite diverse and a variety of parastatal agencies formed earlier to develop and manage urban infrastructure and services still continue to play major role in infrastructure development and service delivery. They mainly include Urban Development Authorities, Water Supply and Sewerage Boards etc. formed at state or at city levels. Also the State Public Works Departments and Public Health Engineering Departments continue to provide urban services and are in-charge of capital works in many states.

Most of the ULBs have their jurisdiction within the city boundaries with the peripheral areas controlled by the Urban Development Authorities, which develop plans, acquire land and develop housing, urban infrastructure, deliver lifeline services and sell the developed plots and buildings to the public. These bodies are often financially sound, due to the value addition they provide. In most of the cities, the urban development authorities also take up capital works within the city.

FRAGMENTED AND OVERLAPPING ROLES IN MANAGEMENT OF URBAN SERVICES

In Bengaluru city, the water supply and sewerage is managed by

As the city grows, urban development authorities hand over the newly developed areas to the ULBs. One of the major complaints of the ULBs is that they are asked to take over new areas with partial infrastructure and services. The parastatal agencies and Town and Country Planning Departments were often responsible for developing master plans for area development, water supply and sewerage. With the result, multiple parastatal agencies often developed separate master plans for sectors/areas under their control.

Vision documents give no specific detail on, for example, the shifting of slums, access to basic amenities by the poor, or affordability. No definite indicator is worked out by which the fulfilment of the broad objectives or stipulations can be monitored. This undoubtedly opens the way for vested interests that get identified as stakeholder. The slum dwellers inducted into the exercise of preparing the vision document often play a decorative role, largely because of their inability to understand the implications of the macro vision.

Extracts from “Trends and processes of urbanisation in India (Kundu, 2009)”

MASTER PLANS TO CITY DEVELOPMENT PLANS

The pattern of demographic and economic growth, particularly in large cities, in the Post-Independence period was to be determined by master plans, often prepared by parastatal agencies with the support of the state government. This brought in physical planning controls on the location of economic activities and urban land use. In effect, this approach tried to limit the absorptive capacity of different areas. To an extent, it helped in diverting population growth, low-valued activities and squatters towards marginalised areas within large cities or their peripheries, creating select high-quality residential areas. The system of control, nonetheless, resulted in the contraction of land supply in the market, enormous corruption and a large number of court cases that ultimately constrained investments in infrastructure and housing. Master plans have thus come to be seen as deterministic and rigid, inhibiting the dynamics of city growth through land-use controls.

Given the difficult financial situation of the local bodies, it is unlikely that they will be able to strengthen their planning departments by recruiting technical and professional personnel in the immediate future. This assistance is unlikely to come from the state government departments since they too lack adequate professional staff or the resources to employ them. The only choice for the local bodies has, therefore, been to resort to financial intermediaries, credit-rating agencies and private consultants. A large number of such agencies have developed in recent years, a few with assistance from international organisations. The metropolitan cities with a strong economic base, state capitals and a few other globally linked cities have been able to take advantage of the new environment and prepared city development plans (CDPs).

Consequently, several metropolitan cities have prepared quick-fix CDPs or even vision documents, in place of master plans. Many of the vision documents represent a “manufactured consensus”, having plenty of rhetoric and stipulations concerning environment, equity, social justice and so on. But they delineate only the broad contours of development strategy and the stakeholders are expected to work out the details within a participatory mode of governance.

2.5.2 Challenges for urban governance in context of access to services

Urban growth over historical lag in services: The urban growth over the current backlog of infrastructure imposes major challenges to urban service delivery. Over these, the lack of technical, financial and managerial capacities of the ULBs to fill the growing gap in infrastructure and services further imposes very high burden on the citizens who have to invest on household and community level coping measures.

At household/building levels coping measures are resorted to overcome the poor access and quality services. Hoarding water by pumps, sumps and overhead tanks to overcome water supply uncertainties, use of inverters, and increasing reliance on the private transport are some of such measures. When these coping measures are aggregated at city level they become very inefficient use of space, investments and materials. Private sector also plays a coping support role through water tanker supplies and bottled water etc. Also, since the new housing and other development projects have to internalize these costs, the additional costs have to be borne by the prospective buyers of houses. While the household level coping measures alleviate some of the issues, at a city scale they often aggravate the scale of problems as the increasing traffic problems posed by growing private vehicle population or contaminated groundwater by septic tanks.

Improving the quality of services under the rapid urban growth environment over next several decades will pose major challenge in terms of management as well as environmental degradation. If not addressed, these issues can lead to violent protests and law and order problems especially during peak scarcity periods. Semi-organized protests have become common in

cities facing water scarcity. Such protests often lead to violence and further divert utility staff from scarcity management tasks. The public is often willing to pay, provided reasonable services are made available to them (confidence building measures may be required to overcome historic poor performance) and reasons for the water charges increases explained to them. Willingness to pay surveys are incapable of capturing the incipient demand since the potential users are not aware of indirect medium and long benefits of better services.

OPPORTUNITY COSTS OF DOMESTIC HELPER AND WATER SCARCITY

In Rahul Gandhinagar slum of Indore, most women work as maids and domestic workers in neighbouring middle-class colonies. Their working time is mostly mornings and evenings. Due to water scarcity and distribution problems, most of the women and children spend nearly two hours each day to collect water during the morning supply time. These women complained that they lose at least one domestic work job (one hour per day) paying about 100-150 Rs/month due to water scarcity. Even though most of the men initially refused to pay for better water services, the women were ready to pay for improved water supply. With a significant proportion of women pursuing informal sector work, opportunity costs have become higher.

Tariff to meet operational and expansion costs: While many other developing countries are able to provide 24 hour water supply, in most Indian cities, the number of hours of supply has significantly reduced over years. Metering system was abandoned and flat tariff system was introduced over the decades, with no incentives to control water use. In addition to health issues, lack of access to round the clock water supply has created several perverse incentives like elite capture and also created water markets often relying on the existing system itself.

While the users are actually investing on coping mechanisms and pay high costs to access the basic services, ULBs as well as state governments lack the willingness to increase charges since they fear backlash effect from their vote banks. Most of the water supply systems are unmetered and untargeted subsidy of water charges benefits the existing consumers since they have access and storage capacity on the same monthly fixed charge per connection. The poor either do

not have any access or do not have sufficient storage to ward against intermittent supply.

Soft paths vs. capital works: The governments and ULBs often resort to building new infrastructure, without managing the existing infrastructure by reduction of system losses or theft in case of services like water supply and electricity. There are huge opportunities for recycling and reuse of resources like water, with demand focused end-use management. In large cities accessing distant sources requiring huge investments, options like reuse and recycling would reduce need for additional capital works to cater the existing and growing needs. Such soft paths for managing the utilities can save huge sums to the ULBs, while taking less time to improve the supply situation without resorting to long gestation period projects.

Even where the state has devolved these functions to ULBs fully, they do not have mandate to take up capital works. This is especially the case of water resources, where the cities have to depend on distant sources-located outside their jurisdictions. Also the financial autonomy of the ULBs to raise funds for capital works is limited due to their poor financial health.

Staff capacities and institutional memory: The poor financial health of the ULBs limit their ability to access higher quality staff, invest on technologies (IT, Water supply, sewerage, transport etc.) to manage more efficiently or to rehabilitate the poorly performing lifeline infrastructure. Most of the ULBs are unable to hire new staff, and the older generation, which was managing the essential services, is retiring. The locations of underground infrastructure, maps and other information about the infrastructure often don't exist, and the retirement of the old staff is leading loss of institutional memory to manage the services. One of the JNNURM mandatory reform conditions is implementation of city level GIS for infrastructure anon line taxation system, which the cities have been trying to implement with mixed results due to capacity constraints.

Informal and under-served enclaves: The urban growth is increasingly being driven by private sector, with diminishing role of ULBs to plan and manage spatial expansion. Since significant part of the urban expansion is taking place in peripheral areas, ULBs are often unable to control growth. These areas are mostly developed haphazardly without basic infrastructure networks laid out before expansion. Retrofitting

underground networks, laying storm water drainage and widening roads have become a challenge leading to bottlenecks. Also the existing peri-urban villages are allowed to densify without proper planning. These give rise to pockets of haphazard growth amidst of planned cities. These enclaves remain the continued challenges for the city managers as they are enveloped by growing cities. Even when built by large real estate companies, these problems remain and since their plans are not integrated with city level plans with insufficient connectivity with roads and water supply networks. Similarly, redevelopment of core areas with old infrastructure, slums, low income settlements in the core areas also suffer from inadequate and low quality provisions of services.

Technology absorption: The technologies for efficiently managing the resources and service quality are fast emerging and viable at city levels. The ULB's capacity to use them and afford these would determine their ability to provide satisfactory universal access to services. These technologies include recycling and reuse, energy conservation, GIS and IT enabled service management systems for water supply, and traffic etc. hold promises

to enable much needed quantum jump in coverage and quality of services.

2.6 LEGACY-CURRENT CONTEXT-FUTURE OPTIONS

Challenges of Indian cities are a combination of legacy issues arising out of their historical growth, which are amplified by current context of urban development. They are unable to deal with them largely due to lag in decision making as well as inability to explore opportunities arising out of technological innovations in planning paradigms, management of services through developments in IT and other tools as well as lessons from other cities facing similar challenges. It is important to learn from legacy issues, since they provide lessons to ensure that current interventions or inaction does not lead to additional legacy issues in the future as the case of climate change shows. This framework helps in unbundling these challenges and explores opportunities to address them by incorporating new paradigms for managing the cities. The following Table presents a brief list of legacy issues, current context and opportunities.

Table 2.2: Legacy-Current Context and future options across sectors

Sector	Legacy	Current context	Future opportunities
DEMOGRAPHY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Marginalised pockets without access to services ▪ Poor-immigrants without skills or education due to neglect of education and skill development in rural areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mega polis with large number of emerging million plus cities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A judicious mix of large, medium and small cities based on resources economy environmental carrying capacity
LIVELIHOODS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Artefacts of old livelihoods (tailoring, shoe making etc.) with artisans unable to transform their livelihoods and growing down in socio-economic ladder 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Large enterprises depending on export of finished goods, service sector increasingly depending on global demand ▪ Rapid transformation amidst of manpower or investments on skill development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Skill development relevant for urban areas through education and skill building efforts in both rural and urban areas

Sector	Legacy	Current context	Future opportunities
LANDUSE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extremely dense old traditional buildings without sufficient maintenance, Pockets of enclave villages with increasing density without build regulations. Slums in Urban sprawls created by single use planning and LRHD paradigm. Partly implemented master plans and encroachments. Illegal settlements not integrated with master plans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dense-core serving as de-facto mixed use/Business districts Regularisation of illegal settlements Low/medium rise Urban sprawls, Blockage of drainage by other landuse Encroachment of high value high risk zones(Flood plains) Severe land constraint high and skewed real estate prices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compact mixed use, Dedicated public spaces Respect for natural processes based on sustainability and risks
WATER SUPPLY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aged infrastructure of core areas without sufficient drainage and sewerage resulting in increasing water pollution. Narrow roads buildings over old infrastructure adding to constraints to add new infrastructure. Ad-hoc infrastructure with no maps Large distribution networks of various vintages/types Deeply rooted subsidy culture benefiting only served population constraining the decision makers from making water supply system economically viable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited supply amidst of high UFW with little or no investments on reducing UFW Continued subsidies due to lack of political will resulting in high opportunity losses even to poor. Increasing per capita demand without incentives for reuse/saving Neglect of soft paths with continued focus on hard infrastructure Wastage of high quality water for low end uses Loss of trust leading to internalisation of risks/hoarding by large House/Building level storages/pumps/ground water Ineffective ground water control 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Universal access Minimising per capita consumption based on end use quality demand Dual water Systems Increased use of recycled water Matching local resources with demand/population
SEWERAGE AND SANITATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decrepit infrastructure that cannot be upgraded due to space constraints Pollution from decentralised septic tank systems from un-served old peripheries enclave villages Direct discharge to water bodies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Centralised system serving mostly core, with poorly maintained partial treatment of sewage, Individual septic tanks in periphery No/limited reuse of waste water and lack of incentives Lack of rules to prevent pollution from houses and lack of rules for peripheral development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A mix of treatment at source for local reuse New technologies with energy generation & minimum sludge generation Use of treated lower water for gardening/construction/Space cooling Dual water systems using low quality water

Sector	Legacy	Current context	Future opportunities
TRANSPORT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Narrow roads in the core area unable to meet growing densities and economic activities Challenges of retrofitting of public transport corridors due to narrow roads 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited investments on public transport resulting in continued preference of private vehicles and traffic jams resulting in loss of opportunity costs Slow land acquisition processes for public transport corridors and lack of policies to enforce public transport corridors Lack of incentives/mechanisms for integrating para-transit with public transport Continued Single land use planning resulting in longer travel distances and travel times Knee jerk reaction investments on over bridges without scope for improving approach and exit roads Increasing travel time for significant proportion of working population Limited use of IT in enabling faster movement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mixed landuse based on access rather than mobility Dedicated public transport networks Origin to destination multimode systems through seamless public and Para transit solutions Intelligent transport systems
HOUSING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dense cores of unsafe and decrepit buildings with limited scope for retrofitting essential services Urban sprawls without sufficient services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On-going process of building of gated communities and High rise buildings in periphery In house amenities built for high per capita resource consumption juxtaposed with growing number and density of slums Insufficient investments for providing universal access of lifeline services resulting in continued exclusion of poor No forward looking policies to improve housing in enclave villages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Skyscraper dominated compact cities Intelligent building systems to optimise resource use Zero discharge townships built on lifecycle resource use minimisation
WATER RESOURCES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increasing reliance on distant resources amidst of growing conflicts in water deficit environment Inadequate of monitoring water quality and enforcement pollution control resulting in downstream pollution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Optimal systems based on zero discharge minimising need for tapping of additional resources Extensive reuse and management of water quality of water bodies
SOCIETY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Traditional rural communities dependant on primary activities. Coexistence of primary and livelihood based communities in urban environment often resulting in conflicts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inadequate investments on lifeline services and education/skill development resulting in exclusion of poor and urbanisation of poverty No conscious effort or incentives/ policies to transform primary activities dependent communities resulting in stress on transport, sewage and other sectors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inclusive society with global culture

Sector	Legacy	Current context	Future opportunities
INSTITUTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Patronage based/oligarchic systems, especially enclave villages and slums 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A mix of Democratic, oligarchy based system increasingly becoming soft state with loosening control Fragmented and overlapping roles of urban services departments creating Dominance of private sector with public institutions/planning process losing control 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Democratic society with e-governance and new institutions focusing on efficacy competitiveness and sustainability
ENVIRONMENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> High pollution of water land and soils, especially core areas and drainage systems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Large and increasing footprints impacting at global scale Inadequate mechanisms/rules to maintain public spaces green resulting in increasing urban heat islands Increasing imperviousness amplifying peak discharges without effective enforcement of rainwater conservation/ground water recharge. Increasing ground and surface water pollution due to inadequate enforcement of pollution control Increasing risks of natural disasters, resource scarcity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reducing footprints by optimal use of resources, long term planning
ENERGY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Legacy wiring systems old buildings that can increase fire risk 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Energy hungry systems increasingly dependent on Imported resources Mix of fossil fuel and electricity Local and regional air pollution Extensive replacement of human energy by household gadgets Increasing penetration of indoor environmental control 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Minimised energy use through efficient devices Recycling and combined use systems (waste recycling to energy) intelligent energy use optimisation combining local (waste heat, solar, wind) and distant energy sources
HEALTH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Polluted ground water and continued use of unsafe water sources impacting health 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increasing incidence of lifestyle diseases due to sedentary lifestyle and stress Inadequate focus on access to public health services, especially poor Inadequate sewerage resulting in continued pollution and public health issues Water/air quality related diseases 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public health research for reducing disease outbreaks and strengthening of linkage between urban services and health Focus on pre-emptive control through extensive use of real-time-monitoring Early diagnosis/control Environmental control to reduce disease incidence

Table 2.2 offers opportunities for the cities to address the challenges through better governance and use of technologies. Considering the current institutional capacities and constraints, it may be necessary to involve civil society as well as private sector in facing these growing challenges across sectors. The framework enables unbundling these issues to understand the impacts of delayed decisions so that the city administrators can understand the consequences of lack of timely action in future by looking back at legacy issues being faced today.

2.7 URBAN GROWTH AND INCREASING RISK PROFILE

Most of the cities of the country have evolved from historic small towns formed along river banks, trade centres, administrative centres or army cantonments. At the time of their formation, pumping and long distance water conveyance technologies did not exist; local access to year round water was one of the main considerations for the formation and survival of these towns.

The technological as well socio-economic context of the cities have changed over time, resulting in discordance between the geo-physical, hydrological and landuse context. As these towns expanded, the new infrastructure like bridges and water supply systems based on distant sources were developed so that these cities could expand to sizes beyond their local resource base. Also, the cities expanded to both banks of the river, constricting the flood plains. To overcome occasional flooding, embankments were built which further constrained the natural flow and resulted in siltation of river beds. For improvement of water supply, barrages were built. The flood risks increased due to these anthropogenic changes in river hydrology. This has increased the flood risk of many river-bank cities like Delhi, Ahmedabad, Vadodara, Pune, Surat, Cuttack, Kolkata etc. Also the problems of inadequate storm water drainage and filling of traditional water storage reservoirs (which acted as buffers) within the city have increased the pluvial flood risks. The Restriction imposed by master planning process (e.g. low FSI limits) has led to increased house prices and has indirectly forced the poor to settle in peripheries marginalized areas like drainage lines and differentially higher flood prone areas with little or no protection.

Most of the cities are likely to expand over the next few decades and the risk profile is likely to change towards worse, unless the land use planning is informed by the changes in hydrology and climate variability issues. As mentioned earlier, the private sector and individual household led expansion of peripheral areas without developing regional infrastructure networks are likely to increase the risk profiles. It may be noted that this increase in risk profile is unrelated with the climate change.

2.8 URBAN CLIMATE CHANGE RISK

As reported in the earlier sections, Indian cities face challenges of scarcity of resources, inadequate and infrastructure and poor quality of lifeline services. A significant proportion of urban infrastructure is old and decrepit in the core city areas. These old infrastructure is still being used, since refurbishing or installing new infrastructure is nearly impossible due to very high densities and lack of space. Major changes in density and decongestion of the core to improve the services are politically unpopular and administratively challenging. Only in rare cases, the ULBs are able to decongest the old core and improve the services in the core areas

Climate change is likely to add additional stress on urban infrastructure and lifeline services, which will impact the residents in many direct and indirect ways. The urban climate change impacts can be classified in to following major classes:

1. Slow onset and unidirectional phenomenon e.g. sea-level rise or saline water intrusion in to coastal aquifers
2. Slow onset periodic phenomenon e.g. droughts, heat waves
3. Fast onset high intensity phenomenon affecting large number of people e.g. floods, cyclones etc.

The three main direct impacts of climate change on urban India would be disruption of life from floods, water scarcity and morbidity and mortality due to hot and cold waves. The coastal cities are also likely to face additional stress due to sea level rise and possible increase in frequency of cyclonic storms. These direct impacts can cause disruptions in urban

economy for days to weeks or months at a time. Some of the issues like water scarcity already exist due to rapid urbanisation and the climate change will only amplify these issues. The urban storm water drainage modifications have been causing water logging in areas earlier not known to be prone as in case of Powai area of Mumbai.

The main indirect impacts would include changes in vector borne diseases, seasonal stresses on energy systems due to temperature increase. Climate change impact water supply systems by unpredictable precipitation patterns and increased competition over limited resources by upstream use. Also, floods and other rapid events disrupt other infrastructure like electricity and transport, which can result in huge losses and take weeks to months to recover.

Even during normal times, due to access constraints, poor end up paying higher for the lifeline services, which reduce their capacity to invest on coping mechanisms. Climate change can impact the poor in many ways, including differentially higher risk exposure, limited accessibility to scarce resources like water, lack of coping systems like water storage/ cash, loss of wages due to disruptions, lack of community safety nets. Due to low financial buffers, duration for recovery is differentially higher than other SECs.

Vulnerability of households to climate change would depend on endowment of five capitals for different socio-economic categories under livelihood framework. For urban households, human financial, physical and social capitals are most important from the capacity perspective, while the role of natural capital is more indirect. It is desirable to look at these capitals through the lens of accessibility-equity-quality-diversity. This is essential as the mere existence of these capitals does not imply their actual availability for use. For instance, piped water connections may be physically inaccessible to the residents of a slum; transport infrastructure may be unevenly distributed; electricity services may be irregular or of poor quality; and there may be little diversity of food and other goods. Moreover, rising temperature or delayed rainfall are expected to exacerbate scarcities of water, food, or energy bringing issues of distribution, equity, and purchasing power to centre stage (Kelkar et.al 2011).

2.8.1 Water Scarcity

One of the most important impacts of climate change would be the accessibility of water to residents. Urban systems have their water footprints much larger than the city limits. Many cities have their water sources located far way and water supply. With the result, the residents have no control over the water sources, except for local sources, like ground water, which is often polluted due to poor sewerage systems or leaking septic tanks.

Climate change is expected to change the availability of water to the cities and especially to the poor. Beyond water's functions in the hydrological cycle, it has social, economic and environmental values, and is essential for sustainable development. Unprecedented population growth, a changing climate, rapid urbanization, expansion of infrastructure, migration, land conversion and pollution translate into changes in the fluxes, pathways and stores of water – from rapidly melting glaciers, saline water intrusion in to rivers and aquifers and decline of groundwater due to overexploitation.

Population density and per capita resource use have increased dramatically over the past century, and watersheds, aquifers and the associated ecosystems have undergone significant modifications that affect the vitality, quality and availability of the resource. The United Nations predictions estimate that the world population will reach 9 billion people in 2050. This exponential growth in population – a major driver of energy consumption and anthropogenic climate change – is also the key driver behind hydrologic change and its impacts (UNESCO 2011).

Water scarcity is increasingly being posed as a development challenge for many countries, particularly in urban areas (Saleth and Dinar, 2004). It is forecast that by 2050, the urban population of India will constitute 50 percent of the country's entire population and will be confronted with serious water problems exacerbated by the effects of climate change (Singh, 2000). Consequently, planners and policy-makers are increasingly coming under pressure to optimize the current use of water and to develop innovative solutions for sustainable water augmentation and management in the long term (Sarangi, 2010).

The effect of climate change on stream flow and groundwater recharge varies regionally and between climate scenarios, largely following projected

changes in precipitation. Water resource management techniques, particularly those of integrated water resource management, can be applied to adapt to hydrologic effects of climate change, and to tackle additional uncertainty. Currently, supply-side approaches (e.g., increasing flood defences, building weirs, utilizing water storage areas, including natural systems, improving infrastructure for water collection and distribution) are more widely used than demand-side approaches (which alter the exposure to stress); the latter is the focus of increasing attention. However, the capacity to implement effective management responses is unevenly distributed around the world (IPCC Working Group II, 2001).

Climate change risk is expected to increase the frequency and intensity of current hazards, an increased probability of extreme events, spur the emergence of new hazards and vulnerabilities with differential spatial and socio-economic impacts. This is expected to further degrade the resilience and coping capacities of poor and vulnerable communities, who make up from a quarter to half of the population of most Indian cities (Satterthwaite, 2006). Hundreds of millions of urban dwellers in the Indian cities are at risk from the direct and indirect impacts of climate change. In July 2005, Mumbai, India, was struck by cyclone that dumped 94 centimetres of rain in 24 hours, and leaving more than 1,000 dead, mostly in slum settlements (Sherbinin et al, 2007). This event underscores the vulnerability to climate hazards faced by urban poor in Indian cities.

Climate change will bring changes in the pattern and trend of temperature, precipitation, climate hazards in the urban areas. An important challenge for India is to reduce the risks of climate change and enhance the resilience of cities. The increasing population in the urban areas of India will further complicate and make the task of reducing vulnerabilities to climate change more challenging. Over the early 21st century, estimate is that an almost equal number of people will live in about 0.6 million villages as in 12-15,000 towns and cities by 2050. By 2025, an estimated 70 Indian cities are expected to have a population size of over one million. In addition, three mega urban regions: Mumbai-Pune (50 million), the National Capital Region of Delhi (over 30 million) and Kolkata (20 million) will be among the largest urban concentrations in the world (Revi, 2006, Census, 2006). Without effective adaptation to climate change there will be very serious consequences for the most people residing in the cities in India.

All the population in the urban areas will not be equally vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. People with high adaptive capacity will be less vulnerable but people who are most vulnerable are the urban poor, slum dwellers and

low income category population. These populations have less adaptive capacity to deal with the impacts of climate change because of poor governance; the lack of investment in infrastructure and in the commons; and strong connections between the political class, real estate developers and public agencies (Revi, 2008). Recent research highlights an urgent need to improve our understanding and action on climate variability and adaptation in urban areas as an urgent priority, particularly where poverty levels and population growth rates are highest (Huq et al, 2007b)

Source: Panda, 2011

Climate exigencies such as droughts can lead to increased groundwater pumping or investment in new surface storage, which have long-term hydrologic effects. Increased uncertainty in climatic outcomes-and hence to the renewable freshwater supply-can change the investments and use of regional water resources. Increased flood magnitude and frequency can translate into changes in sediment fluxes and the mobility of biological and chemical pollutants, as well as in investment in flood control works which, in turn, impact future sediment and residence times (UNESCO 2011).

3

FUTURE SCENARIOS OF URBAN INDIA

The economic growth of last two decades had an immediate consequence on urbanisation; there has also been great pressure on infrastructure and resources like water supply, energy, public transportation, land, etc. The ULBs and other para-statal agencies responsible for delivery of basic services are facing stiff challenges in catering to this demand. It is projected that Indian urban population will reach a figure of 600 million in 2030 (HPEC 2011), an increase of 223 million of population over next 20 years. Most metropolitan boundaries are expanding; it is difficult for the increases in geographical area to keep pace with population growth.

Already the number of metropolitan cities/UAs with population of 1 million and above has increased from 35 in 2001 to 53 in 2011 (45 cities: 1–5 million; 5 cities: 5–10 million, 3 cities: 10 m+). The MGI report projects that by 2030, 68 cities with more than 1 million population out of which 13 cities with more than 4 million and 6 mega cities (10 m+). Mumbai and Delhi will be among the 5 largest cities in the world. This trend exerts enormous resource pressure in the neighborhood of those 68 cities, unless water and other resource conservation through better infrastructure and services are commissioned.

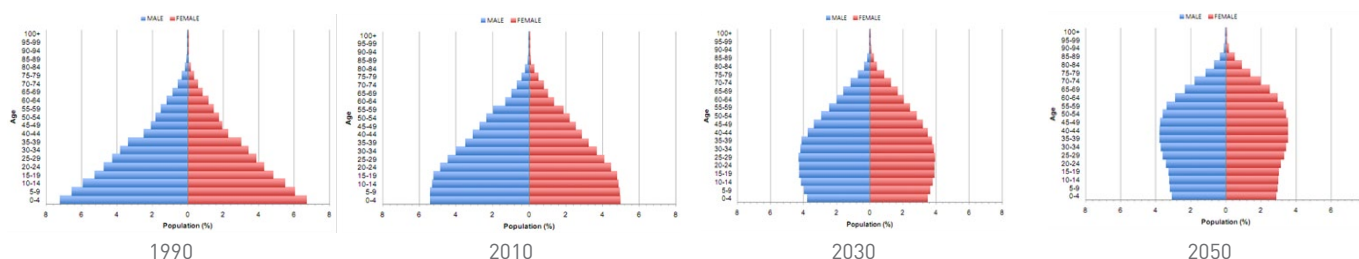
India, with its relatively young population, is expected to derive the demographic dividend, during this period. Despite reduction in decadal population growth (17.64% in 2001–2011), the India has large share of below 20 years age group, which is going to shift towards 20–30 age group in 2030 and India is expected to reach a higher working-age ratio than ever seen in East Asia (Bloom 2011). The 20 to 60 age population will increase from about 649 million to 848 million persons (increase of nearly 200 million) in 2030.

The urban areas are already suffering from inadequacy and inequity in access to basic services. For example, water supply today is beset with problems relating to coverage, quality, poor operation and maintenance and sustainability. To provide 135 lpcd of water, cities like Delhi, Bangalore Hyderabad, Chennai, Indore etc. are already exploiting sources more than 70 kms. away. The on-going tussle between Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Delhi on sharing Ganga and Yamuna waters, interstate disputes over Kaveri waters and the violent conflicts over sharing water from the Bisalpur dam between villagers and the city of Jaipur may be precursors to more such disputes in the future (Google sites-waterexcreta website, 2012).

The current paradigm requires cities to source water from further and further away. Delhi for instance, is presently sourcing part of its water supply from a distance of 500 kilometres from Tehri dam. This undeniably adds up to the cost of treatment and delivery of water. It also leads to increased inefficiencies in supply, which further cripples water supply in our cities. Firstly, as the cost of supply and delivery is high, the state can afford to supply water to only a few and not all in cities. This makes problems of inequitable access acute within cities. Secondly, the political imperative results in cities not charging its users for water supply. This in turn, leads to increased wastage and inefficiency. The burden on public utilities, in this manner, keeps mounting. But it is important to understand that even if public agencies were to do full cost pricing – charge users the cost of water supply and waste disposal – most cities would be incapable to meet up the incremental costs. This is because the current capital-intensive technological model adopted by cities of the South requires huge investment in supply and treatment of water and waste. But the answers and alternative paradigms for sustainable urban cities are more difficult to find.

Google sites-waterexcreta website, 2012

Figure 3.1: Age structure in the Indian Demography (1990 to 2050)



Source: Bloom 2011, UN population projection [2009]

With agriculture and other primary activities unable to absorb any new labour, urbanization will be led significantly by push migration of rural people in search of better work / earning. The skill set of these migrants vs. demand would determine the urban poverty situation of the future. With increasing mechanization and automation of most urban activities, the skill poor migrants may not be able to earn enough. Depending upon the urban reforms, financial prudence and targeting subsidies, investments on infrastructure, regulation of private transport and scenarios of urban India can be visualized as:

1. Improved housing vs. Housing problems
2. Compact cities vs. Urban sprawls
3. Public transport led growth vs. Traffic jams and pollution
4. Water conservation and reuse vs. Perpetual water scarcities and rural-urban water conflicts
5. Unending demands for civic amenities like roads, transport, markets, etc.

URBANISATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Despite equivocation, it is clear that urbanization and economic development are intimately related, and the concentration of resources—labour and capital—in cities is a part of this process. To the extent that these movements are the sensible response to market signals about scarcity, there is no reason for concern about the size of any city or the size distribution of cities in general. To the extent that external effects—pollution and congestion, for example—are unpriced in cities, conurbations will be too large, but not by a lot. Public concerns about pricing congested roadways and about water supplies and public health investments to decrease the chances of epidemic are well-placed; from this perspective the concern with urban slums per se is less important.

Urban poverty is not an excuse for policies limiting the extent of urbanization in low-income countries. Increased urbanization certainly facilitates the development process, and explicit policies to discourage urbanization are surely misguided.

Source: IBRD (2008)

3.1 POPULATION GROWTH AND URBANIZATION

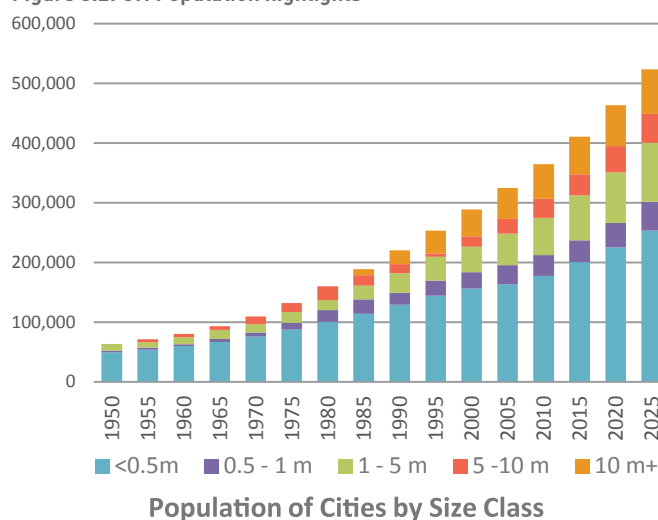
3.1.1 UN projections

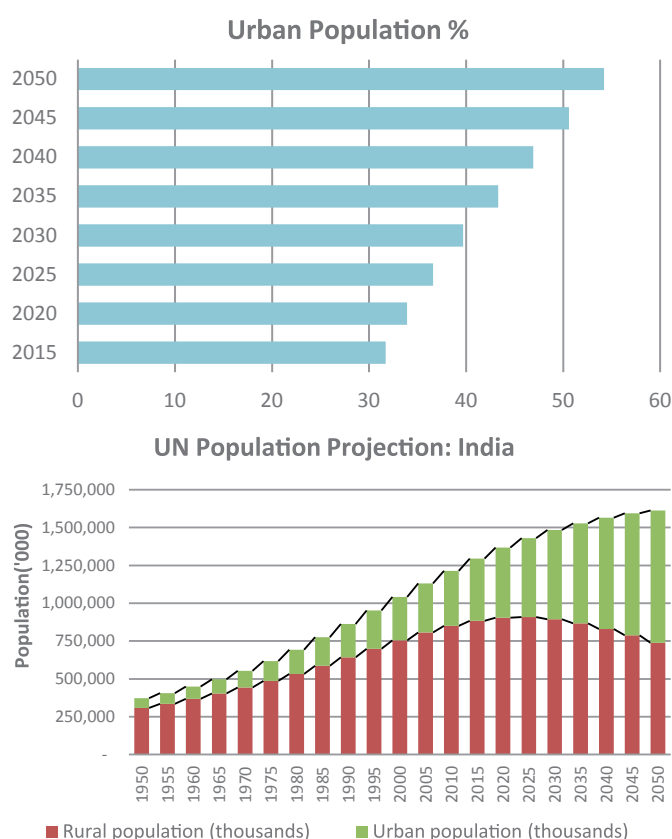
India's projected population in 2050 is estimated to be 1.6 billion with urban population projected to be about 875 million in 2050. While the annual urban growth rate is likely to remain above 2% up to 2040, the rural population is expected to peak at about 900 million in 2025 and then start shrinking. The share of urban population is projected to reach 54% in 2050. By 2016, the population of India (1.22 billion) is expected to be larger than the population of all the more developed countries combined (that is, all the countries of Europe (including Russia), Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Canada and the United States)

The working age population (15-64 age groups) will increase from 0.8 billion to 1.04 billion by 2030 and finding employment for this population is going to be a major issue that is further discussed in MGI report.

In 2025, Tokyo is projected to remain the world's most populous urban agglomeration, with 37 million inhabitants, although its population will scarcely increase. It will be followed by the two major megacities in India: Delhi with 29 million (21 million as UA including Gurgaon, Faridabad etc. in 2009) inhabitants and Mumbai with 26 million (19.7 million in 2009), both expecting important population gains. China and India together projected to account for about a third of the increase in the urban population in the coming decades. (United Nations 2009)

Figure 3.2: UN Population highlights





Source: UN Population data

Implications on Livelihoods: The arable land available for rural households is likely to shrink to about 0.86 ha per rural household by 2025. With limited landholdings, sustaining rural population with primary activities would become unviable. This means that the current rural employment guarantee schemes aimed at creating and sustaining rural livelihoods may need to be refocused. Also education relates schemes also need to refocus on ensuring employable skills suitable for urban areas. It also has to be noted that, the secondary activities are also going to shrink with mechanization and automation as seen in production as well as construction sector Human labour component per unit value addition from secondary sector is already shrinking and the trend is likely to continue and accelerate. The composition of demand for tertiary sector can also be expected to change with increased demand for high skilled persons.

By 2025, nearly half the urban population is expected to reside in cities more than 0.5 million population and 42% in the million plus cities. With the current planning paradigm continuing, water scarcities, traffic

jam etc. will be major challenges in urban areas. In semi- arid and arid areas, water scarcity can aggravate by droughts. Droughts can trigger domino effect on electricity and other sectors as exemplified by 2012 regional electricity black-out across Northern and Eastern India.

Inadequate storm water drainage can result in floods and water logging in flat terrains, even in upper catchment areas as the case of Indore and Pune shows. The annual mean rainfall across the 53 million+ cities shows that nearly half (27) cities lie in arid and semi-arid areas.

Figure 3.3: Annual rainfall across million plus cities

Annual rainfall Across Million plus cities				
Rainfall	Population size class (2011)			All
	1-5m	5-10m	>10m	
<500 mm	1			1
500-700mm	5			5
700-1000m	16	4	1	21
1000-1500	15	1		16
1500-2000mm			1	1
>2000	8		1	9
All	45	5	3	53

Source: Worldclim website, Census 2011

By 2030, three Mega cities are likely to account for 74 million people, six 5-10 million size cities will account for 48 million people (average 8 million/city) and 54 cities with 1-5 million population will account for nearly 100 million people (avg. 2 million/city). This would mean that there would be concentrated point demands for water and energy from nearly 63 cities (million plus) across India.

3.1.2 MGI Economic and urban projection

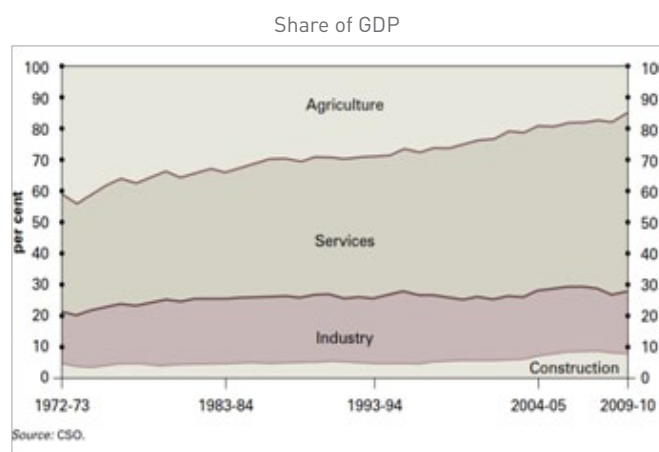
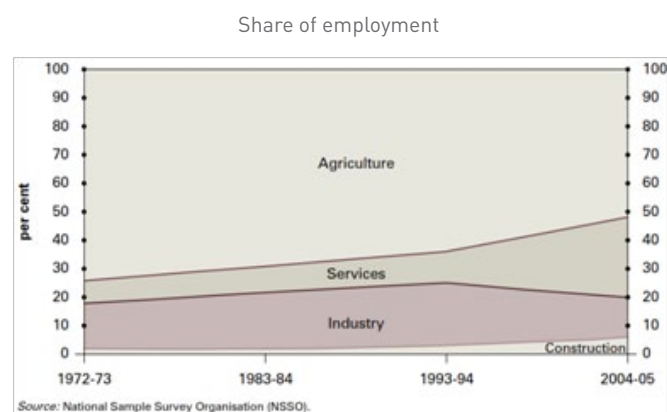
Mckinsey Global Institute (MGI) published a report "India's Urban Awakening: Building Inclusive Cities, Sustaining Economic Growth" based on econometric model. This report does not address the issues of natural resources to meet the growing demands. Unlike other countries of Asia and most of the world, which are grappling with aging population and rising dependency ratios, India has relatively young and rapidly growing

population- a potential demographic dividend. The demographic dividend is conditional on higher literacy and skill levels. India will have largest growing work force for the next 20 years, as about 270 million Indians will join the net working age population between now and 2030.

During 2010-2030, urban India is expected to create 70 per cent of all new jobs in India and these urban jobs is expected to be at least twice as productive as equivalent jobs in the rural sector. If this demand is not met, both urban and rural areas are likely to face serious employment crisis. Such crisis is expected to reduce the affordability of services among people leading to poverty in these areas. Finding jobs for these new workers is the country's great challenge and a major part of the answer probable lies in urban India. Sectoral policies and new investments will be necessary to create jobs for these additional workers. Under a base-case estimate of annual GDP growth of 7.4 %, cities will continue to attract the majority of new investments.

MGI's analysis suggests that rural employment can grow at less than 0.6% annually at best-moving from 330 million to around 380 million, a net addition of less than 50 million jobs. Considering the already low per capita land, any addition in rural employment is difficult to achieve. This is one of the reasons for rural employment guarantee Schemes to reduce rural to urban distress migration. Agriculture was still employing about 50 percent of the labour force, but accounts for only 17% of GDP in 2004-5.

Figure 3.4: Change in Share of employment and GDP by sector over 1972-2004



Source: HPEC 2011, NSSO, CSO

MGI assumes an 8.0 percent annual GDP growth rate between 2009 and 2018, stabilizing to 7.0 % between 2018 and 2030. From 2008 to 2030, therefore is averaging annual GDP growth of 7.4 %. The report notes that India's needs GDP growth rate close to 10% a year to create enough employment for the nation's young and growing population.

Cities would allow for interactions that promote productivity, one of the underlying drivers of economic growth. Also, scale benefits offered by cities -in India and around the world- offer the opportunities to significantly lower the cost of services delivery. This is particularly relevant for a country like India, which now faces a significant challenge of rapidly ramping up basic services to a very large section of its population when funds are constrained (MGI 2010).

3.1.3 HPEC Report 2011-Urban Infrastructure

The transition to urbanisation places cities and towns at the centre of India's development trajectory. In the coming decades, the urban sector will play a critical role in the structural transformation of the Indian economy and in sustaining the high rates of economic growth. Only 30 percent of India's population lives in urban areas. This is much lower than in China, Indonesia, South Korea, Mexico, and Brazil. Some of this may be due to much lower per capita incomes in India.

Cities and towns of India today are visibly deficient in the quality of services they provide, even to the existing population. Considering that the Indian economy is

now one of the fast growing economies in the world, and demand for higher quality standards are rising, current service levels are too low relative to the needs of urban households. They are also low relative to what will be required to sustain the economic productivity of cities and towns. The scarcity of affordable housing drives the poor and some non-poor to slums. On an average, 25 percent of the population in Indian cities lives in slums; in Greater Mumbai, slum dwellers account for 54 percent of the total population. Not all slum dwellers are poor, and the complexity of these challenges is reviewed in the context of urban planning, infrastructure development and public service delivery for all.

The challenge of urbanization in India is of ensuring basic and lifeline service delivery at the enhanced minimum. This is particularly so in a situation when even the current urban population is inadequately served and total urban population is likely to increase by at least 250 million. The cities of India will have to provide a receptive environment for innovation and productivity enhancement, which can foster faster growth of the Indian economy and make room for larger migration from rural areas to higher-productivity sectors in urban areas. Government policies will have to address the challenges of an abysmal state of public services in Indian cities and towns.

The investment required for urban infrastructure over the 20-year period is estimated at Rs. 39.2 Trillion Rupees (or Rs. 39.2 lakh Crore or 0.78 trillion USD) at

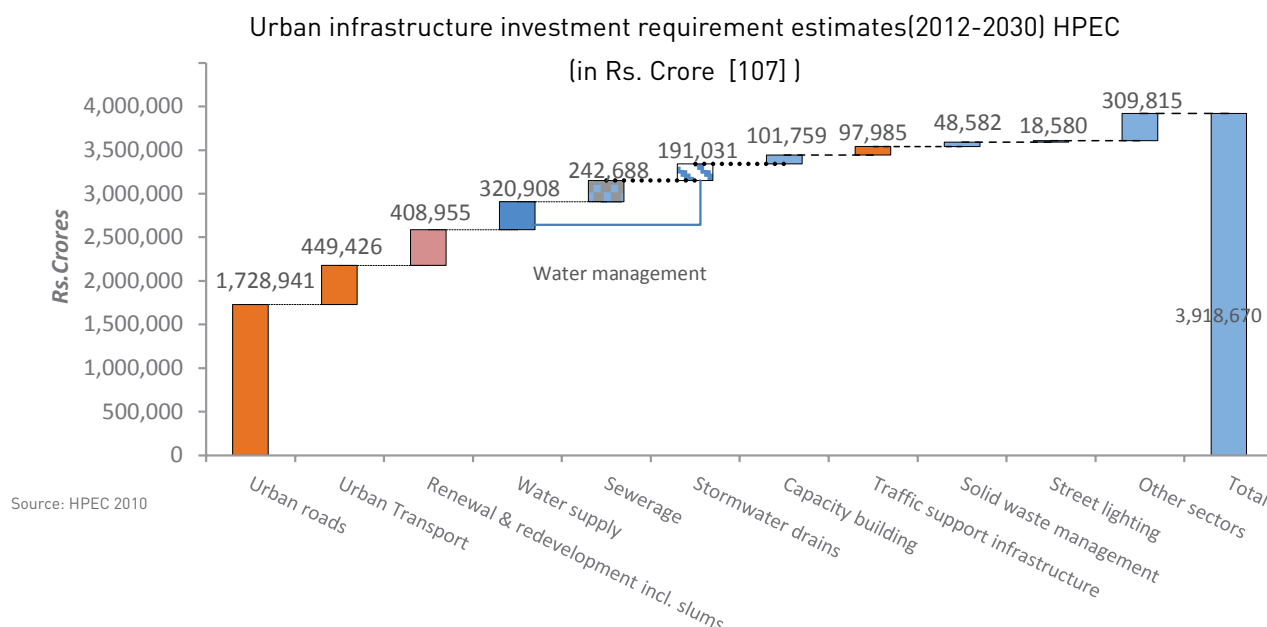
2009-10 prices. Of this, 44% is required for urban road development alone. The backlog for this sector is very large, ranging from 50 percent to 80 percent across the cities of India. It is not clear if these investments can be reduced by paradigm shift towards public transport. Sectors delivering urban services such as water supply, sewerage, solid waste management, and storm water drains will need about 20 percent of total investment. The Committee has made explicit provision about 10% for renewal and redevelopment including slums.

One of the major concerns faced in everyday life is water scarcity. The HPEC estimated investments required to address these basic needs is only 19% of the total investment, which needs to be given top priority.

As per the HPEC estimates, annual investment requirements are of the order of Rs.116,000 Crores in 2011, Rs. 330,000 Crores in 2021 and Rs. 732,000 Crores in 2031-32. Compared with this, the JNNURM investment was only Rs. 12,887 Crores (about 10% of requirement) for 2009-10. These figures indicate that financing from other sources like international finance needs to be explored, if satisfactory urban infrastructure can be provided.

Increasing tax revenues combined with rational user charges will enable cities to leverage their own resources to incur debt and also access new forms of financing through public private partnership (PPP). Also, real cost based pricing would incentivise the users

Figure 3.5: Urban infrastructure investment requirement estimates (2012-2030) HPEC



to conserve water and other resources. The ULBs need to be strengthened with their own sources of revenue, formula-based transfers from state governments, and other transfers from the Government of India to help them discharge the larger responsibilities assigned to them by the 74th Constitutional Amendment. Only then, they can augment the urban infrastructure base, provide improved quality of services on a sustainable basis to all citizens, and contribute to the growth momentum of the Indian economy

Hierarchy of needs

The hierarchy of needs paradigm accords first priority to basic services of water supply and sanitation facilities followed by housing, transportation etc. The HPEC's waterfall diagram of investment shows that the most basic services of water supply only require a small fraction of total investments. The hierarchy of needs paradigm may be best suited to prioritize investments in the investment scarce environment.

3.2 FUTURE RESOURCE CHALLENGES

Water and energy are two most critical resources for urban metabolism. While energy in its various forms can be transported from larger distances, water sources have to be available within short distances due to capital and recurring costs of conveyance.

MAJOR ISSUES OF WATER URBAN WATER SUPPLY IN ASIAN CITIES

The Asian development Bank highlighted following major challenges in urban water supply sector:

- Partial coverage of the urban population
- Rapid urbanization
- Interrupted supplies
- High nonrevenue water
- Non-potable water
- Lack of asset management
- Low tariffs that hamper connections for the poor

There are many reasons why cities struggle to provide clean and reliable water supplies to their residents, including physical scarcities of water, lack of availability of investment funds, unwillingness of authorities to charge poor consumers for water, and the lack of capacity of service providers in the public

sector. All are symptoms of the fundamental reason for these problems, which is inadequate leadership and governance.

The global water crisis is, in fact, a crisis of governance.

Source: ADB

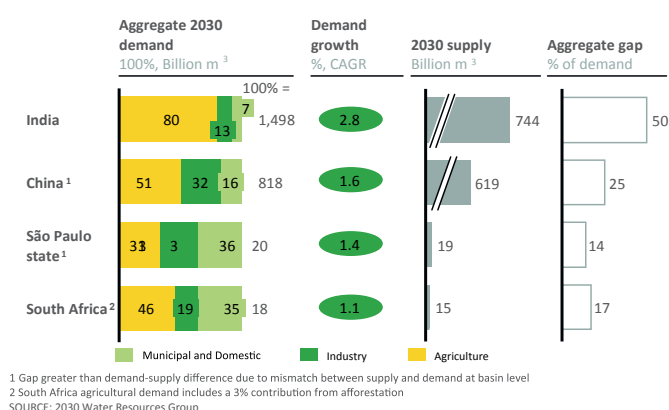
In water scarce country like India, where per capita annual renewable water resources availability had reduced to 1673 cum (WRI Website). It is expected to reduce further, with several areas facing differentially higher scarcity levels.

2030 WATER SCENARIO

By 2030, demand in India will grow to almost 1.5 trillion cum, driven by domestic demand for rice, wheat, and sugar for a growing population, a large proportion of which is moving toward a middle-class diet. Against this demand, India's current water supply is approximately 740 billion cum.

As a result, most of India's river basins could face severe deficit by 2030 unless concerted action is taken, with some of the most populous—including the Ganga, the Krishna, and the Indian portion of the Indus—facing the biggest absolute gap.

Base-case demand, supply, corresponding and gaps for the regional case studies



Source: *Charting Our Water Future: Economic frameworks to inform decision-making* (2030 Water Resources Group)

The Ministry of Water resources and National Commission on Integrated Water Resources Development estimates indicate that drinking water needs of India alone are likely to nearly double by 2050 compared to 2010. With urban population growing from 33% to nearly 50% during that period, most of the demand increase is likely to occur in urban areas in a diverse water scarcity environments.

Figure 3.6: Water Requirements for Various Sectors in 2025 and 2050

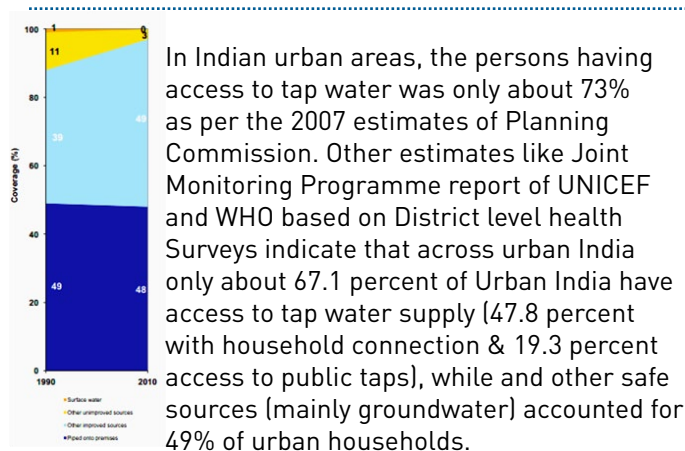
	Water Demand in Km ³ (or BCM)					
	MoWR 2000			NCIWRD 1999 Year		
Year	2010	2025	2050	2010	2025	2050
Irrigation	688	910	1072	557	611	807
Drinking Water	56	73	102	43	62	111
Industry	12	23	63	37	67	81
Energy	5	15	130	19	33	70
Others	52	72	80	54	70	11
Total	813	1093	1447	710	843	1180

Source: Report of the Working Group on Water Resources for XI FYP (2007-2012) Data from Ministry of Water Resources, GoI

Urbanisation is expected to lead to high points demands beyond the resource availability at diverse geophysical environments ranging from arid to per-humid regions. With urbanisation alone significantly increasing demands, climate change is likely to add further pressure on the resources.

“Modelled results show that currently 150 million people live in cities with perennial water shortage, defined as having less than 100 L per person per day of sustainable surface and groundwater flow within their urban extent. By 2050, demographic growth will increase this figure to almost 1 billion people. Climate change will cause water shortage for an additional 100 million urbanites.”

- McDonald et al, 2011



The National sample Survey data (2011) indicates that there is still large gap in safe water supply in urban areas, which is especially important since most of the ground water in urban areas suffer from quality

problems due to inadequate sewerage as well as contamination of even tap water due to percolation of sewage from decrepit sewage systems.

Table 3.1: Access to Drinking water from various sources in urban areas

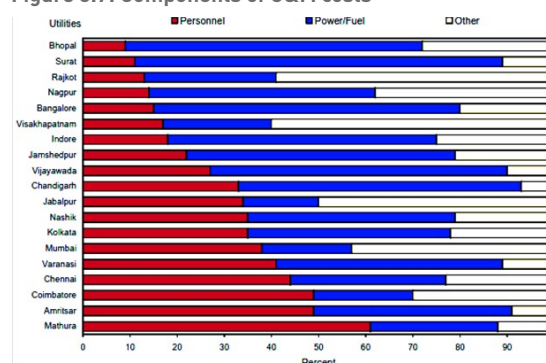
Major source of drinking water	49th Round: 1993 (%)	58th Round: 1998 (%)	65th Round: 2009 (%)
Bottled water			2.7
Tap	70.4	73.6	74.3
Tube well/ Hand pump	18.5	19.6	17.5
Wells	8.6	5.1	3.3

Source: (NSSO 2010)

The above data sets highlight the lack of uniformity in data. Also considering the NSSO 2009 figure, existing gap in tap water supply is about 80 million urban residents. Considering an average of Rs. 3,350 Rs/ capita capital costs for tap water supply, an investment of Rs.267 billion is necessary to overcome the current gap in water supply. However, the National Mission on Sustainable Habitat estimates the safe water supply gap as only 9% of the urban population. These diverse estimates point to need for more stringent definitions of “safe water supply” as well as systematic data collection and corrective measures.

Most of the JNNURM city development Plans have highlighted the need to augment supply, without detailing distance from sources and implications on recurring costs in terms of energy and running costs. As the distance increases, the cost of building and then maintaining the water conveyance and its distribution network increases (Planning Commission 2010). Most of Indian cities spend anywhere between 30-50 percent of their water supply O&M costs for electricity to pump water (ADB 2007).

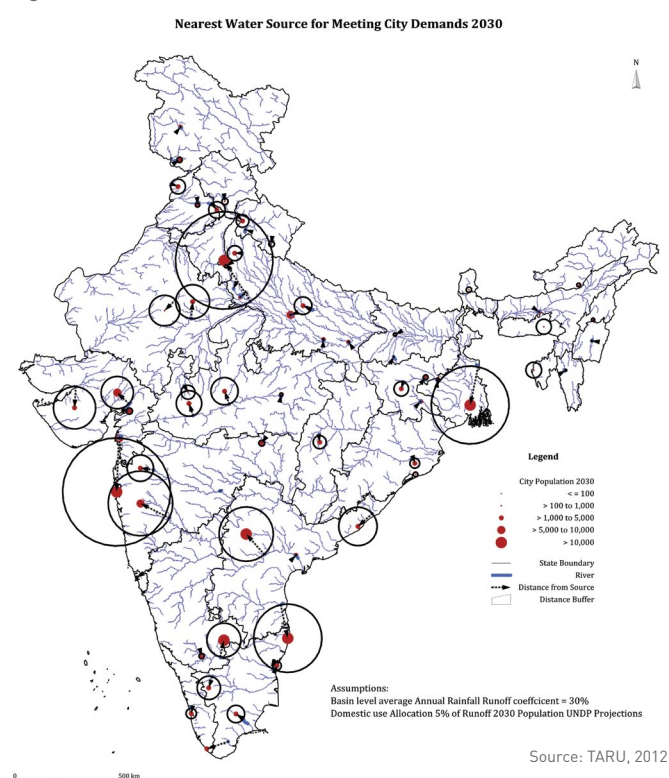
Figure 3.7: Components of O&M costs



Source: ADB, 2007

TARU used a model for estimating the distance from which water need to be transported to meet the water city water demands of projected population (Year 2030). This model assumed 30% of average rainfall as runoff coefficient and 5% of the renewable water resources allocated for domestic consumption from nearest available sources. The demand was calculated with 135 lpcd for 2030 city population. The largest 56 cities of 2030's will have a population of 233 million and would require about 11.496 billion cum of water annually to meet domestic needs. The distances between sources and cities are shown in the following Figure 3.8.

Figure 3.8: Distance from sources



Most of these cities have to depend on resources which are already being used by other users and conflicts are bound to result due to growing demands, especially in the semi-arid and arid areas. Also, long distance water conveyance would increase dependency on energy, which is likely to become a bottleneck in already energy and water hungry India. Energy and material needs of these cities will also need allocation additional water resources for thermal or nuclear power stations.

water supply, waste disposal, power and other services will avoid slum conditions and increase the welfare of inhabitants.”

- Recommendation 5, *People and the planet* (Royal Society, 2012)

Cities provide opportunities for more efficient water and energy use due to economy of scale as well as concentrated demand. Possibilities of waste reduction, efficiency improvement, recycling and reuse exists in both water and energy sectors. Investments and long term planning would be necessary to improve overall use efficiency supported by improved governance and use of Information technology for city level management of these scarce resources as well as participation of citizens in water conservation. Also, a mix of decentralized and city level options need to be explored so that local solutions for water supply, sewage treatment and recycling can happen at colony/ neighborhood levels also. This would necessitate strengthening of settlement level organizations like Resident Welfare Associations and ward committees.

3.3 INFRASTRUCTURE CHALLENGES

The cities of India are already facing stress on existing infrastructure as well as lifeline services due to historical lag in investments amidst of growing population. The JNNURM investments were only able to reduce the stress to some extent. Growing pace of urbanisation, redundant land use planning and development control regulations and other policies have only exacerbated the stress as evident by continued expansion of urban sprawls due to low FSI rules (LRHD paradigm) resulting in higher capital costs of infrastructure to serve the expanding cities.

Even though most of the cores of Indian cities were compact and over-crowded, they hardly had sufficient conventional infrastructure and lifeline services. Donut shaped concentric urban sprawl developed due to growing urban population, without pre-built infrastructure, often limited by basic natural resource scarcity. Now a change towards the compact city with sufficient infrastructure would require radical change in land use on already built up spaces, high investments to meet concentrated demand on water, energy and transport.

The infrastructure building as well as expansion of services network could not keep pace with the urbanisation as well as increase in per capita resource use due to changing aspirations of the residents. This

“Governments should realise the potential of urbanisation to reduce material consumption and environmental impact through efficiency measures. The well planned provision of

has led to reduction in per capita availability as well as access to services over last several decades. The cities have neither financial resources nor capacity to expand the infrastructure and lifeline services, nor were they able to leverage investments due to the limited autonomy.

The following challenges have to be addressed to retrofit the cities to make them provide lifeline infrastructure to all.

- Bringing together different stakeholders for paradigm shift in
 - Urban planning towards sustainability and resilience building including
 - Integrating land use and service networks
 - Matching demand and supply of resources (water, land, energy etc.) under evolving urbanisation and climate change environments
 - Unified management of resources, infrastructure and services at city level
 - Inclusive growth and universal access along with cost recovery at city level
 - Devolving roles to neighbourhoods/ communities as well as partnership models, wherever viable.
 - Shift towards more intensive use of public services, especially in transportation to reduce need for augmentation of infrastructure
- Leveraging investments for infrastructure building, under stressed and subsidised cost recovery environments
- Integrating efficiency improvement (including usage efficiency improvement, loss reduction, reuse etc.) along with augmenting sources of water and energy
- Decongestion and allocation of Space for common infrastructure especially the road network and in core city areas under very high land price situation.

3.4 GOVERNANCE ISSUES

The JNNURM provided an opportunity for implementing some of the important urban reforms envisaged in the 74th Constitutional amendment. However, the pace of actual implementation of reforms is quite diverse across the states. The Urban Local Bodies continue to depend on the central and state funds for not only meeting the capital costs of infrastructure, but also

for maintaining the services due to high subsidies. The ULBS are still incapable or not empowered to fix tariffs due to a mix of administrative as well as political challenges.

Performance incentives need to be underlined, especially since the service level benchmarking efforts have been initiated under JNNURM. With very limited data availability, performance metrics are difficult to design and implement under prevailing overstressed and decrepit infrastructure and monitoring systems. Three major options exist for improving the efficiencies in service delivery. They include extensive use of technologies (automation, monitoring, management etc.) to increase efficiency of the staff and resources, private public partnerships for selective management of infrastructure & services and increasing staff strengths to match the growing city population.

Some efforts have been done under JNNURM in organizational restructuring to improve efficiencies, but without radical revamping of the system and extensive use of technologies in all sectors, no major changes are possible. The city administration is constrained by financial and capacity bottlenecks that limit possibilities for major restructuring efforts.

Duplication and fragmentation of roles between different institutions in control of resources, management of infrastructure and services currently constrain the urban system management.

These roles are spread unevenly across ULBs, para-statal organizations and the state governments resulting in inability of any agency to manage even simple services autonomously. This especially felt in meeting the energy and water demands, especially in peripheral areas. Coherent action among policy makers, regulators and implementers and other stakeholders is another issue limiting the urban planning and management. Generic policies recommended by the central government are often cannot be contextualized and local policy making mechanisms are weak due to capacity constraints at the city levels. This is especially true in case of master planning process as well as building rules, especially cities located in risk prone and resource scarce environments and facing challenges of high growth. Successful models for direct stakeholder involvement starting from settlement levels are yet to emerge, even though it is highlighted in 74th CAA and some of the states have enacted rules for community engagement, but these efforts are in early stage of evolution.



CLIMATE CHANGE CHALLENGES

4.1 HISTORIC DATA OF TEMPERATURE CHANGES

Analysing past trends in climate is a difficult task due to gaps in data sets and consistency of past data. Past data sets, wherever available require considerable cleaning up due to vintage instruments used for collection of data as well as data gaps. According to a new Berkeley Earth study, the average temperature of the Earth's land has risen by 1.5°C over the past 250 years. The good match between the new temperature record and historical carbon dioxide records suggests that the most straightforward explanation for this warming is human greenhouse gas emissions (Berkeley Earth Website 2012).

4.1.1 Downscaled Climate variability and change analysis

The climate data (past and future) from Climate Systems Analysis Group (CSAG), Indian Institute of Tropical Meteorology (IITM), Indian Meteorological Department (IMD) and Global Historical Climate Network (GHCN) were analysed and their results discussed within this report. The CSAG data was downloaded from University of Cape Town web site accessed between December 2009 and March 2010. CSAG has taken data from nine large-scale general circulation models (GCMs -listed in Table below) and

down-scaled the scenario results to a scale more relevant to the cities. Information regarding data is presented below:

- CSAG data was used for analysing the climate variability and change for two cities namely Surat and Indore.
- The data have not gone through any bias corrections - sometimes they represent the historical climate as being more wet/dry or hot/cold than actually happened. These biases were corrected within this study.
- The data from CSAG which are modelled for only one greenhouse gas emissions scenario, A2 and for only one future time range: 2046-2065. Whereas the data from PRECIS included three emission scenarios A1B (2021-2050), A2 (2071-2100) and B2 (2071-2100).
- The CSAG data are currently available as station point data and PRECIS as gridded data.
- The Indian Meteorology Department's daily station data has many days of missing data, especially for precipitation. Therefore, the information from GHCN was used to compare and correlate with the model's base data to identify the level of bias in the models. Daily rainfall and temperature data, data from GHCN was used for bias correcting.

Table 4.1: Name of Research Institute, Model and Abbreviation

Name of Research Institute	Name of the Model	Abbreviation used within this document
Canadian Centre for Climate Modelling Analysis (CCCMA)	Coupled Global Climate Model	CGCM3
Centre National de Recherches Meteorologiques, Meteo France, France	CNRM-CM3	CNRM-CM3
CSIRO, Australia	CSIRO Mark 3.0	CSIRO
Geophysical Fluid Dynamics Laboratory, NOAA	CM2.0 - AOGCM	GFDL
NASA Goddard Institute for Space Studies (NASA/GISS), USA	AOM 4x3	GISS
Institut Pierre Simon Laplace (IPSL), France	IPSL-CM4	IPSL
Meteorological Institute of the University of Bonn (Germany), Institute of KMA (Korea), and Model and Data Group	ECHO-G = ECHAM4 + HOPE-G	MIUB
Max Planck Institute for Meteorology, Germany	ECHAM5/MPI-OM	MPI
Meteorological Research Institute, Japan Meteorological Agency, Japan	MRI-CGCM2.3.2	MRI
Indian Institute of Tropical Meteorology, Pune and Hadley Research Center UK	Providing Regional Climates for Impacts Studies	PRECIS

- The gridded historical rainfall and temperature data were procured from the Indian Meteorological Department. This data was used for gap filling within GHCN.

There are several models, which attempt to model the future precipitation and temperature scenarios. From these models, two downscaled models were used in this analysis.

1. GCMs as downscaled by CSAG
2. PRECIS, RCM developed for India by Hadley research centre in collaboration with IITM.

The results from the above models are simulations of the future climate with assumptions of certain emission scenarios. The results presented in this study are an indicative/ approximations of the future. Since the models are simple approximations of climate, there are inherent biases and uncertainty in their climate scenarios. The uncertainty includes the models inability to represent all the land-ocean-atmosphere interactions that influences the current and future climate.

Bias: Our confidence in a model's scenarios of future climate is largely determined by how well that model can simulate historical, observed climate - past rainfall, past minimum or maximum temperatures both in time and in measure. The models usually tend to simplify the reality; the models tend to overestimate or underestimate past rain or temperatures. This variation from the observed measure is called the bias within the model. This deviation/variation, in time (e.g. say average monsoon onset and withdrawal) and in measure (e.g. increase or decrease in temperature) determines the confidence in the model. The model's bias in replicating past rainfall and its ability to replicate the monsoon and summer was taken as a measure of uncertainty of the models ability in predicting the future climate scenarios. The models with low bias in both its ability to replicate the seasons and measures were selected for further analysis. In this analysis, multiplicative bias correction was carried out. The equation below describes the bias correction factor which was performed.

Bias Correction Factor = Simulated / Observed

All future simulations for selected models were corrected for their bias by dividing the future simulated

measurement by the bias correction factor. This enabled in comparing the results with respect to the observed information.

4.2 EXTREME EVENT ANALYSIS

Based on the results from the above process Extreme event analysis (EEA) was carried out using the daily precipitation and temperature data. The best models which were selected from the bias correction and correlation analysis were considered for the EEA.

The historical data used in this case is from GHCN daily. IMD gridded data was not used because GHCN provides the station data, which is more representative of the city under study rather than the grid, which is more representative of the region. Further, IMD data used for the bias correction and correlation analysis was gridded data of 0.5 degree x 0.5 degree, which is a representative sample of 50 sq. km. Such gridded data may not be able represent the daily precipitation and temperature levels, which are bound to change at a city level. Therefore, IMD data was used but to fill the gaps within the GHCN data (days for which no GHCN data was available). This process ensured data continuity.

The EEA were carried out for three indicators i.e. Rainfall, Minimum Temperature and Maximum. Historical daily weather data used for the EEA analysis were from the following periods:

- Rainfall: GHCN data (1901-2007) and model base line data (1961-2000)
- Minimum Temperature: GHCN data (1969-2007) and model base line data (1961-2000)
- Maximum Temperature: GHCN data (1969-2007) and model base line data (1961-2000)

Following EEA was carried out for the historical, base line and model predicted future scenarios:

1. Percentile variations (5th, 10th, 90th and 95th percentiles) within rainfall, minimum and maximum Temperature
2. Number of days where the rainfall is less than 2 mm, within all given months (especially during rainy season)

3. Number of days within which the 24 hour precipitation has been more than 25 mm.
4. Number of days in a given month where the maximum temperature and minimum temperature exceeds 40°C and 27°C respectively.

4.3 UNCERTAINTIES

The models are simplifications of reality and we are uncertain about the future. This includes the level of greenhouse gases, the change that may occur in the land use or population, etc. While future climate scenarios are likely, we are uncertain as to which future climate scenario will actually come true. Further, we have higher confidence in some model because of their relatively low bias, but these are relative to the observed data as depicted by either IMD (gridded at 0.50 x 0.50) or GHCN (station). Since, we do not know exactly what the future will be, it is essential we estimate the range of possible climate futures. This can be achieved through detailed analysis of each climate scenarios as depicted by the selected models to arrive at the range of possibilities.

4.4 CLIMATE CHANGE PROGNOSIS FOR INDIA

The National sustainable Habitat mission has been entrusted with developing mitigation and adaptation measures for climate change in human habitations. Various climate models developed so far indicate following issue that would impact the cities

- Temperature increase and higher variability leading to
 - Reduced comfort levels over longer periods across seasons
 - Increase in energy use for space cooling and heating
- Precipitation changes leading to
 - Drought, and extreme precipitation events,
 - Changes in river hydrology causing floods, seasonal water scarcity
- Cyclonic storms storm surge and coastal flooding
- Sea level rise leading
 - to loss of developed land in the coastal cities
 - Increase in salinity of coastal aquifers and surface water sources along estuaries

These changes will be diverse across the country depending on the geographical and hydrological context as well as the size, livelihood pattern and distribution of the population across the city and neighboring regions.

4.5 URBANISATION AND CLIMATE CHANGE IMPACTS

As reported earlier, the urbanisation and climate change impacts are likely to acting together, often mutually amplifying the risks. This would be the case especially in cases of:

- Heat island effects along with regional temperature increases
- Increasing water demand due to urbanisation, aspiration changes, food and energy sector demands along with increasing uncertainty in water resources due to droughts
- Flooding due to expansion of the riverine cities in to flood plains along with increasing frequency of extreme precipitation events locally and in upper catchments
- Downstream indirect impacts like push migration from rural hinterlands, cascading effects of regional/global food scarcities etc.
- Expansion of coastal cities towards the sea (high real estate values) along with sea level rise/cyclonic storm frequency changes.

Both the urbanisation and climate change impacts are expected to simultaneously roll out in the coming decades. With high exposure burden as seen by high density informal settlements located along marginal lands (including stream banks, even inside dry river channels) exposed to seasonal flooding almost every rainy season, any climate change impacts are likely to increase severity of the exposures.

4.5.1 Floods and coastal inundation issues

The expansion of the city from comparatively safe old core to possibly higher risk periphery as well as disrupting and constraining natural drainage (by expanding in to both sides of the river flood plain) can only increase the flood and coastal inundation risks. In costly real estate environment, the risks get ignored and haphazard growth by multiple real estate developers only complicates the risk situation. The integrated risk informed master planning process is yet to take root in urban planning debate.

Indian urban land is quite costly due to limited availability of land in the core areas, poor transportation network and archaic land use (single use) and building rules that discourage compact growth. Haphazard growth of the periphery and inability to extend the lifeline services, further distort the land markets. With the Para-statal Urban Development Authorities developing partial infrastructure and handing over these areas to ULBs further stress the finances and technical capacity of the ULBs to integrate resilience in urban planning. The National Disaster management Authority has recognized following reasons for growing urban flood risks (NDMA 2010):

- Increase in impermeable areas and resultant higher runoffs
- Lower design criteria of storm water drains
- Capacity reduction of storm water systems due to lack of maintenance,
- Encroachment of natural drainage areas
- Reservoir management issues
- Poor solid waste management and
- Dumping of construction wastes on drainage lines and filling of natural water bodies.
- Absence of sewerage and dumping of sewage in to drainage system.
- Urban micro climate as well as global climate change aspects of increasing flooding frequency.

The above list captures combined impacts of urbanisation and climate change on urban flooding. The Guidelines suggest various measures to manage urban floods including early warning systems, better designs

of drainage systems. It has to be noted that NSHM has accepted the recommendations of International Conference on Urban Drainage in 2008, to 20% increase in calculated discharge suggested for designing for future storm water drains (NSHM undated).

4.5.2 Temperature increase, urban heat island effects and energy use:

India has one of the lowest per capita annual energy consumption in the developing world with only 580 kg oil equivalent (kgoe) and it is expected to grow to about 890 kgoe by 2030 Per capita electricity consumption was only 518 kWh in 2007 and it is expected to grow to about 1895 kWh by 2030 (IEA 2009).

4.5.3 Urban growth and Climate Change Scenarios for master planning

The urban population as well as average incomes are expected to grow rapidly over coming decades. The average income of 112 largest cities across India was estimated to be about 66,252 Rs/capita in 2008-09 (Indicus Analytics, 2011)

Most of the cities face serves capacity constraints to generate city development scenarios under transforming urban economy in the globalized world. This limits more systematic approach to master planning process informed by future growth scenarios. The current master planning process still retains the top down approach of the 20th Century planning dominated by the state government. Concepts like LRHD, single landuse for each area is no longer valid in the current and future urban contexts.

Paradigm shift from the conventional population growth rate calculations and archaic (single use) land use planning based master planning process to integrated infrastructure and landuse planning optimizing water, energy and land resources as well as services like transportation in the resources, demographic and economic context.

Development of such scenarios and exploration of alternate futures would necessitate multi-stakeholder engagement starting from city levels to high administrative levels. Enabling environment for such dialogue is slowly emerging with increased focus on urban rejuvenation efforts and investments.

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