

Scaling-up IIGIF through Programmatic Instruments: An Assessment of National Urban Livelihood Mission

For the project: *Intersectionality-Informed Framework for Implementation of Effective Gender Integration in WSH: Andhra Pradesh*

Introduction

Integrating intersectionality is a political exercise and cannot be fully realised at the administrative level (Manuel, 2006). Therefore, any institutional framework for operationalising intersectionality has to recognise all the nodes of policy implementation, i.e., the State (i.e, bureaucracy), the citizens and the political representatives; the latter is essentially also a bridge between the other two. The basic premise for institutionalisation of the IIGI framework for inclusive sanitation in the three cities in Andhra Pradesh was to create suitable social mobilisation structures for gender inclusion at different levels in the city and establish convergence protocols with different tiers of Urban Local Self Governance (ULSG) Structures. The project leveraged the institutional apparatus created under the Mission for Elimination of Poverty in Municipal Areas (MEPMA)¹ to demonstrate a form of collaborative governance (refer Section-II of this report). This project argues that suitable programme level structures active in a city (such as MEPMA in AP) play a critical role of a facilitator in establishing this convergence and hence further institutionalisation. The diagram below (Figure 1) represents this approach.

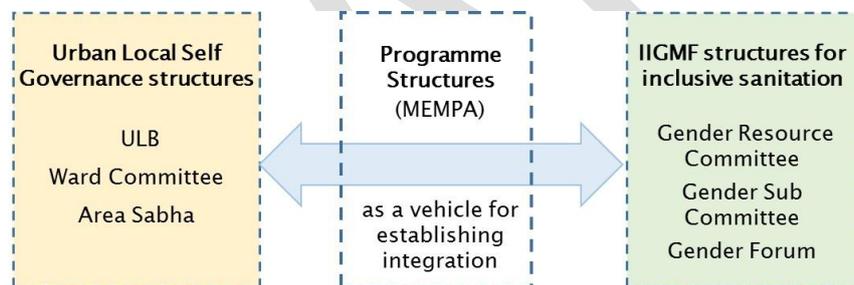


Figure 1: Institutionalisation approach adopted in the three study cities in AP

On the national landscape, the Government of India (GoI) has been implementing several flagship urban sector programmes in mission-mode across the country since last two decades. Many of these are programmes for improving urban basic service delivery (water, sanitation, waste management, housing etc.) aiming to provide equitable access to municipal services. At the same time, several social sector programmes (such as in poverty alleviation, livelihood development, health, education) are being implemented through the Urban Local Bodies (ULB) in respective cities. Many of these programmes include gender as a component and provide for creation of community support structures (CSS). National Urban Livelihood Mission (NULM) is a programme designed for the urban poor and marginalised groups. NULM has a strong social mobilisation component which is a key requirement for implementation of any socially transformative agenda such as IIGIF. Hence, potential of NULM to act as a primary vehicle for scaling-up of IIGIF in cities outside Andhra Pradesh deserves exploration. At the

¹ MEPMA is an Andhra Pradesh state-level avatar (a society formed under the Government of Andhra Pradesh) of the National Urban Livelihoods Mission (NULM) and has emerged as an institution for promoting women empowerment, livelihood, health and sanitation issues in urban areas in Andhra Pradesh.

same time, sustainable scaling-up of the IIGIF implementation will require adaptation of similar but a more refined institutional arrangement that leverages the positioning of available programme structures (such as NULM) in a particular context.

Overview of NULM

NULM is restructured on the erstwhile Swarna Jayanti Shahri Rozgar Yojana (SJSRY). The aim of NULM is “to reduce poverty and vulnerability of the urban poor households by enabling them to access gainful self-employment and skilled wage employment opportunities, resulting in an appreciable improvement in their livelihoods on a sustainable basis, through building strong grassroots level institutions of the poor” (MoHUPA, 2013). NULM is implemented in two phases: Phase I (2013-2017) and Phase II (2017-2022). In Phase I, NULM targets all cities with a population of more than one lakh and district headquarters with a population of less than one lakh (as per Census of India 2011)².

NULM is implemented through a three-tier operational structure at the National, State and City level. At the national level, a National Mission Management Unit (NMMU) is established to ensure coordination with the States and provide for necessary support (under the MoHUA). The implementation of NULM happens through a State Urban Livelihood Mission (SULM) registered society (such as MEPMA in Andhra Pradesh). The mission, alternately allows for implementation through a body already functioning for poverty alleviation and livelihood in a state by recognising it in the form of SULM. Further, a State Mission Management Unit (SMMUs) is created at respective State levels. The major responsibility of the SMMU is to facilitate implementation of NULM at the state level by coordinating with various departments of the State. Similarly, District Mission Management Unit (DMMUs) and City Mission Management Unit (CMMUs) are created. The CMMUs are responsible for choosing Community Organisers (COs) to facilitate linkage with community structures in the city. Resource organisations (ROs) are engaged to facilitate formation of Self Help Groups (SHGs) and Area or City level federations (ALFs or CLFs).



Figure 2: Administrative and implementation structure of NULM

² Additional towns may be considered in exceptional cases on the request of the States. The funding for NULM is between the Centre and the State in the ratio of 75:25. In North Eastern States and Special Category States the funding ratio is 90:10.

Social Mobilisation and Institutional Development (SMID) is a major component of NULM³. The programme guideline emphasises on addressing the multi-dimensional nature of urban poverty. It identifies three broad categories of vulnerability among the urban poor: (i) residential vulnerability (access to land, shelter, basic services, etc.); (ii) social vulnerability (deprivations related to factors like gender, age and social stratification, lack of social protection, inadequate voice and participation in governance structures, etc.) and (iii) occupational vulnerability (precarious livelihoods, dependence on informal sector for employment and earnings, lack of job security, poor working conditions, etc.).

A brief review of the status of implementation of NULM in seven states in India⁴ with specific reference to SMID component reveals the following⁵:

- The process for identification and selection of beneficiaries under the NULM vary across different States in India. While most of the States consider the BPL list, some States additionally consider the 2011 SECC and NFSA data. Odisha considers formation of SHGs for disabled people. Andhra Pradesh is the only State that annually identifies and prioritises vulnerable groups (i.e. for 2017-18 domestic workers, waste pickers, disabled people disabilities, and people who rear pigs are identified as priority vulnerable groups).
- RO's are either autonomous registered agencies established by the government or well-established organisations. The primary aim of RO's is to aid in formation of SHGs and their federation and also allow for sustenance of the federations once their term is over. Due to the variation in establishment, the capacities of the RO's are questioned in some states.
- Overall, there is a dissatisfaction over the financial disbursement made under the mission. In most states, the turn over time for release of funds and the process of cooperation between banks and federations are lengthy.
- While some states (such as Andhra Pradesh, Kerala) has opted for implementing NULM through registered societies (newly formed or already existing under another programme), some have preferred using their respective Department of Municipal Administration (such as Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan) as the nodal agency for coordinating delivery of programmes and schemes in municipal areas through state supervision.
- Some states have been able to effectively coordinate implementation of NULM with other programmes by using a common institutional apparatus (such as integration of SHG and MAS through under MEPMA in Andhra Pradesh). Tamil Nadu has adopted for implementation of SMID component through the Tamil Nadu Corporation for Development of Women (TNCDW) and the Commissionerate of Municipal Administration (CMA).
- The general status of implementation of the SMID component presents a mixed picture. While some states have already surpassed their target in formation of SHGs (such as Odisha and Tamil Nadu), some states show slower progress (such as Rajasthan). In Tamil Nadu, involvement of RO's for implementation of the SMID component has led to a discussion as to

³ Other components are: Employment through Skill Training and placement (ESTP); Self-Employment Programme (SEP); Shelter for Urban Homeless (SUH); Support to Urban Street Vendor (SUSV); Capacity Building and Training Programmes (CBT)

⁴ Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Odisha, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Kerala, Karnataka.

⁵ Sources: Source(s): Retrieved from the report on 'Situational Analysis of the National Urban Livelihood Mission and Study of Community Engagement Platforms', UMC, The Hindu's article on 'Corporation takes different approach to NULM implementation', by T.V. Sivanandan (for Karnataka) and Kudumbashree website (for Kerala).

whether RO's are a reliable option to enhance the quality of SHGs formed. On the other hand, despite having a high turnover rate, COs in Tamil Nadu see little scope of growth after several years of work experience with less pay. The cut rate among these COs is around 10-20%.

NULM as a potential lever for scaling-up of IIGI in WSH: Opportunities and limitations

The institutional structure, components and implementation status of NULM indicate following positive attributes with respect to its positioning as a vehicle for scaling-up IIGIF in cities across India:

- Presence in cities across India: NULM is a programme that has presence in large number of cities. This gives scope for testing the NULM apparatus at in different states as a vehicle for implementing the IIGI agenda and create enhanced opportunities for peer learning.
- Stated commitment to social mobilisation and institutional development- This is evident from the SMID component of the programme. Moreover, the programme includes the SHG structures existing in the community and hence minimising the need for multiplicity of CSS.
- Strong orientation to include marginalised urban population- Such as the urban poor, homeless, street vendors. The scope can be expanded to include other marginalised groups to be addressed under IIGIF.
- Flexibility in institutional delivery mechanisms- NULM allows substantial flexibility at state-level in its implementation. Importantly, it allows for an existing state-level body for poverty alleviation and livelihood development to work as SULM and thus avoiding erosion of capacity and duplication of efforts.

There are however limitation in the NULM structures in its present form to sustain a socially transformative agenda such as IIGIF as identified in the following points:

- Does not address all forms of social exclusion- The programme, although oriented towards the urban poor and marginalised, does not create enough opportunities for inclusion of various socially and occupationally marginalised groups such as transgender persons, beyond skill development and thus making it narrowly focussed for a transformative agenda.
- Absence of practical integration with urban basic services delivery - Addressal of residential vulnerability has been recognised but has been left for other urban service delivery and housing programmes to cover. However, most urban service delivery programmes do not have a strong community mobilisation component. Although there has been a recent effort by MoHUPA in converging NULM with SBM-Urban by creating a guidance framework in March 2018, the actual implementation success of the same is yet to be seen.
- Varied implementation success across states- NULM's implementation, especially with regards to the SMID component, show varied success in different states. While some states have performed satisfactorily in creating structures to suit their specific context, many states have failed to leverage the programme to initiate social mobilisation and create opportunities for the urban poor.
- Over-burdening of the SHGs – The social capital of SHGs is undoubtedly is an asset in addressing deep rooted social issues, especially gender inequality. However, many argue that the SHG structures are over-utilised. In the absence of effective implementation of the decentralised urban local governance agenda in some states (as suggested by the 74th constitution

amendment), parallel structures such as SHGs are being used for delivery of various programs at the local government level. While this gives the opportunity for creating a single window for discussing all issues at community level, it nevertheless over-burdens the SHG structures with extra workload and poor remuneration.

Positioning of other programmes in furthering IIGIF implementation

A mapping of prominent urban sector service delivery, poverty alleviation and other social development programmes was done against a set of parameters to understand their positioning to support IIGIF implementation in their present form. The exercise reveals that while all the service delivery and housing programmes cover WSH as a sector, only very few of them (such as Swachh Bharat Mission [SBM]) have attempted to adopt an urban-poor CSS component for implementation. This indicates a somewhat low priority to social mobilisation by programmes. A recent guideline by MoHUA has tried suggesting protocols for convergence of SBM with other social sector programmes and ULSG structures. However, it only controls a part of the total investment made in the WSH sector.

Among other urban social sector programmes, National Urban Health Mission (NUHM) is closest to NULM for its emphasis on social mobilisation and community empowerment component. through creation of Mahila Aarogya Samitis (MAS). There are good practices of convergence of Mahila Aarogya Samitis (MAS) created by NUHM with other programmes including NULM and SBM such as in Andhra Pradesh. However, such examples may largely remain as exceptions which are yet to be scaled-up. Such exceptions also raise question that whether the success stories are limited to geographies where some form of external support has enabled availability of resources.

Limitations of a programmatic approach: Possible weakening of ULSG structures, hindering long term sustainability

Over last few decades, especially since recognition of urban development as a separate sector in the 8th Five Year Plan, cities have been receiving greater importance and increased investment across the service delivery spectrum. Treating cities as engines of growth has taken a further concrete shape with programmatic investments being channelized in a mission-mode through the Jawahar Lal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JnNURM) during the last decade. The next generation programmes such as the Smart Cities Mission (SBM), Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT), SBM, Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojna (PMAY), along with social sector programmes such as NULM and NUHM continue to follow a similar trajectory. Together, these programmes have been able to channelise increased investment and focus on urban issues. However, one of the limitations of relying on programmes for long-term reformist agenda is that these are time-bound initiatives and comes with an expiry. On the other hand, social and political structures independent of programmes are permanent.

In general, programmatic approach has essentially brought efficiency in delivery of reform agendas. However, the apparatus used by these programmes have largely relied on institutional arrangements that operate in parallel with the ULSG structures suggested by the 74th CAA (such as the ULB, Wards Committees, and Area Sabhas etc.). While some studies show unsatisfactory implementation of 74th CAA in many states, there is by and large agreement on the necessity of decentralisation with layers of

participatory platforms provided by the 74th CAA. Creation of parallel structures thus weakens the decentralised local governance structures, often leading to unsatisfactory outcomes from well-designed programmatic interventions.

An example of the above can be seen from the implementation of the Municipal Reforms Programme (MRP) in Karnataka. It shows how a network form of governance with the State, citizens and private players can deliver where the State and markets alone have failed so far. It also shows the importance of adequately including and capacitating the local political structures (such as Ward Committees, Area Sabhas and ULBs) in delivering reform agendas. In the absence of such inclusion, the centrality of the State (i.e., the bureaucracy) could manifest in a way that side-lines the ULSG structures and hence undermining the essence of reforms at municipal levels (Mohan & Parthasarathy, 2016).

Another example is formation of City Sanitation Task Forces (CSTF) in preparing and implementing City Sanitation Plans as recommended by National Urban Sanitation Policy (NUSP). Experience from cities reveal that CSTF has mostly been partially functional or non-functional in many cities. Experts argue that while constitution of CSTF was done with the objective of facilitative private, market and community participation in sanitation under a specific policy umbrella (i.e., National Urban Sanitation Policy), similar mandate could be replicated in ward committees.

Conclusion

The analysis done in this note concludes that while it is reasonable to leverage programme structures for efficient scaling-up, it is imperative to take a time bound approach for phasing-out programme structures as facilitators and establish direct connection between the CSS and the ULG structures.

The following tweaks to the NULM institutional arrangements can make it a stronger vehicle for implementing IIGIF in WSH or any other urban service delivery sector in cities across India:

- Expanding the city and community-level structures proposed under NULM- The SHGs and federations should be consciously expanded to include other marginalised groups (as has been done in case of MEPMA in AP under the IIGIF project). These groups should include persons with disability, people from socially and occupationally outcaste communities, transgender persons etc. and create platforms for their participation and representation to finally create ownership.
- Broadening of scope of the NULM to also include residential vulnerability- to make it an all-round socially transformative programme. This could be done by creating necessary channels for exchange between different programmes (such as Swatchh Bharat Mission, Smart Cities Mission, AMRUT, Housing for All etc.) while keeping intact NULM's primary agenda. Finally, it is the same community where both livelihood development as well as service delivery programmes intersect and take a cumulative shape to impact the community. The idea should be to a single strong community structure to discuss all issues impacting their lives including WSH and then channelise specific issues to different upstream structures so that multiple community structures can be avoided.
- Aligning and converging with community levels structures proposed by other programmes- Such as converging activities and constitution of SHGs and Mahila Arogya Samitis (MAS). This will

facilitate development of a single point community platform for all programme delivery mechanisms and address issues of exclusion in a more comprehensive and informed manner. For example, in AP, the SHG has taken a lead role to select Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHA) and are also members of MAS⁶.

- Aligning with decentralised local governance structures provided by the 74th CAA- While community and city level structures can work seamlessly at a given point, it is crucial to include all conduits in the urban local governance structure recommended by the 74th constitution amendment in this process. Evidences from various other initiatives show that failure to include ward committees, area sabhas, ward councillors in the service delivery planning and governance process often hinder success and long-term sustainability of such transformative initiatives.

DRAFT

⁶ Source: Situational Analysis of NULM and Study of Community Engagement Platforms (done by UMC)