INDIA'S SMART CITIES MISSION

SMART FOR WHOM? CITIES FOR WHOM?

HOUSING AND LAND RIGHTS NETWORK

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INDIA'S
SMART
CITIES
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A Human Rights and Social Justice
Analysis of Smart City Proposals

Working Paper, June 2017

**HOUSING AND LAND RIGHTS NETWORK
INDIA**

Preface

Not a day goes by in India without some news related to the Smart Cities Mission, which aims to create 100 'smart cities' in the country by the year 2020. The Mission, one of the most publicized among the many slogan-led schemes of the National Democratic Alliance government, is characterized by ambitious goals, large planned investments, multiple private sector actors, and new governance structures induced by the corporatization of cities. As the Mission completes two years this month (June 2017), now is a good time to examine how it has unfolded and what exactly it means for India's urban population, especially for the majority of city inhabitants — the ones who make cities and keep them functioning.

Housing and Land Rights Network, India (HLRN), therefore, decided to undertake a human rights review of the process and the guidelines of the Smart Cities Mission as well as of the 60 selected Smart City Proposals.

Half of the world's most-polluted cities are in India, one in six urban residents lives in an inadequate settlement ('slum'), a third of India's urban population does not have access to tap water, and 84 per cent of urban Indians still do not have access to a toilet. Given this reality, the critical question is whether the country should first focus on creating 100 high-tech urban enclaves or on prioritizing—for every resident— the provision of sufficient and potable water; adequate sanitation services; the highest attainable standard of health; adequate and secure housing; a clean and healthy environment; safe spaces to play, walk, and work in; accessible public transport; and security for women, minorities, and children? There is, thus, a need to evaluate the validity of the Smart Cities Mission as well as the model of development that it envisages.

This study uses a human rights lens to objectively analyse the selected Smart City Proposals and to assess what they focus on, what their vision for urban India is, and whether there is a coherent and equitable vision driven by cities' realistic needs and people's demands and concerns. Since the Mission is evolving and new developments occur almost daily, this study is presented as a working paper that provides some preliminary observations, inferences, and recommendations. It is divided into four sections, each of which attempts to answer a question:

1. What is the Smart Cities Mission?
2. What is the focus of the Smart City Proposals, particularly on the urban poor and on providing housing for low income groups?
3. What are the major human rights concerns and challenges related to the Smart Cities Mission?
4. What could the government do to ensure that the Smart Cities Mission actually improves living conditions and guarantees the human rights of all?
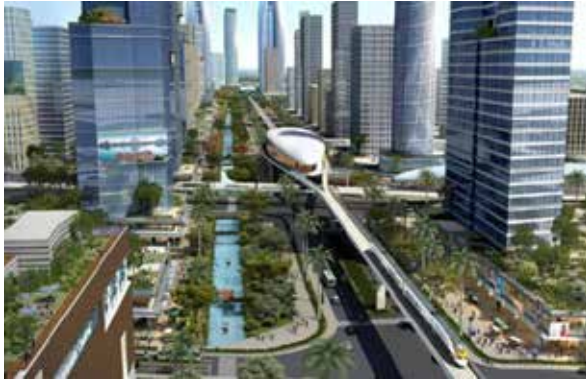
Most images related to 'smart cities,' like the ones above, tend to consist of skyscrapers, multiple flyovers, glitzy streets, and bright lights. Apart from generally being modelled on cities located in disparate regions of the world, these images reflect excessive energy consumption, artificial construction of spaces, and highly consumptive lifestyles. They tend to promote a futuristic urbanism, often at the cost of basic needs and fundamental human rights. Though the rhetoric of the Smart Cities Mission is one of resource efficiency and inclusion, none of the images seem to portray mixed-income neighbourhoods, social housing, street vendors, women's and children's security, and integrated development paradigms. If the predominant visual of the 'smart city' is one in which there is no space for the poor, who are these cities being created for, and can this be a sustainable and equitable model to be pursued at this stage of India's development?

HLRN hopes that this study* will help foster greater discussion on these issues, while questioning and seeking solutions to the nature of governance (or lack thereof) and the trajectory of urban development that the Smart Cities Mission promotes. We also call upon all involved actors to deliberate on the proposed recommendations in order to promote social justice and the creation of sustainable human rights habitats, where the right of everyone to live with dignity is guaranteed.

Shivani Chaudhry
Executive Director, Housing and Land Rights Network

New Delhi, June 2017

Contents

I. Background

India has the world's largest number of people, 632 million, living in multidimensional poverty.[1] Thirty-one per cent of India's population (about 380 million people) lives in urban areas while 69 per cent (833 million) is rural.[2] Urbanization, though a rapid phenomenon, has largely been unplanned and haphazard. While India's urban population is projected to increase to about 600 million by 2030, its growth has not been accompanied with commensurate increases in urban housing, infrastructure, and service delivery.

The national urban housing shortage in 2012 was 18.78 million houses; 96 per cent was for economically weaker sections (EWS) and low-income groups (LIG).[3] This is projected to increase to 34 million units by 2022.[4] Families unable to afford a house could reach 38 million by 2030.[5] Migration from rural to urban areas is also projected to continue; over 70 per cent of migrants are least likely to afford a house at market prices.[6] Housing shortage, in terms of the gap between demand and supply, is largely a consequence of unrestrained commercial development of housing for the rich/elite at the expense of investment in housing for EWS/LIG. In the absence of low-cost, affordable, social housing options, millions of urban residents, mostly workers in the informal and unorganized sector, are forced to live in extremely inadequate conditions – either on streets or in underserviced and low quality housing in settlements that are often referred to as 'slums' in official discourse. According to the Slum Census 2011, India recorded a 37.14 per cent decadal growth in the number of 'slum' households. Almost two-thirds of statutory towns in India have 'slums' and a total of 13.75 million households live in them. Census 2011 data reveals that 36 per cent of households in these settlements do not have basic facilities of electricity, tap water, and sanitation within their premises.[7] India also records the world's largest number of homeless persons (at least three million in urban areas according to independent estimates).

Macro-economic policies have resulted in a paradox of shortage and surplus in housing units. Census 2011 recorded 11.09 million vacant houses in urban areas, purchased mostly for speculative purposes. Real estate speculation has contributed to an increase in housing prices even when demand falls.

Most low income residents do not enjoy security of tenure over their land and housing. In many cities, land allocated for EWS housing is diverted for profitable projects, while legislative tools are used to condemn the poor as 'illegal.' The continued use of terms like 'slum' and 'encroacher' constitute the framing of urban governance issues in a manner that not only discounts the significant contribution to the economy by members of urban households living in poverty, but also reveals a strong prejudice against them, which is reflected in policy formulation.

II. India's Smart Cities Mission

Against this backdrop of urban inequality and inadequate living conditions in Indian cities, the Smart Cities Mission (SCM) was launched by the Government of India in June 2015 to create 100 'smart cities' in five years (by 2020). While a 'smart city' has not been clearly defined by the government, the Smart Cities Mission Statement and Guidelines (hereafter SCM Guidelines) indicate that a 'smart city' will include the following: adequate water supply; assured electricity; sanitation, including solid waste management; efficient urban mobility and public transport; affordable housing, especially for the poor; robust Information Technology connectivity and digitalization; good governance, especially citizen participation; sustainable environment; safety and security of citizens; and, health and education.[8]

The Smart Cities Mission is one of several urban schemes launched by the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government, with the ostensible goal of improving the quality of life in India's cities.

1. Smart Cities Selection Process and Timeline

The Government of India has developed a detailed process for the selection and completion of 'smart cities' based on a multi-stage competition format:

- Between June and July 2015, all states and union territories (UT) within the country were required to submit nominations of cities for consideration in the 'India Smart Cities Challenge.' From these submissions, the Ministry of Urban Development (MoUD) selected 100 cities in August 2015. The selection criteria gave equal weightage to the urban population of the state/UT and the number of statutory towns in the state (see Table 1).

- In January 2016, MoUD announced 20 cities as winners from the first phase of the Smart City Challenge (see Table 2). The selection process consisted of extensive reviews of city-level and proposal-level criteria—by three independent panels of experts—of Smart City Proposals submitted by each city.[9]

- In May 2016, MoUD released the second list of an additional 13 cities, selected on a fast-track basis, to be included in the first phase of the Mission (see Table 3). These 33 cities from the two lists were to receive funding in order to be developed as model smart cities.

- In September 2016, in the second round of the Smart Cities Challenge, the government announced the third list of 27 additional cities, bringing the number of selected Smart City Proposals to 60.

- The final list of 40 cities is expected to be released at the end of June 2017.

Table 1: Number of Smart Cities Allocated to States
Based on Urban Population and Number of Statutory Towns

State/Union Territory	Number of Smart Cities
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	1
Andhra Pradesh	3
Arunachal Pradesh	1
Assam	1
Bihar	3
Chandigarh	1
Chhattisgarh	2
Daman and Diu	1
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	1
Delhi	1
Goa	1
Gujarat	6
Haryana	2
Himachal Pradesh	1
Jammu and Kashmir	1
Jharkhand	1
Karnataka	6
Kerala	1
Lakshadweep	1
Madhya Pradesh	7
Maharashtra	10
Manipur	1
Meghalaya	1
Mizoram	1
Nagaland	1
Odisha	2
Puducherry	1
Punjab	3
Rajasthan	4
Sikkim	1
Tamil Nadu	12
Telangana	2
Tripura	1
Uttar Pradesh	13
Uttarakhand	1
West Bengal	4
Grand Total	**100**

Source: Ministry of Urban Development

Map of India Showing the 100 Proposed Smart Cities

India's Smart Cities Mission: Smart for Whom? Cities for Whom?

2. Requirements for Smart City Proposals

According to the SCM Guidelines, a Smart City Proposal should contain a proposal for an identified area with either a retrofitting or redevelopment or greenfield development feature, or a mix thereof, and a pan-city feature with 'smart solutions.'[10]

Retrofitting	Redevelopment	Greenfield Development	Pan-city Development
· Planning in an existing built-up area to make the existing area more efficient and liveable. · Focus area should be at least 500 acres.	· Replacement of existing built-up environment. · Creation of a new layout with enhanced infrastructure using mixed land use and increased density. · Focus area should be at least 50 acres.	· 'Smart' solutions in a previously vacant area. · Focus area should be at least 250 acres.	· Application of selected Smart Solutions to the existing citywide infrastructure.

3. Financing of the Smart Cities Mission

The Smart Cities Mission is a centrally-sponsored scheme, where state governments and urban local bodies (ULBs) will have to contribute funds for implementation of projects specified in the Smart City Proposal, on a matching basis with the funds provided by the central government. The entire budget for the Mission over five years is estimated to be Rs 480 billion (about 7.5 billion US dollars (USD)).[11] The Government of India allocated Rs 3,216 crore[12] (32.16 billion) to be spent on the scheme during the financial year of 2016–17.[13] The revised budget estimate to be spent on the scheme for the financial year 2016–17 was Rs 4,676 crore.[14] In the current financial year of 2017–2018, the budget outlay for the scheme is Rs 4,000 crore.[15]

According to the SCM Guidelines, in the first year, each 'smart city' will receive an initial corpus amount of Rs 200 crore. In every subsequent year, for the next three years, the government will provide Rs 100 crore to each city. The central government will provide each potential 'smart city' with an advance amount of Rs 2 crore for the preparation of the Smart City Proposal. This amount, along with Administrative and Office Expenses (A&OE) of the Ministry of Urban Development, will be deducted from the initial corpus amount. Each 'smart city' will thus receive Rs 194 crore in the first year of its development. After A&OE deductions, cities will receive Rs 98 crore annually. By matching the government's contribution with an equal amount, states can ensure that each city has access to Rs 976 crore to complete 'smart city' projects within four years.

States are expected to seek funds for projects outlined in the Smart City Proposal from multiple sources, including:

- States'/ULBs' own resources from collection of user fees, beneficiary charges and impact fees, land monetization, debt, and loans;
- Additional resources transferred as a result of acceptance of the recommendations of the Fourteenth Finance Commission;[16]
- Innovative finance mechanisms, such as municipal bonds with credit rating of ULBs, Pooled Finance Development Fund Scheme,[17] and Tax Increment Financing;[18]
- Leverage borrowing from financial institutions, including bilateral and multilateral institutions, both domestic and external;
- The National Investment and Infrastructure Fund;[19]

- Other central government schemes; and,
- Public-private partnerships (PPP).

Each Smart City Proposal is required to include a 'Financial Plan' that provides extensive details of itemized costs, resource plans, revenue and payback mechanisms, plans for recovery of Operation and Maintenance costs, financial timelines, and plans for mitigating financial risk. The competence of this Financial Plan is an important criterion in judging the prospective of a potential 'smart city.'

> "The 60 cities selected so far have proposed an investment of Rs 133,680 crore for 'smart city' projects, for which central assistance of Rs 30,000 crore is being provided." *Union Minister of Urban Development, June 2017*

According to the SCM Guidelines, each 'smart city' is expected to receive an annual installment of funds subject to:

- Quarterly submission of a 'City Score Card' to MoUD;
- Satisfactory physical and financial progress shown in implementation of the Proposal, in the form of a Utilization Certificate and annual 'City Score Card';
- Achievement of milestones, as indicated in the timelines contained in the Smart City Proposal; and,
- Robustness of the functioning of the city's Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV), the entity constituted at the city level to implement the Mission's objectives.

4. Convergence with Related Policies

The SCM Guidelines suggest complementarity with programmes and schemes initiated by central and state governments. The Guidelines specifically call for convergence of projects within the Smart City Proposal with other central government schemes, including:

- **Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT)**: An urban renewal programme targeting 500 cities in the country with provisions for upgradation and creation of physical infrastructure such as water supply, sewerage, drainage, transport, and green spaces. The government has allocated Rs 50,000 crore for AMRUT for five years.
- **Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (Housing for All–2022)**: A scheme that aims to provide housing for EWS and LIG, with a target of 20 million houses in urban areas and 30 million houses in rural areas by the year 2022.
- **Swachh Bharat Abhiyan (Clean India Mission)**: A scheme to address sanitation and cleanliness in India, including through the construction of toilets in order to make India 'open-defecation free' by 2019.
- **National Heritage City Development and Augmentation Yojana (HRIDAY)**: A scheme aimed at inclusive urban planning and conservation of 'heritage cities.'
- **Digital India Programme**: A scheme to provide increased digital access and internet connectivity to the citizens of India.

Proposals of all shortlisted 'smart cities' are required to contain a section called 'Convergence Agenda,' which should specify the schemes or programmes that the projects aim to access funding from, and the manner in which convergence is expected to be achieved.

5. Mechanism for Implementation of the Smart Cities Mission

The SCM Guidelines require each 'smart city' to create a new entity called the Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) that will be established as "a limited company incorporated under the Companies Act 2013 at the city-level, in which the State/UT and the ULB will be the promoters having 50:50 equity shareholding. The private sector or financial institutions could be considered for taking equity stake in the SPV, provided the shareholding pattern of 50:50 of the State/UT and the ULB is maintained, and the State/UT and the ULB together have majority shareholding and control of the SPV."[20]

The SPV will be responsible for planning, appraising, approving, releasing of funds, managing, operating, monitoring, and evaluating development projects for the implementation of the Mission at the city level. The SPV is to be headed by a Board of Directors, and should consist of representatives of the central government, state government, and ULBs of the city.[21] The Mission permits financial institutions and private sector firms to be considered for an equity stake in the SPV, as long as government bodies represented in the SPV have a cumulative majority shareholding in it.

This implies that the effective implementation of the Mission is contingent on the development of the SPV and its smooth functioning. The website of the Ministry of Urban Development states that 59 of the 60 selected cities have created SPVs; the only city that does not have a SPV is New Town Kolkata.[22]

6. Mechanism for Monitoring the Smart Cities Mission

Monitoring of the Mission is supposed to take place at the national, state, and city levels. A national-level Apex Committee—consisting of representatives of related union ministries and parastatal organizations, principal secretaries of states, and chief executive officers (CEOs) of SPVs—will approve proposals for the Mission, monitor their progress, and release funds. Simultaneously, a National Mission Directorate will develop implementation 'roadmaps,' coordinate with stakeholders, oversee capacity building, and assist in handholding of SPVs, ULBs, and state governments.[23]

At the state level, a High Powered Steering Committee—consisting of representatives of state government departments—will monitor the Mission, including reviewing Smart City Proposals.[24] At the city level, a Smart City Advisory Forum will be created to enable collaboration between various stakeholders. The Forum will include the city mayor, Members of Parliament, Members of the Legislative Assembly, the CEO of the SPV, members of non-government organizations (NGOs), technical experts, and local youth.[25]

III. Analysis of the Sixty Selected Smart City Proposals

This section of the paper presents an overview of the focus areas of the 60 selected Smart City Proposals announced in the first round, the fast-track round, and the second round of selection (between January and September 2016). It uses the human rights framework to specifically assess the provision of housing for EWS/LIG—one of the stated purposes of the Smart Cities Mission—in all Smart City Proposals. With the existence of the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) and the buzz on 'affordable housing' across the real estate sector, HLRN believes it is important to examine what the Smart City Proposals offer in terms of housing for low income groups and what their operational plans are in this regard. Given the requirement for convergence of schemes, it is necessary to examine how housing targets in PMAY relate to those in SCM and how they will be achieved.

1. Selected Smart Cities

In the first round of selection, 20 cities were chosen by a committee including national and international experts, organizations, and institutions. Cities were scored on the basis of existing service levels, institutional capacities, and past track records.

Table 2: Cities Selected in the First Round of the Smart Cities Challenge

	Proposed Smart City	State/Union Territory
1.	Ahmedabad	Gujarat
2.	Belagavi	Karnataka
3.	Bhopal	Madhya Pradesh
4.	Bhubaneswar	Odisha
5.	Chennai	Tamil Nadu
6.	Coimbatore	Tamil Nadu
7.	Davanagere	Karnataka
8.	Guwahati	Assam
9.	Indore	Madhya Pradesh
10.	Jabalpur	Madhya Pradesh
11.	Jaipur	Rajasthan
12.	Kakinada	Andhra Pradesh
13.	Kochi	Kerala
14.	Ludhiana	Punjab

	Proposed Smart City	State/Union Territory
15.	New Delhi Municipal Council	New Delhi
16.	Pune	Maharashtra
17.	Solapur	Maharashtra
18.	Surat	Gujarat
19.	Udaipur	Rajasthan
20.	Visakhapatnam	Andhra Pradesh

Every shortlisted city in the above list is a classified 'Class I' city, by definition of the Census of India,[26] and eleven cities are 'million plus' urban agglomerations.[27] The New Delhi Municipal Council (NDMC) area consists primarily of government institutions, set on only three per cent of the land area of the National Capital Territory of Delhi (NCTD). The spatial area exhibits no population growth, and once it has been made 'smart,' will serve only one per cent of the total population of NCTD.[28]

'Smart cities' are being developed to become centres of investment, and in the process, claim that they will upgrade the quality of infrastructure in their cities.

Chennai has been rated the safest city in India,[29] and attracts 45 per cent of all global health tourists visiting India.[30] Bhubaneswar is known as a 'temple city' for its rich cultural heritage, and for the tourism it attracts owing to this virtue.[31] Pune is an evolving business centre, known for its Information Technology (IT) and automotive companies.

According to a study by the National Institute of Urban Affairs (NIUA),[32] many of the 20 cities selected in the first round have low socio-economic indicators and inadequate infrastructure. The analysis states that the total 'slum' population of 18.75 per cent in the 20 cities is higher than that of urban India (17.4 per cent). Indore, Chennai, Jabalpur, and Kakinada have large populations living in low income settlements. The study also highlights that only a small percentage of the households in these cities have access to basic civic services. Guwahati has the lowest percentage (32.6) of households with access to tap water from a treated source, while households in Bhubaneswar, Bhopal, Solapur, Pune, and Jabalpur have limited access to latrine facilities.

Table 3: Cities Selected under the 'Fast-track' Mode of the Smart Cities Challenge

	Proposed Smart City	State/Union Territory
1.	Agartala	Tripura
2.	Bhagalpur	Bihar
3.	Chandigarh	Chandigarh
4.	Dharamshala	Himachal Pradesh
5.	Faridabad	Uttar Pradesh
6.	Imphal	Manipur
7.	Lucknow	Uttar Pradesh
8.	New Town Kolkata	Bengal
9.	Panaji	Goa
10.	Port Blair	Andaman and Nicobar Islands
11.	Raipur	Chhatisgarh
12.	Ranchi	Jharkhand
13.	Warangal	Karnataka

With Lucknow topping the list, the above 13 cities have been selected on the basis of marks scored in the 'fast-track' competition and the benchmarks set by cities selected in the first round of Challenge.[33] Like

the first list, the above list of 13 cities includes state capitals and cities with industrial and cosmopolitan identities. Seven of the cities fall under the 'Class I' city category, while five of them are 'million plus' urban agglomerations and one city (Dharamshala) has a population of less than 100,000.

In September 2016, the Government of India selected an additional 27 cities to be developed as 'smart cities' in the second round of the Smart Cities Challenge.

Table 4: Cities Selected in the Second Round of the Smart Cities Challenge

	Proposed Smart City	State/Union Territory
1.	Agra	Uttar Pradesh
2.	Ajmer	Rajasthan
3.	Amritsar	Punjab
4.	Aurangabad	Maharashtra
5.	Gwalior	Madhya Pradesh
6.	Hubli-Dharwad	Karnataka
7.	Jalandhar	Punjab
8.	Kalyan-Dombivili	Maharashtra
9.	Kanpur	Uttar Pradesh
10.	Kohima	Mizoram
11.	Kota	Rajasthan
12.	Madurai	Tamil Nadu
13.	Mangaluru	Karnataka
14.	Nagpur	Maharashtra
15.	Namchi	Sikkim
16.	Nashik	Maharashtra
17.	Rourkela	Odisha
18.	Salem	Tamil Nadu
19.	Shimoga	Karnataka
20.	Thane	Maharashtra
21.	Thanjavur	Tamil Nadu
22.	Tirupati	Tamil Nadu
23.	Tumkur	Karnataka
24.	Ujjain	Madhya Pradesh
25.	Vadodara	Gujarat
26.	Vellore	Tamil Nadu
27.	Varanasi	Uttar Pradesh

Cities in the second round have been selected on parameters similar to those used in the previous round. From the above list, Amritsar's Smart City Proposal was ranked first. While 17 cities are from the 'Class I' category, nine are from 'million plus' agglomerations, and one city (Namchi) has a population of less than 100,000.

Uttar Pradesh, India's largest state, has the highest number of cities (13) included in the Mission. Of these, four cities—Lucknow, Agra, Kanpur and Varanasi—have been selected through two rounds of competition. A total investment of Rs 8,770 crore has been approved by the centre with a committed central government

assistance of Rs 2,000 crore. The remaining cities, reportedly, are participating in the third round of the competition.[34]

2. Focus Areas of Smart City Proposals

Each Smart City Proposal consists of two components. In the first component of area-based development, cities have suggested redevelopment of neighbourhoods, city centres or business districts, creating public spaces, and retrofitting infrastructure such as for sanitation and water supply. The second component related to pan-city development has been restricted largely to IT-driven initiatives, including 'smart solutions' for traffic management and closed-circuit television (CCTV)-surveillance.

The positive components of the Smart City Proposals are largely within the ambit of innovative ideas for formulating technological solutions, developing renewable energy, promoting environmental sustainability, and building resilience of cities. One of the essential requirements of all Smart City Proposals is a strategy to ensure that 10 per cent of the city's electricity supply is guaranteed through solar energy. This is to maintain a focus on harnessing renewable energy in all shortlisted cities. To meet this stipulation, Bhubaneswar has proposed a 'Solar City Programme,' which is expected to generate 11 megawatts of energy supply, which will constitute 11 per cent of the city's energy consumption in 2020.

Selected cities have also attempted to include ideas that could serve as models for future development of other cities. For example, Ludhiana's proposal has an emphasis on improving transportation facilities, including non-motorized transport. Streets in identified areas will be redesigned to be more pedestrian-friendly and dedicated bicycle tracks will be created. Auto-rickshaws are expected to be replaced by electric rickshaws.[35] Kakinada intends on transforming itself from "Pensioners' Paradise to Economic Destination."[36] A few cities have indicated prioritizing sustainable development, with a focus on disaster mitigation. For instance, Guwahati has proposed the retrofitting of a contiguous area of connected water bodies in the city, with the stated aim of mitigating floods in the city.[37] Similarly, Bhubaneswar has committed to employ disaster risk reduction strategies through a 'Future Proofing Sub-Plan.'[38]

In 2015, the Ministry of Urban Development approved the Transit-Oriented Development Policy for Delhi, hoping to introduce high-density, compact, mixed land use in the city, with an increased Floor Area Ratio of 400 that would enable vertical construction.[39] However, instead of incorporating this policy in its Smart City Proposal, NDMC has chosen to focus on retrofitting the New Delhi City Centre, with a particular focus on developing 'Happiness Areas.' NDMC, incidentally, has an area density of 40 people per hectare, when guidelines for transit-oriented development require a density of 2,000 people per hectare.[40] In contrast, Indore intends to utilize transit-oriented development for the rejuvenation of its urban form.

Most of the cities selected in the second round of the Smart Cities Challenge focus on promoting good governance, developing core infrastructure and housing, promoting liveability, and improving mobility and transit-oriented development. For example, Agra, Ajmer, Amritsar, Aurangabad, Gwalior, Kohima, Thanjavur, Tirupati, Ujjain, Varanasi and Vellore want to develop sustainable heritage culture and tourism, and promote their cities as tourist destinations. Jalandhar has its strategic focus on developing a 'sports city;' Kota wants to create enabling facilities and support systems for "coaching eco-system;" Salem has planned to create "zero-emission zones" to reduce its carbon footprint; and Tirupati, besides aiming to develop a "model pilgrimage city," lays its focus on promoting "one entrepreneur in every family" for fostering economic prosperity.

None of the city proposals incorporate a human rights approach or discuss issues of non-discrimination or equality; neither do they prioritize concerns of marginalized and discriminated sections of society, including religious minorities and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

3. Housing for Low Income Groups in Smart City Proposals

Housing for low income groups has been identified as an area of concern in almost every shortlisted Smart City Proposal (See Annexure I of this paper for a detailed comparative analysis on housing provisions in the 60 selected cities). Indore, Ahmedabad, New Town Kolkata, Panaji, Ranchi, and Visakhapatnam termed it a 'threat' in their city's Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats (SWOT) analysis. Ahmedabad reported that 13 per cent of all households in the city live in substandard housing that lacks basic facilities. A few other cities termed housing for marginalized groups a 'weakness' in their city analysis. The cities of Chandigarh and Dharamshala termed their approach to housing provisioning as a 'strength.' While Chandigarh claims to have already handed over housing units to half the households it identified for rehabilitation, only 0.5 per cent of Dharamshala's population is claimed to be houseless.

Solapur noted that in the decade between 2001 and 2011, the city's population living in 'slums'[41] increased from 25 per cent to 31 per cent, even while the city's natural growth rate was close to only nine per cent. In cities such as Indore, Bhubaneswar, Kakinada, Solapur, and Visakhapatnam, more than one-third of the total population lives in low income settlements. Solapur also recorded an unprecedented 178 homeless residents in 2015. Bhopal noted that 75 per cent of the city's population belongs to EWS/LIG; Warangal reported EWS/LIG as accounting for 42 per cent of the city's population. Though the city of Agartala mentioned that it does have any 'notified slums,' a survey carried out by the Agartala Municipal Corporation in 2013 indicated that the city is home to 163 'slums' with a population of over 250,000 residents.[42] Imphal reported being a 'slum-free' city, which is in tandem with the findings of the Census of India 2011, which declared Manipur a 'slum-free' state.

Table 5: Percentage of Population Reported to be Living in Low Income Settlements in Proposed Smart Cities

	Proposed Smart City	Percentage of the City's Population Reported to be Living in Low Income Settlements
1.	Ahmedabad	13.1
2.	Agartala	8.0
3.	Bhubaneswar	36.0
4.	Coimbatore	10.0
5.	Davanagere	15.0
6.	Indore	39.4
7.	Jabalpur	24.8
8.	Kakinada	35.6
9.	Ludhiana	25.0
10.	Pune	28.0
11.	Ranchi	7.7
12.	Solapur	31.0
13.	Visakhapatnam	38.0
14.	Warangal	42.0
15.	Kalyan-Dombivili	12.0
16.	Madurai	Less than 30.0

	Proposed Smart City	Percentage of the City's Population Reported to be Living in Low Income Settlements
17.	Nagpur	36.0
18.	Rourkela	36.0
19.	Salem	21.0
20.	Shimoga	20.0
21.	Thane	Over 50.0
22.	Thanjavur	9.6
23.	Tirupati	30.0
24.	Ujjain	32.1

Most proposed 'smart cities' have previously attempted to implement measures to provide housing for EWS/LIG. Ahmedabad, Belagavi, Kochi, Ludhiana, Surat, and Visakhapatnam claim to have utilized funds under the Basic Services for Urban Poor (BSUP) component of the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) to construct housing for EWS/LIG. The cities of Bhubaneswar, Coimbatore, Davanagere, and Ludhiana had also developed 'Slum-Free City Plans of Action' to access funds to construct housing under the now discontinued Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY). Visakhapatnam reported constructing shelters for homeless residents at five locations in the city while Faridabad had constructed a 150-bed working women's hostel (see Annexure I for more details).

Table 6: Existing Housing Provisions for Low Income Groups in Proposed Smart Cities

	Proposed Smart City	Existing Housing Provisions for Low Income Groups
1.	Agra	6,383 *in situ* housing development and 7,890 EWS housing units constructed under BSUP, RAY, and Kashiram Awas Yojna.
2.	Agartala	The city municipal body, under three projects, constructed 192 dwelling units, 192 units, and 256 units.
3.	Ahmedabad	Over 40,000 affordable houses already constructed.
4.	Ajmer	240 new housing units were constructed in 2014-15 for EWS, and another 520 units have been proposed for EWS, LIG, and middle income groups (MIG) under a separate scheme for affordable housing.
5.	Amritsar	The Amritsar Development Authority has a planned project for 1,227 housing units; 891 units were sanctioned under BSUP, 880 units under the Amritsar Improvement Trust. Reportedly, 128 housing units were delivered in the last three years.
6.	Aurangabad	Under Ramai Awas Yojana, 1050 EWS houses (269 square feet each) are under construction.
7.	Belagavi	1,750 houses constructed under RAY, Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme (IHSDP) of JNNURM, and Vajpayee Housing Scheme.
8.	Bhagalpur	665 dwelling units constructed by Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) under IHSDP.
9.	Bhubaneswar	'Slum rehabilitation' provided under RAY for 15 settlements consisting of 3,171 households.
10.	Chandigarh	12,736 tenements constructed and handed over; 200 acres of land made 'slum-free'; and, 8,000 new houses for EWS under construction.
11.	Chennai	The number of *kutcha* (made of mud, thatch and other non-permanent materials) houses, reportedly, has decreased by seven per cent between 2001 and 2011.
12.	Coimbatore	10,800 dwelling units for EWS are under construction.
13.	Davangere	2,120 dwelling units for BPL families have been sanctioned under RAY.
14.	Dharamshala	212 dwelling units for 'slum-dwellers' under IHSDP to be constructed.
15.	Faridabad	The city municipal body constructed 2,896 units for 'slum-dwellers' in 2011; set up four night shelters, and a 150-bed hostel for working women.

	Proposed Smart City	Existing Housing Provisions for Low Income Groups
16.	Gwalior	The city has undertaken various affordable housing schemes/projects for the urban poor such as RAY, PMAY, IHSDP, Atal Aashray Yojna, and others. Under various schemes, reportedly, 4,196 EWS and 1,976 other Affordable Housing Units have been delivered in the last three years.
17.	Indore	Provided 15,250 'affordable units' for EWS/LIG from 2012–15.
18.	Jabalpur	4,855 affordable houses provided by different agencies in the last three years.
19.	Jaipur	Provided 9,227 'affordable houses' from 2012–15.
20.	Jalandhar	Against the projected target for the year 2017, under IHSDP, the Municipal Corporation of Jalandhar has completed more than 75 per cent of the work related to the construction of dwelling units.
21.	Kanpur	The Kanpur Development Authority (KDA) sanctioned the following houses in 2015-16 (against 2013-14): EWS – 5,741 (1,625), LIG – 3,781 (1,740), MIG (middle income group) – 7,602 (1286), HIG (high income groups) – 636 (725). Houses under construction: KDA: Samajwadi Awas Yojna Scheme – 1,708 houses; ASHRAY Yojna – 1,500 houses. District Urban Development Agency (DUDA): BSUP Phase I: 678, BSUP Phase II: 5,451. RAY: 128 (under construction); MKSGAY (Manyawar Kanshi Ramji Shahari Gareeb Awaas Yojana) scheme Phase I & II: 3,008 houses allotted till 2014-15, Phase III: 2,000 new houses (200 allotted in 2015-16).
22.	Kochi	Provided 6,787 dwelling units under the BSUP scheme, benefitting almost 30,000 people.
23.	Kota	8,544 EWS/LIG units have been constructed and work is in progress for another 3,966 units.
24.	Lucknow	Dwelling units constructed under various schemes: Aasra housing scheme (780), BSUP (4,260), Kashiram Shahari Gareeb Awas Yojana (9,180), and Lucknow Development Authority (16,000 for EWS, 2,000 for affordable housing).
25.	Ludhiana	The Municipal Corporation undertook 'slum rehabilitation' under the BSUP scheme, and reported completing 2,912 dwelling units.
26.	Madurai	Under the BSUP scheme, 17,099 houses constructed for EWS.
27.	Mangalore	Over 2,000 dwelling units will be allotted.
28.	Nagpur	Housing provided under various schemes: BSUP: 3,671 houses completed and 4,201 units in progress; Maharashtra Housing and Development Authority and Nagpur Improvement Trust: 1,022 and 684 units constructed, respectively.
29.	Nashik	Slum rehabilitation: 4,550 houses completed, 2,920 ongoing under BSUP.
30.	New Delhi Municipal Council	Construction of 240 EWS units at Bakkarwala started in 2013, 90 per cent reportedly complete. Constructed 296 residential quarters for Safai Karmacharis from 2012–15.
31.	Pune	The Slum Rehabilitation Authority has completed 38 projects, 21 over the last three years, targeting 7,176 tenements. Currently, 34 projects are ongoing, targeting 10,092 tenements.
32.	Raipur	15,614 dwelling units allocated to the urban poor.
33.	Ranchi	Over the last three years, 2,588 houses, reportedly, have been constructed. Sanction of 1,565 dwellings in five settlements under Rajiv Awas Yojana.
34.	Rourkela	124 dwelling units were constructed under IHSDP in 2014.
35.	Salem	IHSDP scheme is being implemented to provide 1,006 housing units.
36.	Shivamogga	1,487 units for EWS/LIG built under government schemes.
37.	Surat	The Municipal Corporation of Surat has constructed more than 20,000 houses for the urban poor and 2,460 units for 'slum redevelopment' under BSUP.
38.	Thane	The city has built and handed over 3,062 tenements; 6,000 tenements will be handed over in the next two years. An additional 18,944 tenements have been approved.

	Proposed Smart City	Existing Housing Provisions for Low Income Groups
39.	Udaipur	The Municipal Corporation has constructed 1,183 EWS units in the past two years. Work on 928 units is in progress.
40.	Ujjain	1,320 affordable houses built under BSUP and 750 units by the city municipal body.
41.	Vadodara	18,000 new dwelling units constructed and handed over for 'slum rehabilitation.'
42.	Varanasi	7,097 affordable houses constructed.
43.	Vellore	848 houses were constructed in the last three years; of which 62 per cent were *in situ*.
44.	Visakhapatnam	The Municipal Corporation has constructed 15,320 houses including Infrastructure under JNNURM. *In situ* redevelopment and housing through relocation has been carried out for 50,000 dwelling units. Five night shelters constructed.

The above table highlights past, ongoing, and future housing projects reported in the proposals of different cities. Housing and Land Rights Network (HLRN) has not been able to verify this information or validate the numbers provided. While some housing targets claim to have been met by cities under previous (and now discontinued schemes), it is not clear when other targets will be achieved—before or after the 'smart city' initiative begins—or how they will relate to identified convergence with PMAY.

While the Smart City Proposals proudly list housing provided for EWS/LIG, which in most cities is still grossly insufficient to meet the existing housing shortage for EWS/LIG, they are silent on the number of EWS/LIG homes demolished and families evicted under various schemes. In many cities, adding these numbers to the table would reveal a much lower number or a negative balance in housing for EWS/LIG. The target of providing affordable housing within the stipulated timeframe would be difficult to achieve as promised in the selected city proposals, as more houses are being demolished in several cities, running counter to the goals envisaged under the Mission. For example, the SCM proposal of Dharamshala provides for the construction of 212 houses for 'slum-dwellers' under the Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme,[43] while 300 houses were demolished in 2016 by the Municipal Corporation of Dharamshala.[44] In the proposal of New Delhi Municipal Council, it has been stated that 296 quarters were constructed for sanitation workers during 2012–15, and the construction of 90 per cent of 240 houses for EWS, which began in 2013 at Bakkarwala, has been completed.[45] However, according to eviction data compiled by HLRN, 5,879 houses have been demolished in different parts in Delhi between January 2015 and June 2017. In the case of Indore, the SCM proposal states that in the past three years 15,250 houses have been made available for EWS/LIG. While the veracity of this statement is disputed by local organizations, data compiled by HLRN reveals that from January 2015 to June 2017, state authorities have demolished at least 6,744 houses in Indore.

Despite raising the issue of housing for EWS/LIG in their proposals, none of the cities have recognized housing as a human right or included standards to ensure its adequacy. Instead, most of the Smart City Proposals lay focus on issues related to 'slum' upgrading and rehabilitation, re-housing, providing 'affordable and inclusive housing,' ensuring 'slum-free' cities under the scheme of Housing for All–2022, ensuring at least 15 per cent reservation for EWS in the affordable housing segment, and constructing hostels for working women. None of the proposals, however, provide a comprehensive definition of 'affordable housing'; neither do they include concrete plans on how housing will be provided to the urban poor.

Some proposals have identified settlements for redevelopment/upgradation. For example, Jalandhar aims to redevelop Mithu Basti, which has 767 households, under the PPP model;[46] Kota has identified Ghodewala Baba Basti for redevelopment;[47] and, Thane wants to redevelop Kisan Nagar cluster that has over 100,000

residents.[48] Agra, Amritsar, Kota, Madurai, Thane, Tumkur, Ujjain, and Vadodara also talk about redeveloping 'slums' in their Smart City Proposals.

Agartala states that eight per cent of its city's population resides in 'slums' but eventually presents a plans to build only 445 dwelling units for EWS residents. Faridabad identified almost 220,000 'slum-dwellers,' but till date, has provided housing to only 2,900 families. The city's proposal makes a passing mention of 'slum retrofitment' without provisions for the same, despite choosing a focus area in the core of the city.

Ahmedabad, Chandigarh, Warangal, Agra, Aurangabad, Namchi, Salem, Tirupati, Tumkur and Vadodara state the goal of making their cities 'slum-free.' Bhubaneswar intends on making investments to promote public housing programmes. While articulating the city's vision, Bhubaneswar has stated its intention of developing 'inclusive neighbourhoods' that will provide housing to all income groups. Port Blair has proposed hostels to separately accommodate 100 working women and 50 working men, in an attempt to provide secure housing for working people from other islands.

Proposals of only a few cities, such as Bhagalpur, Bhubaneswar, Dharamshala, Ludhiana, Jaipur, Raipur, Madurai, Salem, and Mangaluru include specific provisions for the homeless.

NDMC has chosen international benchmarks to justify its decisions pertaining to the urban poor within the project area. It has adopted Dubai's standard of five homeless persons for every 100,000 people in the NDMC area, by 2025. However, its proposal does not specify how people will be brought out of homelessness and provided housing; neither does it discuss the fate of its homeless population while the 'smart city' develops. Instead, it proposes to create a 'World Class Urban Area' with 'Happiness Areas.' In doing so, it has already initiated a process of evicting street vendors from the proposal area, costing hundreds of urban poor residents their livelihood.[49]

In its proposal, Kakinada chose to retrofit its Central Business District over redeveloping a low income settlement spread over 65 acres, as the residents were not in favour of relocating, and, as the Proposal stated, could pose a "risk to the success of area-based proposals."

None of the city proposals speak about specific measures to address the housing needs of street children, migrants, persons with disabilities, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and marginalized women.

IV. Human Rights Concerns and Challenges of the Smart Cities Mission

Based on a human rights analysis of the structure and process of the Smart Cities Mission, as well as the 60 selected Smart City Proposals, this section of the paper identifies some major human rights concerns and challenges.

1. Failure to Adopt an Inclusionary and Sustainable Approach to Development

The entire premise of developing as 'smart cities' only 100 of India's over 4,000 cities and towns appears to be discriminatory. Since the problems of inadequate housing, absence of basic services, tenure insecurity and forced evictions, poor health and nutritional levels, unemployment, and stark levels of inequality are ubiquitous across India, a more holistic approach aimed at country-wide development would have been more equitable. Merely selecting some cities at the expense of others, and some areas within cities at the loss of others, does not sound like smart planning or an exercise aimed at nation-building. Such a policy also excludes rural areas, thereby intensifying the justification for urbanization and worsening the rural-urban divide. A more inclusionary approach could have aimed at investing in core social services and infrastructure in all cities and villages across India, rather than develop a competition aimed at serving 100 cities with the most popular proposals.[50]

Under the competition format—Smart Cities Challenge—for selecting 'smart cities,' the best city proposals get selected, not necessarily the most deserving or needy cities. This creates false priorities and could omit people's genuine concerns and issues related to sustainable urban development and poverty eradication.

Also, the criteria and basis for selection of the 60 cities is suspect. For instance, it is not clear why NDMC— the wealthiest municipality in the country— should be chosen to be developed as a 'smart city,' instead of other locations—even within Delhi—that require more urgent attention, including delivery of essential services such as electricity, water, and sanitation. Considering that quite a few of the shortlisted cities are established economic centres, the list of cities chosen in the challenge could come across as a lost opportunity, as more disadvantaged cities could have availed funding under the Mission to become 'counter magnet' cities. 'Counter magnets' are defined as cities that are developed to reduce the mass migration of people to the few large metropolitan areas in the country. Such cities are developed as alternative centres of growth with opportunities for employment and income generation. While a few selected 'smart cities' like Gwalior and Warangal are being developed as 'counter magnets' to Delhi and Hyderabad respectively, this is

not an apparent priority among the selected Smart City Proposals. A more concentrated plan of developing 'counter magnets' within the Mission, after analysing the challenges and demands of metropolitan areas, may have been a more sustainable urban development model for India to pursue.

> "Some cities with high poverty rates and few resources would have no competitive advantage, and there are fears that the scheme would broaden the gap between wealthier cities and cities with the most need for housing and infrastructure. Concern was also expressed that modernizing only parts of cities, or that a particular focus on technological responses, would result in the construction of unaffordable housing or infrastructure that is not targeted at the poorest."
> *Paragraph 33, Report of the Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing: Mission to India*[51]

The competition format also results in Smart City Proposals being developed by private consulting firms, many of them large multinational companies, which charge very high consulting fees but are not necessarily the best suited to develop a holistic and need-based proposal or vision of development for the city's residents. These consulting firms include, *inter alia*, KPMG, McKinsey, Infosys, Deloitte, and Jones Lang LaSalle Property Consultants.[52]

By failing to address rural-urban linkages, SCM grossly overlooks serious issues related to forced migration to urban areas. It also reinforces the erroneous policy assumption that 'urbanization is inevitable' without taking concerted measures to reduce forced population transfer to urban areas by investing in the needs of rural people, responding to acute land and agrarian crises, and developing rural areas with adequate budgets and investment plans. While the Rurban Mission (with a budgetary allocation of Rs 1,000 crore in 2017–18) claims that it will develop 100 'smart villages' in India, there are no clear strategies for the same, neither are 'smart village proposals' being prepared. There seems to be no focus on attracting investment for 'smart villages' or alluring companies and foreign governments to invest in rural areas. Rajasthan and Gujarat, so far, seem to be the only states to have announced the development of 'smart villages' but again without any proposals for their achievement.

"Smart cities do not exist in a vacuum; they depend on smart territories that recognize the complementary assets of urban and rural areas, ensure integration between them, and advances effective rural-urban partnerships to ensure positive socio-economic outcomes throughout the rural-urban continuum.[53]"

A more balanced urban-rural development approach would have led to greater equity and social justice while ensuring that investment in rural areas is also prioritized to address rural poverty, unemployment, land-grabbing, landlessness, homelessness, food insecurity, the severe agrarian crisis, and distress migration. This would also be more in line with the Sustainable Development Agenda 2030 as well as the New Urban Agenda adopted in October 2016,[54] which aim to promote integrated territorial development and "leave no one behind."

2. Absence of a Human Rights Approach to Planning and Implementation

HLRN's review of the Smart Cities Mission reveals the lack of a human rights approach in all components of the Mission – its vision, guidelines, city proposals, and implementation and monitoring mechanisms. This is also reflected in the failure to incorporate human rights principles such as indivisibility of human rights, gender equality, non-discrimination, accountability, participation, non-retrogression, and progressive realization of human rights in all Mission-related documents.

The absence of human rights standards to guide city development and project implementation, including for housing, water, sanitation, health, and environmental sustainability, raise questions about whether the Mission will be able to deliver on its aims and ensure the fulfillment of rights and entitlements of all city residents. As the Habitat III Issue Paper on Smart Cities highlighted, "To be inclusive, smart city approaches need to be anchored in the Human Rights-based Approach to Development Cooperation (HRBA)."[55]

India's NITI Ayog (National Institute for Transforming India) has commented on the absence of standards and recommended that standards for design and implementation of housing and transportation should be put in place, as early as possible, and should be updated to be relevant with the latest available technologies.[56]

> "If there are no prescribed standards, it would be difficult for Smart Cities programme to maintain its momentum." *Central government official formerly working with the Mission*

Since the SCM Guidelines do not focus on the protection of human rights, the choice of projects is left to the discretion of individual cities. As most 'smart cities' are being developed to be investor-friendly economic hubs with advanced technology, issues of the urban poor and marginalized groups may not be adequately addressed. SPVs are required to develop a dedicated revenue stream and evolve their own credit worthiness to access additional financial resources; it is thus possible that they could only select those projects that have market feasibility (such as PPP projects). Project timelines indicate that implementation of various aspects of projects contained in Smart City Proposals will take place simultaneously. In such a scenario, human rights and social welfare projects such as housing, basic services, and healthcare for low income groups could be neglected.

The SCM Guidelines also do not include human rights-based indicators to monitor implementation of the Mission or to ensure that projects will benefit EWS/LIG and other disadvantaged groups. While MoUD has announced the development of a 'Liveability Index' for Indian cities, it is not clear whether this would incorporate any human rights indicators or whether it will be used to monitor progress in 'smart cities' as well. In a press release of May 2017, MoUD stated that, "Cities will be assessed on 15 core parameters relating to governance, social infrastructure pertaining to education, health, and safety and security, economic aspects and physical infrastructure like housing, open spaces, land use, energy and water availability, solid waste management, pollution etc. Cities will be ranked based on Liveability Index that would cover a total of 79 aspects."[57] Until now, there is no information on any consultations with or participation of, different stakeholders including city residents, to develop this index.

3. Denial of the Rights to Participation and Information

The SCM Guidelines state that: "The Proposal development will lead to creation of a smart citizenry. The proposal will be citizen-driven from the beginning, achieved through citizen consultations, including active participation of groups of people, such as Residents Welfare Associations, Tax Payers Associations, Senior Citizens and Slum Dwellers Associations. During consultations, issues, needs and priorities of citizens and groups of people will be identified and citizen-driven solutions generated."[58]

While several Smart City Proposals list a range of consultations conducted during their preparation, in reality, many of the consultations were reportedly not participatory (see Annexure II of this report for details on the nature of participation in the development of Smart City Proposals). Media reports and analyses by HLRN also reveal that people's participation in the development of Smart City Proposals, especially from low income communities, has been tokenistic, at best. While all the selected cities claim to have conducted consultations with residents, they mostly utilized online web portals, social media, and mobile text messaging services to gauge citizens' priorities. Members of marginalized groups who do not have

access to such technology were, therefore, largely omitted from these processes. Their participation consisted, if at all, of select focus group discussions in some areas. In instances where a city's proposal mentions development of an informal settlement, the details of citizen participation do not indicate that any steps were taken to engage with the communities likely to be affected. Also, adequate information related to different dimensions of the Mission was not provided.

In Ahmedabad and Bhubaneswar, persons with disabilities, older persons, residents of settlements, and NGOs engaged with representatives of the city's ULB through stakeholder consultations. The cities of Ahmedabad, Panaji, and Solapur, reported carrying out targeted consultations with residents of settlements that were part of the proposal area. In Dharamshala, Faridabad, and NDMC, street plays were reported as a means of engagement with residents of low income settlements. While this is contested by residents in Delhi, street plays offer limited scope for feedback and audience participation. A survey by HLRN of 24 low income settlements in the NDMC area revealed that the residents were not consulted in the development of NDMC's Smart City Proposal by either NDMC or KPMG – the consulting firm responsible for preparing the Proposal.

> "Some groups argued that the consultations to select the first 33 city proposals had been largely limited to people with access to the Internet, thus leaving out the poorer segments of the population, and that, by not requiring smart city plans to address the root causes of poverty and discrimination, the initiative was unlikely to create more inclusive and human rights-based urbanization."
> *Paragraph 34, Report of the Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing: Mission to India*[59]

4. Lack of a Gender Equality and Non-discrimination Approach

Despite the serious concerns of violence against women in urban India and the grave inequality faced by women in cities, the Smart Cities Mission has a largely gender-neutral approach. The only reference to women's issues is limited to check-marks in the proposal on women's safety and, in some Smarty City Proposals, to the reference to women's shelters and working women's hostels. There are no specific plans to engender cities or to create safe public spaces and public transport options for women or to address concerns of marginalized women such as domestic workers, migrants, women of low income groups, and single women.

Neither the SCM Guidelines nor the Smart City Proposals incorporate a non-discrimination framework to ensure a focus on the rights of marginalized individuals and communities, including older persons, sexual and religious minorities, children, and persons with disabilities. There is no mention of Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes in any of the proposals, thus ignoring not just the rights of these groups but also the pervasive discrimination that they face at multiple levels.

According to Javed Abidi, Global Chair of Disabled People's International, the Smart Cities Mission has failed to integrate "disability as a key issue," and the first 20 shortlisted cities have "completely neglected the role of digital inclusion for PWDs (persons with disabilities)."[60]

> There is a need for greater understanding of smart cities also as a vision of cities where, through the strategic use of new or old ICTs (Information and Communication Technologies), the voices of the marginalized and the poor are heard, the wellbeing of the informal sector and the vibrancy of informal activities are recognized, and the needs of women, youth and the elderly receive attention. **It is after all on the social fabric, not only on economic competitiveness and cutting-edge infrastructure, that resilient and sustainable cities are built** (emphasis added).[61]

5. Violation of the Human Right to Adequate Housing: Forced Evictions

Despite recognizing that a large percentage of the city population lives in underserved and inadequate settlements, none of the shortlisted cities have adopted a human rights approach to housing or included safeguards to ensure that the right to housing will not be violated during the implementation of 'smart city' projects.

With the release of the three lists of 'smart cities' that are to receive priority financing from the central government, incidents of forced evictions in the guise of 'development,' specifically for the facilitation of services or acquiring land for projects under the Mission, have begun to be recorded. The year 2016 witnessed vulnerable socio-economic groups like migrant workers and residents of low income settlements being threatened with, and facing, eviction by local administrations for implementation of 'smart city' projects, including redevelopment and retrofitting.

In July 2016, the Municipal Corporation of Dharamshala evicted 300 families or about 1,500 migrant workers from a settlement in Charan Khad where they had resided for 30–35 years, on the premise that the settlement posed a 'health hazard.'[62] Incidentally, Dharamshala had previously intended to construct "earthquake resistant, fireproof and insulated dwelling units for 'slum-dwellers' with innovative pre-fabricated technology." In its present proposal, the city intends to primarily utilize beneficiary contributions to provide housing to the urban poor residing within its proposal area.

In the past year, Indore has witnessed a spate of evictions as a result of 'smart city' projects. In early 2016, 200 homes in Biyabani and 150 in Loharpatti, most of them 100–150 year-old houses, were demolished in the old area of the city. According to media and civil society reports, state authorities demolished 145 houses in the areas of Rajmohalla and Bada Ganpati;[63] over 50 houses near Airport Road;[64] 100 houses in Kanadiya Road, 150 houses in Ganeshganj, and 50 houses in Bada Ganapati.[65] The demolition drives also resulted in the destruction of shops and other home-based livelihoods. Reportedly, no compensation or alternative housing has been provided to the evicted families.[66] According to the National Alliance of Peoples' Movements, at least 1,200 families have been evicted as a result of 'smart city' development in Indore.[67] More than 70 roads in Indore are set to be widened for SCM projects; this, reportedly, would threaten about 10,000 families with forced eviction.[68] Local organizations also report the destruction of 1,440 homes to meet Swachh Bharat Mission targets, allegedly on grounds of not having toilets.[69]

Another identified 'smart city,' Bhopal, has seen protests by local residents who face the threat of eviction and subsequent homelessness, after the Bhopal Municipal Corporation started marking houses for demolition.[70] The same might happen to accommodate road-widening projects within Bhopal's 'smart city' plans. Residents of 500 government quarters in TT Nagar and Tulsi Nagar face the imminent threat of eviction and have been protesting against the 'smart city' project.[71]

Reportedly, implementation of the Smart City Proposal in Bhubaneswar is expected to result in the forced eviction of 10,000 families or about 50,000 people from 24 settlements.[72] The eviction is also likely to result in the loss of livelihoods of the affected families. The state government, however, claims that there will be no evictions and the families will be 'resettled' in four sites at Saheed Nagar, Shanti Nagar, Kharavela Nagar, and Bapuji Nagar.[73]

Residents of Prizerpeta in Kakinada face an imminent threat of eviction from their homes, as their settlement falls within the Central Business District area that the Municipal Corporation plans to retrofit. They have lived at the site for almost 90 years and are registered voters from their residential addresses.[74]

Using the benchmark of Helsinki, NDMC plans to have zero per cent of its population living in 'slums' by 2025. Its proposal aims to 'redevelop' and relocate identified *jhuggi jhopdi* clusters (low income settlements) to EWS dwelling units in Bakkarwala, a site that is at least 29 kilometres from their current places of residence. NDMC's project area consists of 26 low income settlements housing more than 6,700 families, which will be evicted and forcefully relocated to Bakkarwala. This is likely to result in the loss of their livelihoods, education, and access to healthcare and other basic services.

The overwhelming focus on creating 'slum-free cities' in the Smart City Proposals is indicative of the trend, over the last fifteen years, that has promoted evictions and demolitions of low income settlements under the guise of creating 'cities without slums.' While the SCM Guidelines do not use the term 'slum-free,' the city proposals have tended to stress this goal as integral to their housing policies, also while claiming convergence with the Housing for All–2022 (PMAY) scheme. The PMAY Guidelines[75] support the 'slum-free city' rationale by stating that: "Cities which have already prepared Slum Free City Plan of Action (SFCPoA)[76] or any other housing plan with data on housing, should utilise the existing plan and data for preparing "Housing for All Plan of Action" (HFAPoA)."

The 'slum-free city' vision, however, has not always been interpreted in the socially progressive way in which it was intended. Many countries used this vision as a frame for eradicating slums through repressive programmes that undermine the rights of the poor to the city.[77] This agenda of promoting evictions was also adopted by many cities, ironically, to meet the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 7 target of achieving "a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum-dwellers by 2020." While countries claimed to have realized this target by 2010, the paradox lies in the fact that though the proportion of those living in 'slums' declined between 2000 and 2010, the absolute number of 'slum-dwellers' rose during that period from 776.7 million in 2000 (when the MDGs were established) to 827.6 million in 2010.[78] The MDG reporting and data collection mechanisms, however, failed to document the number of forced evictions and homeless persons in the same period.

As with MDGs, in the case of the Smart Cities Mission too, the absence of a human rights approach and human rights-based standards and indicators for monitoring, could in reality facilitate housing rights violations, including evictions, demolitions of homes, and forced relocation. The focus, therefore, should be on ensuring that all inadequately-housed persons, including the homeless, are able to secure affordable, permanent housing that meets UN standards of 'adequacy'[79] and protection against evictions[80] such that they are able to live with dignity, instead of a limited and potentially regressive target of creating a 'slum-free city' by demolishing slums and forcing the poor out of cities.

The issue of the threat of forced evictions in 'smart cities' has also been raised in the India mission report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing: "Substantive resources would thus be spent on assisting only a small proportion of the population, while residents of informal settlements would be evicted from their homes to make way for new developments."[81]

The failure to recognize housing as a human right and the absence of a 'human right to adequate housing' framework in Smart City Proposals is likely to promote the trend to forcefully shift low income settlements to city peripheries. There is enough documented evidence to illustrate that this nature of relocation to inadequate sites located on city margins, results in loss of livelihoods, health, education, and security of the affected families while increasing their impoverishment and marginalization.[82] Women and children suffer disproportionately from such processes of displacement and failed resettlement. Also, the absence of a clear definition of 'affordable housing' makes the achievement of housing targets for EWS/LIG more difficult, as several schemes claiming to provide 'affordable housing' in reality cater to middle and upper-middle income groups.

6. Forced Land Acquisition and Displacement

Reports indicate that reforms made under the 'smart cities' agenda could facilitate the private takeover of public space and common lands. While small and medium-sized towns are undergoing exponential growth, there has also been "manipulation of territory along their edges."[83] Based on the negative experience of farmers in 'smart cities' like Dholera[84] and Gujarat International Finance Tec-City (GIFT),[85] there is a growing fear that increased land acquisition, including along economic and industrial corridors[86] where several 'smart cities' are strategically located, is likely to lead to loss of farmland as well as displacement of farmers and other rural communities.

> ### Gujarat International Finance Tec-City
>
> The Gujarat International Finance Tec-City (GIFT), spread across 886 acres, was envisioned as one of India's first 'smart cities,' with tax breaks and other concessions to build an international financial services centre. In July 2007, the Gujarat Urban Development Corporation diverted 500 acres of pasture land and revenue wasteland belonging to three villages—Phirojpur, Ratanpur and Shahpur—for GIFT. Low purchase prices further forced farmers to sell their land at rates well below the market price,[87] thereby resulting in their displacement and loss of livelihood, without adequate rehabilitation. Ten years later, despite the dispossession of farmers, loss of farmland, and the slow pace of development, GIFT claims to be a 'model smart city.'

A new trend of 'land-pooling' is being popularized in many cities, including the Bidadi Smart City project in Karnataka that requires land from 10 villages. While 'land-pooling' schemes claim to focus on 'voluntary' handover of land in return for a share of the development, the experience of Amaravati in Andhra Pradesh proves that it is not necessarily a 'win-win' situation.[88] The scheme of 'land-pooling' may save cities from paying market compensation to land-owners but generally results in the omission of agricultural and other labourers from development benefits, while resulting in loss of livelihoods and income. Furthermore, farmers are not always willing to give up their land, but are often coerced into doing so, especially when a project emerges all around their fields. Though the Bangalore Metropolitan Region Development Authority (BMRDA) claims that land acquisition will be an option for farmers in Bidadi, a BMRDA official is reported to have stated that the 'land-pooling' scheme, "Will benefit the government too, as it needn't worry about monetary compensation which often costs a bomb."[89]

In Puducherry, unused land (303 hectares) originally acquired from Sedarapet and Karasur villages for a Special Economic Zone is now being allocated for the greenfield development component of the SCM project.[90]

Since neither the SCM Guidelines nor the Smart City Proposals discuss issues of land or land rights, or the need for human rights-based impact assessments, including environmental impact assessments, for 'smart city' projects, there is a concern that these projects could result in displacement and loss of livelihoods, forests, biodiversity, and agricultural land, with grave implications for food and economic security of farmers, forest-dwellers, and other rural workers.

7. Dilution of Democracy and the Privatization of Governance

The Special Purpose Vehicle, which is set up as a private company and entrusted with the responsibility of implementing the Smart Cities Mission, is not a democratic mechanism. The powers conferred on the SPV by the SCM Guidelines could threaten the role of ULBs and local government, as the SPV could

bypass them in its operations. This violates the provisions of the seventy-fourth constitutional amendment that empowers elected local governments and neighbourhood committees (including *mohalla sabhas*) to provide the governance architecture for the city. The SPV directly opposes this constitutional provision while undermining local democracy.

According to media reports, ULBs of Greater Mumbai, Navi Mumbai, Pune, Nashik,[91] and Kochi have indicated that the essence of local self-governance will be defeated with the focus on private-sector driven SPVs. ULBs, reportedly, are disturbed by the idea of an SPV bypassing the elected municipal council, as proposed in the SCM Guidelines.[92]

SCM Guidelines: Delegation of Powers to the SPV

4.1 One of the primary reasons for the creation of an SPV for the Smart City Mission is to ensure operational independence and autonomy in decision-making and mission implementation. The Smart Cities Mission encourages the State Government and the ULB to adopt the following best practices to create empowered SPVs to the extent and as provided under the municipal act.

   4.1.1 Delegating the rights and obligations of the municipal council with respect to the smart city project to the SPV.

   4.1.2 Delegating the decision-making powers available to the ULB under the municipal act/ Government rules to the Chief Executive Officer of the SPV.

   4.1.3 Delegating the approval or decision-making powers available to the Urban Development Department/Local Self Government department/Municipal Administration department to the Board of Directors of the SPV in which the State and ULB are represented.

   4.1.4 Delegating the matters that require the approval of the State Government to the State Level High Powered Steering Committee (HPSC) for Smart Cities.[93]

The role of corporate sector entities in managing cities highlights the trend of privatization of governance, which is a very serious concern, as it threatens the functioning of democracy in India.

Issues related to the functioning of the SPV were also raised by the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing, in her India mission report, "...some local authorities suggested that the guidelines for the scheme reduce their decision-making powers, including by creating a body to establish and implement the scheme."[94]

Issues related to accountability of the SPV are not mentioned, leaving the private body with overarching powers. The SCM Guidelines also do not provide clarity on the issue of governance after the development of the 'smart city' is complete. They do not outline the intention or method of dissolution of the SPV once the project is over, nor do they specify if the city's ULBs are supposed to oversee future governance.

Furthermore, problems with SPVs are leading to delays in project development and commencement in some cities. In Belagavi (Karnataka), for instance, as of 6 April 2017, not a single proposal had been submitted to the government for development of 'smart city' projects owing to the alleged lack of interest among officials of the SPV – Smart City Public Limited.[95] In Chennai, the delayed appointment of the CEO of the SPV – Chennai Smart City Limited, allegedly resulted in a delay in implementing 'smart city' projects.[96]

There is no provision within the Mission for a grievance redress mechanism; neither is the right to remedy of city residents protected.

8. The Corporatization of Cities

One of the mechanisms to fund the Smart Cities Mission is through private sector investment, including from multinational companies. The international consulting firm Deloitte has estimated that the Mission would require investments worth 150 billion US dollars over the next few years to succeed, with 120 billion dollars from the private sector.[98] The central government has asked states to generate half the funding for 'smart cities' from PPP. JNNURM also partially relied on private investments to meet project costs. However, of 2,900 projects, only 50 were modeled as PPP, with private sector investment covering only 0.2 per cent of the total project cost.[99]

The selected cities, reportedly, are raising funds through a variety of PPP. However, the PPP model does not necessarily work for the interest of low income and marginalized groups. The involvement of the private sector in such projects dilutes the responsibility of the state in protecting human rights and fulfilling its welfare function assigned by the Constitution of India. Latest reports indicate that the private sector has not met the central government's expectations in terms of providing 'affordable housing' or contributing to the achievement of PMAY targets. Despite tax incentives in the 2017–18 budget to the real estate sector for investing in affordable housing, the focus of the industry is largely on housing for middle income groups, which is being touted as 'affordable housing' projects.

While dependence on the private sector for the success of the Mission is high, it is also quite apparent that the private sector is likely to be the greatest beneficiary.

Some of the large national and international companies involved in 'smart city' projects include Swedish telecom firm Ericsson, which along with Bharti Infratel, has won a contract from Bhopal Smart City Development Corporation Limited to build smart poles for WiFi access, entailing an investment of Rs 690 crore.[100] Schneider Electric India and Infrastructure Leasing and Financial Services Limited have won a contract to develop the greenfield project of Naya Raipur smart city[101] while Japanese firm Panasonic has expressed an interest in projects in Guwahati and Jabalpur.[102] Other companies that have signed up for 'smart city' projects or expressed interest in investing in the shortlisted cities include, *inter alia,* Hitachi Insight Group, Nokia, Tech Mahindra, Mobikwik, World Trade Center Association, Carl Data Solutions Inc., Huawei, Oracle Open World India, Scania, Siemens Limited, and the Australia Smart City Consortium. The Varanasi Municipal Corporation has appointed a consortium of three firms as Project Management Consultants: Rudrabhishek Enterprises Private Limited (REPL), Grant Thornton, and ABN consulting.[103]

In June 2015, *The Economic Times,* based on inputs of expert analysts, projected the stocks of the following fourteen companies to rise with implementation of the Smart Cities Mission: National Building Construction Corporation Ltd (NBCC), Schneider Electric Infrastructure Ltd., Sterlite Technologies Ltd, Kalpataru Power Transmission Ltd., KEC International Ltd., VA Tech Wabag, ABB, Smartlink Network System Ltd., Dredging Corporation of India, UltraTech Cement Ltd., Larsen & Toubro Ltd., IDFC Ltd., ICICI Bank Ltd., and Maruti Suzuki Ltd.[104]

According to an April 2017 report, listed companies that could benefit from projects under the Smart Cities Mission include Godrej Properties in the housing sector, Siemens and Honeywell Automation in the energy sector, Atlas Cycles and Tube Investments in the area of transport, Thermax and VA Tech Wabag in the field

of water and waste management, and NIIT Technologies in providing solutions related to information and communication technology.[105]

The Smart Cities Mission has also prompted the development of new laws that promote corporate sector interests in India's urbanization. These include laws sanctioning foreign direct investment in construction and real estate, and the speeding up of environmental clearances for major projects.[106]

These trends highlight the move towards the corporatization of Indian cities, with grave potential implications for local and national governance as well as on the fundamental rights of residents.

9. Unrealistic Reliance on Technology and Violation of the Right to Privacy

All Smart City Proposals place a great focus on the promotion of technology as a key parameter to the development of 'smart cities' and technological solutions as the apparent panacea to urban problems. While the use of technology to conserve energy, increase efficiency, and promote renewable sources of energy is beneficial, technological innovations and infrastructure development alone are not sufficient to solve the complex structural issues that plague India's cities. There is a need also to assess the requirement for and limitations of such technology-based 'smart solutions' as well as the capacity of Indian cities to support them. For instance, when electricity supply in many cities is limited, erratic, or insufficient, the focus should be on prioritizing access to essential services for all residents.

Technology spending for the global 'smart city' market is expected to reach USD 27.5 billion by 2023, according to market research company Navigant Research.[107] However, an overreliance on 'smart systems' to run critical infrastructure or centralized electronic grids, could result in serious problems when such systems crash. Also, the creation of consolidated electronic databases of information could give rise to privacy and security concerns, including identity theft and increased surveillance by the state and other agencies.

"Many smart city technologies capture personally identifiable information and household level data about citizens, and use them to create profiles of people and places and to make decisions about them. As such, there are concerns about what a smart city means for people's privacy and what privacy harms might arise from the sharing, analysis and misuse of urban big data. In addition, there are questions as to how secure smart city technologies and the data they generate are from hacking and theft, and what the implications of a data breach are for citizens."[108]

As cities rely more on data to drive their decision-making, it raises the concern that technocratic governance could begin to replace the traditional political process that's more deliberative and citizen-centered.[109] Such policies could also discriminate against certain groups of people or communities, based on data gathered about their profile, denying them services and public benefits, or forcing them to pay more. There is also the concern that, in a PPP city, data finds itself in private control.[110]

Relying on technology as the central mechanism for 'smart city' development could result in the exclusion of residents who do not have access to such technology, as was evident in the inability of low income communities to participate in the development of Smart City Proposals through online consultations and social media platforms.

The Special Rapporteur on adequate housing in her report on India also stated that, "An analysis of shortlisted Smart City proposals further revealed a predominant focus on technological solutions and a lack of priority for the affordable housing aspects of the scheme."[111]

"New technology should be used to enhance public participation, advance accountability, and enable development of performance indicators—including human rights indicators—to monitor progress in the realization of inhabitants' rights in the development of every city."[112]

10. Inadequate Representation of City Residents in Monitoring Bodies

The various bodies created to implement the Mission at multiple levels are not adequately representative. Representation of civil society is limited to the Smart City Advisory Forum at the city level, where only NGOs and 'local youth' have been indicated as potential members. The SPV does not include provisions for civil society or local community representation, neither do the national and state level committees. As a result, there is no mechanism in place to ensure that people's concerns are heard and incorporated into the various stages of implementation of the Mission, or that the government will work towards the inclusion and welfare of disadvantaged groups.

11. Overlap, Confusion, and Apparent Lack of Convergence

An analysis of the cities included in SCM, AMRUT, and HRIDAY reveals that 56 of the 60 selected 'smart cities' are also covered under AMRUT, bringing into question the entire need for the Smart Cities Mission. The only four 'smart cities' not covered under AMRUT are: Belagavi, Dharamshala, Namchi, and Visakhapatnam. This raises serious concerns regarding the criteria for selection of these 60 cities. If 56 of the 60 selected cities had been identified for development under AMRUT, why were they also selected to be developed as 'smart cities?' Why were different cities that are not receiving attention under any of the central government schemes chosen? How does the government justify financing the same city under two or more schemes with similar intentions? Furthermore, four cities (Ajmer, Amritsar, Varanasi, and Warangal) are covered under all three schemes—SCM, AMRUT, and HRIDAY—of the Ministry of Urban Development.

Given the requirement for convergence, the manner in which the SPV of a 'smart city' interacts with the implementing agencies for AMRUT and HRIDAY, and how different projects under the various schemes will complement or compete with each other, are yet to be seen.

Also, it is unclear how SCM locates itself within PMAY, which places an unrealistic reliance on the private sector to provide housing for EWS/LIG. Also, the slow pace of implementation of PMAY in urban areas brings into question whether the additional plans of 'smart cities' related to meeting housing targets could be met and, furthermore, how they would relate to PMAY implementation in the various cities. Against the target of constructing 20 million houses in urban areas by the year 2022, as of May 2017, only 9.3 per cent houses had been approved and only 5.3 per cent of the approved houses had been completed, which is 0.5 per cent of the total target.[113]

12. High Dependence on Foreign Investment

A major goal of the Mission is to secure foreign investment in 'smart city' projects and development. Various foreign governments and international agencies have been approached and have committed funding either for general support to the Mission or for city-specific projects. Negotiations are underway to acquire loans worth £500 million and £1 billion each from the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (ADB).[114] ADB has promised assistance to Bhubaneswar and Visakhapatnam to fund 'smart city' projects worth Rs 210 crore, and to provide Capacity Development Technical Assistance, respectively. Mangaluru will also receive Rs 400 crore in funding from ADB for the commissioning of drainage and water supply projects.[115] The

World Bank has promised monetary assistance of Rs 200 crore to Jaipur Smart Mission Limited (JSML)[116] for the construction of parking and ducting projects, given that sufficient bank guarantees can be provided.

The United States (US) government through the US Trade and Development Agency (USTDA) has signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) to develop Ajmer, Allahabad, and Visakhapatnam as 'smart cities,' by funding advisory and research services, as well as conceptualizing the Master Plan of the Visakhapatnam Smart City Project.

The European Union (EU) is expected to play a big role in the development of the Mission. It is already working with the state of Maharashtra to make Mumbai a 'smart city.'[117] On 24 April 2017, the EU-funded International Urban Cooperation (IUC) programme was officially launched in India. The programme is expected to work with SCM and AMRUT. The European Investment Bank has provided loans and credit lines for more than 1.5 billion euros to support energy and climate-related projects in India.[118]

European funding has also been prominent with the German Bank KfW agreeing to invest up to Rs 380 crore in Bhubaneswar, Coimbatore, and Kochi to conduct research and administer the execution of the three 'smart city' projects. German companies have shown interest in contributing to the development of residential housing, efficient water supply, waste water management, and renewable energy, as part of the Smart Cities Mission. On the basis of a memorandum of understanding signed in April 2015, an Indo-German working group for sustainable urban development was established. On 31 May 2016, a special conference titled '100 Smart Cities in India' took place in Berlin as part of the Indo-German Collaboration on Smart Cities and Urbanisation.[119] On 29 May 2017, Germany signed an MoU with India for 1 billion euros for 'smart city' projects, and renewable and solar energy projects.[120]

France has committed to support the development of Chandigarh, Nagpur, and Puducherry. A French firm, Egis International, has been selected as the project-management consultant to assist Chandigarh in its smart city development process.[121]

The British government has decided to support the cities of Pune, Indore, and Amaravati. During the recent visit of British Prime Minister Theresa May to India an MoU on cooperation in urban development was signed with the UK. Pune's Special Purpose Vehicle—the Pune Smart City Development Corporation (PSCDC)—has elected European Business and Technology Centre (EBTC) as the Knowledge and Technical Cooperation Partner, in which capacity EBTC will also be introducing more European funding agencies to PSCDC. Similarly, Jaipur has appointed the Spanish firm Epista as a project consultant, wherein Epista will assist JSML in choosing suitable agencies after the arrival of financial bids to fund projects.

Japan has articulated its interest in assisting Chennai, Ahmedabad, and Varanasi. South Korea has pledged to invest a fund of USD 10 billion in infrastructure projects in India, including in 'smart cities.'[122] The Korea Land and Housing Corporation (LH), a South Korean government undertaking, has committed to invest in the construction of the Kalyan-Dombivali Smart City in Maharashtra.[123]

Foreign investment brings with it new technologies and systems, but measures must be taken to ensure that these are aligned with India's specific needs and local circumstances. Operations of international actors also must comply with their internal policies and international guidelines and standards as well as with India's national laws.

13. Implementation Challenges

In June 2017, the Smart Cities Mission completes two years, leaving three years to meet its target of developing 100 'smart cities' by 2020. Of the total 731 projects approved, 49 projects (6.7 per cent) have seen ground implementation, while 24 projects (3.3 per cent) had been completed in January 2017.[124] According to the Ministry of Urban Development, the 60 winning proposals will implement projects worth Rs 131,762 crore (Rs 105,621 crore for area-based development and Rs 26,141 crore for the pan-city solution) and will impact 7.22 crore (72 million) people.[125] Of the 60 cities selected so far, 59 cities have developed Special Purpose Vehicles and have CEOs and directors, 54 have issued tenders for appointing project management consultants, 30 have issued tenders for core services, 27 have issued tenders for smart solutions, 25 have issued tenders for area-based development projects, 20 cities have issued tenders for reforms and 14 cities have issued tenders for PPP projects.[126]

Among the 60 cities, a few, including Nagpur, Surat, and Udaipur are reported to have firmed up their investment plans for actual implementation of projects. Jabalpur, Bhopal, and Indore have planned 159 projects; of which they have started implementing 20 projects and completed 12. Ahmedabad and Surat have 49 projects; work has commenced on eight projects while work has been completed on only two. Jaipur and Udaipur have 91 projects, of which three have been completed.

Though Jaipur and Udaipur were selected in the first round (January 2016) of the SCM Challenge, their 'smart city' projects are likely to be launched in June 2017.[127] In Chennai, which was also selected in the first round, implementation of SCM projects has not commenced. The city has faced various challenges with regard to the implementation of projects, including insufficient funding, delays with the SPV, and lack of interest among different stakeholders.[128] In Belagavi, also selected in the first round, most of the projects exist merely on paper.[129] The story of Ludhiana is similar, as it has not witnessed any progress due to limited availability of funding.[130] In Guwahati too, progress on development of 'smart city' projects is reported to be slow.[131] According to a government official, the "complex tendering process" has resulted in the slow implementation of 'smart city' projects.[132]

Urban experts say the real challenge before the Smart Cities Mission is to have better institutional mechanisms in place for improved urban governance and efficient delivery of services.[133]

V. Recommendations

In light of the above analysis and the clear revelation of the absence of a human rights focus in the Smart Cities Mission, Housing and Land Rights Network would like to propose the following recommendations to the government as well as other involved agencies and actors.[134]

1. The Government of India should develop human rights-based indicators to monitor the implementation and progress of the Mission. While the government has announced the development of a Liveability Index for Indian cities, it does not seem to include any human rights indicators, as yet. Instead of inviting bids to select the agency to conduct the assessment, the Ministry of Urban Development should first carry out a series of consultations with experts, civil society organizations, social movements, and people's representatives to ensure that the Index is comprehensive and holistic while incorporating a strong human rights and environmental sustainability approach.

2. Comprehensive human rights-based impact assessments and environmental impact assessments must be undertaken before any 'smart city' project is sanctioned. The free, prior, and informed consent of all affected persons must be taken before any 'smart city' project is implemented. Strict measures must be put in place to ensure that implementation of 'smart city' projects does not result in the violation of any human rights, or in the worsening of anyone's standard of living, or in forced evictions, demolitions of homes, or forced relocation. State and non-state actors responsible for carrying out human rights violations should be investigated and tried according to due process of the law.

3. Implementation of the Smart Cities Mission should be linked with the Sustainable Development Agenda and its goals, especially that of "leaving no one behind." While Sustainable Development Goal 11 ("Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable") is most directly related to the Mission, other goals and targets related to hunger, poverty, inequality, health, gender equality, land, water, and climate change must be integrated into the framework for SCM development, implementation, and monitoring. Priorities of the selected cities and their proposals should align with India's commitments under the Paris Agreement and its Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC) towards climate change mitigation and adaptation.

4. The Mission must develop a special focus on the needs, concerns, and rights of EWS/LIG, women, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, street children, homeless and landless persons, migrants, domestic workers, internally displaced persons, older persons, religious and sexual minorities, and persons with disabilities, among other marginalized groups and communities. All Smart City Proposals should discuss issues of discrimination and marginalization, and suggest strategies to address the same.

5. The focus on the provision of adequate affordable housing in all Smart City Proposals must be strengthened while allying with the targets of PMAY/Housing for All–2022. Smart City Proposals should furthermore define 'affordable housing' with clear income-based criteria to ensure that it is within the financial means of EWS/LIG. The Smart Cities Mission should also integrate the standards of the National Urban Livelihoods Mission – Scheme of Shelters for Urban Homeless. *In situ* (on site) upgrading, not relocation to city peripheries should be prioritized in 'smart city' projects. All housing, upgrading, and rehabilitation plans should be developed in close consultation with, and after the free and prior informed consent of, all affected residents and should conform to UN standards of housing adequacy, including the provision of security of tenure.[135]

6. The concerns and recommendations related to SCM, in the India mission report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing, should be addressed. In particular, she suggested to, "Allocate resources for the Smart Cities Mission in order to provide housing in those cities where there are the greatest housing needs and where the most marginalized and excluded would most benefit."[136]

7. Smart City Proposals and development plans and projects must conform to city master plans and incorporate international standards and guidelines related to housing, sustainable development, environmental protection, disasters, and displacement. These include, *inter alia*, General Comments 4 (on adequate housing) and 7 (on forced evictions) of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-based Evictions and Displacement,[137] the Guiding Principles on Security of Tenure for the Urban Poor[138] and the Inter-Agency Standing Committee's Operational Guidelines on the Protection of Persons in Situations of Natural Disasters.[139]

8. Greenfield urban development must not be at the cost of rural development and takeover of rural land. Adequate investment must be made in all cities and villages across India to promote balanced rural and urban development. This could be adopted by supporting implementation of the Rurban mission and by investing adequately in human rights-based urban and rural land and agrarian reform. Under no circumstances must land be forcefully acquired and result in displacement.

9. Technological and infrastructure development must be based on comprehensive need assessments, clear guidelines, and human rights standards to promote inclusive city development that benefits all sections of the population. Such processes require concomitant interventions related to human rights education, service delivery, and participation based on transparency. Furthermore, efforts need to be taken to prevent misuse, to protect human rights, including to privacy, and to ensure that the digital divide in India is not worsened.

10. People's participation, including of women, minorities, and marginalized groups, must be ensured at every stage of the Mission – from the development of the Smart City Proposal to its implementation and monitoring. Participation must not be limited to electronic means, as it excludes a large population. Multiple means of consultation and participation must be developed, including for non-literate groups, in local languages and by using culturally acceptable means.

11. The Special Purpose Vehicle tasked with implementing the Mission must work within the framework of democracy provided by the Constitution of India and must respect local institutions and governments. Its selection process and constitution must be transparent and should include parameters for providing accountability. It should also include participation of civil society organizations, independent experts, and representatives of EWS/LIG.

12. The role of the corporate sector, including of multinational companies, should be regulated to ensure compliance with the Constitution of India as well as with national and international laws, policies, and human rights and environmental standards. Foreign governments and companies interested in investing in the Mission should ensure that their funds are not used to support projects that increase poverty, social inequality, homelessness, and marginalization. The funding should come with conditionalities aimed at promoting human rights, inclusive development, affordable and adequate housing, and environmental sustainability, with the goal of creating more equitable cities that benefit the entire population, especially low income and vulnerable groups. For example, both the European Investment Bank and the KfW Development Bank have project guidelines that seek to ensure that people's human rights are not violated, including their right to adequate housing which guarantees protection against forced evictions.[140] Such funding bodies should ensure that these standards are rigorously implemented by Indian authorities.

13. The competition format for the selection of 'smart cities' should be revised to enable a more participatory, transparent, and inclusive process for the selection of 'smart cities.' Selection should be based on need, level of development, and indicators such as prevalence of poverty, homelessness, social inequality, malnourishment, and deprivation, not merely on the quality of the proposal submitted by the city.

14. The Mission should work closely with PMAY, AMRUT, HRIDAY, Swachh Bharat Mission, and other related government schemes to ensure coordination and to prevent contradictory efforts, duplication, and wastage of resources. Common core human rights indicators could be developed—across all schemes—to ensure harmonized monitoring of implementation, positive convergence, and compliance with India's national and international legal obligations.

15. India recently received several recommendations related to housing and sustainable development during its third Universal Periodic Review (UPR) at the UN Human Rights Council in May 2017. India should prioritize implementing these recommendations while also incorporating them in guidelines to monitor the Smart Cities Mission.

> **Relevant Recommendations from India's Third UPR (May 2017)[141]**
>
> 5.155. Implement a human-rights based, holistic approach to ensure access to adequate housing as well as to adequate water and sanitation, also for marginalized groups, including Dalits/ scheduled castes, homeless, landless, scheduled tribes, religious and ethnic minorities, persons with disabilities, and women.
>
> 5.156. Expand the "Housing for all" scheme to realise the right to adequate housing for vulnerable people and eliminate homelessness by 2030.
>
> 5.157. Continue the Housing for All policy led by the government to eradicate by 2030 the problem of homelessness, in conformity with Goal 11 of the 2030 Agenda.
>
> 5.85. Consolidate the progress made towards reaching the Sustainable Development Goals, and in the improvement of human development indicators.
>
> 5.86. Continue efforts in the implementation of sustainable development strategies for the year 2030.
>
> 5.91. Continue its efforts in relation to its environmental policies.
>
> 5.92. Provide access to clean and modern energy to all its people and develop climate-friendly green cities.
>
> 5.173. Continue promoting sustainable economic and social development and raising the living standard of its people so as to lay down a firm basis for the enjoyment of human rights by its people.

16. The Mission should focus on the realization of the 'right to the city' for all and incorporate this approach in its implementation. In this regard, the commitments made by India to adopting and implementing the New Urban Agenda (2016)[142] should be honoured.

> **Right to the City**
>
> The movement for the 'right to the city'[143] developed as a response of social movements and civil society organizations in an attempt to ensure better access to, and opportunities for, everyone living in cities, especially the most marginalized. The 'World Charter on the Right to the City' has been endorsed by UNESCO and UN-Habitat, among other agencies. The Charter defines the 'right to the city' as: "the equitable usufruct of cities within the principles of sustainability, democracy, equity, and social justice. It is the collective right of the inhabitants of cities, in particular of the vulnerable and marginalized groups, that confers upon them legitimacy of action and organization, based on their uses and customs, with the objective to achieve full exercise of the right to free self-determination and an adequate standard of living."
>
> The 'right to the city' is thus the right of all residents of the city to an equal share of the benefits offered by the city as well as the right to participate equally in the planning and creation of the city. This global movement for the 'right to the city' has also led to mayors in different cities adopting charters to promote human rights in their cities. The Government of India should also work to recognize and promote the 'right to the city' and incorporate its principles in all local city/town/village development plans.
>
> The New Urban Agenda (2016) recognized the 'right to the city' by stating: "We note the efforts of some national and local governments to enshrine this vision, referred to as "right to the city", in their legislation, political declarations and charters."

VI. Conclusion

This analysis of the Smart Cities Mission, by Housing and Land Rights Network, reveals the glaring absence of a human rights approach in the Mission and the lack of emphasis on inclusion, equality, and social justice in the 60 selected Smart City Proposals. The findings of this study also give rise to the fundamental question of whether the pursuit of a 'smart city' is a strategic decision for India, given the severe urbanization crises it faces.

> The concept of the 'smart city' seems to have crystallized into an image of the city as a vast, efficient robot – a vision that originated, according to Adam Greenfield, from giant technology companies such as IBM, Cisco and Software AG, all of whom hoped to profit from big municipal contracts, "rather than from any party, group or individual recognized for their contributions to the theory or practice of urban planning."[144]

While the move to develop small towns is a positive one, the Smart Cities Mission may not be the best means to achieve inclusive development, as it concentrates on only 100 of India's 4,000 cities and towns. The competition format results in the best proposals being selected, not the cities requiring greatest attention. Furthermore, the fact that 56 of the 60 selected 'smart cities' are also receiving funding under AMRUT, raises questions about the utility and benefits of the Mission while highlighting the absence of clear and transparent criteria for the selection of 'smart cities.'

Though the SCM Guidelines speak about citizen participation and affordable housing for the poor, these elements do not appear to be the focus of the shortlisted city proposals. Of particular concern is the lack of priority given to providing adequate housing for low income groups and reported incidents of forced eviction to implement 'smart city' projects. Despite talks of convergence, the goal of Housing for All by 2022 is in direct opposition to the practice of demolitions and destruction of housing in many cities.

The Mission is being advertised as a strong investment opportunity for foreign governments, multinational companies, and the Indian corporate sector. However, the slow rate of investment and inability of cities to mobilize required funds reveal the limits of overly relying on the private sector. Moreover, the undemocratic powers conferred on Special Purpose Vehicles and the predominant role of the corporate sector, bring to light dangerous trends of privatization of governance and corporatization of Indian cities.

This study cautions that the absence of a concerted focus on the urban poor and marginalized groups could lead to further violations of the human right to adequate housing as well as the human rights to water, sanitation, food, work/livelihood, land, health, education, information, participation, and security of the person and home. The issues presented in this report also raise questions about whether 'smart cities' will truly resolve the structural problems of Indian urbanization or further exacerbate social and economic exclusion, poverty, segregation, and inequality.

Given the many concerns and challenges related to the Smart Cities Mission, HLRN hopes that all involved agencies—state and non-state—will consider implementing the recommendations presented in this report. HLRN believes that it is important for the Indian government, at both the central and state levels, to adopt a strong human rights approach in all policies and schemes, including the Smart Cities Mission. The

state should also take measures to guarantee the protection and realization of the 'right to the city,' which includes the right to equitable access to the city, to equitable participation in its development, and to an equal share of its benefits, for all residents. No city can be considered 'smart' if it ignores the interests of poor, marginalized, and vulnerable groups and communities.

These measures will not only help India to meet its national and international legal and moral commitments, including the Sustainable Development Goals and Paris Agreement targets, but also ensure that the nation achieves inclusive, equitable, sustainable, and balanced urban-rural development. Whether the Smart Cities Mission is best suited for this purpose or not, is for the people of India to decide.

Annexures

ANNEXURE 1:
Analysis of Housing in the Sixty Selected Smart City Proposals

	Proposed Smart City	Situation of Housing for Marginalized Groups	Mention of Housing in City's SWOT (Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats) Analysis	Mention of Housing in City's Goals	Mention of Housing in City's Vision	Proposal for Improvement in Housing	Expected Timeline for Implementation
1.	Agartala (Tripura)	The Agartala Municipal Corporation has implemented three projects for construction of low-cost housing complexes for the urban poor with 640 dwelling units (DUs). The city does not have any 'notified slums', but certain areas have settlements with poor living conditions.	Mentions 'slums' as a 'Weakness.' Around eight per cent of the city's population currently resides in 'slums.'	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Mixed high rise compact development with universal accessible features for persons with disabilities at Akhaura Gol Chhakkar area will rehabilitate existing 'slums' and improve the visual impact of the area. The proposal is for 1,270 houses on five acres of land.	Within three years.
2.	Agra (Uttar Pradesh)	The Smart City Proposal (hereafter 'proposal') states that initiatives were undertaken for in situ (on site) housing development for 6,383 units and construction of 7,890 Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) houses under Basic Services for Urban Poor (BSUP), Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY), and Kashiram Awas Yojna in the past. The strategic blueprint of the city focuses on undertaking in situ 'slum' rehabilitation, providing EWS housing, and makes provision of night shelters and refuge homes for women, children and senior citizens.	Not mentioned. "Poor quality of life and living conditions as a detriment to tourism" has been mentioned under 'Threats' for Agra.	According to the proposal, the goals for "social inclusiveness" include rehabilitation and in situ development of unauthorized colonies and 'slums', and enhance livability in 'slums' by providing basic infrastructure.	Not mentioned.	Agra envisions retrofitting of 2,250 acres of selected local area – Taj Mahal and area comprising Tajganj, Agra Fort, Jama Masjid and Fatehabad Road till inner Ring Road, forming Taj Improvement District (TID). According to the proposal, the project would benefit 3,345 households in informal and 'slum' layouts, 8,000 artisans and 100 street vendors. The proposal includes in situ upgradation of 50 houses and construction of 254 affordable houses in TID.	December 2020.

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3.	**Ahmedabad (Gujarat)**	The proposal states that more than 40,000 housing units will be delivered by 2017–18 under various schemes such as Mukhyamantri Gruh Yojana, BSUP, and RAY, Gujarat Slum Rehabilitation Policy, and Housing Facility under the Safai Kamdar Yojana.	Mentions 'slums' as a 'Threat.' 'Slum households' numbered almost 163,000 (1.63 lakh) in 2011. Most 'slums' are heavily populated with sub-standard housing and lack basic facilities such as reliable sanitation services, supply of clean water, reliable electricity, and other services.	*In situ* redevelopment of 'slums.'	Redevelopment of 'slums' is one of the major components of inclusive development, expected to affect almost 13 per cent of the city's population. The proposed project will also aid in the beautification of the city, as most 'slums' are located in the city core.	Area-based proposal includes redevelopment of almost 75 acres of Wadaj 'slum.' Components of 'slum' redevelopment: • Residential Development – housing for almost 8,000 'slum-dwellers'. Eligible 'slum- dwellers' families will be provided houses of 25 square metres to 43 square metres carpet area with basic civic amenities free of cost. • Convenience Shopping. • Community Centre(s). • School(s). • *Anganwadi*/Health Centre. • Utility Network – Internal and External Infrastructure: – water supply system; – sewerage system; – storm water drainage and rain water; harvesting; – power supply network; – street and area lighting; – telecommunication and networking system; – solid waste management; – fire protection system; – road network, including footpaths and street designs – no vehicle zones; – on street and off street parking; – green areas and open spaces – including public park over *nallah*.	Consent from 75 per cent of 'slum-dwellers' for redevelopment – first half of Financial Year 2017. Selection of concessionaire – second half of Financial Year (FY) 2017. Temporary rehabilitation of existing dwellers – first half of FY2018. Internal utility network, residential development, community centre, *anganwadi*, school – first half of FY 2021.
	4. Ajmer (Rajasthan)	According to the proposal, 240 new units were constructed in 2014–15 for EWS, and another 520 units have been proposed for EWS, Low Income Groups (LIG), and Middle Income Groups (MIG) under a separate scheme for affordable housing.	'Housing for All' and other ongoing schemes have been mentioned as 'Strengths' to improve the existing infrastructure of the city.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.

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5.	Amritsar (Punjab)	As per the proposal, the Amritsar Development Authority has planned a project for 1,227 housing units; 891 units were sanctioned under the scheme of BSUP and 880 units under Amritsar Improvement Trust. The proposal claims that 128 units have been delivered in the last three years.	Not mentioned.	Under the theme of "inclusive growth," the proposal aims to provide "inclusive affordable housing in the growth corridors of Amritsar," and relocate "households from the walled city area close to skill development centres to promote livelihoods."	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	2017–21.
6.	Aurangabad (Maharashtra)	About 250,000 (2.5 lakh) residential properties, of which 47,375 DUs are in 53 'notified' 'slums' and about 60,000 DUs in Gunthewari's (unauthorized colonies). Under Ramai Awas Yojana, 1,050 EWS houses (269 square feet) are under construction.	The demand-supply gap in affordable formal housing has been mentioned as a 'Weakness.' Absence of public agencies-driven affordable housing leading to a huge supply-demand gap has been mentioned as a 'Threat.'	As mentioned in the proposal, the "socially inclusive" goals include the following: • Provision of affordable or social housing. • Planned new area as self-contained mixed use development with at least 15 per cent provision for affordable housing. • Redevelopment of 25 per cent of 'slums' under Ramai Awas Yojana, Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY), etc.	Not mentioned.	The proposal includes construction of about 3,500 houses under affordable housing with about 1,440 houses under EWS category. In addition another 3,500–4,000 houses (EWS/ LIG) are anticipated.	March 2024.

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7.	Belagavi (Karnataka)	According to the proposal, 1,750 houses have been constructed under RAY, the Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme (IHSDP), and the Vajpayee Housing Scheme and "distributed 1,935 sites." The Belagavi City Corporation has earmarked 30 acres of land for housing for EWS.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Providing "adequate housing stock to EWS and slum dwellers through integrated vertical development by unlocking the reserved land of 30 acres by 2018."	Not clearly mentioned in proposal overview, but proposal components mention housing for EWS. Provisioning adequate housing stock to EWS and 'slum-dwellers' through integrated vertical development.	June 2017.
8.	Bhagalpur (Bihar)	The Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) has constructed 665 DUs for the urban poor under IHSDP. The number of urban homeless was 7,412 in 2015. The city has 165 'slums,' and 13,733 'slum residents.'	Mentions housing reform as an 'Opportunity.' The Department for International Development (DfID)-funded Support Programme for Urban Reforms (SPUR) targets provision of basic infrastructure in 'slums.' Targeted programmes for urban poverty alleviation like PMAY, skill training and livelihoods under the National Urban Livelihoods Mission (NULM), area-based development (ABD) and regeneration under the Smart Cities Mission, provision of individual toilets under the Swachh Bharat Mission and SPUR (in 'slums') are aimed at ensuring social inclusion.	According to the proposal, the goals include upgradation of 'slum' infrastructure with basic facilities, and socio-economic transformation of 'slums' by focusing on sanitation, healthcare, education, and skill development.	The city will provide livable conditions for 'slum-dwellers' by upgrading physical infrastructure.	The proposal includes provision of new housing, in situ upgradation of housing in 'slums' as well as in situ upgradation of night shelters for urban homeless. The construction of 709 DUs has been sanctioned in Phase-I under PMAY. Detailed project reports for construction of additional 1,300 DUs have been submitted. There are 12 'slums' with 387 households in the proposal zone where this basic infrastructure at an estimated cost of Rs 83.23 lakh will be provided. Infrastructure works ongoing in four 'slums.' 230 toilets are to be constructed in these households and work is ongoing. In situ upgradation of 2,500 'slum-dwellers' with individual toilets and water connection, 100 new houses for relocated 'slum-dwellers,' 10 upgraded night shelters and 2 new ones.	September 2019.

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9.	Bhopal (Madhya Pradesh)	Not mentioned.	Seventy-five per cent of the population belongs to LIG and EWS categories, while 35 per cent of the population living in 'slums' is excluded from social development.	Not mentioned.	Availability of affordable housing and diversity of housing in the city.	Area-based proposal includes redevelopment of Shivaji Nagar. Pan-city proposal says sanitation initiatives will improve 'slum' conditions and localities through technology. Transit-oriented development model will have a mix of residential and commercial area with all essential smart city features with emphasis on cycling, open spaces, and pedestrian areas. Twenty per cent of the housing would be in affordable category, which would have a mix of rental public housing for LIG and affordable Studio/1 BHK apartments for outright sale.	31 January 2019.

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10.	Bhubaneswar (Odisha)	According to the proposal, 'slum' redevelopment projects under Mission Abaas have been carried out to transform 24 'slums' into four integrated housing societies. From 2012–15, the rehabilitation of 15 'slums' (3,171 households) was carried out under RAY.	Thirty-six per cent (3.55 lakh or 355,000) of the city's population is presently living in 'slums.'	Release public land and make investments to promote public housing programmes.	Ensure neighbourhoods have diverse housing choices to meet the needs of all income groups. Redevelop informal settlements with provision for basic services.	Some key components of area-based proposal include: **Mission Abaas:** • Construction of 6000 houses under Mission Abaas, 'slum' redevelopment, affordable housing near transit programme, rental housing for construction workers, and shelters for homeless. **Project Kutumb:** • Four social equity centres with two working women's hostels and two shelters for the homeless. • Providing subsidized cooked meal (Aahar Scheme) and purified water through water ATMs. **Project Kusum:** • Establish 40 Early Childhood Care Centres (E3C) as model *Anganwadi* Centres for encouraging balanced early childhood development. **Project Samman:** • 5 improved community toilets with convergence services focusing on women i.e. water ATMs, community laundries, and a women's digital literacy centre. Proposed 'smart' characteristics include optimized densities: - Town Centre Densification initiatives (e.g. Janpath Government Housing Redevelopment) by promoting use of regulatory tools- TDR, 'density bonusing' and land pooling.	Janpath Government Housing Redevelopment and Mission Abaas: 'slum' redevelopment projects. These activities will start from first year and continue for the project period. Rental housing for construction workers, and 4 Project Kutumb- One Stop Social Equity Centres. These activities will start from first year and operationalize in three years.

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11. **Chandigarh**	Chandigarh plans to be 'slum-free' by 2017. Till date, 12,736 tenements have been constructed and handed over to some of the 25,728 identified 'slum-dwellers.' Allegedly, 200 acres of land have been made 'slum-free.' 8,000 new houses for EWS are under construction.	In the proposal, "achieved milestones in social inclusion of weaker sections" has been mentioned as 'Strengths.' It says the "city aspires to be slum free by year 2017" and further adds that "25,728 households identified for rehabilitation, of which 12,736 units have been handed over;" "8,000 units are under construction. 200 acres of land has been made slum/encroachment free."	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	The proposal envisions retrofitting 1,265 acres in the heart of the city. Within that, affordable housing will be developed via PPP approach.	March 2021
12. **Chennai (Tamil Nadu)**	The Tamil Nadu Housing Board has planned projects for 18,796 units, the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board for 81,581 units, and 249,971 units have been planned under PMAY. Chennai is officially stated to have 1,240 'slums.' With increased urbanization, the city is getting congested and dense, choking its existing infrastructure.	Not mentioned.	Adopt long-term development plans that encourage a diverse mix of uses, including employment, housing, regional attractions, and public spaces to create a high quality, compact urban environment, especially near Mass Rapid Transit stations.	Not mentioned.	Providing 100 per cent sewage facilities to all 'slums.'	Not mentioned.

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13.	Coimbatore (Tamil Nadu)	The 'slum-free' city plan under RAY estimated an outlay of Rs 2,923 crore (29.2 billion) for both preventive and curative improvements.	Not mentioned.	According to the proposal, the goals include the following: • Complete bio-metric identification to allocate tenements under construction. • Incorporate land reservation for affordable housing in revised master plan. • Rehabilitate all remaining 'slum' households to make the city 'slum-free' before 2023.	Not mentioned.	Retrofit development of Central Coimbatore (over 4,200 acres). Provision of inclusive housing, social infrastructure, and livelihood protection to urban poor. Inclusiveness, housing for all, and social infrastructure for an estimated 4500 low-income households along the lakes covering affordable and quality housing, livelihood/skilling support and social infrastructure.	March 2020.
14.	Davanagere (Karnataka)	The Davanagere Municipal Corporation has planned to construct 2,120 DUs for Below Poverty Line (BPL) households in the identified 'slums' sanctioned under the erstwhile RAY scheme.	Mentions 'slums' as a 'Weakness.' Around 15 per cent of the city's population currently resides in 'slums.'	Not mentioned.	Affordable housing for all with proportionate infrastructure.	Retro-fitting and redevelopment of the inner city core of Davanagere. The city is implementing the schemes for housing sanctioned under the erstwhile RAY scheme and also has plans to declare 'slum-free' city by providing house for all its population under PMAY scheme.	Not mentioned.
15.	Dharamshala (Himachal Pradesh)	Plan for the construction of 212 earthquake-resistant, fireproof, and insulated dwelling units under IHSDP for 'slum- dwellers' with innovative pre-fabricated technology.	Mentions adequate housing as a 'Strength.' A wide range of housing options, including rental housing, are available in the city with affordable, moderate, and luxury housing clustered together. Less than 0.5 per cent of the city population is in the 'houseless' category.	Provision of affordable housing and improving accessibility of infrastructure and community facilities, especially for marginalized groups.	Ensuring housing for all income groups by 2025, and provision of adequate and accessible community facilities.	The proposal is formulated on a strategy of redevelopment and retrofit development over 775 acres of area covering a population of 27,053 persons (50 per cent of total city population). Housing facilities to include beneficiary-led housing, in situ rehabilitation, and shelter for urban homeless.	September 2019.

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16.	Faridabad (Haryana)	The Municipal Corporation of Faridabad identified 219,264 'slum-dwellers' in 2011 and constructed 2,896 units. Four homeless shelters have been set up and a 150-bed working women's hostel has been constructed.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	No mention of housing in area-based proposal.	30 months from start date, followed by maintenance period of 24 months.
17.	Guwahati (Assam)	The Guwahati Master Plan 2025 has proposed the construction of 259,000 (2.59 lakh) houses.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Gwalior Habitat and Trade Centre (GHTC) – The project encompasses 2,000 affordable housing units. Transit Oriented Development – The project will provide 1,500 affordable housing units and 2,000 other housing units. Upgradation of parks, redevelopment of three markets, 30-acre 'slum' rehabilitation project to provide 4,000 affordable units.	Along with ABD (proposal implementation), 1,232 DUs to be constructed in Phase I, and 1,028 units to be constructed in Phase II.

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18.	**Gwalior (Madhya Pradesh)**	The proposal says the city has successfully undertaken various affordable housing schemes/ projects for the urban poor such as RAY, PMAY, IHSDP, and Atal Aashray Yojana. It claims that 4,196 EWS and 1,976 other Affordable Housing Units have been delivered under various schemes in the last three years.	As per the proposal, 'Threats' include increase in unauthorized construction and 'encroachments'; and says many 'slums' have encroached government land in the last few decades.	Satisfy the diverse housing demand by supplying 25,000 affordable and sustainable housing units by the year 2020 to meet Housing for All.	Not mentioned.	No mention of housing in area-based proposal.	Development of 3,686 affordable housing units on PPP under PMAY –will start immediately, two sites out of four will be operational by end of year 2, remaining two sites will end by year 5. Affordable housing as a residential component of mixed use TOD development in AHP – 1,493 units, and housing component in Gwalior Habitat and Trade Centre– 1,984 units– Procurement will start immediately and will continue for project period. Development of rental housing for floating population; development of night shelters with basic amenities; residential care homes; hostels for working women– will start at end of year 3 ending at year 5.

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19.	Hubali-Dharwad (Karnataka)	Proposed PMAY scheme for three 'slums' (8,000 households); RAY (2,128 DUs in six 'slums')	Not mentioned.	The proposal lays emphasis on affordable housing for all with thrust for the urban poor. According to the proposal, about 80,000 houses will be built in the region in a decade and a half, and the city will have 450,000 (4.5 lakh) houses by the end of 2041. It further adds that "slum development under schemes like RAY and state-run schemes like Nirmal Jyothi Project, as well as 17 housing project layouts and infrastructure projects will be implemented in five to eight years."	Not mentioned.	The proposal says housing for the urban poor shall be taken up under Housing for All-PMAY with contribution from the beneficiaries. Ramalingeshwar Nagar 'slum' revival will upgrade 1,122 DUs in an area of 30 acres.	Ramlingeshwar Nagar notified 'slum' – 1,122 huts by 2020.
20.	Imphal (Manipur)	The proposal states that there are no landless and homeless people in the city. The city has no 'notified' or 'non-notified' slums.' A Housing for All Plan of Action (HFAPoA) is being prepared to improve housing conditions under the Beneficiary-Led Construction and the Credit-Linked Subsidy Scheme of PMAY.	Mentions the housing situation as a 'Strength.' As per the proposal, "land is precious and is part of a strong community structure."	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	No mention of housing in area-based proposal.	Not mentioned.

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21.	Indore (Madhya Pradesh)	The state claims to have made available 15,250 affordable housing units for EWS/LIG in the last three years.	Mentions poor spatial planning as a 'Weakness' – since residential and industrial areas have been developed without adequate supporting infrastructure. Mentions 'slums' as a 'Threat.' Thirty-nine per cent of the city's population lives in 'slums.'	According to the proposal, a transit-oriented development strategy would ensure rejuvenation of urban form, through: • Promotion of compact (re) development; • Optimum utilization of land; and, • Promotion of non-motorized transport (NMT) options, including walking and no-vehicle zones.	Inclusive development with good employment opportunities to make the city a destination of investment.	Retrofit redevelopment of Rajwada area, the core area of Indore. It will include compact high-density mixed use, walkable community with 'slum' housing, affordable housing, and shared public open spaces, among others.	Financial year 2020–21.
22.	Jabalpur (Madhya Pradesh)	The proposal states that 4,855 affordable housing units were delivered in the last three years by various agencies.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Development of 25,000 affordable housing units to rehabilitate people living in 'slums' and 'squatters' around water bodies.	Retrofit redevelopment in Wright and Napier Town (743 Acres). Includes rejuvenation of Ranital Lake, landscaping the surroundings and redevelopment of surrounding 'slums.'	Financial year 2020-21.
23.	Jaipur (Rajasthan)	The proposal claims that 9,227 affordable houses were provided between 2012 and 2015.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	The vision statement includes providing affordable houses and redevelopment of 'slums' in the city area; building new shelters for the homeless; and, Providing adequate 'smart' public toilets and household coverage with improved hygiene conditions.	No mention of housing in area-based proposal.	Not mentioned.

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24.	Jalandhar (Punjab)	The proposal states 'slum' redevelopment of Mithu Basti through Public–Private Partnership (PPP) framework under the Housing for All scheme.	Not mentioned.	The goal is to have a "(socially) sustainable city" with provision of affordable and quality housing in the city.	Not mentioned.	'Slum' redevelopment of Mithu Basti (767 households) under PPP framework is proposed to be undertaken under the Housing for All scheme.	Not mentioned.
25.	Kakinada (Andhra Pradesh)	The proposal plans to construct 4,608 DUs under PMAY.	Mentions 'slums' as a 'Weakness.' Forty per cent of the city's population lives in 'slums.'	Intends to overcome its weakness of inadequate infrastructure, poor connectivity, congestion, lack of affordable housing, inadequate health facilities, inferior quality of education in government schools, poor IT connectivity, and inadequate recreation facilities.	Affordable housing will be provided to EWS and BPL families.	The Housing Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh has been accorded 4,062 houses under PMAY scheme by Government of India.	Financial year 2020–21.
26.	Kalyan-Dombivli (Maharashtra)	The proposal aims to create an affordable housing hub in Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR) with adequate supply of LIG and EWS housing. It mentions that the city has 12 per cent 'slum' population; and 4,591 units under BSUP and others being "assessed" under PMAY.	The proposal states that relatively lower housing prices in MMR make it an affordable housing hub; this is listed as a 'Strength.' It also states that this has resulted in fewer 'slums' – about 12 per cent of the population as compared with Navi Mumbai, Thane, and Mumbai where 28 per cent, 53 per cent and 41 per cent of the population, respectively, live in 'slums.'	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.

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27.	Kanpur (Uttar Pradesh)	According to the proposal, the Kanpur Development Authority (KDA) sanctioned 5,741 EWS houses in 2015–16 against 1,625 in 2013–14; 3,781 LIG houses were sanctioned in 2015–16 against 1,740 in 2013–14; and 636 High Income Groups (HIG) houses were sanctioned in 2015–16 against 725 in 2013–14. As per the proposal, 1,708 houses are under construction under KDA – Samajwadi Awas Yojana Scheme; District Urban Development Authority (DUDA) allotted 678 houses under BSUP Phase-I sanctioned by KDA, and 5,451 houses under BSUP Phase-II sanctioned by Uttar Pradesh Rajkiya Nirman Nigam; under RAY 128 houses are under construction; and under Manyawar Kanshi Ramji Shahari Gareeb Awaas Yojana 3,008 houses had been allotted in Phase-I and II in 2014–15, and under Phase-III 200 houses were allotted in 2015–16.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.
28.	Kochi (Kerala)	The proposal states that 6,787 DUs were delivered under the BSUP scheme, benefitting 30,000 people.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	One of the themes for the city has focused on "affordable housing for all." The project aims at adding low-cost housing units through a redevelopment policy in core areas, linked with low-carbon solutions.	The proposal mentions that, "Fort Kochi-Mattancherry area is characterized by settlements of urban poor, poor infrastructure levels." However, the proposal doesn't outline a housing solution to the issue. Housing facilities for all the 4,000 impoverished households along with provision of infrastructure services.	March 2019.

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29.	Kohima (Nagaland)	The proposal says housing stock is being augmented under BSUP – 3,504 beneficiaries – at the cost of Rs 133.07 crore; and Housing for All – 3,377 beneficiaries with an allocated fund of Rs 66 crore.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	The proposal mentions in situ 'slum' upgradation, and development of new affordable housing for the urban poor.	March 2021.
30.	Kota (Rajasthan)	The proposal claims regularization of 40 notified 'slums' in the last three years with over 27,757 dwellers having been granted pattas (titles). It further states 8,544 EWS/LIG units have been constructed, and work is in progress for the construction of another 3,966 units.	Not mentioned.	The proposal mentioned the provision of affordable housing under PMAY and allied state government schemes.	Not mentioned.	Proposed rehabilitation/ redevelopment of Ghodewala Baba 'slum' with 1,500 population on about 17 acres of land. Improvement of urban forms in other six 'slums' (population 24,000) with street redesign, aesthetically designed community facilities, recreational areas, anganwadis.	First half of 2019.
31.	Lucknow (Uttar Pradesh)	The proposal states that dwelling units have been constructed under various schemes: Aasra Housing Scheme (780 homes), BSUP (4260 homes), Kashiram Shahari Gareeb Awas Yojana (9180 homes), Lucknow Development Authority (16000 units for EWS, and 2000 units for affordable housing).	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	No mention of housing in area-based proposal.	September 2018.
32.	Ludhiana (Punjab)	The Municipal Corporation of Ludhiana undertook 'slum' rehabilitation under the BSUP scheme and constructed 3832 DUs, of which 2912 DUs were completed.	Mentions 'slums' as a 'Weakness.' According to the proposal, there is a densely populated, unplanned core area with 25 per cent of the population living in 'slums' in the city.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not clearly mentioned in proposal overview, but proposal components mention shelters for the homeless. The proposal states to create public toilets and night shelters for the homeless people.	Not mentioned.
33.	Madurai (Tamil Nadu)	Under the BSUP scheme, 17099 houses have been constructed for EWS. Less than 30 per cent of the population lives in 'slums.' Tamil Nadu Housing Board and Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board constructed new tenements for EWS.	Mentions 'encroachment' in public spaces as a 'Threat.'	Provide affordable Housing to all 'slum dwellers' and EWS.	Not mentioned.	It is proposed to relocate the 'slums' in Gandhi Nagar and Madhichayam (Wards 35 and 36), benefitting 568 families. Providing two night shelters for the urban homeless.	Night shelters by 2019. No mention of timeline for relocation.

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34. **Mangalore (Karnataka)**	According to the proposal, at least 15 per cent of new housing will be affordable. It further mentions upgradation of 250 impoverished households within the 11 wards, along with provision of infrastructure services; aims to have housing communities from mixed socio-economic groups; and, prevent social segregation and dislocation of citizens.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Housing for All: Rehouse all the 250 impoverished households (EWS) in the 11 wards along with provision of infrastructure services. Upgradation of four 'slum' areas in ABD: Hoigebazar, Kanduka, Bavanthi Street, Aerekerebail. Housing communities will consist of mixed socio-economic groups, and lead to a revitalized waterfront, preventing social segregation within development and dislocation of citizens from their places of work.	Financial year 2019–20.
35. **Nagpur (Maharashtra)**	The proposal claims to have conducted a "Housing Demand-Supply survey" and states it is the "only city to do so." It mentions to have deployed the use of Automating Development Control Regulations (Auto DCR) for building permits; According to the proposal, 3671 houses are completed and 4201 units in progress under BSUP; 1022 and 684 units are constructed by Maharashtra Housing and Development Authority and Nagpur Improvement Trust, respectively; and, Housing for All action plan is in progress.	It mentions as 'Threat' 36 per cent of the population living in 'slums.' According to the proposal, supply of affordable housing is limited. It further says that efforts under the Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA) and Housing for All schemes should focus on providing good quality of life and affordable housing.	Goals include achieving inclusive growth by developing 75 per cent of the layouts that are inconsistent with the Development Plan provisions by 2025, by using the town planning scheme; upgrading 'slums'; and, enhancing livability by providing smart physical and social infrastructure.	Not mentioned.	Project Home Sweet Home will introduce 4,000 affordable housing units over the next 10 years by leveraging Housing For All mission and other housing programmes. 4,000 affordable and EWS housing units will be based on green building principles.	Project Home Sweet Home affordable housing, night shelters, rental housing, and hostels for working women – to start after completion of activity My Neighbourhood My Plan (will start immediately after approval of Smart City Proposal and will continue for nine months).
36. **Namchi (Sikkim)**	There are no homeless people in the city but four notified 'slums' indicate deficiency in basic infrastructure and services.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Redevelopment of Agam Gram area into a compact mixed-use development for affordable housing.	Not mentioned.

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37.	Nashik (Maharashtra)	According to the proposal, 'slum' rehabilitation of 4,550 houses has been completed while 2,920 houses are being rehabilitated under BSUP; 28 'slums' have been cleared; a survey under PMAY has been initiated. The process of notifying all 168 'slums' has started. The proposal mentions to have adequate supply of housing stock by having 88905 tenements constructed.	Not mentioned.	Goals include ensuring supply of affordable housing stock to prevent incidence of 'slums.'	Not mentioned.	Project Nivaas–Housing for All ('slum' rehabilitation)—273 'slum' households to be rehabilitated on two acres of land.	Not mentioned.
38.	New Delhi Municipal Council (NDMC) (Delhi)	The proposal states that 296 residential quarters were constructed at Bapu Dham for *safai karamcharis* (sanitation workers) from 2012–15. According to the proposal, the construction of 240 EWS units at Bakkarwala commenced in 2013; of which 90 per cent is completed.	The proposal mentions 'squatters' as a 'Weakness.'	Not mentioned.	NDMC aims to have 'zero per cent' of its population living in 'slums' by 2025 and five homeless persons per 100,000 population by 2025. The annexure to the proposal mentions that redevelopment of identified informal settlements is envisaged through the construction of EWS units at Bakkarwala (*implies relocation outside the NDMC constituency*)	No mention of housing in area-based proposal.	Not mentioned.

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39.	New Town Kolkata (Bengal)	According to the proposal, EWS dwelling units and resettlement plots (2783) together account for around 10 per cent of total residential units. The Housing Infrastructure Development Corporation, the proposal states, has planned the construction of 2000 EWS dwelling units in the next five years (by 2020). As of 2015, approximately 60 per cent of the residential houses remained unoccupied.	The proposal mentions its low population as a 'Weakness' and a 'Threat.' Almost 60 per cent of properties are yet to be occupied, resulting in limited social and economic vibrancy. Further, given the low population size, New Town Kolkata Development Authority does not qualify to avail funds from central government schemes like AMRUT and PMAY.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	No mention of housing in area-based proposal.	Not mentioned.

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40. **Panaji (Goa)**	According to the proposal, the housing condition of 1.6 per cent of units in the city can be classified as 'dilapidated.'	The proposal mentions urban sprawl as a 'Weakness' and as a 'Threat.' Spiraling real estate costs and restrictive Floor Area Ratio has been leading to a shift to residential areas to the unplanned outskirts of the city, resulting in deficiency of infrastructure and services. Limited availability of land for urban development and high rental costs create a dearth of affordable housing in the city.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Service improvement for urban poor in Mala Heritage zone. Mala Heritage zone with a resident population of nearly 800 households and a socio-economic profile of lower and middle income populace (dependent on small businesses, lower level government jobs and tourism) are amongst the ones most impacted by poor infrastructure provision in the area. Located at the Altinho foothill, this area receives extensive runoff from the hill, has low coverage of toilet facilities (4 toilet blocks with 36 seats), nearly 50 per cent sewerage network coverage, open waste dumps, and has inadequate drainage facilities making the urban poor vulnerable to diseases, impacts of climate change (especially flooding) and urban pressures. The city is already implementing an initiative for service improvement in a pocket of urban poor under Challenge Fund initiative of Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (0.5 square kilometres) and this initiative is proposed to be extended to all pockets of urban poor in Mala heritage zone through: • Provision of combined utility trench; • Renewing electricity and telecom; • Laying of sewerage network, improvement of Altinho steps and drainage network; • Improved roads and pedestrian walkways; and, • Integrated Urban Water Management.	Fourth year of project implantation.

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41.	Port Blair (Andaman and Nicobar Islands)	There are a few pockets of 'slums' in the city with secure land tenure, which makes it easy to implement central government schemes like PMAY.	Not mentioned.	To increase social development, empowerment and security, 'slum' redevelopment, and hostels for working women. States that video surveillance of public spaces will lead to social development and security.	To promote inclusive development by bringing 'slum-dwellers' into the city mainstream, by 'slum' development and provision of basic physical and social infrastructure.	The paradigm of ABD is proposed to be realized through retrofitting and redevelopment strategies with a total investment of Rs 770.15 crore. Social development is planned through 'slum' redevelopment, urban *chowpals*, and hostel for working men and women. The 'slum' in Haddo Market area of Ward 2 has 80 *kutcha* (temporary) houses with secure tenure. *In situ* redevelopment of these 80 units will be undertaken along with provision of all basic amenities to the 'slum.' Working people's hostels of 650 square metres for accommodating 100 working women and 325 square metres for 50 working men to be constructed. This will provide secure lodging environment for the working citizens coming from other islands.	Not mentioned.
42.	Pune (Maharashtra)	The Slum Rehabilitation Authority claims to have completed 38 projects till date, 21 over the last 3 years, targeting 7,176 tenements. Thirty-four projects are currently being implemented, with a target of completing 10092 tenements.	Mentions 'slums' as an 'Area of Improvement.' According to the proposal, 28 per cent of the city's households live in 'slums.'	Not mentioned.	The vision statement has mentioned making Pune 'slum-free' by 2025 by constructing 20000 affordable houses every year, for the next 10 years.	Drive socially inclusive growth in the region: • 'Slum-free' area by redeveloping 483 households. • Socio-economic transformation of 'slums' by focusing on sanitation, healthcare, education and skill building. Key issues of Baba Saheb Ambedkar Vasti 'slum' are sanitation, livelihood, education and healthcare. Under PMAY, 486 'slums' will be redeveloped.	'Slum' redevelopment: December 2020 Affordable houses: December 2020

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43.	**Raipur (Chhatisgarh)**	The proposal mentions that 15,614 DUs for the urban poor have been allocated.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	The proposal has mentioned redeveloping 'slums' with revamped equitable services based on a participatory development model. Provide housing for all through state and central schemes.	Provision of housing through beneficiary-led, credit linked and affordable housing, under PMAY. Build 2,967 EWS housing units, 2 shelters, and 1 women's hostel.	Likely date of completion: 2020–21
44.	**Ranchi (Jharkhand)**	There are 95 'slum' pockets in the city, housing 7.72 per cent of the city's population, according to the proposal. Over the last three years, 2,588 houses have been constructed. RAY sanctioned 1,565 units in five 'slums' and 4,700 units have been sanctioned under PMAY. Ten acres have been reserved for affordable housing in the Knowledge Smart City to provide 860 EWS units.	The proposal mentions inadequate affordable housing in the city as a 'Threat.' The urban poor in Ranchi constitute about 30 per cent of the population. This indicates a significant need for affordable housing and access to basic infrastructure facilities. Over the last decade, up to 2011, there has been an increase of 3.32 per cent of pucca (permanent) houses, 1.09 per cent increase in semi-pucca (semi-permanent) housing units, and a mere 0.05 per cent increase in dilapidated houses, indicating a poor growth in affordable housing.	Not mentioned.	The proposal has mentioned that an Affordable Housing Policy 2016 is being finalized and will be implemented by 2016.	EWS project in the 34.1 acres of area based development.	March 2018.

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45.	Rourkela (Odisha)	Currently around 26,297 households (approximately 36 per cent of the population) reside in 'slums.' 124 DUs were constructed under IHSDP in the financial year (FY) 2014; In FY 2015, detailed project report has been submitted under PMAY, covering 4,800 households.	Inadequate affordable housing has been mentioned as a 'Weakness' in the proposal. It further mentions growth of 'slums' and disparity in service delivery are 'Threats.'	The goals include integrated and harmonized informal settlements–reduction in 'slum' population.	The vision statement has mentioned housing for people from all economic strata.	Integrated informal settlement includes in situ redevelopment of 8,000 dwelling units with access to all basic services.	January 2021.
46.	Salem (Tamil Nadu)	According to the proposal, IHSDP scheme has been implemented, providing 1,006 DUs for 'slum-dwellers.'	The proposal mentions 'slum' as a 'Weakness.' It says, the growth of inward migration is increasing and is proportional to the growth of 'slums' within the city, Leading to encroachments around water bodies and railway lines. The proposal also mentions increase in 'slum population' due to haphazard growth as a 'Threat.'	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	According to the proposal, the Government of Tamil Nadu has announced welfare schemes for the uplift of urban people including through the provision of shelters for the urban homeless.	Not mentioned.
47.	Shivamogga (Karnataka)	According to the proposal, 1,487 EWS/LIG housing units have been built under government schemes.	The proposal mentions informal settlements as a 'Weakness.' According to the proposal, "The city has 47 'slums' with almost 20 per cent of the city's population residing in them. In the absence of proper access to housing and basic services within the city centre, the low lying areas, lake bodies, canal front, railway land etc. are being encroached. This is a growing concern not only for the citizens and city administration but also for the people residing in it." The proposal also mentions increase in urban sprawl as a 'Threat.'	The city goals include creating affordable housing for EWS/ LIG sections, and ensuring better living standards for 'slum-dwellers' through resettlement or redevelopment of the 'slum' pockets.	Not mentioned.	Affordable housing: Retrofitting of existing 'slums' in Central Business District area and relocation and rehabilitation of 'slums' along water bodies to ensure 100 per cent housing for all. Provision of better housing and basic services to the 'slums' for 1,350 households under PMAY. Face-lifting 'slum' pockets (10 numbers) by developing good housing units with amenities.	2018.

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48.	Solapur (Maharashtra)	Not mentioned.	Mentions 'slums' as a 'Weakness.' According to the proposal, the percentage of the city's population living in 'slums' has increased from 25 per cent in 2001 to 31 per cent in 2011, with a growth of 34 per cent, despite the city's natural growth rate being 9.02 per cent.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	The area selected for retrofitting has 14 'slums' with a total population of 8,666 people. Of these, four are located on government lands, one on Solapur Municipal Corporation (SMC) land and the remaining nine are located on privately owned lands. In the area for retrofitting, SMC shall ensure that basic infrastructure like water, sanitation, sewerage, road and electricity shall reach the households.	Not mentioned.
49.	Surat (Gujarat)	The Surat Municipal Corporation claims to have constructed more than 20,000 houses for the urban poor and 2,460 units under the 'slum' redevelopment scheme of BSUP. This has taken care of 370 'slum' pockets for all basic infrastructure and social infrastructure.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Promote mixed use development and improve selected areas by providing incentives like Transfer of Development Rights (TDR) and higher Floor Space Index (FSI).	Retrofitting proposal option: Adajan Riverfront Residential Area (2,390 acres) – new planned residential area developed on the bank of River Tapti. It will include developing affordable housing for EWS and LIG under PMAY and PPP.	Affordable Housing (PMAY) – 1050 EWS and 1,950 LIG houses by 2020. Affordable Housing (PPP) – 5750 EWS – by 2020.
50.	Thane (Maharashtra)	According to the proposal, Thane Municipal Corporation has handed over 3,062 tenements to the beneficiaries; 6,000 tenements to be handed over in the next two years, while an additional 18,944 tenements have been approved.	The proposal mentions unsafe housing conditions as a 'Weakness.' According to the proposal, "population living in slums and dilapidated buildings today constitutes over 50 per cent of the total population, since affordable housing has not kept pace with growth in population." The proposal also mentions unauthorized dilapidated settlements and infrastructure gaps as 'Threats.'	The proposal mentions safe habitat for all, and enumerates the following goals, among others: • Rehabilitation of the population currently living in clusters of dilapidated structures. • Cluster redevelopment of dilapidated neighborhoods to ensure adequate amenities and open spaces. • Promote mixed-use, compact development.	Not mentioned.	Inclusive housing by redeveloping unsafe housing; 70 acre redevelopment of Kisan Nagar.	2020.

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51.	Thanjavur (Tamil Nadu)	Not mentioned.	The proposal lists as a 'Strength' the low 'houseless population' – 0.6/ 1000 persons (Census of India, 2011) which indicates adequate housing stock. It specifies as a 'Weakness' the need of affordable housing stock since only 49.3 per cent of houses are owned and about 9.6 per cent of the total population resides in 35 'slums.'	The goals include rehabilitation of 'slum households.' Safe neighbourhoods, adequate housing stock for all income groups, all amenities, social infrastructure and workplace at walkable distances, are mentioned as city's goals.	Not mentioned.	Rehabilitate low-income households, 'slum- dwellers' and artisans with poor living conditions.	First quarter, 2018- Fourth quarter, 2020.
52.	Tirupati (Andhra Pradesh)	According to the proposal, under Housing for All scheme 2,250 individual beneficiaries have been sanctioned; and under BSUP 1,800 beneficiaries have been sanctioned.	The proposal mentions informal settlements as a 'Weakness' According to the proposal, 26,270 'slum' households live in 69 'slum' pockets. It mentions providing affordable housing and implementing the 'slum' redevelopment programme as 'Opportunities.'	The proposal mentions to provide housing for all through provision of affordable housing units.	Not mentioned.	Project 'NIVAS' focuses on the redevelopment of 5.36 acres of Tirupati Municipal Corporation colony for rehabilitating 436 families through the provision of affordable housing units.	EWS housing and social infrastructure – March 2019.
53.	Tumkur (Karnataka)	According to the proposal, housing shortage for 'slum' households is being bridged through RAY (2,766 units) and Housing for All scheme (9,500 units); housing for Sweepers (72 households) has been approved; and, two new 'slum' rehabilitation projects has been proposed.	The proposal mentions increase in informality as a 'Threat.' According to the proposal, "the city has seen an increase in the migrant population, which has resulted in several settlements. There also exist a large number of street vendors who encroach on footpaths and carriageways within the city."	Urban regeneration through the redevelopment of inclusive affordable housing is one of the goals mentioned in the proposal.	Not mentioned.	There are four 'slum' pockets with 353 households and 3,802 EWS houses within the ABD areas. Retro-fitting and redevelopment of affordable housing: • Of the 4 'slum' pockets (2 identified and 2 nomadic) in the area, 3 pockets (118 households) are relocated under RAY and proposed in situ development of the other pockets (207 households) as affordable housing units. Agencies: KSDB, Tumkur City Corporation (TCC); Status: Ongoing under RAY. • Upgradation of 3,802 EWS housing units into self-sufficient homes with all utility services. Agencies: TCC; Status: Sanctioned under Housing for All.	Retro-fitting and redevelopment of affordable housing: 'Slums' – 2018; EWS housing – 2020.

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54. Udaipur (Rajasthan)	According to the proposal, the Udaipur Municipal Corporation built 1,183 EWS units over the last two years; and work on 928 units is in progress.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	No mention of housing in area-based proposal.	Not mentioned.
55. Ujjain (Madhya Pradesh)	According to the proposal, 1,320 affordable housing units created under BSUP, and 750 plots/units by Ujjain Development Authority.	The proposal mentions informal settlements as a 'Weakness.' The proposal mentions supply and demand of affordable housing; proliferation of informal settlements (32.1 per cent of the population lives in 'slums'). According to the proposal, "unchecked growth of slums along with unplanned/ haphazard development shall continue to pose greatest threat to city's rational growth and quality of life, which may continue to recede."	The city goals include the following: • Creation and supply of 2,000 affordable housing units per year for LIG and EWS demand. • Housing for All by 2022 to ensure the provision of housing and basic services for all 'slum-dwellers'.	Not mentioned.	33.3 per cent units in redevelopment area to be affordable housing. Additionally 6,114 housing units for 'slum-dwellers'/mill-workers, 10 night shelter facilities providing affordable staying options for the poor, and five working women's hostels in the knowledge and economic hub, to provide affordable rental residential facilities to the women's workforce.	Operational from 2017–18.
56. Vadodara (Gujarat)	According to the proposal, urban housing has been a priority area of the state and the city. It mentions that 186 out of 397 identified 'slum' pockets have been removed under 'slum' rehabilitation programmes; 18,000 new DUs have been constructed and handed over for 'slum' rehabilitation; and survey and planning are being undertaken to address housing shortage in the city.	The proposal mentions unmet need of urban housing as a 'Weakness.' It further adds, "according to the demand assessment survey, there is an unmet need of 60,000 dwelling units in the city. This has led to concentration of slums in certain pockets which needs to be addressed on a priority basis."	The city goals include leveraging existing schemes for housing the urban poor, and redevelop and reform informal settlements by providing basic services.	Not mentioned.	'Slum-free area' - Wellness and De-addiction centre in the building. 'Slum' will be removed and new building will be developed with common reading room in the building to empower education to 'slum' children.	Not mentioned.

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57.	Varanasi (Uttar Pradesh)	The proposal aims at ensuring housing for all. It mentions 7,166 houses have been approved under affordable housing category; and there is a provision for the construction of 3,429 EWS houses.	Not mentioned.	The goals include making provision for houses for the urban poor.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.
58.	Vellore (Tamil Nadu)	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Not mentioned.	Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme: As part of the Integrated Slum Development Programme, about 513 houses have been identified for development, till March 2015. About 60 houses are planned to be developed in Ward 16. Also, as a part of convergence, new housing will comply with the new energy efficiency policy.	Not mentioned.
59.	Visakhapatnam (Andhra Pradesh)	The proposal mentions construction of 15,320 houses, including infrastructure, under the erstwhile Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). According to the proposal, the Greater Vishakhapatnam Municipal Corporation (GVMC) claims to have built 50,000 relocation dwelling units and homeless shelters at five locations.	The proposal mentions 'slums' as a 'Threat.' It says, "proliferation of illegal housing on hill slopes" is a threat.	Not mentioned.	Plans to build upon its skill development programme for 'slum-dwellers'.	Tackling congestion issues and improving the business environment along with providing affordable housing and equitable education. Providing 1,130 affordable housing units.	December 2019.

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60.	Warangal (Telangana)	Not mentioned.	The proposal mentions informal settlements as a 'Weakness.' According to the proposal, "the city has a total of 183 'slums,' of which 92 are 'notified' (168,000 people) and the remaining are 'non-notified' (150,000 people). It further adds that with a population of nearly 321,000 (3.21 lakh), the 'slum' population of the city accounts for nearly 42 per cent of the total population;" and, provision of complete coverage of basic services to settlements is one of the key issues the city has faced.	According to the proposal, the government will focus on making the city 'slum-free' with 100 per cent basic urban services. It will also focus on providing 2 BHK (bedroom, hall, kitchen) houses to those living in sub-standard conditions.	Convert 'slums' to liveable neighbourhoods by providing core urban services to all 'slum' households in the city. This includes providing adequate water supply, sewerage and sanitation, and solid waste management.	'Slum' areas retrofitting, including 100 per cent basic infrastructure, 1,595 *kutcha* (temporary) to pucca (permanent) houses, construction of 1,000 individual and 50 public toilets, three skill development centres.	2020.

People's Participation Recorded in the Development of Smart City Proposals

	Proposed Smart City	Level of Citizen Engagement in Developing Smart City Proposals, Particularly of Marginalized Groups and Civil Society Organizations[1]
1.	Agartala	Meeting with Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs). Decision to incorporate citizen inputs regarding housing for EWS.
2.	Agra	'Aakansha' - an NGO spearheaded the vote-gathering drives in several parts of the city.
3.	Ahmedabad	**Citizen groups:** · Differently-abled citizens – Blind People's Association. · Senior Citizens – Laughter Club, Fitness Club. · 'Slum' residents - Gulbai Tekra. **NGOs:** · SAATH. · 'Slum' representatives. **Means of citizen engagement adopted:** · Public meetings/discussion with citizen groups. · Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were held with various citizen groups and associations.
4.	Ajmer	Inputs from self-assessment and review of earlier visioning exercises were complemented with an extensive citizen engagement process which involved face-to-face meetings with councilors, officials from Ajmer Municipal Corporation and other parastatal, NGOs, Resident Welfare Associations (RWAs), engagement of social media, internet, and involvement of schools.
5.	Amritsar	Consultations were held with the following stakeholders: • Differently-abled citizens. • 'Slum' residents: Hindustan Basti. • NGOs.
6.	Aurangabad	Surveys through questionnaires covering residents from across the city including 'slum-dwellers,'*gunthewari (unauthorized colony)* dwellers were taken-up.
7.	Belagavi	No specific engagement with underprivileged groups and residents of informal settlements.
8.	Bhagalpur	Special focus on including urban 'slums' in the formulation of the Smart City Proposal. Around 2,100 people participated in 15 'slum'-level programmes. FGDs and stakeholder consultations involved various social groups, including: • 'Slum-dwellers' associations (Samuhik Vikas Samiti, other Self-Help Groups (SHGs)); • Silk Weavers' Association; and, • Informal sector (Street Vendors' Association, Auto/Rickshaw Unions).
9.	Bhopal	Extent of citizen involved, strategy used, and means adopted for citizen engagement include the following: • Stakeholders included transgenders and persons with physical disabilities. • Wi-Fi enabled tableau travelled to the 'slums' to take cognizance of their needs. • Professional media agency-led public consultation. Means of citizen engagement adopted: • Face-to-face interactions through interviews or FGDs. • Digital channels were also leveraged with Bhopal Municipal Corporation portal and SMS messages. • Publicity was done through local newspapers and mobile vans.

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1 Text in this table is taken directly from the Smart City Proposals.

	Proposed Smart City	Level of Citizen Engagement in Developing Smart City Proposals, Particularly of Marginalized Groups and Civil Society Organizations[1]
10.	Bhubaneswar	'Citizen's Connect Initiative' was built on internationally accepted International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) framework for citizen engagement: Inform, Consult, Involve, Collaborate, Empower. Seven key strategies to operationalize this framework in Bhubaneswar's context to get best results were: • **Offline:** To ensure inclusivity, special focus was given on face-to-face interactions with diverse groups: children, youth, women, city-makers ('slum-dwellers' and street vendors), persons with disabilities and senior citizens. • **Online:** Dedicated platform was created to ensure a better connect to the city's effort for preparing a citizen-driven proposal. • **Outreach:** Cascading model to cover RWAs, *bastis*, institutions was developed in the form of resource persons and extension teams. • **Crowd sourcing:** To increase participation in envisioning, ideation, and problem-solving. • **Volunteer programme** • **Social media outreach:** Facebook with 80 times more accounts in Bhubaneswar vis-à-vis Twitter as main platform. • **Visibility:** To ensure visibility, public personalities joined as campaign ambassadors.
11.	Chandigarh	Strategy used for engagement included: • Street plays to engage stakeholders. MyGovtalk was attended by 920 participants, including representatives from 'slum' associations, RWAs, Senior Citizen Associations, women, students, councilors and Members of Parliament.
12.	Chennai	**Means of Outreach:** Radio, mass SMS, mass e-mail, print media, social media, corporation website. Suggestion from each citizen was reportedly recorded and analyzed. **Key participants of the engagement programmes include:** Citizens of Chennai, urban planners, press, Institute for Transportation and Development Policy, Chennai City Connect and other NGOs, senior citizens, children, and women.
13.	Coimbatore	No specific engagement with underprivileged groups and residents of informal settlements.
14.	Davanagere	Involvement of citizens residing across 41 wards of the City Corporation, including 'slum-dwellers', street hawkers, and shopkeepers. Key focus was towards decongestion of the old city area, developing houses for EWS, upgradation of the physical and utility infrastructure, adequate parking space, 24-hour water and power supply, efficient solid waste management, reductions in pollution levels. One focus area was the strategic retrofitting or upgradation of numerous Small and Medium-sized Enterprises, beginning with the Puffed Rice Enterprises, a major source of air pollution and an intervention that will have an immediate impact on the livelihood and health conditions of over 40,000 people living in various 'slums' in the inner city core.
15.	Dharamshala	Street plays.
16.	Faridabad	Street plays.
17.	Guwahati	No specific engagement with underprivileged groups and residents of informal settlements.
18.	Gwalior	Profession-wise coverage shows the participation of 12 per cent people from lower income groups like auto-drivers, maids, vendors etc. Special consultations were done with children (plantation drive) and differently-abled persons. *Mohalla sabhas* (neighbourhood meetings) were also held.
19.	Hubali-Dharwad	No specific engagement mentioned with underprivileged groups and residents of informal settlements.
20.	Imphal	Consultation with senior citizens, local clubs, NGOs, women's SHGs and societies, and street vendor organizations.

	Proposed Smart City	Level of Citizen Engagement in Developing Smart City Proposals, Particularly of Marginalized Groups and Civil Society Organizations[1]
21.	Indore	The citizen engagement strategy focused on drawing attention of sector-specific groups by face-to-face consultations with various professionals, industrialists/businessmen, elected representatives, educationists, info-tech fraternity, sports fraternity, nature enthusiasts, legal fraternity, housing societies, homemakers, and 'slum-dwellers.'
22.	Jabalpur	The consultation covered diverse sections of society including students (41 per cent), women (7 per cent), senior citizens (5 per cent), persons with disabilities, children, 'slum-dwellers,' civic workers (18 per cent) spread across various demographic and geographical sections of the city.
23.	Jaipur	No specific engagement with underprivileged groups and residents of informal settlements.
24.	Jalandhar	Senior citizens/Specially-abled were consulted by establishing 50 kiosks in public gardens/spaces.
25.	Kakinada	Engagement involved various sections of population including children, women, older persons, persons with disabilities (particularly visually-impaired people) and BPL/EWS sections. The Municipal Corporation with stakeholders through direct interactions and FGDs. Nine per cent of stakeholders indicated affordable housing as a focus area, while six per cent focused on 'slum' development.
26.	Kalyan-Dombivli	Eleven per cent of all responses from household surveyed were from EWS from 14 'slum' pockets. FGDs with women SHGs, residents associations, Senior citizens, Physically challenged persons etc. ensured citizens from all walks of life are able to convey their aspirations and priorities.
27.	Kanpur	In shaping the vision and goals, Kanpur Municipal Corporation ensured that each and every section of the population including children both male and female, women, elderly, differently-abled and BPL/EWS sections have been covered. City-makers ('slum-dwellers' and street vendors), persons with disabilities, and senior citizens were also involved.
28.	Kochi	Engagement with special groups: SHGs, EWS (6 meetings, almost 200 people),Kudumbashree Network, women and child rehabilitation centre, old age home, physically challenged, migrant labourers and tribal hamlet meetings.
29.	Kohima	No specific engagement with underprivileged groups and residents of informal settlements.
30.	Kota	Citizens from various public groups (differently-abled citizens, senior citizens, 'slum' residents, daily labourers, women's self-help groups, Humraah, etc.) were included in the consultations.
31.	Lucknow	Not mentioned.
32.	Ludhiana	Door-to-door surveys in wards and 'slums.'
33.	Madurai	Not mentioned.
34.	Mangalore	Direct contact: face-to-face interactions with diverse groups including children, youth, women, city-makers, vulnerable groups, differently-abled, those with long-term illness, and senior citizens.
35.	Nagpur	Not mentioned.
36.	Namchi	Not mentioned.
37.	Nashik	FGDs and direct connect to ensure inclusivity. Special focus was given on one-to-one interactions with diverse groups including 'slum-dwellers,' hawkers, rag pickers, sanitation and *aanganwadi* workers, among others.
38.	New Delhi Municipal Council	Stakeholders included EWS/'slum-dwellers.' **Means of citizen engagement adopted:** · Face-to-face unstructured consultations. · Street plays.

	Proposed Smart City	Level of Citizen Engagement in Developing Smart City Proposals, Particularly of Marginalized Groups and Civil Society Organizations[1]
39.	New Town Kolkata	Leveraging a five-stage citizen communication strategy spread over 50 days, engaging with around 83 per cent of the residing population (29,880 residents). Approximately 21 per cent respondents (7,560 persons) provided inputs for formulating the Smart City Plan through 138 events, including senior citizens, housewives, students, professionals, informal sector workers, children, non-resident property owners, citizens seeking to relocate to New Town in the near future, entrepreneurs, developers, businessmen, city administrators, elected representatives, academicians and other government institutions, along with visitors to the city.
40.	Panaji	Extensive consultations, meetings with socially backward sections in Muslim wada 'slum', St. Inez Tamba colony, St. Inez 'slum' Ward 13, Altinho 'slum', Wadeshwar Temple 'slum', Batlem, Chincholim, and Datta Mandir.
41.	Port Blair	The citizen engagement exercise reached out to men and women, adults and children, all religious groups, private and government sector employees, self-employed, students, economically well-off and disadvantaged, common people, key persons in the administration, and elected representatives.
42.	Pune	No specific engagement with underprivileged groups and residents of informal settlements.
43.	Raipur	No specific engagement with underprivileged groups and residents of informal settlements.
44.	Ranchi	Besides interacting with common citizens, deliberations and discussions were held with more than 10 schools, NGOs, 'slum-dwellers', elected representatives, traders' association, builders' association, architects' association, bar association, Public Sector Units, coaching institutes, hostellers, industries, higher education institutes and other government departments.
45.	Rourkela	Consultations across all sections of society. Key stakeholders include differently-abled citizens, senior citizens, and 'slum' residents from more than 35 'slums' in the city. NGO/Community-based Organizations: Red Cross-Rourkela, tribal associations and 'slum' representatives.
46.	Salem	No specific engagement with underprivileged groups and residents of informal settlements.
47.	Shivamogga	Engagement with more than 80,000 'slum-dwellers.' Communicative medium of street plays was adopted to convey the objectives and benefits of smart city to 'slum-dwellers.'
48.	Solapur	FGDs with residents of Shashtri Nagar and Gandhinagar 'slums.'
49.	Surat	No specific engagement with underprivileged groups and residents of informal settlements.
50.	Thane	Dedicated FGDs with representatives of 'slum-dwellers.'
51.	Thanjavur	Face-to-face consultations with artisans, 'slum-dwellers,' and various professionals, among other stakeholders.
52.	Tirupati	No specific engagement with underprivileged groups and residents of informal settlements.
53.	Tumkur	Not mentioned.
54.	Udaipur	FGDs were held with 'slum-dwellers.'
55.	Ujjain	Mobile Van in 'slum' areas, and other parts, and *nukkad natak* (street plays), among others, were deployed for citizen engagement.
56.	Vadodara	Not mentioned.
57.	Varanasi	Not mentioned.
58.	Vellore	Not mentioned.
59.	Visakhapatnam	Focus group workshops conducted to engage diverse stakeholders, including: • 800 'slum'-level federations. • Fisher groups. • NGOs.
60.	Warangal	Face-to-face meetings: 13 meetings organized to understand the aspirations of women and 'slum' residents.

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Housing and Land Rights Network (HLRN)—based in New Delhi, India—works for the recognition, defence, promotion, and realization of the human rights to adequate housing and land, which involves securing a safe and secure place for all individuals and communities, especially the most marginalized, to live in peace and dignity. A particular focus of HLRN's work is on promoting and protecting the equal rights of women to adequate housing, land, property, and inheritance. HLRN aims to achieve its goals through advocacy, research, human rights education, and outreach and network-building — at local, national, and international levels.

In June 2015, the Government of India launched the ambitious **Smart Cities Mission**, which aims to create 100 'smart cities' in the country by the year 2020. As the Mission completes two years, it is important to assess how it has unfolded and what exactly it means for India's urban population, especially for the majority of city inhabitants — the ones who make cities and keep them functioning. HLRN, therefore, conducted a review of the process and guidelines of the Smart Cities Mission as well as of the 60 selected Smart City Proposals, using a human rights lens.

This report presents the findings of HLRN's analysis, raises human rights concerns and challenges related to India's Smart Cities Mission, and proposes recommendations to the government and involved agencies with the aim of ensuring inclusive, integrated, equitable, and sustainable development.

HOUSING AND LAND RIGHTS NETWORK