



STATE OF CITIES: Re-thinking Urban Governance in Narayanganj



Institute of Governance Studies
BRAC University

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List of Acronyms

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AL	Awami League
BCS	Bangladesh Civil Service
BDT	Bangladeshi Taka
BGMEA	Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association
BSCIC	Bangladesh Small and Cottage Industries Corporation
BIWTA	Bangladesh Inland Water Transport Authority
BJMC	Bangladesh Jute Mills Corporation
BKMEA	Bangladesh Knitwear Manufacturers and Exporters Association
BOO	Build-Operate-Own
BOT	Build-Operate-Transfer
BTMC	Bangladesh Textile Mills Corporation
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CNG	Compressed Natural Gas
CONCOR	Container Corporation of India Ltd.
CPD	Centre for Policy Dialogue
CS	Cadastral Survey
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DAP	Detailed Area Plan
DC	District Commissioner
DCC	Dhaka City Corporation
DIT	Dhaka Improvement Trust
DMDP	Dhaka Metropolitan Development Plan
DPDC	Dhaka Power Distribution Company Limited
DPHE	Department of Public Health Engineering
DPZ	Detailed Planning Zone
DWASA	Dhaka Water Supply and Sewerage Authority
ECNEC	Executive Committee of the National Economic Council
EPI	Expanded Programme on Immunisation
EPZ	Export Processing Zone
ETP	Effluent Treatment Plant
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FY	Fiscal Year
GoB	Government of Bangladesh
IDS	Institute of Development Studies

IGS	Institute of Governance Studies
KWH	Kilowatt per Hour
KWTB	Kumudini Welfare Trust of Bengal Ltd.
LGD	Local Government Division
LGED	Local Government Engineering Department
LGRD	Local Government and Rural Development
LPG	Low Pressurised Gas
MOHFW	Ministry of Health & Family Welfare
MP	Member of Parliament
MW	Mega Watt
NCC	Narayanganj City Corporation
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NILG	National Institute of Local Government
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OMS	Open Market Sale
PPP	Public-private partnership
PSU	Primary Sampling Unit
PWD	Public Works Department
RAJUK	Rajdhani Unnayan Kartipakkha
RMG	Readymade Garments
SoC	State of Cities
SSN	Social Safety Net
UGIIP	Urban Governance and Infrastructure Improvement Project
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Center for Housing and Settlement
UPHCSDP	Urban Primary Health Care Service Delivery Project
UPPR	Urban Partnerships for Poverty Reduction Project
VGf	Vulnerable Group Feeding
WASA	Water and Sewerage Authority

Glossary

<i>Anna</i>	Equal to four paisa
<i>Chaukidar</i>	Village police
<i>Eid</i>	A holy festival for Muslim culture
<i>Ghat</i>	A stairway to landing on the water
<i>Godown</i>	Warehouse
<i>Gram/Palli</i>	Village
<i>Hartal</i>	Strike
<i>Jatri Odhikar Sangrakkhan Forum</i>	Commuters Right Protection Forum
<i>Khal</i>	Canal
<i>Khas Land</i>	State owned land
<i>Korbani</i>	The sacrifice of livestock animal during Eid-ul-Adha
<i>Maidans</i>	Open field
<i>Mahalla</i>	Neighbourhood
<i>Mouza</i>	A locality in a district or within a large Assamese city
<i>Nagorik</i>	Citizen
<i>Paracetamol</i>	Medicine for pain reliever and a fever reducer
<i>Parishad</i>	Council
<i>Pourashava</i>	Municipality
<i>Puja</i>	A holy festival of Hindus
<i>Rajdhani Unnayan Kartipakkha</i>	Capital development authority
<i>Sadar</i>	Main part of a certain area
<i>Salamy</i>	The onetime payment that a shop-renter pays to the City Corporation for securing possession of a specific shop.
<i>Sarker</i>	Government
<i>Shova</i>	Council
<i>Swanirvar GramSarker</i>	Self-reliant village Government
<i>Zila</i>	District

Preface

Dhaka is among the fastest growing megacities of the world, and at the same time it has also been ranked by no less an influential magazine like the Economist as the second 'least liveable city' amongst the world's megacities. In the back drop of such rapid and unplanned urbanisation in Bangladesh' cities, including its secondary cities and towns, the Institute of Governance Studies decided to initiate a rigorous research program on the issue of urbanisation with the intent of publishing an annual report on the 'State of Cities (SOC).' The first of these reports, published in 2012, discussed politics and social and historical dynamics of Dhaka city. The current report is the second in the series and focuses on Narayanganj which was recently separated from Dhaka and declared a city corporation. Both in terms of size and area, Narayanganj is much smaller than Dhaka and a nascent city corporation relative to the former. It however retains its historical 'connection' to Dhaka as its one of its major industrial hubs. Given this reality, the current report can be viewed as an extension of last year's report centred on Dhaka, but in somewhat different context which adds an interesting dimension to the whole study.

The report is the result of long and rigorous analytical work using both quantitative and qualitative research methods. The focus was more to assess the governance of a newly emerged city corporation and how it is developing given the existing 'control' of central government over the city government. The report focuses on Narayanganj City Corporation (NCC) as an entity and tries to understand the role of formal actors along with the role of other informal actors in the city government's processes and analyses how it shapes governance. The findings reveal that leadership plays a crucial role in the process of governance and NCC is a good example of that. Nevertheless, like other city corporations, excessive control and interference by the central government, lack of coordination between the city corporation and other public agencies and discretionary power applied by the street level bureaucracy remain major constraints to good governance of NCC. We believe that it is the right time for NCC to start negotiations with the central government to expand its operational role to ensure the standard service delivery to NCC dwellers.

The Report is the result of a collaborative effort of IGS and BRAC Development Institute, headed by Dr. Ferdous Jahan. The whole research was enriched by the contributions of many people and organisations which deserve to be acknowledged individually. Regrettably this is not possible for lack of space. We thank our reviewers for their contributions which has improved the substance of the SOC: Dr. ATM Nurul Amin, Dr. Salahuddin M. Aminuzzaman and Dr. Nasiruddin Ahmed. We would also like to express our gratitude to IDRC for supporting the research and publication of the SOC through their Think Tank Initiative.



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CHAPTER 1

Rethinking Urban Governance An Overview of Narayanganj

1.1 Introduction

State of Cities: Rethinking Urban Governance in Narayanganj is the second report of the *State of Cities* series published by the Institute of Governance Studies, BRAC University. The first ever *State of Cities* Report, published in 2011, analysed urban governance of Dhaka on the basis of three principles - fluidity, informal vs. formal governance and governance as life experience.

The last year was significant for urbanisation due to the emergence of new city corporations (North Dhaka city corporation, South Dhaka City Corporation and Narayanganj), declaration of city corporation laws and amendments (29 November, 2011) and the division of the capital city with the declared aim to ensure basic services, along with the proper governance. Interestingly, at the same time, the governance process of Dhaka suffered from the lack of democratic practices. Due to the failure of holding city corporation elections in time, the responsibility of governing the corporations was handed over to unelected administrators appointed by the central government. All of these changes in urban policies and practices have affected and transformed the existing structure and functional activities of city corporations and new forms of political and structural hierarchy and actors have emerged.

Therefore, it is safe to assume that we are witnessing a new emerging trend in the governing process of urban areas and at this critical juncture, and it is important to explore the effect of these

changes, especially their impact on causing a shift from governing to governance. In this year's report we have made an effort to provide such an analysis and we have focused on the Narayanganj City Corporation (NCC), which is situated in the northern side and adjacent to Dhaka city. Narayanganj was very recently separated from Dhaka and upgraded to a city corporation. Studying the city, which has become the extended industrial wings of Dhaka and which has a separate governance system, thus may be considered as a natural extension and continuation of last year's state of cities research.

Particularly, this year's research intends to study urban services through the lens of urban governance. Although the city under study, Narayanganj, has assumed a new governance structure due to its recent transformation, there remain concerns about the real power and authority of the city corporation to govern the city. Questions remain about the ability of the city government to deal with the barriers imposed by the central government, the lack of coordination between different service delivering agencies and the local level industrial and political elites who have become important players in the political and policy arena.

Therefore, in order to have a complete understanding of the new emerging governance process, it is necessary to explore how these actors are interacting and influencing each other's role and how the City Corporation is making sense of its own in the whole process. This year's *State of Cities* report mainly focuses on this and we have placed special emphasis on- a) identifying the actors that perform significant roles in the functioning of City Corporation; b) the street level bureaucratic practices which largely determine the access to services of the citizens and; c) the interrelation and reciprocal relationship among different actors engaged in the process of governing.

In short, we have taken a holistic approach to understanding the existing process of urban governance and service delivery, to comprehending the present state of efficiency and effectiveness of services provided and identifying the areas for possible reforms. The objectives of this year's report are to:

- Analyse the existing process of governing to find out where it stands in terms of embracing the basic principles of urban governance, how efficient city government is in ensuring effective and efficient services to the people and how services are being delivered
- Study the ground level and mediating actors who are affecting the delivery of services and their roles and effectiveness

We expect that the above two objectives will assist in exploring possible reform options to strengthen the governance process in smaller city corporations like Narayanganj.

1.2 A brief profile of Narayanganj

Narayanganj, one of the oldest and most prominent river ports, was a sub-division of the former Dhaka district. It was upgraded to a district on 15th February, 1984 and declared as a city corporation on 21 March, 2011, and has been established on 5 May, 2011. The city corporation started its activities from 23 June, 2011 with the first elected Mayor starting her tenure on December 1, 2011.

The area of the city corporation is 72.43 sq km consisting of 27 wards. It has been formed unifying three municipalities, namely Narayanganj Sadar, Siddhirganj and Kadam Rasul. The city corporation has two zones and two zonal offices instead of a city corporation office to ensure the services to the dwellers of NCC.

According to population and housing census the city has 165,637 households with a total population of 502,089 (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2011).

Map 1: Narayanganj City Corporation

NARAYANGANJ CITY CORPORATION MAP (According TO Ward)

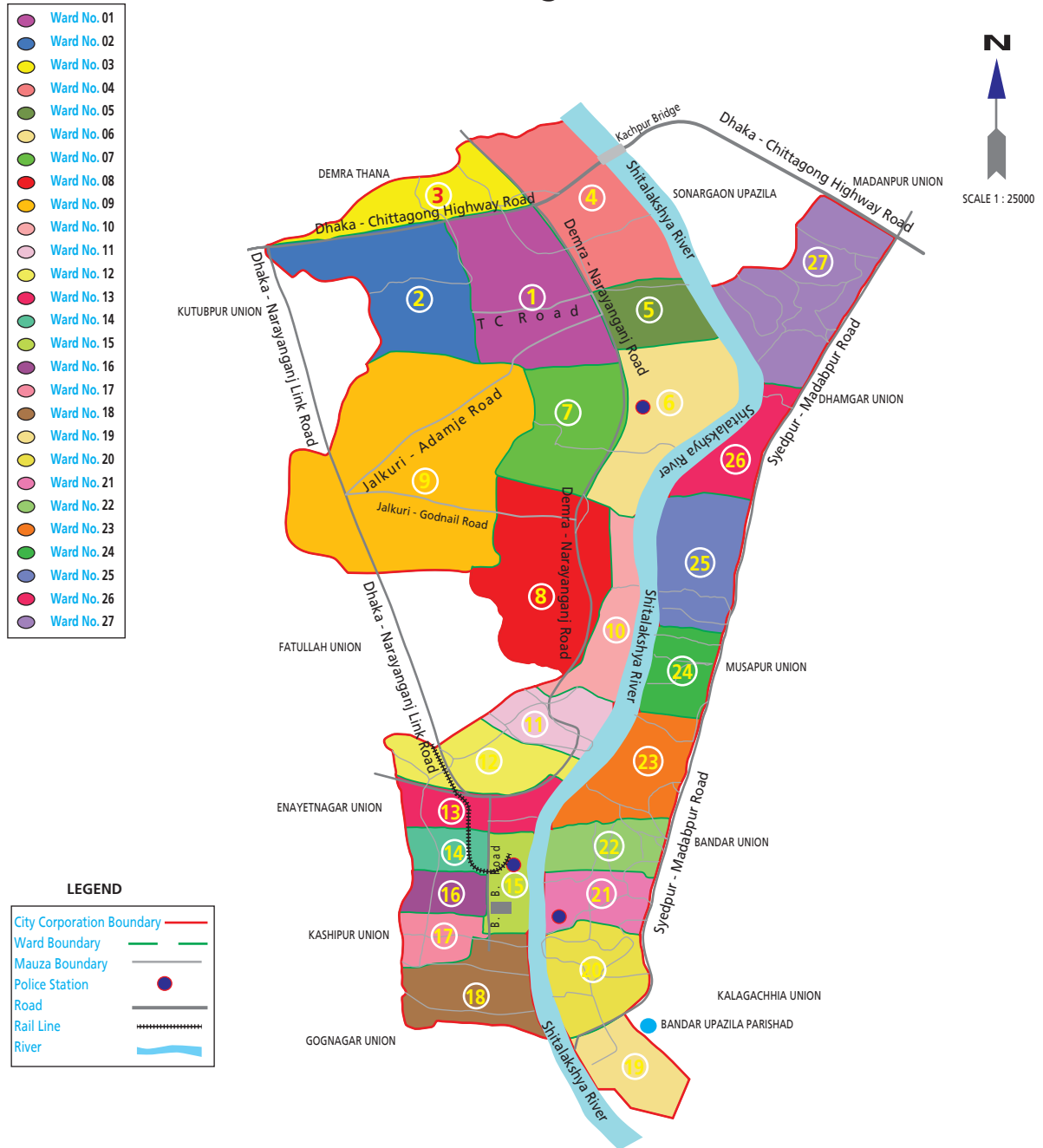
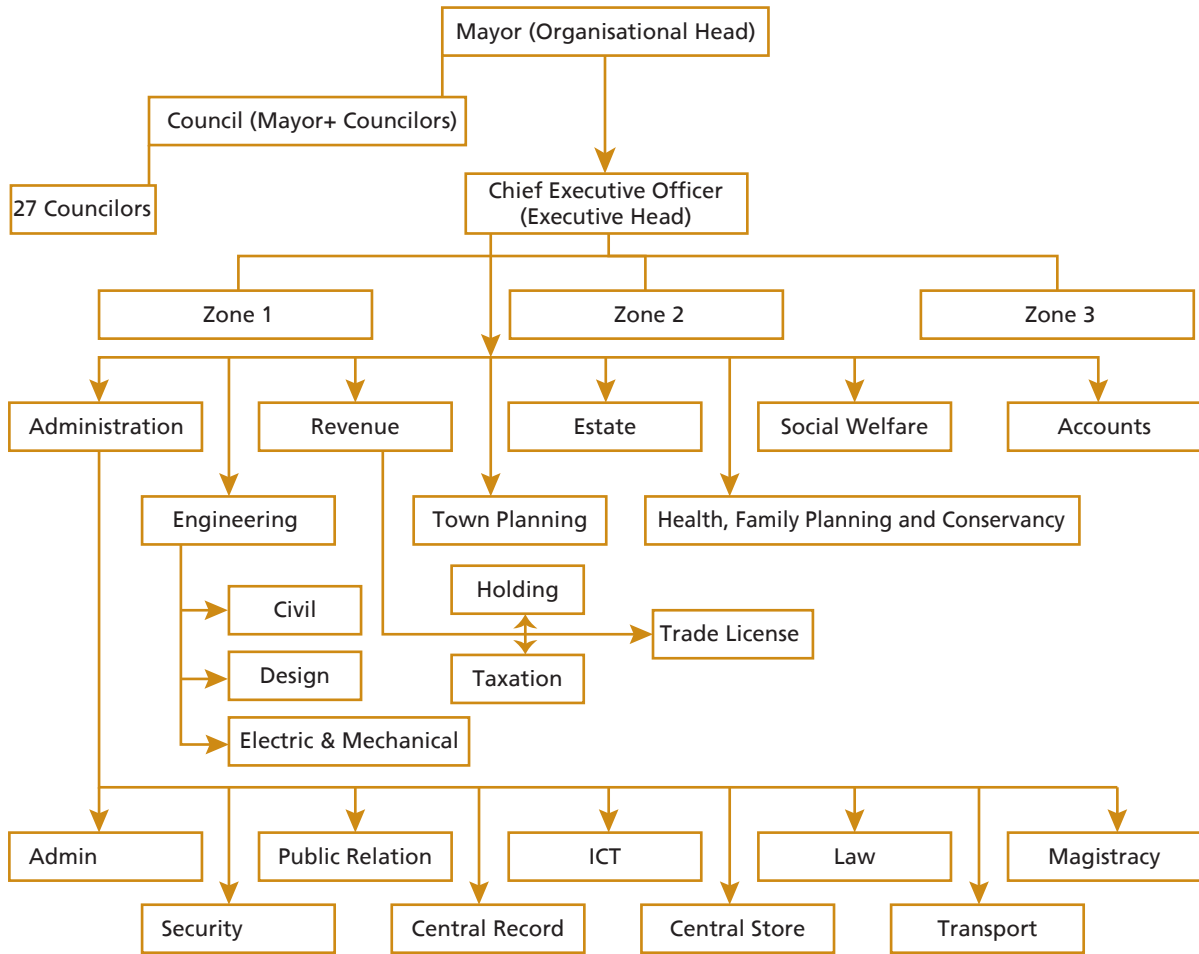


Figure 1: Organogram of Narayanganj City Corporation



In the context of Narayanganj, the Mayor acts as the organisational head of the City Corporation and the chief executive officer acts as the executive head. There are twenty seven councilors from 27 wards and nine women councilors (one from each three wards). These councilors were elected at the same time as the mayor. To implement the developmental works and effective service delivery to its dwellers, the City Corporation has initiated 22 standing committees comprising of councilors.

On the administrative side, the secretariat of the City Corporation is headed by the Chief Executive Officer (CEO). The CEO is responsible to execute and implement all developmental and service delivery related activities of the City Corporation through the City Corporation office as well as two zonal offices situated in Siddhirganj and Kadamrasul. These zonal offices work to ensure the root level service of these zones along with the city corporation and the zonal offices have separate administrative wings to assess and collect the tax or issue trade licenses, *rickshaw/van* licenses, and sayratmahal leasing. These zonal offices have engineering wings to follow up the engineering

works in those specific areas. Moreover, there are health and conservancy wings to coordinate these works with the central office of the city corporation.

1.3 The context

Understanding and analysing the concept of city governance has gone through significant changes in the last few decades. While the early literature on city governance and urbanisation focused on the developed countries, newer literature since the 1970s started linking urbanisation in both developed and developing countries within the context of a global economic order (Rimmer and Dick, 2009). Moreover, the developing countries experienced a massive wave of industrialisation, which shaped the infrastructural development and policy responses of the city officials in the third world. Thus, recent literature on city governance in South Asia or South-East Asia places special emphasis on the linkage of the market of the third world cities with the global market and argue that globalisation has affected the structural and institutional dynamics of the governing of cities (Post and Baud, 2002; Hobsbawn, 1996; Mittelman, 2000).

However, many have argued that globalisation has certain negative consequences, including inequality and social exclusion. On the other hand, democratisation and development of democratic practices have resulted in decentralisation, participatory decision-making and electoral accountability in cities which has forced the policy makers of these urban centers to pay close attention to the demand and aspiration of the voters. However, economic and political reality often presents two different and conflicting expectation sets for the urban policy makers of the third world – at one end there is the expectation of synchronising with the global economic order, even through sacrificing portions of the society, if necessary, and on the other, there is the expectation of providing necessary services to the people at a reasonable cost.

This dilemma leads to a relentless search for ‘effective and efficient’ management practices. Since the early 1990s, public administration scholars have often argued that the traditional administrative setup is inadequate for effective and efficient management, and for the betterment of service delivery it is essential for the government to learn and work together with different non-profit and private sector actors (e.g. Salamon, 2002). Based on this contextual reality, we argue that in order to have an understanding of the state of cities in Bangladesh, the following issues should be taken under consideration:

- The economic reality - the economic pressure on the city governments to collect and allocate resources to foster economic development exerted by the global market or the central government
- The political reality - the pressure exerted through the electoral groups and different Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) to respond to the needs and demands of the citizens

- The policy response - the actual decision of the city governments in terms of collecting and allocating resources
- Management of expectation- the use and abuse of the governance framework to manage the expectations set in the previous stage

1.4 Perspective followed to understand urban governance within political and economic reality

A key focus of this report is to develop an in-depth understanding of the service delivery process that is practiced in the city of Narayanganj which will allow us to identify the stimulating and vibrant actors who are performing and interacting with each other to ensure access to services for the citizens in a newly formed city corporation. This will in turn provide us with an understanding of the economic and political realities of the city and how these realities are managed through the city's governance process.

The earlier studies that focused on the service delivery process in Bangladesh concentrated mainly on the quality of services and emphasised the elite structures of urban governance. Therefore, they analysed urban governance only as a top-down approach and equated it with the implementation of policies and programmes. However, although the role of the actors performing at the top-most positions in the governing process is important to analyse to get a sense of urban governance, this actually does not allow us to grasp the complete scenario; rather, we have to consider and analyse the role played by the actors performing at the lower level with whom the city dwellers interact on a regular basis. Moreover, the ground level actors are the crucial [f]actors, and the performance of city government depends on the level of satisfaction of the receivers. This research is also significant from this point of view.

As stated earlier, recent studies on urban governance have concentrated on analysing the processes of housing, infrastructure development and service delivery systems. There are two key limitations of these studies. First, most of these studies analyse service delivery systems from a traditional public administration perspective and therefore only look at the hierarchical structure of the service delivery system. As a result, they often fail to capture the complex dynamics at play at the ground level that determines who gets access to services, with whom they interact in gaining this access and how, in reality, they ensure this access. Second, as evident from the earlier point, there are a few studies that attempt to analyse the quality of service delivered, but while doing so these studies often fail to identify the actors involved the service delivery process and do not adequately address how the variation in roles and interaction among the actors generate different types of outcomes. For example, now the governments acknowledge the role played by the Non-Government Organisation (NGOs), Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), and local level elected representatives and have moved towards developing a mechanism of interaction through which

better services can be delivered to the people. This important dimension has not been adequately addressed in contemporary literature. We argue that these shortcomings of the existing studies significantly limit their contribution to understanding urban governance.

Getting a sense of these issues is significant, as it would determine the performance of a service delivery system.

1.5 Methodology

To understand the above-stated issues, we have used a mixed-method research approach combining qualitative investigation and quantitative survey techniques. We have used the qualitative techniques to examine and unearth the mechanisms through which service is delivered within the NCC. Thirty six interviews and four Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were carried out to understand the existing practice of service delivery and the governance system of Narayanganj.

In case of service providers, the experiences of the officials of these agencies in relation to problems and prospects of services provided by their respective agencies were discussed and understood. The qualitative research also included interviewing the local politicians and ward councilors working closely to ensure the service delivery system of NCC. These techniques helped us to apprehend the risks and challenges that these organisations face in urban governance to ensure the services. At the same time, data collected from these interviews and FGDs were also used to provide an in-depth analysis of the survey findings. Existing literature was reviewed throughout the whole process of the study.

1.5.1 Sampling

According to Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) 2011, the total population of Narayanganj city corporation area is 502,089. We calculated the sample size using standard statistical formula with 95% confidence level and with permissible margin of error of 5%. Thus, taking 50% as P value (which yields maximum of sample size) the sample size has been calculated as 384. Further, considering 5% as non-response, the calculated sample size is 403.

Since the study intends to have a comparative situation analysis regarding the satisfaction on Urban Service Delivery among two categories of inhabitants of Narayanganj city - poor people living in slums and citizens not living in slums - the total sample size thus would be twice the number of respondents ($403 \times 2 = 806$), which will yield estimation for each category. Lists of slum and non-slum households were sampled separately, as there were differences between them.

Finally, based on the national population statistics, based on the experience of national-level survey, the proportion of inhabitants of Narayanganj city was used to re-allocate the sample

distribution for each category. The following table gives the category-wise sampling distribution for the study:

Table 1: Total sample size by category:

Population Category	Percentage of inhabitants in each category in Narayanganj City	Sample distribution for the study
Non slum	75.41	608
Slum	24.59	198

❑ Sampling for non-slum:

The 648 households were selected from non-slum areas of Narayanganj City Corporation. In each of the selected geographical locations, *mahallas* (neighbourhood) were considered as the PSU (Primary Sampling Unit). In each selected PSU, 24 households were interviewed and thus a total of 27 PSUs were included in the survey. For a better representation of the City Corporation, *mahallas* were selected randomly from the wards of Narayanganj.

For each of the selected location, the list of mahallas was collected from the Population Census 2011 (BBS). Each of the selected mahallas was assessed for their number of population. To do that, the mahallas were divided into blocks in such a way so that each block contains 130-150 households. One block was randomly chosen for the survey. The enumerators started the survey from the North-Eastern corner of the block. All the households in this specific area were then listed using a 'quick-listing' format. The listing information included only the name and occupation of the household head. From each household, one adult member (age 18 or more) was interviewed. If one respondent was a man, a female respondent from the next household was purposively chosen to maintain equal distribution of men and women respondents in the survey. In case a respondent failed to respond to all the questions, any other member aware of the issues was allowed to respond to those questions for that specific 'household' interview.

❑ Sampling for slum

As it was hard to understand the socio-economic condition and characteristics of several areas and *mahallas* of Narayanganj City Corporation depending on BBS (2011) data set, a second data set for slum dwellers was developed by the State of Cities (SoC) team by listing slums within the city corporation area. The methodology consisted of interviews and group discussions with the local dwellers living in Narayanganj for many years and also well-known persons in the area.

The research tried to identify the slum area boundary and approximate population within the area through the consultations of key informants such as ward councilors, as well as community

members of 27 wards. Ten slums from the accumulated list were randomly chosen as PSUs. Again, each PSU was divided into blocks (if the slum is large enough to divide into blocks, otherwise, the entire slum was considered for listing). The survey followed the same methodology as the non-slum areas.

1.6 Themes

The SoC has focused on the following conceptual themes:

[a] Urban governance

The UN-Habitat (2002) definition of urban governance is “[...] the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action can be taken. It includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements and the social capital of citizens” (UN-Habitat, 2002). Through this definition, in addition to formal urban governance settings, informal-sector economy and organisations, socio-political commitments and movements and interactions were integrated within the analysis of governance, recognising that these elements are nevertheless contributory in the development of developing world cities, as well as having a significant influence on the urban landscape. It recognises the variety of different stakeholders partaking in the urban governance process (Lange, 2009). This study used this definition as the basic starting point and relying on that, made an effort to develop a contextualised definition of urban governance which identifies the variety of actors involved in the process of governing, specifies political and administrative responsibility bestowed upon these actors and describes the different types of relationships that prevail among them. In effect, the research considers urban governance as a process for materialising the demands of citizens, instead of presenting some prescribed indicators of good urban governance.

[b] Pseudo-urbanisation of developing countries, including Bangladesh

Terry McGee (1971) argued for a different urbanisation track taken by the third world societies from that of the western world. McGee referred to ‘pseudo-urbanisation’ as ‘the characteristics of the city are increasingly determined by new arrivals retaining in their past cultures, rather than by arrivals’ assimilation of some established urban culture’ (McGee, 1971, quoted in Sinclair, 1979). The definition asserts that the city in which significant growth in the absence of adequate infrastructure has taken place will be deemed as “pseudo-urbanised”.

Bangladesh has been experiencing in-migration of people from the relatively impoverished rural villages to urban areas for the last two decades. The people migrating to the urban areas have limited professional skills and education. And to maintain their minimum standard of living, they usually start working in the industrial areas, especially in the garment sector. It is evident that, the sectors they work in have limited job and accommodation facilities. As a result, the newcomers

often reside in the slum areas, where urban services are inadequate or absent. Although slums are developed without basic services, these are rapidly turned into the principal living place for the urban poor. However, the poor people living in the slum areas and working in the industries make a significant contribution to the economic development of a city. Through its focus on the urban areas the research has shown how the people experience and are affected by lack of basic services in the slum areas.

[c] Third wave of democracy and democratic decentralisation

According to the view of Samuel Huntington, the history of democracy is not stable, it goes through transitions and a sequence of wave flows that have progressive, regressive, then turned in and crested again versions. Huntington identifies three historical waves of democracy - he defines 'wave of democratisation' as "a group of transitions from nondemocratic to democratic regimes that occur within a specified period of time and that significantly outnumber transitions in the opposite direction during that period" (Huntington, 1991, quoted in Diamond, 1997). He identifies two previous waves of democratisation (a long slow wave from 1828 to 1926 and a second post-WWII wave, from 1943 to 1964). In each of these two previous reverse waves, some but not all of the newly established (or re-established) democracies broke down. Overall, in each reverse wave, the number of democracies in the world decreased significantly but left more democracies in place than had existed prior to the start of the previous democratic wave (Diamond, 1997).

According to Huntington (1991), since the 1970s we are witnessing the "third wave of democratisation" and democratic principles have spread out throughout the world and affected the political landscape of a number of developing countries. Decentralisation is considered as an important element of the democratisation process, which is usually defined as the transfer of powers from central government to lower levels in a political-administrative and territorial hierarchy (Crook and Manor, 1998; Agarwal and Ribot, 1999; Larson, 2005). Therefore, real decentralisation almost certainly leads to the enhancement of democratic opportunities at the local level (Stren, 2003). In fact, 'democratic decentralisation' refers to the transfer of authority to representative and downwardly accountable actors, such as elected local governments. To merit the 'democratic decentralisation', however, these representative and accountable local actors should have an autonomous, discretionary decision-making sphere with the power and resources to make decisions that are significant to the lives of local residents (Ribot, 2002, quoted in Larson, 2005).

In the context of Bangladesh, The enactment of the City Corporation Act of 2011 has created a unique opportunity for practicing democratic decentralisation in the urban areas. In this report, through using the experiences of NCC, we have shown how this exercise of democratic decentralisation is being carried out and how it is affecting the governing process of the cities.

[d] Urbanisation and economic development

Urbanisation and economic development have long been regarded as inter-connected processes. The UN-Habitat's report, *State of the World Cities 2010/2011: Bridging the Urban Divide* has also concentrated and asserted this argument. Hughes and Cain (2003) asserted that, "the development history of many present day developed nations has clearly demonstrated a dramatic rise in urbanisation as a result of their economic growth". The same observation can be made in case of the developing countries and in fact, in these countries, the urban areas have become the major hub of industrial activities, which not only provides employment opportunities for the urban populace but also generates new channels of economic development.

As the study shows, in case of Narayanganj, rapid urbanisation has been complemented by the growth of a number of mills and factories and the city has become one of the major industrial centres of the country. The growth of the city and its role in the economic development of the country raises two important questions- first, what role should the city government play to ensure that the city remains connected with the global economic centres while continuing its contribution to the local economy? Second, as pointed out in the discussion on city governance, given that economic development requires concentration of resources in the industrial sector, this often generates inequality within the society and encourages the sacrifice of the group of people who cannot contribute to economic development; and this generates new challenges for the city governments. As elected officials they are responsible for the well-being of the citizens and a key question they have to address is how can they protect the interest of all the citizens, while ensuring the continuation of economic growth? In a country like Bangladesh, which suffers from pseudo-urbanisation, these questions become even more important.

[e] Political reality of service delivery

As the political representatives are elected through democratic elections in Bangladesh, ensuring services to the citizens is very important to them. As a result, they try to influence the policies or the implementation process in a way that will benefit themselves (their prospect of reelection) or the interest they represent. However, their interest- representation is constrained by three factors- first, the increasing demand for better services placed on the elected representatives by the dwellers which may compel the political actors to deliver or divert resources in a certain way; second, the involvement of the third party actors like CSOs, NGOs, think tanks who have their own interest and play a crucial role in ensuring the accountability of the political actors and the third is the discretionary power enjoyed by the 'street level bureaucracy', who by virtue of their own power can subvert the goal of the policy as assumed by the other actors within the network. Therefore, ensuring services to the citizens in an effective and efficient way is essentially a

complicated political process and managing this complicated political process is probably the most important aspect of the governance procedures at the city level.

In the different chapters of this report, we have used these concepts to analyse different issues, to make our arguments and to develop our recommendations.

1.7 Overview of chapters

Chapter 2 deals with the city governance system of Narayanganj. In line with the argument provided above, the chapter starts by explaining the dilemmas faced by the city governments at the current time. At the same time, it argues that the existing definition of urban governance is not really adequate in explaining the situation of the developing countries and to deal with that, the chapter offers an alternative narrow definition and argues:

For the sake of developing this definition, our main focus is on the interaction between the actors interested in governing the cities and the outcome of this interaction. Therefore, we have mainly followed the definition developed by DiGaetano and Klemanski (1999) who emphasise that analysis of the governing process of cities requires the understanding of the complex interaction that takes place between the "urban social, political and economic environment" and the local political structure and decision-making processes. The interaction between these two factors constitutes what is known as "city governance".

Based on this definition, the chapter makes efforts to explain the process of governing that exists in Narayanganj City Corporation and explore how far the current state of governing in Narayanganj is from the desired state of 'governance'. The chapter mainly depends on qualitative data that has been collected for the purpose of this study and based on interviews and FGDs with the residents of the city, makes few important observations.

The chapter points out that the city corporation can play an important role to enhance the economic development of the area and this role of the city corporation should be taken into consideration by the central government.

Chapter 3 provides a description of different types of services available to the residents of Narayanganj City Corporation and explores the accessibility of these services to them. At the same time, based on survey data, the chapter attempts to describe whether the accessibility relies on economic or social status of the people. It also analyses the dynamics of service delivery within the city corporation and examines the level of satisfaction of the citizens with regard to the services received by them.

Chapter 4 highlights the taxation and revenue issues of the Narayanganj City Corporation. From the historical analysis of taxation, the chapter has given importance to the economic reality of

taxation in Narayanganj. It is evident from the research that, specific policies designed for taxation have limited focus on fostering industrial growth. The limitation has been seen in the collection and assessment of tax. However, it is important to assert here that, the industrial and economic development of the city area depends on the actual execution and availability of funds that depend on city tax.

Current land use in the city of Narayanganj is skewed towards economic purposes. Such land use dimension, coupled with its associated growing informal intermediation in urban land use, squeezes social use of urban land leading to an unlivable city. Key players to use urban land in this manner are industrialists, government organisations, the city corporation, industrial workers and private land owners. A citizens' movement is widely witnessed to change this course of land use in Narayanganj. In this line, chapter 5 on "Urban Land Use and Social Space" analyses trends of urban land use in Narayanganj city. The objective of this chapter is to identify pressing issues behind economically dominant use of urban land and diminishing trend of social space, and in light of this analysis, put forward policy recommendations for a balanced land use in order to make the city more equitable and environmentally, economically and socially livable.

The report ends with a conclusion which summarises the main contributions of the chapters in this report and proposes ways forward for further research on the issue of urban governance.

CHAPTER 2

City Government: Contextualising the Concept in Narayanganj

2.1 Introduction: We are living in a world of cities

In the last few decades, the growth of urban centres throughout the world has received significant attention. It is assumed that in today's world, almost 50% of the total population is living in the urban centres. This massive growth of the process of urbanisation will continue. The urban factor has thus become a major issue in the development discourses, especially because the "...trend looks set to continue, particularly in poor countries" (Feys and Verlé, 2007, p.4). But, in the developing countries urbanisation has been "rapid", "chaotic" and due to the lack of a proper management plan, the urban factor in these countries is causing an increase in the level and extent of urban poverty.

In recent years, the development organisations have started to focus more on the effect of urbanisation in the developing countries as studies and projections are showing an alarming scenario for these countries. According to one such study, "virtually all of the projected population increase of about two billion people during 2001 to 2030 will take place in the urban areas," (ibid, 2007, p.14) and of these two billions, half will find their place in the urban slums. Moreover, in the least developed countries, 78 percent of the total urban population will live in low-income settlements and slums. This actually creates a major challenge, as the city governments have to respond to the excessive demands placed on them by the ever-growing population with limited resources. In effect, in case of developing countries, rapid and chaotic urbanisation has curbed the ability of the city governments to provide the dwellers with necessary citizen services, including

access to utility services (World Bank, 2002), waste management facilities (Ahmed and Quader, 2011) and others.

Given that urbanisation is strongly correlated with economic growth, the perils of urbanisation have remained largely unnoticed. Recent studies identify two key reasons behind this:

First, the correlation paradigm has actually generated a false assumption in case of the developing countries. The urban development literature failed to take under consideration that "urbanisation is a context-specific and complex process involving socio-economic, political, environmental and spatial aspects," (Feys and Verlé, 2007, p.4) and as such often concentrated on a one-size-fits all analysis of urbanisation while relying mainly on the experiences of the developed democracies. The problem with this is, in most of the developing countries, urbanisation does not take place in a systematic or planned way, rather this phenomenon is the outcome of a combination of the push-pull factors. In these cases, weak agricultural development functions as a push factor which encourages a huge migration from the rural to the urban areas. As the agricultural sector concentrated in the rural areas fails to provide employment opportunities for many and/or as income generated through this sector becomes insufficient in meeting the needs of the growing population, the rural workers are forced to look for non-agricultural jobs, which eventually forces them to move to the urban areas. Failure to understand these particular contextual issues of the developing countries have resulted in delayed attention in regard to the problems of urbanisation.

Second, there is another false assumption at play—the urban poor are living in a relatively better condition than that of their rural counterparts. However, studies on urban poverty have pointed out the limitation of these assumptions and identified problems that urban poor people face, particularly in accessing urban services.

The focus on an effective and efficient management of public services has thus become a key part of the urban development literature, and as such they have pointed out the importance of including the relevant stakeholders in urban planning to ensure sustainable urban development. At the same time, since the early 1970s, another significant shift has taken place in terms of analysing urban development when it became evident that a global economic order is linking all the urban areas of the world (Rimmer and Dick, 2009). This realisation makes it clear that urban centers throughout the world are not isolated entities, rather in a globalised world they are closely linked with each other. Furthermore, industrialisation was not merely a phenomenon that was prevalent only in the West, rather the third world countries witnessed a massive wave of industrialisation which largely shaped the infrastructural development and policy responses of the city officials of the third world.

Recent literature on the city governance of South Asia or South-East Asia places special emphasis on this linkage of the market of the third world cities with the global market and argue that globalisation has affected the structural and institutional dynamics of governing of the cities. As Post and Baud (2002) argue, the new international economic order is being dominated by

international “financial centers, global markets and transnational corporations,” and through the development of a new phase of capitalism, widely known as “flexible production, lean production or post-Fordism,” the governance of economies in the third world cities has significantly altered as these city governments are now acting “as the facilitators of international capital, rather than as the caretakers of social equity and well-being” (Hobsbawm, 1996; Mittelman, 2000). Therefore, globalisation and linkage with the global economic market have encouraged the city governments to focus more on ensuring support for industrial development.

At the same time, existing studies also argue that globalisation has certain negative consequences, including social exclusion – “the new global economy has produced a new type of inequality, one that is primarily social and cuts across nations.” (Post and Baud, 2002) According to the logic of the global economic order, the portions of the society that “no longer perform” useful functions either as “producers or consumers” (ibid) are excluded from the economic benefit and face the negative consequences. Thus, the existing economic reality provides the city governments with an expectation set deemed to be necessary for economic development.

However, since the third wave of democracy, the political landscape of the urban areas of the developing countries has also shifted significantly. Democratisation and development of democratic practices have resulted in decentralisation, participatory decision-making and electoral accountability, which have forced the policy makers of these urban centers to pay close attention to the demand and aspiration of the voters. This has forced the policy makers with a new type of expectation set— the one imposed on them by the electorates and supposed to be implemented by the bureaucracy. It is necessary to point it out that the economic and the political reality often presents two different and conflicting expectation sets for the urban policy makers of the third world – at one end, there is the expectation set of synchronising with the global economic order even through sacrificing portions of the society, if necessary, and on the other, there is the expectation of providing necessary services to the people at a reasonable cost. Therefore, the basic challenge for the city government is to manage these conflicting expectation sets through strategically collecting and allocating resources in an effective and efficient way.

The discussion so far indicates the challenges faced by the city governments. In effect, the city officials are forced to assume the role of the “juggler” (ibid) where their main concern becomes how to allocate the resources in an effective and efficient way so that at one end, they can satisfy their electorates and thus protect their hold on power and on the other, can ensure an effective linkage with the global economic order to ensure the financial health of their cities. This is in fact a complex procedure as this includes the following:

- The elected officials of the city government have to be keen in feeling the pulse of the electorates; they have to be understanding, responsive and responsible for their actions as failure to do so will mar their political future

- Ensuring access to services for all the electorates is even more difficult given that they have to work with limited resources. As such, they have to prioritise the needs and there is a possibility that a significant portion of the electorate will be deprived of access to the services
- Furthermore, ensuring the financial stability of the cities is also problematic as that forces them to allocate resources in certain economic areas to foster economic development, sometimes at the cost of cutting resources now available to the urban poor. This is where the juggling becomes relevant, i.e. balancing economic development with social services provided to the poor
- In addition to these economic and electoral considerations, some other issues are at play here. For instance, there is always concern about the actual power and authority of the city governments in the developing countries since in these countries the central government often exercises a large degree of control over the government officials. While the urban governments have mandates and responsibilities, in many cases they have to depend on the central bureaucracy or autonomous government agencies to carry out the service delivery functions and the problem of coordination limits their authority
- Finally, the city governments are essentially political actors in the broader arena and as such they are subject to pressure exerted upon them by the local political or economic elites, NGOs and CSOs functioning within their jurisdictions

Therefore, governing the city is extremely difficult, problematic and chaotic and it is essential to have a complete grasp of the procedure. However, in recent times, various efforts have been taken to ensure the effective management of the cities and the most popular of them is shifting the role of the city governments from governing to governance. In the next sub-section of this report, we explain the concept, discuss its limits and strengths, and make an effort to develop an alternative framework for analysing the governing process of cities.

2.2 From government to governance: A shift in governing

The search for “effective and efficient” management practices is not new, and in fact it is the fundamental concern for any public administration set-up. At the central government level, in the last few decades, the administrative realm has experienced transformation of government processes into “strategies of governance” (Kettl, 2002, P. 118). In terms of delivering services to the people, the traditional government framework has certain basic features. First, to deliver goods and services, it relies on the operation of the government agencies. Direct government involvement is considered to be the only possible form of public action and funding for services and the services themselves should be provided by the public entities. Second, the government activities should be carried out through a hierarchical structure which would ensure “clear lines of responsibility and control” for “neutral professionals” organised in these agencies (Salamon, 2002, P. 6). Thirdly, the government framework argues that as the public sector reflects the democratic

will of the people, only this sector reserves the right of working on behalf of them. As a result, the government framework developed a sharp distinction between the public and the private sectors, which allowed the presence of, "...tension between government and private sector" (Salamon, 2002). Fourthly, as this framework focuses on hierarchical structure and clear lines of responsibility, it argues for command and control as basic mode of operation for the public agencies.

The process-oriented emphasis raises concern about the effectiveness of the traditional framework. At the same time, as the demands on the government have increased significantly, the functions of the same have subsequently increased and have become more complex. As such, it becomes impossible for the government or the government agencies to carry out all these functions on its own and consequently, the government has moved away from direct intervention to indirect provision relying on a number of third parties which include non-profits organisations, commercial banks, state and local governments etc. The government has started to share its once monopolistic elements of public authority like, "...the exercise of discretion over the use of public authority and the spending of public funds" with third party actors (Salamon, 2002, P. 2).

These new processes of service delivery through new actors— third party— call for a new framework. In this new framework, governance broadens the concept of government and, "...describes the processes and institutions through which social action occurs, which might or might not be governmental" (Kettl, 2002, P. 119). At one end, it has opened up the opportunity for other actors— private and non-profit sector— to participate in meeting the need of the people and on the other, it has created new opportunities to address public problems. While the traditional government emphasised establishing a relationship between the administration and the government, the new governance framework concentrates on establishing a relationship between the government and the society (Kettl, 2002).

2.3 Limitation of the concept of governance: The need for alternative

As the introduction of governance as a concept and incorporation of other actors in governing becomes a popular and acceptable norm in case of governing at the central level, a refined version of this has been propagated for the urban governments. However, before moving into the discussion of city governance, few issues should be made clear. First, despite the popularity and wide acceptance of the concept by the development organisations, "governance" has been criticised to be normative and ambiguous. According to Evans *et al* (2005)

"Governance is used in a normative manner to describe a move towards a process where the formal institutions of government enter into a dialogue about the policy process with actors from civil society...However, like so many other terms and concepts that have a significant normative dimension, once this is stripped away, definition and analysis are less clear. The concept carries a high level of ambiguity and it is not altogether obvious that a clear dividing line

may be drawn between the processes of government, on the one hand, and those of governance, on the other".

Pointing out this particular characteristic of the concept is important as it indicates that governance is actually the reflection of "an ideal type" of governing, *i.e.* governance and governing are not the same and in fact, the process of governing as suggested by the development organisations should make effort to reach to the "governance framework". Therefore, a crucial task for any analysis is to find out how successful the effort has become to come close to 'governance' and what factors are holding these efforts back.

Second, the normative focus of the concept is reflected through the definitions provided for it. For instance, according to UN-Habitat, urban governance is defined as, "...the sum of the many ways [in which] individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action taken" (UN-Habitat, 2002). Similarly, The European Union (EU) in its *European Governance: A White Paper* (EC, 2001) has identified five principles of governance, *i.e.* *openness, participation, accountability, effectiveness* and *coherence*, "which should apply to all levels of government, from the local to the global" (Evans *et al*, 2005, p. 12). Two specific observations can be made about these definitions:

- Both definitions focus on what should be done to ensure effective governing and what the characteristics of this effective governing are
- Due to this concentration on what should be done, the concept rarely takes under consideration "the context of the social, economic and political relations of the particular society in question" (*ibid*).

In fact, it is important to note that the processes of governing, *i.e.* planning and managing the common affairs of the cities, do not take place in a political vacuum. Therefore, while analysing the governance of any sector, be it national or local, it is extremely important to put special emphasis on including the socio-political or economic condition within the analysis.

Thirdly, existing literature on governance also points out that the concept can be analysed from two different perspectives— the state-centric or the society-centric. In case of the first one, governance is regarded "...as a response to the changing circumstances of power relations in a move to secure more reflexive modes of public decision-making that can circumvent both market failure and the problems of 'rational-bureaucratic' state action" (*ibid*). This is actually an adaptation of the mode of ruling and as such does not alter the existing power relationship of the society at large. In these cases, the state agencies and/or the government still plays the pivotal role while creating the channel of participation for different groups of the society in the decision-making process.

On the other hand, the society-centric approach actually advocates for "a radical realignment of power relations towards those who have historically been excluded" (*ibid*). In this particular case,

the position of the government agencies in the decision-making process goes through significant change and the government as an actor does not possess any additional power in the planning or management process, rather it works together with the other non-state actors and enjoys an equal status. This particular approach has been defined by Kooiman (2003) in the following way:

"...the totality of interactions, in which public as well as private actors participate, aimed at solving societal problems or creating societal opportunities; attending to the institutions as contexts for these governing institutions; and establishing a normative foundation for all those activities" (Kooiman, 2003, P. 4).

If we take under consideration the aforesaid limitations of the concept of governance, it is possible to develop the following arguments:

First, governance at any level is in fact a process of governing, and in an abstract way, it is the ideal process of governing. At the same time, the generic definition of the concept does not help us much in analysing the state of governance and it is necessary to develop a workable definition.

Second, while developing this definition, it is essential to reflect on the existing socio-political and economic context, as the process of governing does not take place in a vacuum.

Thirdly, this analysis of the socio-political and economic context will lead us to the next stage, i.e. identifying the perspective of the analysing governance. The ground reality of the locality in question will help us to understand which perspective of analysis should be followed— are we moving towards a state-centric approach or are we relying on the society-centric one?

These three issues combined together can significantly narrow down the concept of governance and this is what we plan to do in this year's *State of Cities* (SoC) report. In fact, in the last year's SoC, we did point out the inadequacy of the present universalistic governance framework in analysing the state of cities, but we stopped short of developing an alternative framework. This year, we plan to develop this framework. Relying on the findings of the last year's SoC and secondary literature, we have made an effort to develop this framework, which helps us in defining city governance in a narrow sense.

2.4 City governance: The alternative framework

As indicated earlier, the shift from 'government' to 'governance' not only affected the management of the central government, it had also influenced management at the local government, especially at the urban centers. In the past, the local government agencies reflected the basic characteristics of the centralised bureaucratic organisations of the national level. The local government had the responsibility of implementing policies as designed by the central level and it was often seen as a "bureaucratic organisation, operating within well-established rules and patterns of behavior" (Evans et al, 2005, p. 26). Like the central level bureaucracy, the local administration also worked within a closed environment where the participation or penetration of

the outside actors was highly discouraged. However, rapid urbanisation, extensive pressure on the existing resource base not only created pressure on this closed administration but also forced them to realise that solving the dilemma of urban government is a herculean task which can never be managed by the local government bodies alone. Over time, it became quite clear that the local government agencies need to learn from citizens and local organisations, should engage in constant consultation with them and "local governments should foster partnerships with other organisations in order to both mobilise support and to promote knowledge and local capacity" (Evans *et al*, 2005, p. 4). The need felt by the local government caused a significant shift in the process of the governing and the city officials are now reaching out to "learn, to promote knowledge and understanding, to promote dialogue, and to mobilise resources and energy, and through these activities to generate policies and public actions that will receive consent and support" (ibid).

However, given that the contextual factors are important, there should be significant variation in terms of the process of governing across countries. The degree of political power and status of the city governments, the role played by these bodies and the authorities bestowed upon them vary across countries and this variation will significantly affect the nature of governing. For instance, in the countries where city government can assume a relatively autonomous role, these governments will be able to design and implement policies on their own and this authority will encourage them to engage in high degree of governance practices. On the other hand, in the case of other countries, especially those of the developing ones, their power and authority are often curbed by the central government and as such these bodies have limited control over the agencies engaged in service delivery, and their ability to collect and allocate financial resources are controlled by the central government. In these cases, their process of governing is unlikely to reflect the basic characteristics of city governance.

As explained earlier, the process of governing also includes the juggling of interests which also depends on the status, power and authority of the city governments as allowed by the central government. In fact, due to the development of global economic order, the business elites have gained significant importance in the governing process and they always try to influence the policy design and policy implementation procedure to foster their economic interest. However, their focus of exerting influence depends on the locus of power, *i.e.* if the city governments enjoy enough authority, they will try to play an active role there and in other cases, they will concentrate mainly on influencing policies at the central level, as their success of doing so will eventually protect their interest.

Furthermore, the formation and strengthening of electoral accountability also creates pressure on the mode of governing, as the city officials are well aware of the fact that without satisfying their support base, it is unlikely for them to continue their hold on the office. In effect, the introduction of the basic principles of governance (even the most lenient effect) can create the channel for both the local elites and the urban poor to gain access to the city governing process. In case of the urban

poor, when they lack the capacity to participate, they can try to gain access through the non-profit agencies or through their elected representatives.

Based on the discussion above, it is now possible to identify the actors who can effectively participate in the governing process. First, the business elites are important actors in the process, especially due to their connection with the global economy. They do have certain demands and they try to push that forward both at the policy development stage and at the implementation stage. However, as indicated earlier, their intention of doing so in the governing process of the city will depend on the existing authority of the city officials. Second, the citizens as voters have also become important especially at the time when the impact of electoral accountability is strongly felt. Thirdly, the NGOs and the other non-profit agencies have gained access to the process and they can create an impact through their connection with the international development partners or through representing the voice of the poor. Fourthly, in case of the developing countries, their historical experiences have made the bureaucracy an important actor in the whole process. As described by Jahan and Shahan (2013), in these countries due to their specific pattern of political development, the bureaucracy has become one of the most powerful actors in the policy process. In most cases, the developing countries have gone through the experience of colonial rule and are now transitioning towards democracy after a significant period of authoritarian rule. The colonial and authoritarian rulers had allowed the bureaucracy to grow and they actually depended on this particular organ to govern their respective countries. As such, the bureaucracy has assumed a relatively autonomous role and is interested in protecting its power, position and interest. The discretionary power enjoyed by this organ is high and it has the ability to subvert or alter specific policy goals. For the city governments, an additional challenge is their lack of control over this organ.

Our previous report provides an excellent analysis of this and shows how this lack of control frustrates the city officials as they find that the central bureaucracy has their own institutional autonomy which is very difficult to challenge. Furthermore, due to a growing tension between the elected representatives at the local level and the government agencies, coordination between their respective activities is problematic which also negatively affects the process of governing. Finally, the city government officials' role should also be recognised. In fact, these elected officials are in constant need to "employ creative intervention in order to change structures. The emerging new hybrid form of governing 'implies a greater willingness to cope with uncertainty and open-endedness on the part of policy-framers'. In turn, citizens' concerns are assumed to be well informed (that is, based on information and knowledge) and they are perceived to seek better 'performance' from public agencies" (Stocker, 2002, p. 6; Evans *et al*, 2005, p. 13).

After identification of actors and analysis of their distinctive roles, it is now possible to develop a somewhat narrow definition of city governance in the context of the developing countries. For the sake of developing this definition, our main focus is on the interaction between the actors interested in governing the cities and the outcome of this interaction. Therefore, we have mainly

followed the definition developed by DiGaetano and Klemanski (1999) who emphasise that analysis of the governing process of cities requires the understanding of the complex interaction that takes place between the "urban social, political and economic environment" and the local political structure and decision-making processes. The interaction between these two factors constitutes what is known as "city governance."

However, the question is, how is this definition different from the other ones? What is the difference between "...the sum of the many ways [in which] individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city" and the complex interaction process that we are talking about? How is the outcome determined through the interaction we are stating different from the "continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action taken" (UN-Habitat, 2002, quoted in Evans *et al*, 2005) There are three key differences:

- In case of the existing definition, the focus is more on cooperation and collaboration between these actors and as such the importance of existing power relationships have been ignored. Realising this power relationship is important as this will define how the actors will interact with each other. In fact, instead of cooperation or collaboration, the actors will be more focused on pushing forward their specific interests. Henceforth, in case of the developing countries, a semi-autonomous bureaucratic agency may be more interested in preserving their status instead of cooperating with the elected officials and non-state actors, and in a similar way, the elected officials may be more interested in satisfying their clientele groups instead of serving the citizens.
- The definition provided by the development organisations concentrates on the management of cities, and thus ignores the impact of contextual factors which not only determine the intention of the actors but also points out that these actors come to the process in order to pursue different goals.
- In contrast to the existing definition of the governing process which argues for accommodation and cooperative actions, we point out that in the urban governing process, like all the other political processes, there will be winners and losers. At the same time, it is highly unlikely that the policy developed at the initial level will be implemented as intended. Rather, we argue that throughout the process of governing, especially at the implementation stages, efforts will be taken by a group of actors to deviate the designed policies towards their own intended goals.

In order to understand these differences, it is important to have a proper understanding of the interaction between these actors. In writing this report, we have followed and slightly modified the theoretical framework developed by DiGaetano and Klemanski (1999) who have identified three critical elements of urban governance— political economy, urban governing agenda and governing alignment.

In the context of Bangladesh, we have divided the first critical element into two groups— the economic demand and the political demand. By economic demand, we mean the "context of rapid economic development" which has taken place within the urban areas in the last few decades and our goal is to explore what types of challenges have been generated due to this massive industrialisation. We also agree with the basic definition of DiGaetano and Klemanski (1999) regarding the political aspect and we have defined political demand as the pressure imposed on the city government through intergovernmental networks, the electorate and the other non-state actors. Thus, we have decided to define and analyse the critical element of governance, *i.e.* political economy, separately to explore the different dimensions of political and economic demands in the context of Bangladesh and how these two factors eventually determine the policy responses at the urban level. We argue that in determining the urban governing agenda, the ruling elites, at least theoretically, have to balance between these two demands and as such, the eventual urban governing agenda, at the level of policy responses, reflect a compromise between these two. In other words, at one end, the city government wants to respond to the economic need of the business elites as positively as it can (given that they have the authority) and on the other, while doing that, it tries to function within the boundary set by the central government, government administration and electoral demands of the general mass. At this point, it is important to re-emphasise the importance of this boundary as this will not only determine the roles and responsibilities of the city officials but also will determine the ability of them to interact and influence the other actors involved in the process.

In the context of Bangladesh, three specific observations can be made about the existing political and economic realities which impact the existing governing agenda at the city level:

First, the policy process of Bangladesh is considered to be extremely closed and even though the policy areas have opened up significantly in the last few years, so far the major economic policies are decided by the central government and the local governments are rarely, if ever, made a part of it.

Second, the centralisation of the policy process and the control of it by the ruling parties at the central level is well recognised by the business elites and as such, it is quite natural for them to exercise control at the national level policy making instead of at the local level. In fact, the successive State of Governance reports produced by the Institute of Governance Studies have shown how a 'businessisation of politics' has taken place at the national political arena and the business elites influence the policies not only through active lobbying and negotiations, but, in effect, they have started directly participating in the political process. The occupational pattern of the Members of Parliament who were elected in the last four parliamentary elections shows that most of them are right now engaged into various types of businesses and thus, in a way, the business elites are deciding the economic policies of the country. If that is the case, *i.e.* if the city governments lack the authority of developing specific economic policies and the business elites have complete control over the economic policy development of the country, it is unlikely that these elites will try to influence the activities of the city government. As a rational actor, this interest

group will participate or intervene only when the city government will try to jeopardise their interest and in other cases, they will not interact with this government.

Third, based on the above discussion, it can be argued that in the governing process of cities in Bangladesh, the initial determination of the governing agenda does not rest in the hands of the city governments. In effect, the city governments are stripped of the power of economic policy development at the very beginning and are left with mainly the function of service provision. Therefore, the focus of the governing agenda is being limited to deal with the political reality.

However, this does not mean that the city governments in Bangladesh do not have to balance or they do not have to interact with different actors. Needless to say, they still have to deal with central government agencies which are not comfortable in working with the city government; a bureaucracy which is mainly concerned with protecting its interest; the governing parties functioning at the national level which seriously lack political commitment in terms of allowing these governments to perform in a free, effective and efficient way; and a large group of electorates who have elected these city officials expecting some changes in their livelihood. Therefore, the city officials still have to balance and still have to play the role of the juggler, but the nature of the game is a little different— they focus on providing services to the electorates in an efficient and effective manner keeping in mind that they have to work within a certain boundary set by the national government and they have to function to satisfy the citizen groups through breaking the bureaucratic barriers. The question is, how do they perform this critical function in reality? The analysis of this process of governing not only shows the existing method of governing at the city level but also shows how far we are from the desired level of city governance and what steps can be taken to reach that goal. Therefore, understanding of the current governing process is extremely significant.

Up to this point, we have mainly relied on the existing literature to show how the economic context of the cities are changing, how these are trying to foster economic development by encouraging industrial growth and how this economic incentive of governing is being constrained by the political context. In the next subsection, we will explore the specific case of Narayanganj City Corporation to look into the boundary set by the central government, the tug-of-war regarding authority to provide service between the elected representatives and the central administration, the electoral promises of the representatives and how they try to balance all these through developing their very own governing agenda.

2.5 Applying the framework in Narayanganj City Corporation: Necessary adjustments

Narayanganj is one of the most densely populated cities of Bangladesh and is well-recognised as a port city of the country. At the same time, it is an old as well as famous urban unit and since the British colonial period, it has been considered an important urban administrative unit. The Narayanganj City Corporation, as we know it today, is comprised of three municipalities, the

Narayanganj Municipality (which was formed in 1876), the Kadam Rosul Municipality (which attained its municipality status in 1992) and Siddhirganj Municipality (which became so in 2003). The Narayanganj City Corporation was formed in 2011 and the current mayor is the first elected mayor of this city corporation. The total area of this city corporation is 72 sq km where 729,000 people live at present (Ivy, 2013).

The river Shitalakshya flows through the city corporation and by the side of this river a number of factories have been built. According to one respondent of the survey conducted, "of these mills and factories, more than 70% are producing readymade garments (RMG)", and our respondents agree that the readymade garment sector plays an important role in the economic development of the city, especially in terms of providing employment opportunities. However, a number of them have also pointed out that there are a significant number of heavy industries, which are situated on both sides of the river: "there are a number of cement factories. There are ship-building factories here and also textile factories, dyeing factories, etc. All in all, it is an important industrial city."

However, the growth of the industries and opportunities of employment have affected the demographic and economic dynamics of the entire city. For instance, due to the construction of the large number of factories, a number of people have migrated to this port city and, according to the estimates of our respondents, at least 50% to 60% of the people currently living in this city corporation have come from the rural portion of the country. Based on our interviews with key officials and the elected officials of the city corporation, we succeeded in identifying the following trends of rapid urbanisation in Narayanganj:

First, the growth of these factories and the large-scale migration to this place has significantly increased the level and extent of income inequality. Our finding suggests that even though the extensive economic growth has attracted the attention of the rural people and encouraged them to move to Narayanganj, they have only become part of the workforce and could not really succeed in improving their economic lot. The local poor people also did not benefit much as only a few local elites have control over the economic resources— "capital has been concentrated into the hands of very few and the poor are getting poorer", said one respondent. At the same time, these few economic elites are emerging as a very powerful group within the city.

Second, it is interesting to note that all the respondents of our study have identified Narayanganj as an extremely expensive city to live in and, according to them, the cost of living in the city is more expensive when compared with the capital city, Dhaka. They pointed out that, as Narayanganj has mainly become an industrial city, it does not produce food products to meet the needs of the citizens, and as such these products have to be imported which causes an extra burden for the poor living in this area.

Third, in this city, an economically segregated living pattern has developed as the poor and lower middle class people have started to live mainly on the eastern side of the Shitalakshya river. Most

of the people are working in different mills and factories that are situated by the riverbank. At the same time, most of these people are 'outsiders', i.e. they have come to the city from other places of the country. On the other hand, the rich people live on the western side of the river and there are certain pockets which are known as the 'rich locality', which includes *Jamtala*, *Deobhog*, *Missionpara*, *Khanpur*, etc. According to one respondent, "people living in this area are so rich that it does not matter to them if they spend Taka (BDT) 50,000 per month. They cannot even realise it" said one respondent. However, another respondent points out an interesting change in the living pattern— "most of the poor are now deciding to live closer to the city. Given that various facilities will be available to them, they are now living in the centres and as such ...[there are] a number of slums here. On the other hand, the rich are now looking for more peaceful places to stay", said one respondent. Our study indicates that the poorest of the poor of the city live in slums and the various citizen facilities available to them are extremely inadequate to meet their needs.

The trends identified above eventually create a number of challenges in the governing process. First, given that the city has become extremely dependent on different types of industries and its economic future has become tied to it, a key challenge will be to 'manage' this development so that the problem of unequal distribution can be mitigated. As we have discussed earlier, this is always tricky, as the city governments have to concentrate not only on the well-being of the citizens who did not succeed in reaping the benefit of industrialisation but also have to ensure that adequate opportunities are allowed for the investors. Second, the growing inequality and the development of slum areas make it critical for the city governments to ensure that necessary services, including access to utility services and maintenance of law and order, are provided to them in an efficient and effective manner. This is actually a key challenge for the city government, as they will need access and control over adequate resources and extensive authority on distribution of these resources to meet the demand of the populace.

In terms of analysing the governing process of Narayanganj City Corporation, our key research interest is to explore the process through which the city government is responding to these challenges. We are interested in identifying the actors involved in the governing process, the role and responsibilities of the city government as determined by law and their take on it, the problems they are facing and the way they are dealing with it etc. As we have argued before, a comprehensive analysis of this reflects the level and nature of city governance of the Narayanganj City Corporation.

However, before moving into that discussion, it is essential to point out two specific and interrelated issues. The first is closely related to the power and authority of the city corporation in terms of maintaining and exercising command over financial resources necessary for the city government. As we have pointed out in last year's State of Cities report, a key problem of the urban elected governments of Bangladesh is their dependence on the central government and administration. In Bangladesh, even though a number of efforts have been taken to decentralise

the government structures, these efforts often lack strong political commitment and in most cases, they have not been implemented properly. As such, in the urban governments, the agencies in charge of providing basic utility services like water, electricity, sanitation, etc. are still controlled by the central government agencies and they have remained outside the purview of the city governments. At the same time, there is a lack of coordination between these agencies and the city governments. In effect, "the elected representatives of municipal bodies are overseen and constrained by the central administration...its functions are controlled by a corresponding development authority...comprised of public officials who lack representation from the communities they are supposed to serve, and thus have a weak orientation to accountability and public responsiveness" (IGS, 2012, P. 9).

In our previous report, while exploring the reason behind this control of the local level government, based on empirical evidence, we have argued that the motivation of the ruling political parties have always played a key role in defining this specific kind of relationship. In fact, even though the elected governments of the country have always shown their commitment towards decentralisation on paper, they have always maintained a tight grip on the local government in practice: "successive ruling parties have reorganised urban local bodies to strengthen their political bases in an area. Thus, measures of decentralisation have been systematically appropriated by political parties' desire to penetrate their control and influence deep into the lower reaches of their administration and the society over which they govern" (IGS, 2012, P. 9). In case of the Narayanganj City Corporation, which is a new governing body, the constraint imposed by the central government is even more extensive. In a recent conference—which was organised by JICA in Japan—the newly elected mayor of the city corporation identified the following key hurdles:

- The management of human resources at the city corporation level is extremely problematic. The organogram of the city corporation has to be approved by the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives, which is time consuming and difficult. At the same time, even though the city corporation can recruit their own personnel, in most cases, these officials are posted on deputation by the central government, and in fact, the most important post of the city government CEO is always appointed from the central government bureaucracy and this career public official enjoys a significant degree of control over the city government activities
- There is a serious lack of coordination between these agencies and the city corporation, and sometimes the city corporation does not get necessary help from the deputy commissioners or police superintendent for maintaining law and order, public security and for mobile court drives. Citing an example, the mayor said, "sometimes these bodies (the city corporation) need lands but do not get lands whereas vast amount of vacant land, which belong to the central government authority, remain unused or occupied by the illegal possessor"

- Even though the city corporations are in charge of developing the master plan for the cities, in most cases (including Narayanganj), the city corporation does not have the authority to do such planning and the government has not enacted any rules or guidelines which may allow the city corporations to engage in this process
- Even though the National Institute of Local Government (NILG) is supposed to provide training to the local government officials employed by the city corporations, the training facility is inadequate and so far only a handful of government official have received such training
- The central government also has extensive control over the finances of the city corporations. Although the government provides some block grants, it maintains the authority to reduce, suspend or withdraw the grants as per its conveniences (Ivy, 2013).

Therefore, it can be argued that in the case of Bangladesh in general, and Narayanganj City Corporation in particular, the constraints imposed on the local government are extensive and this is an important aspect to consider while analysing the governing process.

At the same time, in this report, we also want to add the role played by another actor in the whole process— the bureaucratic organ within our equation of city governance. While analysing the role of the bureaucracy in the development process of Bangladesh, most of the scholars have pointed out that the role played by this organ is both significant and controversial. According to their analysis, the experience of working under colonial rule has made the bureaucracy an effective organ for governing and, at the same time, it helped it to attain an elite status within the society. Consequently, the bureaucracy reflected a paternal attitude towards the need of the citizens and eventually it became more interested in preserving its power position.

This particular interest of the bureaucratic organ was manifested through its ability and intention of working through building an alliance with the autocratic rule. As a result, over time, the bureaucracy became an important player within the political arena that can influence policy formulation and implementation, and it achieved the unique ability of preserving its interest within the political realm. Given that bureaucracy always enjoys an inherent discretionary power, the unique status of the bureaucracy within the political arena has placed it in a very suitable position to exercise its discretion. At the same time, the discretionary power of the bureaucracy has also trickled down to the local level and as such, the street level bureaucrats have become a powerful actor at the city government level, especially due to their placement in the administrative structure.

In analysing the role of the city government it is extremely important to consider the role played by the street level bureaucracy as they are the one who are directly interacting with the citizens at every level of service delivery. At the same time, the street level bureaucrats constitute the 'services delivered' by the government and by doing that, these front-line workers very much affect

“...what benefits will be distributed to which clients in which manner” (Protta, 1978, P. 288). However, the role played by these bureaucrats becomes more important as they enjoy a “large degree of autonomy and self-direction” which is reflected through their behavior. Thus, they are not just mere implementer of public policies, they have the ability to produce policies (Meyers and Vorsanger, 2003) and in fact, as Hupe and Hill (2007, P. 283) argue, “to a certain extent, they are policy formers rather than implementers”. This “large degree of autonomy and self-direction” is what constitutes the “discretionary power” of the bureaucracy and this power is the main reason behind their ability to create an impact on the lives of people.

However, in explaining the discretionary power of the bureaucracy, it is important to consider the context within which the bureaucrats exercise their power. There are certain key characteristics of the context:

- In street level bureaucracies, the public service workers have to deal with the demand of citizens with inadequate resources
- The street level bureaucrats work in an environment where they have fragmented contact with people, work with people coming from diverse backgrounds and are required to make quick decisions. At the same time, these decisions are being made in a situation where the bureaucrats hold more power than the citizens they serve, *i.e.* their decisions are rarely challenged

As Evans and Harris (2004) point out, these two factors— the resource constraint and the unequal power relation— are the most important determinants of bureaucratic discretion and have to be present for the bureaucrats to exercise discretionary power. In other words, these two factors are the building blocks of administrative discretion.

If we consider these factors in the context of the Narayanganj City Corporation, it can be argued that as the resource base of the newly approved city corporation is inadequate and as the street level bureaucracy historically enjoys an upper hand over the general population, it is likely that the local government officials will have significant discretionary power over the service delivery mechanisms. In fact, in her paper year, the newly appointed mayor of the city corporation has clearly indicated her concerns regarding the role played by the bureaucrats, especially the role of the CEO, who are by default career bureaucrats posted on deputation (Ivy, 2013).

Considering all this, we can conclude that the Narayanganj City Corporation has to function within a unique context. On one hand, it has to respond to the new economic reality by providing adequate opportunities in order to continue and/or foster the economic growth while ensuring access to services for the poor who have been left out or ignored by the rapid urbanisation process; on the other hand, it has to respond to these challenges while working under the *de facto* supervision of the central government, functioning with inadequate resources and attempting to control the discretionary power of the street level bureaucracy. The question is, how is the

government dealing with this? What governing process has been established and how is that serving the citizens?

2.6 The process of governing: Analysis of primary data

In order to respond to these questions, we have decided to take the following approach— first of all, we have looked into the legal regimes to find out what activities/actions are to be performed by the city corporation, and then we have compared this prescribed role with our findings to see how the elected officials perceive their role and whether this perception of their designated role is different than as described in the law. At the same time, we have tried to identify the reasons behind the deviation, if any. Second, after identifying the main roles and responsibilities of the elected officials as described by them (and after pointing out their left out roles and the reason for leaving these out), we have attempted to examine how they are performing their responsibilities, what types of problems they are facing and how they are dealing with this. For this particular information, we have mainly relied on the interviews conducted with the elected officials, city corporation officials and street level government officials. Finally, we have tried to explore how successful they are in meeting the demands of the citizens. In order to do that, we used the data collected through FGDs with citizens and have tried to gauge the level of satisfaction of the citizens and identify the problems they are facing.

2.7 The role and responsibilities of the City Corporation

The Local Government (City Corporation) Act of 2009 has stipulated a number of functions to be performed by the city corporation. These are divided into two broad categories— mandatory and optional. The mandatory functions of the city government include— preparation of urban master plan and control over construction and reconstruction of buildings; assessment and collection of taxes; infrastructure development; waste management; ensuring access to water supply; construction and maintenance of public markets; tree plantation; disease control; birth and death registration and issuance of citizen and succession certificates; issuance of license for non-motorised vehicles and trade license; and disaster management.

If we look at the list of mandatory functions, it becomes clear that the major function of the city corporations, as described in the current law, is to ensure that the citizens of the corporation have adequate access to basic services which have enough facilities. Therefore, the major activities of the city corporation and the elected representatives are distributing resources as designed by the central government, where they have very limited control over the flow of resources. There are just two specific functions which require other skills— like development planning and/or long term planning— which are: the development of the master plan, and disaster management. However, our qualitative findings indicate that in most cases, the elected representatives are unaware about these planning activities and they have very limited idea on how to transform their awareness into visible actions. Our key informant interviews with the elected mayor, councilors and city

corporation official indicate that these officials, while defining their role and responsibilities, emphasise on the following issues:

[a] "Access" to the elected representatives

Our study indicates that the services provided by the elected representatives are categorised into two levels— there are some services that are provided by the councilors at the ward level and citizens can receive these services simply by walking in to the councilor's office or contacting the councilors; on the other hand, there are some services for which the citizens have to go to city corporations. The following table has been developed based on the interview findings and it clearly reflects the types of services provided by the different elected representatives.

Table 2: Types of services from different sources of the city corporation

<i>Source of Service</i>	<i>Types of Service</i>
<i>Councilor's Office</i>	Issuance of- 1. Certificate of Citizenship 2. Succession Certificate
<i>City Corporation Office</i>	1. Issuance of Birth and death certificate 2. Waste disposal 3. Issuance of trade license 4. Road construction and maintenance 5. Expanded Programmeme on Immunisation (EPI) facilities 6. Providing micro-credit facilities 7. Providing sanitation facilities

However, there are a few issues that should be stated about the functions performed by the Narayanganj City Corporation.

First, even though there are some services like issuance of birth certificate or trade license which are provided by the City Corporation, these services are referred to the corporation in a prescribed manner by the councilor's office. In other words, it is the councilor's office that first takes a look into these documents and if they are satisfied, they forward these to the city corporation. According to one councilor, "it is like a referral service and if we refer these services to the proper authority, the citizens are not supposed to face any problem".

Second, whereas responsibilities like road construction, maintenance, waste management and sanitation are handled by the City Corporation, the ward councilors can also play an important role in this regard. According to one councilor, "in some cases, when people have complaint about the condition of a road or there is excessive water-logging or the drainage system is not functioning,

they come to us. In general, we try to contact the officials in charge of the City Corporation and ask them to deal with that. However, if the problem is not resolved within a reasonable amount of time, we then talk to the mayor and ask her to solve this." At the same time, even though the construction of roads is managed by the City Corporation, the ward councilors, based on the opinion of the people living in their locality, can ask the mayor to change the route or request him/her to construct a new road. It seems to us, the ward councilors work as the link between the citizens and the City Corporation officials/mayors. While they do perform their functions like issuance of certificates, they are more interested in influencing the service delivery mechanism by maintaining a close relationship with the City Corporation.

Thirdly, there are some services that are provided only by the Narayanganj City Corporation. For example, in some slum areas of the city corporation, the local government provided unconditional loans to the extreme poor women at an interest rate of 5%.

The services provided by the councilors and their understanding of their role as 'middlemen' between the citizens and the City Corporation have made it important to them that the voters of their ward can contact them easily. In all the interviews that we have conducted with the elected officials, we have heard a common theme— the citizens can contact him/her at any time, they can see him/her at his/her office and his/her cell number is available to all the citizens. The fact that they have considered their role in this particular way explains why ensuring access is so important to them.

[b] A focus on service delivery

As we have explained at the beginning of the section, the functions designated to the city corporation can be divided into two groups— the managerial ones and the long-term planning ones. An important finding of our study is that in all cases, the ward councilors and the mayor, i.e. the elected representatives, are concerned only about providing services to the citizens in an efficient and effective manner. Surprisingly, during our interviews no elected representative has talked about the "master plan" or his/her long-term vision on the city's development. Given that the city corporation is only two years old, it is difficult to come to a conclusion about the vision and mission of the elected representatives, but it can be argued that we have witnessed the development of an interesting trend.

It was probably best explained by a tax assessment officer of the City Corporation— "it may be possible that the central government does not really want the local government to play a strong role in the developmental process. Probably they think that if the local government becomes powerful, that will weaken their control over resources and will undermine their authority or power." Therefore, the central government has adopted an interesting strategy— whereas the authority of development planning and issues related with economic development has remained

under the control of the central government, it has allowed the City Corporations to play an important role in the service delivery sector. Our initial findings on the Narayanganj City Corporation shows that the elected representatives have decided to accept this arrangement instead of challenging the authority of the central government. As such, there is no concern about the city's lack of authority in developing a master plan; the elected representatives are not that interested in chalking out a plan to take control of the large-scale industrial development that is taking place in the city.

At the same time, even though the City Corporation is supposed to develop 22 standing committees to deal with different kinds of economic, political and social challenges, according to the mayor, "these committees are not functioning and I am not sure whether these committees held any meeting in the last two years". It is quite evident that the City Corporation is currently more concerned about providing services rather than planning for the future economic development of the city.

[c] The reason for the deviation

After finding out that the city corporation has indeed deviated from its designated role, especially through ignoring their grand role of developing the master plan, we probe to find out the reasons behind this deviation. Based on our interviews, we have identified the following reasons:

First, as we have argued earlier, there is lack of intention on the part of the central government in allowing the local government to be engaged in the development process. This lack of intention has been manifested through employing public officials on deputation at the city corporation offices. There are three significant consequences of this deputation— first, these officials do not really take an interest in the development planning and concentrate more on the service delivery functions. Second, even in case of service delivery, these officials often try to influence the procedure to divert resources to their favoured persons. As one city corporation official in charge of tax collection said, "this is problematic. Sometimes we try to take action against the people who did not pay tax and we go to their houses to confiscate their properties. In many cases, when we are doing our job we are obstructed by higher officials via a phone call and we have to follow their orders." Third, the appointment and role played by these officials demoralise the City Corporation officials -

"it is a shame that we do not have any authority. People recognise the central government officials whereas we are not respected, as people do not understand our function".

Second, another important factor that bars the City Corporation from moving into development planning and taking complete control over the City Corporation activities is the lack of manpower and expertise among the city government officials. According to one official, "in this City

Corporation, there are 27 wards and there should be nine tax assessors working here. But right now, we have five, and of these five, two are assistant tax assessors. Furthermore, two of them have been transferred to other positions and one other official has been posted here, and thus, right now we have four tax assessors. And it is not possible to work only with so few people. At the same time, in order to collect taxes, we need 27 people for 27 wards but right now we have 12 people and two of them have already been transferred elsewhere. We are collecting taxes from nine wards and in the remaining 18 wards, there are no tax collectors".

The lack of manpower is not the only issue. The City Corporation officials also lack necessary expertise in performing their duties as many of them come from backgrounds which do not train them for these kinds of jobs. So, they learn being on-the-job. These limitations are well-known to the mayor and during our short interview with her, she acknowledges these problems— "we do not have the necessary people and the people we have seriously lack expertise. The thing is the National Institute of Local Government is supposed to provide these people with trainings and we have contacted them many times but nothing has happened."

Third, probably the time factor has also played an important role in limiting the role of the City Corporation. As the mayor pointed out, this city corporation is new and it is taking a lot of time "in making sense of what should be their proper role." She pointed out that, "right now, I am more concerned about making things move. There are huge problems— we have become a City Corporation and we do not have money, manpower or other resources. As such I am trying to manage as best as I can. There are problems and we cannot do everything we want to do. Who knows an elected mayor after 10 or 12 years will be able to do a number of other things".

Fourth, whereas the time factor may be considered as an important issue, we have also observed an alarming trend. Even though the mayor is aware of the role of the City Corporation, including its role in developing a master plan, the other councilors have no idea about these issues. We have not observed any ward councilor speaking about his/her long term plan or have not heard from them about having any such discussion with the mayor. There can be two possible reasons behind this— the first reason can be that the power of the City Corporation has been centralised in the hands of the mayor and she is actually dictating the way the City Corporation should run. In fact, one ward councilor indicated some thing like that to us. However, our study could not confirm this since in contrast to this opinion, we have met other ward councilors who were extremely pleased with the mayor and considered her to be an efficient, accessible and helpful person. The second reason can be the lack of understanding of the role on the part of the ward councilors. Even though our study could not confirm why the councilors are not interested in extending their roles, we think that this issue should be looked into in detail and the councilors need to reorient towards their bigger role.

2.8 The emerging process of governing: "the limited governance"

The discussion above on the role and responsibilities of the City Corporation indicates the following key issues:

- The corporation's main function is limited to ensuring service delivery and the body has not yet realised its full potential by concentrating on dealing with the economic future of the city.
- However, the service delivery mechanism as practiced by the city corporation is not really up to the mark as there are significant limitations, especially the inadequacy of expert manpower. There is also lack of interaction between the poor people and the high level city officials.
- Furthermore, as the mayor acknowledges, the high-level city government officials have very little or no interaction with the people performing at the ground level, and as such there is a possibility that the ground reality is not being transferred to the city corporation.
- There is a high level of bureaucratic discretion in place and the city corporation has not really succeeded very much in finding ways of 'breaking through bureaucracy.' The people living in the upper strata of the society can get their things done through using their access to the high-level political elites and government officials. However, such channels are not available to the poor.

Undoubtedly, the Narayanganj City Corporation has great potential. The city is growing and it has the opportunity to turn into the industrial hub of the country. A number of factories have been built here and these have introduced new political-economic dynamics within the city. However, the problem is, the City Corporation has no role in dealing with this economic development. In our study, we have not found any evidence of interaction between the industrial elites and the city government officials. The prospect of industrial development and the planning for the economic future all are controlled by the central government and the city government has no place here.

It is important that the City Corporation fully realise their role and take necessary steps to unlock the potential offered by the city. For this, the first step can be the development of the master plan, which by law is the responsibility of the city government. NCC should focus on this as soon as possible and even though the development of master plan will be difficult, as it will require extensive negotiation and tug of war with the central government, without doing so, we will not witness the development of city governance. In fact, if the city corporation, through the leadership of the mayor starts concentrating on this, it will enhance its ability for public space management, will generate new sources of revenue, and at the same time, will allow it to ensure better housing, water, electricity and waste management services for the people living here.

At the same time, as the discussion above pointed out, even though the City Corporation is concentrating on service delivery, it is not really doing a great job due to lack of resources, man power and ability. The city government has also failed to include the industrial elites in their

equation of the process of governing since due to its lack of authority, it does not have the power to design the policies that will influence the activities of these elites. In order to transform this process of governing into "city governance", the corporation needs to include all these actors in the process, which may allow them access to additional resources that can be utilised for other purposes.

In addition to that, to introduce the governance structure, the City Corporation has to engage in effective negotiation with the central government, especially in terms of training and developing its own personnel. Transferring the authority of water distribution to the city government is a much-appreciated first step, but the city corporation should also focus on ensuring that the other services are also brought under its jurisdiction. So far, what we are witnessing in this city corporation is the presence of 'limited governance' which is being constrained by the powerful bureaucracy and uncommitted central government. What is necessary now is to transform it into city governance. It is highly appreciable that the current mayor of the city corporation is well aware of these limitations as she states, "it (the central government) should think of carrying out reforms for the urban local government. The power of municipalities and corporations needs to be enhanced, in both political and administrative terms as well as economic terms. A higher degree of self-reliance on the part of the urban local bodies would be necessary for their autonomous existence and reduction of central control."

The Mayor has already developed a five year plan which includes development of a master plan, IT infrastructure development, establishment of recreational facilities, construction of income generating projects, and most importantly, development of city governance. It is time for the city corporation to start working on realising these goals.

CHAPTER 3

Service Provisions at Narayanganj: Actors and Factors

3.1 Introduction

Generally, service provided in the urban sector include a set of services for the socio-economic development of an urban area and a city corporation primarily is constituted to ensure these basic services to the dwellers. Effective and efficient delivery of “urban service” has gradually turned into an important factor that needs to be considered while analysing the performance of the city corporations. The cities of Bangladesh have been trying to ensure that services are provided to the dwellers since it is the fundamental duty of a city corporation. The country has taken several initiatives to ensure better services in city areas and has made significant changes in the governance process. Consequently, several organisations have been formed as part of this governance process and in some cases, the government emphasised developing a network structure to deliver these services. In a city area, the city corporation is the salient authority to ensure the services to its dwellers, and several para-statal bodies act closely with the city corporation. Pattern of services and satisfaction depends on the institutional performance and network structure of service delivery process of that specific institution.

In case of some services, instead of the city corporation, “single purpose organisations” under para-statal government bodies have been functioning in the city areas and a fragmentation of service delivery mechanism has been created to ensure the services. For instance, water supply, gas supply and electricity supply activities have been implemented through single purpose

organisations. Studies on service delivery reveals that, it needs to develop a comprehensive planning and controlling mechanism for these organisations for better coordination in ensuring better services. Otherwise, a growing demand for services can cause interruption in service delivery processes.

3.2 Service delivery scenario of the Narayanganj City Corporation

The Narayanganj City Corporation, a newly declared city corporation, has been implementing several urban services to the dwellers of the city corporation area. Along with the City Corporation bodies, several para-statal bodies act in the city area. In this study while analysing the service delivered to the people living in the Narayanganj City Corporation, we have followed the analytical framework of service delivery developed by World Bank (2002). According to that report, urban services can be categorised into three groups:

[a] Social services: Rapid urbanisation has brought increased demand for social services for the dwellers living in the urban areas, especially for the lower income groups (Baker, 2012) who find it difficult to get the basic services like health and education facilities. In an urban setting, health, education and social safety net (SSN) programmes are regarded as social services. Bangladesh has initiated several social services in the city areas and as part of this, the country has been implementing several donor funded developmental projects like Urban Partnerships for Poverty Reduction Project (UPPR), and Urban Primary Health Care Service Delivery Project (UPHCSDP). Interestingly, these social services are only highly recommended as basic needs of the dwellers ascribed by the constitution of Bangladesh and Bangladesh government has an obligation to ensure these needs.

[b] Infrastructure services: Infrastructure services have been considered as one of the major obligations of the City Corporation. The City Corporation, as well as 'single purpose organisations', provides infrastructure services by ascribing utility charges in a specific region. Regardless of class, area and locality these services are supposed to be delivered equally. For instance, the service delivery pattern of the elite area should be similar to the lower income areas. As identified in the figure shown below, the infrastructure services include mainly drainage and waste management, water, electricity, gas and transportation services.

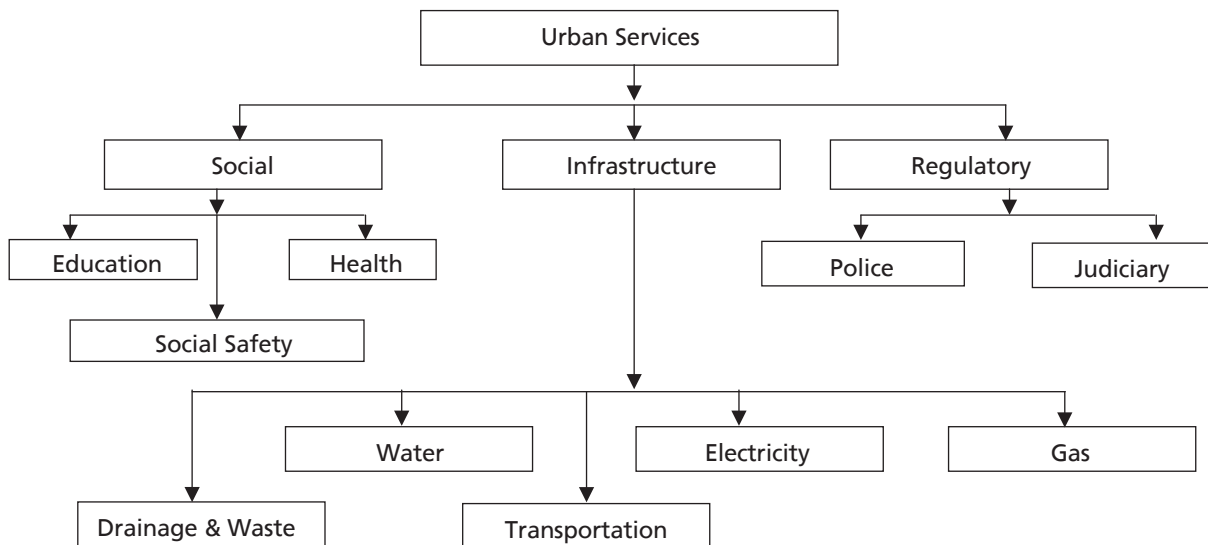
However, even though these services should be delivered in a fair and equitable manner, in the context of Bangladesh, ensuring this fairness and equity is challenging. In the context of the city areas of the country, the services related to infrastructure are limited and the inadequacy of infrastructure services are mostly observed in slums and comparatively lower income areas. In fact, lack of these facilities against the increasing population in urban areas causes "pseudo-urbanisation". As a result, the urban poor face increasing problems in accessing water, waste management, power, drainage and any other services related to the infrastructure of a city area.

[c] Regulatory services: The regulatory services are key to upholding the fundamental rights which are constitutionally guaranteed to all citizens of Bangladesh, such as the right to security and safety, safeguards to arrest and detentions, and protection in respect of trial and punishment (World Bank, 2002). These services are the basic mechanisms to control the safety and security within a specific area.

In the context of Bangladesh, these regulatory issues are centrally controlled by multiple agencies. Interestingly, to resolve the social and legal problems in a city area, the city corporation body has no authority to ensure security.

The following figure shows the categorisation of urban services as developed by World Bank (2002)

Figure 2: Categories of Urban Services



In this report, while analysing the services provided by the city corporation, we have picked some specific ones from each category. Due to time and resource constraints, we could not analyse all of them, but we have made sure that at least one service is selected from each category. For instance, in case of social services, we have looked into the health benefits provided within the city; for infrastructure, we have chosen all the services, i.e. water, electricity, waste management and transportation and in case of regulatory services, we have chosen the services provided by the police.

3.3 The City and the services

In the previous chapter, we discussed the concept of city governance and made an effort to apply the concept in the context of Narayanganj City Corporation. While doing that, we have identified the actors involved and have shown how the interaction between these actors eventually

determined the dynamics of service provision in Narayanganj. Our main focus was on the process through which the city corporation and different government agencies define their role and perform their duties. In this chapter, we have concentrated mainly on the outcome of this dynamic, i.e. we have tried to explore how the services provided by the city government and various government agencies affect the livelihood of the citizens, how they deal with different types of problems and what they do when they are dissatisfied with different service provisions. At the same time, in this chapter, we have also focused on the following issues:

- In terms of services available to the citizens of the Narayanganj City Corporation, we have limited our analysis to the following ones- health, electricity, water, drainage, sanitation and public safety.
- We have tried to see whether people's access to services is affected by their economic or social status.
- We have offered a comparison between the services provided by the public, private and non-profits agencies.

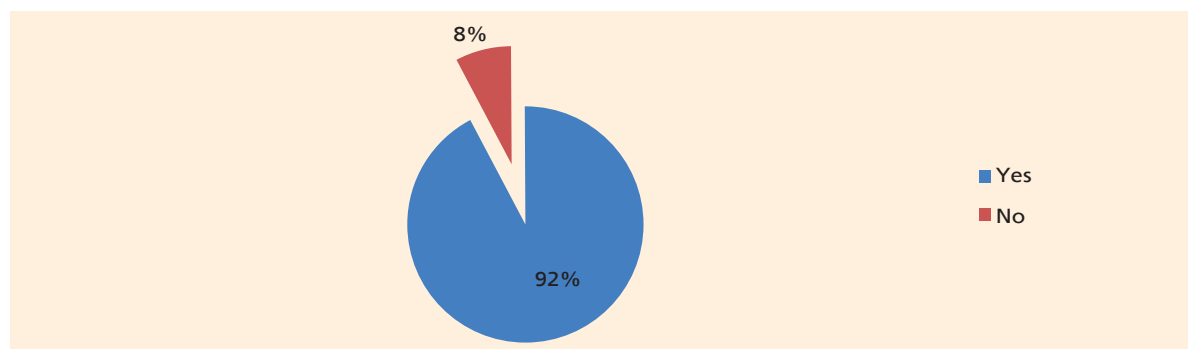
Our findings from the quantitative household survey, in-depth interviews and focused groups discussions are described below:

3.3.1 Social services

3.3.1.1 Health services

Even though the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MOHFW) is solely responsible for the health facilities in Narayanganj City Corporation, the EPI programme is coordinated under the authority of the city corporation. Moreover, the city corporation has separate health wings to serve public health services, including mosquito control activities, disinfection activities during several EPI day observations, registration of all births and death within the area of the city, etc.

We start our analysis by examining the situation with regard to child immunisation. Of the total people surveyed, there are 373 children (below five years). As indicated in the following figure, our finding reflects a positive scenario as 92.49% of these children are immunised. Given that the Government of Bangladesh over the period has invested significantly in child immunisation and made efforts to ensure basic health care services for the citizens irrespective of their economic status, such a finding is not surprising.

Figure 3: Child immunisation

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

However, in terms of medical facilities used by the citizens in immunising their children, we have some interesting findings. The following table shows that-

Table 3: Place of immunisation by location (Percentage)

	Hospital	EPI Outreach	Health Center	Non-Governmental or Private	City Corporation
Non Slum (220)	17.27	53.18	35.91	0.91	8.64
Slum (73)	24.66	64.38	16.44	0.00	5.48
Total (293)	19.11	55.97	31.06	0.68	7.85

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

According to the table, the most used place for immunising the children is the EPI Outreach center. Whereas the slum-dwellers are the most frequent visitors of these outreach centers, the non-slum dwellers are also relying heavily on these. There is a reason for this. Before the planned immunisation day, the City Corporation establishes a number of temporary outreach centers and most of them are placed near the slums. As such, the slum-dwellers find it easy to get services from these centers.

These outreach centre facilities are provided by the city corporation and on special immunisation days, a number of temporary outreach centers are opened up in different localities. Our focus group discussions (FGDs) with the city dwellers reveal that, in general, before the immunisation days, the city corporation extensively advertises the necessity of immunisation and also lets the city dwellers know about the placement of these outreach centres. At the same time, different kinds of social institutions are also used for this purpose. According to one resident, – “before the immunisation days, the mosques of these localities announce these events through using mikes which people to know where these outreach centres are”.

Furthermore, in order to ensure the immunisation of the children, the EPI health facilities are also provided through different government and non-government health centers. According to one respondent who is affiliated with the city corporation, "in Narayanganj, there are a number of government and non-government health centers and these health centers are used for immunisation quite efficiently." In fact, these health centers become important outreach centers in case of "immunisation days" or "immunisation festivals" and at the same time, every week, at least for 2 or 3 days, immunisation facilities are provided through these centers. However, these immunisation facilities are controlled by the city corporation and the medical equipment are stored at the city corporation offices. Every day, the workers of the NGOs come to us and collect these and facilities are provided through them". Two important observations can be made about the findings described above:

First, in terms of ensuring immunisation for the children, the Narayanganj City Corporation is doing a wonderful job. More importantly, while performing its responsibilities, the corporation has actually dealt with its limitation, i.e. limitation of human resources, by bridging a partnership with different non-governmental and social actors. This eventual success of the city corporation is a reflection of the body's ability to look for creative solutions by developing and implementing the public-private partnership (PPP).

Second, the survey result also indicates that if the government (in this case city government) can ensure services in an effective and efficient manner, then people irrespective of their economic status rely on the public sector. In fact, as the survey data shows only a few households have used non-governmental or private facilities for immunising their children. At the same time, if we consider the economic status of the people, their reliance on the government service provisions do not change that much. However, it is important to mention that one should approach the division of four economic classes used in the survey data with caution as these are not based on objective poverty measurement. Rather the survey asked each respondent to evaluate the household's economic condition based on food security. There were four options: always deficit in food, occasional deficit in food, break-even situation in terms of food and surplus of food. Based on the self-perceived status of food security, households were divided into the following four categories:

Table 4: Place of immunisation by economic status of the household (Percentage)

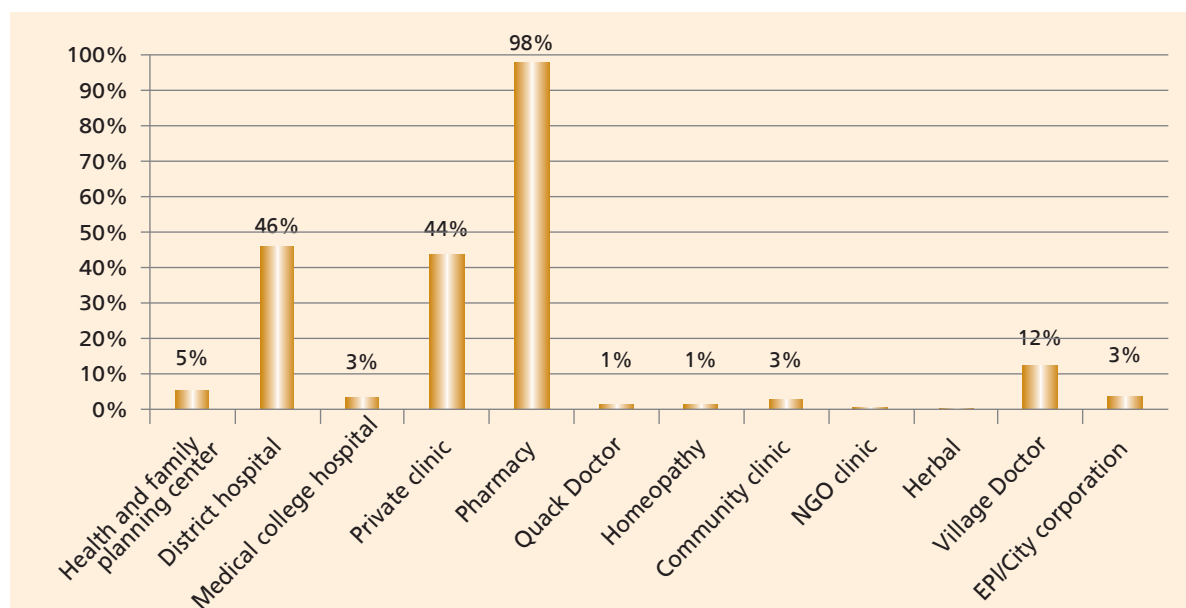
	Hospital	EPI Outreach	Health Center	Non-Governmental or Private	City Corporation
Ultra Poor (13)	7.69	53.85	23.08	0.00	15.38
Poor (44)	27.27	56.82	25.00	0.00	4.55
Non-Poor (140)	22.14	60.71	27.14	0.71	6.43
Well-Off (96)	12.50	48.96	40.63	1.04	10.42
Total (293)	19.11	55.97	31.06	0.68	7.85

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

As the table above shows, EPI outreach centers are the most used places for immunisation purposes, irrespective of the economic status of the people.

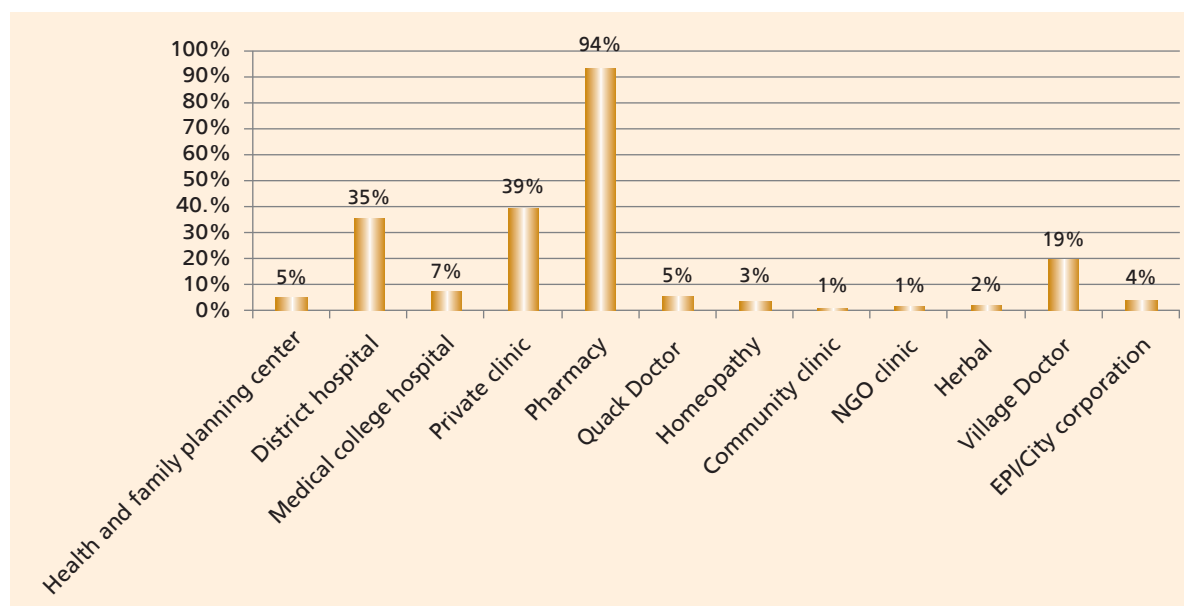
After looking into their preferences for immunisation services, we have explored where the people go to access basic health services and whether their dwelling place (i.e. slum-dwellers vs. non-slum dwellers) or economic status affects their choices. The following figure shows the health facilities used by the non-slum dwellers:

Figure 4: Most frequent health centers/doctors visited by non-slum households



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013 (multiple answers were allowed)

According to this figure, almost all of the non-slum dwellers (97.84%) go to the pharmacies to buy medicines and access health services. However, the pharmacies are actually their first-stop and if these pharmacies fail to deal with their health problems, only then they decide to look for other options. In terms of these other options, they have almost equal preferences for the district hospital (45.99%) or private clinics (43.52%). It is interesting to note that these non-slum dwellers rarely visit the community clinics or NGO clinics. It can be argued that as the non-slum dwellers are relatively better-off compared to the slum-dwellers and they can afford the district clinics or the private clinics and thus, if we look at the preferences of the slum-dwellers in terms of getting access to health services, we may find a different scenario. The following figure shows where the slum-dwellers go to receive health services.

Figure 5: Most frequent health centers/doctors visited by slum households

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

Surprisingly, for the slum-dwellers, the most frequently visited place for receiving health services are the pharmacies (93.5%). If we add up all the medical services provided by the government and local government bodies, then almost 50% of the total surveyed slum-dwellers go to these facilities and 39% of them go to the private clinics. Three things are important here: first, like the non-slum dwellers, the slum-dwellers also rely on the pharmacies for basic medical services; second, a large portion of them are actually gaining access to the private clinics and thirdly, only one percent of the slum dwellers visits the NGO clinics for medical services. It is surprising that NGO clinics are not being effective in case of providing services, and in fact, more people go to the quacks or village doctors than visiting the NGO clinics. These findings raise a number of important questions- why do people mainly rely on the pharmacies? And how have the private clinics become an important place for seeking health services?

Our qualitative studies shed some light on this scenario. According to interviewees and FGD participants, the reliance on the pharmacies is closely related with the overall economic condition of the people. According to one owner of a pharmacy, "the price of everything is rising and we have to pay a lot of taxes. For instance, in the past, I used to pay BDT 200 as tax annually and now I have to pay BDT 2000. Now think about it. I am sure that people everywhere are facing the same difficulties. As a result, when people living in this locality face any kind of health related problems, they first come to me. Now-a-days, people do not talk about diseases or seek medical advice, they want medicines. Due to this dire economic condition, everyone has become a "doctor" and they know what to take for what disease. And you will see this trend not only for the slum-dwellers but also for the non-slum dwellers".

A number of people echoed this view in FGDs as one participant commented, "what is the point of going to the district hospital? There is not enough medicine and if we need five, they will just give us two and will tell us to buy these medicines from outside." As a result, people try to cope with health problems as best as they can and a key coping mechanism is buying medicines from the pharmacies without seeking the advice of the doctors. However, one respondent said, "in general, we try to live like this but in case of critical conditions, we mainly go to the district hospitals. Because there are MBBS doctors there and it costs less compared to private clinics".

Based on the findings above, it is possible to identify a certain pattern- due to economic conditions, people in general go to pharmacies to buy medicines and in case of general diseases, seeking advice from medical doctors is not really an option. However, if the condition becomes critical, patients are generally taken to the district hospital. At the same time, our survey findings indicate that the private clinics are becoming an important alternative for medical services. This raises the question- why is this happening? Given that the private clinics charge more, why do people still want to go there? Based on our qualitative studies, we have developed the following assumptions with regard to reliance on private clinics:

First of all, as pointed out by the health officials of the district hospitals and other government-controlled health centers, people do not go to these places as they do not have proper idea about the services provided here. According to a doctor of the city corporation, "the district hospital has facilities for 200 patients. And in this case, 60% of the total medicines are provided by the hospital. On the other hand, if they go to the other clinics, they have to bear the cost for 100% of the medicines. People have a wrong assumption that we mainly provide Paracetamol tablets. Despite having limitations, we provide health facilities to almost 80% of the total populace."

Second, our survey contradicts the assumption of the doctor of the city council as according to our findings, only 42% people go to either the district hospital or government medical hospital. In fact, our FGDs with local people identify a number of problems that bar them from going to the hospitals. For instance, a number of respondents point out that in the district hospital, proper care is not provided to them, rather the doctors prescribed them some "paracetamol tablets" without examining properly. At the same time, as one respondent indicates, "it takes a lot of time to see the doctors and you have to wait in line for hours. Moreover, corruption is common there as if you know someone you can see the doctor without waiting line." FGD participants also expressed their dissatisfaction with government hospitals' doctors- "they come at 10, stay for few hours and then just leave. However, like most other government places, you will also find middlemen here and if you can make contact with the right person, you will be able to see the doctor quickly." However, it should be noted here that in our survey, people in general showed their satisfaction with regard to treatment received from the doctors. In qualitative findings, we have also found proof that. For instances, according to one resident, "in case of treatment, we do not feel any discrimination. But

they can feel the discrimination in case of getting access. The rich are easily admitted whereas they have to wait in line for hours. So it can be said that in general, people have complaints about getting access but all in all, they are satisfied with the services received by the doctors.

Table 5: Respondents perception of whether the service provider listened carefully

	Service Provider Listened Carefully (%)	Service Provider Did Not Listen Carefully (%)
Health and family planning center	38 (95)	2 (5)
District hospital	312 (84.78)	56 (15.22)
Medical college hospital	29 (85.29)	5 (14.71)
Private clinic	350 (97.22)	10 (2.78)
Pharmacy	820 (99.88)	1 (0.12)
Quack Doctor	16 (94.12)	1 (5.88)
Homeopathy	14 (93.33)	1 (6.67)
Community clinic	18 (100)	-
NGO clinic	5 (100)	-
Herbal	4 (100)	-
Village Doctor	118 (100)	-
EPI/City corporation	29 (100)	-

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

As the table above indicates, people are mostly of the opinion that whenever they get the opportunity to talk to a doctor, the medical professionals listen to them attentively. It is interesting to note that of the three most frequently visited places, people are least satisfied in case of the doctors of the district hospitals. In this case, 15.22% people complained that the doctors did not pay attention to their problems whereas this rate is quite low in case of the pharmacies (0.12%) and the private clinics (2.78%). However, we should also consider the fact that pharmacies are the first point of service for the people irrespective of their economic status and this service is not really used in case of critical patients. Given that in such a condition private clinics are the main alternative to district hospitals, more satisfaction with the services provided by the doctors in private clinics probably explains why these clinics are getting popular and becoming a major source of services for the people. At the same time, we have also observed that in general, people are satisfied with the services provided by the nurses in these clinics.

Table 6: Respondents perception of whether nurse solve their problems

	Obs.	Percentage
The nurse was able to solve problem	441	86.30
The nurse was not able to solve problem	70	13.70
Total	511	100

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

However, the fact that the doctors or the nurses pay attention to the patients does necessarily not mean that they are completely satisfied with the treatment received. Thus, we can conclude that Narayanganj city residents easily receive basic services like immunisation. However, access to and services received from government hospitals are not satisfactory enough which pushes many to seek expensive private medical services.

3.3.1.2 Social safety nets

The Government of Bangladesh has formed urban wings under the Department of Social Welfare in 2007 to provide social safety net support to the ultra-poor people living in the urban areas. This initiative was introduced for safeguarding the basic needs of the urban poor. Moreover, to integrate the poorer community to the mainstream society in a rapidly increasing urban area was one of the major focuses, where ensuring social stability by creating positive socio-economic impact over the community people was a big consideration. The Safety Net programmes of Narayanganj are maintained jointly by the Department of Social Welfare and the City Corporation. The Department of Social Welfare is maintaining the governmental safety net programmes under its urban welfare institution. On the other hand, the city corporation has been implementing donor funded social safety net programme under the department of slum development. The beneficiaries of the safety net programme were selected and assessed in 2011.

The Department of Social Welfare is responsible for implementing the programmes of widows and abandoned destitute women allowance programme, old age allowance, honorarium for the freedom fighters and stipend programmes for the children with disabilities. The beneficiaries of these programmes are selected by the local committee and later endorsed by the city committee or separate committee for the specific programme. Mostly, the allowances or economic support is distributed through the banking channel. In the Narayanganj City Corporation among the various types of Social Safety Net programmes, the following are the most common:

[a] Allowances for widows and husbands deserted restituted women programme: To rehabilitate the vulnerable women and improve their economic condition, the Department of Social Welfare has initiated this programme under its urban wing. The beneficiaries are selected by the ward committee

and later approved by the city committee and the allowances are distributed through the banking channel.

[b] Old age allowance: The government of Bangladesh has undertaken an old age allowance programme to ensure the social protection of elder population of poor families. The public representatives have been engaged in the selection and distribution process of the allowance.

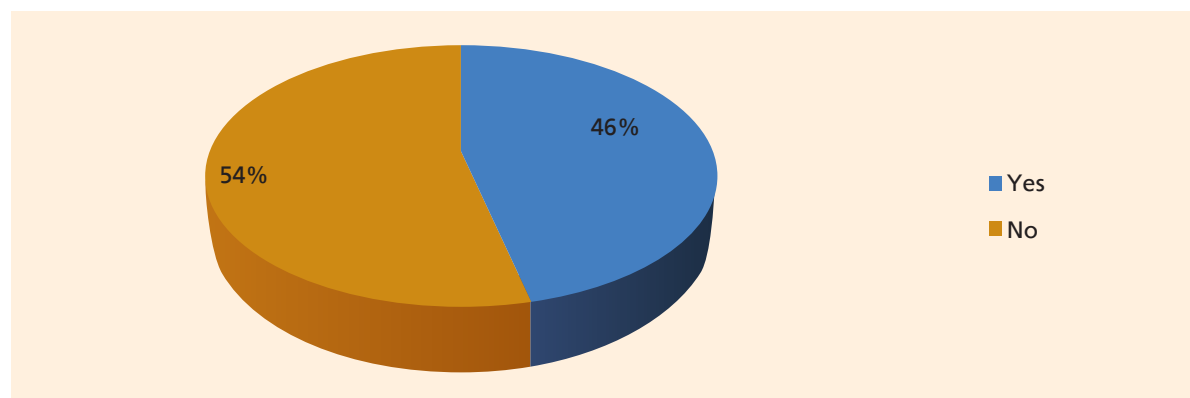
[c] Stipend programmes for the children with disabilities: The Government of Bangladesh has introduced a stipend programme to encourage the students with disabilities to enroll themselves in an education institution. The goal of this programme is to ensure that the students with disabilities can get access to mainstream education. The programme is being implemented through a national steering committee, district steering committee, and municipal/city programme implementing committee. The allocations are distributed through the banking channel.

[d] Honorarium for the freedom fighters: This programme is implemented with the participation of the City Corporation Freedom Fighters Allowance Distribution Committee, District Committee.

[e] Sombhob project: Aiming to provide income support to 14,127 extreme poor households through local government bodies to improve their children's nutrition and education, the 'Sombhob' project was initiated jointly by the government of Bangladesh and the World Bank. In Narayanganj, the city corporation body has been implementing this project for 2763 poorest families and offering income support to them so that they can ensure regular school attendance and better nutrition for their children. Beneficiary households receive bi-monthly transfers. The programme uses electronic cash cards to disburse the benefits among the beneficiaries.

In this section, we have made an effort to explore how these programmes are being implemented in the Narayanganj City Corporation, what are the problems they face while gaining access to these and what steps they take to deal with these problems. In order to do that, we start our analysis of findings by exploring people's perception about the effectiveness of these programmes.

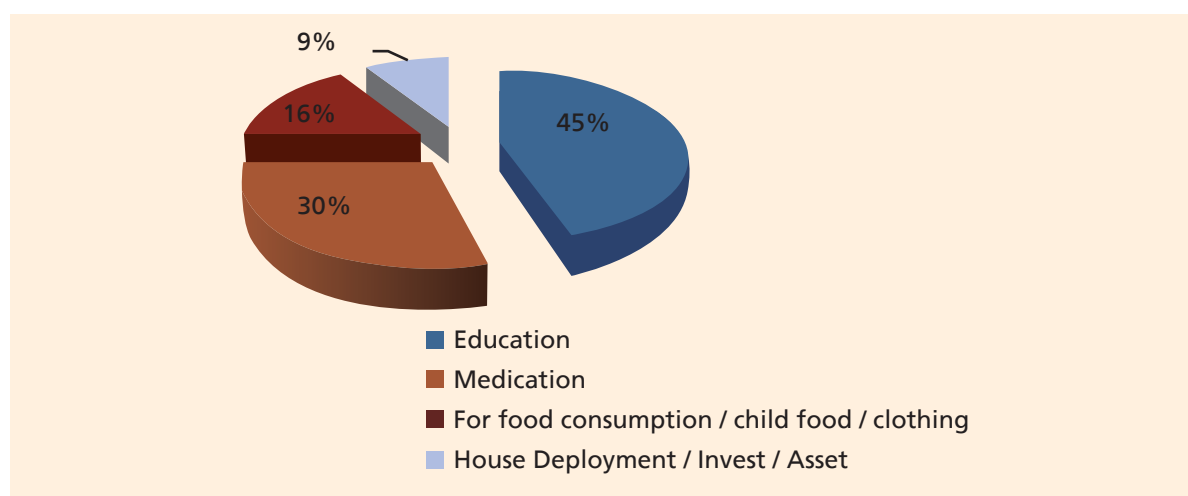
Figure 6: Protection provided by the SSN Programme



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

According to our survey, 53.73% of the respondents who received benefits from the SSN programme are of the opinion that the SSN Programmes are not providing adequate protection. This is surprising as at the national level the SSNPs are considered as an effective and efficient method for protecting the poor and helping them in earning their livelihoods. We have tried to understand why the people of Narayanganj have a different perception about the effectiveness of the SSNP. In order to do that, we have made an effort to find out for what purposes the beneficiaries used the SSNP. As the figure below indicates, this finding is also surprising. Whereas at the national level, SSNP benefits are mainly used by the extreme poor for food or other consumption or for future savings as possible investment for income generating activities, in the case of Narayanganj, the benefits received as part of SSN are mostly used for educational purpose (45.45%). At the same time, 29.87% have used the benefits on medication and only 15.58% use it for food consumption.

Figure 7: Usage of SSN benefits



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

At the same time, for the residents of the Narayanganj City Corporation, their preferred SSNs are elderly, widows, freedom fighters and disabled allowance.

Table 7: Types of Social Safety Net Programme

	N	Percentage
Vulnerable Group Feeding (VGF)	5	7.69
Elderly / Widow / Freedom fighters / Disabled allowance	31	47.69
Food For Work / Cash for work / Scholarship	29	44.62

Source: Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

Furthermore, a closer analysis in this city corporation reveals that the SSNPs are serving the interest of the non-poor and well-off. Whereas only 4.48% of the ultra poor are covered by the programme, 58.21% non-poor people and 14.93% well-off people have access to these programmes.

The trend becomes clearer if we look at the economic status of the people enrolled into different programmes.

Table 8: Enrollment in the type of SSN Programme across economic status

	Ultra Poor	Poor	Non-Poor	Well-Off	Total
Open Market Sale (OMS)	-	1	2	-	3
Elderly allowance	1	4	16	3	24
Widow allowance	-	-	2	1	3
Freedom fighters allowance	-	1	0	1	2
Stipend/Scholarship	1	9	15	4	29
Shombhob Project	1	-	4	1	6
Total	3	15	39	10	67

Source: Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

As the table above shows, elderly allowance and stipend or scholarships are the major SSN programmes that households were enrolled in and in both types of programmes the major beneficiaries are non-poor people. It is quite likely that the non-poor people do not worry about their day-to-day livelihoods and as such they will see the SSNPs from a different angle. It is also possible that the non-poor people will define protection differently and that is why they think that SSNPs are not successful in providing protection. Probably this is what is happening in Narayanganj and probably that explains why the surveyed population considered elderly allowances as so important and there was lack of interest in cash benefit or employment generating programmes. However, based on our data, we could not come to a definitive conclusion about this and further studies are required in this area.

3.3.2 Infrastructure services

3.3.2.1 Water services

The Water And Sanitation Authority (WASA) is the responsible authority to ensure water supply in the Narayanganj City Corporation. Through an act promulgated by the Government of Bangladesh in 1990, water service of Narayanganj was handed over to Dhaka WASA from the Department of

Public Health Engineering (DPHE). Since then DWASA has been responsible for planning, infrastructure development, engineering operation, revenue collection and maintenance activities in case of water services. After becoming a city corporation, Narayanganj was declared as the eleventh geographical zone of WASA to ensure water supply to the dwellers of the Narayanganj City Corporation. WASA has 20000 legal customers in the city areas. The water supply system of WASA is available in Narayanganj Sadar and Kadamrasul Zone but there is no water supply mechanism from WASA in Siddirganj zone.

In addition to WASA, the Narayanganj City Corporation has been implementing several water improvement projects throughout the city. When it was a municipality, the Urban Governance and Infrastructure Improvement Project (UGIIP) set up 11 submersible deep tube-wells throughout its coverage area. Later, through the financial support from Urban Partnerships for Poverty Reduction Project (UPPRP) the municipal government sunk another 183 submersible deep tube wells and six general tube wells in several places, especially in the lower income areas of Narayanganj City. At present, the city corporation maintains all these water resources with its own revenue income and spends nearly 20 lac taka every year for maintenance.

In order to gauge the perception of the people living in this area about the effectiveness of the water services, we started our analysis by identifying the major sources of water in the Narayanganj City Corporation and the purposes of different water sources. The following table shows our findings:

Table 9: Sources of water across slum and non-slum households

	Drinking (%)		Other / Cooking, Washing and Cleaning (%)	
	Non Slum	Slum	Non Slum	Slum
Supply/pipe water (WASA)	64.04	51.00	71.45	51.50
Tube well	6.79	24.50	5.71	21.50
River/Pond	0.15	0	4.01	5.00
Bottled water from store	0.15	0.50	0.00	0.50
Household level tube well	28.40	24.00	18.52	21.50
Water donated by private enterprise	0.15	0	-	-
Water bought legally from a registered company	0.15	0	-	-
Community level deep tube-well	0.15	0	0.31	0.00

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

According to table-7 above, for both the slum and non-slum dwellers, the major source of water services is the water supplied by WASA. However, in terms of the second most used water sources, there are significant differences. Both for drinking and for other purposes, the second most used sources the slum dwellers have relied on are common tube-wells that have been set up through various government projects or by different NGOs. However, the non-slum dwellers have rarely used these common tube-wells and they have actually depended on the household level tube-wells for receiving water services.

The qualitative study has also supported this trend. During FGDs, the slum dwellers have stated that the tube-wells used by them were set up by the city corporation under different projects. At the same time, according to the slum-dwellers who reside in the Jimkhana area- "we used to drink water from a nearby pond. But few years back, a local NGO named PRODIPON established eight tube wells in our slum and since then we have been using the tube-well water." Furthermore, SoC research also confirms that the tube-wells established outside slums are mainly privately owned. However, the other dwellers and even the slum dwellers can use these tube-wells depending on their need and their relationship with the owners of these tube-wells. The qualitative study also reveals an interesting finding. Even though according to the survey, almost none of the slum or non-slum dwellers use river or pond water, this finding should be considered with caution as two issues are at play here. First, the use of river or pond water relies largely on the availability of water in these water sources. During the summer, when these rivers or ponds dry up, the slum-dwellers cannot use these but during the rainy season, these ponds, rivers or canals become a major source of water. According to one respondent, "during the rainy season, we mainly use the pond water for cooking, washing or cleaning. The reason is, water supplied through WASA is inadequate and furthermore, the pond water is not that polluted at that time. However, we do not use this water for drinking. For that, we either depend on WASA or try to collect from other sources". Second, the use of pond or river water depends on whether there exists that kind of water sources near the slum. Whereas in many slums, such type of source is not available and henceforth, they rely on other sources and in the slums like Jimkhana, these become major sources due to their proximity.

Thus, across all households irrespective of the economic status, supply/piped water (WASA) is the main source for both drinking and other purposes. However, it is also be noted here that for the slum dwellers, common tube-wells are a very important source. Does this reliance on WASA mean that both the slum and non-slum dwellers have equal access to water services and/or sources? So far, it does seem so but to examine it more deeply we have made efforts to see whether the frequency of water supply differs based on the dwelling places of the users.

Table 10: Frequency of water collection (Percentage)

	Drinking			Other		
	Non-Slum	Slum	Total	Non-Slum	Slum	Total
More than once a day	64.66	60.00	63.56	66.05	58.50	64.27
Once a day	1.23	3.00	1.65	0.93	2.50	1.30
Once in three days	-	-	-	0.15	0.00	0.12
Available throughout the day	34.10	37.00	34.79	32.87	39.00	34.32

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

According to the table above, water is available for the users irrespective of their dwelling place. In fact, 63.5% of the total surveyed population indicates that they have access to water more than once a day and 35% states that water is available throughout the day. The finding does not change significantly when we consider the dwelling place of the users- for instance, of the people living in the non-slum areas, 64.7% have access to water more than once a day and for the slum dwellers this number is 60%. However, if the availability of water does not vary across location, the question remains why do people living in the slums consider collecting water as more difficult when compared with the experiences of the same of the non-slum dwellers? As shown in the table below, whereas only 17% of the people living in the non-slum areas consider water collection as difficult or very difficult, in case of the slum dwellers the number doubles, i.e., 36% of the slum dwellers consider collecting water as difficult or extremely difficult.

Table 11: Difficulty faced in collecting water (percentage)

	Drinking water			Water for other purpose		
	Non-Slum	Slum	Total	Non-Slum	Slum	Total
Very Difficult	1.85	5.50	2.71	1.54	5.50	2.48
Difficult	15.90	30.50	19.34	14.51	28.50	17.81
Easy	70.06	53.50	66.16	72.22	54.50	68.04
Not a Problem at all	12.19	10.50	11.79	11.73	11.50	11.67

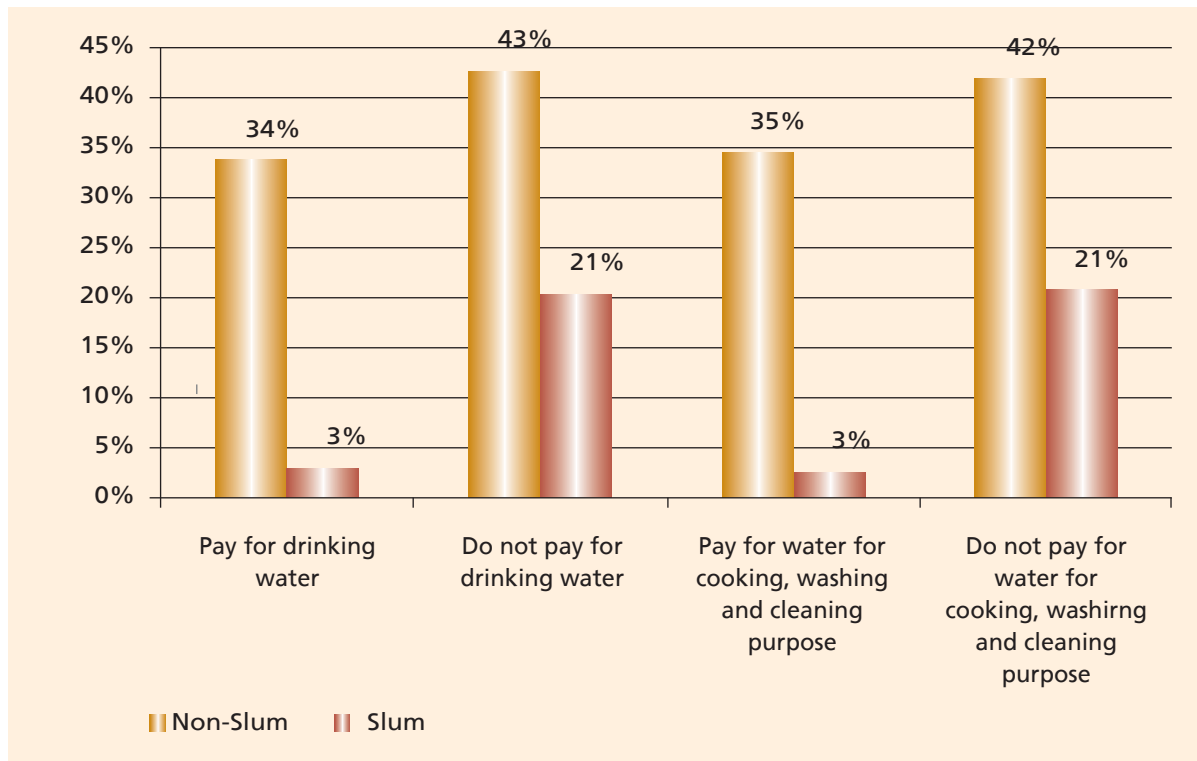
Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

The qualitative study, to some extent, explains the reason. First of all, even though water supplied through WASA is a major source of water for the slum dwellers, there are some variations. For instance, the slums that are established on public land do not qualify as eligible recipient of water services provided by the government agencies. One resident of the slum areas explains the reason,

"to be eligible, you need to have the holding number. The thing is as we are residing on the public land (illegally) and we do not own the land. As such, we do not have holding number and thus cannot apply for it." As a result, these slum-dwellers have to depend on the common tube-wells set up by different organisations. For them, water collection is extremely difficult. Second, collection of water depends not only on the frequency but also on the ability of the dwellers to reserve the water for future uses and this is where the slum dwellers suffer most. According to one slum dweller, "we do not have money to build water reservoirs. As a result, it is extremely difficult for us to preserve water for future usage. So, what happens is, we often do not get water in time of need and have to collect it from our neighbors or people who own tube-wells." This particular problem is also acknowledged by a City Corporation official- "a key problem of Narayanganj is people do not really want to build reservoir tanks. They expect that water will be supplied continuously, which is not possible. When we ask them the reason, they mainly tell us that they cannot do it as it also requires buying electric motors to pump water out of the reservoirs. That may be true but without these tanks, continuous supply cannot be ensured."

After looking at the status of service received by the citizens, we make an effort to see how regular they are in terms of paying their bills. Our findings are really interesting and the following table shows water payment status across locations -

Figure 8: Water payment status across location



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

The figure above shows a trend of clear inertia in terms of paying bills. Only 36% people pay bills for the water used for drinking and of these, 33.73% live in the non-slum areas. Interestingly enough, 42.69% people living in the non-slum areas also do not pay any bill for their usage of drinking water. The similar trend is observed in case of water used for other purposes. As indicated earlier, the slum-dwellers are not really satisfied with the services provided to them and in our FGDs, they have identified it as the main reason for not paying the bills. However, it is not clear to us why the non-slum dwellers or the relatively well-to-do people refuse to pay bills. One FGD participant made it clear, "the water services are not regular, so why should we pay?" At the same time, the water connection system of the city corporation is really old and there are leakages at places. So far, no attempts have been made to repair those and sometimes waste products get mixed into the water. As a result, the supplied water often stinks and people are extremely critical about this as one respondent said, "I have told the WASA worker at least hundred times to do something about it but they never really cared. So, why shall I pay?" In fact, for the poor living in these localities, not paying the bill is a form of protest, which they are eager to use. However, it is not clear to us why the non-slum dwellers or the relatively well-to-do people refuse to pay bills. Our study indicates that quality of services is not really a big issue for them and in fact, the rich are more than willing to use their connection and power to avoid the bill payment. On the other hand, for the rich, these are not really issues. According to one city corporation official, "If you really look into the matter, you will see that the middleclass citizens always pay their bills. They are afraid of what will happen if they do not pay and thus, they try to pay as best as they can. The rich on the other hand live by different rules. They do not pay because they just don't feel like paying and they use their power to establish it." This is undoubtedly an alarming trend and the government should address this issue. In fact, given that the WASA's authority has recently been transferred to the Narayanganj City Corporation, it can actually become a major source of revenue earning.

At the same time, our survey also reveals that households who own the house mostly pay for water services whereas the other types of households, i.e. living in rented house, another person's house for free etc., in general do not pay for the water services. The following table presents the above stated pictures—

Table 12: Payment status for water across water type and house ownership (percentage)

Housing Type	Type of Water	Pay	Do not Pay
Owned (374)	Drinking water	55.08	44.92
	Water for other purpose	58.56	41.44
Rented (354)	Drinking water	18.64	81.36
	Water for other purpose	17.23	82.77
Living free in others house (29)	Drinking water	41.38	58.62

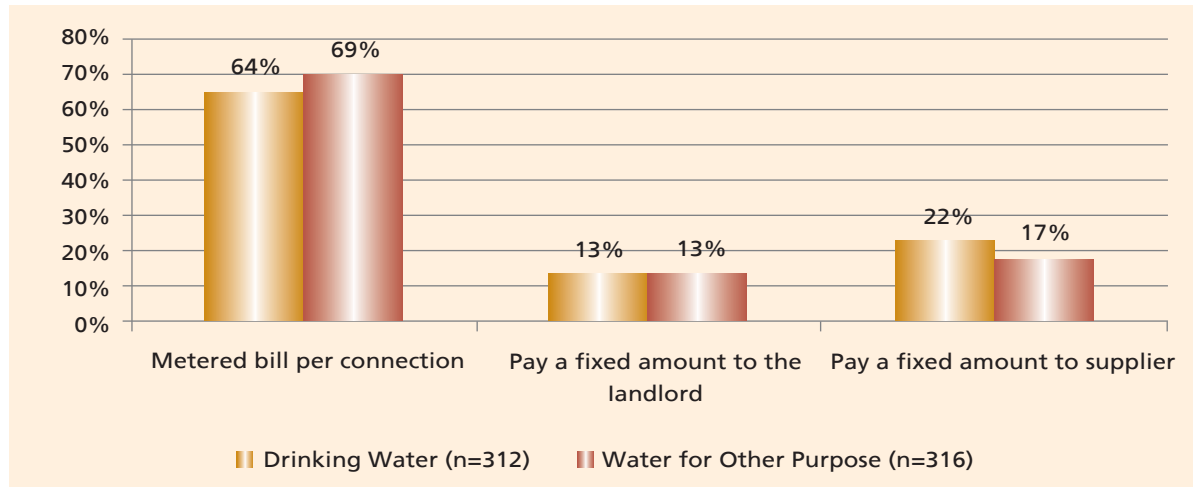
Housing Type	Type of Water	Pay	Do not Pay
	Water for other purpose	31.03	68.97
Ownership by possession (33)	Drinking water	33.33	66.67
	Water for other purpose	33.33	66.67
Lived in a land of any organisation or trust (58)	Drinking water	29.31	70.69
	Water for other purpose	27.59	72.41

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

Furthermore, we have tried to concentrate on the people who pay their bills and have made an effort to explore the methods they use and the problems they face in doing so. The survey shows that the people who pay regularly for their received water services mainly follow three methods:

- Metered bill per connection
- Fixed amount to be paid to the landlord- in this case, the water bill is paid by the landlord and the users only pay a fixed amount to their landlords
- Fixed amount to be paid to the supplier- This is actually an informal way of paying for the water services. In this case, even though the users use the services provided by WASA, instead of paying the bill to WASA (as determined through the meter to WASA), they pay a fixed amount of money to the water supplier (an intermediary). The slum dwellers of one area explain the context of developing such a system in the following way- "in Narayanganj, the water bill is determined through meter. When meters were first set up here, we went to the WASA office. The reason was simple- we live on a private property and there are 7 or 8 families living here. We pay rent regularly to the owner of the property, but as the meter was being set up, we had to pay Tk 1500-1600 per month. We did not think that the property owner would pay such an amount and it is also not possible for us to do that. Henceforth, we went to the WASA office and asked them to change the system for us. We are really poor and we made it very clear that it would be impossible for us to pay that much money for water services. We negotiated with them and finally we agreed on an arrangement- each month, we will pay Tk 150 to the WASA office and Tk 100 to the supplier. Since then, we have not paid the metered bill rather this was the amount that we paid." Thus there is an informal arrangement between WASA officials and citizens and several WASA officials along with intermediaries who manage the water supply benefits by receiving a negotiated payment for the water supplied. In this process, WASA gets deprived from earning revenues for the services provided.

The following figure show various methods used by people to pay for water services.

Figure 9: Method of water bill payment

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

According to this, in case of drinking water, 64.42% paid the metered bill per connection and 22.44% paid a fixed amount to suppliers.

The figure above shows that there are 316 households who pay for water used for cooking, washing and cleaning and of these, 69.30% paid the through metered bill per connection and 17.41% paid a fixed amount to the supplier.

As we have explained earlier, water scarcity is not really an uncommon factor in Narayanganj and in fact, the slum dwellers have to face it a lot. We have tried to understand how the people deal with this scarcity.

Table 11: How water scarcity is managed (by number)

	Non-Slum	Slum
Buy water bottles	20	3
Borrow water from neighbors	57	17
Go the nearest WASA office	1	4
Fetch water from nearest schools, madrasa	37	13
Collect it from the near-by residential area	24	13
Collect water from landlords	5	2
Reducing water usage	153	49
Collect water from market/neighbors tube well	8	7
Collect it from ponds or rivers or community well	34	13
Total	339	121

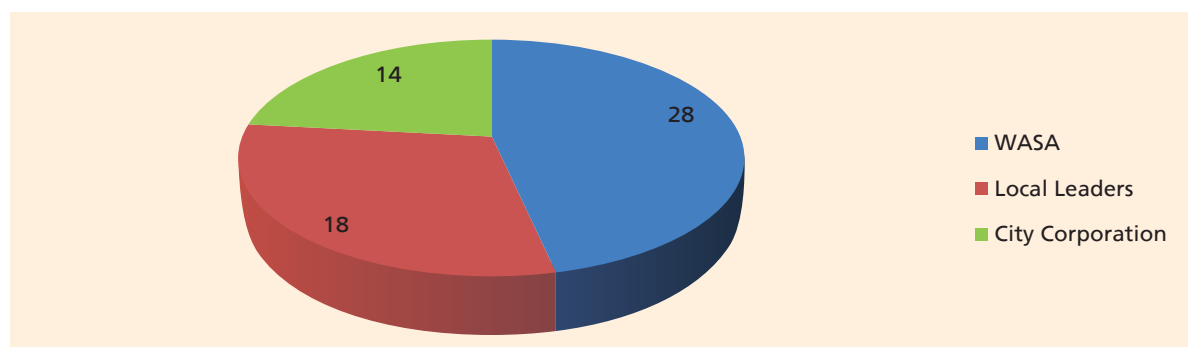
Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

According to table 11

- Out of 460 households that reported facing scarcity of water, 339 non-slum households had a strategy to manage water scarcity
- 121 slum households had a strategy to manage water scarcity
- Poor, non-poor and well-off households from the non-slum areas mostly reduced water usage to manage water scarcity
- The second strategy to combat water scarcity was borrowing from neighbors for non-poor and well-off households from the non-slum areas
- Non-poor and well-off households from the slum area mainly reduced water usage to manage water scarcity

At the same time, we wanted to know how many households go to different institutions to solve their water related problems. Our study indicates that only 60 households visited different institutions and most of them went to WASA. It is interesting to note that in case of water related problems people prefer to visit local leaders instead of the city corporation.

Figure 10: Institutions visited to ensure water supply (by number)



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

Table 14: Reasons for visiting an institution

	Frequency	Percentage
Improvement of water's pressure	26	43.33
Improvement of water quality	13	21.67
Fixing the pipe line	1	1.67
Adjust the water bill	6	10.00
To get water connection	14	23.33

Source: Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

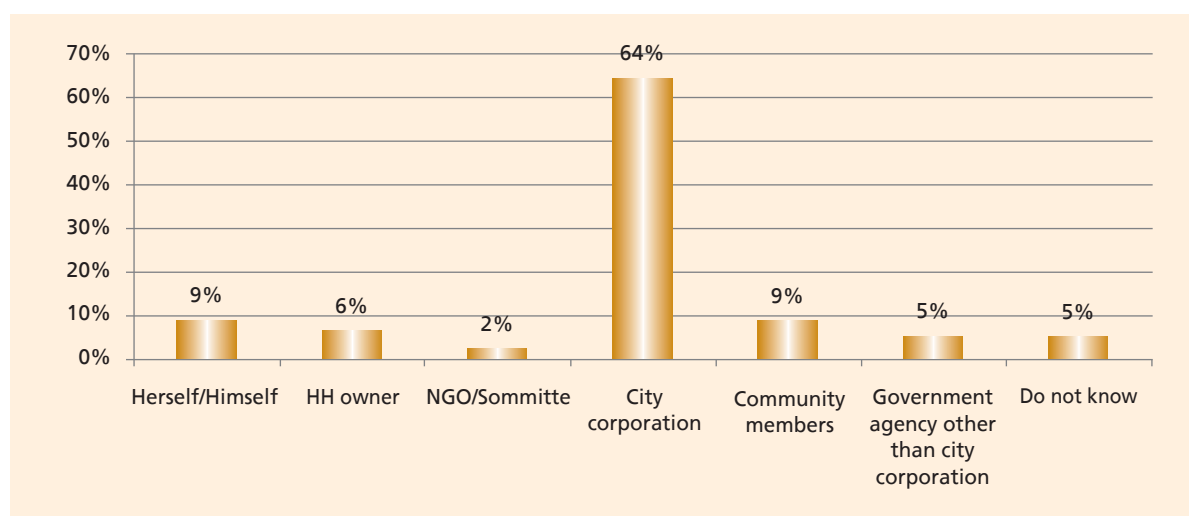
The table above indicates that-

- Out of the 60 households, 26 households or 43.33% of the household's main reason for visiting an institution was to improve water pressure
- The second major reason was to get water connection

3.3.2.2 Drainage system

In case of Narayanganj, the engineering department of the City Corporation is responsible for developing the drainage system and the conservancy department is in charge of maintaining the system. Two categories of drains are found in the city corporation area- the main drain and the sub-drains. These sub-drains connected to the main drain, eventually carry all the sewage to the dumping stations and these are cleaned almost every day. Our survey indicates that drainage system is accessible to most of the city residents and most the respondents have acknowledged the role played by the City Corporation in constructing this system.

Figure 11: Who built the drainage system? (by percentage)



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

Our qualitative study also shows that of the three municipalities that now have become Narayanganj City Corporation, the drainage system is most developed in the former Narayanganj Municipality area and not so well-developed in the other two, *i.e.* Siddhirganj and Kodomrosul. According to one female ward councilor, "frankly speaking, the decision of making Narayanganj a city corporation was a bit pre-matured as except for the Narayanganj municipality, the other two did not have the necessary infrastructure. However, I have to admit, right now a number of drains are being built in these areas."

Our survey shows that with regard to the drainage system, the city residents suffer from the following problems:

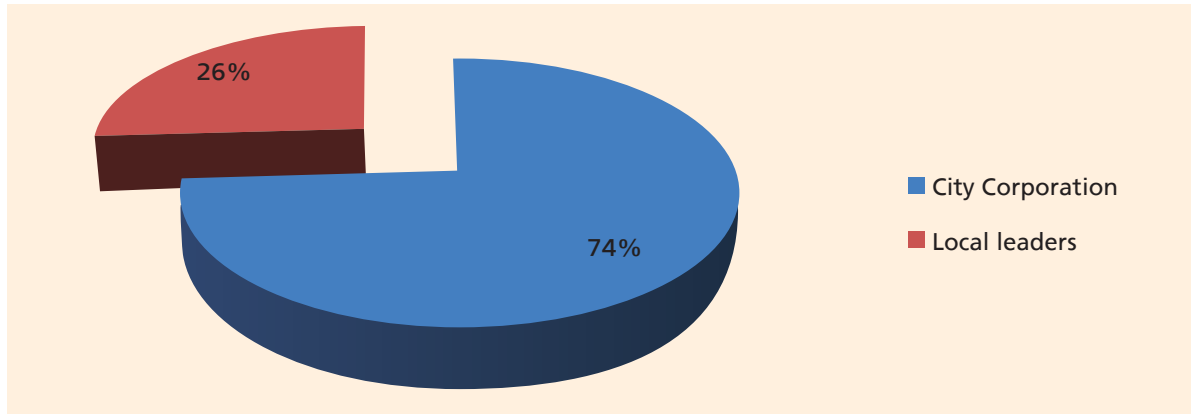
Table 15: Types of drainage/sewerage problems faced across location

Variable	Slum			Non-Slum			Overall		
	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.
Broken Down	169	0.07	0.26	84	0.08	0.28	253	0.08	0.26
Leakage	169	0.05	0.23	84	0.05	0.21	253	0.05	0.22
Water-logging	169	0.92	0.27	84	0.94	0.24	253	0.93	0.26
Overflowed	169	0.47	0.50	84	0.62	0.49	253	0.52	0.50

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

As the table above shows, the main problem for all households, irrespective of their location, is water-logging. In fact, the second most prominent problem, i.e. overflow of drain water is also related to this. Our qualitative study also supports this. According to one councilor, "the problems of water-logging become really severe during the rainy season. Water overflows most of the time, which causes water-logging throughout the area. The thing is, the drains of this area were not built in a planned way. These drains should be straight but in most places they are curvy and at every turn, the accumulated waste products cause clogging of the drains, which results in overflowing of water and water-logging. Furthermore, the city corporation does not have adequate human resources and we have to fight over the sweepers and sometimes, the drains remain clogged for 15 to 20 days." At the same time, another ward councilor opines that all the blames should not be directed at the city corporation- "you have to admit that people are responsible too. They throw away solid waste products here and there and this actually causes the clogging of the drains." Therefore, it can be argued that these two factors, i.e. the failure of the city corporation in dealing with these problems through developing a proper drainage system, coupled with the lack of awareness of the people, generates this huge problem of water-logging.

Our study also shows that in most cases, people do not seek help from other formal or informal institutions to deal with these problems. In fact, only 77 households have tried to contact outside actors to deal with these problems and most of them generally go to the city corporation.

Figure 12: Institutions visited to ensure drainage system (by percentage)

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

The survey results show that even though people do not go to the local leaders or the city corporation, in general, the ward councilors try to address these concerns as part of their electoral responsibility. They try to contact the city corporation on behalf of the people they represent. For instance, according to one city councilor, "part of the area that I represent is under water for two months. When people informed me about the situation, I contacted the mayor and also with the city corporation officials to deal with the problem." The conservancy officer of the city corporation, who is in charge of maintenance of the drainage system informed us that whenever people contacted them with regard to any problem, they try to solve it as quickly as possible- According to one of them, "people should directly come to the city corporation and if they tell us about the problem, we try to tackle it as efficiently as possible."

3.3.2.3 Waste management

Waste management is one of the major responsibilities of the Narayanganj City Corporation. The city generates 300 tons of garbage every day containing 140 to 150 tons of industrial waste and 150 to 160 tons of residential waste like food, vegetables, fruits, polyethylene, paper and cloths. The city corporation has a capacity to collect 150-200 tons of garbage every day (NCC 2013). It is estimated that, the collection rate is about 65-75% in a day and the rest of the garbage is disposed in the landfills and left unattended or locally dumped on the riverside or canals. The Conservancy Section under the Health Department of the city corporation plays the most important role. In general, the entire waste management system is conducted in two ways:

i. Through a public-private partnership - in this case, various NGOs or other organisations collect garbage from the households. However, these organisations need written permission from the city corporation to perform their duties. As these organisations are free from the control of the city corporation, they can use their own transportation system and recruit their own personnel. Their

activities are monitored by the ward councilors. At the same time, the city corporation also determines the amount of money to be paid to these organisations and according to our findings, it has decided to charge Tk 30 per household per month for collecting waste. Although the rate is defined by the city corporation, fees charged for different NGOs vary in several locations of the city. In general, these organisations collect garbage everyday from 6 to 9 in the morning through door to door visits and dump these at *Jimkhana*.

ii. Through city corporation- the city corporation also has established some dumping points or dumping stations throughout the city and the corporation collects garbage from these places using its own mechanism. In order to do that, the corporation has its own garbage collecting vehicles and has also appointed some people to carry out the work. The conservancy supervisor oversees the activities of these people and he, on the other hand, is accountable to the conservancy inspector. The City Corporation also collects garbage from the garment factories and the garbage collected by the City Corporation is dumped at the Link road.

The discussion above indicates that there are two specific waste disposal mechanisms in place- the garbage collection mechanisms followed by the NGOs mainly collect this from door to door and the city corporation mainly collects garbage from specific places, i.e. dumping stations or points. The following table shows how accessible the garbage collection facilities are to the citizens of the Narayanganj City Corporation.

Table 16: The state of waste management facilities in wards of Narayanganj

Ward	Collection from Door Step	Collection from specific place	No Facility	Total
1	1	2	17	20
6	-	-	20	20
8	-	-	24	24
10	-	-	24	24
11	22	6	36	64
12	79	1	16	96
13	-	-	25	25
14	17	5	2	24
15	11	13	0	24
16	18	2	63	83
17	17	2	5	24

Ward	Collection from Door Step	Collection from specific place	No Facility	Total
18	-	-	24	24
19	-	-	44	44
20	-	-	68	68
21	-	-	24	24
22	-	-	24	24
23	-	-	24	24
24	-	3	93	96
25	-	-	48	48
26	-	-	20	20
27	-	-	48	48
Total	165	34	649	848

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

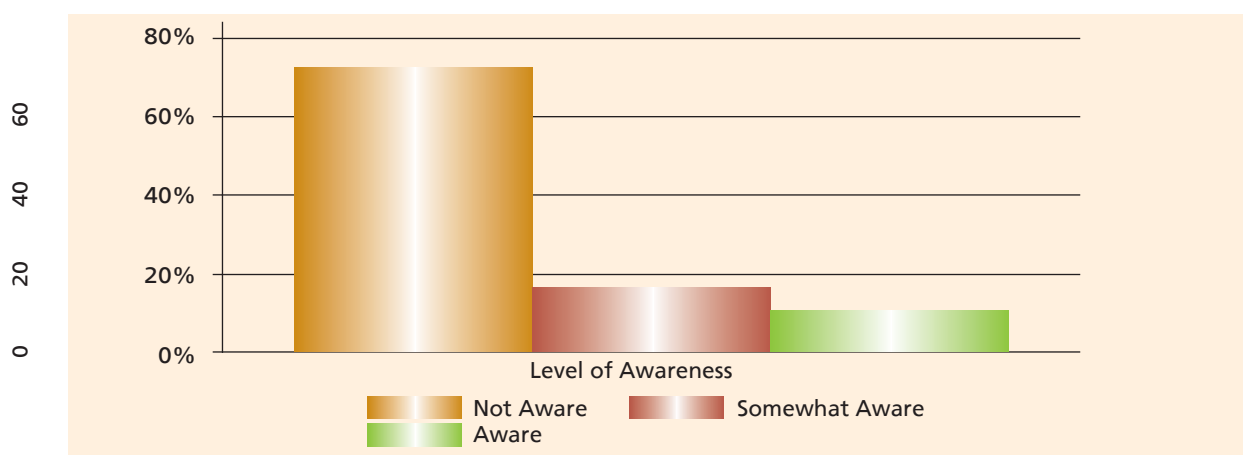
The table reveals that most of the surveyed households (649 out of 848) do not have access to the formal waste management system. At the same time, we also observe some discrepancies- whereas door to door services are readily available at wards no. 11, 12, 14 and 17, this service is relatively rare at wards no. 1, 15 and 16 and non-existent in the other ones. Similar observations can be made about the garbage collection system conducted by the city corporation as these services are concentrated in ward no. 15. In case of the other wards, the situation is indeed dire. For instance, in wards 25 or 27 for our surveyed 48 households, no garbage collection system is available. Similarly, in case of ward no. 24, only three dumping stations are available which is inadequate. Our study indicates that most of the dumping stations are situated in and door-to-door services are available at the area which was previously known as Narayanganj municipality. In the other two municipalities (i.e. Siddhirganj and Kadamrosul), which were included within the city corporation, the garbage collection facilities are not well-developed. At the same time, in some wards, in the absence of proper facilities, people mainly dump their waste products into nearby ponds or canals. This is a strategy that has been adopted by the people living in wards 25, 26 and 27. According to the woman councilor of these wards, "in our area, people do not have any particular place to dump their wastes. At the same time, given that there are many ponds and canals in this area, people use these for dumping waste. Honestly speaking, I cannot blame them. If they do not have access to any facilities, what options are there for them?" The same conclusion can be drawn about Rishipara (ward no. 21). As there are no garbage collection facilities available to the people living in this area, they use the nearby canal. However, due to over usage, this canal is now full of waste products and according to one resident of this area- 'we used to bathe with the water of this canal but now if you look at it, there is just no water, only garbage'.

Therefore, the findings above indicates that the quality of services provided by the city corporation varies and only the former Narayanganj municipality area has succeeded in developing an effective waste management system. As a result of this, people living in other areas are relying on alternative arrangements like dumping wastes in the ponds, canals and rivers which is endangering the environment and also negatively affecting the livelihood of the residents.

At the same time, our survey indicates that according to most households (87%), there are no separate collection mechanisms for medical, industrial and household wastes. Furthermore, 88% of the households reported that no separate garbage collection method is followed during religious or other festivals. However, the city corporation officials did not agree with these observations and they claimed that the corporation takes special measures for waste collection during different religious festivals like *Puja* or *Korbani* festival. According to one of them during these festivals, the city corporation takes special care. In general, during the *Korbani* Eid festival, we have to deal with a huge amount of waste and we take measures accordingly, i.e., we recruit some additional people and work really hard. During every Eid, the city corporation vehicles start working from the early morning. We go to every place and collect garbage. We clean up the roads and we do the same thing during the *Puja* festival." In fact, during our FGD, the residents of Rishipara admitted that during the *Puja* festival, the city corporation indeed tries to clean up the polluted canal. However, according to them, the corporation does not do that on their own, rather, "we have to apply to the city corporation and only after they receive our application, the workers of the city corporation come to the festival places and clean things up."

Given that quality of services received by the residents varies according to their locations and also the service received by them is inadequate, the question is, why don't the residents of the city corporations protest? Why do they try to cope with the situation? Our survey finding offers an interesting explanation. There is a possibility that the citizens do not protest as they have very little idea about the city corporation's role with regard to waste management. The following figure shows that.

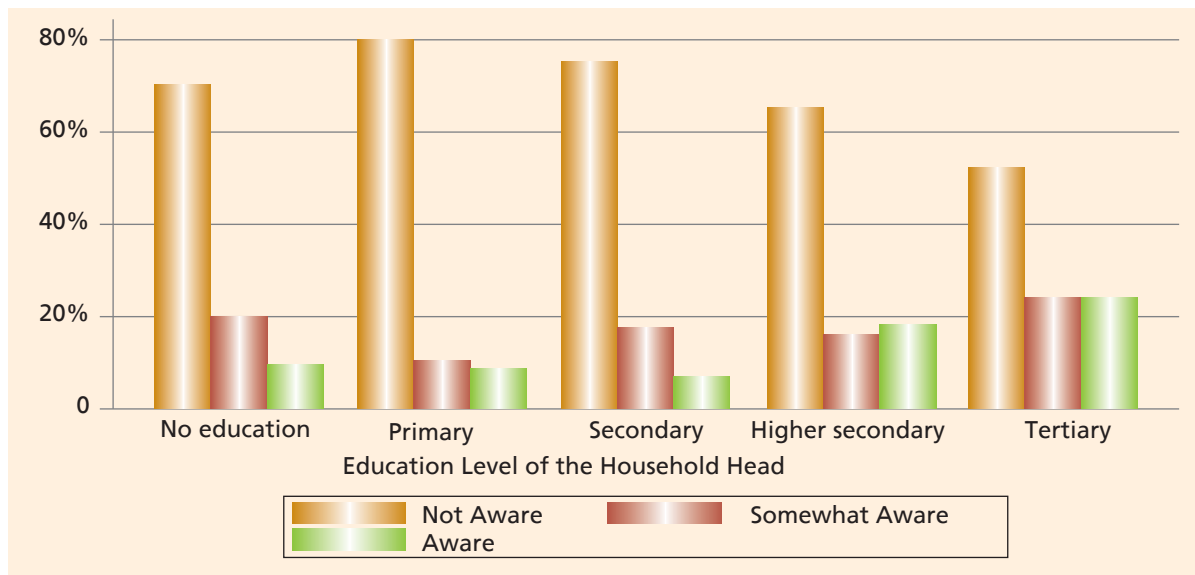
Figure 13: Knowledge about the role of City Corporation regarding waste management



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

According to this, most (72.64%) of the households are not aware of the role of the city corporation, whereas only 10.61% of the households are fully aware of the city corporation's role regarding waste management (they could state two role). However, our survey data also shows that people's level of education is correlated with their level of awareness.

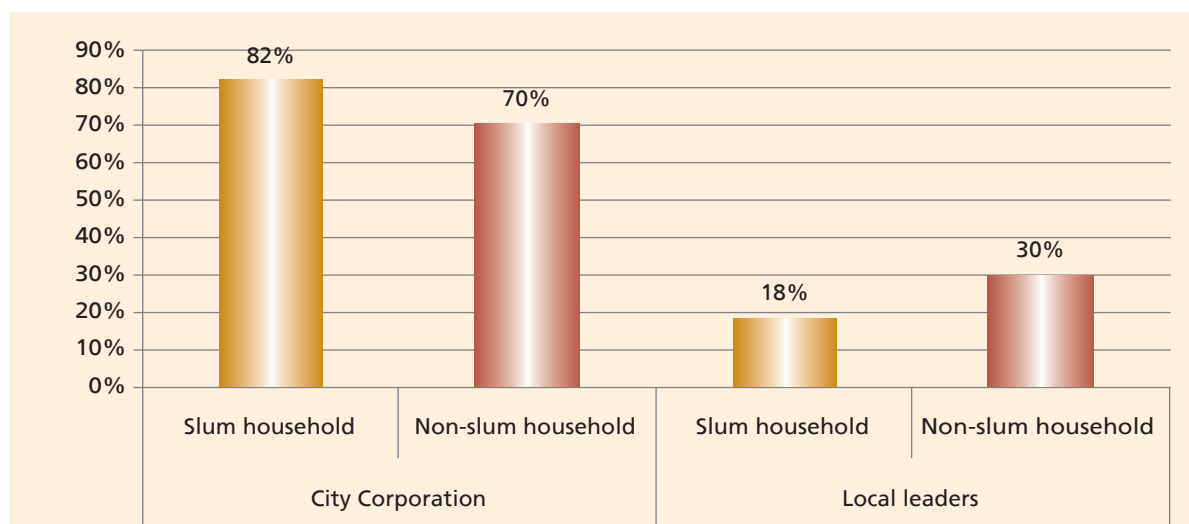
Figure 14: Awareness of citizens regarding waste management by education



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

As shown in the above figure, 70.66% of the people who did not receive any education are not aware of the services provided by the city corporation with regard to waste management, and in the case of people who received tertiary level education, this lack of awareness rate stands at 52.17%. In fact, of all the people who have received higher secondary level education, 34% are somewhat aware or aware of the city corporation's role in waste management. It is possible that this lack of awareness of the people actually prevented them from protesting against the ill-developed waste management system. At the same time, this lack of awareness also explains why most people do not go to any institutions to solve their problems. Our survey indicates that whereas all types of residents (i.e. whether they live in slum or non-slum areas) face problems regarding garbage collection, only 65 Households have gone to different institutions to complain. Of these 65 households, most of them (72.31%) went to the city corporation. Our survey also indicates that people's choice of placing a complaint to an institution does not depend that much on their economic status or dwelling place. In almost all cases, the city corporation is considered to be the most important place to complain about services received.

Figure 15: Citizens facing discrimination in accessing institution

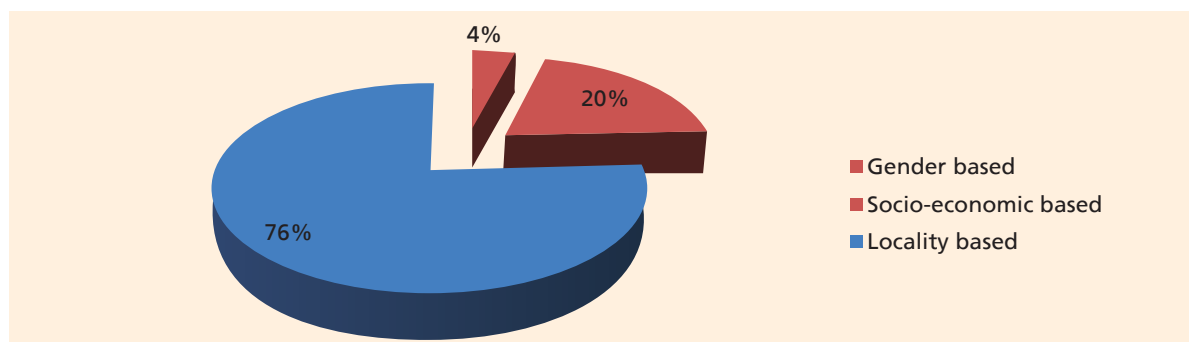


(Total slum households – 11, Total non-slum households – 54)

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

Of the households that visited these institutions to place their demand or complaints, most (40 out of 65) of them reported that they did not face any discrimination. However, of the 25 households that faced discrimination, 76% reported locality based and 20% reported socio-economic based discrimination

Figure 16: Types of discrimination faced



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

We have also tried to know from the residents how much money they spend per month for garbage collection.

Table 17: Monthly payment for garbage collection

	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Monthly Payment for Garbage Collection	132	35	11.59	15	100

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

Our survey shows that out of the 848 households, only 132 pay for garbage collection, and in fact, we have found only one household in the slum area who pays for garbage collection. As the table above shows, the mean payment of garbage collection is Tk 35 which is close to the amount that the NGOs are allowed to collect from the residents as determined by the city corporation. However, both our survey data and FGDs with the local residents indicate that money paid to the service providers varies significantly. For instance, we have found out that there are some households who pay up to Tk 100 per month for garbage collection. Interestingly enough, during our FGD at Khanpur, we have found that people living in the same area are paying different amounts of money- whereas there are some who are paying Tk40, few people are also paying Tk 70.

3.3.2.4 Electricity service

Sufficient power generation and supply is one of the fundamental indicators of socio-economic development. Bangladesh has been continuously struggling to ensure electricity services to the citizens. It is estimated that, about 60% of the total population has access to electricity and per capita generation is 292 KWH. The country is supposed to generate 7000 MWs of electricity by 2013 (Ministry of Power, Energy and Mineral Resources, 2012). Dhaka Power Distribution Company Limited (DPDC) is mainly the responsible authority to ensure electricity service in the Narayanganj City Corporation. The survey has taken an inquiry over electricity service in the Narayanganj City Corporation area.

In the Narayanganj City Corporation, though legal electricity connections are provided by the DPDC, as the following table shows, there are other means of connections available to the city residents.

Table 18: Type of electricity connection across non-slum and slum households

	Non-Slum (N=648)		Slum (196)		Total	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Legal Electricity Connection	0.51	0.50	0.40	0.49	0.49	0.50
Electricity Connection from Other Household, store or factory	0.49	0.50	0.60	0.49	0.51	0.50

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

The table above indicates two important things. Firstly in case of slum areas, most of the electricity connections are from other households, stores or factories. In other words, most of the slum dwellers are receiving electricity services through illegal means. However, this tendency is mostly observed in the slums situated on public land. As they do not have the legal rights to apply for electricity connection, they mainly try to take the connection from the nearby places.

On the other hand, the slums situated on private land do not face this problem and in these cases, electricity connection is mostly ensured by the landlord. Secondly, for the non-slum dwellers, illegal connection is also a major source of electricity as almost half of them receive services through this particular way. Our qualitative study also confirms the reliance of the slum dwellers on illegal means in case of gaining access to the electricity service. According to the residents of Jimkhana slum, "we have severe electricity crisis. In order to deal with it, few people have decided to rely on illegal means and in exchange for money they have drawn electricity connection from a nearby area." In effect, six people of the slum have illegally set up six meters in a room of the slum and they now supply electricity to the whole slum. The slum dwellers pay to these people instead of going to the electricity offices or city corporations. As indicated earlier, there is a reason behind that- in order to gain access to electricity services, a person needs to have a holding number and he also has to be a legal resident of the place. The problem with the slum dwellers is most of them are living on public land and as such, they do not have the necessary holding number. As a result, instead of applying through proper method, they have started to rely on these illegal means.

In fact, the DPDC is also aware of the situation. According to one official, "we know that people living in the slum areas sometimes use the connection of the nearby areas and in this way they try to get the service. A meter is set up in a house or place which is eligible for electricity supply and connection is provided to the slum dwellers from this. The problem is, in most cases, these illegal connections are maintained by some local political leaders and it is a good source of income for them." However, while the official said that the tendency of using illegal lines has declined presently, he made an interesting comment, "it is not our duty to see how people are getting lines or how meters are being set up. If we get the money as determined through the meter, we are satisfied."

However, it is important to note that even though the slum-dwellers often do not get access to the electricity service legally, that does not mean that they do not pay for this service. In fact, even though in the case of water services people often do not pay the bill, our survey shows that almost all the households pay their electricity bills. However, in case of paying these bills four distinct methods are followed:

Firstly, sometimes the electricity bill is included in the rent. Our qualitative study shows that this method works in the following way. In general, people who live in the rented houses pay a fixed amount of money as electricity bills to their landlords. If the bill to be paid is more than the fixed amount, the additional cost is shared by the landlord and if the bill is less, he can keep the money.

Secondly, electricity bills are also paid based on the electricity consumed. In this case, the amount to be paid for the electricity services varies which mainly depends on the consumption pattern of the user.

Thirdly, often times people also pay a fixed amount of money to the person from whom they get the electricity connection. In this case, people use the electricity connection of a nearby place or his/her neighbours, and in exchange they pay a fixed amount of money. At the same time, the

electricity connection is ensured illegally through the help of the government workers and in exchange a fixed amount of money is paid to them.

Finally, in some cases, people pay money according to the electric points they use for different devices. For instance, in case of the Jimkhana slum, the slum dwellers have to pay at the following rate:

Table 19: Price rate for electricity usage

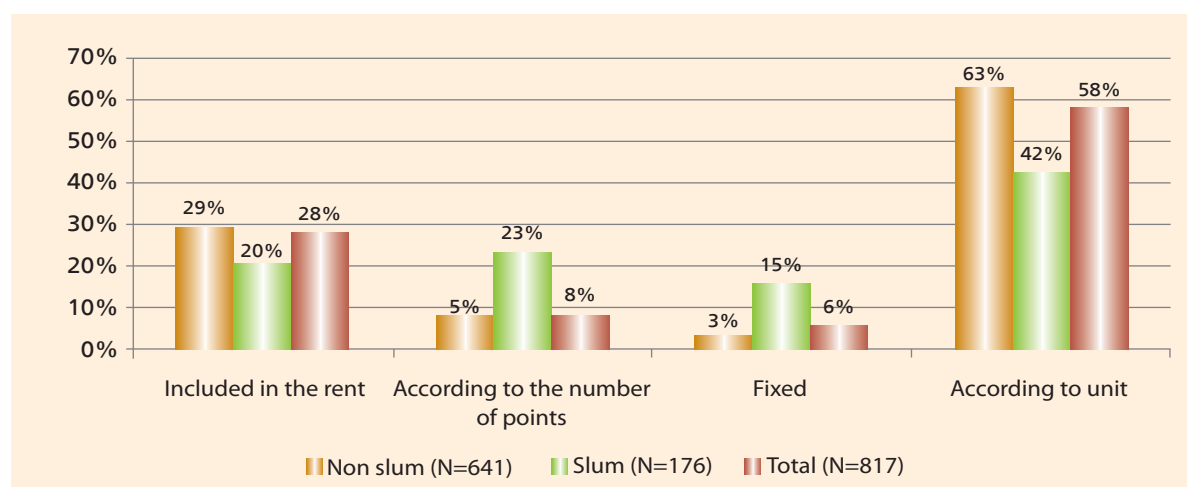
Name of Device	Number of Device	Monthly payment (BDT)
Fan	1	150
Light	1	150
TV	1	100
Refrigerator	1	400

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Research, Jimkhana FGD, 2013

In general, people have to pay within the first 15 days of each month.

However, the question is, is the method of payment related to the living arrangements made by the people? The following figure shows that.

Figure 17: Mode of electricity payment across slum and non-slum households



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

According to this, no such relationship exists and infact most of the people prefer to pay electricity bills as per the unit consumed and the least favorite means is paying a fixed amount of money.

However, the above finding becomes interesting if we take the following table under consideration:

Table 20: Monthly electricity payment arrangement

	According to usage of items		According to Units consumed	
	Non-Slum	Slum	Non-Slum	Slum
Ultra Poor	250	500	429.17	550
Poor	366	255	520.61	618.18
Non-Poor	331.58	331.82	624.16	493.59
Well-Off	512.5	300	783.67	464.55
Total	359.66	314	675.76	505

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

As the table shows, in case of bills paid according to point, the ultra-poor households living in the slums in fact pay more than all the other economic groups. On the other hand, if we consider the bill payment system according to unit, the poor become the group that pay more than all the other groups. Whereas in case of the non-slum areas, the non-poor and the well-off pay considerably more than the ultra-poor and poor, it will be interesting to explore the dynamics at play in the slum areas that forces the poor to pay more than the relatively better-off people.

At the same time, the table clearly shows that bill paid according to point (items used; e.g. light bulbs, TV, fan etc) is cheaper if compared to bills paid according to unit. Therefore, the question is, why do people of all economic strata (especially the poor and the ultra-poor) prefer the unit system? Our qualitative findings offer two different explanations for this- first of all, in most cases; the choice of accessible electricity connection does not depend on the economic status rather it depends on the geographic location, i.e., people's access to the types of electricity connection depends on where they live. As a result, even if a particular method is considered to be the cheapest or the most affordable, the poor cannot avail that if the place where they live in (or the slum where they reside) does not offer that opportunity.

Second, our study also shows that there are certain limitations in case of bills paid according to point. In this case, people have limited options with regard to the use of electric devices. For example, if they rent one electric connection which allows a light and a fan, they cannot use any other devices and if they need to do that, they have to buy another connection. As a result, when the number of devices used by the household is limited, the point system is a better option. However, if they have more devices, they prefer to move to the unit system. The statement made by one respondent explains the situation, "in my house, I have to maintain four electricity connections as I use the point system. As a result, I have to pay Tk 900 per month. However, if I could move to the unit system, I would have paid Tk 500 to 600 per month." This statement actually reflects the situation of the slum dwellers- as they are living in the slums or at a location where point system is the only option, in absence of alternatives, they are using the point system. Furthermore, as one connection maintained through the point system is inadequate, they have to use more than one connection, which raises the price of electricity consumption.

After receiving services through legal and extra-legal means and after paying this amount of money, the people living in Narayanganj often fail to get their desired level of services. Almost 100% of the surveyed population reported that load shedding was a major problem for them. However, interestingly, even though people were dissatisfied with the services received, they rarely sought the help of outside actors or went to the service providing institutions to complain about their services. Only 104 respondents said that they sought help and of them, 93.27% went to the electricity office.

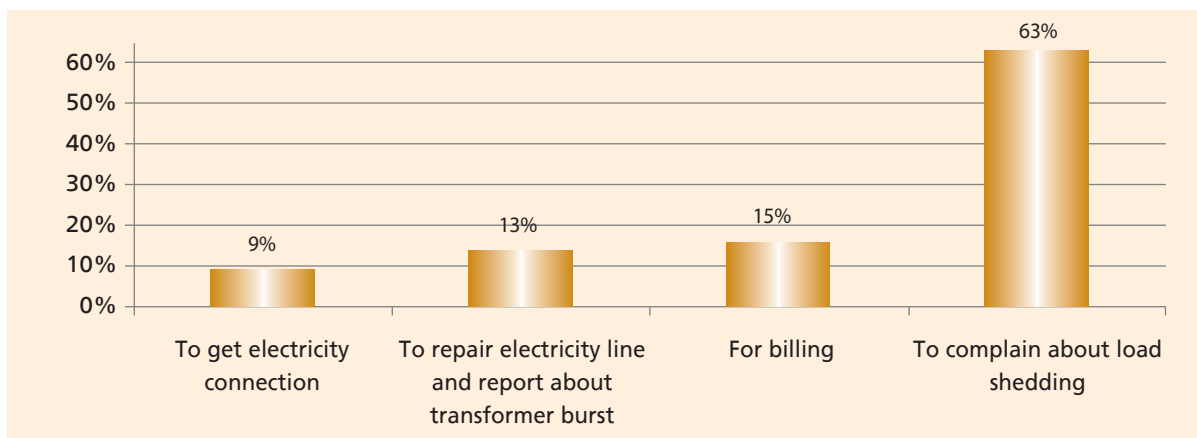
Figure 18: Institutions visited to ensure electricity supply



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

However, the question is- why did they go to these institutions? The following figure shows the reasons.

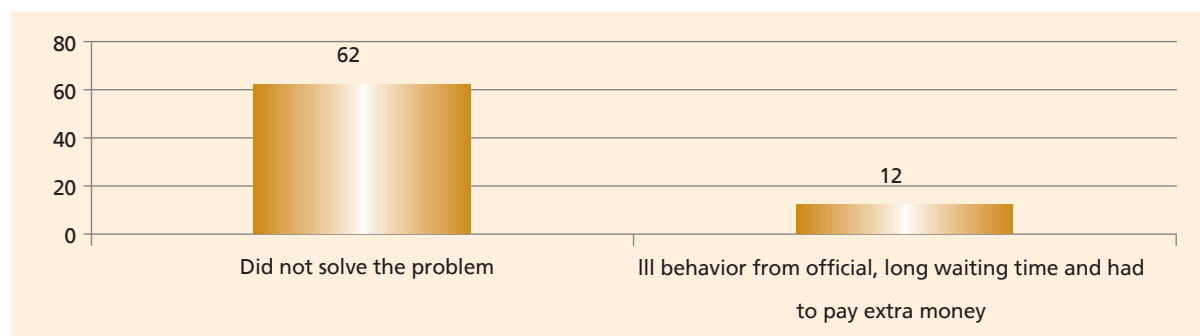
Figure 19: Reasons for visiting an institute



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

The figure indicates that households mostly visited an institute (electricity office or local leader) to complain about load shedding. The second most important reason for visiting was billing (15.38%). It is important to note that people rarely went to the local political leaders for solving their problems. However, our survey indicates that visiting the electricity office did not solve their problems.

Figure 20: Reasons for not being satisfied the way the institutions handled the problem



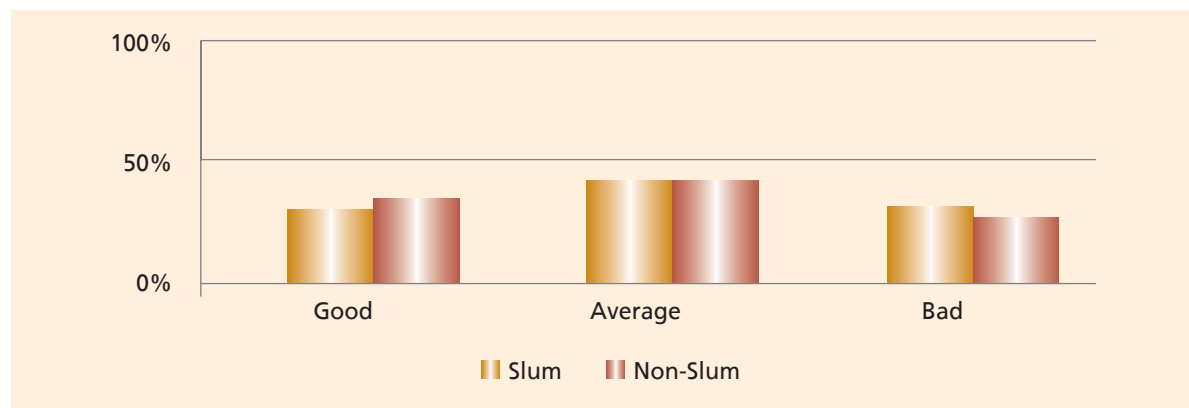
Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

In fact, during our interview with an official of the DPDC, he explained the reason behind this - "the thing is load shedding is a common thing in our country and you will find it everywhere. Therefore, if they come to us with this problem, it is not really possible for us to solve this."

3.3.2.5 Roads and transportation

The city corporation is the authority to maintain and construct roads and footpaths within the city area. Our survey data indicates that in the Narayanganj City Corporation, there are 93.6% paved roads and the rest are unpaved ones. We tried to gauge the perception of the people living in the Narayanganj City Corporation area about the condition of roads in their locality.

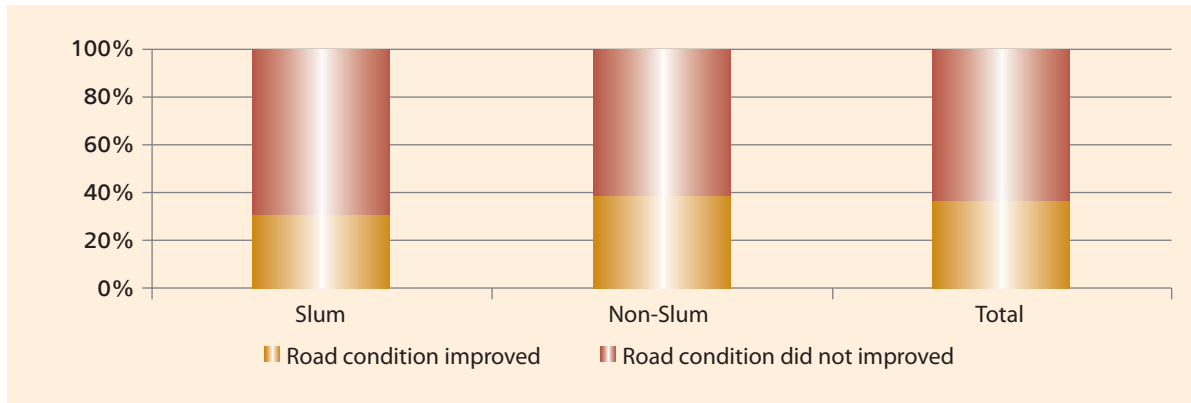
Figure 21: Road condition across slum and non-slum



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

The figure above indicates that the slum-dwellers are not really satisfied with the condition of roads within their locality as 41% of them identified their roads as average and 30% considered these roads to be in bad shape. The same conclusion can be drawn about the roads situated in the non-slum areas. We have asked people whether the condition of the roads improved in the past years, i.e. since the inception of the city corporation.

Figure 22: Improvement in the road condition across location of the household



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

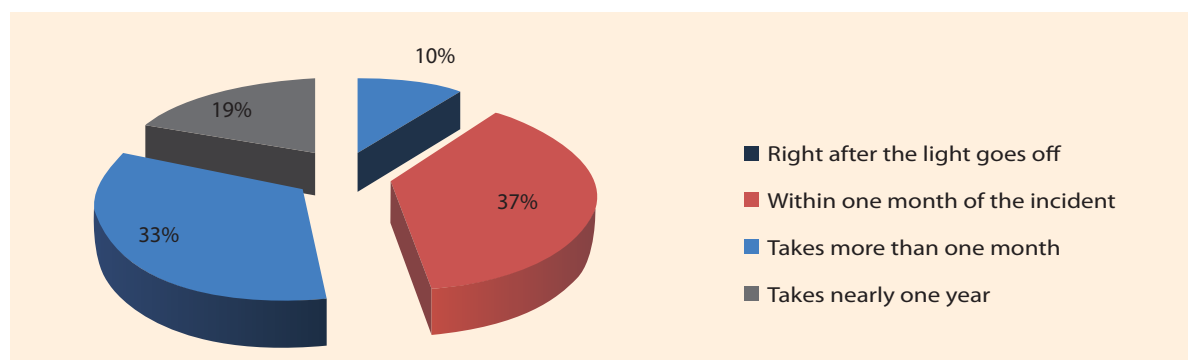
Our finding suggests that in most cases the city corporation failed to improve the condition of the roads. However, the figure above shows that 38.7% of the non-slum population think that the road condition has improved, whereas for the slum-dweller the number stands at 31%. It may be concluded that the infrastructural development works are more concentrated in meeting the need of the non-slum population when compared with slum-dwellers. Our qualitative data actually supports this assumption as during FGDs, a number of slum-dwellers complained that the transformation of their municipality into a city corporation did not really help them, and in fact, made their lives more complicated. However, in terms of providing street lights to the localities, the city corporation is relatively more efficient.

Figure 23: Street lights in the area across location of the household



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

As the figure above indicates, most of the households irrespective of their location, reported to have street lights in their area. Furthermore, the city corporation is, to some extent, efficient in fixing these street lights as quickly as possible.

Figure 24: How quick are dysfunctional street lights fixed

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

During the household survey, 417 households informed us that they knew about the frequency of street lights getting fixed after being dysfunctional and of these, 10.47% reported that the lights were fixed right after they broke and 37% reported that their dysfunctional street lights were fixed within one month of the incident. Even though one month can be considered as a long time, we have to take under consideration two things- first, it is a new city corporation and as such its resource base is limited, and second, as the mayor and other elected officials pointed out, there is serious lack of human resources in the city corporation. If we take these two issues under consideration then it can be said that they are quite efficient in dealing with this particular problem.

We have also asked the respondents about their preferred mode of transportation and we have found that across all households, irrespective of their economic status, the rickshaw, easy bike, cycle or tempo was the most used one. At the same time, bus services are also very popular here. The following table shows the different modes of transportation used by the city residents.

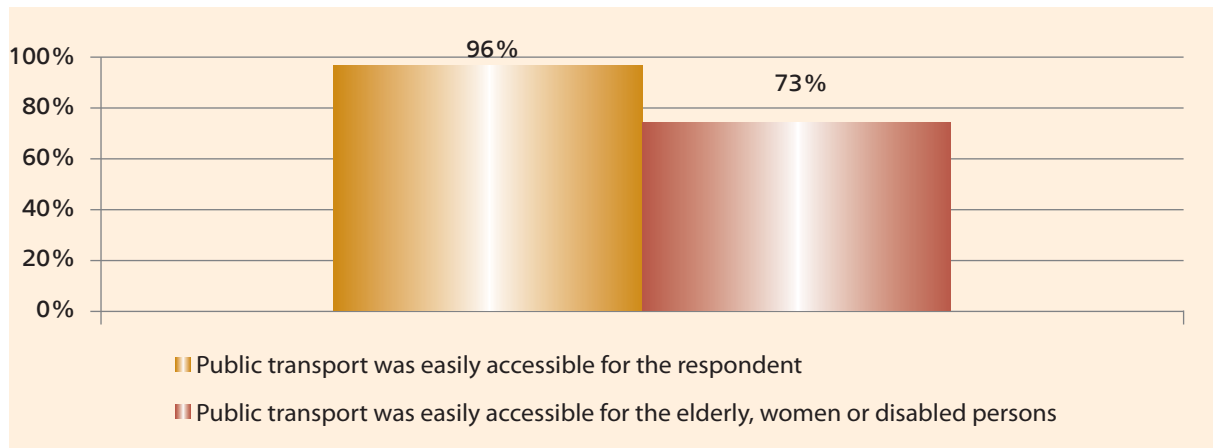
Table 21 Primary and secondary mode of transport across households economic status

	Primarily				Secondary			
	Ultra Poor	Poor	Non-Poor	Well-Off	Ultra Poor	Poor	Non-Poor	Well-Off
Bus	7 (21.88)	46 (36.51)	143 (34.54)	115 (41.67)	3 (10.34)	31 (26.50)	67 (17.72)	35 (13.62)
CNG	4 (12.50)	2 (1.59)	6 (1.45)	18 (6.52)	2 (6.90)	6 (5.13)	19 (5.03)	29 (11.28)
Rickshaw/ Easy bike/ cycle/tempo	20 (62.50)	74 (58.73)	248 (59.90)	137 (49.64)	19 (65.52)	58 (49.57)	217 (57.41)	144 (56.03)
Train / Boat / Launch	1 (3.13)	4 (3.17)	17 (4.11)	6 (2.17)	5 (17.24)	22 (18.80)	75 (19.84)	49 (19.07)

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

It is important to note that public transport is popular in the Narayanganj City Corporation, and in fact, as the figure below shows, 95.64% of the respondents consider the public transportation services accessible to them. This can be considered as a huge opportunity for the city. Given that both bus and public transportation services are popular with the residents, the city can concentrate on strengthening its public transportation services which will play an important role in reducing traffic jam which according to the respondents is a major problem of the city.

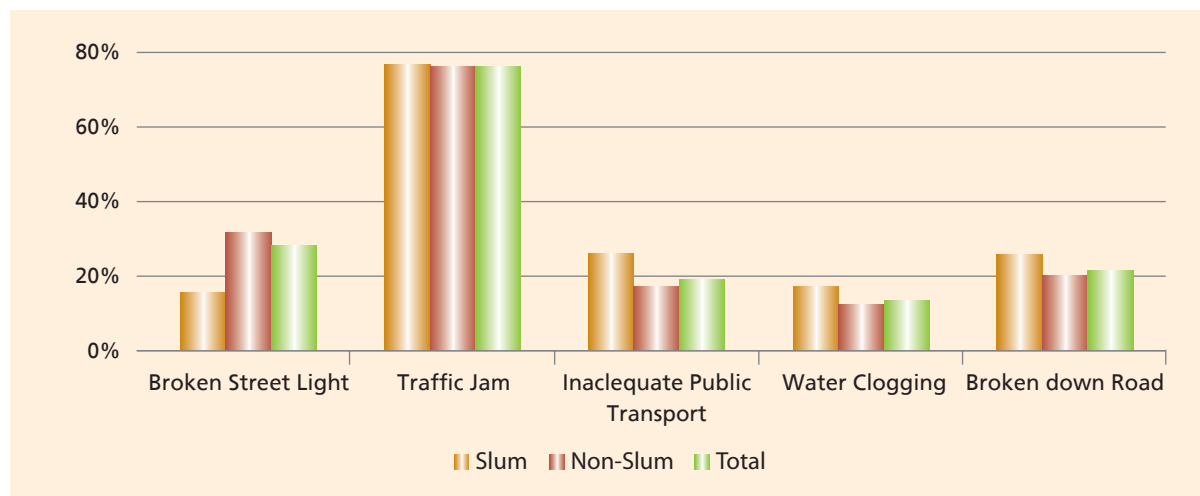
Figure 25: Accessibility to public transport



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

In fact, as the figure below shows, for most of the city dwellers the major problem is excessive traffic jam. The city corporation can really focus on public transportation, which will not only strengthen its resource base but will also free the city from traffic congestion.

Figure 26: Types of road and transport problem faced across location

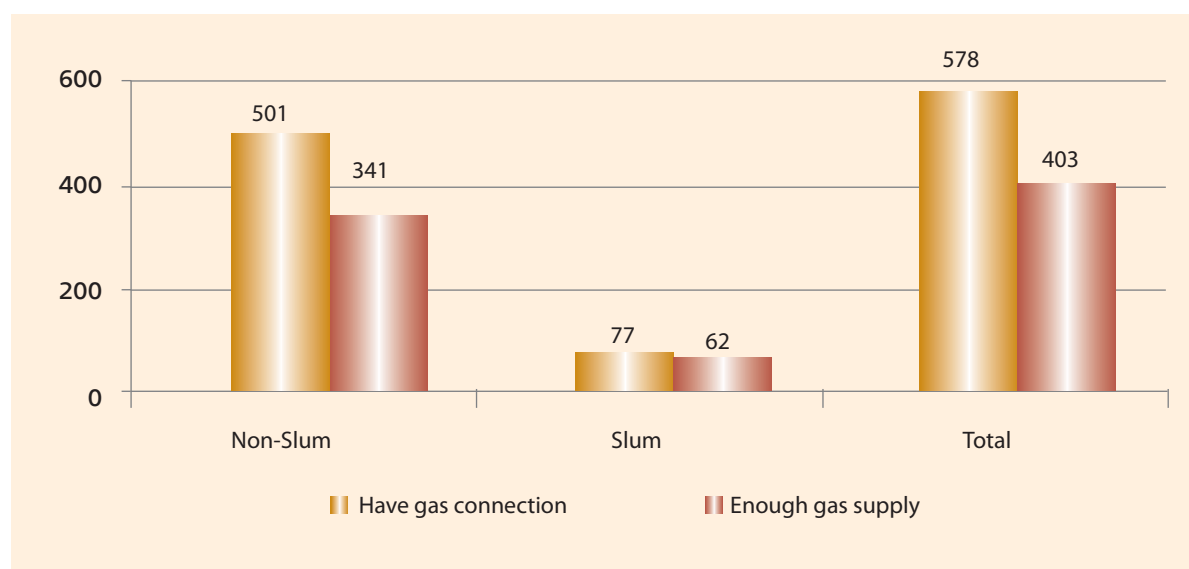


Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

3.3.2.6 Gas supply

Titas Gas Transmission & Distribution Company Limited (Titas), under the Ministry of Power, Energy and Mineral Resources is responsible for gas supply in the Narayanganj City Corporation area. Titas has been supplying gas in this area through its regional sales office. It is estimated that about 70% of the city area is under the coverage of Titas. This regional office of Titas is responsible for setting up new connections and expanding old connections at the residential, commercial and industrial facilities. Our survey findings reflect that for the slum dwellers the supply of gas is quite inadequate. Of the total surveyed households, 578 have gas connection, and of these 578 only 77 live in slums. However, one positive finding is that most of the people who have a gas connection stated that they have adequate gas supply throughout the year.

Figure 27: Status of gas connection and gas availability by households



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

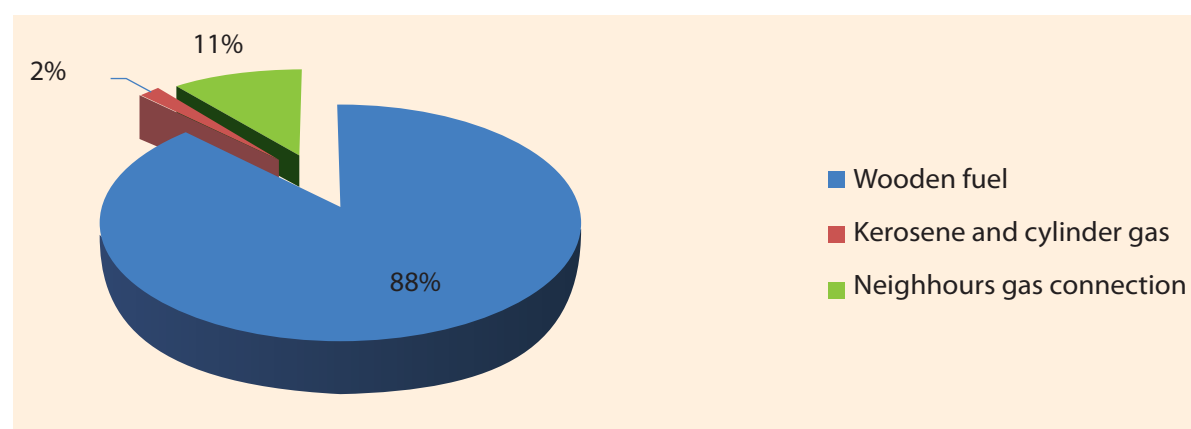
According to the survey, 175 households said that they had to face problems due to inadequate supply of gas. As the table below shows, the extent of the problem varies over time and the problem becomes acute especially in December when 24% suffer from this problem. A government official acknowledged the problem. According to him, "this problem prevails throughout the winter. During this season, due to cold, the density of natural gas increases and consequently, its magnitude decreases. As a result of this, the pressure of the natural gas decreases and that is why during winter there are some problems regarding the gas supply. It is beyond our control."

Table 22: Months when households face gas supply problem (number and percentage)

	N	Percentage
January	14	8
February	11	6.29
March	13	7.43
April	10	5.71
May	3	1.71
June	6	3.43
July	17	9.71
August	13	7.43
September	11	6.29
October	18	10.29
November	17	9.71
December	42	24
Total	175	100

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

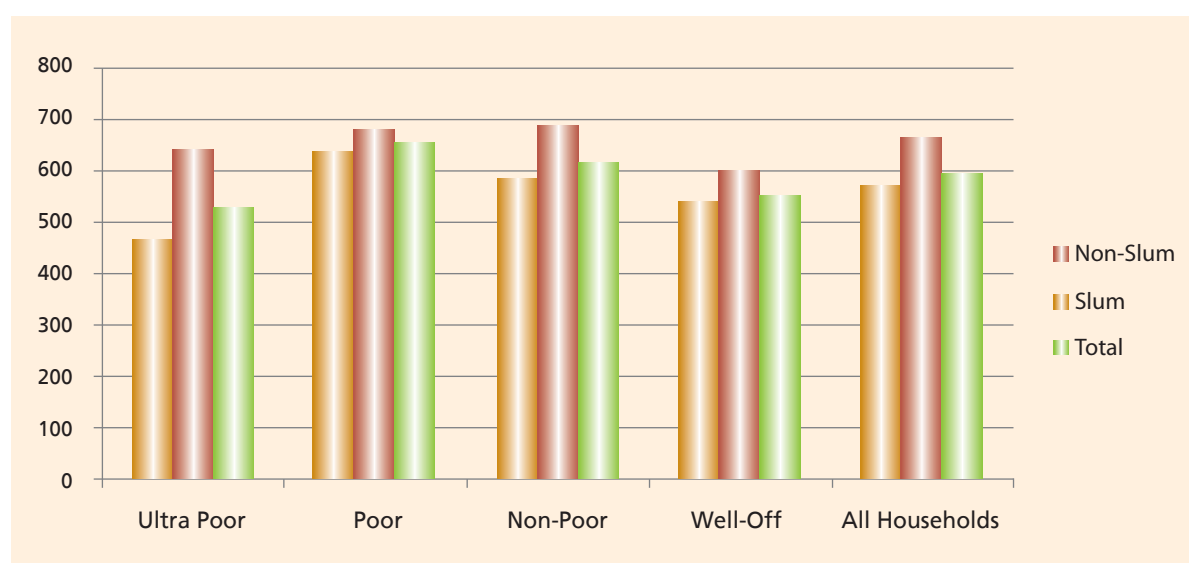
Through our study we also wanted to know how the people who do not have gas supply cope with the situation. The following figure shows the alternative mechanisms adopted by them.

Figure 28: Sources of alternative cooking fuel

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

As indicated earlier, overall, 272 households reported that they did not have a gas connection, and of these, 87.5% used firewood. However, the alternative to natural gas is the low pressurised gas (LPG) cylinders that are available to the city dwellers which are extremely expensive. It is important to note that for the ultra-poor people living in the slums it is a huge burden as they have to spend almost Tk 644 for firewood each month due to the lack of gas connection. Similarly, the poor living in the slums have to pay Tk 679. At the same time, surprisingly, the poor slums dwellers who do not have gas connection actually pay more than the well-off living in the slums (who pay Tk 600) and the non-poor (who pay Tk 588.14) and the well-off (Tk 542.83). The following figure shows that.

Figure 29: Cooking fuel cost per month across location and economic status

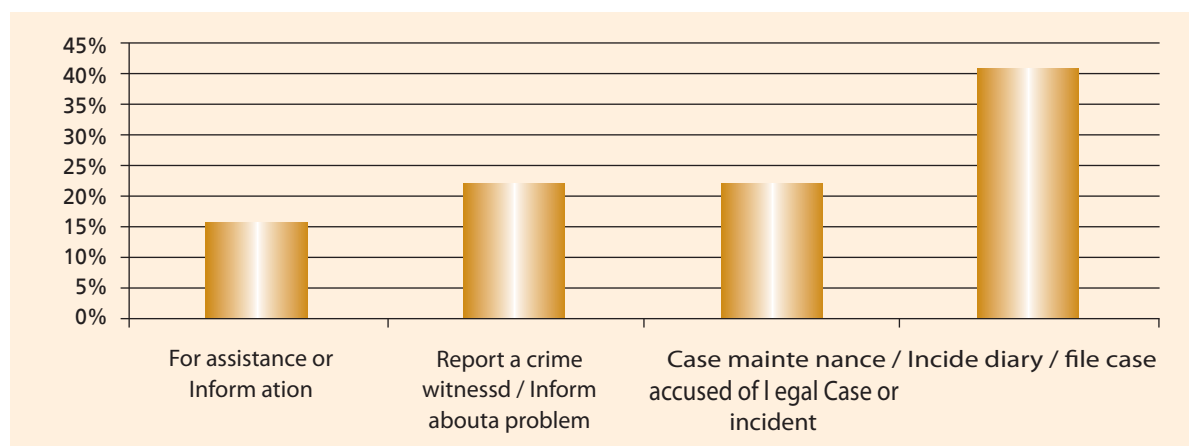


Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

3.3.3 Regulatory services

3.3.3.1 Public safety

Our survey shows that only a handful of respondents (64 in total) visited the police department and of this the majority went to file a General Diary or file a case within the last year. Our interview with a police official provides an explanation for this low interaction between police and citizens as he says, "in general, people try to deal with most of the problems by themselves or with the help of others living in the society. For instance, problems related to family matters, land related conflicts or personal conflicts are mainly resolved at the community level. At the same time, there are some problems which are strictly local in nature and the local elites try to solve them with the help of other people. As a result, people come to police stations as a last resort when they fail to resolve the problems using other means." He also said, "this does not mean that people have lost faith in the police, rather I am witnessing a different trend here. In this city corporation people are finally realising that we work for their benefits."

Figure 30: Reasons for visiting the police department

Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

Our survey reveals that–

- Out of the 64 households, 41% or 26 households interacted with the police department for the purpose of incident diary or to file a case in the past year
- 21.88% or 14 households visited a police department to report a crime witnessed / inform about a problem and for case maintenance / being accused of legal case or incident purpose

3.4 Concluding observations

As we have indicated in the previous chapter, due to the presence of limited governance, the role and responsibilities of the Narayanganj City Corporation mostly concentrates on delivering specific services to the citizens. This chapter attempts to show three things- first, how these services are being delivered, i.e., identification of the actors involved in the service delivery process and the mode of interaction between these actors; second, it also analyses whether the provision of services vary based on the location of service receivers, i.e. whether the slum and non-slum dwellers receive the same quality of services and third, it also explains what the residents of this city corporation can do to ensure their access to services and what they do when they face problems. Based on our study, the following issues can be considered as important:

- As we have pointed out in last year's State of Cities report, one of the key problems that most of the city corporations face is their inability to take complete control over the service delivery mechanism. In effect, in a number of cases, services are delivered by the central government agencies and that creates a difficult situation for the elected officials of the city corporation - they have to be accountable for the services which are not delivered by them and over which they have limited or no control. Furthermore, last year's report also shows the significance of coordination and how the lack of it is making it difficult to ensure access to services for the citizens. Our findings of this chapter shows that these problems do exist in the Narayanganj City Corporation and in some specific services like electricity and gas, the city corporation has

little to no role to play. As a result, in terms of gaining access to these services, we have observed that the citizens have adopted some illegal means as the city corporation fails to be responsive to their needs.

- At the same time, there are some services, like immunisation, development of the drainage system and waste management, where the city corporation plays the key role and in these cases the city residents depend on the corporation for gaining access. We have two specific observations about the services provided by the city corporation- first, as it is a new city corporation; it still lacks the necessary infrastructure, skills and adequate human resources to deliver services in an effective and efficient manner. We have also observed that two municipalities that have been merged to the Narayanganj City Corporation, namely Siddhirganj and KodomRosul are not well-developed in meeting the criteria of being a part of the city corporation and the residents of these two municipalities suffer the most. For instance, in these two municipalities, there are inadequate numbers of drains and the waste management system is not well-organised. However, the good thing is the city corporation has already realised these limitations and working hard to address these. Second, we have seen that in case of providing services, in some cases the city corporation has adopted an innovative approach. It has decided to work in partnership with the NGOs and this partnership is largely successful in meeting the needs of the people. For instance, we have seen that in case of immunisation, the EPI outreach center works closely with the NGOs and the other social institutions and this plays an important role in raising the awareness of the citizens and allowing them access to services. Similarly, in case of waste management, we have also observed the development of a partnership between the city corporation and the NGOs which is effectively serving the city's residents. In case of addressing the problems faced by the residents, the city corporation should take this factor under consideration.
- Our study also indicates that the geographic location of the residents affect the access to services. In most cases, the slum dwellers (especially those living on public land) are finding it difficult to claims services. As a result, they either try to cope with the situation or rely on unfair means. It is interesting to note that this difficulty by the slum-dwellers prevails mostly in case of services delivered by the central government agencies. On the other hand, possibly due to electoral accountability, the city corporation tries to address the needs of these slum dwellers.
- Finally, we have found that in almost all cases, people hesitate to go to the different institutional arrangements to explain their claim to the services or to complain. Our study indicates that due to lack of awareness or assuming that their demands will not be addressed, they show this inertia. However, interestingly enough, our study also shows that those who came in contact with the government or city corporation officials mostly expressed satisfaction about the services they received and most of them did not face any discrimination. This is an important finding and it is necessary that the city corporation take efforts to make the people realise their role in the service delivery system.

CHAPTER 4

Fiscal Strength of City Building

4.1 Introduction

With the expansion of globalisation, city governance has assumed more significance to city building. The term city building is an endogenous process to develop capacity, institutions and legitimacy of the state driven by state-society relationship (Institute of Development Studies, 2010, p. 12). However the terms of city building is adopted in a broader context which includes not only the infrastructural or capacity development of the city but also the increase of social outcome to the city dwellers. The increase of social outcome means the improvement of the standard of living in terms of the basic civic amenities (Shah and Shah, 2006, p. 16). A city government is said to be a good government when it ensures this city building out of the fund provided by the citizens in the name of taxes and other fees. This is called the fiscal strength which means the city government is in a better position to continue and in some cases expand the investments in things critical to the citizens' quality of life and future economic prosperity. A government can be said to be fiscally strong when such continuation and expansion are done out of its own revenues i.e. taxes and service fees levied from the citizens. In other words, the uninterrupted and guaranteed city building can be ensured only when there is fiscal strength of the city government. While ensuring the fiscal strength for city building, the city government undertakes tax reform agenda which traditionally focuses on levying more taxes, fees and service charges. That may put fiscal stress upon the citizens. It can also create disbelief between the city government and the citizens if they don't get the

services in return of their payment. On the contrary, the city government alone cannot work for its fiscal strength. Their networking with the community, civil society is the key process in this regard.

With the objective of ensuring networking, the city government adopts the tax governance where not only the government but also the citizens, business community, civil society work to achieve the expected fiscal strength. The positive outcome of it is to strengthen the capacity of the city government to serve its citizens. This gives the government strong incentives to promote economic growth, and a functioning administration that improves the city capacity and also to promote governance in order to ensure tax compliance.

The main objective of this chapter is threefold:

- To identify the fiscal strength of the Narayanganj City Corporation (NCC) in order to ensure the city building with taxation
- To explore the taxation and city building relationship in this newly established City Corporation
- To examine responsiveness and accountability in the fiscal contract between the City government and the citizens

This chapter begins with a historical analysis of taxation policies of the city government with special focus on industrial development. The next section discusses the fiscal strength of NCC in terms of authority and capacity of mobilisation of resources. This leads the discussion to identify the gap in the linkages between taxation and city building. The fourth section proposes a specific agenda that may strengthen city building through the fiscal contract relationship in order to improve the social outcome and thus good governance. The political economy of tax determination and collection is also discussed in these sections. Finally, the fifth section offers some general conclusions. Both primary and secondary sources of data are used in this study.

4.2 Historical analysis

One of the main aims of urban local government is to balance the urbanisation and industrial development. During the British ruling, the local government system was introduced. It was empowered to levy taxes in limited sectors and expend the same for construction of jails, schools, protection of inhabitants, maintenance of local government's employees, etc (Siddiqui, 2005). Therefore, its objective was city building within their jurisdiction; however taxation of the then local governments was not efficient enough for the expected city building. In reality the local bodies acted as the mere mechanism on behalf of the provincial government to extract the revenues from the local people as the local bodies were not authorised to prepare their own budget. As a result, the local bodies were not independent for the appropriation of the revenues collected by them. Such mechanism acted as an obstruction for the development work to be undertaken by the local bodies. With the passage of time though new acts were passed, financial

autonomy was not granted to the local bodies. The lower tier was still completely dependent and subordinate to the higher tier for financial support and also for taking any financial decisions. Therefore, taxation of the local bodies was not supportive for their city building in real terms. There were gaps in the coordination among the resource collection mechanisms in rural and urban bodies. Actual discrepancies remained on the issue that the scope of work of the local bodies was increased with time but the income sources were not adequate to meet the needs. Therefore, both the urban and rural bodies faced the continuous inadequacy of funds for their assigned tasks. The same situation continued till the end of the British rule.

The situation did not change during the Pakistan period. Even at that time, introduction of indirect democracy obstructed the growth of tax governance. Gap was created between the tax-payers and the members of local governments (Siddiqui, 2005). Such gap acted as an obstruction for industrial development. Analysis of the financial pattern finds that increasing the type of taxes was not corresponding to increasing the amount of income in reality. Excessive government control over the power of the local government to levy tax in the name of transparency and accountability had negative impact on the discharge of functions entrusted upon the local government; it also created a scope for undue influence from the party in power. Such mechanism ultimately hampered the autonomy and independence of the local body in its functions.

After independence, the local government went through many policy changes; with the change of party in power of central government, the structure of local government was changed. Because of such structural changes, the pattern of taxation was also changed; therefore it was difficult to enforce the development plans adopted by the local bodies. This ultimately acted as a hindrance in the path of industrial development. Such policy changes failed to help in the growth of industrial development. The financial pattern of the local government system was framed in historical sequences as follows:

Table 23: Historical sequence of financial pattern of local government system in Bangladesh

Period	Year	Decisions
British	1794	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A committee was formed, namely Justice of Peace, assigned to some responsibilities like infrastructural development, maintenance of law and order • The expenses for these were levied from the holding tax and liquor licenses (Ahmed, 2001, p. 02)
	1813	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taxation for the provision of Chaukidars was imposed.
	1833	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A body was formed, namely the Representative of the City Government • It was the first attempt to bring the concept of city government in East Bengal • This body was authorised to collect rates for the assigned work
	1842	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formal local government was introduced in former East Bengal by passing the Local Self Government Act 1842 for the urban areas

Period	Year	Decisions
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Bengal Village Chaukidari Act 1870 was passed for the rural areas • The local government body of that time was responsible only for collecting revenue and maintaining law and order • These local government bodies used to collect the house taxes, fixed as per the size of the property and the range was from six annas (less than half a rupee) to one rupee per person • In return for this tax they provided no direct service to the tax payers, rather only the watch and ward service
	1882	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lord Ripon’s Resolution was adopted • It resulted in the increase of the area of revenue collection and responsibility. The local bodies both at urban and rural areas collected resources from the holding tax and the land cess, respectively • Despite having the power to collect revenue, the local bodies did not have any power to make the budget for themselves; rather their budget was a part of the provincial budget
	1919	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Act of 1919 made some positive changes, for example, it extended the jurisdiction of local taxation, as well as the power and authority, functions and financial condition of these bodies • The urban bodies got the power to impose various taxes, and in some cases special taxes to meet the special circumstances
Pakistan	1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Basic Democracies Order of 1959 acted as the base for the working of the local government bodies at that time • The district committee and the union committee were allowed to levy tax with the prior approval of the Divisional Committee
	1960	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Municipal Committee had the power to levy around 26 types of taxes • Before levying any tax, the municipal committee needed the authorisation of the Provincial Government under the Municipal Ordinance 1960 • Other than taxes, these bodies had their income from tolls, fees and government grants (Siddiqui, 2005)
After Independence on 1971	1976 1977 2008 2009	<p>Local Government Ordinance</p> <p>Municipality Ordinance</p> <p>Local Government (City Corporation) Ordinance</p> <p>Local Government (City Corporation) Act</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Municipality was authorised to levy about 26 items of taxes (Siddiqui, 2005) • The local bodies fixed the rate of taxes on the authorised items, which remained within the predetermined ceiling of the central government

4.3 Fiscal strength of NCC

The authority and capacity of the urban government largely depends on its fiscal strength. The more a city government is dependent on its local resources, the more it needs to look after the prosperity of taxpayers and thus have stronger incentives to promote economic growth. The collection of taxes requires a functioning tax administration which eventually develops the capacity of the city government.

4.3.1 Revenue sources of NCC

The revenue income of NCC comes from five major sources— taxes, different fees, different leases, government grant other than development sector, and other income sources. Taxes mainly comprise of holding tax which includes land and house tax, lighting rate and conservancy rate. There are taxes other than holding tax, like surcharge on taxes, property transfer fee, taxes on professionals, trades and callings, advertisement tax, cinema tax, tax on vehicles other than motor vehicles and boat, etc. In addition to these taxes, it is authorised to levy various fees, such as fees on birth certificate, death certificate, nationality certificate, yearly fees in setting up mobile phone tower, fees on the deed agreement and mutation of land, road cutting fees, etc. An important fee in many municipalities/city corporations is the charge on utilities which cut roads for purposes such as laying the pipelines. Such revenues are, however, offset by the costs of repairing the roads and, therefore, cannot be viewed as a major net revenue source.

The city corporation also owns some properties from which it receives rent. Rental income, particularly from shops and markets owned by the city corporations, constitutes an important source of revenue. These markets are built on the land of the city corporation, which is given on lease for 99 years and the city corporation receives rent every month. The revenue sources of NCC are shown in the table below:

Table 24: NCC's revenue sources (in crore taka)

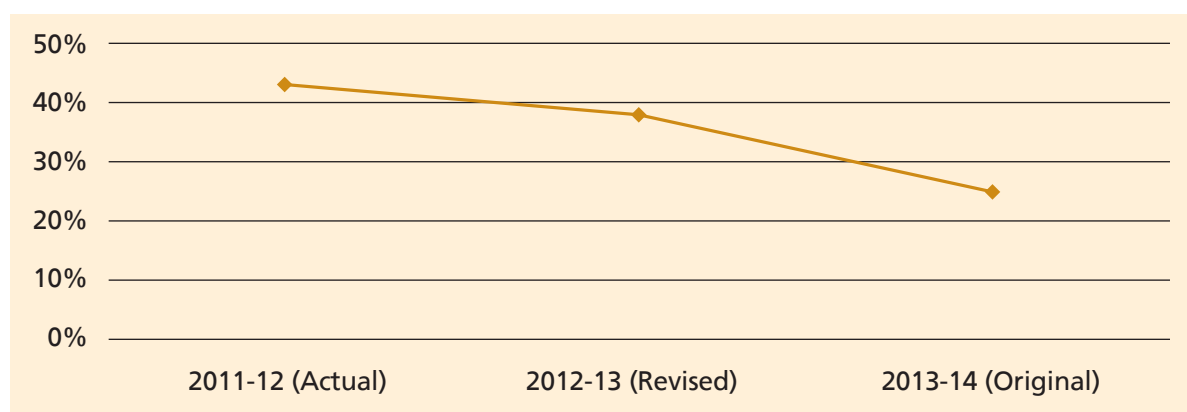
Source of Revenue Income	2011-12 Actual (as % of Revenue Income)	2012-13 Revised (as % of Revenue Income)	2013-14 Original Budget (as % of Revenue Income)
1 Taxes			
a) Holding Tax	6.65 (21%)	11.37 (28%)	15.37 (15%)
b) Other than holding tax	12.89 (40%)	13.32 (33%)	17.12 (16%)
2 Different Fees	1.78 (6%)	1.94 (5%)	2.35 (2%)
3 Different Leases	4.42 (14%)	3.63 (9%)	3.78 (4%)
4 Others	5.62 (17%)	9.55 (23%)	63.09 (62%)
5 Government Grant other than development sector	0.65 (2%)	0.70 (2%)	0.70 (1%)

Source of Revenue Income	2011-12 Actual (as % of Revenue Income)	2012-13 Revised (as % of Revenue Income)	2013-14 Original Budget (as % of Revenue Income)
Total Revenue Income	32.01	40.51	102.41
Total Income of NCC	74.85	105.67	403.92
Revenue Income as % of Total Income	43%	38%	25%

Source: NCC Budget Document 2013-14

Among the five major sources, taxes are the main source of revenue for NCC which is about 61% of total revenue income. However, in 2013-14, this is projected to be only 31% because major revenue income is estimated to be received from *Salami*¹ from market place, which is almost 52% of total revenue income. This is mainly because NCC has planned to construct eight markets and apartments on its own land from where it expects to get this amount of revenue this year.

Figure 31: Revenue income of NCC as % total income



The fiscal strength of any municipal government depends on its revenue income. This is corporation's own resource on which it has direct control and based on which it can plan for city building. There is economic pressure on the city government to collect and allocate resources to foster economic development exerted by the global market or the national government. But, in case of NCC, the reliance on its own resource is decreasing over the years (Figure 31). Whereas in 2011-12, income from its own resources was 43% of the total income, it came down to 25% in 2013-14. This reveals a weaker fiscal strength of NCC where it mainly depends on development income (government grant and project aid) for its city building.

4.3.2 Development income of NCC

The development income of the NCC comes from two main sources: Government grant and project aid either from the Annual Development Programme (ADP) or foreign assistance (Table 25). The

1. Salami is the onetime payment that a shop-renter pays to the CC for securing possession of a specific shop.

overall dependency on this part of income has increased over the years from 24% to 68%. This is mainly because of over-dependence on foreign aid projects and commitment from development partners. The dependence on national government grant is also decreasing over the years which show the intention of the authority to build the city with project assistance.

Table 25: NCC'S development sources (in crore taka)

Source of Development Income	2011-12 Actual (as % of Development Income)	2012-13 Revised (as % of Development Income)	2013-14 Original Budget (as % of Development Income)
1 Government Grant	6.00 (33%)	8.00 (32%)	10.00 (4%)
2 Special Development Assistance from Government	2.00 (11%)	8.00 (32%)	10.00 (4%)
3 Foreign Assistance Project Aid	9.98 (56%)	9.36 (36%)	181.89 (66%)
4 ADP Project Aid	-	-	74.00 (26%)
Total Development Income	17.98	25.36	275.89
Total Income of NCC	74.85	105.67	403.92
<i>Development Income as % of Total Income</i>	24%	24%	68%

Source: NCC Budget Document 2013-14

An interesting picture of this part of the income emerges when we compare the revised budget of 2012-13 with its original budget of 2012-13. It shows a great mismatch between the commitment and reality of what was received from the development partners or national government on project aid. A total of taka 201.64 crore was estimated for FY 2012-13 original budget either from government grant or government/foreign aid projects. Only 13% or Tk 25 crore was received from these sources, which shows a lack of foresight of the city authority while estimating their income sources and thus development plan. This actually greatly hinders the achievement of the implementation target of the budget. No fund was received from the ADP, where Tk 120 crore was estimated originally. Only Tk 9 crore was received as foreign assistance from different development partners out of an estimated Tk 66 crore. So, NCC had to face a real challenge in mobilising the resources for its development works in the last fiscal year.

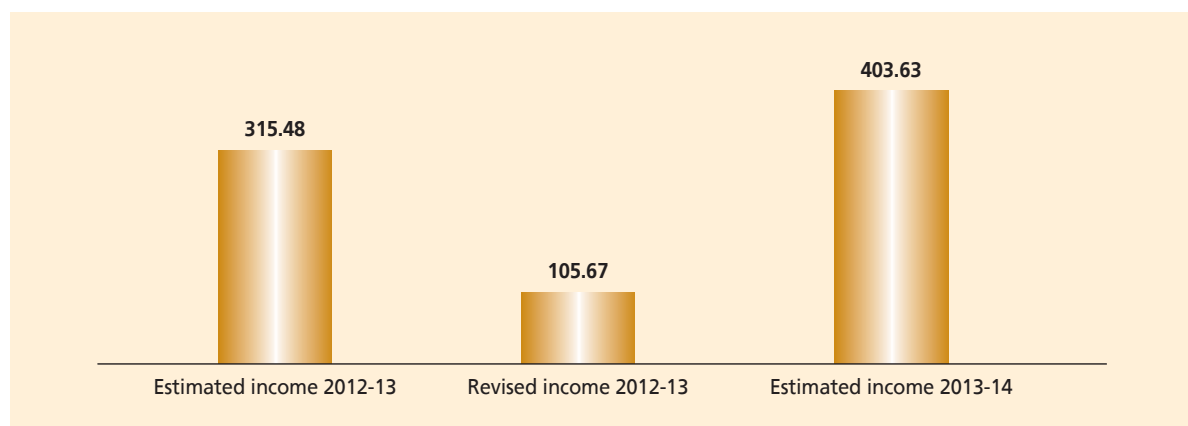
Honorable Mayor, in her 2013-14 budget lecture, noted that different projects worth a total of Tk 252 crore was estimated including the corporation's own income, ADP and foreign assistance. However, the target was not achieved as the approval process was not completed for the World Bank, Asian Development Bank and ADP assisted projects. But, she assured the citizens that a Tk 180 crore ADP project was in the final stages of Executive Committee of National Economic Council

(ECNEC)² approval. She also hoped that the other projects would also be kicked-off this year and would be implemented in next three years.

4.3.3 Fiscal dependency of NCC

The over-dependence on the national government or project aid makes NCC vulnerable to meet the commitment to the citizens during the budget declaration. The fiscal dependency's weakness is revealed from the fact that the realisation of NCC income for FY 2012-13 is only 33%— a total of Tk 315.48 crore was estimated, but only Tk 105.67 crore was received from both the revenue and development sources for all the expenditure works of NCC.

Figure 32: Commitment vs. realisation of resources (in crore taka)



Source: NCC Budget Document 2013-14

4.3.4 Budget 2013-14: Ambitious or attainable?

On 09 July 2013, the NCC mayor presented the second budget for FY 2013-14 in her tenure. Councilors, NCC officials, representatives of government agencies, NGO, and media were present. Representations from the citizens were few although it was presented in an open forum and the citizens were invited through an invitation letter posted on the website. The NCC mayor, after her budget speech, answered questions from the citizens and explained to them her visionary plan and the reasons for lack of progress compared to commitment. She mentioned the internal political conflict within the party in power and also lack of control over other agencies, including the central government in mobilising the resources. The highlights of the budget are as follows:

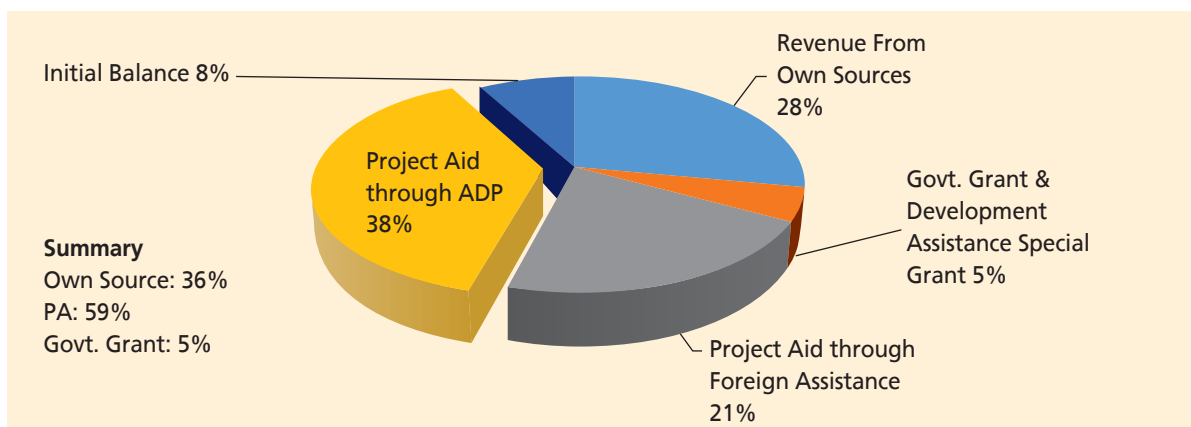
- Total income of the NCC is projected to grow at 282% to Tk 403.63 crore in FY 2013-14, which is almost four times higher than the revised budget of 2012-13
- Tk 102.01 crore is estimated as revenue income for FY 2013-14, which is 152% higher than that of the achieved amount of FY 2012-13

2. ECNEC is the highest authority for approving the development projects in Bangladesh

- Development income grew to Tk 276 crore, which is about eleven times higher
- The fiscal dependency shows usual trend, i.e., over-dependence on project aid (ADP and foreign assistance) 63%, government grant 6% and own sources 31% (including initial surplus)
- Major revenue sources for FY 2013-14 are estimated from *Salami* from Market Construction (52%), Holding Tax, Property Transfer fee and others respectively accounted for 15%, 12% and 10%. The revenue income from *Salami* should not hide the fact that there was a huge revenue shortfall in all routine sectors in the previous years, which is responsible for a revenue collection setback of 55% in 2012-13. Based on the experience of previous years, it can be said that, the NCC needs to be very cautious in estimating its revenue target based on the economic reality, including the collection efficiency and existing mechanisms in assessing and collecting revenue.
- NCC budget shows an overall surplus of Tk 4.25 crore. But if we exclude the initial surplus of Tk 25.62 crore, then there would be a deficit budget of about Tk 21.37

If we analyse the funding sources in NCC budget document, an interesting economic reality surfaces. It shows how a fiscal burden is shifted on the city corporation's own resources due to the lack of autonomy, control and power over other stakeholders of the network structure, including the national government. In FY 2012-13, 36% of NCC budget was planned for finance from internal revenue (both from own resources and initial surplus) and 64% from other sources, e.g., government grant (5%), project aid/foreign assistance (21%) and ADP (38%). In the revised budget of FY 2012-13, the scenario has completely changed in the opposite direction. A huge proportion (75%) of budget was funded from own resources and only 25% was funded by other resources like government grant (16%) and project aid/foreign assistance (9%). Commitment from the other agencies was not realised, and as a result of that, the NCC had to drastically cut short its expenditures. This economic reality's consequence has been poor service delivery.

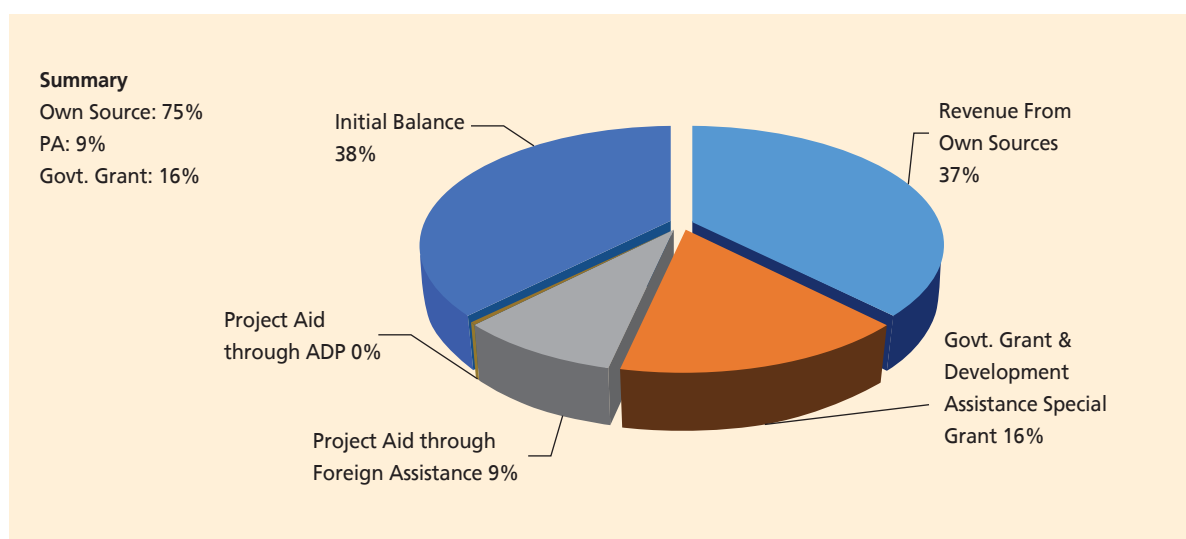
Figure 33: Funding sources of NCC budget 2012-13: commitment



Source: NCC Budget Document 2013-14

As a matter of fact, less than one fifth of the budgeted amount (only 10 crore) was spent as revenue expenditure and only 28% of the estimated development expenditure was spent in FY 2012-13. For example, a total of Tk 35.64 crore was allocated for health and sanitation expenses (63% of the total revenue expenditure) but only Tk 1.77 crore was spent in this fiscal year.

Figure 34: Funding sources of NCC revised budget 2012-13: realised



Source: NCC Budget Document 2013-14

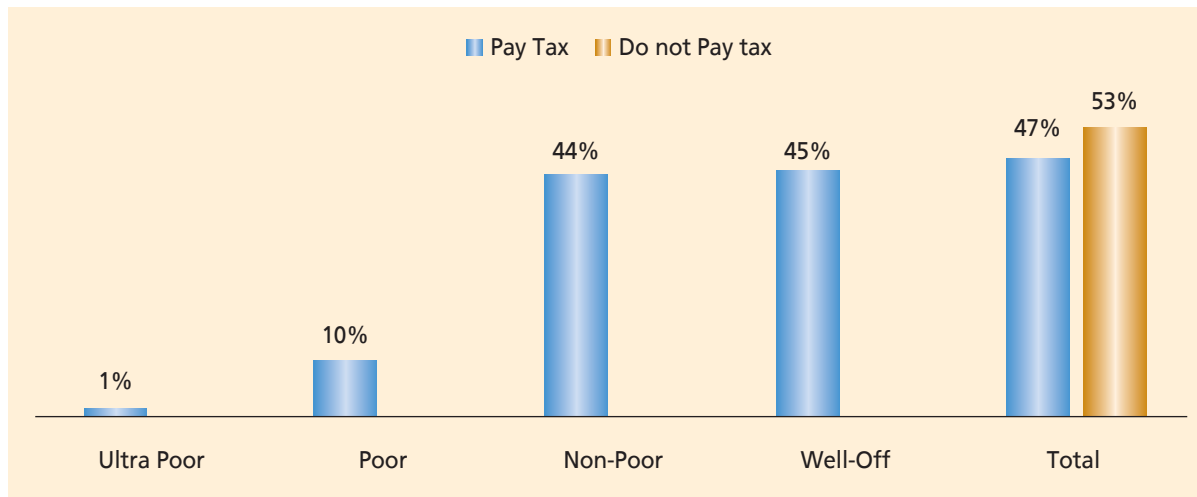
Three things emerge from the above discussions:

- The NCC tends to depend on the central government grant, special grant-in-aid from the government other than development assistance and project aid (ADP + foreign assistance) for financing their budget. But, it has very little control in mobilising project assistance, especially ADP funds, which significantly hinders its service delivery system.
- Due to the lack of materialising the commitment from other agencies, NCC practically depends on its own resources to finance its revenue and development expenditures. But, it has little capability of mobilising its own resources, and thus poor collection of revenue. Significant resource gap in external source between commitment and actual disbursement makes NCC vulnerable in adequately responding to citizen's service needs as well as reaching the overall economic development target.
- Within its own revenues, NCC has little capacity to spend money on its service delivery channel. An amount of Tk 25.62 crore out of Tk. 105.67 crore went unspent during FY 2012-13 and was shown as a surplus in the budget document.

4.3.5 Collection of resources

Fiscal dependencies and eventual budget deficit can be avoided by increasing the tax collection and service charges. According to the household survey conducted for SoC on the NCC through random sampling it is found that 47% of the respondents out of 848 surveyed pays tax. Among those who paid tax, the majority were from well-off households (44.64%) and non-poor households (44.14%). A small proportion of households from the ultra poor category also paid tax.

Figure 35: Status of taxpayers across economic status



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey, 2013

Among the tax payers, 78% pays holding tax, around 8% pays trade license fees and 1.2% pays rent for property or market. These are the three main popular revenue sources from citizens of the city. Nevertheless, the revenue income of Budget 2012-2013 of NCC however shows some other sources of revenue income.

The tax collection efficiency in the Narayanganj City Corporation (NCC) is very low. In FY 2012-13, the target revenue income from different sources was Tk 89.63 crore, of which, only Tk 40.51 crore was collected, which is only 45% of the targeted revenue. This means, 55% of total revenue income was uncollected during this fiscal year. In her budget speech on 09 July 2013, the NCC mayor admitted this gloomy picture of the tax collection situation. She also mentioned that tax payment rate was very low in Narayanganj Sadar, which is a developed area compared to the other two regions.

Again, regarding the collection of these three popular revenue sources, the tax assessor said in his interview that "Every year the city corporation follows a target to collect tax. For this year in NCC Sadar, it was Tk 19 crore, Siddhirganj Tk 8 crore and in Kadamrasul it was 4 crore. But we could not fulfill the target yet. Each year 30% of the tax remains uncollected in NCC."

The present rate of collection shows that the city corporation failed to achieve the target of revenue collection through the existing mechanism. In terms of tax assessment and collection, the local bodies face obstructions like reluctance among the tax payers about the regular payment of tax, irregular assessment of rate of tax, political interventions, etc.

The probable reasons behind such poor collection are:

[a] Lack of manpower and necessary skills: As the assessment and collection mechanisms are still mostly operated manually, it needs sufficient human resources, which the city corporation lacks, to carry out the functions effectively (Bhattacharya *et al*, 2013). In a survey conducted among the city dwellers, 28.31% respondents identified lack of human resources as one of the problems of better taxation in NCC. There are only 5 tax assessors in 27 wards although there should be at least 9 tax assessors. Two of them have been transferred to other departments. Such shortage of manpower hampers tax assessment for this huge population. The numbers of tax collector are 11, two of whom have been transferred. Now, 9 tax collectors are working in 9 wards, whereas there are no tax collectors in the remaining 18 wards. The officials of the revenue department state that it is really difficult to run the city corporation with the manpower of the former municipality. The staff of NCC also needs training on the taxation system. They need on-the-job training to enhance their capability in assessing and collecting taxes. This suggestion is in line with our findings that 45% of respondents believes that inefficiency of staff is a reason for poor taxation in NCC. They also complained about not to have a chance to meet with the senior officials of the corporation, especially with the Mayor. So, their opinions remain unheard and unresponsive all the time.

According to the Mayor, NCC does not have enough staff for the assessment and collection of taxes and the staffs are not trained. Hence, they don't know how to convince people to pay tax. In addition, the city corporation is not capable of making necessary training arrangements at its own cost. The LGED should provide training to the officials of the city corporation, but they don't have any initiative to conduct a training program.

[b] Irregular assessment: Tax assessment is done every 5 years in NCC. Any changes in the existing establishment or changes in ownership or new construction in each establishment or property are assessed and scrutinised. A team is formed with the tax assessor and staff from other departments to work together. Since NCC was formed, assessment has been done in only Siddhirganj area. The tax is fixed in such way that the tax payer can easily pay it. It is found that NCC doesn't have sufficient mechanisms to undertake the assessment efficiently and the assessors are not trained properly. In case of the assessment procedure, the owners of the house are not identified properly at the time of assessment (Bhattacharya *et al*, 2013). There is no attempt to review the rate of tax in terms of the present inflation rate (Siddiqui, 2005). Though, after the NCC was formed, it was assumed that some changes were going to be made in tax assessment.

[c] Weak collection mechanism: The tax collectors deliver tax token/bank slip to the tax payers of each holding. The tax payers can pay tax i) through bank, ii) directly to the collector, or iii) to the city corporation office. A staff of the revenue department said in his interview, "In each city corporation, 70% tax collection is a must. But the reality is that we cannot collect the whole and now we are trying to expand the tax network. Tax has been imposed to mobile tower, ghat and hosiery garment factories. Besides, doctors, engineers and lawyers can be included in the tax network." The staff also identified the financial crisis of the people as the main reason for poor collection. Once, jute businessmen from the Narayanganj municipality received awards for tax payment, but now they can't pay taxes due to their poor financial condition. The tax collectors have no authority to exercise power to seize any defaulter's property. Sometimes they also fail to provide the bill to the tax payers regularly to pay the tax in time (Bhattacharya *et al*, 2013).

The Mayor is very much aware of the importance of mobilising local resources. In a monthly meeting with the councilors and the senior officials of the corporation, it was decided to impose a 15% surcharge on the default tax which was earlier set at 5%. She announced 27 teams in each ward to collect default loans. She said in her interview that NCC is trying to create awareness among the citizens through advertisement, hand bills and public announcements. She also has a plan to organise a tax fair where the regular tax payers will be given awards which will encourage others to pay taxes.

[d] Rebate on and exemption from tax liability: The allowed tax rebate is also an active reason behind the poor collection of revenue. The city corporation itself can allow rebate on the tax liability of the local residents. There is 15% rebate on the holding tax liability of holding owners in NCC (miscellaneous agenda no. 9, meeting minutes of NCC, February 2012). Again the government can announce exemption of any person or property from the liability to pay tax (section 85 (1) of the Local Government (City Corporation) Act 2009).

[e] Reluctance of the tax payers to pay tax: The tax payers are sometimes found reluctant to pay tax. One of the reasons for such reluctance is that many local residents do not receive the civil utilities from the local bodies, such as gas, electricity, and water supply, sewage and drainage system, etc., and the supply of services is also not uninterrupted. Again, the tax payers demand the service first before paying; on the other hand, the authority cannot increase the rate of tax because they cannot increase the scope of their services (Samad, 2009, p. 142)

[f] Political interventions: The members of the local government are political personalities; they used to cause interference in increasing the tax rate for the fear of losing their popularity among the tax payers (Samad, 2009, p. 142). Almost half (49.45%) of the survey respondents identified

favouritism of the political persons in tax decisions, like fixing the tax rate, collection of tax, taking actions against the tax defaulters, etc., as hindrance to better taxation of NCC. In a recent survey, it has been found that middle class people pay tax regularly, but 20% of the local level elites and government officials often assault the staff when they go to collect tax. Though they are few in number, in ratio they belong to 30% of total tax payers and the amount of this lost tax is more than a million each person. After the NCC was formed, the authority has taken initiatives to cease the property of defaulters, but due to political influence the mission was incomplete. 60% of the respondents identified political intervention as a core reason behind the lack of fiscal strength of NCC. A councilor thinks that cooperation among the major political groups specially the leading political persons can bring tremendous benefits for this newly established City Corporation both in terms of raising fiscal strength as well as development of the city.

[g] Corruption: The local residents are found to adopt unfair means in collaboration with the tax administration officers to evade tax liability during both tax assessment and collection. The properties are undervalued for taxation purposes. "Now a birth certificate form costs Tk 300, earlier it was free. Today I have applied for two certificates; I have given them Tk 600 for each. No bribe, no work," says one FGD participant in a slum area. In the survey, it is found that 82.98% of the respondents identified corruption as a problem for the taxation system in the NCC but still no action is found to have been taken against corruption. On the other hand, citizens don't complain even if they face problems in paying taxes because of its complex procedure and also they don't know how and where to complain. So the corruption issue does not come to the surface as much as it should.

[h] Expectation and reality: The Mayor herself realised that services do not meet the demand as she said, "I wished to do a lot of things but it's difficult. The city corporation is not mature enough to provide all its services efficiently and effectively." She hoped that, the Mayor who would come 10-15 years later would not face the problems they are facing now.

[i] Poor rate of tax: The rates of taxes collected by the city corporation are very traditional; therefore the poor rate of taxation leads to a poor amount of collection. In some cases taxes, especially property and holding tax and property transfer tax are collected from the payers at a very traditional rate. Such rates are not compatible to the value of the property at the present time. The city corporation does not always follow the central government's direction as the rate is too high for poor people. In such cases, they fix the rate according to the construction cost of the Public Works Department (PWD) which is 17% per sqft, at most. "If the holding tax rate is increased, donor dependency will be reduced for development work. We can bear our own expenses for development", said a Councilor. The reason behind such poor or traditional rate of

taxation may be the reluctance of the city government to put fiscal stress upon the citizens for the fear of losing popularity.

The above mentioned reasons result in lower collection from own resources and this ultimately leads the city corporation to rely more on grants and aid. If and when the city corporation expects not to put fiscal stress upon the city dwellers, it depends on the government grant. Nevertheless, receiving government grant is further dependent on two factors— the power relation between the party in city government and the party in central government and the central-local bargain of power delegation (IGS, 2012, p. 51). It becomes difficult for the city corporation to get grants and other cooperation from the central government when they belong to different political parties (Bhattacharya *et al*, 2013); on the other hand, the scenario is different when they are from the same party in power. Other than the difference in political parties, there remains an inherent political bargain between the central-local power delegations. If the city corporation as a unit of local government becomes more autonomous that may be politically unwanted by the central government, though both may belong to the same party in power (IGS, 2012, p. 52).

4.3.6 Operational autonomy

The operational autonomy of a city corporation can be examined from the law by which it is empowered to act as well as in practice. The city corporation doesn't enjoy operational autonomy even in law. The national government has the power to revoke any activities from the jurisdiction of the city corporation (Section 42 of the Local Government (City Corporation) Act 2009). The ideal situation demands that the mechanism of local government is under check and balance to bring transparency in receiving taxes from the citizen and the services provided in return by the bureaucrats or the officials of the government. In local government mechanisms, including the city corporation, both the actions, *i.e.* levy of taxes and service in return are directly operated by the officials of local government in favor of the tax payers and the service receivers and the elected members of the local government act as the intermediary mechanism between them and ensure the transparency of the public fund.

The political reality of the taxation and revenue unit of the city corporation is that the officials are not accountable to the elected members of the local government but to the chief executive officer of the city corporation, who is appointed by the central government and procedurally the city government has hardly any scope to remove him (Section 62). The members of the city corporation cannot compel the officials to comply with any of their orders (IGS, 2012, p. 53). The officials reiterated the same opinions in their interview. An official of the revenue department very harshly said in his interview that the seconded officers are the real staff of the government; they are the local employees who do not have any power to exercise other than to carry out their officers' order.

Again, the city corporation can undertake any development activity and its further implementation only with the prior approval of the national government. The national government has unbalanced power over the budget preparation, approval and management of the city corporation (Section 76 (3)). Due to budget constraints, the Councilors have no office in his/her area. They used their residents or party offices as their office to meet with the people or to provide service to them. An official of the revenue department expressed his grievance by saying that he thought the government does not want to strengthen the local government because of fear of losing its control over the city government. Moreover, the national government has the authority to abolish the formation of any city corporation (section 108).

In addition to the lack of operational autonomy in law, there are overlapping jurisdictions of some agencies working within the territory of the city corporation (IGS 2012, p. 54). Such lack of operational jurisdiction hampers the discharge of promises of the elected members of the city corporation to the citizens. The NCC, being an urban government, has no direct control over the autonomous institutions like Titas gas, PWD or district offices. As a result, it needs to offer them bribe to get the job done. "Even after giving bribe, we have to keep visiting the office and asking for the facilities again and again and often have to face harassment. Once after setting a gas pipe, they don't take care of the matter. There is no place for the words like 'maintenance or monitoring' in their dictionary. No file moves from one table to another without bribe in these offices," said a Councilor. On the other hand, 24.64% of the respondents takes this lack of operational autonomy of the NCC members as their inefficiency to maintain coordination with these service-providing agencies.

4.3.7 Fiscal autonomy

The City Corporation is empowered to impose tax and levy the same under Article 60 of the Constitution of the Peoples' Republic of Bangladesh as well as in the Local Government (City Corporation) Act 2009. However, whether it has fiscal autonomy is a big question. There is a saying, no taxation without representation, however the city corporation does not enjoy fiscal autonomy even though it comprises of the elected representatives of the citizens. The fiscal decisions are taken by the city corporation but the Local Government (City Corporation) Act 2009 specifically permits the government to control the City Corporation in fixing the tax rate (Section 84 of the Local Government (City Corporation) Act 2009). The government prepares the model tax schedule along with the maximum tax rate and the city corporation is bound to follow the list provided by the government. In addition, the city corporation needs to have prior approval from the government in order to impose any tax (Section 82 of the Act 2009 and Rule 3 & 4 of the Rules 1986). Again, the government can direct the local government to impose tax on any certain issue

and also to increase or decrease the same; the former can also direct to exempt any person or property from the liability to pay tax (section 85 (1)).

Though these are given in the form of directions, if the city corporation does not execute them the government can impose these directions by giving orders (Section 85 (2)). It actually shows that the city corporation does not have fiscal autonomy under the law. From the point of view of accountability and as a mechanism to prevent arbitrariness, such provision is a good one, but excessive constraints eventually increases the cost of collection of tax and curtails the fiscal autonomy of the local government. Therefore, the city government is subject to the control of the national government in the issue of assessment of tax, preparation of budget, accounts and audit. The latter keeps the former under close supervision regarding the finance as well as grant in aid (UNESCAP, 2003, p. 17)

The national government sometimes controls the autonomous functions of the local government by appointing the party loyalist bureaucrats (IGS, 2012, p. 52). As the successful collection of own source revenue and discharge of functions of the city corporation largely depends on the efficiency of the bureaucrats of the city government, when the officials are more loyal to the political party than their official responsibility, it becomes difficult for the city government to provide the services as they promised to the city dwellers. This ultimately causes discontent among the city dwellers. It again results in reluctance of the tax payers of the city corporation in payment of tax. In connection with this statement, one respondent has said, "higher-level staff in NCC comes in lien, so they don't have to face any target, neither do they have accountability".

4.4 City building with fiscal contract

Taxation mechanisms can be explained in the form of a fiscal contract or tax bargain where the citizens pay tax to the local government and in return (as consideration) the local government ensures complete city building including necessary public amenities and infrastructural developments to foster economic growth; these together can be termed as services from the local government towards the city dwellers. There remains a place of bargain to determine the rate of tax whether that is causing fiscal stress on the tax payer as well as whether that is sufficient to enable the service providers to provide the service which the tax payers expect. This bargain is termed as constructive contestation (Prichard, 2010, p. 45).

As a by-product of this mechanism the citizens get sensitised for regular payment of tax and on the other hand the government as counter part of this contract brings transparency in its tax receiving and service delivering mechanisms. Through this fiscal contract, both the parties (the citizen as tax payer and the government as the service provider) get benefited. The government gets the

assurance of payment of tax; eventually it reduces the tax collection cost, helps to predict the possible amount of tax that is going to be received, which ultimately benefits the preparation of the annual budget and lessens the chance of budget deficit. On the other hand, the citizens as tax-payers as well as the service recipients get assurance of service in time through better governance (OECD, 2010, p. 10).

4.4.1 Tax government to tax governance

Tax government includes the tax authority which takes tax decisions, whereas in an ideal tax governance system the tax payers are supposed to be organised, having awareness and education (OECD, 2010, p. 11), to be able to place their demand before the counter party (the city government). On the other hand, the tax receivers (in other words, the service providers) will guarantee an effective tax collection mechanism in order to ensure regular payment of tax. So, this tax governance system can be treated as an ideal fiscal contract.

The tax governance system of NCC is not as sound as it seems theoretically. The people of NCC are not engaged in the tax decisions or preparation of the annual budget of the city corporation which was supposed to be in an ideal fiscal contract. The street level bureaucratic hierarchy lacks the participation of NGOs, CSOs, tax payers, business communities in the tax decisions which are also identified as one of the causes of the weaker taxation system. In the survey, 53.41% of the respondents identified lack of communication with the citizens as the reason for weaker taxation. Again all the tax payers are not put under the same fiscal stress (in terms of collection, not the rate of tax) in NCC. In the interview, a tax assessor said that they found the middle class and lower middle class people more active in paying tax, whereas the local elites used verbal assault on them during collection and they are more reluctant to pay tax.

The City Corporation is under obligation to provide certain services to the city dwellers in return for the taxes and fees paid by the city dwellers. They need to extract the cost of these services primarily out of their own revenue sources. However, the rates of collection out of own revenue sources are not enough to bear the cost of all the services; the Mayor in her interview agreed by saying that due to lack of fund, NCC cannot provide the services as per the demand of people. Such lack can be filled either by increasing the rate of tax upon the city tax payers or by relying upon the grant from the national government. In the former case, the rise of tax rate would cause fiscal stress; but the tax payers may not be ready to undertake the fiscal stress before getting the services promised to them in return. The Mayor explained the situation by saying that the citizens want results before giving money. When any area is visited by the tax collector, they are first asked "what works have you done?" and the officials have no response except assuring them about the ongoing and future

development initiatives. As the tax receivers and the tax payers are in counter positions to each other and due to the historical and cultural factors and mindsets the tax payers assume that proper services are not provided in return for the tax paid (Shah and Shah 2006, p. 19). Therefore there is a lack of trust between the parties (Prichard 2010, p. 24).

On the contrary, people of NCC are not aware of the services which they are supposed to get or are getting in consideration of their tax and other fees. In a recent survey it was found that people got the news of any service by talking to each other, local newspapers or when the activities are done in public, like road expansion, garbage management etc. At the same time, 81% of the respondents is not sure that there is any problem regarding better taxation in NCC. Although in an ideal fiscal contract the service receivers (the tax payers as well) are supposed to be aware of their due services; in the NCC there is a gap between the demand of tax payers and the supply from the tax receivers (city government). Almost 40% of dwellers demands sanitation and 61.5% wants more emphasis on garbage management, whereas 78.2% of the services provided is for birth registration. This situation actually shows the demand and supply mismatch in the fiscal contract of NCC and its tax payers. While in FY 2012-2013, 62% of the total revenue budget is allocated for the health and sanitation sector, in spite of such huge allocation, the dwellers don't think the service is sufficient.

4.4.2 City building: Focus on economic development

The city building does not only depend on putting more emphasis on the civil amenities but also providing more focus on infrastructural and economic development in the long term. Specifically, the city needs to have a long term vision for future goals. Once upon a time Narayanganj was known as the "Dandy of East" for its business on jute and jute goods. Although, over the period of time the jute business was abolished, 60-80% of total exportable knitwear is now produced in Narayanganj. So, this densely populated city is still known as an industrial zone of the country. Previously, these areas were municipalities; conversion of them into a city corporation definitely raises the expectations of the dwellers in these areas not only for the civil amenities like uninterrupted supply of water, gas, electricity, effective garbage management etc, but also for the industrial development of the city according to the need of the global economic order.

The members of NCC are under political commitment to fulfill the expectation of the voters. This year, the city Mayor declared a three tier development plan (5 years, 10 years and 20 years) for the city to make it planned, clean, environmentally friendly, healthy and poverty free city. Accordingly, more emphasis was put on development expenditure of the city. Almost 80% of the total income was allocated on this part of the expenditure, which includes infrastructure construction, development, repair and maintenance. But, only 27% of the targeted amount (only Tk 70 crore)

was spent in FY2012-13 because of lack of available resources as per commitment from donors and the national government. The city government fails to collect revenue as per requirement, may be because it hurts the power base, specially the rich. So they expect transfers from the national government and donors' assistance for their city building. But, on the other, the national government also fails to provide resources because it has also a poor record in collecting its resources. Ultimately, dependency shifts to the donor community, who provides funds with conditionality and sometimes excluding the poor, thereby creating social exclusion. So, a vicious cycle of dependence is perpetuated in the process (Siddiqui, 2005, p. 53) which disrupts the autonomous governing role of the city government and restricts them from high degree of governance practices.

4.4.3 Equity or exclusion?

In an ideal fiscal contract there is a probability of exclusion of the non tax payers from getting the services as the services are provided in return of the tax. Therefore, considering the payment of tax as the condition precedent for getting services causes the social exclusion of those city dwellers who are not tax payers, but are however in more need to get the services. Because according to the global economic order, due to the economic and political reality, the policy makers focus on only the tax payers' expectations for the purpose of providing services, it results in the exclusion of part of the society who are not tax payers and their demands do not reach the city corporation. In the NCC, 98% of people thinks that the tax payers should get special (extra) service from the NCC. These in other words cause exclusion of those people who are not tax payers or pay less tax. It is actually contrary to equity because the services of the city corporation (except those which are provided exclusively in payment of fees) should be for the citizens thereof not for any particular class of tax payers. The social exclusion as a consequence of increase of fiscal stress upon the city tax payers brings out a new term of access for those excluded. That excluded sectors of the society attempt to get access to the service through unfair means in collaboration with the city bureaucrats by paying bribes (IGS, 2012, p. 57). Such practice makes the accountability mechanism between the service receivers and service providers a weakened one.

A similar situation prevails when we look at the sector wise resource distribution in the city. The Mayor, in her budget speech, admitted that expectations of the citizens from less developed areas like Siddhirganj and Kadamrasul are much more than that of Narayanganj. She wished to put emphasis in allocating resources in these two areas rather than Narayanganj as they had no public representatives in earlier years and as such no significant development took place in these areas. However, it was found that resources are not distributed according to the development needs of the city areas. Currently, 104 projects were being implemented at Siddhirganj area at a cost of Tk 27.16 crore, 57 projects at Kadamrasul area at Tk 31.72 crore and 77 projects and six markets cum

apartments at Tk 69.35 crore in the Narayanganj area. So, the lions' share is going to the same area.

4.4.4 Role of network structures

The CSOs and NGOs work as the voice of this portion of society who are not tax payers but entitled to services on the grounds of being a citizen. The citizens are not united enough to bargain their position with the service providers in terms of their demands and tolerable rate of tax in exchange for the services demanded. The NGOs and CSOs can play the role of intermediary in between as they have reliable links with the tax payer as well as being able to advocate with the government for the issues of the tax payers (Prichard, 2010, p. 42). The NGOs and CSOs can organise the education and training programs, awareness raising program for campaigning the necessity of regular tax payment in order to ensure the uninterrupted service providence. Such campaign can be in collaboration with the tax collection administration of the local government. Such attempt may create a place of trust between the tax payers and service providers (Prichard, 2010, p. 45).

NCC has started its journey as a city corporation very recently. As per the observation of the Mayor, it has not matured enough. Therefore, the city government as well as the city dwellers is not used to a tax bargain yet. NCC has not overcome its boundary as ex-municipality and the dwellers have still not adopted themselves as city dwellers. This is the reason behind the lack of effective tax bargain and lack of mutual trust. That is the reason why the people scream out for the services first rather than paying. NCC alone cannot fill up the gap; here lies the need of networking. The CSOs including business associates can be involved in raising the awareness among the tax payers and get them organised. They can also play role for political engagement, improving transparency and accountability in the city governance system (OECD, 2010, p. 11).

Based on the above discussion, the following key issues emerge for better governance through tax reform in NCC:

- Adoption of equity in tax reform agenda: It is found that the elite groups are mostly tax defaulters in the fiscal contract. Therefore initiatives should be taken to remove the gap in compliance between the elite tax payers and the non-elite or general tax payers. It can be challenging due to political interventions, but it is high time for the local political personnel, especially the members of City Corporation, to undertake this duty. Such would ensure the people's trust upon the city government in tax bargain.

- **Co-operation not conflict:** In a tax bargain the government and the citizens always remain in adversarial situation. For an effective city building through fiscal contract, they need the co-operation of each other which is not possible when they stay in conflicting positions. In order to remove these conflicts between them, the citizens need to be more aware of their duty under the fiscal contract, i.e. duty to pay tax, and the government should undertake transparent and accountable mechanisms for tax collection which can be ensured through participatory method. All the initiatives taken by the city government should be disseminated among the people as well as the people should participate in those initiatives like tax assessment, budget preparation, revenue collection etc.
- **Attention given to direct taxation:** The city government should put emphasis on direct taxation like holding tax; because the dependencies on direct tax establishes the equity in taxation mechanism and makes the tax collection visible, which eventually creates trust between the parties to the fiscal contract (OECD, 2010, p. 11). In addition to this the direct tax is easier to collect and to make the defaulter liable.
- **Proportionate contribution of various taxes:** Under the City Corporation Taxation Rules 1986, the city corporation is entitled to levy about eleven items of taxes whereas only three heads are focused on for revenue collection. Among them, holding tax is the major head for revenue collection. Other than this there are other two heads of tax as contributing more— trade license and shop rent. In addition to these, in order to avoid the fiscal dependencies as well as to raise their own source of revenues the city government can pay heed to other forms of taxes. 46.58% of the respondents of the SoC survey also suggested identifying taxable sectors for mobilising their own resources. Although the revenue from these sources may be minimal, it would reduce dependencies on any particular head or on the grants and aids.
- **Emphasis on the service charges and fees:** The City Corporation used to take the strategy to the increase to tax incomes in different manner like tax fair, increasing the tax rate, penalties for tax defaulters etc. However it gives less attention to the non-tax sectors like service charges and fees. The City Corporation can increase the scope of its taxation through its service fees charged directly from the citizens against the services provided to them. Such mechanism would ensure the direct correspondence of the service receivers with the services provided.
- **Social capital based informal governance:** The community can be encouraged to undertake some duties on its own shoulder without putting extra burden on city corporation finance. This can be done through prizes, publicity, public honor etc. (Siddiqui 2005, p. 53). For example in order to encourage the people to pay tax, the Mayor of NCC has the plan to arrange a tax fair.

- Income generation activities: In order to reduce fiscal dependencies, the city government can undertake some income generation activities by itself. It would also prevent putting extra fiscal stress upon the dwellers. For this purpose networking with the CBOs, CSOs, and NGOs can play vital role (Siddiqui, 2005, p. 53). Private-Public Partnership (PPP) is an effective way for the city government to generate its income in addition to mere revenue sources.
- Levy the cost out of consumers' pocket: The city government can undertake some development work out of the fund from the direct consumers; e.g. the tax assessor identified the payment of Tk 30 by each consumer who enjoys the service of removing the household garbage from their house. The city corporation may be allowed to issue municipal bond for any particular infrastructural development work (Siddiqui, 2005, p. 53). Though such mechanisms the dwellers can involve themselves in the development work and feel responsible for the maintenance of the same.

4.5 Conclusion

Once a municipality becomes a city corporation, the expectations of the citizens also rise. These expectations are twofold— primarily uninterrupted delivery of civil amenities and secondly the development of the area in terms of road, bridge, highway construction, street lighting, improved transportation, etc., i.e. city building. Though both of these expectations are committed to be fulfilled by the city corporation, the actual execution is subject to the fiscal strength of it. For achieving such fiscal strength the required funds needs to be collected from own resources, other than from outside grant and aid. For NCC the scenario is more difficult because while raising the fiscal strength, the fiscal stress should not hamper the industrialisation of NCC, as Narayanganj area since its inception as municipality was known to all as an industrial area. Narayanganj municipality and it was declared as a city corporation in 2011 with vision of expansion of industrialisation.

Despite these expectations, the analysis of fiscal strength of NCC shows a different picture, it has become unsuccessful in levying the targeted revenue from its own sources; therefore need to rely more on government grant and foreign aid. As a result, the members of NCC could not materialise all of their commitment to the citizens. On the other hand, the citizens of NCC who were previously the residents of Narayanganj municipality have not adapted to the new mechanism of the city corporation. They are not accustomed to pay taxes regularly, do not complaint for any inconvenience in paying tax, not raise their voice regarding the budget preparation, fixins tax rate and even not aware of the revenue collection mechanism and status of their city corporation. These conditions actually justify the comment of the Mayor that the city corporation has not

matured yet. These traits of the NCC taxation are actually contrary to the fiscal contract which was supposed to exist between the city government and the tax payers or city dwellers.

The fiscal strength of NCC is not so satisfactory; still the reasons identified behind such poor collection of revenue from its own sources are valid enough. At the same time the initiatives undertaken by NCC authority, like imposing higher rate of surcharge upon the tax defaulters, arranging a tax fair, etc. are praise worthy. These attempts would be more fruitful if the city corporation puts its attention to the service fees as well and the local civil societies are also engaged in these initiatives and the public participation is ensured in the networking of NCC. Then the city building effort through its fiscal strength would be home grown made by the concerted efforts of the network structure.

CHAPTER 5

Urban Land Use and Social Space

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses trends of urban land use in Narayanganj city. The objective of this study is to identify pressing issues behind economically dominant use of urban land and diminishing trend of social space, and in light of analysis, put forward policy recommendations for a balanced land use in order to make the city more equitable, and environmentally, economically and socially livable.

Social space is pertinent, more specifically, for integration of the urban poor with mainstream society. Most of the development interventions — donor driven or government sponsored or joint — aim to improve the living standard of the urban poor through income generating activities and provision of settlements, and include little amusement facilities with free access for the poor.

The City of Narayanganj historically developed as a colonial city, which was based on a port for inter-regional and international trade. The city then expanded, like other colonial cities of the sub-continent, incorporating open grounds for sports and recreation, a central business district, well planned housing for Europeans, and unplanned and cramped residential quarters for natives in urban land (adapted from Knox and McCarthy, 2005).

In contrast to colonial legacy, current land use in the city is skewed towards economic purposes. Such land use dimension, coupled with associated growing informal intermediation in urban land

use, squeezes social use of urban land leading to an unlivable city. Key players to using urban land in this manner are industrialists, government organisations, the city corporation, industrial workers and private land owners. Nevertheless, a citizens' movement is widely witnessed to change this course of land use in Narayanganj.

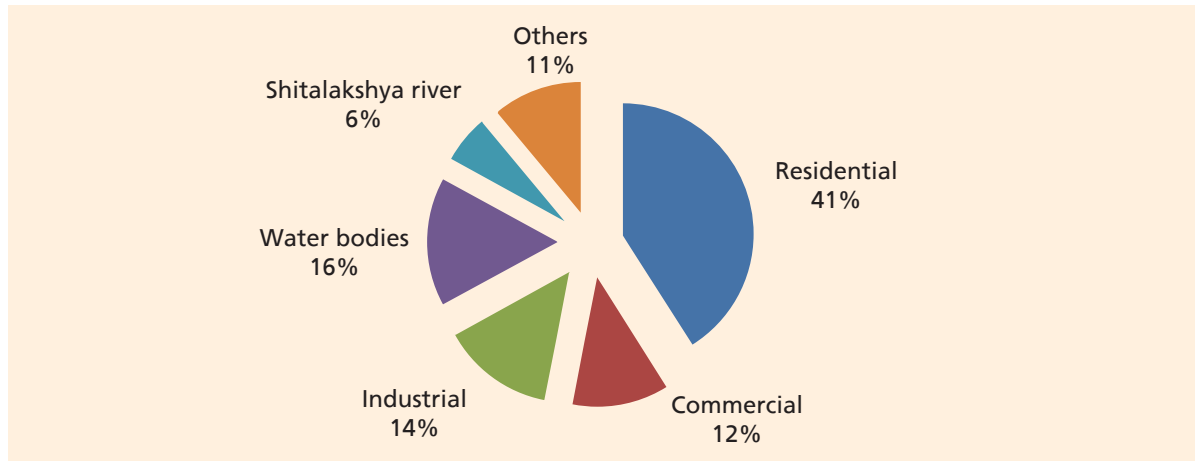
Among the economic activities, industrial land use has gone through a transformation from planned jute industries into unplanned growth of garments and knitwear manufacturing industries. Although the latter did occupy less land than the former in total, they are spread over the city and do not take care of workers' residential facilities as the former used to do. The distinguishing features of garments and knitwear factories from earlier planned jute mills have significant impact on changing urban land use patterns and the urban environment.

In addition, garments and knitwear businesses creates demand for informal economic activities on urban land. Informal economic activities generally grow on the railway's land, *khas* land and water bodies to expand or support businesses and cater to the housing needs of factory workers, which in turn diminish potential use of these lands for social purposes. More importantly, based on informal economic activities, a miscreant group masquerading under political color emerges, after whom the city is branded to outsiders adding a social stigma to the city. This image is ultimately counter-productive to investments in the city.

The authors have used both primary and secondary sources to put together the analysis and discussions in this chapter. The primary sources include key informant interviews with industrialists, social activists, journalists, urban planners, Rajuk officials, railway officials and city corporation officials. Data derived from survey carried out for preparing this report was also used in this chapter. A number of journal articles, book chapters, newspaper reports and columns, government laws, and NCC documents and website were thoroughly reviewed for this chapter.

5.2 Existing state of urban land use at Narayanganj

The state of urban land use in Narayanganj city can be described as dominance of individual-centric land use. Forty one percent of the total land area (72.43 sq km) of Narayanganj City Corporation (NCC) is used for residential purposes (see Figure 36). Among house ownership, 99% is non-governmental and 1% is governmental, indicating predominant private ownership of housing land (NCC, 2012). Unchecked growth of private housing tends to cause wastage in land use through horizontal expansion of housing.

Figure 36: Land use classification in the NCC

Source: NCC (2012)

The second largest proportion of urban land is used for industrial and commercial purposes (26%). Numbers of light, medium and heavy industries are 2180 (83.78%), 355 (13.64%), and 67 (2.57%) respectively. The Mindset of individuals to use land for economic purposes lies in the historical formation of Narayanganj as a port city, which has been known as a prime place for trade and commerce and gateway to Dhaka for more than 100 years. The increasing rate of commercial and industrial activities in and around the city has resulted in the growing proportion of residential use of urban land in the city (Ahmed and Hussain, 2012).

Compared to housing, commercial and industrial land, the amount of land being used as designated social space is seemingly non-existent. The former Narayanganj municipality wanted to build a park at Syedpur area alongside Shitalakshya river, but this could not be implemented due to legal and procedural complexities with Bangladesh Inland Water Transportation Authority (BIWTA). Presently, a children's park with rides is being built on the city corporation's 6.02 acres of land at *Panchobati* area through public-private partnership between the city corporation and a private company, under conditions that the latter will pay the former an annual fee and share ticket revenues¹.

Nonetheless in Narayanganj city there are 13 playgrounds, 470.13 km roads, 12.25 km of footpath and a number of historical establishments, where urban dwellers move around for their daily walks and weekend visits.

5.3 Changes in land use patterns over the years

Table 26 shows changes in land use in Narayanganj city during 1978-2009, which corresponds to the former Narayanganj municipality area. Use of urban land for residential purpose has increased by 28.73% during this period. For the sake of residential expansion, amounts of agricultural land declined by 25.21% and ponds were filled up by 7.52% (ibid, 2012).

1. Interview with NCC officials

Changes in land use for industrial and commercial purposes were comparatively minimal during 1978-2009. Growth of commercial land use in Narayanganj is 0.89% and industrial land use declined by 3.94% during the stated period (ibid, 2012). Two factors are attributed to the decline of industrial land. Firstly, a significant number of big industries have been shut down in the city due to changes in the political landscape, business fortunes and the world economy. Secondly, with time, new industrial estates have been developed outside the city limits especially at Enayetnagar, Fatulla, Adamjee, Kachpur and Panchabati areas.

Table 26: Changing land use patterns of former Narayanganj municipality area, 1978–2009

Sl. N.	Land Use Category	Land Use--1978 (in acre)	Land Use--1988 (in acre)	Land Use--1998 (in acre)	Land Use--2009 (in acre)	% Change 1978-1988	% Change 1988-1998	% Change 1998-2009	% Change 1978-2009
1	Commercial	38.93	39.81	49.34	56.8	(+)0.19	(+)0.41	(+)0.29	(+)0.89
2	Residential	242.61	447.44	629.91	980.97	(+)7.97	(+)7.1	(+)13.66	(+)28.73
3	Industrial	365.71	360.31	311.5	264.5	(-)0.21	1.9	(-)1.83	(-)3.94
4	Mixed Area	5.41	43.69	0	(+)0.21	(+)1.49	(+)1.49
5	River	695.96	695.96	695.96	695.96	0	0	0	0
6	Canal	15.94	11.19	9.51	7.71	(-)0.18	(-)0.07	(-)0.07	(-)0.32
7	Pond	201.1	126.2	108.2	12.85	(-)3.11	(-)0.7	(-)3.71	(-)7.52
8	Agriculture	724.99	524.54	393.72	77.1	(-)7.8	(-)5.09	(-)12.32	(-)25.21
9	Vacant Land	175.53	131.6	52.7	25.7	(-)7.71	(-)3.07	(-)1.05	(-)5.83
10	Open Space	5.4	26.5	71.96	102.8	(+)0.82	(+)1.77	(+)1.2	(+)3.79
11	Roads	77.9	113.9	159.6	205.6	(+)1.4	(+)1.78	(+)1.79	(+)4.97
12	Others	25.93	92.55	82.19	96.32	(+)2.63	(-)0.44	(+)0.55	(+)2.74
	Total	2570	2570	2570	2570

*(+) indicates the increase of percentage, where (-) indicates the decrease of percentage

Source: Ahmed and Hussain (2012)

Vacant lands have been gradually transformed into settlements in terms of residential, commercial and institutional use. Open space, which increased by 3.79% during 1978-2009, is also undergoing similar change. For instance, a piece of vast land of Kumudini Trust at Shaheednagar is awaiting establishment of a private university and relocation of jute mills². This land is currently being used informally as a playground and visiting place by city dwellers. Furthermore, although Table 26 shows no change in river land, current research finds encroachment of river land by industrialists, influential individuals and government organisations.

2. Interview with a top executive of the Kumudini Trust

Rapid urbanisation has led to reduction of agricultural land, as shown in Table 26. Urban population growth rate in Narayanganj is 3.05% compared to national average population growth rate of 1.47% (NCC, 2012). Factors behind rapid urban growth include an agglomeration of commercial activities developed on the bank of the Shitalakhya river to capitalise it as a means of communication and transportation, location of Narayanganj city within the sphere of influence of the capital city Dhaka, and current and prospective connectivity between Dhaka and other eastern, south and south-eastern districts through Narayanganj, such as Munshigonj, Comilla and Noakhali. Bangladesh Railway has a plan to connect Dhaka and Chittagong through Narayanganj in order to reduce travel time by two hours. This was revealed by a top official of the Divisional Estate Office (Dhaka) in an interview with the authors. As a result of connectivity and economic activities, people on the move numbering as many as the total number of permanent residents of NCC use Narayanganj city every day. This is creating a mismatch between the provision of urban services and actual services needed³. The existence of three forms of transportation by road, river and train at a short distance attract these people to use the land of Narayanganj as transit. This however, offers new avenue for the NCC to mobilise resources if user fees could be introduced on all aspects related to connectivity and economic activities.

In all likelihood, further changes in urban land use patterns will go through conversion of residential land in the city centre into commercial and industrial activities, given increasing price of urban land due to the supply-deficit of land. Also, agricultural land in the fringe areas will be turned into residential plots for the purpose of housing migrant workers. Most of these migrants being poor, the growth of slums in the city is bound to continue unless shelter programme is undertaken for them.

5.4 Economic activities and urban land use in Narayanganj

Until now, the emergence of Narayanganj as a port city has been the dominant factor to allocate its land for industrial and commercial activities. This section describes and analyses the types of industries growing in the city with illustrations; how industrial workers' housing needs and demand for industrial and commercial land are met; and their effects on urban land use and urban environment and future land use plan.

5.4.1 Industrial and commercial activities in urban land

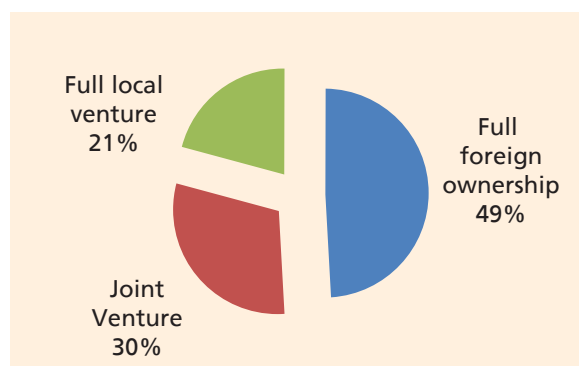
As shown in previous sections, urban land use patterns witnessed significant increase in residential area to accommodate the city's rapidly growing population, but this is closely connected with industrial and commercial activities on the land. Vacant land which had been created by the shut-down of big industries has already been occupied by development of industrial plots by the government, and expansion of knitwear and garments factories by private initiatives. The

3. Interview with a top official of NCC

establishment of the country's seventh Export Processing Zone (EPZ) on the grounds of the Adamjee Jute Mill after its closure on June 30, 2002 is an example, which created 229 industrial plots out of planned 277 plots. Forty-eight plots could not be prepared due to Bangladesh Jute Mills Corporation's (BJMC) structures, litigation and ponds (Ali, 2011). The Adamjee Jute Mill, set up on 295 acres of land on the bank of the Shitalakshaya river at Shiddhirganj in 1950, was closed down for it had incurred a loss of Tk 12 billion since its nationalisation in 1972 (Khan, 2008).

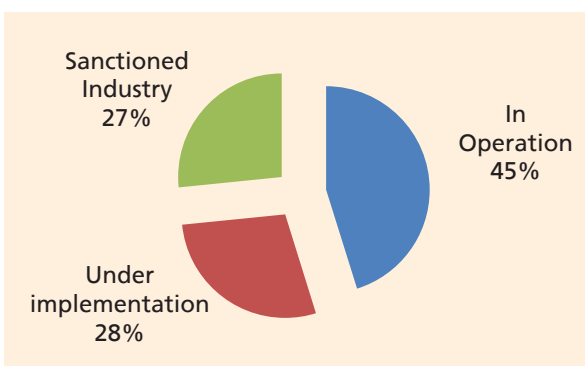
Until May 2011, investments were made in 53 plots. Types of investment and operational status in these plots are illustrated in Figure 37 and 38. Employment has been created for 15,633 workers; of them 45.15% are male and 54.85% are female (Ali, 2011). This number of employment is half compared to the number of workers employed at the time of the Adamjee closure (some 25,000 workers).

Figure 37: Types of investment in Adamjee EPZ



Source: Ali (2011)

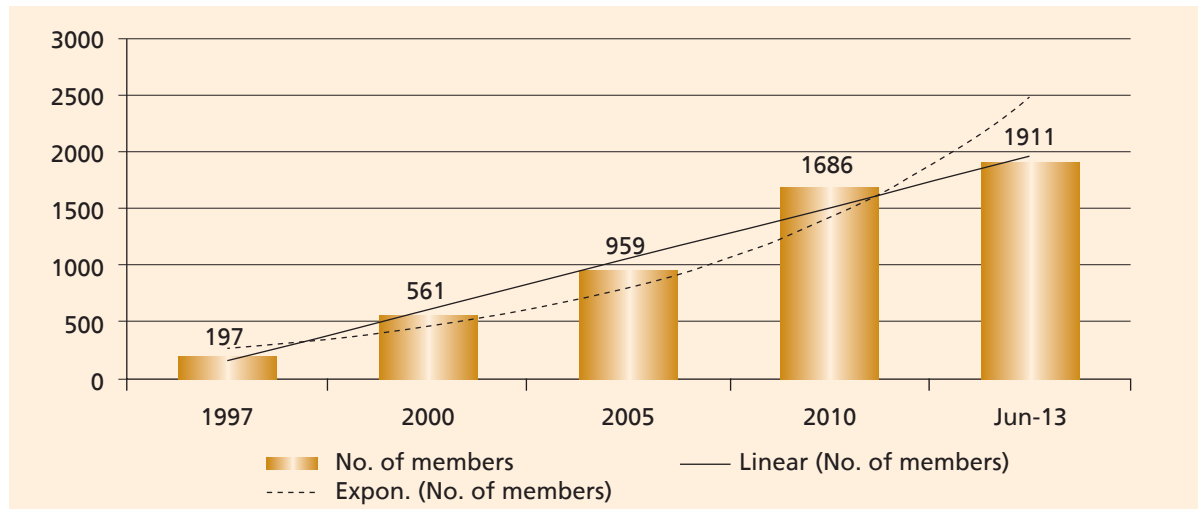
Figure 38: Operational status of investments in Adamjee EPZ



Source: Ali (2011)

In addition to the government's initiative, private land owners seek for foreign investments in their own lands. Kumudini Welfare Trust of Bengal Ltd. (KWTB), Bangladesh is an example, which has recently invited the Container Corporation of India Ltd. (Concor) to conduct a techno-commercial feasibility study in order to set up an inland container port at Narayanganj. KWTB owns around 46 acres of land in Narayanganj on the bank of Sitalakshya river, where the Trust plans to set up the container port jointly with a suitable foreign company (The Daily Star, 2013). The proposed container port is economically more profitable for the Trust and at the same time it will reduce the burden of carrying goods on the Dhaka-Chittagong highway, revealed a top executive of the Trust to the authors.

Knitwear manufacturing in the country is growing exponentially (see Figure 39). Fifty-five percent knitwear factories are located in Narayanganj, in which about 52% of 1.4 million workers are involved (see Table 27). This vast number of workers has resulted in expansion of commercial activities in the NCC, since industrialisation has created consumerism among the workers.

Figure 39: Increase in number of knitwear factories during 1997–2013 in Bangladesh

Source: Bangladesh Knitwear Manufacturers and Exporters Association (BKMEA) Head Office (2013)

Table 27: Location and number of workers of knitwear factories in Bangladesh

Location	No. of factories	%	Workers	%
Narayanganj	1051(02 in Munshigonj and 06 in Narshindi)	55	735,320	52.32
Dhaka	778	40.71	605,111	43.05
Chittagonj	82	4.29	65063	4.63
Total	1911	100	1,405,494	100

Source: BKMEA Head Office (2013)

The growth of knitwear factories has been unplanned occupying lands which were previously used for other purposes. As these industries were not big enough and the government did not build adequate industrial zones or could not provide plots inside the Bangladesh Small and Cottage Industries Corporation (BSCIC) area built in 1994, the industries were set up wherever space was available; thus their establishment has been in an unplanned manner.

Other types of business and industry in Narayanganj include jute trade and processing, textile, merchandising yarn and dyeing items, hosiery manufacturing, and soap manufacturing. A national warehouse has been built on the bank of the Shitalakshya river at Siddirganj. Ten percent of the country's approximately 4,000 plastic factories are located in Narayangan as well (New Age, 2011a).

5.4.2 Housing for industrial workers

Growth of garment and knitwear factories and the accompanying abundance in employment opportunities attract thousands of workers from different parts of the country and thus creates pressure on allocation of urban land for housing of the workers. More than 0.7 million workers are involved in 1,052 knitwear factories in Narayanganj (as shown in Table 27). While factory owners do not provide for workers' accommodation, slums on government lands or privately-owned land cater to their housing needs. For instance, a slum was illegally built on the land of Zila Parishad and Roads and Highways Department (bdnews24.com, 2012). Generally, slums are severely crowded, with 4–5 people living in houses of just over 100 square feet. People living in these settlements are subjected to social, economic and political exclusion, which bar them from society's basic resources (Rashid, 2009).

On the other hand, private land-owners convert their farmlands into residential facilities to cater to the housing needs of the working class. In this way, growth of housing is horizontal, which is a waste of land in the city. A planned housing programme could ensure efficient use of urban land.

Provision of housing for industrial workers should primarily be the concern of the factory owners. Accordingly, Kumudini Trust has built two labor sheds for its workers to live in. In contrast to this argument, a knitwear manufacturer, in an interview with the authors, transferred the responsibility of workers' housing on the shoulders of the government, since they (industrialists) have already created employment for millions of the country's poor citizens. Another manufacturer suggests deducting 0.2% from the profit of each piece of apparel from the proceed-realizations. This could be operationalised in the name of workers' welfare trust by the government at the moment when the payments from the foreign buyers enter Bangladesh through banks. This fund could be used to support the workers' shelter programmes.

However, both the businessmen acknowledge the need for workers' housing with at least minimum living standard. At present, they observe a divergence between workers' occupational environment in factories, which is neat and clean, and their living condition after work which is sub-standard (i.e. slums, private quarters). So, it is also in the interests of the factory owners to reduce this divergence through provision of clean housing in order to make the workers habituated with a clean environment. Other respondents put emphasis on joint initiative of Bangladesh Garments Manufacturers and Exporters Association (BGMEA), Bangladesh Knitwear Manufacturers and Exporters Association (BKMEA), Ministries of Industries, Labour, Finance and Commerce for the provision of housing for industrial workers.

5.4.3 Provision of urban land for commercial and industrial activities

Spaces for industrial and commercial activities are provided by private real estate companies, Rajuk, Bangladesh Railway, NCC and land-owners themselves. The private real estate companies

also construct high-rise buildings on individual plots. They buy low lands for selling after development as well.

Kumudini Trust is one of the biggest private land owners in the city. It owns about 100 acres of land in the city⁴. Currently, it is running jute bailing factory, jute warehouses, garments, handicrafts and wall paper businesses on its 46 acres of land, where it plans to construct a container port. For the sake of setting up the port, current business structures will be relocated to its Shaheednagar land, which is about 40 acres in size. The Trust will also establish a private university on the land. At present, this land is being used as an open space.

Rajuk completed two commercial projects in Narayanganj, namely Nawab Siraj-ud-doulla Commercial Area, and Chashara, Boatkhal and Khanpur Commercial Area⁵. However, the role of Rajuk in Narayanganj has been criticised by business leaders, city dwellers and activists (see Box 1). According to their assessment, as revealed in interviews with the authors, Rajuk had never played any positive role for the development of Narayanganj and has no future commitment as well.

Local protest against Rajuk decision to sell plots for commercial use highlights its decision-making process based on vested interests rather than welfare of real beneficiaries. An insider of Rajuk, in an interview with the authors, points that such operations of Rajuk have been possible

because of the amendment to the Dhaka Improvement Trust (DIT) Act of 1953 made in 1987. It has changed Rajuk from a trustee with its board members jointly coming from the civil society, practitioners, planners, engineers and from the civil service, to an authority with board members coming from only the civil service, and by transferring the authority of appointment of all board members including the chairman to the government. This change, as the insider added, aimed to ensure approval of the country's then chief executive's commercial structure which had been blocked by the non-government members on the board. This is an example of a 'snow-balling' effect to make one of the country's state institutions serve individual's vested interest. It is widely believed that Rajuk serves various coterie interests rather than the people.

4. Interview with a top executive of the Trust

5. <http://www.rajukdhaka.gov.bd/>

Box 1: RAJUK's plot selling and citizens' protest in Narayanganj

In July 2008, Rajuk tried to sell lands it had acquired in the name of developing Narayanganj to private individuals. The amount of land was 20.3 acres of municipality land and 9 acres of land in Fatullah. The Nagorik committee—a socio-cultural organisation established in 2006—played a pivotal role against this plan, which they saw as going against the welfare of the general people. They submitted a memorandum to the Deputy Commissioner of Narayanganj and staged a *gherau* (siege) of Rajuk office in Dhaka in protest. Also, a hunger strike was staged in front of the Shaheed Minar in protest of Rajuk's move to auction the land. The whole of Narayanganj came together in blocking the project. The chairman of the Narayanganj municipality was firmly against the Rajuk project as well.

The land Rajuk was planning to sell was worth more than thousand crore taka. The municipality could have used that money well for generating next 15 years of budget.

Finally, Rajuk withheld selling the plots in the face of these protests.

Source: Based on national and local newspapers

The consequences of the change in formation of Rajuk Board are two-fold. Firstly, non-government members were not inclined to listen to the directives of the government. So their replacement has weakened checks and balances in the decision-making process of Rajuk. Secondly, formation of the board with mostly generalists i.e. administration or economic cadre officials, leads them to depend on the rank and file of Rajuk, and on the directives of their administrative and political masters rather than listening to the general people, who deserve to be served. This situation is making the organisation ineffective and less visionary.

Bangladesh Railway has leased out 10.10 acres of land for commercial activities and BIWTA's operations in Narayanganj. The Divisional Estate Office (Dhaka) earned about Tk.85 million in the FY 2012-13 from leasing of the railway's total land in the Dhaka Division⁶. Furthermore, if the railway could lease out all its unused land at a commercial rate, the revenue would be much higher.

The NCC also gives priority in allocating its existing land for economic purposes. It owns a total 285.13 acres of land in its three zones – Sadar, Kadam Rasul and Siddhirganj. In these zones corporation has developed markets, *bazaars*, kitchen markets, shops, slaughter houses, public toilets and *ghats*. It has also built a 12-storied commercial and housing complex called 'Madhobi Plaza', where apartments have been sold to private individuals.

5.4.4 Effects of economic land use on urban environment and future land use plan

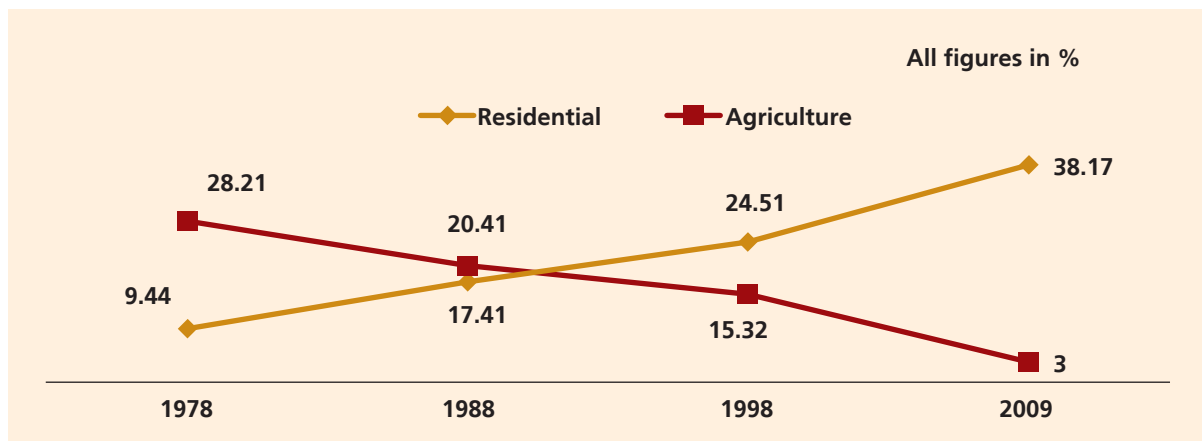
The location of Narayanganj on the bank of the Shitalakshya river is the key historical factor behind the expansion of industrial and commercial activities in Narayanganj. Facilities derived from this location are transportation of raw materials and the finished products, and availability of water to wash knitted clothes. Exploitation of these facilities by industrial units in an environment of loose regulatory regime has rendered the city less livable. For instance, dumping industrial water without treatment into the river poses a major threat to the environment by polluting the river's water. The then State Minister for Environment and Forests revealed in Parliament in June 2011 that 36 industrial units in Narayanganj area did not have any Effluent Treatment Plant (ETP) (UNBconnect 2011).

Rahman (2005) and The Daily Star (May 22, 2009) report that the flowing of wastewater through five *khals* (canals) from the Narayanganj city caused high level of pollution making water of the Shitalakshya river difficult to treat. These *khals* include Majheepara Khal, Killarpul Khal, Kalibazar Khal, Tanbazar Khal, and B. K. Road Khal. The Shitalakshya river, which flows through the middle of Narayanganj City Corporation, and other water bodies in the city together occupy 22% land in Narayanganj city, (as illustrated in Figure 36).

6. Interview at the Divisional Estate Office, Bangladesh Railway - Dhaka

Growing industrial and commercial activities have drawn a large number of population including workers to the urban area resulting in the reduction of agricultural land in Narayanganj. Figure 40 illustrates trends of increasing land use for residential purpose and decreasing agricultural land in the former Narayanganj municipality with rapid changes during 1978–2009. During nearly the same period, the number of knitwear manufacturing companies increased from 197 in 1997 to 1,686 in 2010 in the country (as illustrated in Figure 39). It is needless to say that Narayanganj was the forerunner in the growth of knitwear manufacturing. If this land use trend is not controlled with a well-articulated land use policy (e.g. land zoning), the remaining agricultural land in and around the city corporation will be lost in the near future.

Figure 40: Trends in residential and agricultural land uses in Narayanganj city during 1978–2009



Source: Based on Ahmed and Hussain 2012

Brammer (2002) advocates for the minimum possible amount of land to be taken out of productive agricultural use for conversion into urban and industrial use. This may be one way of looking at the urban land use question. However, Bangladesh government's industrial regulations do not necessarily reflect this view. Considering Narayanganj's importance in the country's commerce and industry, the National Industrial Policy 2010 gives special status to the region. Under this policy, Narayanganj enjoys duty free facility on imported principal equipments for boosting industrial growth in and around Narayanganj city (GoB, 2010a).

Rajuk, while formulating the Detailed Area Plan (DAP)⁷, included strategies for industrial development among others. Land use proposal had been made on the basis of land use zoning, which included Commercial Zone, Industrial Zone, and Mixed Use Zone. The present NCC area fell under Detailed Planning Zone (DPZ)-03 (former Siddhirganj Paurashava), DPZ-05 (former Narayanganj Paurashava and adjoining areas), and DPZ-06 (former Kadamrasul Paurashava). Table 28 presents proposed land use for these zones in the future.

7. The Detailed Area Plan (DAP) is related to the preparation of the physical plan of Dhaka and its adjoining areas and cities that include Narayanganj. This Plan has been prepared on the basis of Section 73 of Town Improvement Act, which empowers Rajuk to prepare Land Use Plan for the area under its jurisdiction. Rajuk is the custodian of the plan which extends to year 2015.

Table 28: Proposed land use of DPZ 03, 05 and 06 in DAP

Land use	Area/DPZ-3 (Siddhirganj)		Area/DPZ-5 (Sadar)		Area/DPZ-6 (Kadam Rasul)		Total (highest to lowest)	
	Acres	%	Acres	%	Acres	%	Acres	%
Urban Residential Zone	2943.01	50.31	2038.38	41.63	911.67	25.42	5893.06	41.12
Water body	511.76	8.75	385.15	7.87	469.78	13.1	1366.69	9.54
Proposed Road	532.49	9.1	393.27	8.03	408.83	11.4	1334.59	9.31
Mixed Use Zone (Residential-Commercial-General Industrial)	335.97	5.74	445.04	9.09	534.16	14.9	1315.17	9.18
Mixed Use Zone (Residential-Commercial)	603	10.31	323.84	6.61	239.31	6.67	1166.15	8.14
General Industrial Zone	117.04	2	186.69	3.81	546.95	15.25	850.68	5.94
Overlay Zone	352.574	6.03	307.43	6.28	2.87	0.08	662.874	4.63
Water Retention Area	332.6	5.69	33.75	0.69			366.35	2.56
Commercial Zone (Business)			219.56	4.48	142.96	3.99	362.52	2.53
Flood Flow			250.62	5.12	87.96	2.45	338.58	2.36
Transport and Communication	58.12	0.99	110.33	2.25	57.15	1.59	225.6	1.57
Heavy Industrial Zone					169.45	4.73	169.45	1.18
Administrative Zone			115.01	2.35			115.01	0.80
Rural Settlement Zone			62.05	1.27	10.42	0.29	72.47	0.51
Institutional Zone	56.05	0.96	4.54	0.09			60.59	0.42
Open Space	6.81	0.12	20.86	0.43			27.67	0.19
Agricultural Zone					4.44	0.12	4.44	0.03
Total	5849.42	100	4896.5	100	3585.94	100	14331.89	100

Source: GoB, 2010b

DAP tends to maintain status quo in the use of urban land in the current NCC. For example, it proposes 68.09% of land to be used altogether for residential, commercial and industrial purposes. This is very similar to the current land use which is 67%, as shown in Figure 36. It gives least

emphasis on open space (0.03%), but recognises the importance of keeping water bodies, water retention area and flood flow zone up to 14.46%; and proposes 9.31% land to be used for roads. Furthermore, DAP presents allocation of 14,331.89 acres of land for various purposes, whereas the total area of the NCC is 72.43 square kilometer, which is equivalent to 17,897.00 acres. This means 3,565.11 acres of land still remain out of the DAP purview in Narayanganj.

Notwithstanding an attempt to maintain status quo in total land allocation for residential, commercial and industrial purposes, separate zoning and mixed zoning will require relocation of existing industrial establishments. An urban planner of Rajuk, in an interview with the authors, revealed that implementation of DAP requires relocation of about 7,000 industries in the DAP area, including Narayanganj. This is a tremendous challenge for the government, the city corporation and other local government bodies and for the industries. Hence, he views the DAP as radical environmental conservationist in nature. In contrast, the liberal planners want to adjust and accommodate their plans with the existing structure on economic and practical grounds, and try to minimise environmental and social damage as much as possible.

5.5 Informal economic activities for rents

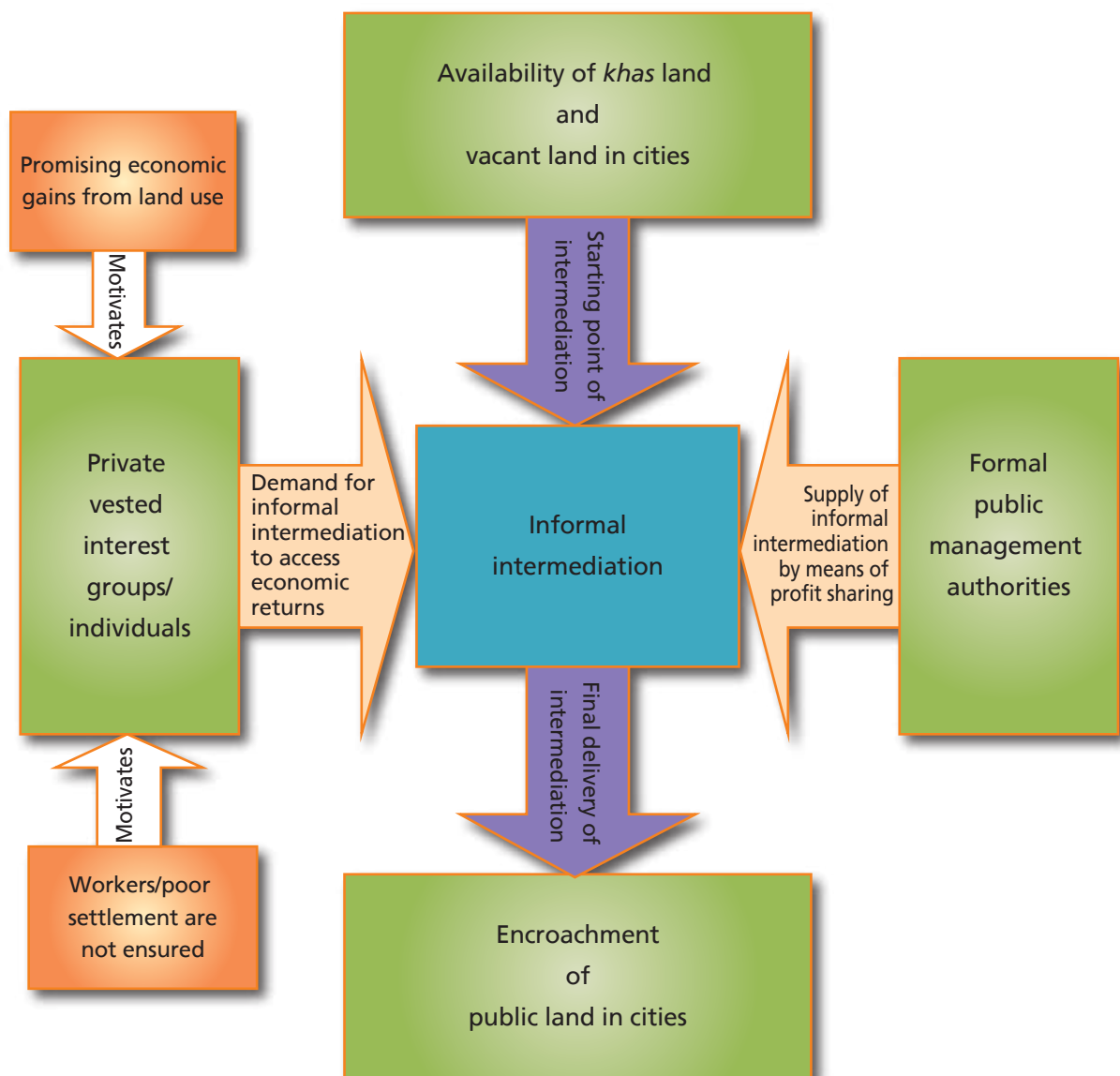
The boom in industrial and commercial activities in the NCC provides incentives for illegal encroachment of public land and toll collection. For instance, a truck stand—for carrying industrial raw materials and finished products—was illegally set up on the main thoroughfare of the city, rendering it almost unusable. Toll worth about Tk 0.1 million is raised every day from this truck stand (Khan, 2011). This toll collection is illegal but it is systematic as an informal toll-sharing network exists encompassing toll collectors, local administration and patronising leaders in the ruling parties. Private toll collection leads to increasing cost of doing business on one hand and depriving the government from revenue collection from this land use on the other.

Land grabbers include industrialists, influential individuals, real estate developers and government organisations. A survey by Narayanganj district administration based on both the Cadastral Survey (CS) conducted between 1910 and 1913, and the revised survey (RS) between 1973 and 1983, revealed that government organisations have occupied 150 acres of land in the Shitalakshya. Furthermore, the Ministries of Land and Industries, Bangladesh Textile Mills Corporation (BTMC), BIWTA, and the Zila Parishads have leased out alluvial land to private industrialists in defiance of the Land Management Manual of 1991, which only allows the Office of the Deputy Commissioner (DC) to lease out alluvial land on a yearly basis among the landless (The Daily Star, 2009).

Public land encroachment for profit-oriented activities is managed through informal intermediaries, which grows due to the presence of huge territories of *khas* land and vacant land in cities. Figure 41 illustrates an informal intermediation network for encroaching public land by private interest groups/individuals with the support of formal land management authorities.

Promising economic gains from land use motivate private groups to grab public land. One such economic prospect appears from absence of formal provision of settlements for industrial workers and the poor.

Figure 41: Informal intermediation for encroachment of public land in cities



Source: Authors.

Pagano and Bowman (2000; in Brown-Luthango, 2010, P. 128) define vacant land as land that encompasses a variety of unused or underutilised land including “derelict land, land with abandoned buildings and structures, small or irregular shaped parcels, land with physical limitations e.g. steep slope, land prone to floods, etc.”

Due to the shut-down of big industries especially jute mills and with the relative demise of the importance of the Narayanganj river port, the importance of the railway as freight carriers has also subsided. Its operation has come down to only carrying passengers from Narayanganj to Dhaka. As a result, vast facilities of the railway in Narayanganj have been rendered unutilised by its operations for a long time (see Table 29). One such unutilised property is Gymkhana Railway Quarters, which is spread over 18 acres of land. Of this land, 1.68 acres have been sold and 9 acres have been leased out to the BIWTA. Part of the remaining empty land has been grabbed illegally, where slums, shops and other commercial facilities have been set up by the grabbers. Erection of slums on railway land is very prominent. As identified by an official of the Railway Estate Department, this is due to a High Court ruling which passed an order not to evict slums on unused railway land, roads and highway land, or on river banks without rehabilitating the slum dwellers.

Table 29: Breakdown of railway's land use in the NCC

Categories of use	Amount of land (in acres)
Railway's own installations and facilities	8.96
Illegal constructions and installations	3.27
Leased out under commercial license	1.10
Leased out to BIWTA	9.00
Sold out	1.68
Total	24.01

Source: Divisional Estate Office (Dhaka), Bangladesh Railway (2013)

Generally, railway land remains open for future expansion and building new rail tracks. Additionally, land management is an auxiliary function of the railway to its routine service delivery and operations. The Railway Estate Department is responsible for the railway's land. Officials from Bangladesh Civil Service (BCS) (administration) cadre are posted in this department on deputation. A policy of maintaining status-quo of railway land and relaxed management facilitate the capture of railway land by building *bazaars* and informal settlements. On the other hand four factors, as revealed by a high official of the Divisional Estate Office (Dhaka), contribute to preventing grabbed land recovery from illegal occupancy. These include (i) shortage of manpower for monitoring railway land, (ii) effectiveness in using ruling party connection by grabbers through profit-sharing, (iii) injunction of court and financial inability of the Railway Department to appoint skilled lawyers to vacate injunctions, and (iv) lack of political will to recover land. Collusion between land grabbers and political patronisers is strong enough to continue the grabbing irrespective of whoever is in power. Vested land grabbers always maintain links with all political parties and use the ruling parties when needed by profit-sharing.

Political control over public land and agencies is aptly explained by a veteran politician of Narayanganj City. He said that the local ruling party leaders always divide the different spatial areas and profitable agencies (i.e. Rajuk, BIWTA, railway, and transportation services) among themselves. These informally assigned people and their loyalists control tenders, land leasing, fares and fees of these institutions and collect rents. Amounts of rents can be of the order as follows: a leader of Nagorik Committee told the authors that Tk.7 per ticket per day from buses on the Dhaka-Narayanganj route amounting annually to Tk.40-50 million per bus company is paid to political rent seekers. These rents are distributed among local politicians, local administrators and central level leaders within the party that patronises local rent collectors.

The cost of the rent is in fact transferred to the city dwellers by the bus companies. For example, bus fare on Dhaka-Narayanganj route was raised from Tk.22 to Tk.28 in 2011 in the name of the government's fuel price hike. City dwellers under the banner of 'Jatri Odhikar Sangrakkhan Forum' (Commuters' Right Protection Forum) protested this bus fare hike and called a half-day hartal on June 20, 2011, which was later withdrawn due to reduction of hiked rate by Tk.1 (The Daily Star, 2011). One noticeable aspect in bus fare hike and citizens' protest denoted was a split between two rival groups of ruling Awami League (AL), where an influential former AL law maker of Narayanganj lent support to the transport owners and the citizens' group was supported by the sitting ruling party MP (New Age, 2011b). This split became public when these leaders traded insulting words with each other in a meeting convened at the Office of the Deputy Commissioner of Narayanganj to solve the bus fare hike problem (New Age, 2011c).

5.6 Social space in urban land

Existence of outdoor spaces and their social uses are the differences between a lively and a lifeless city (Gehl, 1980). The provision of social space in urban geography is pivotal to stress reduction and mood change (Abkar *et al*, 2010), serving the social and recreational needs of low and middle-income residents who have been unable to afford their own clubhouses and gymnasiums (Miao, 2011), and thereby promoting social inclusion and social justice by creating opportunities for people of all ages to interact (Baycan-Levent and Nijkamp, 2009). The number and variety of human interactions in social spaces such as gardens and pedestrian-friendly streets are the way to a healthier urban community (Gehl, 1980).

The term 'social space' generally tends to imply green open spaces and iconic civic spaces only. There is a widening of the definition of urban social spaces to encompass also the ordinary streets and squares that articulate the living spaces of communities and neighborhoods (de Magalhaes and Carmona, 2006). This chapter includes parks, gardens and walkways with public access as urban social space. Physical planning and the proper use of available land greatly influence the extent and character of these outdoor activities.

In the past, a process of disappearance of open spaces was observed through conversion of open areas first into go-downs and then into factories. For instance, part of the public land alongside the Hajeeganj Fort-side open area was converted into go-downs for storage of jute during the 1950s. When jute related activities declined after independence of the country, these go-downs along with remaining vacant land were leased out to private individuals. These leaseholders converted these go-downs into mostly dyeing factories without effluent treatment plant, creating large scale pollution in the area (GoB, 2010b).

High demand for urban land for economic activities and its inherent returns de-motivate even government agencies to use land as social spaces. The Urban Partnerships for Poverty Reduction (UPPR) project of UNDP planned to set up a community resource center with facilities of leisure and recreational activities like indoor games, amusement, and children's corner for the urban poor in the city corporation's land in 2012. However, this plan could not be implemented due to disagreement between the city corporation and the project officials, as revealed by project officials to the authors. The city corporation wanted to build a big multi-storied facility for multi-purpose use considering the economic value of the land. On the contrary, UPPR Project emphasised the community's accessibility.

The city corporation has 285.13 acres of land in its three zones – Sadar, Kadamrasul and Siddhirganj (see Table 30). However, the Corporation finds it much more profitable to lease out its lands for business purposes rather than to create urban social spaces for the general people. This view is supported, in an interview with the authors, by an official of the City Corporation, who disclosed that 80% of the Corporation's land has been leased out as market. Even the slopes beside roads which account for approximately five acres of land in total have been temporarily leased out on a monthly basis to earn revenue.

Table 30: Zone-wise amount of land owned by the NCC

Name of Zone	Amount of land (in acres)
Sadar	157.96
Kadam Rasul	126.54
Siddhirganj	0.63
Total	285.13

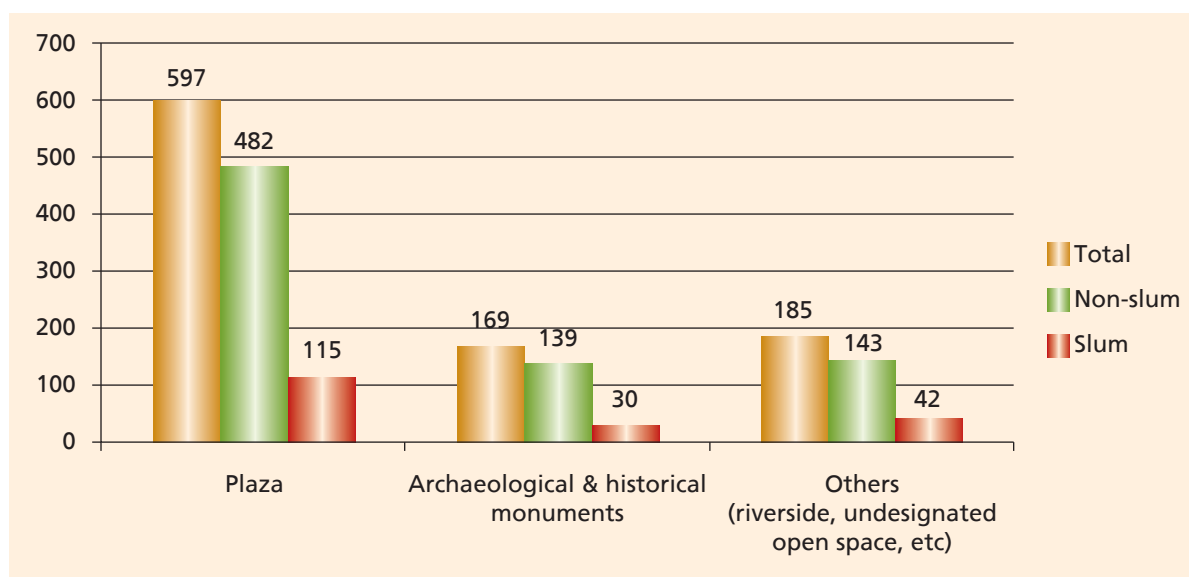
Source: NCC Estate Office (2013)

Individuals and private companies are less likely to go for provision of social space in the city due to high economic returns from land use in the port city for commercial-industrial purposes. Indeed, a high official of Kumudini Trust says that they are more inclined to set up business or profit-making establishments on their land to multiply profits. This profit will then be used for

social and humanitarian services being run by them in non-urban areas outside Narayanganj. For example, the Trust will relocate its jute and garments factories from the current location on the bank of the Shitalakshya river in the heart of the city to free spaces in Shaheednagar, for the sake of building a container port.

The above situation has led to near-absence of social spaces in urban land. In the absence of park and green spaces, 62.78% of city dwellers visit plaza, 17.77% goes to archaeological and historical monuments, and 19.45% pass their weekends by visiting riverside or other temporary open spaces. Figure 42 provides detailed data on city dwellers' visit of places across location and economic status.

Figure 42: Places visited by city dwellers across location and economic status in Narayanganj



Source: BDI-IGS State of Cities Survey (2013)

The decline of social space in Narayanganj has to do with running of the Narayanganj municipality by the national government appointed administrator for a period of 18 years, claims a political-environmental activist. From 1985 to 2002, the municipality had been run by an administrator (New Age, 2011d). During that period, the city's children's park and women's park, which were built during the British period, disappeared as a result of illegal grabbing, lack of maintenance, and indifference of successive administrators. Although a people's representative came to the helm of the municipality through election held on January 16, 2003, it had been too late to restore those social spaces to their earlier condition, observed the activist.

Additionally, a canal named *Boat Khal* connecting Dhaleshwari and Shitalakshya rivers for jute trade has dried up as a result of pollution, grabbing and lack of maintenance⁸. A local journalist

8. interviews with an environmental activist and a journalist

blames the city corporation for filling up the canal to make a market rather than restoring it. On the contrary, the environmental activist points to the irrecoverable condition of the canal and the need for a multi-million taka project like Dhaka's *Hatirjheel* project to recover the canal, which is presently impossible for the corporation to undertake.

Despite extinction of water bodies and everyone's emphasis on land use for economic purposes, the City Corporation undertook two initiatives for provision of social space in the city. The first one was an attempt by the former Narayanganj municipality to use the Railway's 16.32 acres of land in Gymkhana for building a park and walkway. After several years' writing, in 2004, the communications minister during the last Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)-led four-party alliance regime agreed in principle to hand over the Railway's land to the municipality. But the ruling party Member of Parliament (MP) elected from Narayanganj stopped the process by submitting a written note of dissent. Apparently the MP was (as disclosed by a prominent socio-political activist to the authors) not willing to let his opposition party-backed mayor take the credit. Nonetheless, the City Corporation applied again to the railway ministry for this land on October 12, 2012. That application has been delivered to the Railway Divisional Estate Office, Dhaka, on June 09, 2013, taking about eight months to reach the concerned desk within the same ministry for the latter's opinion. A team from the estate office is due to visit the place and to assess the state of the properties, including the land, its facilities, and structures. The team's assessment report will be sent to the ministry. The authority to take the final decision lies with the Railway Minister.

Section 3 of the Railway Land Management Policy, 2006 classifies railway lands into three categories. Land which is presently in use by the Railway belongs to the first category (termed as *current*), the land not in use at this time but will be needed in near future is denoted as second category (*prospective*), and the land which will not be directly used by the Railway falls under the third category (*not-necessary*). Sections 4, 5 and 6 of the policy stipulate that the first category land can never be licensed; second category land can be licensed for commercial, agricultural, fisheries, nurseries, car parking and toll collection, and other purposes for short period of time; and the third category land can be sold through tender or be leased out perpetually to the Railway Welfare Trust; or sold/leased out on special consideration to 100% export-oriented industry, to 100% import-substitution industry, and to any other industrial uses under joint venture or build-operate-own (BOO) or built-operate-transfer (BOT) or profit sharing; or to any other public or private organisation.

The Railway's Gymkhana land falls under the third category, confirmed by a high official of the Divisional Estate Office (Dhaka). Section 6.3 of the Railway Land Management Policy, 2006 allows the third category land to be leased out for a long time or perpetually to any government organisation working in public interest or to any registered private organisation with at least 15 years working experience at symbolic price or under any other condition determined by the ministry,

subject to approval of the Railway Minister. Hence, the City Corporation, as a public interest-serving government body, can legally be entitled to receive Gymkhana land at a symbolic price. For a quick decision on transfer of this land to the NCC, insiders of the railway ministry put emphasis on inter-ministerial initiative and coordination between the Railway Ministry and the Local Government Division (LGD) of the Ministry of LGRD and Cooperatives.

In the second initiative, the city corporation sought 6.42 decimal *khas* land under Shitalakshya *mouza* from the Deputy Commissioner's Office in October 2012 to use it, for the moment, as dumping ground of its wastes, and later on to develop it as open space for the city dwellers. However, the corporation has been refused. A city corporation official explains the reason of refusal as an outcome of this land being currently used illegally by a private company through informal payments.

5.7 Governance challenges with regard to urban land use

Preceding discussions and analyses clearly suggest that economic considerations have been dominant in the use of land in the city. As a result, rent-centric informal transactions have expanded on the one hand and provision of social space has been reduced on the other hand. The following challenges of governance can be drawn in light of the evidence presented in the last few sections of this chapter.

5.7.1 Use of urban land in a haphazard way in the absence of an unified regulatory system

The real problem is unplanned land use rather than scarcity of land. The city has grown without any planning since the British era. Use of urban land by numerous public and private entities and individuals without any laid-down coordination among them has resulted in scattered land use. It has also undermined sustainable use of urban land. For instance, over-weight trucks and lorries carrying industrial goods ply on the city roads. This mismatch between road capacity and the vehicles' load damages the roads. It also creates traffic congestion in the city. If alternative roads with necessary load capacity were constructed on the bank of Shitalakshya river through coordinated efforts of Roads and Highways Department, Local Government Engineering Department (LGED), the NCC, and the industrialists, it would have been better for the city dwellers.

The city corporation cannot solely regulate urban land use. Its regulatory and developmental function overlaps with the jurisdiction of Rajuk, which creates confusion (IGS, 2012). The Local Government (City Corporation) Act, 2009 empowers the city corporations to formulate a master plan including the provisions to develop land and regulate building construction in the city. On the other hand, the urban land of Naryanganj is under Rajuk's jurisdiction. Hence, Rajuk is responsible for the formal physical planning and developmental, and regulatory activities in the city.

Once a land user gets approval of a plan from Rajuk, it is submitted to the NCC for its knowledge⁹. However, there is a big question about how to resolve an issue, if raised by the corporation, given that no effective coordination exists between the corporation and the Rajuk.

5.7.2 Unplanned industrial growth and its impact on urban environment

Over the years, the Shitalakshya river has been absorbed with unregulated industrial activities in terms of pollution and grabbing. The jute industries did not pollute the river as much as the current garments and knitwear industries are doing. The problem lies in the unplanned growth of the latter type of industries in the country. Knitwear manufacturing is an example: it started in privately owned residential houses in the mid – 1980s without a concept of industrialisation, as was being described by a pioneer knitwear manufacturer in Bangladesh. With the growth of profits, they relocated their respective manufacturing industries to a separate industrial location. However, they were not aware of pollution deriving from waste-water. Even the government was not forthcoming in advising them about pollution. Thus, the response of the industrialists and the government to industrial pollution has been reactive rather than in-built or pro-active. Nonetheless, their lack of awareness of pollution in the early stage and lack of willingness at a later stage has polluted the water bodies at a rate that has rendered them unrecoverable. Their unwillingness is evident in not setting up effluent treatment plants despite government regulations. Setting up central effluent treatment plants in industrial zones like the BSCIC or EPZ is more economic and hence preferable to the industrialists than industry-wise plant.

5.7.3 Urban land wastage from lack of planned shelter for industrial workers

Thousands of migrant workers are involved in the city's industrial and commercial activities. Since neither the employers nor the government provide housing for these workers, their settlement needs are catered to by slums or private land-owners. For setting up slums, urban public land is grabbed by local influential people, which fosters informal intermediation in urban housing. Current practices of workers' settlements in private land have also led to transformation of agrarian land into non-agricultural uses and resulted in horizontal expansion of housing, causing wastage in urban land use.

5.7.4 Growth of urban land-centric informal intermediation and its impact

With the escalation of industrial and commercial activities in the city, informal intermediation grows in urban public land to gain monetary benefits and political power. Key players of maintaining this informal intermediation include local politicians and their loyalists, local administration, and patronising leaders within the party at the central level. Consequences of

9. Interview with an urban planner of the NCC

informal occupancy of public land are three-fold. First, the government is deprived of huge revenues from these land uses. Second, protests against land grabbing results in decay human or personal security. A meritorious teenager has been killed this year due to his father's leading role in civic protest against, among others, a railway land grabbing. Third, since authorities of public land – *khas* land and railway land – are paid off from illegal land use, those authorities do not tend to allow use of these lands for social purposes. As a result, the city corporation was refused permission to use 6.42 decimal *khas* land for such purposes.

5.7.5 Absence of concerted efforts for provision of social spaces

Broadly, two observations could be made regarding provision of social space in Narayanganj. First, there is no cooperation between public land authorities and the city corporation for provision of social space. For example, the NCC has been asking for the Railway's Gymkhana land for the last decade to construct a park and walkway, but it has failed.

Second, there exist a number of historical places in and around the city, but these have either been grabbed for economic use or remained unusable due to lack of proper maintenance. The Sonakanda Fort, located on the eastern bank of the Shitalakshya at Bandar, could have been an attractive public place for the general masses. Due to adverse physical condition of the Fort and lax law and order situation around it, urban dwellers do not want to visit this place with their families, a public employee living in the city complained. Currently, the Department of Archaeology and Museums looks after the Fort.

5.8 Recommendations

On the basis of the findings reported and analysed in this chapter, the following recommendations seem to be in order for making a livable city through balanced land use.

5.8.1 Introduction of a well-articulated urban land use plan

A detailed land use plan is paramount for efficient use of urban land. Rajuk has already included Narayanganj city in its Detailed Area Plan (DAP). The Local Government (City Corporation) Act, 2009 has also empowered the NCC as a city corporation to prepare a Master Plan for the city. DAP can be the basis of urban land use plan for the city too. There are two additional guiding policies namely the National Land Use Policy, 2001 and the Draft National Urban Sector Policy, 2011. The latter stipulates that all planning activities should be directed towards developing a livable urban environment with special focus on creating compact (high-density) mixed-use development for promoting proximity between residence and workplace, e.g. locating employment and shopping closer to residential areas. Such strategy will also promote efficient land use. Mixed land-use provisions should also include open urban spaces, children's parks, playing fields and recreational

facilities for all citizens.

Dual jurisdiction of Rajuk and the NCC over land use plan preparation and implementation creates confusion and exasperation among land users, and also leads to waste of time and resources of both organisations. Although Rajuk has the capacity of planning, its role was rejected by Narayanganj city dwellers in the past. On the other hand, despite the NCC's legal authority to prepare a plan, its capacity for doing what needs to be done in this regard is limited in terms of manpower or technical know-how. Thus, Rajuk and the NCC need to develop complementing roles and tasks.

Collaboration and cooperation between Rajuk and the NCC should imply that the planning function be entrusted with Rajuk and implementation with the NCC, thus promoting checks and balances in urban land use. For development in this line, Rajuk would have to prepare a sub-plan for the NCC area based on DAP, National Land Use Policy and Draft Urban Sector Policy, in consultation with all stakeholders in Narayanganj. The NCC mayor would however, be the final authority to approve this plan on behalf of the residents of Narayanganj. Based on the approved plan, the NCC would then develop urban land with regulation of all land use activities of all stakeholders in the city. The NCC needs to enhance its capacities for effectively carrying out the proposed land use developmental and regulatory functions. Alternatively, a pool of Rajuk officials will be placed in the NCC for a certain period. They will report to the NCC mayor for their duties and responsibilities during their placement at NCC.

5.8.1.1 Proper rehabilitation of individuals and groups affected by land use plan implementation

Land zoning is part of any land use plan, but it always generates controversy. The foremost challenge in land zoning is rehabilitation of the evicted people and compensation for their structures or properties. Land management experts emphasise ensuring of partnership and offer of appropriate compensation in case of land acquisition. Usually, a two-step compensation is suggested to avoid complexity in compensation payments. In the first step, the value of the acquired land will be paid to the owner or s/he will be rehabilitated at a suitable place. The latter will then be compensated with a fixed rate of sharing profits originating from the infrastructure built on the acquired land in the second step (Prothom Alo, 2013).

Furthermore, if a structure is required to be relocated, for example, for widening public roads, the owner of the structure will be paid a betterment fee component from revenue in addition to rehabilitation. Betterment fee is to be levied on structures next to roads because of their increased value, which is being accrued from infrastructure developments such as new roads by government authorities.

5.8.1.2 People's awareness to support land use plan implementation

One of the reasons behind loose regulation of development activities in urban land is rampant corruption in the regulatory bodies. Corruption is however, largely supply-driven in this respect. Land users, if possible, would not go by the plan approved by the regulatory body, Rajuk. When Rajuk inspectors find deviation of approved plan, they are offered bribes to avoid any legal action. This supply side push of corruption is quite substantial.

Another reason for the prevailing situation is the absence of the whole concept of infrastructure regarding land use among land owners. Construction of structures is prime concern among them, while leaving space for future road construction and service installation draws little consideration. This leads to haphazard growth in the city. Implementation of regulation at this stage is resisted by land-owners. On the other hand, this is less profitable for land owners in the long run since rent for this type of structure is much less than that with adequate space for connectivity. Yet, they focus on short-term gains.

Hence, the NCC and citizens' groups should go for massive campaign in order to change the mind-set among land owners so that they think of the gains in the long-run that can be derived from compliance with the land use plan and regulation. Such campaign should also aim at creating civic responsibility among city dwellers to support plan implementation and resist contraventions. Citizens' awareness however depends on intensive consultations with them during the plan preparation stage.

5.8.2 Provision of social space by the NCC

Provision of social space is essential to ensure the social function of urban land. Social function includes fostering common identity of city dwellers, creating awareness on urban environment, stirring human sensitivity, integrating the poor with the mainstream, and creating citizens' activism against mal-governance – the essential ingredients of a livable city.

Narayanganj, as a port city, offers higher returns from economic land use than other uses. This is a key de-motivating factor among individuals and organisations for provision of social space. Also, social space is a local issue. The NCC thus needs to create social space for city dwellers. Recently, it has entered into an agreement with a private company to construct a children's park under public-private partnership on its 6.02 acres of land in the Panchobati area. However, charging of entrance fee may deter the poor from using this park.

The NCC should build social space with free access on its own land. The Local Government (City Corporation) Act, 2009 stipulates creating gardens and parks inside the city for everyone's pleasure and leisure (Section-24). The corporation has land measuring 157.96 acres at Sadar and 126.54 acres at Kadamrasul. The latter can be developed as a model area with public spaces. Simultaneously, the

corporation should keep up its efforts to get *khas* land from the DC Office and unutilised land from the railway and BIWTA. It is observed that the latter organisations do not like to hand over land to the NCC, although there are no legal barriers or necessity of the concerned organisations for their own use. The railway's Gymkhana land is an example, which the NCC could not access despite repeated initiatives.

Furthermore, industrialists could be persuaded for financial support to create social spaces in the city. A top administrator of Kumudini Trust wants the NCC to sit with all stakeholders including industrialists to build more infrastructure in order to make the city more livable. The country's knitwear manufacturing sector is the world's second largest knitwear exporter after China, and 55% of such factories are located in and around Narayanganj City. Citing an example of donation by the business people of the city for building a school inside the Narayanganj police quarters at the initiative of the Superintendent of Police, a BKMEA leader suggests that NCC should collaborate with them for funds to create social spaces in the city¹⁰.

Internationally, there are many examples of developing cities with financial support from businessmen. The Toyota City in Japan is an example, named after the internationally renowned automobile company – the Toyota Motors – in 1959, from the city's original name 'Koromo'¹¹. The company's contribution for the development of the city is well-known. Based on its corporate social responsibility policy, *contribution towards sustainable development*, the company spent approximately 14.4 billion Yen on social contribution activities in FY2011 globally (Toyota, 2012).

5.8.3 Actions necessary for addressing urban land-based informal intermediaries

As shown in the preceding sections, *khas* land and unutilised land of various government organisations provide a basis for growing informal intermediaries in the city through grabbing of public land by vested interest groups or individuals. These types of public land should be administered by changing the *modus operandi* to prevent the growth of informal intermediation in the settlement context. The city corporation needs to be present at the decision making process of these land-growing organisations, and its concerns should be taken into account while deciding on development activities on these lands or their leasing out. Worthiness of the NCC's inclusion derives from its proven capability to recover former municipal land from illegal occupancy. The Estate Office of the NCC asserts that there is no piece of the NCC's 285.13 acres of land under illegal occupancy at present.

Awareness of city dwellers is a key factor in land grabbing. Narayanganj city has been a pioneer in fighting against effects of informal intermediaries i.e. collection of rent. The protest of the Jatri Odhikar Sangrakkhan Forum (Commuters' Rights Protection Forum) against bus fare hike in June

10. Interview with the authors

11. <http://www.mapsofworld.com/cities/japan/toyota.html>

2011 and Nagorik Committee's stand against Rajuk's decision to sell plots are two examples of civic activism and people's awareness against rent seeking. In addition, Nagorik Committee, since its inception in 2006, has raised its voice against the railway land grabbing and also for land for social space, as highlighted in previous sections.

Thus, civic activism against rent-seekers and a changed land management system which includes the NCC could be effective in addressing informal intermediaries in the city.

5.8.4 A welfare approach for workers' housing

The city's historical jute industries have been replaced mostly with garments and knitwear manufacturing industries. Workers' housing facilities were in-built in the former industries, which are absent in the current case. Workers cannot afford a minimum standard of housing on their own with the existing level of income. As a result, their only option is to economise on housing costs. This gives rise to their settlement either in slums or in very compact rooms developed by private land-owners. Such arrangements result in urban informal intermediaries in housing, which has resulted in public land grabbing, wastage of land use by horizontal expansion of housing, and loss of agricultural land. In this context, government should undertake a welfare approach for meeting housing needs of industrial workers in conjunction with the employers or make the latter responsible for building workers colony/dormitories. In practice, it can take the following course: (a) the government directly builds workers' quarters with money mobilised from industrial profits, for example deducting 0.2% from the profit of each piece of apparel from the proceed-realizations, and manages these quarters with rent of workers on no-profit-no-loss principle; (b) the government gives tax rebate and other financial incentives to industrialists to build workers' quarters. The second option can be implemented easily in industrial parks such as EPZs. The central strategy in constructing workers' quarters should be vertical construction with the provision of land for social purposes. However, all interviewees put emphasis on joint initiative of BGMEA, BKMEA, Ministries of Industries, Labour, Finance, and Commerce for the provision of housing for industrial workers.

5.8.5 Market solution to address scattered industrial location

A way out for cities in getting rid of scattered industries lies in finding market solutions, which include urban land market and export of industrial products. Urban land markets set prices for land which will play an important role in reducing scattered industrial location. It is not economically viable to buy a piece of land at current market price to set up a factory in either Dhaka or Narayanganj. On the other hand, export of products is conditional on setting up of effluent treatment plant and special environment inside factories. These conditions have been imposed by international buyers. Setting up of factory-by-factory effluent plants is more expensive, while a

central effluent plant can serve many industries at the same time. Therefore, relocating industries in special industrial zones like BSCIC or EPZ or garments *palli* around and outside cities can be seen as a progressive trend.

For example, in order to relocate industries from the Narayanganj-Dhaka region, the BGMEA and BKMEA are jointly implementing a project with active engagement from the government for creating a *Garments Palli* at the Bausia-Gojaria area of Munshiganj on 530 acres of land. The land was acquired by the government. Under this project, about 900 plots are due to be developed. Those small garment factories which do not have any land or building of their own will be given priority in allocation of industrial plots. A central effluent treatment plant (ETP), a powerhouse, and a police station will be built by the government¹².

Such relocation will also free up many land parcels inside the city, making room for creation of more social spaces for the citizens.

5.9 Conclusion

Financial returns are central considerations to urban land use in Narayanganj. Individual land-owners, private trusts, businessmen, industrial groups, government organisations, and the NCC – all give priority to use of land for economic purposes. Centrality of economic activities will continue due to its natural location on the bank of the Shitalakhya river and connectivity dividends. For instance, Kumudini Trust is determined to set up an inland container port on its 46 acres of land in Narayanganj, on the bank of the Sitalakshya river. This container port will help to transfer goods through Narayanganj river route instead of via the Dhaka-Chittagong highway.

Due to this economic-centrality, the necessary use of urban land as social space has been non-existent and informal intermediation has grown through grabbing of urban public land — *khas* land or unutilised land of Bangladesh Railway, for instance. Economic returns from these informal intermediaries have further prevented potential use of public land as social space. So, any attempt to ensure urban good governance primarily requires good management of these lands, which are sources of informal power bases in the city.

However, land has a social role to play in society (Brown-Luthango 2010). Social space with free access is a pertinent part of urbanisation, especially for the urban poor who are unable to access costly facilities. While development interventions lift the urban poor from below the poverty level, provision of a public space could work as a channel to integrate these people with mainstream society, thus restricting supply of cadres for godfathers of organised crime.

These land use patterns in Bangladesh have emerged without any land use plan. In fact, urban land issues have received very little policy attention in Bangladesh (Brown-Luthango, 2010). As a result,

12. Based on interview with the First Vice President of BKMEA

industrial, commercial and residential growths have cluttered up in the same place. Therefore, in order to ensure balanced use of urban land in both social and economic aspects, and to make the city livable, this chapter recommends the introduction of a well-articulated urban land use plan and its proper implementation through proper rehabilitation and people's support; provision of social space by the NCC; undertaking of political and administrative settlements to address urban land-based informal intermediaries; a welfare approach for workers' housing; and allowing market solution to address the scattered existence of industries.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusion

In last year's *State of Cities* report, we mainly focused on the key areas of urban life in Dhaka city. Given that the city faces multi-faceted problems and challenges, we attempted to provide a "comprehensive and multifaceted analysis of how the governance process is mobilised, shaped and maintained in the city." We made an argument that in order to make sense of the governing process in the cities we need to look beyond the formal institutional structures and should also concentrate on the "inter-personal space where state and society come into contact via intermediaries." This emphasis on the informal arrangements is important, as it shows why contextualisation is necessary while analysing the governing process of a given city.

The previous report points out the limitation of the existing definitions of the concept, and it provides a descriptive analysis by focusing on key arenas of urban life in Dhaka city from the legacy of municipal governance, to political relations and democratic practices at the local level, to the social and political organisation of the rickshaw sector and access to urban services. Therefore, any possible improvement in the existing concept of urban governance and the empirical evidence of the necessity of including a contextual analysis have been our starting point, and we started this report through developing a theoretical construct.

In Chapter 2, we have taken up this task by indicating that governance is a value-laden concept and, in general, it is considered to be the ideal state of governing, *i.e.*, when the process of governing meets some specific criteria. Therefore, we have argued that when we are interested in analysing the state of cities, the focus should be on exploring and explaining the existing process of governing and then analysing how far this process is from the desired state—urban governance. Undoubtedly, there will be some movements from government to governance; however, it will be misleading to assume that all countries will make this transition at the same pace. Given that contextual factors, like socio-economic and political factors, vary across countries and that these factors play an important role in identifying the actors involved in the governing process and their respective roles, it is also necessary to take the impact of these factors under consideration while defining the state of cities.

As we have explained in Chapter 2, that the degree of political power and status of the city governments, role played by these bodies and the authorities bestowed upon them may vary across countries and this variation will significantly affect the nature of governance. Furthermore, within this process of governing, the business elites for their own interest keep a sharp eye and attempt to influence the policies, the bureaucrats involved at the local level in delivering services, the citizens— who have gained power due to the introduction of electoral accountability— and NGOs and local elites who help the poor in gaining access to services, have all become important actors. As these actors have their own interests at stake, they try to influence the activities of the city government as best as they can.

Under these circumstances, the key challenge for urban governance is to balance these conflicting interests at play. In Chapter 2, we have shown that in the context of most developing countries in general, and Bangladesh in particular, the city governments develop their governing agenda by making a compromise between the two— "at one end, the city government wants to respond to the economic need of the business elites as positively as it can (given that they have the authority) and on the other, while doing that, it tries to function within the boundary set by the central government, government administration and electoral demands of the general mass." The process through which the city government does that eventually defines the 'process of governing' which gets reflected the 'state of cities'.

Based on this framework, in Chapter 2, we have made an effort to analyse the governance process in the Narayanganj City Corporation and explore where it stands in terms of reaching the ultimate goal of governance. Our finding indicates that as a new City Corporation, the city government of Narayanganj is facing a huge challenge. Like most other cities of the country, the central government interferes and often controls most of its functions and in effect, the city government has no role in determining the economic future of the city. As a result, it has to depend a lot on the central government and different central public agencies and rarely interacts with the business

elites. This curbing of authority of the city governments, coupled with its lack of necessary infrastructure and human resources, force the city officials to significantly narrow down their role and as we have shown in this chapter, in Narayanganj, the City Corporation's role has become that of a 'limited' governance where its main concern is to provide services in an effective and efficient way. However, even in the case of delivering services, the City Corporation has to deal with a number of problems which include lack of interaction between City Corporation officials and the citizens, the presence of strong bureaucratic discretion, and in case of some services, failure to build a partnership with outside actors. Chapter 2 thus concludes that despite having great potential, the Narayanganj City Corporation has not yet become an autonomous body in the case of dealing with its own financial resources and making administrative decisions. This process of governing which we have termed as 'limited' governance is way off the mark of the desired level of urban governance.

Given that the Narayanganj City Corporation plays the most important role in delivering services to the people, in Chapter 3, we have attempted to explore the dynamics of the service delivery mechanism and its impact on the recipients, i.e., the city dwellers. As the chapter shows, we have considered the City Corporation as a coalition of institutions of a specific area to ensure the urban services. The City Corporation acts as an umbrella organisation to ensure several services under its departments and personnel, and it is expected to make and implement policy and activities of service delivery in a specific region without any interference from the central government. However, the City Corporation is not the only institution working to serve the city residents as a number of centrally controlled single-purpose (Gregory, 2003) para-statal bodies like WASA, DPDC and TITAS are also operating there. The basic findings of this chapter are as follows:

The findings of the chapter show that the structure and extent of responsiveness in part of the officials in an urban area differs on the basis of organisational pattern. The single-purpose organisations are found to be predominantly corrupted and they lack complaint and feedback mechanisms. The dwellers have complaints against these single-purpose organisations. Although there are legislative bindings, the dwellers suffer much to receive services from the centrally driven utility services. At the same time, evidence is found in the research that these organisations are not really responsive to the needs of the citizens and they show inertia in efficiently solving the problems faced by the residents.

Our research also shows that the City Corporation plays an important role to ensure the services to the city dwellers regardless of their class, location or gender. The services are ensured to the poor and the rich equally, although there are some significant lobbying and networking in place. However, we have also found that most of the city dwellers, especially those living in the slums, are of the opinion that the services delivered by the City Government are only for the rich and not for the poor. According to them, the City Corporation is not responsive and they mostly ignore the

poor. The City Corporation officials denied such complaints and they asserted that it has developed effective mechanisms for service delivery instead of considering class and relation of the service receivers. The City Corporation has a separate complaint mechanism and the issues or complaints are considered to be promptly solved by the city corporation.

However, it is important to note that despite such claims made by the City Corporation, we have observed the presence of an informal channel of service delivery which prevails both in the services provided by the City Corporation and the para-statal bodies. The informal way to receive services includes using some specific actors like local relatives and well-known persons, especially those who have connections with the service providers. In the service delivery process, those actors work and act regularly. According to the respondents, they usually use those persons as they are acquaintances to the service providers. The qualitative research also shows that the local leaders and elites use their networks and political interventions to speed up their access to services. Those who cannot use those networks use their relatives to reach the resource person. Furthermore, the rules and provisions of service delivery are often ignored if the receivers can provide a bribe to the authority.

In fact, throughout the study, we have found that the slum dwellers are extremely critical about the services delivered by the City Corporation. This is not unexpected and in fact, it supports our framework and findings of Chapter 2 where we have shown why and how the existing process of governing has resulted in a not-so-effective service delivery mechanism. It was probably best explained by a city dweller: who opined— “What is a city corporation? What is this city? For whom? We the poor have remained as we were.” The findings of Chapter 3 clearly demonstrated that the rich areas in Narayanganj have better service options and they enjoy better access to services. The respondents from the slum areas asserted that, the city corporation authorities and para-statal authorities rarely respond when they put their demands to the authority. Even in cases of emergency, they seldom get what they need.

However, despite these limitations and complaints, we have found four issues that are important and can be used in strengthening the service delivery mechanism developed by the City Corporation.

First of all, a significant number of city dwellers have admitted that in some specific areas like waste management and providing immunisation services, the City Corporation has done a wonderful job. People are satisfied with these services.

Second, in the case of these success stories, one thing should be pointed out and that is, in these two services, the city corporation did not work alone. It has developed and maintained partnership with the different NGOs, local elites and social institutions like mosques, clubs, etc. In effect, the success has been achieved through developing an innovative public-private partnership approach.

Thirdly, another issue that may in the future bolster the role of the City Corporation is the fact that the residents are of the opinion that the City Corporation does not have too many responsibilities and it should play a role in providing services in the areas of electricity, gas, transportation, and others. This support of the citizens can be effectively used by the city corporation.

Fourthly, our research also indicates that most of the residents have a pre-conceived idea about the City Corporation that it will not be able to help them. Furthermore, they have very little knowledge about the services provided by the City Corporation or the complaint mechanism available there. Through raising awareness of the citizen groups, the city corporation can make it more effective.

However, we do have to remember that delivering services have costs and the city corporation needs adequate supply of financial resources to meet the costs. In Chapter 4, we explore the financial management system as it stands in the Narayanganj City Corporation by looking at the tax services. When Narayanganj was declared a City Corporation with the vision to build an environmental friendly, clean, safe, pollution-free, healthy, planned, poverty-free city that would provide necessary citizen services to all the city dwellers, the expectations of the dwellers also rose accordingly. As the Chapter argues, these expectations can be defined as public value, more clearly the value of standard of living and the success of the local government also depends on the increase of such value because the city dwellers, especially the voters, measure the success of any local government in terms of the delivery of civil amenities.

However, as pointed out, in order to provide these expected public values, the city government needs funds. The city corporation, as an autonomous body under the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (LGRD) is empowered to levy tax as well as prepare their own budget like other local government bodies under the provision of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Still, as the expectations of the dwellers of a city are higher than a municipality, a city corporation needs more fiscal strength than a municipality. The chapter shows that the transformation of Narayanganj, Kadamrosul and Siddhirganj municipalities into Narayanganj city corporation creates a dual challenge for the newly elected city government— one hand, they have to address the rising expectations of the city dwellers and on the other, in order to fulfill these, the newly formed NCC needs fiscal strength more than the former Narayanganj municipality.

The chapter points out that fulfillment of the citizens' expectations for public value completely depends on the availability of funds and the major source for this fund should be its own revenue which the city can collect from their citizens or through levying additional taxes. Whereas this is important for ensuring the financial health of the city, the major question is— are the citizens ready to get the city life in exchange of fiscal burden? This can be explained as fiscal contract between the city government and the city dwellers where the city government promises to ensure

the services in return for regular payment of taxes. In a fiscal contract the citizens play a proactive role than as a mere tax-payer and the city government acts as an autonomous body in its fiscal decisions. However, developing and managing this fiscal contract is a major challenge for the city corporation. As the urbanisation rate of the Narayanganj city was 33.54 percent which was higher than the national figure (BBS, 2011), it can be argued that formation of the NCC was aimed at fostering the growth.

However, the question that the chapter mainly aims to address is— how successful is NCC in managing and allocating resources for the growth of the city and where does it stand in terms of the financial contract. Our research indicates that not much success has been achieved in the last couple of years. For instance, the NCC declared an ambitious annual income in 2012-2013 (same as this year in 2013-14); but that income was cut by 67 percent in its revised form. Our research indicates that the reason behind such a cut was due to the lower collection (about 55 percent) of its own resources as well as a huge failure to realise the commitment from the central government and development partners. Reasons for weaker taxation in the NCC are identified as poor tax rate, corruption, reluctance among people to pay tax, political interruption, irregular assessment, etc. Therefore, the fiscal contract did not really work that well.

Furthermore, the autonomous status plays an important role for any City Corporation to examine its fiscal strength. Unfortunately, in the case of Narayanganj, the City Corporation does not enjoy very much fiscal autonomy in its governing law. In consideration of operational autonomy, the central government can control the fiscal decisions of the City Corporation; the scenario is worse in practice where the high officials of the revenue department are the bureaucrats of the central government and the 'street level' officers are the officials of the City Corporation; therefore there always remains a conflict of interest.

As a result, city building has not received enough attention in comparison to service delivery. Again, this finding is also in line with the theoretical argument that we made in chapter 2. As we have predicted, the NCC has to make a compromise, given that with its minimal resources it is not possible to fulfill the agenda of the citizens as well as to achieve long term economic growth, the NCC concentrates mainly on delivering services to the people. However, like the previous chapter, Chapter 4 also points out that as there are questions about the capacity of the service providers in implementing the demand of the citizens according to their needs, there is dissatisfaction among the citizens regarding the service delivered to them from the NCC. Therefore, it can be said that the NCC cannot balance between the two visions of its formation.

Chapter 5 argues that land has a social role to play in society (Brown-Luthango, 2010). Social space with free access is a pertinent part of urbanisation, especially for the urban poor who are unable to access clubs or other paid recreational facilities. While development interventions lift the urban

poor from poverty level, provision of public space could work as a channel to integrate those people with mainstream society and thus restricting supply of clients for godfather patrons.

Presently, urban land in Narayanganj is used predominantly for residential purposes and industrial and commercial activities. Nevertheless, total land use for industrial and commercial purposes did not increase over the years due to the shut-down of heavy industries and their occupied spaces being filled up by development of industrial plots by the Government, and expansion of knitwear and garments factories at private initiatives. However, these new industries do not make provisions for workers' living arrangements. In the absence of in-built workers' settlement provisions, slums in government and private land have been a common feature of the city.

Industrial and commercial activities in the NCC provide incentives for illegal encroachment of public land and toll collection. This toll collection is illegal, but systematic as an informal toll sharing network exists among toll collectors, local administration and patronising leaders in central ruling parties exists. Private toll collection leads to increasing cost of doing business on one hand and depriving the government from revenue collection from this land use on the other hand.

Public land encroachment for profit-oriented activities is managed through informality, which grows due to the presence of a huge territory of khas land and vacant land in cities. Based on these types of land, informal governance emerges to grab public land by private interest groups/individuals with support of formal land management authorities. Land grabbing prevents these places from being used as social space.

Compared to land use for formal and informal economic activities, social use of urban land is apparently non-existent for the moment. Many city-dwellers blame the running of the Narayanganj municipality by a central government appointed administrator for a period of 18 years for decline of social space in the city. From 1985 to 2002 the municipality had been run by an administrator. During the period, the city's children's park and women's park, which were built during the British period, disappeared to illegal grabbers due to lack of maintenance and indifference of the administrator.

High demand for urban land for economic activities and its inherent returns de-motivate even government agencies to use land as social space. The City Corporation or Office of the Deputy Commissioner finds it much more profitable to lease out respective lands for business purposes rather than to create urban public facilities for the general people. Consequently, 80% of the City Corporation's land has been leased out as markets.

Chapter 5 identifies the following challenges of public space management and governance

- Use of urban land in a scattered way and without a unified regulatory system
- Unplanned industrial growth and its impact on the urban environment

- Wastage in urban land use due to current provision of settlements to industrial workers
- Growth of urban land-centric informality and its negative impacts on the government and city dwellers
- Absence of concerted efforts for social space and lack of maintenance of existing historical places

This chapter concludes that economic returns are central to urban land use in Narayanganj, where Individual land-owners, private trusts, industrial groups and individuals, government organisations and the NCC – all give priority to use of respective land for economic purposes. Economic centrality will continue due to Narayanganj natural location on the bank of the Shitalakshya river and connectivity dividends.

Due to this economic centrality, the necessary use of urban land as social space has been non-existent and informality has grown through grabbing urban public land— *khas* land or unutilised land of the Bangladesh Railway, for instance. Economic returns from this informality have further prevented potential use of public land from being used as social space.

These land use patterns have emerged without any land use plan. In fact, urban land issues have received very little policy attention in a developing country like Bangladesh (Brown-Luthango, 2010). As a result, industrial, commercial and residential lands have been jumbled up in the same place. Therefore, in order to ensure balanced use of urban land in social and economic aspects and make the city livable, the chapter recommends:

- Introduction of a well-articulated urban land use plan and its proper implementation through proper rehabilitation and people's support
- Provision of social space by the NCC
- Undertaking of political and administrative settlements to address urban land-based informality
- A welfare approach for workers' housing, and
- Allowing market solutions to address scattered existence of industries

6.2 Way forward

Our overall findings indicate that in terms of administering a newly formed City Corporation, the city government of Narayanganj is facing a number of significant challenges. Of these, some are quite typical and faced by most other City Corporations, which include excessive control and interference exercised by the central government, lack of coordination between the City

Corporation and different public agencies and discretionary power applied by the street level bureaucracy. At the same time, the City Corporation also faces some challenges due to excessive expectation on it by the citizens and lack of skilled human resources. All in all, these problems have significantly limited the governing process and hinder the institution in achieving success in case of delivering services effectively.

However, research also shows that despite having these limitations, the City Corporation has achieved success in some specific cases, especially in delivering services. At the same time, one of the most important things in case of this City Corporation is the role played by the mayor herself. We have observed that in most cases, there is a good relationship between the mayor and the other elected councilors and they actually consider her as a visionary and strong leader who maintains close connection with the citizens at large. Our short interview with the mayor also indicates that she is aware of and acknowledges the problems and she actually wants to address these problems. At the early stages of a City Corporation, the leadership quality is extremely important and it will be interesting to see how the mayor actually defines and exercises her power in the coming years. Even though she has a major role to play, it should be considered here that governing a city is a collective process and at the same time, in order to extend the authority of the City Corporation the leadership of the City Corporation have to address a number of challenges mainly posed through the central government. Therefore, it is critical for the city corporation to start negotiating with the central government at this early stage so that it can extend the boundary of its functioning and especially take control of other services. Given that the citizens want the NCC to play a vital role, it can be an important factor in the negotiation process.

At the same time, as indicated earlier, the business elites and their economic activities have remained completely out of the purview of the City Corporation and it plays almost no role in determining the economic future of the country. The NCC should address this problem as soon as possible and a possible starting point can be the development of the master plan for the cities through which it can determine and define its economic role. As pointed out in the chapter on tax services, city-building was one of main impetus behind creating the city corporation and the corporation should start concentrating on this.

It is important to note here that in case of the few successful service delivery practices, the City Corporation adopted a creative public-private partnership approach and worked effectively with the NGOs and other social institutions. In order to strengthen the service delivery mechanism in other areas, the learning from this approach should be applied and for that, it is essential to conduct an in-depth study on these specific services that would analyse the network that has been developed, its strengths and weaknesses, and how these could be utilised for other services. At the same time, if the City Corporation succeeds in developing a continuous working relationship with

these non-state actors, it will be able to seek help from these organisations in case of creating pressure on the central government so that functional autonomy is provided to it.

In order to ensure that, the Narayanganj City Corporation also needs to interact more often with the citizens to get a sense of their needs and problems. In her interview with the research team, the mayor admitted that there is a lack of interaction between the citizens and high level city officials. This should be addressed as soon as possible so that the existing base of social capital can be used.

Finally, the financial management of the City Corporation should be given due importance, and for that the Corporation needs to develop a different approach through which the participation of different stakeholders like ordinary tax payers, local NGOs, CSOs, business community, etc., will be ensured in case of fiscal decisions. Such participatory mechanism would reduce the revenue expenditure as well as create confidence among the contending parties of the fiscal contract. It would balance the fiscal burden in order to ensure fiscal strength and would also reduce the fiscal dependency of the Narayanganj City Corporation.

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Annex: Questionnaire of BDI-IGS SoC survey 2013

Study on Urban Dwellers Knowledge and Perceptions, and Experiences towards Urban Service Delivery (Slums and Non-Slums)- 2012-13

[Education, Health, Water, Sanitation, Waste Management, Electircity, Urabn Safety, Social Safety Net, Gas, Urban Space and Taxation]

Household Questionnaire

A: Survey Information

-
1. Questionnaire no Start time: (HH/MM)
2. Date: (DD/MM/YY) 1 3
3. Name of interviewer: Signature:.....
4. Name of supervisor: Signature:.....
-
5. Respondent's name
6. Name of household head.....
7. Religion..... 1- Muslim; 2- Hindu; 3- Buddhist; 4- Christian; Others, specify
8. Ethnic Identity..... 1- Bengali; 2- Bihari; 3- Ethnic Group
-
9. City cororation name: Narayanan] 10. Ward code:
11. Mahallah name: Code 12. Road no/name.....
13. Building/Chawl name/no:
14. Fiat no.: 15. Floor no.:
16. Mobile no.:
17. Address (detail, Please indicate the land marks):
-

Consent of Respondent

(Interviewers: Clearly read out the following to the respondent and take his/her consent before taking interview)

Assalamwalaikum/ Namashkar! My name is _____ and I am from _____. Institute of Governance Studies and BRAC Development Institute of BRAC University have jointly initiated a research work in your area. Our purpose is to collect some data regarding urban public services. We will also ask you questions about the people living in your household, their socio-economic condition, livelihood education and so forth. All the information you provide will be kept confidential & only be used for our research work. Your participation is voluntary. You can choose not to answer any questions, and you can stop the interview at any time. This interview will take about 45 minutes. Would you like to ask me anything else about the survey? Do you agree to participate in this survey?

Signature/thumb print of the respondent
[Take the interview after having obtained the consent]

B. Demographic Information

(Please, mention the name of members of this household (after carefully listening to all the names) in line 1 write down the name of the head of the household)

B.1. How many members are there in your household?

Line No	Name	Age (in year)	Male/Female 1- Male 2- Female	Relationship with HH head	Education (If the age is 5 or above highest class passed?) (If the age is below 5 then move to next member)	Occupation (If age is 8 or above)																																	
		1	2	3	4	5																																	
01		<input type="checkbox"/>	1 2	HHH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>																																	
02		<input type="checkbox"/>	1 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>																																	
03		<input type="checkbox"/>	1 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>																																	
04		<input type="checkbox"/>	1 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>																																	
05		<input type="checkbox"/>	1 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>																																	
06		<input type="checkbox"/>	1 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>																																	
07		<input type="checkbox"/>	1 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>																																	
08		<input type="checkbox"/>	1 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>																																	
09		<input type="checkbox"/>	1 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>																																	
10		<input type="checkbox"/>	1 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>																																	
3-Relationship with HH head:																																							
01- HH head		04- Class 4 passed	05- Class 5 passed	06- Class 6 passed	07- Class 7 passed	08- Class 8 passed	09- Class 9 passed	10- SSC or equivalent	11- HSC or equivalent	12- BA/BCom/BSC or equivalent	13- MA/MCom/MSc/ equivalent	14- PHD	15- MBBS/Engineering/LLB	77- Diploma/Vocational	55- Religious education only	98- Educated but don't know the level	88- Don't know																						
02- Spouse		04- Class 4 passed	05- Class 5 passed	06- Class 6 passed	07- Class 7 passed	08- Class 8 passed	09- Class 9 passed	10- SSC or equivalent	11- HSC or equivalent	12- BA/BCom/BSC or equivalent	13- MA/MCom/MSc/ equivalent	14- PHD	15- MBBS/Engineering/LLB	77- Diploma/Vocational	55- Religious education only	98- Educated but don't know the level	88- Don't know																						
03- Son/daughter		04- Class 4 passed	05- Class 5 passed	06- Class 6 passed	07- Class 7 passed	08- Class 8 passed	09- Class 9 passed	10- SSC or equivalent	11- HSC or equivalent	12- BA/BCom/BSC or equivalent	13- MA/MCom/MSc/ equivalent	14- PHD	15- MBBS/Engineering/LLB	77- Diploma/Vocational	55- Religious education only	98- Educated but don't know the level	88- Don't know																						
04- Son/daughter in law		04- Class 4 passed	05- Class 5 passed	06- Class 6 passed	07- Class 7 passed	08- Class 8 passed	09- Class 9 passed	10- SSC or equivalent	11- HSC or equivalent	12- BA/BCom/BSC or equivalent	13- MA/MCom/MSc/ equivalent	14- PHD	15- MBBS/Engineering/LLB	77- Diploma/Vocational	55- Religious education only	98- Educated but don't know the level	88- Don't know																						
05- Parents		04- Class 4 passed	05- Class 5 passed	06- Class 6 passed	07- Class 7 passed	08- Class 8 passed	09- Class 9 passed	10- SSC or equivalent	11- HSC or equivalent	12- BA/BCom/BSC or equivalent	13- MA/MCom/MSc/ equivalent	14- PHD	15- MBBS/Engineering/LLB	77- Diploma/Vocational	55- Religious education only	98- Educated but don't know the level	88- Don't know																						
06- Father/ Mothers -in-law		04- Class 4 passed	05- Class 5 passed	06- Class 6 passed	07- Class 7 passed	08- Class 8 passed	09- Class 9 passed	10- SSC or equivalent	11- HSC or equivalent	12- BA/BCom/BSC or equivalent	13- MA/MCom/MSc/ equivalent	14- PHD	15- MBBS/Engineering/LLB	77- Diploma/Vocational	55- Religious education only	98- Educated but don't know the level	88- Don't know																						
07- Brothers /Sister		04- Class 4 passed	05- Class 5 passed	06- Class 6 passed	07- Class 7 passed	08- Class 8 passed	09- Class 9 passed	10- SSC or equivalent	11- HSC or equivalent	12- BA/BCom/BSC or equivalent	13- MA/MCom/MSc/ equivalent	14- PHD	15- MBBS/Engineering/LLB	77- Diploma/Vocational	55- Religious education only	98- Educated but don't know the level	88- Don't know																						
08- Brothers/ sister-in-law		04- Class 4 passed	05- Class 5 passed	06- Class 6 passed	07- Class 7 passed	08- Class 8 passed	09- Class 9 passed	10- SSC or equivalent	11- HSC or equivalent	12- BA/BCom/BSC or equivalent	13- MA/MCom/MSc/ equivalent	14- PHD	15- MBBS/Engineering/LLB	77- Diploma/Vocational	55- Religious education only	98- Educated but don't know the level	88- Don't know																						
09- Others relative		04- Class 4 passed	05- Class 5 passed	06- Class 6 passed	07- Class 7 passed	08- Class 8 passed	09- Class 9 passed	10- SSC or equivalent	11- HSC or equivalent	12- BA/BCom/BSC or equivalent	13- MA/MCom/MSc/ equivalent	14- PHD	15- MBBS/Engineering/LLB	77- Diploma/Vocational	55- Religious education only	98- Educated but don't know the level	88- Don't know																						
10- Grandchildren		04- Class 4 passed	05- Class 5 passed	06- Class 6 passed	07- Class 7 passed	08- Class 8 passed	09- Class 9 passed	10- SSC or equivalent	11- HSC or equivalent	12- BA/BCom/BSC or equivalent	13- MA/MCom/MSc/ equivalent	14- PHD	15- MBBS/Engineering/LLB	77- Diploma/Vocational	55- Religious education only	98- Educated but don't know the level	88- Don't know																						
11- Non-relative		04- Class 4 passed	05- Class 5 passed	06- Class 6 passed	07- Class 7 passed	08- Class 8 passed	09- Class 9 passed	10- SSC or equivalent	11- HSC or equivalent	12- BA/BCom/BSC or equivalent	13- MA/MCom/MSc/ equivalent	14- PHD	15- MBBS/Engineering/LLB	77- Diploma/Vocational	55- Religious education only	98- Educated but don't know the level	88- Don't know																						
Others, specify		04- Class 4 passed	05- Class 5 passed	06- Class 6 passed	07- Class 7 passed	08- Class 8 passed	09- Class 9 passed	10- SSC or equivalent	11- HSC or equivalent	12- BA/BCom/BSC or equivalent	13- MA/MCom/MSc/ equivalent	14- PHD	15- MBBS/Engineering/LLB	77- Diploma/Vocational	55- Religious education only	98- Educated but don't know the level	88- Don't know																						
4. Education:		04- Class 4 passed	05- Class 5 passed	06- Class 6 passed	07- Class 7 passed	08- Class 8 passed	09- Class 9 passed	10- SSC or equivalent	11- HSC or equivalent	12- BA/BCom/BSC or equivalent	13- MA/MCom/MSc/ equivalent	14- PHD	15- MBBS/Engineering/LLB	77- Diploma/Vocational	55- Religious education only	98- Educated but don't know the level	88- Don't know																						
00- No education/never went to school		04- Class 4 passed	05- Class 5 passed	06- Class 6 passed	07- Class 7 passed	08- Class 8 passed	09- Class 9 passed	10- SSC or equivalent	11- HSC or equivalent	12- BA/BCom/BSC or equivalent	13- MA/MCom/MSc/ equivalent	14- PHD	15- MBBS/Engineering/LLB	77- Diploma/Vocational	55- Religious education only	98- Educated but don't know the level	88- Don't know																						
01- Class 1 passed		04- Class 4 passed	05- Class 5 passed	06- Class 6 passed	07- Class 7 passed	08- Class 8 passed	09- Class 9 passed	10- SSC or equivalent	11- HSC or equivalent	12- BA/BCom/BSC or equivalent	13- MA/MCom/MSc/ equivalent	14- PHD	15- MBBS/Engineering/LLB	77- Diploma/Vocational	55- Religious education only	98- Educated but don't know the level	88- Don't know																						
02- Class 2 passed		04- Class 4 passed	05- Class 5 passed	06- Class 6 passed	07- Class 7 passed	08- Class 8 passed	09- Class 9 passed	10- SSC or equivalent	11- HSC or equivalent	12- BA/BCom/BSC or equivalent	13- MA/MCom/MSc/ equivalent	14- PHD	15- MBBS/Engineering/LLB	77- Diploma/Vocational	55- Religious education only	98- Educated but don't know the level	88- Don't know																						
03- Class 3 passed		04- Class 4 passed	05- Class 5 passed	06- Class 6 passed	07- Class 7 passed	08- Class 8 passed	09- Class 9 passed	10- SSC or equivalent	11- HSC or equivalent	12- BA/BCom/BSC or equivalent	13- MA/MCom/MSc/ equivalent	14- PHD	15- MBBS/Engineering/LLB	77- Diploma/Vocational	55- Religious education only	98- Educated but don't know the level	88- Don't know																						
5. Occupation		01- Truck/Bus/Tempo/Private car/CNG driver	02- Rickshaw/van/Engine rickshaw/ Easy bike puller	03- Truck/Bus/Tempo helper	04- Nonagricultural labor (earth digging/brick field)	05- Day labor in factory (Garments/ jute mill)	06- Poultry farm	07- vegetable gardening/nursery	08- Maid servant	09- Sewing/Handicraft	10- Hawker	11- Small business (fruit shop/ firewood/ bhanganari)	12- Hotel/shop owner	13- Employee of hotel and shop	14- Big business (wholesale business, Factory)	15- Skilled labor (Carpenter, Potter, Black smith, Gold smith, Mechanic, cobbler)	16- Community health worker (Midwife, Nurse)	17- Teacher	18- Service holder (Doctor/Engineer/Lawyer)	19- Non -Govt./ NGO employee	20- Govt. employee	21- Politician (ward member/chairman)	22- Imam/ Priest	23- Beggar	24- Land rent/Lease/mortgage	25- Asset rent (house/room/shop/ tractor); 26- Housewife	27- Student	28- Unemployed	29- Agriculture	30- Agricultural labor	31- Launch/Steamer/ Boatman	32- Fishing; 33- Marriage media	34- Kobiraj/Polli Doctor	35- Middlemen	36- Caretaker of house	37- Incapable to work	38- Retired	39- Foreigner	40- Fish Farming; Others, specify

C. Education

[if the household has children aged 5 -17 years]
 C.1. How many boys and girls of this HH are within 5-17 age? If no children within the age group, then put 00 and move to D section. If yes then check the line number and age of all 5-17 year children with the household roster

Line no	Status of education if codes are 3, 4, 5 then move to column 5)	Type of educational institution	Type of educational support (maximum two)	Source of educational Support (maximum two) [if there is no support availed skip the question]	if irregular, why?
	1	2	3	4	5
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

1. Status of Education:	2. Types of Educational institute	3. Types of educational support:	4. Source of Educational Support	5. Cause for irregularity absent from study
1- Regular	06-Primary operated by NGO	0- No support available	1- Govt. educational Institution	01- Long distance to school
2- Irregular (less than 10 days in a month)	07-Ebeditio madrasa	1- Tuition fee free	2- Non Govt. educational Institution	02- Cannot bear the educational expenses
3- Quit school within the last one year	08-Dhakil madrasa	2- Stipend	3- NGO Educational Institute	03- Has to earn for HH
4- Quit school more than one year ago	09-Allim/Fazil/Kamil madrasa	3- Only education material (rice/pulse)	4- NGO	04- Has to do HH work
5- Never went to school	10- Moktob/Hafezlar/Koumi /Kharegi madrasa	4- Food for Education	5- Individual/Personal foundation/Donation	05- Not interested in study
	11-Kindergarten	5- Tuition fee and education material	6- School managing committee fund	06- Person with disability
	12- Lower secondary (Upto Class 8)	6- Scholarship		07- Insecurity to go to school
	13- Non govt. secondary			08- Social/religious pressure
	14- Govt. secondary			09- Due to marriage
	15- Non govt. college/university			10- Due to natural Disaster
	16- Govt. college/university			11- Parents are not interested
	17-Govt. technical/ vocational/polytechnic			12- Still under aged for school
	18-Non-Govt. technical/ vocational/ polytechnic			13- Poor result in previous year
	88- do not know			14- Ill behavior of teacher
	Others, specify			15- Poor infrastructure of school

D. Housing and Sanitation

No	Question	Code List	Code
1	How long have you been here in Narayananj?	01- 0 to 1 year 02- 1 to 5 year 03- 5 to 10 year 04- more than 10 years 05- Born here	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Type of ownership of this household (whether the house is owned, rented, free or any other type)	1- Owned; 2- Rented; 3- Living free in others house; 4- By possession; 5- Lived in a land of any organization or trust (Adamjee Jute mill/Red Cross) Others, specify	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	How many rooms do your household have? (excluding room used for business)	(Please write down the numbers)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	Main materials of your main house's wall	1- Cement; 2- Wood ; 3- Mud; 4- Bamboo 5- Tin; 6- Others materials	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	Does your household have a separate kitchen?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	What type of latrine does your household use?	01- Flush or pour-flush toilet to (Piped sewer system) 02- Flush or pour-flush toilet to (Septic tank) 03- Pit latrine with slab and water seal 04- Pit latrine with slab and lid, no water seal 05- Pit latrine with slab and flash, no water seal 06- Pit latrine with slab but no lid nor water seal 07- Made of mud or earth; 08- No latrine/open spacefield; Others, specify	<input type="checkbox"/>
7	In terms of income and food expenses of you household how would you explain the situation of your household?	1- There's always a lack of food 2- Sometimes there is a lack of food 3- Have enough food just for the hh members 4- We always have more food than we need and can feed to others; 5- Not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>

E.1. Health and Immunisation

No	Question	Code List	Code
1	If the household has children within 0-5 year (up to 59 months 29 days) age group	1- Yes 2- No (skip to E.2)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Name of the children below 5 years	Name of first child Name of second child Name of third child	
3	Did he/she get immunised? 1- Yes; 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	If yes, from where did you get the vaccines? 1- Hospital; 2- EPI Outreach 3- Health Centre; 4- Non-governmental or private 5- City Corporation [Multiple response possible]	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
5	If not, why you did not get your children immunised? 1- I did not know about immunization 2- I did not know where to go; 3- It costs money and I cannot afford it; 4- Immunization is bad for children's health; 5- Didn't have enough time to bring them to centers; 6- Didn't have immunization cards; 7- Sickness of the child 8- Stop eating or start crying after the incident 9- Not old enough to receive the vaccine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

E. 2. Access to health service

	How many times you visited most frequently in last one year	For what types of service [the most significant experience]	Did the service provider listen carefully to you?	Did Nurses solve your problem carefully?	Did the staffs and other officials listen to you carefully?	Did you notice any discrimination from the service providers?	Were you satisfied with this service?	If no, why
	1- Many times 2- Often 3- Sometimes 4- Rarely 5- Never	1- Treatment 2- Tests (e.g. X-ray, blood test etc.) 3- Immunization of children 4- For medicine Others, specify	1- Yes 2- No	01- Yes 02- No 03- Need not interacted 99- Not applicable	01- Yes 02- No 99- Not applicable	1- No discrimination faced 2- Yes, gender based 3- Yes, socio-economic based 4- Yes, locality based discrimination	1- Yes 2- No	1- Ill behavior of doctor; 2- Ill behavior of Others hospital employees 3- Had to wait too long to get service; 4- Had to pay extra money to get service; 5- The quality of treatment was poor; 6- Didn't supply prescribed medicine Others, specify
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

E. 3. Steps/Actions towards health care service

No	Question	Code List	Code
E.3.	Have you taken any step/action for ensuring satisfaction regarding health service? Type of platform	1- Yes 2- No (If answer is no, go to F.1)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	1- NGO 2- City Corporation 3- Community members 4- Local politicians 5- Civil society	What types of step/actions taken? 1- Complaint to city corporation; 2- Complaint to hospital authority 3- Complaint to political leader 4- Meeting 5- Procession [Multiple response possible]	Did you get the problem solved? 1- Yes 2- No
1	Personally	1- Prompt action taken [go to 5] 2- Delayed action taken 3- No action taken [go to F.1]	1- Yes 2- No
2	Collectively		

F.1. Water (Knowledge, perception and practice)

Type of water	Source of Water	What is the frequency of water supply?	Is this frequency sufficient for your needs?	Who fetches water most often?	How difficult is it to collect the water?	Do you pay for water?	Whom do you pay for the water use?	How do you pay your water bill?	In your opinion, do you pay
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 Drinking water	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1- Supply/pipes water (WASA) 2- Tube well 3- River/Pond 4- Bottled water from store 5- Household level tube well/handpump/motor 6- Water donated by private enterprise 7- Water bought from private enterprise 8- Water bought legally from a registered company 9- Community level deep or shallow well 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1- More than once a day 2- Once a day 3- Once in two days 4- Once in three days 5- Once a week 6- Available throughout the day 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1- Yes 2- No 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1- Adult male 2- Adult female 3- Male child 4- Female child 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1- Very difficult 2- Difficult 3- Easy 4- Not a problem at all 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1- Yes 2- No 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 01- WASA 02- Landlord 03- Neighbors 04- City Corporation 05- Bank 06- To Supplier 88- Do not know 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 01- Metered bill per connection 02- Pay a fixed amount to the landlord 03- Pay a fixed amount to supplier 88- Do not know 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 01- Too much bill 02- About the right amount of bill 03- Not enough 04- Not sure
2 Other (cooling washing, cleaning)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □□ □□ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ □ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ □ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ □ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ □ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ □ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □□ □□ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □□ □□ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ □
No	Code List								
10	01- Summer (March, April, May, June); 02- Winter (November, December, January, February) 03- Monsoon season (July, August, September, October); 04- No crisis (skip to F.2); 88- Don't know (skip to F. 2)								
11	01- Buy water bottles; 02- Borrow water from neighbors; 03- Go the nearest WASA office; 04- Fetch water from nearest schools, madrasas etc.; 05- collect it from the near-by residential area; 06- Collect it from the WASA truck; 07- Collect water from landlords; 08- Reducing water usage; 09- Collect water from market/neighbors tube well; 10- Collect it from ponds or rivers or community well;								

F.2. Access to Water supply Institutions

No	Question										Code List		List
F.2	Did you visit any institution to ensure water supply in last one year?										1- Yes 2- No [go to F.3]		
	List three institutions you visited to ensure water supply in last one year?	How many times	For what types of service [the most significant experience]	How did you find the Staff you dealt with?	Did you use any agent/middleman for the work done?	Did you pay a bribe for the service you wanted to receive?	Did the work get done after paying bribe?	How would you evaluate staff's efficiency while on duty?	Did you notice any discrimination from the providers?	Were you satisfied with the way the institution handled your issues?	If no, why?		
	1- WASA 2- Local leaders 3- NGO 4- Community sources 5- City Corporation 6- Private water vendors Others, specify	1- Friendly 2- Helpful 3- Professional 4- Behaved badly 5- They don't have any information	1- Improvement of water's Pressure 2- Improvement of water quality 3- Fixing the pipe line 4- Adjust the water bill 5- To get water connection 6- To finish repair work	1- Yes 2- No	1- Yes 2- No [skip to 8]	1- Yes 2- No	1- Not acceptable 2- Unsatisfactory 3- Satisfactory 4- Good 5- Excellent	1- No discrimination faced 2- Yes, gender based 3- Yes, socio-economic based 4- Yes, locality based discrimination	1- Yes 2- No	1- Ill behavior of the official 2- Had to wait too long to receive services 3- Had to pay extra money 4- Didn't solve the problem Others, specify			
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	11		
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			

F.3. Steps/Actions towards Water Supply

No	Question	Code List						Code
F.3	Have you taken any step/action for ensuring satisfaction regarding to water supply	1- Yes 2- No (go to the 6)						
	Type of platform	What types of steps/actions taken?		What was the response from the authority?		If the action was delayed, how much time did it take to response? [Days]		Did you get the problem solved?
	1- NGO 2- City Corporation 3- Community Members 4- Local politicians 5- Civil Society	1- Complaint to WASA authority; 2- Complaint to political leader; 3- Complaint to City Corporation 4- Meeting 5- Procession [Multiple responses possible]	1- Prompt action taken [go to 5] 2- Delayed action taken 3- No action taken [Skip to 6]	1- Yes 2- No (go to the 6)		1- Yes 2- No		
1	Personally	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Collectively	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	What suggestions do you have to improve water supply? [Multiple responses possible]	1- Quality 2- Pressure 3- Rate 4- Billing system 5- Service quality 6- Maintenance	7- New Connection					<input type="checkbox"/>

G.1. Drainage/Sewerage Facilities

No	Question	Code List		Code		
1	What kind of drainage do you have in your locality?	1- Brick drain 3- Pipe drain 5- No Drain [if the response is 5, skip to H.1]	2- RCC Drain 4- Kacca drain	<input type="checkbox"/>		
2	Who built the drainage system?	01- Herself/Himself 02- HH owner 03- NGO/Sommitte 04- City corporation 05- Community members 06- People working for local politicians 07- Government agency other than city corporation 88- Do not know		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>		
3	Did you pay money to get the drainage line?	1- Yes 2- No		<input type="checkbox"/>		
4	Has your drainage system been interrupted within the last 12 months?	1- Yes 2- No [skip to G.2]		<input type="checkbox"/>		
5	What types of Problem you faced in last one year?					
Serial No	Problems related to drainage/ sewerage system	Response 1- Yes 2- No [go to next problem]	Level of Problem 01- Major 02- Minor 88- Don't Know	Frequency of the problem 1- Daily 2- Once a week 3- Once a fortnight 4- Once a quarter 5- Once in six months 6- Once a year	What happened during this problem? 1- Water logging 2- Stink 3- Roads blocked due to filth 4- The HH getting filled up with dirty water	Was the problem fixed promptly? 1- Yes 2- No
		1	2	3	4	5
1	Broken down	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Leakage	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	Blocked	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	Overflowed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

G.2. Access to Institution

No	Question										Code List		List
G.2.	Did you visit any institution to develop drainage system in last one year?										1- Yes	2- No [skip to G.3]	If no, why?
	List three institutions you visited to ensure drainage system in last one year?	How many times	For what types of service [the most significant experience]	How did you find the Staff you dealt with?	Did you use any agent/middleman for the work to be done?	Did you pay a bribe for the service you wanted to receive?	Did the work get done after paying bribe?	How would you evaluate staff's efficiency while on duty?	Did you notice any discrimination from the providers?	Were you satisfied with the way the institution handled your issues?			
	1- City corporation 2- Local leaders 3- NGO Others, specify		1- Fixing the drainage line 2- To get drainage connection 3- To finish repair work 4- To connect the drain line	1- Friendly 2- Helpful 3- Professional 4- Behaved badly 5- They don't have any information	1- Yes 2- No	1- Yes 2- No [skip to 8]	1- Yes 2- No	1- Not acceptable 2- Unsatisfactory 3- Satisfactory 4- Good 5- Excellent	1- No discrimination faced 2- Yes, gender based 3- Yes, socio-economic based 4- Yes, locality based discrimination	1- Yes 2- No			
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

G.3. Steps/Actions towards Drainage System

No	Question			Code List		Code
G.3.	Have you taken any step/action for drainage system development?			1- Yes	2- No (skip to H.1)	
	Type of platform	What types of steps/actions taken?	What was the response from the authority?	If the action was delayed, how much time did it take to response? [Days]	Did you get the problem solved?	
	1- NGO 2- City Corporation 3- Community Members 4- Local politicians 5- Civil Society	1- Complaint to WASA authority; 2- Complaint to political leader; 3- Complaint to City Corporation 4- Meeting 5- Procession [Multiple responses possible]	1- Prompt action taken [skip to 5] 2- Delayed action taken 3- No action taken [Skip to H.1]		1- Yes 2- No	
1	Personally	1	2	3	4	5
2	Collectively	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

H.1. Waste Management

No	Question	Code List	Code		
1	What are the available garbage collections facilities in your locality? [Multiple responses are possible]	01- Collection from door step 02- Collection from specific place 03- No facility available; 88- Don't Know;	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>		
2	What you do to store/accumulate the garbage in house?	1- Use closed container ; 2- Use open container; 3- Use plastic bags; 4- Pile in the yard; 5- Thrown it outside of the house/No store mechanism	<input type="checkbox"/>		
3	How do you dispose off household waste, kitchen waste and other waste? [Multiple responses are possible]	1- Thrown into the drains; 2- Thrown on the road side; 3- Thrown on the vacant space; 4- Household compost pit; 5- Door to door collection ; 6- Drop it to specific place;	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Door to door collection [ask 4-9 to the respondents who responded 5 in 3]					
4	Name of organization collecting garbage from your house	1- Aid Bangladesh; 2- Green for Peace; 3- Kallyani Seba Protistan; 4- Jonoseba; 5- CDC; 6- City Corporation; 7- Local Somitte; 88- Don't know;	<input type="checkbox"/>		
5	How often the garbage is collected from your house?	1- Daily; 2- Alternative days; 3- Once in a week;	<input type="checkbox"/>		
6	Do you pay any money for the door to door garbage collection?	1- Yes 2- No [skip to 10]	<input type="checkbox"/>		
7	If yes, how much do you pay per month for garbage collection?		_____Tk		
8	Is the fee to the door to door garbage collector fixed by the city corporation?	01- Yes; 02- No; 88- Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>		
9	In your opinion, do you pay	1- Too much; 2- Exact amount 3- Low; Others, specify	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Specific place for garbage [Ask 10-12 to the respondents those who reported 6 in 3]					
10	Is the place cleaned regularly?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>		
11	If yes, who cleans it?	1- City Corporation; 2- NGO 3- Land lord; Others, specify	<input type="checkbox"/>		
12	How often is the place cleared?	01- Daily; 02- Three times a week 03- Twice a week; 04- Once a week; 05- Once in a month; 88- Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>		
Common Question					
13	Is there separate collection mechanism to collect waste/garbage from medical, industry and housing?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>		
14	Is there any special attention to collect garbage on festivals (e.g. Eid, Pujan)	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>		
15	Do you know where the collected waste is taken for final disposal?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>		
16	What is the present role of city corporation waste management? (multiple responses are possible)	01- Only provide the bin; 02- Transportation; 03- Final Disposal 88- Don't know; Others, specify	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>		
17	Did you encounter any major problem within one year regarding garbage clearance?	1- Yes 2- No [skip to H.2]	<input type="checkbox"/>		
18	What types of Problem you faced in last one year?				
Serial No	Problems related to common sources	() Response 1- Yes 2- No	Level of Problem 01- Major 02- Minor 88- Don't Know	Frequency of the problem 1- Once a week; 2- Once a fortnight; 3- Once a quarter; 4- Once in six months; 5- Once a year	Was the source fixed promptly when problem occurred? 1- Yes; 2- No
		1	2	3	4
1	Irregular door to door collection	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Irregular collection form bin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	Irregular dumping	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	Bad Smell	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

H.2. Access to institution

No	Question	Code List	Unit							
H.2.	Did you visit any institution to develop waste management in last one year?	1- Yes 2- No [go to H.3]	<input type="checkbox"/>							
List three institutions you visited to ensure proper waste management in last one year?	How many times you visited?	For what types of service? (the most significant experience)	How you find the Staff you deal with?	Did you use any agent/mid dieman for the work done?	Did you pay a bribe for the service you wanted to receive?	Was the work getting done after paying bribe?	How would you evaluate staff's efficiency while on duty?	Did you notice any discrimination from the providers?	Were you satisfied with the way the institution handled your issues?	If no, why?
1- City Corporation 2- Local Leaders 3- NGO	1- To install a bin 2- To get the door to door collection 3- For billing	1- Friendly 2- Helpful 3- Professional 4- Behaved badly 5- They don't have any information	1- Yes 2- No	1- Yes 2- No [skip to 8]	1- Yes 2- No	1- Not acceptable 2- Unsatisfactory 3- Satisfactory 4- Good 5- Excellent	1- No discrimination faced 2- Yes, gender based 3- Yes, socio-economic based discrimination 4- Yes, locality based discrimination	1- Yes 2- No	1- Had to wait too long to receive services 2- Had to pay extra money 3- Didn't solve the problem	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

H.3. Steps/Actions towards Garbage/Waste management

No	Question	Code List	Code		
H.3	Have you taken any action for the development of waste management?	1- Yes 2- No (if answer is no, go to L1)	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Serial No	Type of platform	What types of steps/actions taken?	Did you get the problem solved?		
1	1- NGO 2- City Corporation 3- Community Members 4- Local politicians 5- Civil Society	1- Complaint to City Corporation; 2- Complaint to political leader; 3- Meeting 4- Procession [Multiple response possible]	1- Yes 2- No		
1	1	2	3	4	5
1	Personally	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Collectively	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

I.1 Electricity

No	Question		Code List		Code
1	Is there electricity connection in your house?		1- Yes	2- No [skip to J]	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	What source of electricity connection do you currently have?		1- Legal supply of electricity 2- Illegal supply of electricity 3- Solar energy 5- From some other household 6- From a store or factory		<input type="checkbox"/>
3	How do you pay for the electricity?		1- Included in the rent [skip to 7] 2- Payment is made according to point 3- It's a mixed method, some of it in the rent (fans and lights) while the rest is on meter (refrigerator, television etc.) 4- Payment is fixed; 5- Payment is made according to Unit 6- Need not to pay the bill [skip to 7]		
4	Where do you normally pay the electricity bill?		1- Pay directly to Electricity Cash counter 2- Pay to a bank 3- Pay through Mobile cash counters 4- Pay to landlord 5- Pay a fixed amount to supplier		<input type="checkbox"/>
5	How much do you pay for electricity each month? (write the average amount)			_____TK	
6	Is the mode of payment convenient for you?		1- Yes	2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>
7	Are you aware of the present tariff structure?		1- Yes	2- No [skip to 9]	<input type="checkbox"/>
8	What is your impression on the current power tariff?		01- Higher 03- Lower	02- Just right 08- Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
9	Did you face any problem related to electricity in last one year?		1- Yes 2- No [skip to I.2]		<input type="checkbox"/>
10	What types of Problem you faced in last one year?				
Serial No	Problems	Response 1- Yes 2- No [If no, go to next problem]	Level of Problem 1- Daily 2- Once a week 3- Once a fortnight 4- Once a quarter 5- Once in six months 6- Once a year	Frequency of the problem 1- Daily 2- Once a week 3- Once a fortnight 4- Once a quarter 5- Once in six months 6- Once a year	Was the source fixed promptly when problem occurred? 1- Yes 2- No
		1	2	3	4
1	Load shedding	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Power cut fully	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	Phase/Transformer burst	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

I.2. Access to institution

No	Question						Code List		Code	
I.2.	Did you visit any institution for electricity in last one year?						1- Yes	2- No [go to I.3.]	<input type="checkbox"/>	
List three institutions you visited to ensure electricity supply in last one year?	How many times [the most significant experience]	For what types of service?	How did you find the Staff you dealt with?	Did you use any agent/ middleman for the work done?	Did you pay a bribe for the service you wanted to receive?	Did the work get done after paying bribe?	How would you evaluate staff's efficiency while on duty?	Did you notice any discrimination from the providers?	Were you satisfied with the way the institution handled your issues?	If no, why?
1- Electricity office 2-Local Leaders 3- NGO; 4- City Corporation Others, specify	1- To get electricity connection 2- To repair electricity line 3- For billing 4- To complain about load shedding 5- To report about the transformer	1- Friendly 2- Helpful 3- Professional 4- Behaved badly 5- They didn't have any information	1- Yes 2- No	1- Yes 2- No [skip to 8]	1- Yes 2- No	1- Yes 2- No	1- Not acceptable 2- Unsatisfactory 3- Satisfactory 4- Good 5- Excellent	1- No discrimination faced 2- Yes, gender based 3- Yes, socio-economic based discrimination 4- Yes, locality based discrimination	1- Yes 2- No	1- Ill behavior of the official 2- Had to wait too long to receive services 3- Had to pay extra money 4- Didn't solve the problem Others, specify
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

I.3. Steps/Actions towards electricity

No	Question			Code List		Code
I.3.	Have you taken any step/action for electricity system development?			1- Yes	2- No [if answer is no, go to J]	<input type="checkbox"/>
Serial No	Type of platform	What types of step/actions taken?	What was the response from the authority?	Did you get the problem solved?		
	1- NGO 2- Community Members 3- Local politicians 4- Civil Society	1- Complaint to DESCO authority 2- Complaint to political leader 3- Complaint to City Corporation 4- Meeting; 5- Procession; [Multiple response possible]	1- Prompt action taken [skip to 5] 2- Delayed action taken 3- No action taken [skip to J]	1- Yes 2- No		
1	1	2	3	4	5	
Personally	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Collectively	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

J. Transport, Road and Lighting

No	Question	Code List	Code
1	What types of roads are here in your area?	1- Paved 2- Unpaved	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	What is the present condition of roads in your area?	1- Good 2- Average 3- Bad	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	In your opinion has the condition of the roads of NCC improved in last one year?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	Have you seen any kind of road work (construction, maintenance) in last one year?	1- Yes 2- No [skip to 6]	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	If yes, How many years ago?	1- 0-1 Year 2- One to three year 3- Three to five year 4- More than five year	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	Who is responsible for the maintaining roads in your area?	01- City Corporation; 02- LGED 03- Zila Parishad 88- Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
Street Light			
7	Do you have street lights in your area?	1- Yes 2- No [skip to 10]	<input type="checkbox"/>
8	How promptly a dysfunctional street light is fixed?	01- Right after the light goes off 02- Within one month of the incident 03- Takes more than one month; 04- Takes nearly one year 88- Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
9	Who is responsible for the maintaining roads and street lights?	01- City Corporation 02- LGED 03- Zila Parishad 88- Don't know;	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
Urban Transport			
10	What type of vehicle do you use in needs of your urban life	1- Bus 6- Tempo 2- CNG 7- Train 3- Rickshaw 8- Boat/launch 4- Easy bike 9- Own car; 5- Cycle	<input type="checkbox"/>
For Rickshaw User			
11	Is there any fixed rickshaw fare in the City Corporation?	01- Yes; 02- No; 88- Don't know [If the response is no or don't know, skip to 16]	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
12	[If yes], who prepared this fixed fare chart?	1- City Corporation 2- Rickshaw Somittee 3- Police Department	<input type="checkbox"/>
13	Does everyone follow the chart?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>
14	Is the fare chart accurate?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>
15	Does the City Corporation monitor the fare system?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>
For Public Transport User [CNG, Easy bike, Tempo, Train, Boat/launch, Bus]			
16	Is public transport easily accessible for you?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>
17	Is public transport easily accessible for elderly, women or disabled persons?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>
18	Do you know who monitors the public transport system?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>
19	Did you face any problem regarding transport system in last one year?	1- Yes 2- No [Skip to K]	<input type="checkbox"/>

20 What types of Problem you faced in last one year?					
Serial No	Problems related to Road and Transport	Response	Level of Problem	How many times in last year?	Was the source fixed promptly when problem occurred?
		1- Yes 2- No [go to next problem]	01- Major 02- Minor 88- Don't Know	1- Daily; 2- Once a week 3- Once a fortnight 4- Once a quarter 5- Once in six months 6- Once a year	1- Yes 2- No
		1	2	3	4
1	Broken street lights	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Traffic Jam	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	Inadequate public transport	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	Water clogging	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	Broken down road	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	Robbery, Stealing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

K. Gas Supply

No	Question	Code List	Code
1	Does your household have gas connection for cooking?	1- Yes 2-No [skip to 4]	
2	Do you get enough gas supply throughout the year?	1- Yes 2-No [skip to 5]	
3	If no in which months you face low supply of gas?	Write the name of Month	
4	If you do not have gas connection, what are your sources for cooking fuel?	1- Wooden fuel 2- Kerosene; 3- Electronic heater 4- Use the gas connection of neighbors; 5- Bio-gas plant; 6- Cylinder Gas	
5	Do you pay the bill regularly?	1- Yes; 2- No, bill is included in the house rent [If 2, skip to L]	
5	How much does cooking fuel cost each month (for both gas and others)	_____TK	

L: Urban Common Space Management

No	Question	Code List	Code
1	Do you visit any public spaces within the city?	1- Yes [skip to 3] 2- No [skip to M after asking 2]	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	If no, why don't you visit the public spaces? (multiple response possible)	1- The public spaces are not clean; 2- They are not safe; 3- They are crowded; 4- They are not located in convenient location; 5- They are expensive; 6- Don't have enough time to visit;	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	If yes, when do you visit this	1- Weekends 2- After office or school time 3- During different holidays; Others, specify	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	What type of public spaces you/your family (including children) use during holidays/after-school time? [Multiple response possible] [ask 6 to 15 on the basis of 4]	1- Park 2- Plaza 3- Open space 4- Archaeological and historical monuments 5- Riverside/Bondor	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	Who manages these spaces?	1- City Corporation; 2- NGO's; 3- Para-statal bodies; 4- private Organization; 5- Market Committee	<input type="checkbox"/>

No	Question	Code List			Code
6	Is the access to public space free or charge imposed?	Serial No		Free 1- Yes 2- No [go to next one]	if yes, how much
		1	Park	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		2	Plaza	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		3	Indoor space	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		4	Archaeological and historical monuments	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		5	Riverside/Bondor	<input type="checkbox"/>	
7	How would you rate the degree of cleanliness of these sites		1- Very Clean 2- Clean 3- Not so clean 4- Not at all clean		
		1	Park	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		2	Plaza	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		3	Indoor space	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		4	Archaeological and historical monuments	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		5	Riverside/Bondor	<input type="checkbox"/>	
8	Are there any sitting places in the public space?		1- Yes 2- No 88- Don't know		
		1	Park	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		2	Plaza	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		3	Indoor space	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		4	Archaeological and historical monuments	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		5	Riverside/Bondor	<input type="checkbox"/>	
9	Are there any garbage bins available in the public space?		1- Yes 2- No 88- Don't know		
		1	Park	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		2	Plaza	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		3	Indoor space	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		4	Archaeological and Historical Monuments	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		5	Riverside/Bondor	<input type="checkbox"/>	
10	If yes, please tell us if they are adequate?		1- Adequate 2- Not adequate		
		1	Park	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		2	Plaza	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		3	Indoor space	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		4	Archaeological and historical monuments	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		5	Riverside/Bondor	<input type="checkbox"/>	
11	Are there toilets in the public space		1- Yes 2- No 88- Don't know		
		1	Park	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		2	Plaza	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		3	Indoor space	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		4	Archaeological and historical monuments	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		5	Riverside/Bondor	<input type="checkbox"/>	
12	If yes, Please rate the condition of the toilet		1- Very clean; 2- Clean; 3- Not so clean; 4- Not at all clean		
		1	Park	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		2	Plaza	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		3	Indoor space	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		4	Archaeological and historical monuments	<input type="checkbox"/>	
		5	Riverside/Bondor	<input type="checkbox"/>	

No	Question	Code List	Code
	Are the public spaces have any sort of security system?	1 Park	<input type="checkbox"/>
		2 Plaza	<input type="checkbox"/>
		3 Indoor space	<input type="checkbox"/>
		4 Archaeological and historical monuments	<input type="checkbox"/>
		5 Riverside/Bondor	<input type="checkbox"/>
14		If yes, Please rate the safety	1- Very safe 2- safe 3- Not so safe 4- Not at all safe
	1 Park		<input type="checkbox"/>
	2 Plaza		<input type="checkbox"/>
	3 Indoor space		<input type="checkbox"/>
	4 Archaeological and historical monuments		<input type="checkbox"/>
	5 Riverside/Bondor		<input type="checkbox"/>
15	Did you experience any crime in last one year in any of the public spaces?	1- Yes 2- No 88- Don't know	
		1 Park	<input type="checkbox"/>
		2 Plaza	<input type="checkbox"/>
		3 Indoor space	<input type="checkbox"/>
		4 Archaeological and historical monuments	<input type="checkbox"/>
		5 Riverside/Bondor	<input type="checkbox"/>

M. Urban Safety (Police)

No	Question	Code List	Code
1	Did you interact with police department in the last one year?	1- Yes 2- No [Skip to N]	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	If yes, why?	1- To report a crime you had witnessed; 2- To ask for assistance or information; 3- To let the police know about a problem in the neighborhood; 4- To tell the police about a traffic accident you had witnessed; 5- You were accused of any legal case or incident; 6- For incident diary/case file; 7- for case maintain	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	Did the Police Department respond in a timely manner?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	Did you pay any bribe for the matter?	1- Yes 2- No[skip to 6]	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	Did the work get done after paying bribe?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	Were you satisfied with the service the Police department provided?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>
7	Rate the performance of the police department	1- Not acceptable 2- Unsatisfactory 3- Satisfactory; 4- Good 5- Excellent	<input type="checkbox"/>

N. Social Safety net

No	Question		Code List				Code	
1	Did any member of your household receive safety net benefits from any government or non-government institutions during last 12 months?		1- Yes 2- No [skip to Q]				<input type="checkbox"/>	
Line No [Follow the line number of B]	Name of the member	[] What is the name of the SSN program? 01- VGF 02- OMS 03- Elderly allowance 04- Widow allowance 05- Disabled allowance 06- Freedom fighters allowance 07- Food for work 08- Cash for work 09- Stipend/ Scholarship 10- Sombhob project (for child education and nutrition)	Did you pay anything extra/as a bribe to get safety net from [sources]? 1- Yes 2- No [skip to 5]	Did you use any agent/ middleman for paying extra? 1- Yes 2- No	Did your work get completed after paying extra money? 1- Yes 2- No	Do the programs provide adequate protection to the poor? 1- Yes 2- No	How did you use the materials received from the program? (multiple answer) 1- IGA 2- Education 3- Medication 4- Invest 6- Asset 7- For child food; 8- For food consumption 9- For dothing	How efficient are the agencies in providing the safety net programs? 1- Not acceptable 2- Unsatisfactory 3- Satisfactory 4- Good 5- Excellent
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	Question		Code List				Code	
8	What types of safety net do you prefer?		01- VGF; 02- OMS; 03- Elderly allowance 04- Widow allowance; 05- Disabled allowance 06- Freedom fighters allowance 07- Food for work; 08- Cash for work 09- Stipend/Scholarship; 10- Sombhob project (for child education and nutrition)				<input type="checkbox"/>	

O. Taxation

No	Question	Code List	Code
1	Are you a tax payer?	1- Yes [skip to 3] 2- No [skip to 8 after asking 2]	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	If no, Are you willing to pay tax?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	What type of tax do you pay?	01- Holding Tax; 02- Trade License Fee 03- Property Transfer Fee 04- Rickshaw License Fee; 05- Rent from Property /Market; 06- Water Rate 07- Lighting Rate; 08- Tax on Advertisement 09- Conservancy and Sewerage rate 10- Personal Income Tax	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	Do you need to pay any extra charges for paying taxes?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>

No	Question			Code List			Code						
5	In your opinion, do you pay			01- Too much Tax; 02- About the right amount of Tax; 03- Not enough Tax 88- Don't know			<input type="checkbox"/>						
6	In your opinion how do the following groups pay tax?			Serial No		1- Too much Tax 2- Right amount of Tax 3- Not enough Tax 4- Don't know							
				1	Small businesses	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>						
				2	Big businesses	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>						
				3	Low Income earner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>						
				4	Middle Income earner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>						
				5	High income earners	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>						
7	Which of these outcomes do you think can be achieved by raising taxes? [Multiple response possible]			01- More education; 2- Employment 03- Better health care service 04- Better transportation system 05- Better urban utility service 88- don't know/ not sure			<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>						
8	Are you willing to pay more tax if the services are improved?			1- Yes [skip to 13 if he is a non-tax payer] 2- No [skip to 13]			<input type="checkbox"/>						
9	Do you usually complain when you face problem in paying taxes?			1- Yes 2- No [skip to 12]			<input type="checkbox"/>						
10	How do you complain? [Multiple response possible]			1- Personally; 2- By telephone; 3- By mail; 4- through known person; 5- Through influential person; 6- By media; Others, specify			<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>						
11	Mode of complain [follow the modes from 10]	Do you get your problem solved? 1- Yes 2- No [go to next one]	How quickly problems get resolved? 1- Prompt action taken 2- Delayed action taken 3- No action taken	if the action delayed, how much time it took to response? [Days]	Are you satisfied with the service? 1- Yes 2- No	if no, why? 1-ill behavior of the official 2- Had to wait too long to receive services 3- Had to pay extra money 4- Didn't solve the problem							
							Serial No						
									1	2	3	4	5
							1		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
							2		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>							
12	Why don't you complain?			1- Don't know how to complain 2- Complex process; 3- Have to pay bribe 4- City corporation don't want to receive any complain; 5- Didn't face any problem			<input type="checkbox"/>						
13	What are the services you receive from NCC?			01- Sanitation 02- Water 03- Garbage 04- Electricity 04- Social Safety net; 05- Birth Registration 06- Trade license; 07- Immunization; 08- Road lighting; 09- Mosquito annihilation; 10- Didn't receive any service			<input type="checkbox"/>						

No	Question	Code List	Code
14	Are you generally satisfied on the service you get from the CC?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>
15	What type of services do you need more from the City Corporation?	01- Sanitation 02- Water 03- Garbage 04- Electricity 04- Social Safety net; 5- Birth registration; 06- Road construction/development works 07- Mosquito annihilation; 08- Gas connection; 09- Road lighting; 10- Living place; 11- Road cleaning 12- Electricity connection; 13- Health care service; 14- Electricity bill reduction; 15- Reduce traffic jam 16- Infrastructure development of the area	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
16	Do you have any scope to place your demand to the government?	1- Yes; 2- No [skip to 18]	<input type="checkbox"/>
17	How do you place your demand?	1- Participate in CC monthly meeting; 2- Public hearing; 3- Authority ask for public demand 4- Demanding to the Commissioner	
18	Do you know sources of revenue of your City Corporation?	1- Yes 2- No 3- I want to know	<input type="checkbox"/>
19	Do you know about budget sharing meetings that held in city corporation regularly?	1- Yes 2- No [go to N.18]	<input type="checkbox"/>
20	Does the City Corporation invite citizen in Budget sharing meeting?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>
21	Is there any problem regarding better taxation in the city corporation?	01- Yes; 02- No; 88- Don't know [if the answer is 02/88 skip to 23]	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
22	Please identify the barriers to better taxation		
5 No	Barriers to better taxation in NCC	1- Yes; 2- No; 88- Don't know	
1	Inefficiency of the NCC staff		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
2	Inefficiency of the NCC mayor		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
3	Lack of NCC's coordination with Other services		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
4	Political fighting		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
5	Favoritism		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
6	Lack of knowledge of NCC staff		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
7	Poor communication with citizen		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
8	Corruption		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
9	Influence of Donor agencies		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
10	Shortage of human resource in NCC		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
11	Lack of awareness of Citizen		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
12	Incorporation of Business community		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
13	Problem to identify taxable sector		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
14	Low income of citizen		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
	Others, specify		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
23	Do you think tax payer should get special benefits from NCC?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>
24	Please suggest what can be done for betterment of NCC in terms of taxation?	1- Tax fair; 2- Reduce Tax Rate; 3- Awareness raising through miking, postering; 4- By using media; 5- To motivate the payers through providing prizes; 6- To increase the service quality; 7- Legal steps towards tax; 8- Bounty for defaulters	<input type="checkbox"/>
25	Do you think people's opinion and demand are addressed while development projects are taken in NCC?	1- Yes 2- No	<input type="checkbox"/>
26	Does NCC have developed/following participatory process to involve more citizens in tax collection and management system?	01- Yes; 02- No; 88- don't know	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

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