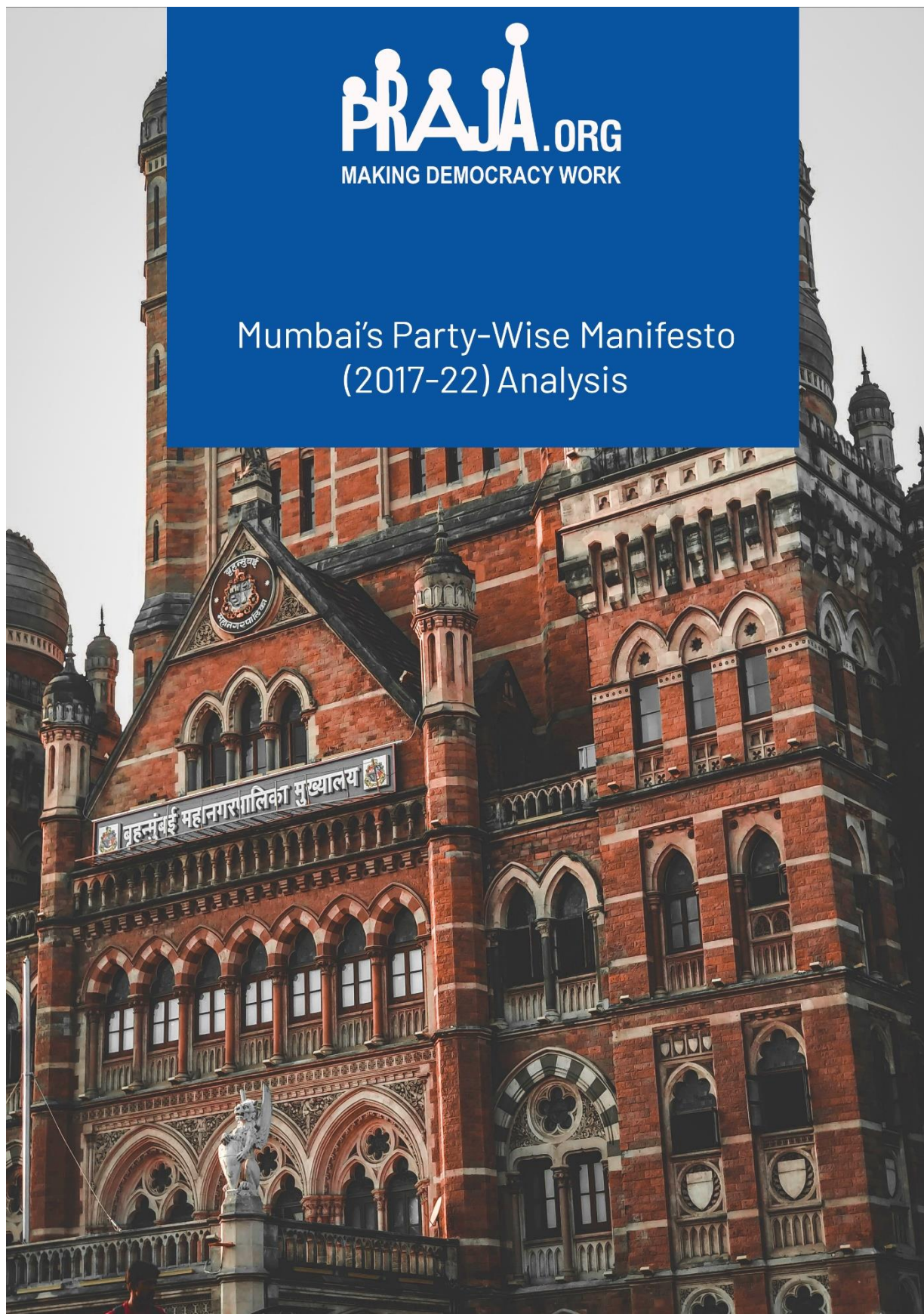




## Mumbai's Party-Wise Manifesto (2017-22) Analysis



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## I. Foreword

Cities are driving forces for economic growth. Citizens migrate to cities with the desire to improve their livelihood and in turn their standard of living. However, to do so, cities must function efficiently in providing services to its citizens. Their civic wants and needs, such as adequate water supply, adequate and affordable housing, cleanliness, appropriate roads and pavements, dedicated bus routes, drains covered and maintained, affordable quality of public education and healthcare etc. need to be addressed by the local government, that is, municipal corporations and councils.

Further, the municipal corporation constitutes the administrative wing and the elected wing. The citizens of a city get an opportunity to elect their representatives, once every 5 years. These representatives, in turn, represent the citizens' issues to the administration. The political parties, before elections, develop their own manifestos which outlines the objectives of the party candidates for the upcoming councillors' term, based on which citizens elect their representatives. The manifesto, among other things, includes action plans and promises to provide civic wants and needs as well as solve various service delivery related issues that citizens face on a regular basis.

With Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM) elections around the corner, political parties and their candidates will soon declare their commitments for the coming tenure. However, at this juncture, it is also important to look back at the promises made by them in the last MCGM elections for the current term, and to analyse their performance based on the fulfilment of the same. Praja has, thus, come up with an analysis of manifesto promises of major political parties (Shiv Sena, BJP, INC and NCP) and compared them with deliberations, specific manifesto points and citizens' complaints related to those manifesto points. Based on this analysis, Praja is also sharing recommendations of targets to be set for upcoming MCGM elections and providing a goal so that elected councillors can work towards achieving the same. Additionally, global and international targets have been recommended so that political parties can include them in the new manifesto. This is aimed towards bettering the quality of the upcoming manifestos and therefore, in the long run, improving deliberations and thus the quality of life of citizens.

The report while tracking the complaints and deliberations, discovered that some of the highest areas of complaints have not been successfully deliberated upon. For example, the highest complaints registered was 75,915 for sewerage and drainage issues from F.Y. 2017-18 to F.Y. 2020-21. In spite of that, only 4% (136 out of 3,510) of total deliberations were on drainage. Some of the major political parties, in their last manifesto, promised improvement in Solid Waste Management (SWM) and better collection of garbage. However, 54,029 SWM complaints were registered, of which 40% were for garbage not collected. Only 8% (287) of total questions were asked on the same by the major political parties.

The report also showcases various case studies, on potholes, water supply and hawkers, as an example. Shiv Sena had promised pothole free Mumbai with new technology and material, in their manifesto. Regardless, in a comparison of issues with maximum complaints, the analysis showed that from F.Y. 2017-18 to F.Y. 2020-21, there were 17,908 complaints related to potholes while in Jan to Dec, 2020, the average number of days taken to resolve the complaints were 52 days. The overall proportion of question asked by major political parties on the same was only 2%. As another example, BJP had promised 24/7 water supply in the city. However, 204 out of 290 zones received only up to 4 hours of water supply in 2020. The number of questions asked by major political parties for on water supply stood at only 7% of total questions from F.Y. 2017-18 to F.Y. 2020-21. Similarly, 34,129 hawker related complaints were registered from F.Y. 2017-18 to F.Y. 2020-21, however, only 4% of total questions were raised by major political parties despite BJP, NCP and INC promising a policy for hawkers and special zones for hawkers & other street vendors.

The disparity of complaints and questions asked by councillors go on to reaffirm the importance of deliberation of citizen specific issues. It is also important to look at the SDG goals and other global and national targets for various issues, and work towards achieving them. These are important targets to achieve as these directly correspond to the quality of life of citizens and MCGM needs to focus on the same. Political parties should study these targets and ensure that the manifestos align to achieving these targets by creating programmes around the same.

Praja also believes that for better citizen centric service delivery, the manifesto should incorporate reforms for efficient urban governance and create real and quantifiable targets to achieve. Successful cities all over the world are governed and managed by empowered leaders, elected by the citizens. Praja has long been advocating for the empowerment of the city government with the devolution of the 18 functions under the 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act. It is necessary to empower elected representatives, especially the mayor, to have authority over the city government and to put forth mechanisms that also hold them accountable. Furthermore, a city also needs to create a single authority when it comes to planning. Human resources in the service delivery ecosystem also need to be appropriately trained to ensure smooth functioning of cities.

Promoting citizen participation with effective feedback/suggestion mechanisms to track the needs and wants of the citizens will also allow for improvement in service delivery. Political parties, along with the administration must identify, understand and implement achievable targets in their manifesto with reference to global and national targets. With a new and strong governance system in place, Mumbai truly can be a well governed world class city.

**NITAI MEHTA**

**Founder Trustee, Praja Foundation**

## II. Acknowledgement

Praja has obtained the data used in compiling this white paper through the Right to Information Act, 2005. Hence it is very important to acknowledge the RTI Act and everyone involved, especially the officials who have provided us with this information diligently.

We would like to appreciate our stakeholders; particularly, our Elected Representatives and government officials, the Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and the journalists who utilise and publicise our data and, by doing so, ensure that awareness regarding various issues that we discuss is distributed to a wide-ranging population. We would like to take this opportunity to specifically extend our gratitude to all government officials for their continuous cooperation and support.

Praja Foundation appreciates the support given by our supporters and donors, namely Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Madhu Mehta Foundation and numerous other individual supporters. Their support has made it possible for us to conduct our study and publish this white paper.

We would also like to thank our group of Advisors and Trustees and lastly but not the least, we would like to acknowledge the contributions of all members of Praja's team including our research interns, who worked to make this white paper a reality.



## **What is an Election Manifesto and Why is it Necessary to Analyse it?**

Every city is unique and the issues that a city and its citizens face is also unique. Mumbai is a metropolitan city, a city where a citizen's civic wants and needs are adequate water supply, adequate and good housing, cleanliness, good roads and pavements, dedicated bus routes, drains covered and maintained, affordable quality education and healthcare for the poor, etc. Citizens also wish for improvement in areas that can enhance the standard of living in the city such as clean and green open areas, reduction in pollution, better recreational spaces, participate in civic forums, etc. An ideal manifesto is when these aspirations of the city are prioritised by the elected representatives, with a promise to work to ensure all these needs are fulfilled in a time.

An election manifesto is created by a political party and it specifies the various ideologies and commitments the party aims to make to the citizens of a city. The manifesto is usually in the form of a booklet which is issued to the citizens and has the following uses:

- (i) At the time of elections, it enables voters to know about the policies/ programmes and services the party aims to implement, so they can make an informed choice on the candidate.
- (ii) It allows citizens to know the status of implementation of various policies and programmes included in the election manifestoes.

Is it necessary to analyse the election manifesto?

The answer is YES! There is a need to assess the commitments promised in an election manifesto as it shows if measures are taken to ensure they worked to fulfil their promises. Additionally, it adds knowledge for citizens, when they decide to vote for their ideal representative.

Praja has long been advocating for the elected representatives to effectively utilise their deliberative duties to solve major issues existing in Mumbai. Thus, through this paper, Praja aims to provide a brief analysis on the commitments made and the deliberations that have been carried out by some political parties with more than 5 elected councillors. Additionally, data on issues with most complaints registered by citizens from 2017 to 2020 have been included. Thus, this will showcase areas where there is need for effective improvement and hence, in the near future all political parties can incorporate them in their commitments to the citizens.

In our analysis, we have compared promises in the political party's manifestos from 2017 MCGM elections and questions asked by respective party councillors during March 2017 to March 2020.

## Analysing the complaints registered with the Manifesto points

The most objective way of analysing the manifesto is comparing promises with questions asked by councillors in various committees. However, not all parties have necessarily asked questions exactly related to categories mentioned in the manifesto. Thus, to simplify, we have compared questions raised in preceding years which are closely relevant to categories mentioned in all manifestos.

In our analysis, we have compared issues in political party manifestos for 2017 MCGM elections and questions asked by respective party councillors during March 2017 to March 2021. We have given the benefit of doubt to political parties while comparing issues mentioned in the manifestos with questions raised. For example, if completion of the Gargai project was listed as an issue in the manifesto, questions related to increased water supply were taken as being related to this issue, even if the questions were not specifically about the project. This is because although the completion of the project is a specific issue, it is linked to the broader question of adequate water supply.

Complaints registered by citizens from 2017 to 2021 has also been considered to understand the latest status of services in the manifesto. The manifesto points that are loosely connected to the registered complaints has been analysed to see the overall status of deliberation and to map the required areas for improvement in the city.

**Table 1: Major subject points from the manifestos and deliberations<sup>1</sup> on each subject from March 2017 to March 2021**

Manifesto Points	Shiv Sena	BJP	INC	NCP
	(92 councillors) <sup>2</sup>	(83 councillors) <sup>2</sup>	(30 councillors) <sup>2</sup>	(9 councillors) <sup>2</sup>
Water supply	90	101	49	5
Public healthcare and Municipal hospitals	155	118	70	74
Municipal school education	104	88	34	29
Property tax exemption and deduction	14	17	5	0
BEST transport and electricity	51	28	19	1
Disaster Management, Flood Control	18	14	2	1
Holistic Development	17	15	2	0
Roads and road tenders	146	174	59	16
Solid Waste Management	103	131	47	6
Sewerage/Drainage	47	61	23	5
Toilet/Sanitation	49	48	15	5
Gardens, grounds and Open spaces	97	161	46	3
Development planning	37	68	20	1
Social Culture and Tourism	50	38	6	2
Fire brigade	18	10	7	3
Planning of hawkers and peddlers	25	78	22	3
Women, children, youth, welfare of youth and senior citizens	49	92	16	8
Potholes	28	25	15	1
Municipal Staff	120	52	53	16
Slum Improvement	16	20	9	6
Traffic management	46	65	22	5
Transparent administration	7	67	20	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,287</b>	<b>1,471</b>	<b>561</b>	<b>191</b>

<sup>1</sup> Includes only those questions asked on the complaints relevant to the manifesto.

<sup>2</sup> Average number of councillors in the past 4 years have been taken calculations. The current number of councillors for the parties are Shiv Sena: 97; BJP: 81; INC: 29; NCP: 8.

## Inferences

- Shiv Sena councillors, in their deliberation raised higher number of civic issues like healthcare, roads, municipal staff, education and SWM. They also raised higher number of issues on BEST transport services, potholes, fire services and social culture in the city.
- BJP councillors has raised maximum issues on roads, gardens & open spaces, SWM, healthcare and water supply. Additionally, they raised more number of issues on vulnerable sections and development plan, while very few issues were raised on services related to disaster management and fire services.
- INC councillors had higher number of deliberations for civic issues like healthcare, roads, municipal staff, water supply and SWM, while NCP councillors raised maximum issues on Healthcare, Education, Roads, Municipal staff.

**Table 2: Civic complaints registered in Mumbai from 2017-18 to 2020-21**

Complaints	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20	2020-21
Sewerage/Drainage	16,436	21,179	23,767	14,533
Water Supply	8,494	13,179	15,454	11,067
Solid Waste Management (SWM)	10,549	14,892	17,887	10,701
Pest control	6,105	6,618	9,015	9,646
License*	11,825	14,195	15,294	9,205
<i>Hawkers/ Nuisance due to vagrants on municipal roads, footpaths, gardens</i>	<i>7,853</i>	<i>9,166</i>	<i>10,640</i>	<i>6,470</i>
Roads*	11,746	12,960	15,094	6,435
Potholes	4,033	4,885	7,055	1,935
Traffic	2	2	0	0
Garden	1,941	3,042	3,452	4,550
Storm Water Drainage	1,560	1,549	2,280	1,259
Medical Officer Health (MOH)	1,858	1,568	1,202	1,115
Colony Officer	1,274	1,369	1,339	1,044
Shop and Establishment	1,574	723	856	878
Estate	467	593	691	782
Slum related complaints/SRA	1024	1098	785	740
MCGM Related	874	889	1,149	632
Toilet/Sanitation	437	498	657	610
Pollution	243	259	293	226
School	34	38	64	27
<b>Total*</b>	<b>76,441</b>	<b>94,649</b>	<b>1,09,279</b>	<b>73,450</b>

(\*) Road include potholes and traffic as sub-complaints & License includes hawkers as sub-complaints. The sum total does not include these sub complaints.

## Inferences:

- The highest complaints registered were related to Sewerage/Drainage, SWM, License, Water Supply, and Roads from 2017-18 to 2020-21.
- Sewerage/Drainage, Solid Waste Management (SWM) and Water Supply have more than 10,000 complaints registered in 2020-21.
- Complaints in 2020-21 decreased from 2019-20, however this could be due to the various covid 19 and lockdown restrictions in the city.



**Table 3: The complaints related to the manifesto and questions asked by the political parties from March 2017 to March 2021**

Complaint related to Manifesto	Number of Complaints (2017-18 to 2020-21)	Questions asked related to Manifesto <sup>3</sup>				
		Shiv Sena (92 councillors) <sup>4</sup>	BJP (83 councillors) <sup>4</sup>	INC (30 councillors) <sup>4</sup>	NCP (9 councillors) <sup>4</sup>	Total
Municipal School Education	163	13%	10%	10%	19%	12%
Roads*	46,235	18%	20%	17%	11%	18%
Potholes	17,908	4%	3%	4%	1%	3%
Traffic	4	6%	7%	6%	3%	6%
Public Health/hospitals	5,743	20%	13%	20%	50%	19%
Hawkers	34,129	3%	9%	6%	2%	6%
Toilet/Sanitation	2,202	6%	5%	4%	3%	5%
Sewerage/Drainage	75,915	6%	7%	6%	3%	6%
Solid Waste Management	54,029	13%	15%	13%	4%	13%
Water Supply	48,194	11%	11%	14%	3%	11%
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,66,610</b>	<b>100%</b>				

(\*) Road include potholes and traffic as sub-complaints. The sum total does not include the sub complaints.

### Inferences

- From 2017-18 to 2020-21, there were 17,908 complaints related to potholes, however the average proportion of question asked by all party councillors is only 3% from 2017-18 to 2020-21.
- However, Shiv Sena, BJP and NCP had promised in their manifesto roads without potholes. Furthermore, INC promised all pothole related complaints to be resolved in 24 hrs, while the average number days to solve a road related issue was 52 days in 2020.
- 34,129 hawker related complaints were registered from 2017-18 to 2020-21, however, an average of only 6% of deliberations were raised by all four party councillors. However, BJP, NCP and INC promised special zones for hawkers and other street vendors.
- All parties promised improvement in SWM at the ward level and better collection of garbage however, 54,029 SWM complaints were registered of which 40% were for garbage not collected.
- For water supply, BJP and INC promised 24/7 water and 100% water metering, however, both these initiatives have not been well implemented in Mumbai.

<sup>3</sup> Includes only those questions asked on the complaints relevant to the manifesto.

<sup>4</sup> Average number of councillors in the past 4 years have been taken calculations. The current number of councillors for the parties are Shiv Sena: 97; BJP: 81; INC: 29; NCP: 8.

**Table 4: Issue wise average questions asked by each councillor from March 2017 to March 2021**

Complaint related to Manifesto	Number of Complaints (2017-18 to 2020-21)	Questions asked related to Manifesto <sup>5</sup>			
		Shiv Sena	BJP	INC	NCP
		(92 councillors)	(83 councillors)	(30 councillors)	(9 councillors)
Municipal School Education	163	1.1	1.1	1.1	3.2
Roads*	46,235	1.6	2.1	2.0	1.8
Potholes	17,908	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.1
Traffic	4	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.6
Public Health/hospitals	5,743	1.7	1.4	2.3	8.2
Hawkers	34,129	0.3	0.9	0.7	0.3
Toilet/Sanitation	2,202	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.6
Sewerage/Drainage	75,915	0.5	0.7	0.8	0.6
Solid Waste Management	54,029	1.1	1.6	1.6	0.7
Water Supply	48,194	1.0	1.2	1.6	0.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,66,610</b>	<b>14.0</b>	<b>17.7</b>	<b>18.7</b>	<b>21.2</b>

(\*) Road include potholes and traffic as sub-complaints. The sum total does not include the sub complaints.

#### Inferences

- On an average, from 2017-18 to 2020-21, one Shiv Sena councillor has asked only 14 questions on the issues related to the manifesto promises. In 4 years, only 1 question was asked by these councillors on most issues.
- From 2017-18 to 2020-21, a BJP councillor has asked only on an average only 18 questions on the issues related to the manifesto promises. More questions should be raised on potholes and sanitation by BJP councillors.
- From 2017-18 to 2020-21, an INC councillor has asked only 19 questions on an average, on issues related to the manifesto promises.
- On an average 21 questions were asked by one NCP councillor from 2017-18 to 2020-21.

<sup>5</sup> Includes only those questions asked on the complaints relevant to the manifesto.

## 1. A case study on major civic Manifesto points with Deliberations

During elections, all political parties create their manifesto which includes commitments they promise to achieve if elected. On the basis of these promises, citizens elect their ideal candidate. Now as the BMC elections are near, we have tried to track the status of some manifesto promises made in 2017 with the number of complaints registered. Along with that we have analysed the number of questions asked by councillors for these issues. For this case study, we have taken three civic issues with maximum complaints.

### A. Water Supply

**Table 5: Water supply related manifesto points and its status**

Party	Manifesto promise	Status <sup>6</sup>	Deliberations <sup>7</sup> (2017-18 to 2020-21)
Shiv Sena	Repaired & Reviving old wells in the city	<i>Untapped Information*</i>	90
BJP	Provide 24 hours water supply	Average timing of water supply in the city in 2020 was only 5.39 hours. However, out of the 290 zones, 204 zones (70%) receive only upto 4 hours of water supply.	101
INC	100% metering	4% (17,552) non-metered connections	49
NCP	Water leakage will be stopped completely.	15,463 complaints related to water leakage from 2017-18 to 2020-21.	5

\*Praja has yet to study the relevant data

BJP mentioned in their manifesto solutions to ensure 24 hours water supply in Mumbai, however, the average timing of water supply in 2020 was only 5.39 hours. Furthermore, out of the 290 zones, 204 zones (70%) receive only up to 4 hours of water supply since 2017. Despite this, councillors have asked 245 questions in 4 years on water supply. NCP and INC promised in their manifested no more water leakages and 100% metering respectively. However, as on December 2020, 4% (17,552) units in Mumbai are non-metered connections and in 2020, 15,463 complaints related to water leakages. From 2017-18 to 2020-21, on an average, INC councillors asked 12 questions on water supply each year, while NCP councillors asked only 1 question each year.

<sup>6</sup> As per an RTI Response.

<sup>7</sup> Includes only those questions asked on the complaints relevant to the manifesto.

## B. Roads and Potholes

**Table 6: Roads and Potholes related manifesto points and its status**

Party	Manifesto promise	Status <sup>8</sup>	Deliberations <sup>9</sup> (2017 to 2021)
Shiv Sena	Pothole free Mumbai with new technology/material	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>From 2017-18 to 2020-21, a total of 46,235 road related complaints were registered.</li> <li>39% were for bad patches and/or potholes on the roads.</li> <li>An average of 52 days to resolve a road related complaint in 2020.</li> </ul>	28
BJP	Pothole free Mumbai Policy		25
INC	Addressing complaints on potholes in 24 hours		15
NCP	Potholes repaired in 24 hours		1

All parties promised to improve the condition of roads in Mumbai. Shiv Sena promised filling potholes with better material and technology, BJP in their manifesto mentioned a Pothole free Mumbai Policy, INC and NCP promised to address all potholes complaints in 24 hours. **However, from 2017-18 to 2020-21, a total of 46,235 road related complaints were registered, of which 39% were for bad patches and/or potholes on the roads. Furthermore, in 2020, it took an average of 52 days to resolve a road related complaint. In deliberations, from 2017-18 to 2020-21, 69 questions were asked in total for issues related to potholes, of which 36% were raised by BJP, 41% by Shiv Sena, 22% by INC and 1% by NCP.**

## C. Planning for Hawkers in the city

**Table 7: Planning for Hawkers related manifesto points and its status**

Party	Manifesto promise	Status	Total Deliberations
Shiv Sena	NA*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>34,129 complaints related to Hawkers/ Nuisance due to vagrants on municipal roads, footpaths, gardens in 2017-18 to 2020-21 (RTI)</li> </ul>	25
BJP	Provision of all facilities to hawkers and peddlers		78
INC	Provide Hawker License		22
NCP	Create Hawker Zones		3

\*The manifesto doesn't include any hawker specific promise.

BJP in their manifesto, promised provision of all facilities to hawkers and peddlers, NCP promised specific Hawker zones will be made, INC manifesto stated improvement in hawker licenses. **However, in 2017-18 to 2020-21, 34,129 complaints were related to Hawkers/ Nuisance due to vagrants on municipal roads, footpaths, gardens. To address this, a total of 128 questions were asked by all councillors from 2017-18 to**

<sup>8</sup> As per an RTI Response

<sup>9</sup> Includes only those questions asked on the complaints relevant to the manifesto.

**2020-21, an average of 32 questions each year. Out of the 128, 61% were asked by BJP councillors, 20% by Shiv Sena councillors, 17% by INC and 2% was asked by NCP councillors. The Hawkers policy is yet to be implemented in the city, hence more effective and targeted deliberations must be carried out to ensure policy implementation is not stalled.**

Thus, there is a need to carry out specific and more number of deliberations to address citizens issues efficiently. Despite the promises made in the manifesto, there is still a need for improvement in the service delivery. **As BMC elections are close, in the 'Targets set for 2022-2027' report, we have collected various global and national targets that should be included in the new manifesto. This will allow for better tracking and monitoring of promises both by citizens and future elected representatives and thus ensure targeted interventions are carried out.**



### III. Annexure

All Party manifesto links from 2017 MCGM elections

1. [Shiv Sena:](https://praja.org/praja_docs/praja_downloads/Shiv%20Sena%20%20(SS)%20Mumbai%20Municipal%20Corporation%20Manifesto.pdf)  
[https://praja.org/praja\\_docs/praja\\_downloads/Shiv%20Sena%20%20\(SS\)%20Mumbai%20Municipal%20Corporation%20Manifesto.pdf](https://praja.org/praja_docs/praja_downloads/Shiv%20Sena%20%20(SS)%20Mumbai%20Municipal%20Corporation%20Manifesto.pdf)
2. [Bharatiya Jhanta Party:](https://praja.org/praja_docs/praja_downloads/Bharatiya%20Janta%20Party%20(BJP)%20Mumbai%20Municipal%20Corporation%20Manifesto.pdf)  
[https://praja.org/praja\\_docs/praja\\_downloads/Bharatiya%20Janta%20Party%20\(BJP\)%20Mumbai%20Municipal%20Corporation%20Manifesto.pdf](https://praja.org/praja_docs/praja_downloads/Bharatiya%20Janta%20Party%20(BJP)%20Mumbai%20Municipal%20Corporation%20Manifesto.pdf)
3. [Indian National Congress:](https://praja.org/praja_docs/praja_downloads/Indian%20National%20Congress%20Party%20(INC)%20Mumbai%20Municipal%20Corporation%20Manifesto.pdf)  
[https://praja.org/praja\\_docs/praja\\_downloads/Indian%20National%20Congress%20Party%20\(INC\)%20Mumbai%20Municipal%20Corporation%20Manifesto.pdf](https://praja.org/praja_docs/praja_downloads/Indian%20National%20Congress%20Party%20(INC)%20Mumbai%20Municipal%20Corporation%20Manifesto.pdf)
4. [Nationalist Congress Party:](https://praja.org/praja_docs/praja_downloads/National%20Congress%20Party%20(NCP)%20Mumbai%20Municipal%20Corporation%20Manifesto.pdf)  
[https://praja.org/praja\\_docs/praja\\_downloads/National%20Congress%20Party%20\(NCP\)%20Mumbai%20Municipal%20Corporation%20Manifesto.pdf](https://praja.org/praja_docs/praja_downloads/National%20Congress%20Party%20(NCP)%20Mumbai%20Municipal%20Corporation%20Manifesto.pdf)