### Beyond the Binary: What does it take to tread the 'Third Way' of Urban Regeneration in India? Leading Urban Revitalization, the Jugaad<sup>2</sup> way

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### Abstract

Urbanisation is an inevitable part of India's growth, which places enormous strain on existing infrastructure and settlements. Although the need for urban renewal or urban regeneration (as contrasted with greenfield development) is clear, it seems current policy and institutional frameworks have yet to offer any significant results. Lack of financial resources is one of the most critical challenges being faced by governments at various levels, and despite sufficient financial means and instruments to develop new infrastructure (such as the FDI, PPP, TDR, and so on), funding channels for urban renewal projects remain almost non-existent within an environment of mutual distrust. Through a discussion of three ongoing projects, the need to explore outside of conventional models will be demonstrated. In essence, this article advocates for an intermediary working structure of PPPP (Public-Private Partnership with the fourth P standing for People), which can be situated between a strict / formal approach and an unregulated / informal one, often referred to in the Indian context to as Jugaad. Though jugaad is typically characterized by 'ad-hoc-ism' and informality, the outcomes still provide affordable solutions for stakeholders. Jugaad is notable for both its process-driven approach involving people-to-people collaboration, and its circumvention of the need for reform of the prevailing systemic environment. We suggest, therefore, that Jugaad in urbanism be reconceived as going beyond quick-fixes to serve as a possible model for resolving challenges in a participatory manner, without resorting to rule-bound contracting methods.

#### Introduction

India's attitude towards urbanisation has changed in the last decade and urban planning has come to the forefront of development policymaking. Cities now occupy a central role in driving the narrative of India's growth story. As large an opportunity as it may sound, India's journey towards being an urban majority state by 2050 is not devoid of some complementary challenges. Recent studies indicate that in India, the gap in urban infrastructure investment is estimated at US\$827 billion over the next 20 years (Ahluwalia, 2014), and India must invest more than \$150 billion over the next five years in the development of urban infrastructure.

Lack of financial resources and institutional capacities of urban local bodies (ULBs) in developing, delivering, and managing urban services has already predisposed the institutional regime to accept and embrace the participation of the private sector in India. The government, transitioning from the role of a service provider to that of being a facilitator, in provisioning essential services such as water, power, transport, and sanitation, has acknowledged the significance of private sector in planning, financing, delivery, and management of public services. Over the last decade, policymakers at both central and state levels have been increasingly focusing on infrastructure investments to enable fast-paced economic growth. However, as planned infrastructure projects throw up funding and technological challenges, governments are increasingly turning to the private sector with the PPP route emerging as the most favoured mechanism for cooperation, not just for investment, but also for capacity building (human resources, materials, machines, etc.).

As a developing nation, while India is continually eyeing the building of new infrastructure to meet the needs and aspirations of a growing economy, there is a dire need for upgrading and renewal of existing infrastructure lying derelict and distressed under the pressures of the transforming socio-economic structure of cities. To varying degrees, urban regeneration poses a significant challenge to city authorities and requires significant investment, whether it be financial, creative, managerial or natural resource deployment. Many cities are no longer able to meet these challenges on their own, whether due to shortage of public money, poor capacity to harness renewable resources, limited professional skill pools, or simply because the associated risks are too great (URBACT.EU, 2006). These challenges relegate urban regeneration to the bottom of the to-do list of urban local bodies, if they feature at all.

### Emerging trends in the PPP model of urban development and urban regeneration in India

PPP (Public-private-partnerships) is a management model being enthusiastically espoused (in principle and practice) by the Central and State governments through their policies and initiatives over the last two decades.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Jugaad is a term applied to a creative or innovative idea providing a quick, alternative way of solving or fixing a problem.

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Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) was the leading flagship program in implementing urban development and urban renewal projects in PPP mode. Since then, continual attempts are underway to bring PPP to the forefront of managing Indian cities. Such projects include the Atal Mission for Renewal and Urban Transformation (AMRUT), the Heritage City Development and Augmentation Yojana (HRIDAY). Cities like New Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Indore, Ahmedabad, Mysore, Pune, and Hyderabad have harnessed PPP cooperation to design, develop, and deliver public services more effectively and with increased efficiency.

In the Indian context, the concept of PPP operates between two extremes. On one side, the model attempts to characterize the private sector almost as a service provider, usurping the role of a ULB. On the other hand, the private sector is involved as the operator or manager of the public infrastructure created or already existing, while the government occupies the role of a regulator in both cases. A formal code of practice is adopted throughout a project's execution, beginning with the selection of the private partner. Since sourcing finance acts as one of the primary objectives of PPP cooperation, the Requests for Proposal (RfPs) and Expressions of Interest (EoI's) floated by the government are centered around financial eligibility, i.e., the participating organisation's turnover for the last five years. This has also become necessary for government agencies as fiscal rules now guide government players to use financial criteria to select partners. Financial measures thus supersede performance and experience criteria (in the absence of an ability to form an impartial jury to choose the best planning approach), and this leads to conflicts of interest between the purpose and objectives of the project. It leaves no room for appointing good architects, planners, urban designers, or practicing organisations with the relevant domain expertise who may have been able to match the desired top line numbers. Repeatedly, it is one of the top 10 or so infrastructure and construction powerhouses ruling the so-called business of urban development in India that gets selected. When the process itself remains exclusive, the result tends to favour a handful of top players.

The process cycle of a typical PPP project is very rigid from project identification to service delivery. The standard modes of cooperation between the government and the private sector, including management contracts, lease contracts, concessions, variants of build-operatetransfer, all set out stringent terms and conditions, limiting the scope of broader participation, or the integration of unconventional yet innovative solutions within the contract terms. In an environment where corrupt practices are waiting to be brought into the open at any time, this also becomes necessary in order to reduce or remove discretion in the hands of government officers. Thus it creates a partnership between two parties that strongly distrust each other.

When the Standard Operating Procedures (SoP) of PPP are applied without creativity to urban regeneration projects, we are denied the opportunity of engaging with the best or most appropriate solution to real-time challenges arising out of existing socio-cultural complexities. Often the RfP's and EoI's are driven by the relationships between spatial planning, real estate (land) and economics. Both public and private actors operate within their existing institutional context and are influenced by market conditions (demand for real estate, investment climate, etc.). There is a subliminal impact of cultural values on the outcome of any planning exercise, as the actors (from public and private sectors) from different cultures may (in a more general way) value risk, trust and cooperation differently (Li et. al., 2019). The value differences, in turn, lead to different attitudes in some specific situations: for instance, whether to invest in high-risk but high-reward development projects, how much to invest in monitoring business partners and agents, and whether to cooperate or act alone when the relative benefits are uncertain. Therefore, when the PPPs are adopted, in their conventional and formal manner, within market constraints, the real needs and cultural values of users are not reflected in the results and most of the developed projects are either forsaken by the beneficiaries or lead to extreme gentrification forcing the native communities to eventually move out of the redeveloped and now unaffordable precincts.

# Resources (money and capacity) and risks of urban regeneration – a different sort of R&R

When it comes to measuring PPP as a tool for promoting urban renewal and socio-economic revitalization in the Indian context, a variety of questions should be posed to determine the type of public-private cooperation for urban regeneration. It is imperative to understand that every urban regeneration project/initiative comes with its own and unique set of challenges. The nuances and details concerning the existing and envisioned socio-economic scenario are far more complex than a greenfield urban development project. Often there arise varied areas of conflict that hamper inner city renewal interventions. The conflicts range from disparate interests of residents vs. commercial objectives of redevelopment, to mismatched planning intentions and political will, which manifests itself in a lack of political will to undertake the significant reforms that planners perceive as necessary (Das, 1983). Initiatives such as the Bhendi Bazaar Redevelopment project (Mumbai), Sabarmati Riverfront Redevelopment (Ahmedabad), East Kidwai Nagar Redevelopment (New Delhi) are often cited as 'Disruptive Innovations' to finance and deliver urban regeneration projects. Though they are all cited as being reasonably good in terms of economics, their performance according to socio-cultural indicators is questionable.

The Bhendi Bazaar project (Fig. 1) will raze 250 mostly dilapidated medium-rise housing structures and build 17 high-rise towers in their place. The capacity and expertise of the resources on the planning and receiving ends are fundamental to achieving the most appropriate model of urban regeneration in a city. To add to the points listed above, there are high levels of inadvertent risks associated with such projects. Various fiscal and development incentives such as high FSI, TDR, external development fee/charges waivers, tax exemptions and so on try to compensate private players for the top investments but, for the most part, do not cover the risks arising due to project delays caused by property valuations, value allocations for



Fig. 1: Bhendi Bazaar, before and after the proposed redevelopment. Images Courtesy: SBUT

the future property, and the challenges of temporary relocation of residents. Such conflicts often influence users negatively and limit the benefits of urban renewal businesses from participating private firms. Unless the institutional framework allows for a shared responsibility and risks with a fair degree of autonomy for the executing agency, initiatives will not attract market interest.

In contrast to traditional economic infrastructure, the arrangement that enables private sector participation in urban infrastructure with slow economic returns (for example, in conservation of cultural heritage sites), might require creative revenue and risk-sharing mechanisms which are uncommon in traditional infrastructure and might need to be tailored specifically for each project. Therefore, the practice of PPP in city regeneration must adopt a flexible approach to accommodate the best resources with minimum risks while catering to the needs and aspirations of all stakeholders involved.

For this reason, it is likely that India has not yet been able to develop any successful examples of urban regeneration, even after having embraced PPP-type cooperative working models with the private sector. PPP in India remains dominated by building and operating new infrastructure that can be charged for by the concessionaire for a certain period of time (direct monetary benefit), or trading the share of land for market sale with higher FSI's or similar concessions (indirect monetary benefit).

Countries embarking on city regeneration initiatives have established different practices within the corporate model. These corporations often act as private entities and are empowered under the commercial code. Importantly, they also have a degree of separation from the government. Their responsibilities include land acquisition, infrastructure provision, and releasing vacant land for market sale. They are also tasked with building housing for low-income families, managing properties used by governments, and similar social tasks (Kaganova, 2011). City regeneration carried out by a particular specialpurpose corporation often involves the use of special regulatory powers. These powers enhance the project's ability to create development value through projectspecific density arrangements, a situation referred to as density financing (Sagalyn, 2007).

As planners, thinkers, and concerned urban citizens of this country, we need to ask ourselves:

- Are the current institutional frameworks innovative enough to accommodate and adapt to the local challenges and constraints to deliver the desired solution to the community?
- Would we necessarily be continuing to view urban development and urban regeneration through the same lens of Governance structures?
- Could there be any other way of championing the most desired change in Indian cities?

# Exploring the 'Jugaad way' of city regeneration in India

The Oxford Learners' Dictionary gave the original (literal) meaning of jugaad as an Indian English noun referring to a vehicle made from different parts of other vehicles and used for carrying people, goods, etc., that is usually open at the front and the back and often not very safe to drive. In a generic way, it refers to the use of skill and imagination to find an easy solution to a problem or to fix or make something using cheap, basic items.

The Oxford English Dictionary officially added this slang word to their long list of words in September 2017, as a Hindi-origin noun meaning 'a flexible approach to problem-solving that uses limited resources in an innovative way', as in the example sentence: 'countries around the world are beginning to adopt jugaad in order to maximize resources', thereby permitting its use without italicization.

Wikipedia explains it as an Indian colloquial word that, depending on the context in which it is used, roughly translates to a non-conventional, frugal innovation, often termed a 'hack'. It could also refer to an innovative fix or a simple work-around, a solution that bends the rules. It is also often used to signify creative innovation: to make existing things work or to create new things with meager resources available. The gist of it is to 'make do' with limited resources, somehow make things work, and not in a banal but in a creative way. In that sense it is no longer associated with a vehicle that is "not very safe to drive"! The exhibition 'Jugaad Urbanism: Resourceful Strategies for Indian Cities, at the Center for Architecture, organised in Feb 2011 (Jordana, 2011) centered around the managing of resources such as land, water, energy, and transportation

from communities in Delhi, Mumbai, Ahmedabad, and Pune, and displayed the power of low-cost creative solutions of "design by the people, for the people". Whilst jugaad is characterised by ad-hoc approaches and modalities in the conceptualisation and execution of the ideas, the outcomes succeed in resolving the critical challenge at hand in sync with the needs and affordability of the target beneficiaries. The most noteworthy factor in a jugaad approach is that the process is driven by people working with people without calling for a significant change in the prevailing systemic environment. In other words, the jugaad approach in urbanism can be seen to be beyond merely quick-fix solutions to a possible model for resolving real-time challenges in a more participatory manner.

How does the jugaad model work in an urban regeneration scenario? What is the impact area that requires innovation? As explained in the previous sections, the conventional institutional frameworks need to loosen a bit to accommodate the best and the right resources on board to 'make things happen.' Institutional arrangements may range from formal to informal, with varying degrees of authority, accountability, and responsibility for coordination, handover, and delivery. Depending on the project requirements and whether it is public or private sector-led, there are several options for the types of vehicles that might be created to guide, monitor, and maintain the regeneration project to ensure coordination and results. These entities might have a range of powers depending on the scale and complexity of what aspect is required to be retained, enhanced and sustained in the specific regeneration project.

In this context, jugaad means finding common ground – the middle path that is more accommodating and adaptive than the conventional formal system, yet is more systematic and organised than completely organic, informal market solutions. The residents, the real stakeholders, become the leaders and changemakers and seek collaboration with supporting agencies offering technical, financial, and advisory services for the specific objective-oriented project or initiative.

We can dub this model "PPPP" (People-Public-Private-Partnership), wherein the people sit on the driving seat, and the government allows this to happen: it does not lead the project as in conventional PPP. The government, in this case, can be seen as one of the parties supporting the initiative instead of the one commanding and regulating the process. The people, in the form of a Community Based Organization (CBO) or Residents' Welfare Organization (RWA), articulate the needs, find suitable experts for designing the project for them, and then look for public or private finance (often much less than otherwise required by conventional PPP) and even crowdsourcing funds to implement the project.

We could define PPPP by paraphrasing the above paragraph as below:

PPPP (People-Public-Private-Partnership) is a process for project implementation where, besides private and public (government) interests, people (the affected citizens) become the lead stakeholders and propel the project forward. The people (henceforth called the clients) sit in the driving seat, and the government lets the project be executed. The clients articulate their needs, find suitable experts for designing the project for them, and only after that seek financial support (from people, public or private sources) to implement the project.

This approach also has the capability to address the issues highlighted in the last section: It can conserve and best utilize resources (money and capacity) and mitigate the risks of Urban Regeneration.

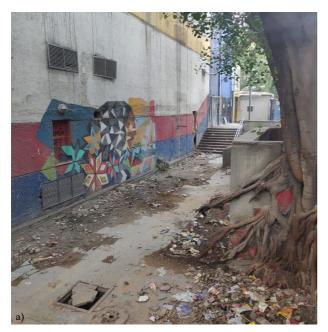
### Some experiences so far

In the Indian context, we don't have many trendsetting examples to demonstrate this approach, but that doesn't mean it cannot be tried anywhere. Through the authors, Future Institute has been working closely with communities and state governments in Delhi-NCR to explore this working model through multiple initiatives. There are at least three examples of ongoing projects: one from an affluent society, representing top down jugaad, of public placemaking (the Priya complex, a joint initiative of the Resident Welfare Association, the Delhi Development Authority (DDA), and a corporate partner), one from a disadvantaged village (Zamrudpur, a joint effort of a CBO, representing bottom-up jugaad, searching for a financial partner and government legitimacy), and one from a set of villages in Gurugram district where rulebound public finance was required to complete the project.

### Top down jugaad: Priya Complex redevelopment at community centre, Vasant Vihar, New Delhi

Redevelopment at Priya Complex, in one of the bustling community centres in South Delhi's posh neighbourhood colony in Vasant Vihar that started in October 2019 and is now in the stage of execution, could be very aptly touted as the first demonstration of a PPPP in urban regeneration in Delhi. It is an attempt to discover and reclaim the identity and spirit of otherwise dying planned public spaces as community centres in Delhi. Most community centres in Delhi were developed across the city close to four decades ago with a simple objective: to serve as active neighbourhood recreational centres. Over time, these hubs have gradually turned into dead and gloomy spots of occasional leisure and sometimes, unfortunately, negative spaces which anti-social elements use as well. Lack of maintenance and absence of essential public infrastructure have reduced them to spaces of abject apathy. This itself stems from the feeling that the infrastructure development was 'public' property and so private finance to maintain it dried up over time.

Taking note of the existing situation of one of such community centres in Basant Lok, Vasant Vihar in South Delhi, PVR Limited, one of the occupiers in the complex, decided to fix the problem. The multiplex giant PVR shares an emotional connection with this place as Basant Lok is home to the very first screen that it opened in India. As the economic and social life of the complex was nearly collapsing, the local stakeholders – retail shop owners, Market association and Local Vendors Association, PVR amongst them – decided to take it upon themselves to transform the space.





The collective intent was furthered by PVR in developing an integrated proposal for upgrading the social and street infrastructure and develop the precinct into a 'Thriving Futuristic Public Place' in collaboration with Abaxial design Pvt. Ltd., which is also PVR's architectural consultant firm based in Delhi. The team outlined a creative urban design led action plan in close consultation with all local stakeholders to serve the following objectives:

- Enhancement of public safety, focused on women and children, on the streets and building edges, with adequate lighting infrastructure.
- Upgradation of flooring and paving to improve universal accessibility in focus zones.
- Augmentation and activation of public realm with active greens – parks and plaza – offering multiple use activity spaces for all.
- Installation of appropriate street furniture benches, waste bins, signage and so on – to achieve clean, green and healthy urban environment.
- Organisation of informal retail and vendors onsite to achieve an inclusive growth ecosystem for all.

In the initial rounds of proposal discussion with the South Delhi Municipal Corporation (SDMC), it became clear that the urban local body could not extend any financial or resource help in executing the proposal on ground. It had already invested in upgrading a part of the precinct and was not able to extend this investment. It was then that



**Fig. 2**: Above visuals highlight the condition of the public complex before the redevelopment a) & b) Dark and shady spaces around the buildings that had become the negative spaces for anti-social activities, c) Neglected open space in the rear side of the building in the complex

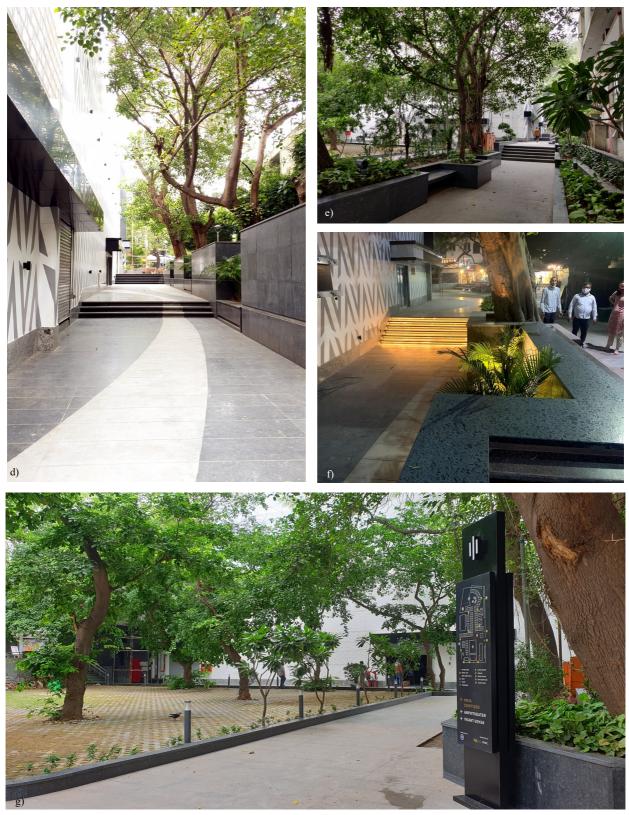


Fig. 3: The visuals (d, e, f and g) of the re-developed scheme illustrate the transformation of the space has achieved through adequate lighting, improved street furniture and enhanced wayfinding though the neglected and negative spaces in the complex

PVR took the onus of funding upon itself and the whole initiative was set on fast-track mode.

The uniqueness of this initiative is that the stakeholders took a collective conscious decision of reclaiming the space and committing to the cause of contributing to the best of their capacities in realizing the proposed scheme. While funding occupies a critical role in the success of any project, the vision, intent, and process are equally important in making it sustainable. That is where the 'P'



**Fig.4:** Map of Zamrudpur village showing the images of key areas of concern and local youth group in action in a cleanliness drive

for 'People' comes into the picture. In the entire process, right from conceptualising the plan, seeking stakeholder consent, and approaching the government with an Action Plan, people were at the forefront. The government authorities reserved their power to technically whet the scheme and ensure lawful implementation of the project (and to permit the project on public property in the first place). Future Institute (as an active participant, facilitating the initiative with execution) has so far observed that collective and shared action has the extraordinary potential to transform our cities, even in the case of urban renewal. The initiative is still underway but has slowly been recognised and has almost set a precedent for undertaking upgradation of other community centres across Delhi.

## Bottom up jugaad: Urban placemaking initiative, Zamrudpur, New Delhi

The second example is that of an ongoing Placemaking initiative in one of the urban villages in New Delhi called Zamrudpur, representing a strong community-led movement. Here youngsters feel the earnest need to reclaim the lost identity of a historically rich place which got lost in the wake of extreme market-led urbanisation. As of now the village stands as an unplanned urban enclave sandwiched between the urban posh colonies of Greater Kailash and Kailash colony in South Delhi. The village that once used to boast of its cultural and heritage assets is now a typical high-density settlement with insufficient basic infrastructure and is home to low-income migrant populations.

The millennial generation, in charge now, is not happy with this version and vision of Zamrudpur. So they took upon the task repositioning Zamrudpur and its identity on the cultural map of Delhi. The residents, including elected representatives of the village, came together and collaborated with architects, designers, and planners from within Delhi and outlined the vision for Zamrudpur. The local youth has voluntarily constituted an action group called 'Zamrudpur Youth Brigade' that can be termed a CBO, to undertake solid waste management in the settlement to begin with; an initiative that has already drastically improved the overall quality of the physical environment. This cleanliness drive is now advancing to the next stage (in collaboration with waste management action group 'Chintan') of reducing the waste at source and also recycling for profit.

The unique feature of this initiative is that the sense of ownership and responsibility lies with the community, and therefore the results are visible rapidly. Residents, witnessing the on-ground change, are willing to pay the extra money per household to continue the positive transformation. The PPPP model here is solely driven by the local people in partnership with the right industry partners with almost no government involvement, except to allow the initiatives to happen. Though the initiative lacks funding, the action groups involved are aggressively reaching out to corporations and exploring options to access Corporate Social responsibility (CSR) funds from Delhi-NCR region.

The action group and local activists are embarking on new frontiers of exploring this PPPP model. Some initiatives include: reclaiming abandoned parks through plantation drives (by reusing the wastewater from a nearby religious institution's toilets); reducing cow dung waste (now dumped on the streets) and converting it into saleable manure; enhancing safety on the streets by mapping the dark streets, and pushing for the installation of street lights from the public development fund of the village; initiating a volunteer-led education program for children from Economically Weaker Sections; getting a local business to outsource stitching tasks to homemakers who have free time and the desire to supplement their income; and so on.

Since urban villages like Zamrudpur have very little or no real-time database of the socio-economics in the government database, the action group here has also decided to develop a first-of-its-kind village census handbook by undertaking a barefoot door-to-door survey. Once done, this survey and analysis would then serve as a strong basis for outlining strategic action plans to improve the quality of life of the people in Zamrudpur, and even more importantly, provide data for measuring success.

## Government led PPPP: Rejuvenation of water bodies in Gurugram

While the journey of the PPPP model seems to be on track and presents a hopeful picture, there are some instances where the conventional PPP process overtakes the efforts and synergies invested in urban renewal projects. In one such initiative, Future Institute collaborated with MCG (Municipal Corporation Gurugram) in 2015 intending to rejuvenate, preserve and develop existing water bodies in Gurugram not merely as catalysts of environmental sustainability but also as active urban places of renewing and building socio-cultural capital of Gurugram.

Out of 120 odd water bodies in Gurugram, 20 water bodies were identified with the potential to be rejuvenated and developed as an integrated network of channelising and managing the water crisis of Gurugram. The overall approach presented a unique model of identifying sustainable contextual solutions to complex urban challenges through exploration, research, and participation.

Under this initiative, an urban pond in Basai (sector 9B, Gurugram) was chosen as the pilot project in 2016 to establish and demonstrate the principles and practices advocated through research. The level of participation and interest of the local community in reviving the water body was truly exceptional. Every individual was keen on suggesting the most do-able solutions, according to their needs and aspirations, for improving the quality of water and public space around the pond. These collective efforts synergized into a day-long event marking the launch of the initiative and raising awareness around conservation and maintenance of water bodies organised by the local community. The proposed scheme had adopted an unconventional water remediation solution called bioremediation using more natural plant-based filtering techniques rather than installing mechanical treatment plants.

However, with close to 20% of total development works as civil works and the rest under green buffers and soft edges, the scheme wasn't attractive with respect to standard code of PWD practice. It seemed that the technical government staff wanted a 'harder' (and more expensive) design approach. The negotiation with them was a hard nut to crack.

Nevertheless, with negotiation and persuasion, the proposal got approved and was put to the tender process (the community was not involved with this process). The hope and dream of Gurugram getting its first water body rejuvenated got lost in the hefty and lengthy process of tendering and procurement. The tender that was floated to invite bids for undertaking the site works was called off thrice because of technical or financial caveats. Till today the pond lies in a state worse than it was in 2016. This experience narrates the sad state of institutional affairs in the government system, which tends to convert PPPP into PPP.

### Conclusion

In light of the experiences shared in this paper, it is becoming increasingly evident that there exists a higher chance of executing the initiatives with maximum participation at the grassroots and minimum involvement by the government. Often this doesn't happen since many officers in government institutions are incentivised to invest public money on maintenance projects but do not trust either private nor people interests and consider themselves the 'owners' of public space. Only if the government system can support public space initiatives led by a credible people's organization as recognized by the powers that be, can this state of affairs change. PPP can then transform to PPPP.

When it comes to public spaces and land (which is a state subject), there is often a limitation to what the people outside the system can achieve. In conventional practice, such initiatives run into the business-as-usual PPP model and end up either delivering sub-standard outcomes or do not see the light of the day at all.

Some learnings from this work so far are as below.

Cost of PPPP compared to PPP. Most PPPP initiatives are considerably less expensive than PPP initiatives since most people are fairly frugal with their demands (if stewarded with care, with good participation), especially if they are asked to pay even a small share of the investment. Whether affluent or impoverished, beneficiary communities are a self-regulating mechanism and normally do not overreach their requirements such that it becomes affordable for them to contribute a substantial part of the investment required for the project.

PPPP in Affluent communities. Redevelopment of PVR Priya complex exemplifies the power of active participation of local communities can open up new frontiers in social infrastructural development in cities. By bringing people in PPPP at the forefront, the whole process of urban regeneration reinforces the value and worth of local assets in the lives and livelihoods of the real beneficiaries. What would have been just a redevelopment exercise for SDMC with the resource constraints, in this case, is now a symbol of pride and dignity to the community in Vasant Vihar.

PPPP in Impoverished communities. The Zamrudpur case illustrates how the intent and collective efforts play a primary role in realizing the success of a public project where funds and supporting resources are merely the tools that fall in place if the commitment of the stakeholders is strong. The MCG case, however, demonstrates that if projects are performed under an ordinary course of action, the voices of the community can get stuck in limbo forever. There is a need for public procedures to change. Given the need for urban regeneration in the context of Indian cities, it becomes indispensable on the part of government bodies to adopt a flexible modus operandi that allows diverse stakeholder participation with a high degree of autonomy in making decisions that the people and context demands. Jugaad, as suggested in this paper, offers an intermediate working model between the formal PPP and the unregulated informal approach.

In the opinion of the authors, further research is needed into the processes of facilitation, management of process, budgeting, and ensuring good utilization of resources and mitigation of risks associated with the conventional, PPP mode of urban renewal everywhere. However, it is a jugaad in itself that this method be used whether or not that research is forthcoming or not!

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### Keywords

Urban renewal, urban regeneration, urban finance, public private partnership, urban infrastructure, placemaking, participatory planning