CO-PRODUCTION BY THIRD SECTOR ORGANIZATIONS AT LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL IN BENGALURU, INDIA

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Preface

This Master's thesis has been written to fulfill the graduation requirements of the MSc Public Administration program at Leiden University.

I would like to offer my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Carola van Eijk for her advice and support during the entire research process. My sincere gratitude also goes out to Ms. V. R. Vachana for her patience in connecting me with the participants. I also want to thank all the participants who gave their time during the course of this study. Their involvement is what helped me complete this study. Finally, I want to thank all those who supported me during the process of writing this thesis.

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Glossary

BBMP	Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike (BBMP), is the administrative body (municipal level) responsible for civic amenities and some infrastructural assets of the Greater Bengaluru metropolitan area
CAA	Constitutional Amendment Act refers to the 73rd and 74th amendment acts that were passed to devolve powers to the local government in rural and urban areas respectively.
Corporator	Elected member in a ward
JNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) was a massive city-modernisation scheme launched by the Government of India under the Ministry of Urban Development.
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
RWA	Resident Welfare Association
RTI	Right to Information Act, 2009
3-tier governance	India's governance structure is 3-tiered: central, state and local levels
Ward	A municipal corporation (here, BBMP) consists of wards committee. Each ward has one seat in the wards committee. Members are elected to the wards committee on the basis of adult franchise for a term of five years. These members are known as councilors or corporators. Ward is the smallest unit of governance (similar to a neighborhood level)

Summary

This study attempts to understand why TSOs engage in co-production with government officials in the urban regions to improve participatory governance. The study is conducted in the city of Bengaluru, India with five TSOs that work with government officials in different capacities to bridge the gap between citizens and government. There is no existing study in the field of co-production that deals with TSOs and government engagement in India. Therefore, an inductive approach was used, and data was collected via interviews. The findings were reported in a two-phased manner. The first half included a description of the co-production arrangement among the TSOs and the government. One of the key findings is how TSOs use various tools of co-production (agreements, legal and advocacy) to collaborate with the government, citizens and with each other, thereby creating a *participatory eco-system.* The second half was focused more specifically on why TSOs engage in co-production and four factors were identified: government incapacity, political interference, lack of information and civic participation. Interestingly, three of the four factors stem from the primary factor: government incapacity. Across the TSOs, *government capacity* is driving co-production with government officials.

Keywords: co-production, TSOs, urban governance, participatory governance,

1. Introduction

The key challenge in 21st century governance is improving the efficiency and effectiveness of delivery of public services. This is a challenge especially owing to financial strain and decreasing legitimacy of a government. The government in India follows a decentralized structure which is conducive to bridging the gap between citizen and the government through co-production services (Sternberg, 2011). In fact, in the three-tier system of governance, the lowest tier or the local government has various tools and mechanisms to ensure direct interactions with its citizens. This was put in place through amendments passed in the 1990s. These Acts pushed for a democratic decentralization and citizen involvement in government agenda. It further formed the background for the collaborations between government(s) and (civil society organizations of) citizens in city governance (Michels & Montfort, 2013). Therefore, since the institutionalization of local governance units, there is an emergence of the third sector in major cities in India. Studies show that municipalities often work with third sector organizations (TSOs) in countries such as the UK and Denmark (Fledderus & Honingh, 2016). This seems to be the case in Indian urban cities as well.

This thesis argues that TSOs co-produce with the local governments in India to improve civic participation. Existing empirical evidence have a) explored the role played by TSOs in TSO-government relationships (Lindsay et al., 2018; Pestoff, 2012; Pestoff & Brandsen, 2009), b) shown how service delivery by the TSOs is organized and how it has changed the relationship between governments and citizens (Brandsen, 2004; Osborne, 2008). and c) indicated that citizen participation is indeed best facilitated by TSOs (Pestoff & Brandsen, 2009). However, there is a research gap on why TSOs engage in the first place (Pestoff & Brandsen, 2009) and none of the aforementioned studies have ever explored co-production in the Indian context. Also, literature on citizens or professionals' motivations to engage has received some attention in literature (Alford, 2002; Fledderus & Honingh, 2016; Van Eijk & Steen, 2016). However, here, the interest is in TSOs as the stakeholder and the motivations driving them to co-produce with local governments to improve citizen participation in India. Also, the co-production seemingly is an integration of parallel engagements by TSOs into the public sector and not a top-down decision to improve citizen participation. That is, it is initiated by TSOs. Understanding why TSOs engage could help future research in answering questions relating to sustainability and

effectiveness of such co-productive arrangements (Cepiku & Giordano, 2014). Therefore, the research question addressed in this thesis is:

Why are third sector organizations willing to co-produce with local government officials to improve participatory governance in Bengaluru, India?

As the focus is on urban governance in cities, choosing Bengaluru among the mega cities[1] is intentional. In India, in the last two decades, mega cities have seen a rise in collaborative arrangements between governments, private actors, NGOs and citizens to collectively solve problems (Michels & Montfort, 2013). Bengaluru specifically, has an active class of citizens and TSOs (set up by citizens) engaging in civic participation (Upadhya, 2017). Furthermore, in a survey on health of Indian cities, Bengaluru ranked least among 23 cities in 2017 (Nair et al., 2017). As a consequence, CSOs across the city have been striving to work with local governments to improve civic participation in urban governance, making the city a right choice for this thesis.

For the purpose of this study, the TSOs will comprise of civil society organizations and/or non-profit organizations set up by citizens who believed they could create a systemic change by working with the government in co-producing solutions to city governance (Livemint, 2018). Bovaird and Loeffler (2012) argue that co-production is a joint activity and goes beyond the role of a user as simply service users. They define co-production as "public sector and citizens making better use of each other's assets and resources to achieve better outcomes or improved efficiency" (Bovaird & Loeffler, 2012, p. 1121).

The TSOs have focused on the local governance and worked towards improving citizen participation through various institutionalized mechanisms like for instance, ward committees. These committees are a forum for interaction between the state agents and the citizens and are mandatory in cities with more than three lakhs of population (Vidyarthee, 2006). Prior to establishing ward committees, citizens had to reach out to each department separately, file grievances and follow up. This thesis will only involve organizations working at local level in the city of Bengaluru, India. The value of co-production lies in promoting change 'with' the citizens and not for the citizens

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[1] Mega city: Population of more than five million citizens

(Mukherjee & Mukherjee, 2018). Therefore, the interest is on collaborations between local government and TSOs at the smallest governmental unit because these units have institutionalized citizen participation.

Research on the third sector is currently available for socio-democratic welfare regimes and this cannot be generalized because in such regimes, service delivery is dominated by provision of welfare services (Verschuere, Brandsen, & Pestoff, 2012). A key contextual specificity of developing countries is that public service delivery by citizens precede the public sector's forms of delivery because they may not have been developed yet (Cepiku & Giordano, 2014). Therefore, the research adds to the literature because of two key aspects: 1. It will be set in the politico-administrative context of India, where co-production is understudied and 2. It will further add to the empirical literature of third sector research which is also limited.

The research follows an inductive approach with qualitative analysis owing to the limited amount of literature in the field of third sector organizations and co-production in India. A qualitative inductive approach is useful for exploratory research on topics that is not written about extensively. As research on this topic is rare, there is a need to hear directly from the organizations on their willingness to engage. Limited knowledge also means that an inductive approach will allow us to build a theoretical model based on the data collected. Therefore, conceptualization and operationalization will occur simultaneously with data collection. Semi-structured interviews will be used to draw evidence for the research. The findings from the research will be used to understand why TSOs engage in co-production with local governments in Bengaluru, India. In this paper, the cases of Janaagraha, B.PAC, CIVIC, Bengaluru Citizen Forum and Citizens' Action Forum will be analyzed to answer the research question. These are civil society organizations set up between 1990s and 2001 with similar goals of improving citizen participation through various mechanisms. All these CSOs work with the local government and citizens in some capacity and this will be illustrated in the case description section (chapter four).

Following this introduction, the thesis is structured as follows. In the next section, the literature review will be presented. This will include definitions of co-production and the third sector in the Indian context, a review of existing empirical work and the gap in the

literature. Third section will include the methodology chapter which will explain the case selection, case description and the research design in depth. The fourth section will present the findings of the interviews and the fifth section includes a discussion on how these findings contribute to generating a conceptual model/s. Finally, the conclusion will present the limitations of the study and some suggestions for future research.

2. Literature Review

Defining Co-production in Context

Ostrom (1996) defined co-production as a process where inputs for providing a good or service will be contributed by individuals outside of the organization. Since then, scholars have considered this definition too simple within the complexity of various organizations existing across sectors. Defining co-production is a challenge because scholars have defined it differently according to their own research context (Alford, 2014; Bovaird & Loeffler, 2012; Brandsen & Honingh, 2016; Pestoff, 2006) Furthermore, Pestoff (2006) notices that definitions of co-production vary based on the levels of analysis (micro-, meso- or macro-). Additionally, the shifting paradigm from New Public Management to New Public Governance (NPG) has led to an emphasis on networks, collaborative partnerships and other kinds of multi-actor relations. The concept of co-production as a tool for NPG was propagated by OECD in 2011 in their report on public sector reforms (OECD, 2011). In this thesis, we examine the role of TSOs at a meso-level, engaging in the co-production process with local governments to improve citizen participation in a developing economy. This will be further explained.

Co- production is often regarded as a "solution to the public sector's decreased legitimacy and dwindling resources by accessing more of society's resources" and as a means "to reinvigorate voluntary participation and social cohesion in an increasingly fragmented and individualized society" (Brandsen & Honingh, 2016, p. 427). Furthermore, co-production occurs at either the individual or the collective level. Collective co-production is assumed to benefit the whole community. In this thesis, TSOs that co-produce with government to improve citizen participation in urban governance are chosen. The co-production is therefore collective in nature. Scholars of co-production today agree that co-production is multifaceted in nature and works in a collective manner (Sorrentino, Sicilia, & Howlett, 2018). Since 2000, there is a growing interest in co-production process involving TSOs and how they play a key role in mobilizing citizen engagement in different stages of co-production (Pestoff, 2006; Verschuere et al., 2012).

Cepiku & Giordano (2014) argue that co-production literature has focused on users just as service users. However, they argue that co-production is a joint activity where the

engagement of the co-producer is not just in welfare services. Bovaird & Loeffler (2012), in their definitions of user and community co-production state that co-production occurs with the bigger goal of achieving better outcomes or improved efficiency. Here, the focus is on better outcome and not just services. This is very apt for this study as the selected TSOs are not engaging only in delivery of welfare services. Rather, these TSOs hold a larger goal of improving urban governance management through citizen participation in the city level. In addition to that, this thesis also is in line with Bovaird & Loeffler (2012)'s argument that co-production involves different activities that together culminate into engagement of co-producers (here, TSOs) and the professionals (here, elected officials) (Van Eijk & Steen, 2016). The examples of different activities are co-planning, co-prioritization, co-design, co-delivery, co-financing and co-assessment.

So far, the thesis argues that the co-production defined is collective and has a focus on outcomes (as opposed to delivery of welfare services). Scholars have also taken it one step further to distinguish the co-production in developing countries (Cepiku & Giordano (2014); Joshi & Moore (2004)). This will be used for the context of this thesis because developing economies have diverse organizational arrangements that do not fit into typologies of 'traditional' institutional arrangements. For instance, scholars often attempt to provide alternative explanations to the welfare models in non-western developing countries as they do not fit Esping-Anderson's typology of welfare regimes (Aspalter, 2016). Similarly, in the case of delivery of services, developing countries have a weak state authority and as a result, public sector often struggle to deliver services which is otherwise taken for granted in OECD countries (Joshi & Moore, 2004). To explain the type of co-production in developing countries with weak state authorities, Joshi & Moore (2004) introduce the concept of *institutionalized co-production*. Institutionalized co-production is provision of public services through regular, long-term relationships between state agencies and organized groups of citizens where both are involved in resource contributions.

They provide three dimensions of institutionalized co-production which can be applied to the TSO-government relationship in this study and will be observed in the data collection stage in depth. Firstly, it goes beyond temporary co-production arrangements. The co-production is *a regular, long-term relationship* established between TSOs and the

local government. The TSOs have been working with the local governments since the TSOs were established in the last decade. Secondly, institutionalized co-production does not require any contractual or quasi-contractual agreement between the government and TSOs. That is, it is not similar to a public-private partnership model. The actual relationships are *informal and renegotiated* on a continual basis. The TSOs work with elected officials and local government officials who are not permanent staff of the government. As a result, the "renegotiation" occurs when elected officials change after elections. While the TSO-government relationship, as officials change, the TSOs possibly re-negotiate their relationship with newly elected officials. However, this needs to be confirmed and backed with evidence in the data collection stage. Third, in the model of institutionalized co-production, we move away from the traditional Weberian bureaucratic model as the *boundaries between these actors are blurred* (in terms of organizations, resources, authority and so on). When co-production occurs, power, authority and control of resources may get divided between the actors ambiguously. For instance, the TSOs are partnering with local officials to set up ward committees to engage citizens, which is otherwise the role of the government alone. The next section includes an elaborate description on how TSOs play the role of a partner. An additional point to note is that: while the main research question is to address why TSOs engage in co-production, there is no evidence yet to show that this co-production is indeed 'institutionalized', therefore, the interview questions will also include questions to measure the same.

TSO's Role as Partners and the Partnership Model

Existing literature on co-production has increasingly focused on the third sector as a key stakeholder (Verschuere et al, 2012). Scholars argue that TSOs can add value and contribute to the co-production process due to their 'proximity' and connectedness to potentially disadvantaged groups and communities, their openness to feedback, and their capacity to offer personalized, locally - responsive services (Verschuere et al, 2012). It is further argued that this rootedness in (and responsiveness to) user groups and communities – which have often provided the context for the emergence of TSOs themselves 'from the ground up' - has led to a growing consensus that the third sector can potentially play a key role in fostering co-production (Pestoff, 2012).

It is important to describe the role played by TSOs in the context of this thesis. Alford (2014) provided an approach to classify co-producers according to their primary role in the co-production process: consumers, suppliers and partners. Consumers are at the receiving end of the co-production process; suppliers provide inputs to the organization; and partners share the work of the organization. In the case of this study, the argument is that TSOs play the role of a partner because these *TSOs initiate projects* with citizens and governments to improve participation which otherwise should have been initiated by the government alone. Alford further argues that observing co-producing using this approach enables the researcher to understand what they are doing it for. It directs attention to the motivations of the TSOs which is what this thesis attempts to do.

A World Bank study conducted in Bengaluru in 2012 shows that high levels of citizenship are indeed correlated to higher levels of service provision. The focus of coproduction is on direct inputs i.e., citizens provide inputs to services that directly concern them. Using the definition by Tuurnas (2015), the thesis argues that the coproduction between TSOs and government is a tool using which the governments can meet public expectations and transform outdated public infrastructure. The TSOs, with their aim towards participatory governance, is driving this co-production process and giving citizens voice. Therefore, TSOs are taking up the responsibility to build social capital by collectivizing people's interests and bringing them together to solve problems in urban wards.

How are TSOs involved as partners? As partners, the Government-TSO relationship include exchanges of financial and/or other resources. Both parties attempt to influence the other through regulatory activities or political mobilization and both shape the nature of civic engagement (Smith & Grønbjerg, 2006). They enhance civic participation by involving themselves and citizens in the "planning, implementation and monitoring" of government projects (Bano, 2019). In the TSOs selected for this study, the employees are established as experts in the field of urban governance. They partner with local governments as stakeholders to improve citizen engagement in ward-level governance. They, collectively with the local governments, organize ward committee meetings and/ or setting up additional platforms to bring together both citizens and the government in one stage for engagement. They also provide platforms to plan, budget and audit the ward programs.

Studying why TSOs engage in Bengaluru, India

Why take an Inductive Approach?

Existing literature on co-production have explored motivations of co-production (Alford, 2002; Fledderus & Honingh, 2016; Van Eijk & Steen, 2016). Fledderus & Honingh (2016) studied motivations of citizens to check for selection-bias in co-produced activation programs. Van Eijk & Steen (2016) examined why citizens are willing to engage in co-production. They use variables such as ease, salience and efficacy to explain why citizens are willing to co-produce. It is not possible to use these variables in this thesis because they are not suitable for understanding TSO's motivations. To elaborate, 'salience' measures the importance a citizen attaches to a topic which can lead them to consider active engagement. A second example is 'effort'. For citizens, if more effort is needed to co-produce, it is less likely they may involve themselves. In the case of TSOs, such variables cannot be applied because the organizations were set up with the aim of solving urban governance issues at a systemic level. A systemic change is a long process and a rather tedious one and TSOs rose out of the need to solve wicked problems of urban governance (Michels & Montfort, 2013). The selected organizations for the study have been working towards citizen participation for the last 10 years or longer. Therefore, variables that otherwise apply to citizens, cannot be tested for TSOs.

It is also important to note that in India, scholars have mostly explored the concept of citizen participation at local government levels from a citizen's perspective (Baud & Nainan, 2008; Coelho & Venkat, 2009; Foundation, 2019; O'Meally, Chowdhury, & Piplani, 2017; Vidyarthee, 2006). Michels & Montfort (2013) provide a framework to analyze public private governance arrangements in India and China and this has been used to understand the role of TSOs as partners in the previous section. However, there is no study that explores co-production in the urban governance context in India. Most importantly, none of these studies however explore why TSOs engage or what drives them. Cepiku & Giordano (2014) contribute to the co-production theory by analyzing empirical evidence in developing countries. However, they define co-production by excluding the contributions of other stakeholders like the TSOs and rather, they solely focus on a citizen-government relationship and the motivations for the same. Moreover,

they focus on a service-delivery logic which is not the focus of this thesis[2]. This is the reasoning behind an inductive approach for the thesis.

India's Politico-administrative context

It is necessary to explain the political and administrative setup in which co-production occurs in local governments in India, because the partnership takes place in this politico-administrative context. The direct interaction between citizens and governments occurs at ward-level governance in India. In 1993 and 1994, the 73rd and the 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts of the Indian Constitution were passed by the central government which laid the foundation for democratizing municipalities as institutions of self-governance (Michels & Montfort, 2013; PRIA, 2008). This legislation allowed for devolution of powers and resources to enable local bodies to function as institutions of local government (PRIA, 2008). All the states in India were mandatorily obliged to enact their own local government acts. As a result, local elections were held to elect officials to govern these governmental units. Therefore, the Acts pushed towards a democratic decentralization and citizen involvement in government agenda. This legislative development formed the background for the collaborations between government(s) and (civil society organizations of) citizens in city governance (Ibid.).

Indian urban cities are a hub for fast-paced economic growth which is a common feature of developing countries. By 2008, an estimated 340 million people were living in urban India as a result of an influx of rural migrants into cities (Sankhe et al., 2010). In such a scenario, TSOs co-producing as partners with the local government units is beneficial to the governments as TSOs focus on improving outcomes like efficiency and effectiveness of urban governance management. In the case of Bengaluru, TSO-government partnerships are in both the policy making and the policy implementation levels of the city governance (Michels & Montfort, 2013). TSOs partner with Urban Local Body (ULB) to address urban management issues (open space, beautification, green spaces, locality management, encroachment and hawkers) and governance issues (transparency, accountability and civic participation) (Singh & Parthasarathy, 2010).

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[2] The focus is on organizations working towards improving civic participation (outcome focused)

Michels & Montfort (2013) list three important developments that are currently in place with respect to government-TSO partnerships in city governance in India. Firstly, the involvement of citizens in urban governance has been institutionalized by a government order providing for the establishment of ward committees in cities with a population of more than 300,000 inhabitants (urban areas)[3]. What this means in theory is that, ward committees on paper provide veto rights to citizens in important city decisions. However, this order has to be mandated by state governments and unfortunately, this is not the case in majority of the states. Karnataka, the state where Bengaluru is located is an exception in this regard. The state has passed and institutionalized ward committees for governance (Vidyarthee, 2006). However, passing an order is only step one to implementation of an Act. Civic engagement can only be improved if the local elected official of that ward has the intention to do so. This is where TSOs step in. They work on bridging the gap through various projects. For instance, they partner with elected officials to organize ward committees and simultaneously encourage and mobilize to participate in ward committee meetings (Janaagraha, 2018). Secondly, partnerships between government and community organizations has been found in service delivery. Here, service delivery examples that involve stakeholder partnerships are solid waste management, street cleaning and water projects. All of them fall under the purview of city management.

And thirdly, TSOs are partnering with the government through social auditing activities. These exist in two forms. First, since 2005, local governments are mandated to organize social audits under the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme. TSOs along with citizens evaluate and assess local policies. Citizens and stakeholders are asked to evaluate and assess local policy. Second, some local governments allow citizens and TSOs to monitor service delivery.

For the purpose of this study, the most relevant development is the first one: involvement of citizens in ward-level urban governance. TSOs can potentially contribute to the co-production process through democratization. It can strengthen the position of users (citizens) in city governance as it strengthens participative democracy. There is a long

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[3] This is achieved through the aforementioned Acts passed in 1993 and 1994.

history of self-organization linked to churches, cooperatives, labor movement and social movements that have worked towards participatory democracy. There is also empirical work pointing out how third sectors best facilitate citizen participation (Pestoff & Brandsen, 2009). However, there is not enough information on why this is the case.

Drivers of Co-production

In the context of this thesis, TSOs are defined as policy entrepreneurs who associate for any of these three reasons: a) Engage in tasks assigned to them by the government, b) engage in demanding tasks that neither the state nor private parties are willing to engage in, or c)influence policies in a certain direction (Najam, 2000). These are going to be integrated into the interview questions, but it is not a sufficient explanation for why TSOs engage because Najam's (2000) paper's key focus is on the tension between TSOs and government relations. This study is focused on trying to understand why TSOs engage with government officials with aim to improve participatory governance. Therefore, it does not matter if the relationship is strained or not.

Governance and Logistical Drivers

It was argued that voluntary associations are important for a well-functioning society. It protects citizens' interests and needs and also steers the influence required for implementing government policies (as cited in, Verschuere, Brandsen, & Pestoff, 2012). Scholars like Larry Diamond and Robert Putnam have argued that TSOs work towards enhancing accountability, responsiveness, effectiveness of the government (Kim, 2009). An active network of organizations can improve state's ability to govern and they also help relieve the burden of performance imposed on a state with weak authority. Therefore, organizations' willingness to engage can be driven by factors explained by Joshi and Moore (2004) to improve citizen participation. Joshi & Moore (2004) identify two drivers of co-production: governance drivers and logistical drivers. These drivers may be plausible explanations of why TSOs are willing to engage. This is because, Joshi and Moore (2004) base the co-production on the premise that it exists in the presence of a weak state authority.

Joshi and Moore (2004) argue that co-production is *governance driven* when co-production occurs in response to a decline in governance capacity at a local or national

level. Bengaluru's municipality has been criticized repeatedly for poor governance and inaction from the governments side to improve civic participation (Chamraj, 2020). In fact, the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) released a report criticizing the poor implementation of the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act which guarantees democratic decentralization to citizens through civic participation in ward level governance (Chamraj, 2020). Problems of overpopulation, poor planning and lack of empowerment from the local government is pushing the TSOs to work towards collaboration with the government to solve urban governance problems (Kappan, 2020). Co-production is *logistically driven* when co-production is a result of some services not being effectively delivered by state agencies owing to a complex environment or large number of poor households. In this thesis, the focus is not on delivery of services but rather on co-production between TSOs and government to improve citizen participation. As illustrated earlier, TSOs are initiating ward committee meetings (which is otherwise the government's sole responsibility) in the city using their manpower and also providing knowledge resources by engaging in policy research. Therefore, TSOs' willingness to co-produce with local officials can stem from the lack of resources/ expertise available with the government. This will also be examined in the data collection stage.

Organizational Theories to explain Willingness

Millesen et al. (2010) use organizational theories to explain why non-profit organizations engage in capacity-building efforts. Two theories are relevant for this thesis: strategic management theory and institutional theory to explain why TSOs engage in co-production with local officials in ward-level governance.

First, strategic management (SM) theory posits that organizations willingly engage in activities to respond to expectations and maximize the environment opportunities. They engage in activities in the context of organization's current needs and vision for the future to maximize their gains (Ibid.). TSOs, as illustrated earlier, share the common goal of improving participatory governance. This larger vision motivates them to co-produce with local officials. Second, according to institutional theory (IT), an organization can be motivated to engage because of externally induced pressures (Ibid.). In this context, the external pressure can either come from the government or a funder. Organizations go through these pressures in an effort to be legitimate. Therefore, TSOs while may have a

larger goal of achieving the vision of improved participation, they may also be pressured by the government or a funding organization to engage in partnership with local governments in order to be deemed legitimate. This legitimacy can be important for continued engagements with local officials to improve citizen participation. SM theory is based on the assumption that the incentive to engage, arises from within the organization. On the other hand, IT assumes that the incentive to engage can arise from external factors.

Building hypotheses cannot be based on guesses and requires existing knowledge and theories on the subject. However, in the case of this study, neither of the theories above (Joshi and Moore (2004) and Millesen et a. (2010)) were applied in the context of TSOs engagement in improving participatory governance. Therefore, it is not possible to apply them in this study to formulate hypotheses. Joshi and Moore (2004) examine co-production in the context of service delivery, which isn't the focus of this study. In addition to that, the paper's two case studies examine co-production arrangement that exists between the government and citizens, resembling a public-private partnership model. However, the TSOs in this study are not engaged in a partnership in the "formal" sense. They engage with local officials at a more informal sense and they are all non-profit initiatives and not private organizations. Therefore, it makes more sense to only use the concepts in the data collection stage and not to formulate hypotheses.

Millesen et al. (2010) is focused on capacity building of non-profit organizations and what organizational theories can be applied to understand the incentive for such organizations to engage in capacity-building. It is not focused on the relationship between TSOs and government and is not related to co-production. This study is trying to understand why TSOs engage specifically with government officials. Therefore, while certain theories maybe useful for this study, the paper's context is not of relevance in this study. Millesen et al. (2010) focus on the internal and external capacities of the NGOs i.e., leadership, adaptive, technical and management capacity. The incentives for engagement are explored within this context and that is beyond the scope of this study. Here, the focus is only on understanding why TSOs engage irrespective of what the organizational arrangement is.

An inductive approach allows for a two-phased approach: the first phase will be focused on uncovering the co-production arrangement existing between TSOs and government and the second phase will focus on attempting an answer to the research question. Also, an inductive approach gives room for new insights on this existing literature and this is useful for a thesis with an entirely different context. As pointed out earlier, there is no existing literature on TSOs co-producing in the urban governance context in the field of civic participation. So, an inductive approach will contribute to this by explaining the co-production that exists between the TSO and the government in urban regions of a developing country. Furthermore, the organizations selected all work towards improving citizen participation, but their operations or style of implementing differs from each other. Therefore, it may not be possible to apply a standard hypothesis. This thesis therefore will primarily fill the gap on literature relating to coproduction arrangements between TSO-government focused on participatory governance.

3. Methodology

Research Approach

The research question will be answered using an inductive qualitative approach via semi-structured interviews. An inductive qualitative method fulfils the aim of the study which is, understand why TSOs are willing to co-produce in the co-production process. This is because, as explained in the previous chapter, there is no literature that explains why TSOs engage in co-production and particularly not in India. As a result, it makes more sense to engage in a (inductive)qualitative study over a quantitative one.

The research method followed in this design to answer the question will be inductive and therefore, data collected from the interviews will inform the research analysis and generate new insights on existing literature. However, the study acknowledges the limitations of a purposive sampling technique used to select organizations and participation and this is discussed in the sub-section on limitations (see Chapter 6). The semi-structured nature of interviews is flexible enough to gather elaborate information if needed, from the participants.

Case Selection

The case of Bengaluru is selected as the site for the study. The reasoning is that Bengaluru in India is a hub for civic engagement activities in urban governance. As mentioned before, there is no study existing on TSOs and co-production in the Indian context. Therefore, it makes sense to take Bengaluru as the starting point to study the TSO-government in depth. In Bengaluru, there are many organizations and associations working on civic participation. Therefore, non-profit organizations that work exclusively with the aim to improve civic participation will be chosen using a purposive sampling strategy.

In total, five organizations were identified; and employees of these organizations were interviewed. Specifically, employees who work on civic participation and engage with local officials were selected as participants based on a purposive sampling strategy (Ritchie et al., 2013). As the questions involved understanding organizational related information (vision and mission), preference was given to employees at the leadership

level. Therefore, the managing trustees and/or project heads of the organizations were selected. They further connected me to their team members who had day to day interactions with government officials and citizens. This way, the participant pool included the management level for an organizational view and also the field-level employees for an on-ground picture. Using the snowballing technique, I was connected to the organizations through an alumnus working at one of the organizations. The participants were approached through e-mail and alumni contacts. An e-mail was sent with a description of the research project, expectations between interviewees and interviewer. The e-mail also contained letter of informed consent. Appointments for the interview were made and interviews took place over telephone or skype between December 6th – December 16th. Table 1 provides an overview of the interviewed participants. In the following sections, a description on what makes Bengaluru a unique example and the description on the selected organizations is provided.

Participant	Role	NGO	Code
1	Civic Participation Lead	Janaagraha	J1
2	Manager (Civic Participation)	Janaagraha	J2
3	Manager (Advocacy)	Janaagraha	J3
4	Project Lead	B.PAC	BP1
5	Co-founder and Trustee	CIVIC	C1
6	(Former) Chief Coordinator	CIVIC	C2
7	(Former) Project Coordinator	CIVIC	C3
8	President	CFB	CF1
9	President	CAF	CA1

Table 1: Interview Participants

Case Description

Bengaluru city's rapid growth has been attributed to the IT industry's boom in the city. A rapidly growing economy means that the megacity's governance is facing problems such

as poor infrastructure, inefficient civic services, widening inequalities and corruption. While these problems exist, the city's urban transformation with a very active group of citizens and organizations engaging to improve the same, makes Bengaluru a unique case study in India. Bengaluru sees an unusually high level of civic engagement in solving urban issues and scholars have attributed it to the city's history. After India's independence in 1947 from the British rule, the city developed rapidly and soon became a hub for educational institutions, industries and technology. This attracted a large crowd of educated middle-class professionals, scientists and technicians from across the country. Upadhya (2017) argues that, *"The 'old middle class' of Bangalore—who often decry the city's degeneration after the IT boom—has a strong sense of 'ownership' of public spaces (especially the many gardens and parks), and it is these older citizens, together with younger activists, who periodically take to the streets when the metro project threatens to encroach on public land, or the BBMP (Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike, the governing body for Greater Bangalore) decides to cut down the majestic trees lining one of Bangalore's famous boulevards to make way for more cars"* (Upadhya, 2017).

Selected Organizations

1. Janaagraha

Founded in 2001 by dissatisfied citizens, the NGO (non-governmental organization) started as a movement to enable citizen involvement in governance for ensuring greater public interest, accountability of policymakers and improved implementation of programs and, thereby, enhanced living standards in the cities (Livemint, 2018). The NGO began with the philosophy of including the citizen's voice in local decision-making to deepen democracy and started with a campaign on participatory budgeting called Ward Works in 2001. "It is our belief that citizens have a right and a duty to engage at the local level on civic matters, on community building initiatives to foster ownership of the city and to ensure right spends of limited municipal budgets," says an employee.

Janaagraha currently runs various programs and projects as part of their larger goals of solving urban governance problems. The focus is on civic participation programs of Janagraha where they involve by bridging the gap between government and citizens. For the interview, the study interviewed the person leading the civic participation

project, a manager working exclusively on civic participation and a manager involved in advocacy and working with government officials.

2. B.PAC

Bangalore Political Action Committee (B.PAC) is a non-partisan citizen's organization that aims to improve governance in Bengaluru and to enhance the quality of life of every Bengaluru citizen. B.PAC is specifically targeting good governance practices, integrity and transparency in all arms of the government, improving the quality of infrastructure in the city, identification and support of strong candidates for public office at all levels of governance and the creation of a safer city where the rule of law is ensured for all citizens of Bengaluru. B.PAC has emerged as a platform for participative democracy, inspiring informed voting by advocating for a transparent campaign financing, responsible electioneering, organizing pre-election debates and preparing reports of the candidates contesting in elections.

B.ENGAGED is one of the initiatives by BPAC. This is B.PAC's participatory democracy program which aims at engaging with the elected representatives, government institutions and citizen groups to provide a platform in order to promote good governance practices that further enhance the economic, political, social and environmental factors of our city. The vision of this program is to enhance the quality of life of the citizens by advancing good governance practices like accountability, transparency, efficiency and equity among the representatives of our city which will eventually lead to the goal of 'Participatory Democracy'.

3. CIVIC

Citizens Voluntary Initiative for the City of Bengaluru (CIVIC Bengaluru) is non-profit charitable trust set up in 1990-91 for discussion and action on issues that impact Bengaluru's urban development and future. They work towards bringing about decentralization through implementation of the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act. They work with state and local governments as well as the citizens and promote good governance, inclusiveness and improved delivery of services. In the phone call with the Executive Trustee it was revealed that the organization went through a funding crisis and therefore, the employees working on civic participation were let go in 2017 as a result.

However, I interviewed two former employees as they worked in CIVIC for 7-8 years and therefore had a rich on-ground experience.

4. Citizens for Bengaluru (CFB)

A citizens' collective set up in 2016 to work towards bridging the gap between citizens ad government for improving participatory governance. They work pan-Bengaluru and uses campaigns as a tool to engage with citizens and government. In fact, the collective was formed after a successful campaign against the steel flyover that was proposed to be built back in October 2016. Citizens in this campaign recognized that campaigns are successful if organized well so they decided to form CFB with that in mind. Since then, they have campaigned to set up ward committee meetings across Bengaluru and successfully protested against some government proposals that did not have public approval.

5. Citizens' Action Forum (CAF)

CAF is also a citizens' collective set up in 2008 by a bunch of like-minded citizens wanting to work on solving ward-level problems in Bengaluru. They actively work with a federation of Resident Welfare Associations (RWAs) in Bengaluru to improve ward-level governance. It is a voluntary organization where citizens contribute voluntarily and are either retired senior citizens or work full-time elsewhere.

Data Collection

As mentioned earlier, the data will be collected by interviewing NGO employees of the selected NGOs. As seen in table 1, employees working in organizations (that worked on civic participation) and with government officials were interviewed. The interview response rate was 89% as respondent J1 was unavailable for an interview owing to a busy schedule. The questions for the interview are included in the appendix. The interviews were semi-structured to allow some space for any follow-up questions that arose during the course of the interview.

All the interviews were conducted in English except for two interviews which had a mix of Kannada and English. Before the start of all interviews, the participants were assured of their confidentiality and anonymity and were allowed to withdraw their consent at any

point in the interview. The names of the people mentioned in the interview (if any), were removed and transcripts were edited accordingly.

The interview questions were divided into six parts. The first part of the interview was focused on a brief introduction of the respondent and background details of the organization. This included information on the history of the organization and what led to its origin. The second part of the interview will be focused on understanding the kind of co-production arrangement exists between the organization and the local government. The third part of the interview consists of questions on the role of the TSO as a partner, the fourth part of the interview included questions on why they wish to engage in the first place. The fifth section of the interview includes questions on understanding external pressures (if any). The final section includes broad questions on civic participation and concluding questions. The questions were inspired from the theories but were asked with the intention to find new insights on those existing theories.

Data Analysis

The goal of the study is to analyze why TSOs in Bengaluru are co-producing with government officials to improve citizen participation. Eight interviews were recorded, transcribed and imported into ATLAS.ti for accessibility. The data analysis process followed a qualitative inductive (thematic) analysis approach. In this method, the researcher repeatedly and systematically identifies, organizes and forms patterns emerging from the dataset. This study used the 6 steps for thematic analysis provided by Braun & Clarke (2006) in figure 1. First, to familiarize myself with the interviews, I carefully read through the transcripts in ATLAS.ti. Second, it was followed by a systematic coding of the data for interpretation. 11 codes were generated as a result. Third, the codes were grouped into themes and the relationship between the themes was also generated. 3 themes were identified. Fourth, all the themes were named, and the themes and codes are presented in the Appendix. Finally, the link between the themes was explored and presented in the next chapter.

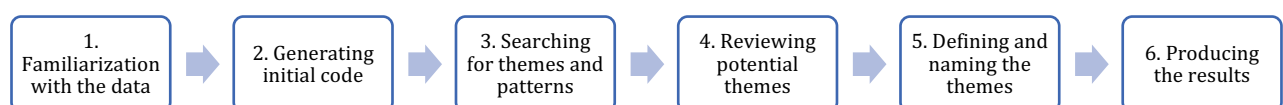| 1. Familiarization with the data | → | 2. Generating initial code | → | 3. Searching for themes and patterns | → | 4. Reviewing potential themes | → | 5. Defining and naming the themes | → | 6. Producing the results |

Figure 1: Thematic Analysis Steps (Inspired from Braun and Clarke (2006))

4. Results

In this chapter, the results from the interview will be presented in two key phases (based on the themes found): first phase is a description of the TSOs arrangement i.e., why it was founded, the vision and goals of the TSOs and impact of funding on TSO's operations. This is followed by a section on the ways in which the organizations use various tools to co-produce with the governments. These tools enable them to create an eco-system with all the stakeholders to improve participatory governance. The organizations engage in co-production with local officials to precisely create this ecosystem. The second phase includes findings on why these organizations co-produce with the government.

Organizational Arrangement

Origin

The TSOs were founded by citizens who wished to contribute to improving the conditions of poor governance in the city of Bengaluru. Figure 2 provides a brief summary on each organization's origin.

B.PAC	• It was founded by a group that involved powerful people in the city. The trustees include a technological. The trustees work *pro bono* but there are 8 full-time employees working in the organization.
Janaagraha	• It was founded by bankers who moved from the USA to Bengaluru and decided to devote their full time towards improving governance. However, the founders along will the employees work full time.
CIVIC	• It was founded by a group of citizens with the intention of improving ward level governance but recently, the organization underwent a funding crisis leading them to scale down their operations across the city.
Citizens for Bengaluru (CFB)	• It consists of citizens working together (volunatrily)to hold government accountable for their inaction. They use campaigning as a tool to engage with local officials and citizens. They also mobilize citizens and demand action from the government, where necessary.
Citizens' Actions Forum (CAF)	• It is a citizens collective but all the members volunteer their time towards the organization and have full time jobs (elsewhere) or are retired citizens. It was set up to actualize the 74th amendment act.

Figure 2: Origin of the TSOs

The 74th Constitutional Amendment passed in 1994 gave local government the power to govern urban cities. It also institutionalized participatory governance. In the constitution

however, urban development is a state subject. This means that the respective state governments are responsible for devolving powers to cities and creating units of governance within the cities. However, in the city of Bengaluru, there was no action taken by the governments to enact the constitutional amendment in the 90s. This inaction coupled with several issues in city governance like electricity, water and housing issues led to citizens forming collectives and organizations to solve problems and demand action. Furthermore, the boom in the IT industry in the 90s caused an expansion of the city. However, this expansion happened in an "unplanned" manner according to one of the respondents (Respondent C1).

"When your roads are not fine, electricity is not there, and your garbage is not picked up; that's like the bare minimum of government can do. So, there was a breakdown of that, they thought maybe it's time that we look into investing time and energy into building a citizen initiative because we are the fourth arm of the entire democracy, right?"
(Respondent BP1)

"Basically the founders have a different background for a social sector. He is a banker. When he came down for a visit from the US, he noticed poor governance issues in Bengaluru."
(Respondent JP2)

CIVIC is the oldest organization, having been set up 27 years ago. They were focused on implementation of the 74th constitutional amendment in the city of Bengaluru. Their engagement with the officials rose out of this need. That is, they wanted the government to bring about fundamental changes in city governance. Janaagraha was set up with the intention of improving governance through civic participation and by engaging with officials. They partner with the government at all tiers (state, central and local) to provide solutions and suggest reforms on matters pertaining to urban governance. B.PAC was set up more recently (in 2013) by a group of prominent people (involving technology giants) working on a pro-bono basis to improve participatory governance.

The other two TSOs are citizen's initiatives where members volunteer their time to organize protests and campaigns on issues relating to urban governance. In the case of

CFB, the TSO was founded after citizens protested against a government proposal to build a steel flyover in the center of the city in 2015. Citizens were protesting in a disconnected fashion all over the city and the founders of CFB identified the need to connect everyone together and to also work together towards providing alternate solutions to the government instead of just protesting (illustrated below).

"So various people in a disconnected fashion started doing things against it. In an on-going manner we were engaging with officials. We realized we need a group to continue this and formed CFB. It started in October 2016; we had run half a dozen campaigns on variety of issues. It is just a citizen collective and not an NGO."
(Respondent CF1)

CAF, also a citizen's initiative, consists of a federation of 42 Resident Welfare Associations (hereafter RWA) in Bengaluru. Resident Welfare Associations in Bengaluru work towards improving ward-level governance and as a result, engage with government officials for the same.

"The local MLA and Corporator and all are obliged to you know, keep answering all our questions and then carrying out all the works."
(Respondent CA1)

As noted above, the origins of each TSO is an interesting finding because the reason for the organization's founding is pertinent to answering why they decided to engage with local officials in the first place. Although the TSOs work towards improving participatory governance in the city, their operations and levels of engagement with officials differ from each other. Members of CAF see reason to interact with local corporators as they are focused on neighborhood level governance. On the other hand, Janaagraha is focused onbringing about systemic change and as a result, interacts with officials from all the three tiers of government. This applies to the other organizations as well. In the next section, the findings on organizational vision will be presented.

Organization Vision and Goals
An interesting point to note is that these organizations are similar in their goals: they want to improve participatory governance for the betterment of the city. However, as

seen above, the origin of each organization differs TSO to TSO. This means that they also have specific goals within each TSO.

CIVIC's goal is to "actualize 74th amendment". It was set up around the time the CAA was passed in 1994. Therefore, they focus on implementation of the Act primarily and their engagement with officials stems from this.

Janaagraha aims to bring about systemic change in the way urban governments function and they have various verticals within the organization that work towards achieving different goals. Their civic participation vertical is exclusively focused on improving participatory governance and their advocacy & reforms vertical focuses on solving urban governance problems with the government. Both these verticals involve engagement of local officials but with very different goals.

"Especially because CIVIC's goal is to actualize 74th amendment"
(Respondent C3)

B.PAC's goals are focused on mobilizing citizens and local officials to improve ward-level governance. B.CLIP is a flagship program, where they train citizens to become local leaders of their wards. They also provide training support to elected officials and help with political campaigns. Advocacy is considered to be at the forefront of their operations.
"The dream is to have 1000-2000 (trained) people in those 198 wards" (Respondent BP1)

CFB is focused on ensuring accountability on the government's end and campaigns for improved participation in the city governance. They organize campaigns and protests with the aim that it will make the government more accountable towards solving governance problems. They also work towards providing alternative solutions to government proposals that have public disapproval.
"The real goal is to hold governments accountable and achieve decentralized governance."
(Respondent CF1)

CAF's goal is to collectively work with local officials in the ward level to improve the living quality in the respective neighborhoods. For instance, if there is a water related problem, they work with the concerned officials to solve the problem in that neighborhood.

All the TSOs share the same vision; that of improving urban governance in the city. However, each TSO differs in terms of the level of engagement i.e., some work with all tiers of the government whereas others are more locally placed. This specificity changes the goals of the organization accordingly.

Funding

The flow of money into the organization can be a deciding factor for the operations and sustainability of an organization. B.PAC for instance has CSR partners and donors who provide a steady flow of funds. This allows them to engage in projects of their choice. They have funded and non-funded projects. A funded project is one that is funded by a CSR organization and non-funded projects are the governance initiatives they engage in to improve civic participation. Non-funded initiatives allow them to work on issues of their choice. For instance, B.PAC has a participatory democracy fellowship program where students of a Master's in public policy program interact with local officials for eight weeks. They create social media profiles for the local official and the official on the other hand took them on field visits to show how wards are operated. It was a two-way street where both parties received something from the engagement. This was a non-funded initiative to improve civic participation and engage with local officials. CIVIC on the other hand was one of the TSOs that fell prey to a funding crisis in 2017 which involved a foreign foundation falling under the radar of the Central government. CFB and CAF are citizen collectives and not registered organizations. The members work full-time in other companies and are volunteering their time here. Therefore, they collect funds on a need-to-need basis from their neighborhood and members.

"*Like for example, a lot of these governance initiatives are not directly funded by BPAC through a Funding Agency. So, the only investment is me, my time and my resource costs, which gets picked up by BPAC and the rest gets done like that. So, we are clear because it's. Also make their model group that is trying to make money, right? So, we have specific type grants for everything so there are admin costs*"
(Respondent BP1)

"Like since we are a non-profit organization, we mostly have tight grants. We don't have any money lying around to experiment beyond a point. We are very clear about what is funded and not funded"

(Respondent BP1)

"CIVIC went through a funding crisis. I stayed on without any salaries anything for 6 to 8 months to revive it, so finally the board member, said you've done enough. Then the government brought in so many restrictions and the foundation were taken down by the government and we were mainly funded by them. The foundation mainly affected rights-based organizations."

(Respondent C2)

"After the foundation's funding stopped, we have been getting some local funding from APPI that is being routed through School of Democracy, Rajasthan. They have taken this nationwide project to bring social accountability. We continue to files RTIs and mainly focus on advocacy. We are advocating with the govt for better information disclosure, but we don't have field projects as of now."

(Respondent C1)

Tools of co-production

Organizations engage with the officials using different tools identified from the data: Agreements/ contracts, Judiciary, RTIs, Advocacy and Protests. Organizations use these tools to initiate the co-production between them and the officials to improve citizen participation in Bengaluru.

Agreements

Janaagraha and B.PAC have "formal" arrangements (along with informal arrangements) with the government while the other organizations work only on an informal level. Janaagraha's 5-year agreements help them stay in partnership even with the rampant transfers within the administration. So even if the official they interact with changes, agreements help them stay collaborated.

"We have a 5-year MoU with the government"

(Respondent J2, Janaagraha)

BPAC's founding members are some of the most influential people in the city. They either own large technological companies or are in the senior leadership positions of those companies. This helps them collaborate with the government relatively more effortlessly with the government. For instance, they had a contract with BMTC[4] where they organized gender sensitization training for bus drivers and conductors. While this is not an example of civic participation, by providing training support, they build relationships and stay collaborated. This helps them push their agenda relating to civic participation into the government's table.

"Our advocacy is always in the forefront of our operations along with public engagement because we realize that because of the people that are there on our BOARD. It is easy for us to push through some things because these are people who actually are part of the city's ecosystem in a much greater sense, right? They're providing jobs to so many people and they are giving back so much to this society. I think the tech Giants of the city actually do justice."
(Respondent BP1)

"We had a contract with BMTC to do the complete training for all 22,000 bus drivers and conductors from various divisions"
(Respondent BP1)

Legal Tools

Organizations like CIVIC use the judiciary and RTIs[5] as tools to force the government to take action and collaborate with them. CIVIC has time and again approached the judiciary to force action from the government. CIVIC is fundamental to the CAA being implemented in the city through a court order passed in the High Court of Karnataka in 2011. According to the Act, ward committees were supposed to be set up in all wards of a city for

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[4] Bengaluru Metro Transport Corporation:

[5] RTI: Right to Information Act, 2009. Citizens in India can file an RTI application to find information about the government via post or online. The government has to respond accordingly with information.

implantation of participatory governance. Ward Committees are institutions with citizens as members and is headed by the local elected official termed, corporator. Although the central government had passed the constitutional amendment to constitute it in all urban regions, in the city of Bengaluru, the state government had not taken any step to devolve powers to the city government or set up ward committees. CIVIC approached the state high court and got an order passed stating that ward committees should be set up.

"The whole slogan of the 74th Amendment was power to the people. No one wanted to give up the power so there was terrible resistance to constitute ward committees because they were not keen on giving up their power. So, we had to struggle every step of the way to get the rules framed, the ward committees constituted, etc. "
(Respondent C1)

"The Ward Committees were constituted one week afterwards. We told the court the rules are not there. The court ordered that organizations like ours should be consulted before any decision. This was 2013"
(Respondent C1)

Another example of CIVIC approaching the judiciary for government inaction was when they found out that a large number of children in slums were not attending schools. They approached the court to pass an order to bring children back to school. This order forced accountability from government officials and work towards bringing children back to schools.

"There were no protocols to make officials accountable if there were out of school children i.e., this is what the official should be doing to bring the child back to school. For the first time in century, a protocol was given that this is what you should do to bring the child back to school. As a result, more than 1.5 lakh children were brought back to school."
(Respondent C1)

Judiciary is one of the three pillars of the government. An order passed needs to be implemented by concerned authorities as the court has the authority to question them if

they don't follow up. As a result, TSOs like CIVIC utilize this as a tool to bring about action from the government.

We therefore bring systemic/ policy change through public hearings or the judiciary."
(Respondent C1)

As seen in both examples, the judiciary is a tool that the organization is using to hold the government officials accountable and act accordingly. The other tool that TSOs like CIVIC use is RTI. Right to Information Act was passed in 2009 and it allows citizens in India to ask for information from the government that is otherwise not publicly available. The concerned authorities are obliged to reply to the query within _ days as per the Act. For example, when CIVIC first decided to work on improving civic participation and delivery of public services in urban slums, they first shortlisted the relevant government departments necessary for a potential collaboration. The concerned departments were health, food, education, housing and social security. Once the problem with the relevant department was identified, they would then file an RTI application asking for the citizen's charter. A citizen's charter contained the information on what entitlements are available within the department and what are participatory mechanisms that the government should engage in, to provide these benefits.

"First we wrote to them asking for the citizens charter under RTI. Once we got the info, we educated the slum communities (10 slums) and tell them what their entitlements are. SCs, once they knew their rights, we would organize interactions between citizens and local officials responsible for that particular area"
(Respondent C1)

Example: *"if it was food department, a food inspector is in-charge of particular number of ration shops which provides subsidized food grains to the beneficiaries. We asked slum dwellers to come up with grievances. We organized grievance redressal meetings. That would be the first time that the slum dwellers even saw the government officials responsible for food. "*
(Respondent C1)

The meeting was then compiled into a report and submitted to the commissioner in the food department. The commissioner would then pass an order which would lead to action from the lower officials. CIVIC facilitated this whole process for about two years in one slum and then moved on to a different slum. The intention was to first bridge the gap between citizens and government by empowering the citizens and providing them with the rights. The organization spent two years with the hope that the empowered citizens will continue to engage with the government without CIVIC's intervention.

"So, citizens themselves could hold the department accountable. Most of these participatory platforms were simply on paper so we activated this. We conducted trainings with citizens."
(Respondent C1)

Advocacy
Advocacy is the other tool that TSOs use when the government has failed to implement a policy or law. All the organizations in this study admit that advocacy is at the forefront of their operations to improve participatory governance. Advocacy can be in the form of campaigns or protests. In some instances, TSOs used this tool to bring about awareness among citizens and in other instances, they used it to demand action from the government.

Bengaluru as a city has active citizen groups who voice out against proposals that may not benefit the citizens or environment. TSOs like BPAC therefore mobilize citizens and join hands with other four TSOs mentioned here to advocate for better reforms. Advocacy is in fact in the forefront of their operations.

"Bengaluru is a city that I can proudly say that brought it's politicians down to their knees and made them stop grand plans and no matter sneakily they try to push it past us, we have enough and more active citizen groups who actually rise up in arms and help that happen. So, you know that way this is one of the mechanisms in which we're keeping citizen participation."
(Respondent BP1)

"Our advocacy is always in the forefront of our operations along with public engagement"
(Respondent BP1)

Janaagraha on the other hand has two verticals: citizen participation and advocacy & reforms vertical. The former is engaged in mobilizing citizens with B.PAC and other TSOs but the latter is only engaged with government officials. They engage in policy research, advocate for different reforms with all tiers of the government (primarily state and central) and help government implement the reforms as well (Respondent J3).

"Given cities are a state subject and cities are completely powerless in India, my engagements are largely with the state and union government and not so much with the city governments."
(Respondent J3)

CIVIC advocated for setting up ward-level governance and as part of that, they mobilized RWAs around the city to educate them on civic participation in wards as per the amendment.

"Once 74th amendment was passed, we went around educating RWAs at the ward levels on how they could participate. Also, we worked when the rules were being framed – till about 1997 rules were not framed so ward committees could not be set up. We advocated and lobbied for setting up of ward committees"
(Respondent C1)

CAF and CFB are voluntary civic initiatives who mostly operate through advocacy campaigns. However, when their campaigns are heard by the government, the questions government asks often is, "What can we do instead?". Here, organizations like CFB and CAF has had to step up and train the officials or suggest alternative solutions when needed.

"We're not against the government, we're not telling them not to do it. We're only telling them, giving them alternatives so that they can save the money."
(Respondent CA1)

These tools are what TSOs use, to co-produce with government officials. This further amalgamates to create an *ecosystem of participatory governance* in the city of Bengaluru. They use these tools to collaborate with each other, the government officials and the citizens, which creates an ecosystem of interaction. The form of collaboration is explained below.

Participatory Ecosystem

The TSOs in their engagement with organizations, citizens and the government, create an eco-system of participation. This ecosystem involves their interaction with governments, with other organizations and the citizens. An eco-system implies an interconnectedness among the various actors involved and findings show that this term is therefore apt to be applied in this scenario. The organizational set-up along with the tools of co-production creates an eco-system where all actors (TSOs, government and citizens) collaborate and engage with each other. The TSOs here play the middlemen between the government and citizens but interestingly, they are all interconnected with each other despite having different goals and tools of co-production. Evidence shows that these TSOs do not want to "replace" the government, rather, they want to work collectively with all actors to improve the system. The TSOs have created a network among themselves such that when one organization holds a campaign, the rest of the TSOs are informed and invited (see below).

"We don't have to do everybody's job; we just have to ensure that everybody is doing their job. As simple as that. We don't have to take over their work, you just have to keep highlighting where the system is broken".
(Respondent BP1)

"So even we went for food distribution we called local organizations, B CLIP leaders championed it. They called their elected representatives to come. They oversee that it is being done. We don't want to burn bridges. While building a city, we cannot afford to lose even one bridge and it can be for a trivial egoistic issue."
(Respondent BP1)

Therefore, it is within this eco-system that the co-production takes place. Within the eco-system, two kinds of collaborations emerge: collaborations with the government and collaborations among the TSOs. This will be described in depth in the following sections.

Collaboration with governments

The TSOs stress on the importance of engaging with the government and regularly interact with the governments for the same. It is important to clarify here that the organizations' collaboration with the local government is twofold: they collaborate with the politicians and also the administrators. Politicians are the elected representatives in the local council (ward level) or the members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) and even Ministers in the state level. However, they also often interact with the administrators. Administrators are the bureaucrats and technical officers working at the local government levels. Furthermore, as urban development is a state subject in the Indian constitution, one of the findings is that the collaboration between TSOs and government goes all the way up to the state government and central government. The ecosystem created as a result is much larger than just the local government.

"Two things: My ward is the political boundary: elected representative for that and whatever and all of that. So that is one system, but the BBMP administration, which actually carries out the service providing part of it, have their own jurisdictions: eight administrative zones."
(Respondent BP1)

The bureaucrats and the officials at the state government levels obviously have higher authority and power in terms of implementation and improving conditions of governance (when compared to lower-level officials). Therefore, the organizations partner with them on a regular basis. As seen earlier, collaboration can either be through an agreement or it is "forced" through the judiciary or RTI or advocacy methods.

Janaagraha's partnership with BBMP is initiated either by themselves or sometimes by BBMP. For instance, for their initiative called "My City My Budget" (MCMB), a participatory budgeting initiative, they partner with the BBMP on this and the posters for the initiatives includes the logo of BBMP as well. The government will provide the

necessary information relevant to the project. For example, they wanted information on the number of existing public toilets in the city. The government provided them with the geo locations of all the toilets. This helped Janaagraha conduct a survey and submit a report on what needs to be improved.

"Based on these locations, we will do a survey and study and then submit it once again to the government. The government will then reserve some fund for the same."
(Respondent J2)

Additionally, collaboration with government is more effective in the presence of two factors: enthusiastic officials who wish to collaborate with citizens and reputation of the organization. Enthusiastic officials cooperate with TSOs as they wish to change the existing system and solve problems as well. The TSOs on the other hand recognize the need for government support as they are the ones ultimately responsible for the change.

"Nowadays, we have good, educated people being recruited in the government."
(Respondent J2)
"Last week, we called the Mangalore Commissioner. It's the first we're approaching him. He is young, about 28 years old. One to two years of experience only. He has a lot of dreams about society and citizen participation."
(Respondent J2)
"Government support is required, and we've seen the changes happen because of them today"
(Respondent J3)

If not for enthusiastic officials, reputation of a TSO goes a long way in ensuring government support. When a TSO is well-reputed in the public sphere, governments readily collaborate as governments wish to be seen with them for legitimacy. In the examples below, this is illustrated. B.PAC is founded by people who are considered technological giants in the city. They are also active in the political space of the city and government officials recognize this. Similarly, CIVIC and Janaagraha has built their reputations as TSOs that work towards participatory governance for more than two decades. This recognition alone is sufficient for government officials to collaborate with

them. Organizations like CAF and CFB use social media tools to ensure collaboration. That is, they create Whatsapp groups with both citizens and local officials in one group. The officials cannot ignore the problems raised on social media as they will be held accountable for them in the ward committee meetings organized by CAF in collaboration with local officials.

"Every week, CIVIC had a write up in the newspaper so we were in the public eye. We both criticized and encouraged the work done by government. That helped us in terms of our reputation."
(Respondent C2)

"We have a good reputation. Almost all the high-profile officials will know about us already. Once or twice, we may need a meeting in the beginning but after that it is usually smooth sailing. Then they just continue the MoU. Elected representatives know that Janaagraha has been working in the space for about 20 years so they will actively lend their support."
(Respondent J)

"It is easy for us to push through some things because these are people who actually are part of the cities ecosystem in a much greater sense, right? They're providing jobs to so many people and they are giving back so much to this society."
(Respondent BP1)

"Right, what we do is we have a WhatsApp group for three wards. Here, we have some officials part of the group. In the ward committee meetings, we insist with the nodal officer to bring all the representatives from the different departments like BESCOM, BWSSB, BBMP. All of them come up and they have to answer us. And then in the following months in the meetings, the nodal officer will reach out to us and we all discuss what has been done so far and the work performance of the executed work"
(Respondent CA1)

Therefore, collaboration with government takes place either willingly or unwillingly on the part of the government. However, it is necessary to elaborate upon the role played by the TSOs as co-producers to display the uniqueness of each TSO in this study.

TSOs as the co-producer

Having used the various tools to start co-producing, the TSOs then play differing roles as a partner. To elaborate, each organization is unique in its collaboration with government officials. Nonetheless, there is one common element: they all engage in activities or initiatives which is otherwise the responsibility of the government. The reasons for why they engage in these initiatives, therefore, take us one step closer to understanding why they engage with the government in the first place. The TSOs provide training support to both government and citizens, act as knowledge partners in the partnership and provide policy support as a result and bring about awareness initiatives to bridge the information gap between citizens and government. The organizations primarily involve themselves in doing the work that the government should ideally be the government's job. An important finding in this regard is that the organizations decide to engage because of the lack of information that exists in the eco-system. The government's do not provide information (because they themselves are not aware) on how to constitute ward committees or avail benefits and citizens as a result are not aware of the various ways in which they can interact with the government.

This is where TSOs step in. They not only bridge the gap but in certain instances, play a substituting role to the government. Owing to the uniqueness from organization to organization, this finding is presented by describing what each TSO does, individually.

1. Janaagraha

Janaagraha uses agreements and advocacy as tools to collaborate with the government. They also provide knowledge resources for government activities having earned the reputation of being an "urban governance expert" in the field. When they initiate projects on their own, they approach the government for information which the government readily provides because it's a partnership. They include the logo of BBMP in the posters to show the public that it is indeed a partnership. There are two key verticals that work with government officials: the civic participation vertical and the advocacy & reforms

vertical. In the former, they engage with both, government and citizens but in the latter, they only engage with the government. This is illustrated with evidence below.

"Take the BBMP bill, BBMP is planning to extend beyond 198 wards and include more wards. We have given a proposal to BBMP on this, met 4-5 elected representatives. We also gave proposals on how to do voter list management. We are fully involved with the government with background support from the citizens. We are in the middle."
(Respondent J2)

"Our advocacy and municipal teams are providing support on how to generate revenue, how to process a budget and how to engage in an auditing process. We are also an advisor for various governments".
(Respondent J2)

"For example, setting up of ward committee committees in Mangalore, Bangalore that is in fact, the government's role."
(Respondent J2)

2. B.PAC

B.PAC's collaborations with the government are both formal and informal. On the formal side, they provide training support and also support government as knowledge partners for projects. On the informal front, they have their own initiatives like B.CLIP and B.Engaged aimed at improving participatory governance. Advocacy is at the forefront of their operations and through that, they conduct awareness campaigns with BBMP to bridge the gap between citizens and government. They believe that TSOs need to exist and continue to work with government and citizens because they play the role of a catalyst and provide visibility to existing issues on ground (Respondent BP1).

"Mostly we conduct a lot of awareness programs, which we know that the government has failed to do OK, because most of the time, every time that we've had to step in is because of lack of information."
"We are those lunatics who go around saying that I'll do this work for you. I'll do this work for you. It's almost like that. Then they say of course you can do that."

3. CIVIC

CIVIC's collaboration with the government was mainly to ensure implementation of existing policies. CIVIC played the role of a middleman to bring government and citizens together in one platform. The engagements with local officials were more informal and also "forced". This is because if the local government was not willing to act, CIVIC would then use the judiciary, RTI or higher officials like the state government administrators to force action from local officials. They also trained the government staff on implementation of schemes and policies.

"For example, consider implementation of Child Marriage Act. The govt officials didn't know that there was a committee formed by the court for rehabilitation of rescued children and that there was a law. We held consultations, provided awareness on how it can be enforced at the grass roots level, how to tackle the lobbyists of child marriages, etc".
(Respondent C2)

"*There was a slum project, mostly about the rights where we worked on issues like housing, water supply. In selected slums, we used to train the people on how to access through government agencies. We also conducted grievance addressal meetings where we would bring the government officials and citizens together. They will meet face to face to talk about how services were delivered, the quality of the same and these people would ask redressal of grievances. We would facilitate such meetings in slums.*
We also trained the staff to provide services."

4. CFB

CFB was formed as a result of citizens gathering together to protest for a campaign against a steel flyover proposal in Bengaluru in 2016. Citizens organized themselves to form CFB and work towards finding alternative solutions to civic issues. Their engagements with officials were therefore as a result of the campaigns they organized. To elaborate, they realized that, just a mode of protest is not enough to bring about systemic change in the system. For instance, in the case of steel flyover, rather than just opposing it, they came together to work with local officials to provide alternative traffic

solutions. They proposed an alternative route to the airport instead of building the flyover. The protest and subsequent campaigns were successful, and the government cancelled the steel flyover proposal.

"There are many organizations like CIVIC that tend to use the judiciary as the method to make sure that the city officials are accountable. CFB never goes through that route as a policy rather we mobilize citizens in protests creatively."
(Respondent CF1)

After the steel flyover campaign's success, CFB continued to use campaigns and advocacy as a tool to bring about solutions to various governance problems in the city. Through the campaigns, they engaged with officials at both the local and the state government levels. When CIVIC managed to have the order passed by the court to institute ward committees across the city, CFB campaigned and got the local government to act on the order.

"We ran campaigns for decentralization so that State government doesn't interfere in the running of the city. We ran many campaigns for the ward committees, we were instrumental in setting up ward committees."
(Respondent CF1)

Interestingly, while CFB is primarily engaged in advocacy and campaigns, when they engage with local officials, they often end up providing training and capacity support to local officials on a need basis. Suppose their campaigns are a success, they take it one step further by collaborating with the officials in the implementation stage as well. This is where the co-production also occurs. For instance, when the pandemic hit the city, BBMP scrambled to manage it in the city. CFB and other TSOs worked with officials to build a decentralized COVID-19 management plan to be implemented at ward-levels. This was a government initiative where TSOs stepped up to collaborate and provide support and CFB played a key role in the planning and implementation stage.

"There also instances where after a series of campaigns, they agree to work. We don't walk away and say make it happen. We will help and think of ways to work. We don't always jump into help but we can train the trainers."

(Respondent CF1)

"Many NGOs came together to help and we were part of the BBMP COVID management cell for many months. This was a BBMP initiative where we provided the workflow and trainees and resources. How to decentralize and manage it. They had absolutely no capacity to figure out."
(Respondent CF1)

5. CAF

CAF, similar to CFB, was formed by likeminded citizens 12 years ago to work on ward-level governance. Their engagement with local officials is through problem-solving of ward-level issues and providing support to local officials. Ward-level governance is at a neighbourhood level and CAF consists of a federation of 42 Resident Welfare Associations (RWAs) in Bengaluru. Each RWA therefore works with local officials (both political and administrative officials) to solve neighborhood level problems. For instance, there was a garbage problem in some wards where the garbage workers ended up mixing segregated wastes after collection as their trucks did not have a separation. Members of CAF suggested an alternate solution: dry wastes will be collected only on Wednesdays and Saturdays and the rest of the days will only include wet waste collection. This solved the problem of mixing wastes.

Another example is: when there was a mosquito rampage in the neighborhood, through the ward committee meetings, members of CAF ensured accountability of health officials in solving the problem. The officials sent pest control workers every week until the problem was solved. The local officials cooperate because according to the respondent (CA1), they are working within the boundaries of what is stated in the Indian constitution. Moreover, for every job well done, the citizen groups make it a point to show their appreciation and encouragement to boost the morale of the officials in the WhatsApp groups they're part of.

"All of this, we're just going by the 74th amendment act. The corporators and officials have no objections."

"The local, MLA and Corporator and all are obliged to you know, keep answering all our questions and then carrying out all the works."

(Respondent CA1)

"We also appreciate them when they do their work and we put this in our WhatsApp groups which also has all the officials along with the citizens. There's space for officials to interact with citizens directly."
(Respondent CA1)

Interestingly, just like the other TSOs, CAF has built a good reputation over the years through various collaborations like in examples stated above. As a result, the government officials also approach them for providing training support and implementation support. KSRTC[6] for instance approached them when they were converting buses into mobile fever clinics in the pandemic. CAF collaborated in the planning and implementation stages and even helped raise funds for the same.

"We were approached by the KSRTC. They were making the old busses, refurbishing it and they wanted to make a fever clinic on this COVID . They put our name on the front; It's a question of letting people know that Citizen Action Forum is doing something together."
(Respondent CA1)

CAF also co-produces with the local officials in problem-solving for the neighborhood. For example, street vendors generally set up shops right on the footpath as urban planning by governments in the early 80s and 90s did not take the needs of this section of informal workers. There was no space allotted for setting up shop. As a result, today, street vendors tend to create nuisance by obstructing footpaths. However, to protect their rights, the Supreme Court passed an order on their behalf that one cannot force them out of the footpaths as it is their source of livelihood. When this situation occurred in one of the neighborhoods where members of CAF lived, they worked with officials to come up with alternative solutions. The example below explains their solution.

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[6] Karnataka State Road Transport Corporation: A state government body running public transport specifically buses across the State and headquartered in Bengaluru.

"What we told them is, wherever there is an open area belonging to the government, the vendors can occupy that space for a small rent. In many spots, public parks are being used by vendors, but they cannot use it from morning until evening. Instead, they occupy the space at a restricted time. So, we have vendors who use some spaces from 6:00 am to 7:30 am. After the job is over, he also cleans up the place"

(Respondent CA1)

Findings therefore show how all TSOs are unique in their collaborative efforts with the government officials within this eco-system. Another aspect that the interviewees touched upon is how TSOs interact with each other in the eco-system and then next section will describe the same.

Collaboration with other organizations

The TSOs in their attempt to collaborate with the government, also collectively work (with each other) towards civic participation as they share the same vision: that of a better city. Well-reputed organizations like B.PAC, Janaagraha and CIVIC are at the top of the pyramid and the rest of the organizations offer support by campaigning and providing manpower when needed. The rest of the organizations are voluntary associations like CFB and CAF and groups of Resident Welfare Associations across the city. TSOs at the top of the pyramid (figure 3) engage in policymaking, research activities and suggest reforms all the way up to the central and state government levels. TSOs in the bottom of the pyramid are engaged in advocating reforms or campaigning for improved policies based on the reforms proposed by TSOs in the upper part of the pyramid. Having said that, there is no hierarchy among the TSOs but rather, each TSO has different functions and roles to play in the eco-system and one may not exist without the other.

"It's a collective of people who are out there, so then there will be actually be able to push a lot of things, and they've done fantastic amount of work and I've seen those changes for sure. Everybody is grouping themselves now"
"So, even we went for food distribution we called local organizations"
(Respondent BP1)
"On-ground work while is supported by CIVIC, it is actually done by civic groups in the city"
(Respondent C1)

"Main organization who made us aware of our rights was Janaagraha about 15-16 years ago. They made us understand what activism is. All of us started from there."
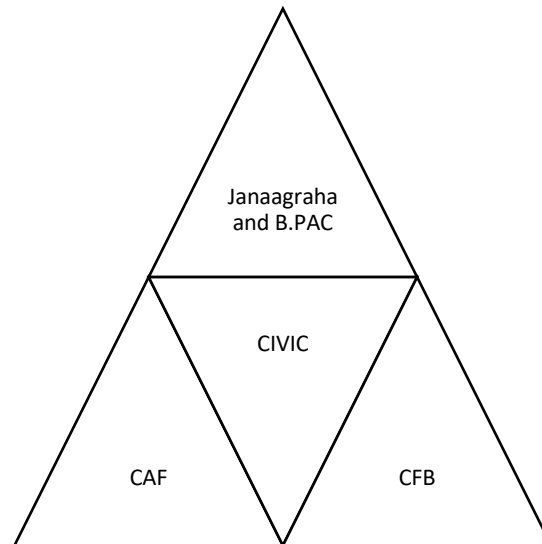
(Respondent CA1)

Figure 3: Status of TSOs

Having described how and what kind of collaborations takes place between TSOs and government officials, the second phase of the interview was focused on identifying why the TSOs find it necessary to engage with the officials in the first place.

Why are the TSOs engaging in the first place?

The research question attempting to address is, why these TSOs are willing to co-produce with the government to improve participatory governance in the city. The key reasons identified from the findings are government incapacity, political interference, lack of information and civic participation.

Government incapacity

The government (state or local) does not have the resources or manpower to execute programs without the support of TSOs. Poor recruitment strategies, rampant transfers and unfilled positions within different departments, has reduced the efficiency of the government. To work in the government at the administrative level, one doesn't need high educational qualifications. Furthermore, there is a provision which allows family members of deceased government employees to be recruited as replacements. The transfers on the other hand, occur because administrators/ politicians serve for a fixed

term and once the term is complete, the next official may or may not be equipped to handle the new portfolio. The other reason for incapacity is that a large number of the positions are vacant and unfilled. This means that departments are understaffed and are responsible for implementation of civic participation programs and service delivery for a very large population. TSOs having recognized these issues, willingly provide training and support for this reason.

"There is also ineffective implementation of the laws and policies because of the rampant transfers happening."
(Respondent J2)
"The commissioner himself has made statements that nearly half the positions are still vacant in BBMP. This means that BBMP has been operating with half the capacity from a long time. So how do you get the same work done with half the staff, especially when new people keep moving to Bengaluru."
(Respondent CF1)
"NGOs should definitely be present. At least for knowledge sharing purposes. As an analogy: we have teachers in schools. We pay teachers and we get knowledge. But as parents also, we have to provide knowledge to the children and engage with the schools too. In this scenario, children are citizens, teachers are the government and NGOs are parents."

TSOs therefore engage because speed up the otherwise slow or sometimes non-existent implementation of programs that involve citizen participation owing to government incapacity. For instance, when the High Court passed the order to set up ward committees across Bengaluru, the government did not know how to go about setting them up. TSOs therefore stepped to help the government set them up. The incapacity also stems from lack of awareness on the part of the government official. For instance, administrative officials who prefer to work in urban areas can get posted in departments that are not related to their expertise or educational qualification. Someone with experience working in animal husbandry department can get posted to the Women & Child Welfare department. TSOs step up in this case and train these officials to get adjusted in their new departments to work efficiently. They are also made aware of their role in the department.

"They don't even know how to run a ward committee. There are things that have been passed down and there are things that they don't have an imagination for. That's where NGOs have been stepping in to help them run."
(Respondent CF1)

"One of the loopholes we found was that when the government officials were posted, they are not aware of what is expected out of them. They never had the complete picture."
"Lot of people in the rural areas want to work in their urban areas or hometowns. As a result, they won't get posted in the same department as before. So, they will have to go other departments."
(Respondent C2)

This incapacity has led to TSOs playing a substituting role wherein TSOs perform duties that is otherwise the government's function. This blurs the boundaries between the government and TSOs. For instance, B.PAC has been approached multiple times by various government departments to perform certain activities. They have engaged in voter registration drivers and provided manpower and time for this to bring about awareness of municipal elections. This was a collaborative effort with the State Election Commission (a state government body).

"We have blurred boundaries because we work with the CEO (Chief Election Officer) of Karnataka, their entire group. They give us a lot of responsibility in conducting voter registration drives."
(Respondent BP1)

Another example was B.PAC organizing a preventive health screening for street cleaning workers in the city's West zone: about 3500 workers. This is again something the government should have organized.

"We did a preventive health screening for all the Pourakranika i.e. street cleaners. So, there were about 3500 in West zone. That has eight assembly constituencies and that's about 44 wards. This is something government should be doing, not us"

(Respondent BP1)

"You see, we include them because it is part of their job."
(Respondent CF1)

Political Interference

As mentioned earlier, the collaborations between TSOs and government is twofold: involves administrators and politicians. The interference of the latter over the former has led to a disruption in the implementation of activities. Karnataka has faced political turmoil with governments changing more times than necessary in the last seven years. TSOs step up to play the role government should be playing in such a scenario and undertake initiatives to improve participatory governance. This has been illustrated in the previous section on incapacity. Political interference in administrative affairs is a country-wide problem in India. As a result, a lot of the implementation is hindered because of it. Therefore, TSOs decide to engage with officials to ensure effective implementation of participatory governance**.**

"There is also ineffective implementation of the laws and policies because of the rampant transfers happening. These transfers happen because governments keep changing."
(Respondent C1)

"One of the biggest problems we have is that there is tremendous interference in the running of the city by the council or the state and there is tremendous interference in the running of state by the centre. The union government has extreme amount of overreach and goes to city level."
(Respondent CF1)

Below is an example of political interference as demonstrated by a respondent.
"For example, there was an IAS officer in the health department who noticed that the fishermen used Kerosene in their boats. Kerosene is not supposed to be used for commercial purposes. The argument was that it was for livelihood purposes, but the officer objected and banned the use of kerosene for that community. The political party in power

did not like this as that community contributed to their vote bank and got this officer
transferred.”
(Respondent C2)

As the TSOs work with both administrators and politicians, they find it necessary to balance their partnership between the two. TSOs like B.PAC train local elected officials through their B.CLIP program and assist in election campaigns. They collectively work towards improving participatory governance in wards.

“It is a collective responsibility to keep them in check. The more positive feedback you give to a politician, the more they refrain from getting into wrong things.”
(Respondent BP1)

Lack of Information

Another reason for TSO's engaging in co-production is the lack of information on the government's part. The government fails to inform the citizens of their right to participate, do not inform citizens about constituting ward committees and about grievance redressal meetings. These are various platforms using which a citizen can be involved in the decision-making process, but the government fails to address these. As a consequence, TSOs bridge this gap by initiating awareness campaigns, set up web-based initiatives to provide information and train the citizens and the government of their roles.

“I still sometimes struggle to find out how to get some things done or get information from it because our governments make it extremely hard to get information.”
“Where is the basic information that is required for you to function and new websites don't work half the time and each time there is a change in dispensation, the other website becomes defunct. In these 7 years, I have seen 3-4 chief ministers change and each one of them bring their own websites.”
“I was struggling to get a lot of information, so I was just talking to my manager about it. I think so why not have like a dashboard link where we could get all the information for people like us?”
(Respondent BP1)

Using RTI as a tool, TSOs procure information from concerned departments in the government and proceed to implement participatory activities in co-production with local officials.

"First we wrote to the concerned departments asking for the citizens charter under RTI. Once we got the information, we educated the slum communities (10 slums) and told them what their entitlements are. Once they knew their rights, we would organize interactions between citizens and local officials responsible for that particular area."
(Respondent C1)

"We always start with a simple request or an ask. For example, put the documents on public domain or mostly petitions. We end up getting involved because they haven't provided information."
(Respondent J2)

Civic Participation

Considering that the vision of these organizations is to improve participatory governance in the city, they engage with the government with the motivation to mobilize citizens to participate in decision-making of governance. Furthermore, by engaging with citizens, they are bridging the gap between citizens and government. They engage with both the parties and empower the citizens to participate in the initiatives organized by the TSOs (in partnership with the government).

Citizen participation is a motivation for TSOs to engage with local officials because they aim to improve the conditions of city and they believe that citizens need to play an active role to really bring about a change. With that in mind, the TSOs constantly play the middleman between citizens and government. For instance, they co-produce with the government to set up ward committees across Bengaluru. Ward committees provide a platform for citizens to engage with the government.

"It's only the bottom of the pyramid that actually truly engages with the government and gets the services from there. So, for us, citizen participation involves a holistic view. If you are not interacting with the government, we will find ways for you to at least be informed"

"The more I interact with them, I realized that they are doing quite a bit as much as they can possibly do, but there is not enough citizen support, so that's where we come in to help bridge that gap"
(Respondent BP1)

One of the respondents also pointed out that the government also see the need for citizen participation when implementing projects. With citizen support, it is easier for them to proceed.

"Citizen engagement is a blessing in disguise for honest officers. There are times when they will push through a lot of these things through us and show that there is public support for a certain project."
(Respondent BP1)

CIVIC has provided the class argument to engage with local officials. They focus on mobilizing the poor and therefore engage with local officials with the motivation to bridge the gap between urban poor and the government. They organized grievance redressal meetings in collaboration with the local officials. This is illustrated below.

"Urban poor were being left out and BLR was growing very unequally. The inequality was so glaring, and slums were growing everywhere because of migration and housing issues. Voices were not heard in these ward committees. We would hold meetings/ consultations and invite the citizens. Even local MLAs[7] and corporator supported us.. So we gave a structure to the whole process of civic participation.
(Respondent C3)

"We also conducted grievance addressal meetings where we would bring the government officials and citizens together. They will meet face to face to talk about how services were delivered, the quality of the same and these people would ask redressal of grievances. We would facilitate such meetings in slums."
(Respondent C1)

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[7] Member of Legislative Assembly

CFB's campaigns mobilize citizens to engage in solving city-level problems and raising awareness. When government finally acted upon to set up ward committees in Bengaluru, they still failed to mobilize citizens to actively be a part of the ward committees. CFB ran a series of campaigns to encourage citizens to submit applications to BBMP.

"We all went and stood in line just to show that we had so many people who wanted to join the WC. If you just send an application over post, they can say ignore it. If 100s of people stand in front of the office and the press is there, then the precedence is on you to justify why is it that you are not considering the citizens applications."
(Respondent CF1)

When citizens did apply, they approached government officials asking them to pass an order which mentioned the details of when the ward committee meetings would occur and CFB went on to engage with officials to set up these meetings.

"We met the mayor and commissioner said, we know what is happening, but we have asked them to meet and it's not happening. So, we wrote up an order and suggested they issue it. The order read that every Saturday at 11:00 am you meet in the ward office. They issued it"
(Respondent CF1)

Conclusion

To summarize, four factors are responsible for TSOs engaging with local officials to improve participatory governance. In general, as conclusion to all the findings listed in this chapter, it is worth noting that there is a major overlap of various factors. For instance, governance incapacity can be seen as the major reason for TSOs willingness to co-produce. In fact, the other factors (lack of information, political interference and civic participation) seem to stem from this factor mainly and cannot be considered distinct from one another. When the government is ineffective, it can lead to lack of information or lack of action to engage citizens. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that these factors are not distinct and contain overlap. Overall, it is interesting that both the phases of the study culminate into a participatory eco-system.

This participatory eco-system is an interesting finding because it is within this eco-system that whole city seems to operate. This of course, includes all the three actors: TSOs, government and citizens. All the respondents across the TSOs constantly provided similar responses regarding the importance of interconnected network between TSOs and collaboration with the government officials and citizens. TSOs recognize that the system in itself hasn't yet been sold on the process of democracy itself. Governments fail to contribute to a transparent and accountable system of governance. Therefore, TSOs share this collective goal but approach the problem through different paths as seen above. As a concluding remark, a quote by one of the respondents seems to be the most appropriate for this chapter -

"Well, they (the government) run the city or the state and if you don't engage with them, you cannot make any changes to the running of the city or state. Ultimately, citizens can ask or protest, but we can't actually change so they're important."
(Respondent CF1)

5. Discussion

The primary goal of this study was to understand why TSOs co-produce with local officials to improve civic participation. As there are no studies in this regard, an inductive approach was taken. To explore the factors driving engagement, it was also necessary to describe the co-production arrangement between TSOs and government officials in the context of this study. As a result, the data collection was divided in a two-phased manner.

Organizational Arrangement

Origin
Organizational Vision and Goals
Funding

Tools of Co-production

Agreements
Legal Tools
Advocacy

Figure 4: Phase 1 findings

The first phase (figure 4) was aimed at understanding the organizational details of the TSOs and how they engage with the government officials in co-production. The second phase was aimed at uncovering why they engage with local officials. The findings revealed that the two phases provide answers to the research question collectively. In the first phase, the previous chapter presents two key findings on the co-production between TSOs and the government: organizational set-up and co-production tools. The first finding i.e., organizational set-up explained the TSOs' origins, visions, and funding. This contributed (to some extent) to understanding why TSOs engage in co-production. The second finding showed that TSOs use different tools of co-production to engage: agreements, judiciary/RTI and advocacy. The organizational set-up and tools of co-production show how TSOs co-produce with government officials.

In the first phase of data collection, within organizational set-up, three broad points are worth mentioning. Firstly, the organizations were founded for different reasons as noted in chapter 4. Each of their reasons contribute to understanding why they engage with officials. Secondly, all the TSOs share the same vision i.e., that of a better city but they vary in their specific goals. Specific goals have led to different levels of engagement with government officials across the TSOs. Lastly, funding, similar to specific goals, also creates a difference in the way organizations are run. Within tools of co-production, TSOs using agreements seemed to co-produce more effortlessly and the relationship tended to be more of a partnership in a formal sense. On the hand, TSOs using judiciary/RTI and advocacy had a slightly antithetical and more informal nature to the co-production with local officials owing to the "forced" nature of co-production.

Drivers of Co-production

Government Incapacity
Political Interference
Lack of Information
Civic Participation

Figure 5: Phase 2 findings

The findings of the second phase (figure 5) of the study were regarding factors driving TSOs engagement with local officials. Government incapacity, political interference, lack of information and civic participation were the identified reasons for TSOs co-production with government officials. Both these stages/phases culminate to a broad understanding of why these TSOs engage (in India) which will be discussed in depth in this chapter. Chapter 4 presented the findings for the five TSOs in this study, but the next step is to reflect and analyze what the findings tell us about TSO-government engagement in India.

While this study is based out of Bengaluru, it is possible to apply this for any city in India because the laws are centrally governed. Having argued that, it is important to note that in a federal structure like India's, the implementation of the 74th amendment depends on the respective state governments as urban development is a state subject[8]. But cities

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[8] State subject: Implementation of laws are under the control of the state government

across India do see a rise in TSOs engagement with government to improve participatory governance which makes it more worthwhile to elaborate this study for a broader perspective.

Co-production in context

Co-production has not been defined or studied in the urban government context in India. Therefore, the first half of the data collection stage was involved in defining the co-production arrangement between TSOs and the government. Three definitions were referred to in chapter 2, to define co-production in this study: Najam (2000), Tuurnas (2015) and Alford (2014). Tuurnas (2015) defined co-production as a tool that governments used to meet public expectations and transform outdated public expenditure. This is indeed visible in the findings. The governments often approached TSOs for support and resources. They also approached them because TSOs mobilized citizens to engage in various forms of participatory governance. This was advantageous for the government as they often required active citizen support to approve projects. Using Alford (2014)'s definition of co-production, this study argued that TSOs played the role of partners i.e., they initiated projects on the government's behalf. TSOs initiated various projects and engaged with government officials as partners for the same. Both Tuurnas and Alford's definition can be applied as there were several instances where either party (government or TSOs) initiated projects (see chapter 4).

However, the co-production cannot be defined *entirely* as institutionalized. According to Joshi and Moore (2004), co-production is institutionalized when the arrangement between the government and the other party is *regular, long-term, informal & renegotiated and with blurred boundaries.* Findings reveal each organization is unique in its collaboration with government officials. It changes according to the various tools the TSOs use to engage and the organizational set-up. TSOs engaging with government officials are distinct in nature which also makes the co-production unique. Instead, the study argues that they are all interconnected within a *participatory eco-system.*

The findings revealed how interactions between TSOs, citizens and government officials create a *participatory eco-system* i.e., from how they interact to why they interact occurs within the framework of this eco-system. The model below (figure 5) explains this

interaction. The term ecosystem implies an interconnectedness of various stakeholders and the environment. Therefore, contrary to literature pointing out that TSOs "replace" the role of government, this study's findings reveal that TSOs work hand-in-hand with both the government and citizens using tools of co-production. They also work with each other and hence the emphasis on the "inter-connectedness".
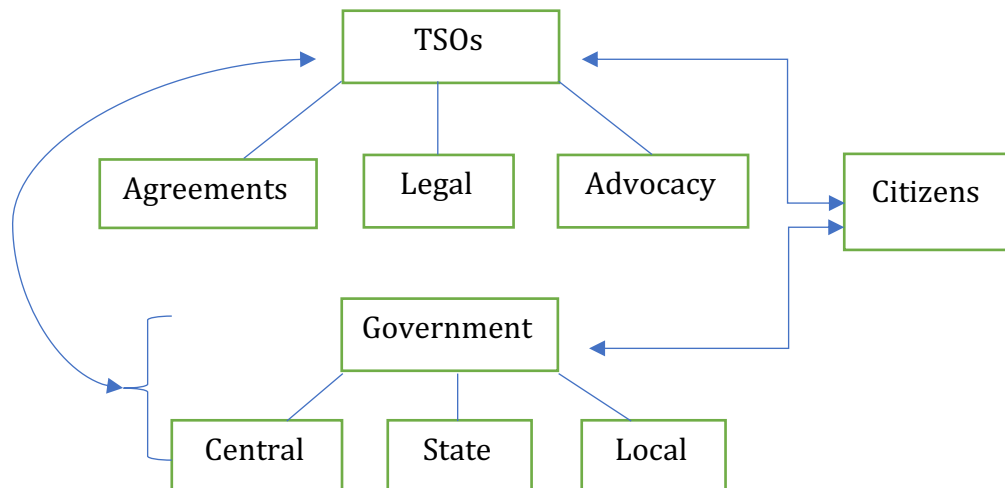

Figure 6: Participatory Eco-system

Therefore, in this eco-system, findings show that one organization cannot exist without the other and also shows why it's important to co-produce with the government. Co-production is often regarded as a "solution to the public sector's decreased legitimacy and dwindling resources by accessing more of society's resources" and as a means "to reinvigorate voluntary participation and social cohesion in an increasingly fragmented and individualized society" (Brandsen & Honingh, 2016, p. 427). While this eco-system is an apt description of the interaction between stakeholders, it does not tell us if such a system is effective. There are no studies that examine outcomes of TSO participation and its effectiveness. Furthermore, studies haven't yet examined the impact of network of TSOs on outcomes of co-production. As this study was focused on examining TSOs that work towards improving participatory governance, the outcome would be improved participation on the part of citizens. Improved participation will further lead to better policy outcomes as it is an established view that a citizen-centric government creates better policy outcomes (see Chapter 2). The proposition is that a well-connected network of TSOs will strengthen civic participation.

Proposition 1: A well-connected network of TSOs has a positively impact on the outcome of co-production between TSOs and government officials

Within the participatory eco-system, there is a common element among the TSOs: they all engage in activities or initiatives which is otherwise the responsibility of the government. The TSOs provide training support to both government and citizens, act as knowledge partners in the partnership and provide policy support as a result and bring about awareness initiatives to bridge the information gap between citizens and government. The organizations primarily involve themselves in doing the work that the government should ideally be the government's job. An important finding in this regard is that the organizations decide to engage because of the lack of information (one of the drivers) that exists in the eco-system. The government's do not provide information (because they themselves are not aware) on how to constitute ward committees or avail benefits and citizens as a result are not aware of the various ways in which they can interact with the government. This is where TSOs step in. They not only bridge the gap but in certain instances, *play a substituting role* to the government.

Moderators of co-production

The first phase of the data collection was an attempt at understanding the co-production arrangement that exists between TSOs and government. This was needed because there is no research on co-production arrangements between TSOs and governments in an urban governance context. The first phase of findings describes the organizational arrangement of the TSOs and tools they use to co-produce with the government officials.

However, in this study, it is already established that it is not possible to define the co-production arrangement as "institutionalized" for TSOs in general in India. This is precisely because of how findings in phase one affected the co-production arrangement. An institutionalized co-production arrangement between TSOs and government, according to Joshi and Moore (2004) is, regular and long-term, informal and with blurred boundaries. This doesn't seem to be the case for all TSOs. It is not possible to apply for TSOs across India when findings reveal that the co-production arrangement between TSOs and government officials depends on the organizational set-up and tools of co-

production. This means that it is necessary to test how much of a changing effect these two factors have on the co-production arrangement.

Evidence shows that co-production arrangement between TSOs and government officials is moderated by the type of organizational arrangement and tools the TSOs use. Organizations with continuous source of funding co-produces with the government on a more regular, long-term and formal basis. Similarly, organizations using "agreements" as a tool seemed to have a better edge in their co-production arrangement than the TSOs that used only legal or advocacy tools. Interestingly, organizations with continuous source of funding are the same organizations that use agreements as a tool to co-produce. In fact, these TSOs have "most" features of an institutionalized co-production arrangement with the government officials, except they are not informal. Organizations that are more "voluntary" or don't possess a continuous source of funding, are limited in their co-production with the government. In fact, it is the TSOs of the former that are in the top of the pyramid (figure 3) mentioned in chapter 4. These TSOs, apart from co-producing with the government, are also involved in influencing policy reforms and are active partners in the decision-making process. On the other hand, TSOs in the bottom of the pyramid engage with the government in a strained capacity as governments are not entirely willing to engage (the engagement is slightly forced). It is possible to infer that TSOs with a favorable organizational arrangement (for instance, steady flow of funds) therefore, have a larger impact on the nature of co-production between officials and TSOs. Here, nature of co-production refers to the relationship between the stakeholders and the influence a TSO has on decision-making in the co-production arrangement. Evidence shows that when one of the TSOs source of funds diminished, their engagement with officials changed accordingly. From working on-ground with officials in a formal manner, they went on to engage only in research and advocacy. Their interactions with officials continued in a limited manner. Therefore, this finding gives rise to the following proposition -

Proposition 2: Organizational arrangement of TSOs impacts the nature of co-production between TSOs and government officials

Here, organizational arrangement refers to the factors (set-up of the organization and tools) in figure 4. Based on each of the factors, the following hypotheses can be devised:

Hypothesis 2a: Steady flow of funds in a TSO positively impacts the nature of co-production between TSOs and government officials

Hypothesis 2b: Use of agreements positively impacts the nature of co-production between TSOs and government officials

Hypothesis 2c: Increased use of advocacy as a tool for engagement negatively impacts the relationship between TSOs and government officials.

Hypotheses 2a and 2b posits that agreements and steady flow of funds positively impacts the co-production relationship between government officials and TSOs. Here, the co-production is formal and is a partnership model. When TSOs use advocacy, the relationship is "forced" so although there is no evidence yet to show it can negatively impact, hypothesis 2c is worth testing for future research.

Drivers of co-production

The primary focus of the study is on factors leading to TSOs engagement with government and not vice versa, therefore, only this will be discussed. Najam (2000) argued that TSOs engaged for the following reasons: a) Engage in tasks assigned to them by the government, b) engage in demanding tasks that neither the state nor private parties are willing to engage in, or c) influence policies in a certain direction. In chapter two, it was argued that while these factors may be true these reasons alone were insufficient. This is indeed true based on the findings. Findings show that the primary motivation for TSOs to co-produce stems almost exclusively from the incapacity of the government. Najam's definition does not touch upon incapacity of the government and only analyses it from a partnership lens. Whereas TSOs in the study are predominantly acting because governments lack the capacity to do so.

Findings revealed that TSOs were driven by four drivers: government incapacity, political interference, lack of information and civic participation (figure 7). However, as explained earlier, these four are not distinct but rather, as depicted in figure (7), government incapacity is the primary motivation for TSOs to engage and the other three drivers stem from incapacity.
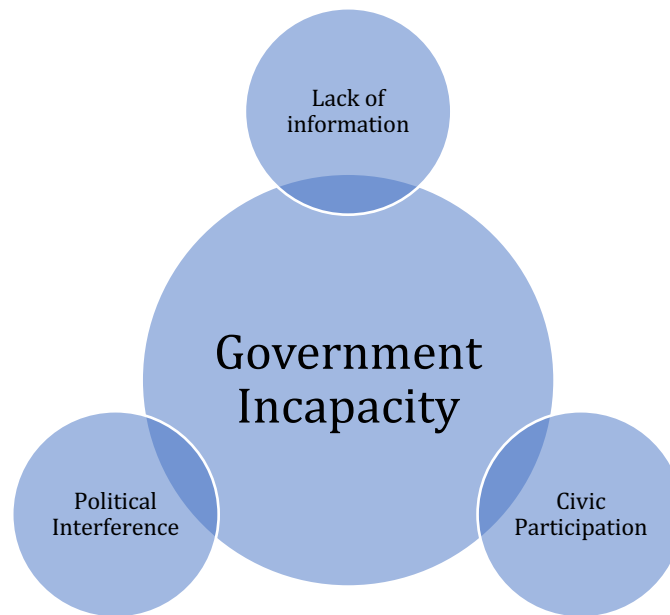
Figure 7: Drivers of Co-production

In chapter 2, to identify why TSOs co-produce, existing literature identified some drivers of co-production. According to Joshi and Moore (2004), co-production is *governance driven* when it occurs in response to a decline in governance capacity at a local or national level. The findings above indicate that the incapacity is indeed pushing the TSOs to co-produce with the government officials to improve participatory governance. Joshi & Moore (2004) define governance driven motivation as that which is a result of government's lack of capacity to provide services. They define this arguing that the co-production is "institutionalized". This study has a difference in two aspects: firstly, this study is not following a service-based logic and secondly, as explained earlier, it is not possible to generalize the co-production arrangement as institutionalized. Barring these two aspects, the findings are in line with Joshi and Moore's (2004) concept of governance driven co-production.

It is interesting to examine, how much of an influencing factor do the remaining factors play in the outcome of co-production. Here, the expected outcome of co-production is increased civic participation or rather, improved participatory governance. If we consider the factor concerning political interference, findings point out that political interference only pushes the TSOs to engage even further. If that is the case, can increasing political interference lead to increase in willingness to co-produce with local officials and therefore, improved outcomes? Albeit this is a contradictory statement

because political interference in government administration always hinders progress. Surprisingly however, this is giving TSOs a reason to engage with government officials. It is important to note that when government faces interference, findings indicate that they approach TSOs to co-produce because they require citizen support for the projects they want to implement. This is where TSOs' help, especially TSOs that have a good reputation or comprises of influential people or both. This leads to the third proposition:

Proposition 3:
Political interference within government activities has a positive effect on the outcome of co-production in participatory governance

Joshi and Moore also argued that co-production is *logistical driven* when it occurs because the government doesn't have enough resources and requires a third-party intervention for providing resources. While organizations in the study provided knowledge resources and training support, findings indicate that this is not the reason to engage, rather it is the result of the engagement with officials. TSOs engage with the government because of government incapacity and during the course of the engagement, provide support to the government.

In chapter 2, two organizational theories were used to explain willingness of TSOs to co-produce: Strategic Management (SM) theory and Institutional Theory (IT). While SM theory arises from within the TSOs, IT arises from externally induced pressures. Findings in phase 1 showed how origin and organizational vision contribute to the willingness of TSOs' engagement with government. However, these findings were not sufficient to validate the theories. SM theory focuses on how TSOs willingly engage to respond to expectations and maximise environment opportunities, but this is not the case with the study. TSOs have risen out of the need to act against government incapacity and inaction, as illustrated above. IT states that TSOs are motivated because of externally induced pressures to be deemed legitimate. Findings do not point towards any external pressure from either funders or governments. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that the drivers of co-production are the factors shown in figure 7.

6. Conclusion

This study began with the intention of uncovering why TSOs engage with government officials at local government levels in the city of Bengaluru, India. Upon realizing the lack of studies in this regard, an inductive approach was taken. However, this meant that there was a need to first explain what kind of co-production arrangement existed between TSOs and the government officials. This was reported as phase 1. A key finding was the emergence of a *participatory eco-system* within which all stakeholders interacted. Within the eco-system, the tools of co-production and organizational moderated the relationship between TSOs and government officials. In phase 2, factors leading to engagement were explored. *Government incapacity, political interference, civic participation and lack of information* were identified. However, government incapacity is the primary factor, and the remaining three factors stem from this. Overall, the TSOs seem to engage with the vision of a better city and do not hesitate to take on a substituting role in place of the government when needed.

Research Limitation

The TSOs were selected using a purposive sampling technique because this strategy is suitable for a small sample and gives space to adapt a process that will account for any unanticipated changing circumstances. This is most suitable for an inductive study. A non-random approach also allows the researcher to generate results based on which future research can be elaborated upon.

The study does acknowledge that the sample size of the study is too small to generalize it for a larger population of TSOs. Furthermore, these TSOs were extremely unique which made it harder to generate a single theory explaining it all. Future research should include a larger sample of organizations and include more than one city. Given that the study is situated within the political-administrative context of India, the generalizability further reduces as it may only apply to other cities within India and possibly other developing countries with a similar context.

Another limitation among the participants is the subjective nature of an interview method. It allows the participant to answer questions in a manner that is more suitable

to the conclusion. The semi-structured nature allowed the researcher to go back to the question or add a follow up question if the answers were not satisfactory. However, it is indeed a limitation. The insights provided can be further tested in a deductive study to validate the findings. Furthermore, as the research was conducted in a systematic manner by using software tools like ATLAS.Ti, it is possible to replicate this study for any city in India and likewise.

Practical Implications

Description of what is driving co-production and what kind of co-production exists between TSOs and government officials is step one to understanding the effectiveness of such a system. Effectiveness is harder to measure and is beyond the scope of this study. However, drivers of co-production provide an inside view of what the systemic problems are, especially on ground. To elaborate, they provide a deeper understanding of the systemic issues existing within the government in terms of incapacity. TSOs, by engaging with government officials, are aiming to improve this system and therefore, future research, by delving deeper into the matter can provide insight into how TSOs can be more effective. This study cannot achieve that level of insight but can certainly be a first step toward that direction. Studies like this are also important because it gives the much-needed recognition and awareness of such TSOs working with the government. As these partnerships are not a PPP model, most of the work done by TSOs can go unaware. More research in this field can only mean that it will help TSOs co-produce effectively with the government because research will provide an in-depth understanding and provide suggestions for further improvement.

Future Research

There is a need for more research on co-production in the developing context. In India, scholars have explored citizen participation and urban governance. Chapter 2 provides an account of studies where scholars have written about NGO-government partnership but none of them have explored TSO-government engagement in co-production in the urban governance context. Considering that, this study can possibly be considered a very small step towards the same. This study was focused on illustrating the TSOs engagement with government officials and with each other as well. It led to the finding of *a*

participatory eco-system. Future research can test the effectiveness of a participatory eco-system from a collaborative lens. Here, TSOs seem to be inter-connected in a network and support each other in their respective projects. Future research needs to take this into account when testing for effectiveness. Furthermore, some of these TSOs have been in existence since the 1990s. As a result, there is scope to check for sustainability of such a model. While TSOs claim that their involvement with the government has indeed improved citizen participation and urban governance to some extent, future research can include studies exclusively focused on such a claim. As this is an inductive study, there is also a need to test for the validity of these findings in a much larger sample in a developing country similar to India and in India itself. Validity of such studies will be strengthened with a mixed approach involve qualitative and quantitative approach. This will help scholars define co-production with solid evidence in a developing economy, which is still lacking currently. Future research can also attempt to understand the "substituting roles" played by TSOs in developing economies. Owing to government incapacity, TSOs seem to be playing a much larger role in decision-making process and further research can help understand the sustainability of such an arrangement.

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Appendix

1. Interview Questions

1. Can you tell me a bit about yourself? When did you join the organization?
2. Can you briefly introduce the organization and its initiatives towards citizen participation? Number of employees in the organization?
3. When did you join the organization, specifically in the civic participation project? What are the various activities that you've been engaged in within the organization?
4. In what capacity do you engage with local officials?
5. How often do you collaborate with them? What kind of expertise and resources do you offer in the collaboration?
6. How many years has it been since the collaboration between the organization and the local officials?
7. Is the government cooperative in the collaborations?
8. When the organization engages with the local government and officials, do you sign contracts or any agreements? Or is the collaboration more informal in its set up? Follow up: How much does the changing elected official affect your partnership?
9. In your engagement with the officials, have there been any instances where you've noticed that the boundaries have blurred between you and the government (in terms of sharing of power, resources and authority)? For instance, have you set up initiatives which should have been the government's sole responsibility, but their inaction led you to step up for the role?
10. Why do you engage with local officials?
11. Have you engaged in civic participation initiatives where you received no response from the government? Or rather, were there instances where they were not willing to engage/ partner with you?
12. What projects did you initiate yourselves and why?
13. Were there opportunities to collaborate with the government but you didn't?
14. Are there instances where the government approaches you for projects?
15. Does the organization receive monetary benefits for the projects you initiate or engage in?

16. We see organizations like yours initiating and setting up platforms to help citizens and government engage. Do you think NGOs need to intervene because governments lack the capacity/ efficiency to do so?

    1. Follow-up: In what ways is the government inefficient?

17. Do you think the government has enough "experts" to solve the problems in urban governance themselves? Or is there a need to intervene?

18. Does your organization provide resources (eg: knowledge resources in terms of policy support or even manpower) in any capacity to local governments? Can you elaborate?

19. What would you say the long-term vision of the organization are in terms of improving civic participation?

20. Have there been instances where you engaged in partnership because of pressure from the government or was it always initiated from your end?

21. Is there any pressure from a funding organization to engage with local officials?

22. Do you see improved civic participation owing to your intervention at ward-levels?

23. Do you consider this local government partnership important to improving civic participation? If so, why?

24. Is there anything else you think that should be mentioned with respect to collaboration between NGOs and governments?

25. Do you think a collaboration like this is a sustainable approach to improving civic participation?

2. Themes and Codes

Grouped Codes

Agreement

Change

Collaboration

Legal/ Political

Logistical resources

NGO Tools

Organizational Details

Reputation

Substituting role

What they do

Why engage?

Emerging Themes

Organizational Arrangement

Tools of Co-production

Drivers of Co-production

3. Transcripts

The transcripts have all been uploaded on Google drive for availability and transparency. Please find the link here:

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1qXCng5WCtlwFTn_BsAagQ4-N3eYMHARW?usp=sharing