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HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

The urban in India's recent state budgets



DOI

<https://doi.org/10.24943/UIRSB11.2023>

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1. INTRODUCTION

Indian states have a key role in shaping the country's urban development and growth trajectory. The subject of local self-government falls in the State List of the Constitution of India, and state governments together accounted for about 48 per cent of the capital expenditure (CAPEX) on urban infrastructure the country has seen over the 2011-18 period (World Bank (WB), 2022).

The state governments' role assumes added import at this time, when the country's aspirations require astute management of a large and rapidly unfolding urban transition, and addressing legacy and emergent challenges around governance, infrastructure development, and service delivery that undermine larger equity, sustainability, and efficiency goals.

In examining urban development budgets of five select states – Kerala, Madhya Pradesh (MP), Odisha, Rajasthan, and Tamil Nadu (TN) - for the 2021-22 to 2023-24 period, this Report aims to understand urban development priorities across the states, the drivers of these priorities, and what potential implications these allocation and spend priorities have for addressing prevailing governance, infrastructure development, and service delivery deficits.

The following may be noted in relation to the data presented herein :

- The data pertains primarily to prescribed major heads # 2217 (revenue expenditure on urban development) and # 4217 (capital outlay on urban development) for Union and state budgets. Loans for urban development (major head # 6217), where significant, are mentioned separately. Figures mainly used are actual spends for 2021-22, revised estimates (RE) for 2022-23, and budget estimates for 2023-24.
- Schemes considered in the analysis of centrally sponsored schemes (CSSs) are those identified in the Government of India (GoI) budget documents as CSSs. Schemes considered in the analysis of state schemes are those identified as such in state budgets.
- There are variations in how Finance Commission recommended transfers and other assistance to ULBs (together referred to as transfers to ULBs in this document) are treated across states. While Odisha, Rajasthan, and MP have significant transfers classified under # 2217 (though this is not the only major heads such transfers fall under), Kerala and TN use a separate major head (# 3604) which may or may not include transfers related exclusively to urban development.

The Report is presented in three sections, including this Introduction. Section # 2 dwells on trends in urban development allocations and spends in the five study states over the 2021-22 to 2023-24 period. The concluding section provides key reflections from the analysis in Section # 2.

2. INSIGHTS FROM STUDY STATES

The study states represent different levels of urbanisation. As presented in Table (1), Kerala and TN are highly urbanised. In 2021, the proportion of urban population to total population was a little over a fourth in MP and Rajasthan and still lower in Odisha. Urbanisation levels in the country were estimated at about 35 per cent in 2021 (National Institute of Urban Affairs (NIUA), 2022).

TABLE (1): URBANISATION LEVELS IN STUDY STATES

State	2021 Population Estimate (in crore)		Urbanisation (%)	No. of Urban Local Bodies (ULBs)
	Total	Urban		
Kerala	3.5	2.5	71%	93
MP	8.4	2.4	29%	408
Odisha	4.4	0.8	19%	114
Rajasthan	7.9	2.0	26%	185
TN	7.6	4.0	53%	626

Source: Government of Kerala, 2023; Government of Madhya Pradesh, 2023; Government of Odisha, 2020; Government of Rajasthan, 2023; Government of Tamil Nadu, 2021; NIUA, 2022

Most states, irrespective of urbanisation levels, are increasingly committing more resources to urban development, with sizeable transfers made/ envisaged to ULBs.

Thus:

- Kerala's Rs 1,856 crore outlay for urban development in 2023-24 is twice the 2021-22 spend of Rs 928 crore and exceeds the 2023-23 RE of Rs 1,473 crore for urban development by about 25 per cent. These figures do not include the Rs 3,393 crore outlay for transfers to ULBs in 2023-24, a marked increase from the sum of Rs 2,137 crore transferred to ULBs in 2021-22 and the corresponding 2022-23 RE of Rs 2,023 crore. Transfers to ULBs have exceeded the 2021-22 spend, 2022-23 RE, and 2023-24 outlay for urban development by factors ranging from 1.3-2.3.
- MP's Rs 7,137 crore outlay for urban development in 2023-24 exceeds the 2021-22 spend of Rs 6,560 crore by about 10 per cent and the 2023-23 RE of Rs 6,690 crore by about 6 per cent. (Loans for urban development to the tune of Rs 888 crore are expected to be mobilised in 2023-24, lower than corresponding sums of Rs 1,614 crore in 2021-22 and Rs 1,170 crore in 2022-23 (RE).) State urban development outlay figures include the Rs 1,590 crore outlay for transfers to ULBs in 2023-24, a 37 per cent increase from the sum of Rs 1,153 crore transferred to ULBs in 2021-22 and similar to the corresponding 2022-23 RE of Rs 1,504 crore. Transfers to ULBs have consistently been about a fifth of the 2021-22 spend, 2022-23 RE, and 2023-24 outlay.
- Odisha's Rs 4,406 crore outlay for urban development in 2023-24 is almost twice the 2021-22 spend of Rs 2,273 crore and exceeds the 2023-23 RE of Rs 3,928 crore by about 12 per cent. These figures include about Rs 930-1,000 crore spent or committed for transfers to ULBs in recent years. Transfers to ULBs accounted for about 40 per cent of

the urban development spend in 2021-22 and about a quarter of the 2022-23 RE and 2023-24 outlay for urban development.

- Rajasthan's Rs 14,040 crore outlay for urban development in 2023-24 exceeds the 2021-22 spend of Rs 9,539 crore by about 47 per cent and the 2023-23 RE of Rs 11,426 crore by about 22 per cent. These figures include the Rs 6,102 crore outlay for transfers to ULBs in 2023-24 (nearly 45 per cent of the total urban development outlay for the year), a continuation of the trend set with significant transfers in preceding years- about Rs 5,096 crore in 2021-22 (a little over half the total urban development spend in the year) and about Rs 6,656 crore in 2022-23 RE (nearly 60 per cent of the total urban development RE for the year).

Transfers to ULBs in Rajasthan, uniquely among the study states, include compensation for octroi. The share of octroi compensation in transfers to ULBs is about 48 per cent of 2023-24 (BE), about 42 per cent of the 2022-23 (RE), and about 44 per cent in 2021-22.

- TN's Rs 8,331 crore outlay for urban development in 2023-24 represents a 15 per cent drop from the 2021-22 spend of Rs 9,827 crore and about a 20 per cent drop from the 2023-23 RE of Rs 10,269 crore. However, loans for urban development to the tune of Rs 8,718 crore are expected to be mobilised in 2023-24, a marked increase from the corresponding figures of Rs 2,070 crore in 2021-22 and Rs 4,575 crore in 2022-23 (RE). It is to be noted that the loans expected to be mobilised in 2023-24 are actually higher than the urban development outlay for the year.

State urban development budget figures also do not include the Rs 9,302 crore outlay for transfers to ULBs in 2023-24, a marked increase from the sum of Rs 6,534 crore transferred to ULBs in 2021-22 and the corresponding 2022-23 RE of Rs 8,264 crore. Transfers to ULBs in TN are significant, about two-thirds of the 2021-22 spend on urban development, about 80 per cent of the 2022-23 RE on urban development, and exceeding the 2023-24 outlay for urban development in recent years.

Though more resources are being committed, urban development spends and outlays remain between 1-5 per cent of the total spends and outlays across the study states. The figures for the 2021-22 to 2023-24 period range between 0.6-1 per cent for Kerala, 2-3 per cent in MP, Odisha, and TN, and 4-4.7 per cent in Rajasthan.

Much of the spend and outlays in state budgets are accounted for by CSSs and state schemes.

The share of CSSs and state schemes in 2021-22 spend, 2022-23 RE, and 2023-24 outlays for urban development has ranged between 85-95 per cent in Kerala, 60-75 per cent in Odisha, 40-50 per cent in Rajasthan, 75-85 per cent in TN, and been around 70 per cent in MP. As presented in Table (2), the balance is largely accounted for by: administrative and other expenditures (ranging between 2-5 per cent in most states); transfers to ULBs (about 20 per cent in MP, between 25-40 per cent in Odisha, and between 45-60 per cent in Rajasthan); and, metro projects (about 6-7 per cent in Rajasthan and between 10-25% in TN). The relatively higher share of transfers to ULBs in Rajasthan is on account of the provisions for and spends on octroi compensation, a unique feature among the study states as mentioned earlier.

TABLE (2): STUDY STATES – URBAN DEVELOPMENT BUDGET COMPOSITION IN RECENT YEARS

State	% Share of 2021-22 Spend, 2022-23 RE, and 2023-24 Outlay for Urban Development				
	CSSs, State Schemes	Transfers to ULBs	Metro Projects	Administrative Expenditure	Other Expenditure
Kerala	86-96%	-	-	3-13%	1-3%
MP	67-73%	18-22%	6-7%	1%	1-2%
Odisha	58-76%	23-41%	-	1%	1%
Rajasthan	38-53%	43-58%	1-4%	<1%	1-3%
TN	73-86%	-	11-25%	1-3%	1-2%

Note: Blank refers to sums not included under major codes # 2217, # 4217 in the budget documents of the concerned state

Source: Finance Department, Government of Kerala 2023; Finance Department, Government of Madhya Pradesh 2023; Finance Department, Government of Rajasthan 2023; Finance Department, Government of Tamil Nadu 2023; Finance Department, Government of Odisha 2023

A significant proportion of the state budget goes towards CSSs. As presented in Table (3), the 2021-22 spends, 2022-23 RE, and 2023-24 allocations towards CSSs, while varying across states and years, generally exceed spends and commitments towards state schemes. CSSs are particularly prominent in MP and Kerala, where spends and commitments towards them exceed those towards state schemes by factors of nearly 7 and 2.6, respectively.

While a more 'balanced' picture emerges in other states, there are variations across years. Rajasthan spent far lower on CSSs than state schemes in 2021-22, the 2022-23 RE figures suggest the trend continued the next year, and it is only in 2023-24 that the state budgeted a sum for CSSs that far outstrips the budget for state schemes. TN, meanwhile, committed about 1.4-1.5 times more resources to CSSs than state schemes in 2021-22 and 2022-23 (RE) but has allocated a far lesser amount to CSSs in 2023-24. Notably, these variations arise mainly on account of changed allocation priorities of states towards various CSSs (determined by factors discussed later in this section), and allocations for state schemes have had an upward trend in most cases in recent times.

TABLE (3): STUDY STATES – CSSs AND STATE SCHEMES IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT BUDGETS

State	Sum of 2021-22 Spend, 2022-23 RE, and 2023-24 Outlay for Urban Development (in Rs crore)		CSSs/ State Schemes Ratio (range across years)
	CSSs	State Schemes	
Kerala	2,846	1,085	2.6:1 (2.2:1 to 3.3:1)
MP	12,502	1,806	6.9:1 (4:1 to 10:1)
Odisha	4,059	3,479	1.2:1 (0.9:1 to 1.3:1)
Rajasthan	7,961	7,773	1:1 (0.6:1 to 1.7:1)
TN	11,987	10,975	1.1:1 (0.5:1 to 1.5:1)

Source: Finance Department, Government of Kerala 2023; Finance Department, Government of Madhya Pradesh 2023; Finance Department, Government of Rajasthan 2023; Finance Department, Government of Tamil Nadu 2023; Finance Department, Government of Odisha 2023

Among CSSs, states have typically prioritised three central schemes between the Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT), the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana- Urban (PMAY-U), the Smart Cities Mission (SCM), and the Swachh Bharat Mission- Urban (SBM-U). As presented in Table (4), AMRUT, PMAY-U, and SCM account for nearly 95 per cent or more of the CSS spend in 2021-22, RE of 2022-23, and allocations in 2023-24 in Kerala, MP, and Odisha. AMRUT, SBM-U, and SCM have been similarly prioritised in Rajasthan and TN.

However, there are inter-year variations across the states. This broadly appears to relate to the current status of implementation of the PMAY-U and SCM, both of which are nearing their scheduled end. So, Kerala and MP are increasingly focusing on the PMAY-U and SCM (at the expense of AMRUT). Meanwhile, Odisha, Rajasthan, and TN are increasingly focusing on either AMRUT (Odisha), SBM-U (TN), or both (Rajasthan) and are progressively earmarking less for the SCM.

TABLE (4): STUDY STATES – PRIORITY CSSs IN STATE BUDGETS

State	% Share of 2021-22 Spend, 2022-23 RE, and 2023-24 Allocation for CSSs				
	AMRUT	PMAY-U	SBM-U	SCM	Others
Kerala	39%	28%	2%	26%	5%
MP	14%	55%	4%	24%	3%
Odisha	40%	39%	-	20%	1%
Rajasthan	54%	7%	19%	20%	-
TN	39%	-	21%	40%	-

Source: Finance Department, Government of Kerala 2023; Finance Department, Government of Madhya Pradesh 2023; Finance Department, Government of Rajasthan 2023; Finance Department, Government of Tamil Nadu 2023; Finance Department, Government of Odisha 2023

State schemes are increasingly becoming prominent in urban development budgets. Thus:

- Kerala's Rs 564 crore allocation towards state schemes in 2023-24 is about 30 per cent of the total urban development outlay for the year and represents a marked increase from the Rs 207 crore spent on state schemes in 2021-22 (about 20 per cent of the urban development spend in the year) and the corresponding 2022-23 RE of Rs 314 crore (again, about a fifth of the urban development RE for the year).
- Odisha's Rs 1,714 crore allocation towards state schemes in 2023-24 is about 40 per cent of the total urban development outlay for the year and represents a marked increase from the Rs 549 crore spent on state schemes in 2021-22 (about a quarter of the urban development spend in the year) and the corresponding 2022-23 RE of Rs 1,216 crore (about 30 per cent of the urban development RE for the year).
- Rajasthan's Rs 2,703 crore allocation towards state schemes in 2023-24 is about a fifth of the total urban development outlay for the year and represents a slight absolute increase from the Rs 2,535 crore spent on state schemes in 2021-22 and a similar 2022-23 RE figure. In percentage terms, however, the 2023-24 allocation towards state schemes is a decline from the corresponding 2021-22 allocation (about 27 per cent). This is largely due to the sharp increase in 2022-23 RE and 2023-24 outlays for urban development in the state, mainly driven by increased transfers in 2022-23 RE and increased CSS allocations for 2023-24.

- TN's Rs 4,167 crore allocation towards state schemes in 2023-24 is about half the total urban development outlay for the year and represents a marked increase from the Rs 3,174 crore spent on state schemes in 2021-22 (about a third of the urban development spend in the year) and the corresponding 2022-23 RE of Rs 3,634 crore (again, about a third of the urban development RE for the year). While increased 2023-24 allocations for state schemes are evident, their share in total allocations for the year is boosted by the sharp dip in allocations for CSSs in the year.
- MP represents an exception to the above. The state's Rs 447 crore allocation towards state schemes in 2023-24 is about 6 per cent of the total urban development outlay for the year and largely represents a continuity from 2021-22 (when the Rs 438 crore spend on state schemes was about 7 per cent of the urban development spend that year) and 2022-23 (when the RE of Rs 921 crore was 14 per cent of the urban development RE for the year).

State schemes are largely focused on infrastructure development, though there are instances of affordable housing, land titling and slum upgradation, and urban wage employment initiatives and support to financial intermediaries being prioritised.

The share of state schemes focused on infrastructure development in 2021-22 spend, 2022-23 RE, and 2023-24 allocations for urban development ranges from about 20 per cent in Kerala and about two-thirds in Odisha and TN to nearly or over 90 per cent in MP and Rajasthan (MP, it may be recalled, has a modest profile of state schemes).

The prominent infrastructure development focused schemes include SWM initiatives in Kerala, the Chief Minister's Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme (CMUIDS) and externally aided projects in MP, the UNNATI initiative in Odisha, the Asian Development Bank (ADB)-supported Rajasthan Urban Infrastructure Development Project, and the Kalaignar Nagarpura Membattu Thittam (KNMT) and Singara Chennai schemes in TN.

Other state schemes that have received attention in recent budgets include the Ayyankali Urban Employment Guarantee Scheme (AUEGS) and the Life Mission ("housing campaign to build houses for families without land or housing") in Kerala, the Mukhya Mantri Karma Tatpara Abhiyan (MUKTA, an urban wage employment initiative) and the JAGA Mission (initiative for land titling and slum upgrading) in Odisha, and support to FIs in Rajasthan and TN.

3. REFLECTIONS

There is an increase in attention to urban development in the study states in recent years. Urban development outlays and spends have risen, even though these remain between 1-5 per cent of the total outlays and spends, suggesting a case for continued efforts in this direction.

Further, in an indication of the consistency between CSS and state government priorities towards infrastructure development in particular, allocations and spends on CSSs have emerged as a key budget component across study states, accounting for a sizeable share of state urban development outlays.

The accent on infrastructure development is also evident in allocations and spends under state schemes. Much of this trend has been triggered by the design of CSSs, which mandates an equal contribution from the states. This has, in turn, made the states an strong contributor to the urban development process.

While the increased acknowledgement of the urban in the budgetary priorities and the opportunities CSSs and state schemes offer for infrastructure development have been spoken of before in other commentaries, the analysis points to the strategies and option baskets state governments are exploring for supporting their urban development priorities.

Thus, even while leveraging CSSs and often committing resources for infrastructure development under state schemes, state governments in the study states are strategising urban development spends in qualitatively different ways. This, healthily, indicates a presence of channels that transmit local demand to the budgetary process and, thereby, strengthen the mechanics of decentralised planning. This is a governance approach that needs to be strengthened, deepened, and expanded.

MP has focused on CSSs, kept only a modest portfolio of state schemes, and maintains a steady and moderate stream of transfers to ULBs within its urban development allocations and spends. Odisha too maintains a steady and moderate stream of transfers to ULBs within its urban development allocations and spends, but has chosen to invest significantly in state schemes for urban wage employment and land titling and slum upgradation. Both these agendas are not served in current CSSs.

Meanwhile, in Rajasthan, transfers to ULBs, like in the case of MP and Odisha, are part of the urban development allocations and spends but are sizeable compared to MP and Odisha. State schemes are not sizeable and have not forayed beyond urban infrastructure development in Rajasthan. Notably, Rajasthan's urban wage employment scheme, unlike those of Kerala and Odisha, is not included in the urban development allocations and spends.

Kerala has chosen a separate and sizeable track for transfer to ULBs and its portfolio of state schemes, while less modest than Odisha's or TN's, has woven the non-infrastructure agenda of urban wage employment. TN has a similar separate and sizeable track for transfers but its state schemes are focused largely on infrastructure development. Importantly, TN has ambitious plans for raising loans for urban infrastructure development, far exceeding those of other states and indeed its own state budget.

These variations in strategies speak of a range of situations: high dependence on CSSs as in the case of MP; high emphasis on state schemes along with moderate transfers as in the case of Odisha; moderate emphasis on state schemes with high transfers as in the case of Kerala and Rajasthan; and, high emphasis on state schemes with high transfers and loans in the case of TN.

Together, these situations speak of a time when states are making choices around the extent of reliance on CSSs (MP and TN, in some senses, represent different ends of the spectrum here, even while both have a significant infrastructure development emphasis) and between transfers to ULBs and state schemes when it comes to responding to local needs (with Kerala and Rajasthan leaning towards the former and Odisha to the latter). Irrespective of positions taken, there is clearly the impetus to pursue tracks that respond to local needs and complement what CSSs offer. This is encouraging.

Even as urban and urban infrastructure development emerges as a consistent budget priority, there appears to be limited resources allocated for planning and implementing improved municipal governance and finances, both critical to realising the impacts of envisaged infrastructure investments. Ideas around improved governance and finances may be supported under various CSS and state scheme guidelines but systematic and earmarked support to see them through in the medium to long term may be needed. States such as TN and Odisha have made a start in this direction with support for strengthening state financial intermediaries (the support is particularly notable in TN). Well-designed, medium-term support for ULBs could be contemplated next.

ANNEX I: KEY TABLES

TABLE (A1.1): KERALA – STATE URBAN DEVELOPMENT BUDGET SUMMARY

Item	2021-22 Spend (Rs crore)	2022-23 BE (Rs crore)	2022-23 RE (Rs crore)	2023-24 BE (Rs crore)
Budget Profile				
Central schemes	598	1,227	1,028	1,220
State schemes	207	505	314	564
Admin Exp	116	111	84	59
Other Exp	7	59	47	13
Total	928	1,902	1,473	1,856
Central Schemes				
AMRUT	391	131	470	246
PMAY-U	172	416	210	416
SBM-U		58	13	58
SCM	4	584	294	455
Others	31	39	41	45
Total	598	1,227	1,028	1,220
State Schemes				
AUEGS	100	125	100	150
LIFE Mission	92	259	176	260
SWM schemes	15	121	38	154
Total	207	505	314	564

Source: Finance Department, Government of Kerala 2023

TABLE (A1.2): MADHYA PRADESH – STATE URBAN DEVELOPMENT BUDGET SUMMARY

Item	2021-22 Spend (Rs crore)	2022-23 BE (Rs crore)	2022-23 RE (Rs crore)	2023-24 BE (Rs crore)
Budget Profile				
Central schemes	4,396	3,085	3,725	4,381
State schemes	438	626	921	447
Transfers to ULBs	1,153	1,504	1,504	1,590
Metro	401	390	390	530
Admin Exp	53	73	53	64
Other Exp	119	98	97	125
Total	6,560	5,776	6,690	7,137
Central Schemes				
AMRUT	1,169	246	256	371
PMAY-U	1,922	1,500	2,150	2,800
SBM-U	155	189	179	218
SCM	1,050	1,050	1,050	892
Others	100	100	90	100
Total	4,396	3,085	3,725	4,381
State Schemes				
CMUID and Infra Dev schemes	64	229	579	205
MPUSIP	224	204	204	100
MPUDP	80	40	15	50
Mahakal Corridor		52	52	50
Road safety and dev	63	52	22	22
Others	7	49	49	20
Total	438	626	921	447
Source: Finance Department, Government of Madhya Pradesh 2023				

TABLE (A1.3): ODISHA – STATE URBAN DEVELOPMENT BUDGET SUMMARY

Item	2021-22 Spend (Rs crore)	2022-23 BE (Rs crore)	2022-23 RE (Rs crore)	2023-24 BE (Rs crore)
Budget Profile				
Central schemes	773	1,342	1,671	1,615
State schemes	549	1,248	1,216	1,714
Transfers to ULBs	929	964	964	1,013
Admin Exp	16	22	22	21
Other Exp	6	54	55	43
Total*	2,273	3,630	3,928	4,406
Central Schemes				
AMRUT	13	601	601	996
PMAY-U	408	500	553	609
SCM	330	200	496	
Others	22	41	21	10
Total	773	1,342	1,671	1,615
State Schemes				
UNNATI	300	300	235	600
MUKTA		264	239	414
New Cities Development	57	334	334	300
Infra grants to ULBs	172	130	157	210
JAGA Mission		100	90	100
OUIDF		100	60	50
Others	20	20	101	40
Total	549	1,248	1,216	1,714
Source: Finance Department, Government of Odisha 2023				

* Rs. 500 crore allocated under Special Central Assistance to States for Capital Expenditure has not been included in this total

TABLE (A1.4): RAJASTHAN - STATE URBAN DEVELOPMENT BUDGET SUMMARY

Item	2021-22 Spend (Rs crore)	2022-23 BE (Rs crore)	2022-23 RE (Rs crore)	2023-24 BE (Rs crore)
Budget Profile				
Central schemes	1,454	997	1,793	4,714
State schemes	2,535	1,869	2,535	2,703
Transfers to ULBs	5,096	5,691	6,656	6,102
Metro	369	105	338	90
Admin Exp	33	41	30	35
Other Exp	52	25	74	396
Total	9,539	8,728	11,426	14,040
Central Schemes				
AMRUT	221	98	969	3,070
PMAY-U	13	200	259	320
SBM-U	43	125	123	1,324
SCM	1,177	574	442	0.02
Total	1,454	997	1,793	4,714
State Schemes				
RUIDP	1,099	1,077	1,354	1,270
RUIDSCO, SWM and sewerage	405	40	40	51
Transport and road development	431	552	821	1,182
Indira Gandhi Cooking scheme			120	w
Rajasthan Dev Fund	600	200	200	200
Total	2,535	1,869	2,535	2,703

Source: Finance Department, Government of Rajasthan 2023

TABLE (A1.5): TAMIL NADU- STATE URBAN DEVELOPMENT BUDGET SUMMARY

Item	2021-22 Spend (Rs crore)	2022-23 BE (Rs crore)	2022-23 RE (Rs crore)	2023-24 BE (Rs crore)
Budget Profile				
Central schemes	4,846	6,170	5,229	1,912
State schemes	3,174	2,898	3,634	4,167
Metro	1,405	1,050	1,109	2,050
Admin Exp	300	76	87	90
Other Exp	102	202	210	112
Total	9,827	10,396	10,269	8,331
Central Schemes				
AMRUT	2,254	2,130	1,769	612
SBM-U	434	2,094	728	1,300
SCM	2,115	1,875	2,703	0.0021
Others	43	71	29	0.0002
Total	4,846	6,170	5,229	1,912
State Schemes				
KNMT	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Water, river, drainage management	264	430	607	829
Infra development	277	410	591	442
Support to FIs	1,206	738	1,204	1,364
Singara Chennai	500	500	500	500
Others	108	100	151	300
Sub total	3,355	3,178	4,053	4,435
Less Recoveries	181	280	419	269
Total	3,174	2,898	3,634	4,166

Source: Finance Department, Government of Tamil Nadu 2023

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