

**Impact of Infrastructure and Governance
Transformations on Small, Medium and Big Cities in
India**

**Implementation of JNNURM-BSUP
A case study of the housing sector in Puri**

By

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List of Abbreviations Used

BDA- Bhubaneswar Development Authority
BSUP- Basic Services for the Urban Poor
CAA- Constitutional Amendment Act
CDP- City Development Plan
CRZ- Coastal Regulation Zone
DU- Dwelling Unit
DPR- Detailed Project Report
EO- Executive Officer
ELU- Existing Land Use
EWS- Economically Weaker Section
GoO- Government of Odisha
HIG- High Income Group
HHs- Households
H&UDD- Housing and Urban Development Department
JE- Junior Engineer
JNNURM- Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
LIG- Lower Income Group
MIG- Middle Income Group
NH- National Highway
NGO- Non Government Organizations
NOC-No Objection Certificate
NSDF- National Skill Development Fund
OAS- Odisha Administrative Service
OSHB-Odisha State Housing Board
OWSSB-Odisha Water Supply and Sewerage Board
PIL- Public Interest Litigation
PKDA-Puri Konark Development Authority
PHD-Public Health Division
P.K.R.I.T- Puri Konark Regional Improvement Trust
PIU- Project Implementation Unit

PWD- Public Works Department

PMC - Puri Municipal Council

RAY- Rajiv Awas Yojana

Rs- Rupees

RCC- Reinforced Cement Concrete

SC- Scheduled Caste

SIZ- Special Institution Zone

SPARC- The Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centre

ST- Scheduled Tribe

TP - Town Planning

UDRC- Urban Development Resource Centre

UDPFI- Urban Development Plans Formulation and Implementation

ULB- Urban Local Body

UPA- United Progressive Alliance

WB- World Bank

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Introduction

This case study analyses the ways in which urban improvement works in Puri city in Orissa, particularly in the housing sector was shaped, influenced, undertaken and managed under JNNURM. Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission is a reform driven process of improving the infrastructure and quality of life in urban areas in India coupled with the decentralization and empowerment of urban local bodies along the lines of the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act. JNNURM was launched in 2005 by the erstwhile UPA government at the Centre for a period of seven years (later it was extended by another two years). Puri, a Hindu pilgrimage center and coastal city of heritage value, religious and historical importance, was one of the 65 cities that received financial and other forms of technical assistance from JNNURM in order to become ‘economically productive, efficient, equitable and responsive’ as a city. While 35 cities were chosen because they fulfilled the criteria of having a population base between 1 and 4 million, the rest of the 30 cities were chosen for their touristic, religious or historic significance, of which Puri was one. JNNURM incorporated two sub-missions into its program. One was a Sub-Mission for Urban Infrastructure and Governance administered by the Ministry of Urban Development, with a focus on water supply and sanitation, solid waste management, road network, urban transport and redevelopment of old city areas. And the other one was the Sub-Mission for Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP) administered by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation with a focus on integrated development of slums.

Puri with a total population of approximately 2,00,564 people (2011 census) maybe small demographically but is an important urban center due to its position as one of the four pilgrimage centers, and its relative closeness to Bhubaneswar , the capital city, and as a major tourist center on the eastern coast. However as per the CDP documents, the city of Puri, has very poor urban infrastructure – water supply is dependent on ground water, sewerage coverage is almost non-existent, and many areas are still not covered by street lights (Draft CDP prepared by City Managers Association in 2006). Due to the presence of the Puri Jagannath temple and the beach, the city receives many tourists and floating population during tourist seasons and during religious festivals. The significance of the temple lies in the fact that activities related to the temple account for the main economic base and considerable lands in the city are owned by the

temple trust which is one of the powerful bodies in the city. Puri city is also characterized by urban poverty and informal settlements. Almost 25 per cent of its total population is living in 46 slum settlements spread across the city (CDP Final 2006). These settlements have temporary structures, are overcrowded, congested and lack basic infrastructure such as water.

This case study, utilizing information from secondary literature, documents available on government websites, interviews with government officials and beneficiaries, as well as field visits to slum pockets where BSUP housing projects have been implemented, analyzes the direction, implementation, and impact of JNNURM on Puri's housing sector. BSUP focuses on providing the urban poor with access to proper housing, basic services, and tenure security and it is therefore important to understand how the scheme is being implemented and experienced on the ground.

This report comprises three sections. The first section provides a historical overview of urbanization in Puri, particularly the importance of Puri as a coastal temple city, to set the context in which JNNURM is being implemented. The second section discusses the evolution of the legal and institutional frameworks that govern housing, land use and conversion and urban development in Puri. The third section, using data from primary fieldwork analyzes the process of implementation, effectiveness of the schemes, and the view of slum dwellers and other local stakeholders about these projects. This section analyzes the implementation of reforms under JNNURM, with emphasis on the pro-poor reforms. Finally, the report concludes with an overall analysis of the implementation of BSUP projects in Puri and its implications for the housing sector.

Methodology

The study is divided mainly into two interrelated parts. The first part deals with the overall housing and land situation in the city, exploring the existing institutional arrangements, actors and practices with respect to housing – its location, production, maintenance, affordability etc. The second part examines housing projects in the city under JNNURM, by evaluating the projects according to the ways in which they are designed and implemented, how participatory these projects are and how appropriate to local needs and practices and who they benefit in the long run. Since the JNNURM program is linked to reforms that need to be carried out at the city level, this case study tries to understand which reforms linked to housing and land management have been undertaken and the implications of the reforms on different stakeholders.

In order to understand the housing and land market dynamics in context of the implementation of Central government sponsored JNNURM it was imperative to source information by employing a methodology that was dialogical in nature. This meant that the above all, the primary source of information was to be the ‘field’ itself and not rely just on the official records. Factoring in the short duration of time during which the field work was to be finished, a tentative list of key informants was drawn on the criteria of the nature of the information that was required.

Since the prime focus was on understanding the dynamics between land and the housing sector, key informants were to include local journalist who had covered these issues over a considerable period and equally importantly the local activists and residents of bastis who have been working in the field around similar issues. As was expected, the activists had certain ideological moorings, to keep a balance only those journalists were interviewed who were not ideologically aligned to any particular view but were rather knowledgeable of the issues and had certain civic sensibilities towards the present and future of the city.

In addition short interviews were conducted with representative officials of Puri Municipal Council and Puri Konark Development Authority and the secondary information in form of related laws, policies, and government decisions were referred to. The district gazetteer forms a considerable source of the background information of the city along with City Development Plans.

For an in depth understanding of the projects under JNNURM, their design and implementation, a month long field work was carried out in three out of the nine sites where BSUP housing is being constructed. Fieldwork comprised in depth interviews with beneficiaries, residents of the settlements, local leaders and detailed observations. A round of interviews were then conducted with various other stakeholders – municipal corporation executive engineers dealing with BSUP/JNNURM, PKDA dealing with land and planning, political party leaders, NGOs involved in the housing sector. However, it was extremely difficult to locate contractors who had been associated with the projects early on.

Puri: Centrality of the temple to the city

Puri is an ancient coastal city. Located on the east coast of India, in the district of Puri, references to the temple city go back to 3rd century BC. Along with the two other cities of Bhubaneswar and Konark it forms the “Golden Triangle” that constitutes the tourism circuit of Orissa and attracts numerous tourists from all over the country and the world throughout the year. It is 60 km from Bhubaneswar and is connected by broad gauge railway line to Khurdah an important station on the South Eastern Railway.

The city was originally built on a sandy track which began from north and west towards Cuttack and Ganjam road where the Madhupur or Matia stream is lined with the largest tanks, Narendra, Mitiani, Markandeya and Siva Ganga. As the tributary of the river Matiani draining into the sea dried up, it paved the way for the new direction of development of the city in the southeast.

Mythologically, the city is believed to have been planned in the shape of conch or “Sankhakhshetra”. This area is about five Koshas (10 miles) in extent of which nearly two koshas are submerged in the sea. In the centre of the khetra lies Jagannath temple on a hillock called Nilagiri with eight Shiva temples guarding the eight quarters radiating from it the hillocks called Nilagiri. Bada Danda connecting to Sri Gundicha Temple forms the Spine of the shankha. The broad end of the Sankhakhshetra lies to the west where the temple of Loknath is located and on the apical end or tail end in the east is located the temple of Nilakantha.

Historical records show that Puri was once a seaport. It was open for import and export trade from the middle of September to the middle of March. During the other six months of the year, the coast did not allow the ships to be loaded or unloaded. The vessels that frequented the port consisted chiefly of country barges. They were laid half a mile away from the shore in good weather. The trade consisted mostly of the shipment of rice to Madras coast and occasionally to Mauritius.

Puri district stretches along 67 km of coast land that extends from the Chilka Lake to the south of Puri city. The city of Puri is located almost at the geographic centre of the district, and is

bounded by sea on South east. Mauza Sipaurubilla on West, Mauza Gopinathpur on the North and Mauza Balukhand on the east surround it.

The city of Puri is organized around the temple complex. Not only is the socio-spatial organization of different resident groups dictated along religious and caste lines, the entire economy of the urban settlement is dependent on the temple activities. Therefore, the temple city has been at the center of bitter struggle and contestation. Throughout different points in history, the city has been raided by different groups of marauders looking for the treasures bequeathed to the temple. In the 18th century, with the advent of the British, there were strategic changes made in the governance of the temple and the management of the huge resources, lands and wealth in its control. These strategic changes empowered the Hindu Gajapati dynasty in becoming the ceremonial head of all functions or events around the temple while the council of Pandits or priests, or temple managers became the real decision makers, marked by their higher caste backgrounds. However, there are several records that point to many ritual services being performed in the Puri temple complex and that some of these services were even performed by tribal sects and even untouchables. The case of Puri temple and the glorification of Jagannath deity, essentially a tribal deity, also points to the emerging concretization of caste hierarchy and caste organization in Orissa because of the way in which the powers of the king, the council of priests eventually found spiritual, social and legal sanctions. Non-Hindus are not admitted into the Puri temple, but the Hindus of all castes, including the aboriginal tribes, the Jainas, the Sikhs and the Buddhists are all allowed into it.

The ancient city of Puri is spatially organized around the temple complex and the many mathas or religious institutions around it. Its importance as a city of considerable religious significance grew manifold after the re-construction of the temple of Purusottama Jagannath by the king Chodaganga Devi in the 11th century. Puri represents one of the four Hindu “peethas” established by Adi Sankacharya. In 9th century AD, when Acharya Shankar visited the holy place and upgraded it to one of the four ‘Dhamas’. During the 10th century, king Yayati Kesari (Yayati II of Somavamsi dynasty) built the second temple on the same spot, as the first temple by Indradyumna was dilapidated. King Anantavarman Chodaganga Deva (1174-1198 AD) of Ganga dynasty built the third or the present temple. He began the construction of the present temple

sometime after 1135 AD. The temple was completed by his descendent and grandson Anangabhima Deva III. The temple attracted priests and devotees to settle in its vicinity and over the years, those not connected directly with the temple began to settle in Puri as well. The city consists of the Temple of Lord Jagannath in its centre with eight quarters/nuclear settlements (Sahis) radiating from it. The city colonies are called 'Sahis'. As the rituals of the temple and Ratha Yatra became more elaborate, more people started living in Puri.

Initially the temple was managed by the Hindu Rajas upto 1756 AD when the Marathas took over the management of this temple. It was governed by Marathas as they conquered Orissa in 1751. In the year 1803, Orissa was taken over by the British to which the Hindu King of Khurda revolted in the year 1804. He was arrested because of this and later released in the year 1807. The glorification of the temple of Jagannath was initiated as part of an appeasement policy by the British in the year 1803 when they declared war against the Maratha Confederacy. In order to appease the Hindu population of Orissa and turn them against the Marathas, the then Governor General circulated a declaration that henceforth the British Governor would be the guardian of the temple of Jagannath and their intention was to glorify it under their benevolent administration.

Thereafter, the management of the temple came under the British Raj in 1803. Regulation IV of 1806 authorized Government to appoint a Committee of Pandits to supervise the affairs of the Temple with power over receipts, disbursements and discipline vested in the Collector of the Pilgrim Tax. Later on, the Regulation was amended to provide that persons attached to the Temple should elect the Committee of Pandits and the Government would not interfere in this matter. In 1809, the Committee of Pandits was replaced by the Raja of Khurda who was released from imprisonment in the fort of Midnapur. The Raja and his heirs were to hold the position as long as they continued to conduct the affairs of the temple. In other words, the Temple was under the direct control of the British since 1806 when Regulation IV of 1806 appointed the Raja of Khurda as the Superintendent of the Temple. This had significant impact on the governance and control over land use and taxation policies in the city.

Till the year 1816 Puri was the capital of the province of Orissa. The capital was then shifted to Cuttack. Then later on, Bhubaneshwar became the state capital. However, Puri remained the

headquarters of the coastal district of Puri. In the year 1969, 31 revenue villages from Puri district were transferred and attached to Cuttack and 28 revenue villages were attached to Bhubaneswar through a major reassignment of administrative boundaries.

Urbanization and Growth of the City

In terms of urbanization, the state of Orissa is one of the least urbanized states in the country. As per 2011 census, the proportion of total urban population to the total population of Orissa is about 16.69 percent, which is low as compared to other states of the country. Puri district which is famous as a place of pilgrimage, has a population of 1,698,730 people or 4.05% of the state's population. Out of the total population in Puri district, 15.60 percent of the district's population lives in urban regions of district (2011). The percentage of urban population was 13.6 % in 2001 as compared to 19.76 % till 1991. The redrawing of the district boundaries of Puri led to this drop in urban population. Earlier Bhubaneswar city, was a part of Puri district.

The city has a total population of 2,00,564 persons as per 2011 census. The growth rate of the city has always been lower than that of the growth rate of the urban sector in the state. The city had a population of only 49,057 in 1951, which increased a little more than three-fold to 1,57,610 in 2001 as per Census of India. The decadal growth rate varies between 19.51 percent and 25.89 percent, the latter being during the past decade. As per Census definition, Puri is a Class I town and as per UDPFI guidelines it is a medium town (CDP Final 2006).

Table 1. Population trends of Puri City

Year	Population
1951	49,057
1961	60,810
1971	72,674
1981	1,00,942
1991	1,25,199
2001	1,57,610
2011	2,00,564

*Source:*Census 2011

About 83 per cent of the city's population lives in permanent housing while almost 17 per cent live in semi-permanent and temporary housing. Permanent houses refer to those houses whose walls & roofs are made of pucca materials, i.e., where burnt bricks, G.I. Sheets or other metal sheets, stone, cement, concrete is used for wall and tiles, slate, shingle, corrugated iron, zinc or other metal sheets, asbestos sheets, bricks, lime and stone and RBC/RCC concrete are used for roof. Semi-permanent houses refer to those houses made of other types of materials. Temporary houses refer to those houses having wall and roofs made of Kutcha materials, i.e., where, grass, leaves, reeds, bamboo, mud and unburnt bricks are used for the construction of walls and grass, leaves, reeds, bamboo thatch, mud, unburnt bricks and wood etc. are used for roofs.

Table 2. Percentage distribution of Households living in Permanent Semi-permanent and Temporary Houses, 2011

Permanent	32,749 (82.68%)
Semi-permanent	3,398 (8.58%)
Temporary	3,355 (8.47%)
Total	39502

*Source:*District Census Handbook-Puri, Census 2011

As per information provided by Puri Municipality in 2014, a population of about 88,624 persons lives in about 24,028 households in the slum areas. Thus about 44% of city population lives in slums and suffer from lack of basic urban services. Interestingly, according to the CDP Final submitted in 2006, there were 46 slum clusters and a total of 47770 number of people living in slums constituting 25% of the total population at the time. As per 2001 Census, there were 33768 persons living in slums thus constituting 21 % of the total population in the city at the time. Thus, the number of people living in slums has been growing steadily in the past decade possibility due to in migration from neighbouring states and from within the district, given the economic opportunities offered by the city.

Social Composition of Puri's Population

As per Census 2011, the SC population of Puri City is 15,627 and that of ST is 1022 persons. Amongst the Schedule Caste groups, members of Bauri community are predominant in numbers. They used to work as stone cutters, agricultural labourers but now have taken to other occupations. The other predominant caste groups are those who are linked with the activities of the temple. Amongst them the noteworthy are the artisans, consisting of carpenters (Badhei), painters (Chitrakaras), potters (Kumbhakararas), stone-carvers (Pathurias) along with the Brahmins. Their role is detailed in the sections that follow. The business establishments are almost the monopoly of the Marwari community who own most of the shop establishments around the Temple. The hotel establishments are owned and operated mostly by Bengalis but over the years have been taken over by locals also. Khandayat is another important caste group of Puri which refers to the warrior class traditionally. Most of the building contractors and those engaged in construction industry belong to this caste group. Few of them also forayed into the hotel industry.

Existing land use of Puri City

The area occupied by the Puri municipality area is 16.29sq.km. Puri municipality area has been divided into 32 wards (Census 2011) for the administration purpose. According to some, the city is based on Vaastu Purusha Mandala with many meta-physical aspects interwoven in the planning and spatial arrangement of different occupational groups and castes in the city.

Table 3.Land Use Analysis

Land use Categories	ELU	
	Sq. Km	%
Residential	4.77	28.61
Commercial	0.91	5.56
Industrial	0.03	0.19
Institutional	3.5	21.48
Transport	1.51	9.26
Recreational	0.6	3.68
Agriculture	1.21	6.76
Non Developable	0.81	5
Developable	2.95	18.09
	16.29	

*Source:*PKDA, Development Plan 2031

Puri city stretches along the sea shore measuring about 5km. Majority of urban land in Puri city belongs to residential use accounting for 29% of the total land in the urban centre. Second highest share of land is vacant (17% of the total land) which is primarily constituted of fields at the periphery of the city. Being a religious city more than 10% of land is allocated for religious use in the city. Most of them are placed in the central areas of the city around the Jagannath temple. Different public and semi-public utilities cover 11% of the urban land. Transportation use is confined within 7% of the land. 6% of the urban land is being used for commercial activities given the fact that large number of tourists visits the city. Recreational and open space is found in the 4% of the urban land which is lesser than the demand found in the neighbourhoods of the city(CDP 2006).

The city can be divided into two portions – the western part comprising the old city area centred on the temple and the congested, urbanized neighborhoods or sahis with narrow lanes etc. and the eastern portion called the Balukhanda, or the sandy tract along the sea. In the city proper, land uses are extremely mixed due to unrestricted and unregulated growth around the temple area. These older areas have narrow roads, are extremely congested and have poor sanitation. The inhabited portion of the Balukhanda stretches between Swargadwar and Chakratirtha and comprises government offices, educational institutes, hotels and shows some semblance of guided development as compared to the western portion of the city.

Some of the emerging issues related to the land use pattern and its changes as highlighted in the CDP Report (2006) are that the residential developments are taking place in the periphery of the city, commercial development including informal commercial development and conversion of land use from open space/residential to commercial development is happening along Baradanda and along the beach catering to the temple visitors and tourists flocking to the city thus leading to pressure on infrastructure, especially on roads and movement along the roads. Agricultural land and open spaces are being built upon, leading to congestion, crowding and increase in land values. The rapid development along the coastline (both formal and informal) have caused environmental concern given that Puri falls under CRZ II as per the CRZ Act of 1996. Hotels, apartments and other encroachments are being investigated by the National Green Tribunal through a PIL filed to stop pollution of and encroachments on Puri beach (The Pioneer, 2014). PKDA has also proposed the development of a planned new Puri city in the adjacent area to Puri in order to decongest the older city areas where infrastructure is under pressure due to rapid development of hotels and housing.

Local Economy of Puri

Puri city is the oldest and the biggest city of the Puri district and thus an important business centre of the district. For the villages of the district it is their most important trading centre. Major part of the local economy of the city is dependent on the inflow of pilgrims and tourists. The increase in flow of tourists from India and abroad have gradually introduced other functions to promote its economic activities.

Puri celebrates various religious festivals all across the year. These activities are directly and indirectly linked with the employment generation and economic development. It is estimated that around 80 per cent of the income is linked with the temple complex. This culture and association with the temple activities has given rise to a large number of arts and crafts in the region. The region being situated in the Golden triangle of the tourism circuit attracts a large number of domestic and foreign tourists throughout the year. The major areas of tourist attraction are Puri – Jagannath Temple, the Konark Sun temple, Chilka Lake, the coast line and its beaches. The table below gives us the details of the tourist inflow to the city.

Table 4. Tourist Inflow in Puri

Year	Domestic	International	Total
1995	26,97,365	28,201	27,25,566
2000	28,88,392	23,723	29,12,115
2004	41,25,536	28,817	41,54,353

Source: CDP 2006

The British recognized the assets of Lord Jagannath. These were (i) endowments consisting of assignment of revenue of certain lands by the Marathas, (ii) certain sayer duties collected on behalf of the Temple, and (iii) Pilgrim Tax. In the year 1809, the East India Company took over the management of the Temple estates. Accordingly, the company also took up the liability to contribute a fixed sum of money to the Temple for its maintenance. In the year 1840, an important development took place when Act X of 1840 abolished the Pilgrim Tax. Shortly

thereafter in 1843, Government having withdrawn from the management of the endowments, the same were made over to the Raja of Khurda.

After independence, it is reported that as the management of the Temple was deteriorating under the control of the Gajapati Maharaja of Puri, the State Government passed the Shri Jagannath Temple (Administration) Act, 1952. Subsequently, for better management of the Temple, Shri Jagannath Temple Act, 1954 came into force on 27-10- 1960 vide Law Department Notification No.6619, dt.24-10-1960. Significantly, in the new administrative system of the Temple, the superintendence of the Temple was vested in a Managing Committee and the Gajapati Maharaja remained as a nominal head on hereditary ground. With the implementation of the Orissa Estate abolition Act 1951, the Trust Estates that were initially exempted from the purview of vesting, ultimately vested in the State on 18-03- 1974 in Notification No.13699 of that date. As the table below shows, the Temple controlled vast amount of land both in Puri and across Orissa. Thereafter, Shri Jagannath Temple (Amendment) Act, 2004 was enacted.

Table 5. Land under Ownership of Jagannath Puri Temple

Land in Puri	17,000 Acres
Land in Orissa	56,245 Acres
Land Outside Orissa	400 Acres
TOTAL	56,645 Acres

*Source:*Landed Property of Lord Jagannath (Odisha Review, 2007)

The temple continues to dominate the city in every sphere - physical, political, social, cultural and economic. Puri city has evolved around it so that an intricate web of relationship exists between the temple and the city dwellers. There are many ancient settlements around the temple precinct that are engaged in the temple and temple related activities and are responsible for providing different materials and services for management of temple.

The Temple Record of Rights prepared in 1950s describes about 119 different categories of Sevakas or Saviyat (servitors) who are entrusted with the Sevapuja (ritual services) of the deities. Most of them enjoy hereditary rights to perform Sevapuja in the temple. Along with the

main Jagannath Temple there are a large number of Mathas, Akhadas, and Jagaghars belonging to different sects are located here, mainly centering round the shrine of Jagannath.

Most of the Mathas of Puri are connected with the worship of Jagannath and have various sevas or duties to perform in the temple. In Puri, not only the temple is holy, but the whole of its surroundings is treated as holy and of respect. Many a Matha (Monasteries) grew up gradually in course of time in this holy city. In the past many saints and sadhus had come to Puri to have “darshan” of Lord Jagannath. They came in contact with and influenced the Gajapati Kings through their philosophical doctrines. The saints and sadhus established their Mathas on the endowments donated to them by the kings and wealthy persons. With endowed properties and lands, the heads of the Mathas were able to maintain their institutions. Lands were donated to the Mathas for 'Amritmanohi' the proceeds thereof were spent in offering “Bhoga” to Lord Jagannath and the “Mahaprasad” thus obtained, were distributed among the pilgrims.

The Brahmins play an important role in rendering different religious service to the Hindu pilgrims like Sradhha, Sankalpa, and Jagya etc. The gifts and donations of the pilgrims constitute their livelihood. Along with Brahmins there are other lower castes such as the artisans, consisting of carpenters (Badhei), painters (Chitrakaras), potters (Kumbhakaras), stone – carvers (Pathurias), appliqué workers and other artisans engaged in different handicrafts like patta paintings, palm-leaf carving, seashell trinkets production etc. All such artisans have linkages with the Jagannath Temple and these products attract tourists. Their economic activities are more oriented and influenced by the lifestyle of Sevayats. The carpenters have hereditary rights to build the chariots, the tailors (Dargi) stitch the cloth of the chariots (Raths) and flag (Pataka) for the temple, the jewellers (Bania) are associated with the preparation and repair of ornaments of the temple deities, the carriers (Bojhia) of Mahaprasad. In Puri city, it is a matter of esteem and social status to be associated with the activities of the Temple and people attain respect out of their association with the Temple. These inhabitants have traditionally lived in the vicinity of the temple in the center of the city in old settlements giving the city its unique characteristics.

Over the years there has been development in the hotel industry of Puri. The accommodations range from inexpensive inns and lodges (a lot of them run by charitable institutions, temple trusts and the Mathas) meant for poorer pilgrims to more luxurious and expensive hotels and

restaurants (mostly along the sea front) for cultural tourists. Earlier they were owned and operated by the Bengalis but presently the shift is towards a new arrangement. Now the hotels are owned by wealthy Oriyas and operated by Bengalis. To cater to the tourists who flock to the city round the year, new eateries have been established along with travel and tour agents.

Governance of Puri

Puri Municipality

Puri Municipality was established in the year 1881. After independence, Odisha Municipal Act (1950) was enacted and the city administration was vested with Puri municipality and represented by a chairperson and councilors elected by the people. Puri municipality has an elected council comprising of elected representatives of each of the 32 wards that fall within the Puri municipality limits. The council is headed by a chairperson who is elected by the councilors. The administrative jurisdiction of Puri Municipality extends over an area spread over 16.3268 sq. km.

Responsibilities of Puri Municipality

The function of Puri Municipality is to provide basic amenities which includes cleaning, sanitation, street lighting, construction and maintenance of roads, drains, culverts, community centers, latrines etc., controlling mosquito, health hazards, regulate growth of the city, uplifting status of urban poor and destitute, implementing welfare measures and such other facility that are required to be taken up from time to time in the public interest.

In addition to the Municipality 3 major parastatal agencies, namely, Puri Konark Development Authority (PKDA), the Public Health Division (PHD), and the Odisha Water Supply and Sewerage Board (OWSSB) undertake the responsibility of key functions such as Town and Urban Planning, Water supply and Sewerage respectively.

In Puri Municipality, 334 posts are vacant out of 724 sanctioned posts. The shortage of staff has adversely impacted the ability of ULB to perform its routine functions in an efficient manner. All posts up to 2004 have been abolished as per an agreement with World Bank (WB), and no replacement or appointments have been done in lieu of this. Puri Municipality has only 25 L.F.S cadre staff who manage and handle all activities of the ULB. Owing to lack of initiative from the State, the ULB has huge shortage of technical staff.

Status of transfer of functions as part of 74th CAA

Out of the 18 functions transferred to ULBs under the 74th CAA, 12 functions are performed by the ULB. The ULB is currently not performing the following functions: (a) urban planning

including town planning; (b) regulation of land use and construction of buildings; (c) water supply for domestic, industrial, and commercial purposes; (d) providing fire services; (e) urban forestry and protection of environment; and (f) safeguarding interests of the weaker sections of the society.

Table 6. Status of transfer of functions as part of 74th CAA

12th Schedule Functions	Implementing Agency
Urban Planning including town planning	PKDA
Regulation of land-use and construction of buildings	PKDA
Planning for economic and social development	PKDA
Roads and bridges	Public Works Department (PWD)
Water supply- domestic, industrial and commercial	PHD, Puri
Public health, sanitation, conservancy and SWM	OWSSB, Puri Municipality
Fire services	Home (Civil Defense) Department, GoO
Urban forestry, protection of environment and ecology	Forest and Environment Department, GoO
Safeguarding the interests of weaker sections society including the handicapped and mentally retarded Slum improvement and upgradation	State Government
Slum Improvement / Up gradation	Puri Municipality
Urban poverty alleviation	Puri Municipality
Provision of urban amenities and facilities- parks, gardens and playgrounds	Puri Municipality
Municipality Promotion of cultural, educational, and aesthetic aspects	Puri Municipality
Burials and burial grounds, cremations, cremation grounds and electric crematoriums	Puri Municipality

*Source:*Rapid Baseline Assessment of Puri City Draft Report by CRISIL 2013

Administrative set up of Puri Municipality

Headed by the Chair person (Council), along with the Vice Chairman, the Puri municipality comprises of the following committees: (i) Ward committee, (ii) Health committee, (iii) Light committee, (iv) Finance committees. Each committee consists of 7 members and reports to the

chairperson of the council. The Executive Officer (EO) is the institutional head of Puri Municipality. The E.O is from the Odisha Administrative Services (OAS) and is deputed from the Revenue Department, under H&UDD. The E.O reports to H&UDD and is deputed for a term of 3-5 years

Even though all functions have been transferred, the municipality performs only 12 of these functions. Key functions such as water supply and sewerage, and preparing master plan are performed by parastatal agencies. Thus Puri municipality has no role in the planning process and preparation of plans for its area of jurisdiction.

Lack of infrastructure and technically skilled manpower required to perform such activities poses as a hindrance to complete transfer of such functions. Puri Municipality has no powers to recruit technical staff as there is no assigned urban cadre. Frequent transfer of key officials such as the finance officer, other deputed staff and the Executive Officer, every few months, who are supposed to serve a term of 2-5 years. The municipality has not initiated formation of ward committees or area sabhas to facilitate citizen participation in the planning and governance activities(*Source: CRISIL 2013*).

All projects are first proposed by one of the four committees, after which a brief technical proposal is prepared by the Junior engineer with approval of the Municipal engineer. The proposal is then placed before the Finance Commission and then the Council for final approval before it is submitted to H&UDD, GoO. It is to be noted here that the approval of the Council is most important as the council has the power to approve or reject projects based on reasoning. At the same time, if the council approves a project that the E.O thinks is not feasible or as per norms, the E.O has the power to object. All bills require the signatures of the Executive Officer (E.O) and the chairperson. The cheque is finally signed by the E.O. • Joint Account/grants under 13th finance commission: For joint accounts maintained by the ULB for grants received from the State or Central Government and for payments under the 13th finance commission, cheques require the signatures of the Commissioner and the Additional Deputy Magistrate (ADM).

Puri Municipality has a separate urban poverty alleviation cell. This cell looks after the following: Slum improvement, implementation of schemes for the urban poor, conducting

awareness drives for schemes and programs introduced by the govt., training for placement viz. schemes such as SJSRY, etc.

The municipality has not initiated formation of ward committees or area sabhas to facilitate citizen participation in the planning and governance activities. State cadre officials in charge of the service delivery through Para-statal agencies are deputed from the parent department and hence lack accountability to the ULB. Multiple responsibilities and frequent transfers make provision of services less effective and smooth (CRISIL REPORT 2013).

Taxation System at Puri Municipality

The key source of revenue receipts for the ULB is Holding Tax, Revenue from auction of municipal sources such as rickshaw stand, bus stand, cycle stands, etc. and Revenue from market licenses. Although coverage of holdings is about 90%, tax collection efficiency is as low as 62%. The present per capita Holding Tax demand is only Rs 75 and coverage for property tax net is 86% (20,614 properties assessed / 23,998 total properties).

Puri Municipality has not been able to levy property tax as per section 192 of Odisha Municipal Corporation Act 2003. Even after more than 5 years of implementation of the Municipal Corporation Act, the municipality, as in the case of other ULBs in Odisha, continues to collect holding tax as per the existing Odisha Municipal Act 1950. Section 131 of Odisha Municipal Act 1950 empowers the ULBs to impose holding tax, light tax, drainage tax and water tax etc. based on annual value of holdings. This mode of assessment had many drawbacks—the manner of assessment is opaque and gives a lot of discretion to assessing officials.

The Holding Tax rate has been revised from 9% of the rental value to 12% of the rental value from 2006–07. The holding tax rate of 12% comprises (a) house tax – 5%, (b) latrine tax – 1%, (c) water tax – 2%, and (d) light tax – 4%.

As per Section 146 of Odisha Municipal Act 1950, the ULBs are required to revise the annual value of the holdings at an interval of every 5 years. Tax rates are revised and sent for approval to the Finance Commission and then to the Council. The council has the power to either approve or reject the revision in rates. Tax rates were last revised and implemented by the Council in

2006-07. After that there has been no revision till date. The city is divided into 15 zones for the purpose of collection of holding tax. The Accounts section carries out this function. The tax section comprises of 15 tax collectors under 2 tax darogas (inspectors) who in turn report to the E.O. The total number of holdings in Puri including residential, commercial, and government holdings as on May 2013 is 23,998. Of this, 20,614 holdings are covered under the holding tax net. This results in a coverage ratio of 85.89%.

Puri Konark Development Authority

In the year 1982, Puri Konark Regional Improvement Trust (P.K.R.I.T) was carved out of the erstwhile Bhubaneswar Regional Improvement Trust having the jurisdiction of Puri Master Plan area and the areas in between Puri & Konark, with an objective of enforcement of Odisha Town Planning and Improvement Trust Act 1956. Later, the Housing & Urban Development Department, Government of Odisha, under the Odisha Development Authorities Act - 1982 by Resolution, constituted the Puri Konark Development Authority (PKDA) area. The notified area of the PKDA Region constitutes of 131 revenue villages with an area of 296.33sq.km. The areas covered under PKDA region include the Puri municipality area, Puri Sadar or Puri master plan area, Konark NAC area, Block A (intervening area between Puri and Konark), Block B (area after Konark) and the Special Institution Zone (SIZ) area. PKDA has initiated the process of preparing the Comprehensive Development Plan for the area with the objective of enhancing the tourism and recreational development potential of the area.

Building Approval Process

PKDA approves the building plans in the area falling under the jurisdiction of Puri Municipality. PKDA has been following the BDA (Planning and Building Standard) Regulations, 1993, for building plan approval. The Building plan approval process in PKDA is carried out manually. The building approval application is to be sought from and submitted to the PKDA office only

once the applicant has received No Objection Certificate (NOC) from the Revenue department, Temple Trust Authority, Fire authority, PCB, Drainage board, and State Coastal management authority. The approval is to be granted within 3 months currently. As per the Right to services Act enacted by the State in 2012, the approval should be granted within 2 months of application, failing which PKDA is levied with a fine of Rs150per day.

Town Planning Functions of PKDA

All Town Planning functions are carried out by PKDA in line with the Orissa Development Authorities Act. The function of town planning has not been transferred in actual to the ULB. The Two key staff of PKDA are the Technical Assistant and the Architectural Assistant. The Technical Assistant at PKDA is in charge of preparation of Comprehensive Development Plans, Zonal development plans, Master plans, TP schemes, etc. The Architectural assistant is in charge of Building regulations and approvals. Under JNNURM, there was an effort to devolve the town planning function to the Puri Municipal Council but unfortunately, the Municipality responded by asking PKDA to continue with this function. The reasons for this was the lack of trained manpower and capacity in PMC (interview with PKDA officials and PMC officials).

Regulatory and legislative frameworks

In Orissa the Maratha rule continued from 1751 Ad to 1803 AD during which a large number of Estates of Orissa were auctioned at Nagour by the Marathas. And with the British conquest of Orissa, the Permanent Settlement of 1793 was introduced by Lord Cornwallis under which the Zamindari system was introduced. The Zamindars became the owner of the land and collected land revenue from the raiyats and thus brought to an end the understanding of tillers land. In course of years the Zamindars in turn failed to pay the yearly settled amount known as Natabandi to the British government and as a result of this the government either auctioned the said zamindaris or decided to bring such Estates to the direct management of the British government and were thus known as Government Estate or Khasmahal.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the arrears started accumulating as the land owners and tenants were unable to pay the payment as per the provisions of the permanent settlement. To overcome the standing arrears, the British in the year; 1806 began the system of putting up defaulting estates for sale in Calcutta. This system was also known as the Sunset law. Taking advantage of such a system in place the people of Bengal started buying valuable properties of Orissa including Puri at very low prices. This explains the land holdings of Bengali families in Puri city and their interests in land which has historical colonial roots.

The first cadastral survey was done in the settlement of 1943-52 and was conducted under the Bengal Survey Act 1875 and Orissa Tenancy Act, 1913.

Since different revenue systems and tenancy laws prevailed in different parts of the present-day state of Orissa to consolidate and have uniformity the Orissa Survey and Settlement Act was brought in the year 1958 along with many other land related laws like the Orissa Land Reforms Act, the Hindu Religious Endowment Act, Orissa Prevention of Land Encroachment Act, Orissa Bhoodan Yagna Act, the Urban Land Settlement Rules etc.

The Orissa Government Land Settlement Act 1962 and Rules, 1983 provided for reservation and settlement of government land and for plotting of urban lands reserved for house sites and thus are of importance to us.

Section 8 of the Orissa Government Land Settlement Rules, 1983 provides for:

(i) Plotting of urban lands reserved for house-sites:

1. Government lands belonging to any urban area reserved for house-sites under Clause (a) of Sub-section (1) of Section 3 shall be divided into convenient plots in accordance with the scale fixed by the consultation with the Municipality or Notified Area Council, as the case may be, subject to the approval of the Revenue Divisional Commissioner with reference to the requirements.

In making such Division the principles of Town Planning and hygienic requirements shall be taken into consideration. The plots shall be so arranged as to ensure straightness of streets, guard

against overcrowding and make suitable provisions for drainage. Any future requirement of Government and other public institutions shall also be kept in view.

2. If a Town Planning Scheme has been approved under the Orissa Town Planning and Improvement Trust Act, 1956 for any urban area, the Collector shall follow the said Scheme in preparing the plan of house-sites for disposal.

3. The plots in urban area shall be divided into five categories and assigned for the following purposes, namely

- (i) land reserved for poor class people having annual family income of less than Rs.8,400
- (ii) land reserved for middle class people having annual family income between Rs.8,400 and 30,000 having no house-site or having inadequate accommodation in an urban area
- (iii) land reserved for future requirements of Government and other public purposes
- (iv) land to be settled by public auction and Page 114 of 133
- (v) land to be reserved for setting up Small or Medium Scale Industries.

We can see that the Rules provide for the allotment of land to the urban poor. The fact remains that there is not even a single case in Puri whereby land has been allocated by the district administration or the competent authority to provide land to the urban poor. There is thus lack of political will and neglect by the state in implementing an existing law which is pro-poor.

Housing: A Situational Analysis

Trends in Housing Sector of Puri

The formal housing sector in Puri city can be divided into three phases. In the first phase spanning till the decade of 1980s, the housing supply in Puri constituted individual oriented supply of ground structures in core city areas. During the second phase that spans between the years 1980-2000, major developments took place in the form pucca structure of G and G+1

structures in the city and it too was self-supply oriented. During this phase, the sole state intervention in housing took place by the Orissa State Housing Board for middle income groups. Post 2000 constitutes the third phase during which private developers entered the housing sector and started building housing projects that are multistoried project housing, apartment etc. PMC is not involved in producing housing. Building plan and approvals rest with PKDA. Overall, housing for the urban poor has been grossly neglected in Puri.

Major Housing Providers in Puri

On the basis of these trends, we can categorize the housing providers into three-Individual Supply, Orissa State Housing Board and Private Developers.

Individual Supply:

Majority share of houses in the region is self-built individual mode of supply. The houses constructed in this mode are mostly using locally available materials like mud, bricks, sand, bamboo, bricks etc. The city area has majorly pucca houses constructed through self-mode and self-financed.

The Odisha State Housing Board:

This is the only public housing institution of the state. It ventured into a small commercial plotted development carried out by them in Baliapada. The public housing scenario is therefore very poor with no examples. The institution was set up in the year 1968, by means of an Act of State Legislature known as "Odisha Housing Board Act-1968" with prime objective of providing affordable, litigation-free accommodation, both in urban as well as semi-urban areas to alleviate the acute shortage of housing in the State.

The website of the OSHB mentions the following as Salient Features of Housing Projects undertaken by it:

- Litigation-free land in prime locations.
- Affordable easy installment payment for allottees.
- Opportunity to stay in a colony of choice determined by socio-cultural aspirations.

- Well-planned infrastructure facilities such as: neighborhood development, development of schools, hospitals, parks, shopping complexes etc.

OSHB has so far completed and provided 29539 nos. of dwelling units (EWS - 3985, LIG-14325, MIG-5959, HIG-2440 and others - 2830) throughout the State.

Table 7. Housing Construction by OSHB in DUs

	EWS	LIG	MIG	HIG	Others	Total
Orissa	3985	14325	5959	2440	2830	29,539
Puri	Nil	Nil	165	Nil	Nil	165

Source:

In Puri city, the sole intervention by OSHB was in the year 1985-89 under which a MIG Housing Scheme at Baliapada was constructed comprising of 165 DUs of MIG category. Otherwise there has been no initiative. The project cost of the same was Rs 118 lakhs and was spread over a 10 acre plot.

Private Developers:

Very recently due to larger demand large numbers of private realty developers are building housing in Puri. The major ones being Arya Construction Pvt. Ltd, Sribhumi Constructions and Neelachal Build-tech & Resorts (P) Ltd.

Housing Typology in Puri

The existing Residential Land Use development in the city area comprises of Planned/plotted houses, Multi Storied Housing, Project housing /housing schemes quarters, Irregular layout/varying plot size houses, Clustered settlement / engulfed villages in urban areas, Slums/Informal housing settlements, Scattered Houses and Dilapidated Houses.

“The major planned and plotted development has come in the last decade due to change in demand pattern rising in the present context whereas the irregular and unplanned housing developments and dilapidated housing conditions is seen in the older part of the city areas except Grand road which although located on the older core of the city still having planned structures with a bit variations in-between. This is primarily due to location of high income households in the part of the city area. Large cluster of residential development is near Swargadwara area, south of Jagannath Temple. Other large hamlet of the same kind is towards north near Atharnala Bridge. The residential development along the Swargadwara area and around the Jagannath Temple, primarily comprise of irregular layout/varying plot sizes (24.65% of the total residences in Puri Urban area). Towards the Gundicha temple and towards the Atharnala Bridge the residential development is comprised of Quarters/Project housing/Housing scheme which sums up to 26.36% of the total residential area in the urban areas of Puri. Thus it is evident that the households initially developed during the growth of Puri were around the Jagannath temple, comprised of houses with irregular layouts and varying plot sizes” (Comprehensive Development Plan by PKDA, 2013).

Informal Housing in Slums: Existing slums in Puri

The growth of slums and informal settlements have been concomitant with the growth trajectory of Puri city. The growth of informal sector in slum settlements is due to migration from the rural hinterland and the bordering state of Andhra Pradesh as well as from within Puri district in search of employment - particularly in tourism and fishing sector. Slum settlements in the city can be classified into slum colonies belonging to fishing communities, common slums, population residing on the land belonging to Indian Railways and other government agencies. The growth of slums, squatters and informal settlements has become more acute after super cyclone, which has aggregated the problem (interview with slum dweller). Most of the slums of the city are located on unutilized Government land/ Railway land. Most of the slum dwellers in Puri are migrants in search of employment. Many of the slum pockets are thus on precarious ground and threatened by the possibility of evictions. Hagn, in a study has classified slums in Puri as those which are traditional and located in the core area of the city, inhabited mostly by low income groups, but native to Orissa, and integrally connected to the temple city's economy.

On the other hand, there are the newer slums which are created by migrants on peripheral or precarious land. These are not recognized and prone to evictions (Hagn 2011). The residents of these settlements face the issue of lack of security of tenure and in cases lack of adequate infrastructure especially sanitation.

Overall, the basic services and infrastructure across all settlements for the urban poor is inadequate. For instance, the water supply requirements in these slums are met with tube wells; public stand posts and wells. Few of the slum dwellers in the notified slums have individual latrine while others rely on community latrines or open defecation. Some of the notified slums were provided with temporary waste storage points/dustbins for the storage/collection of the solid waste generated.

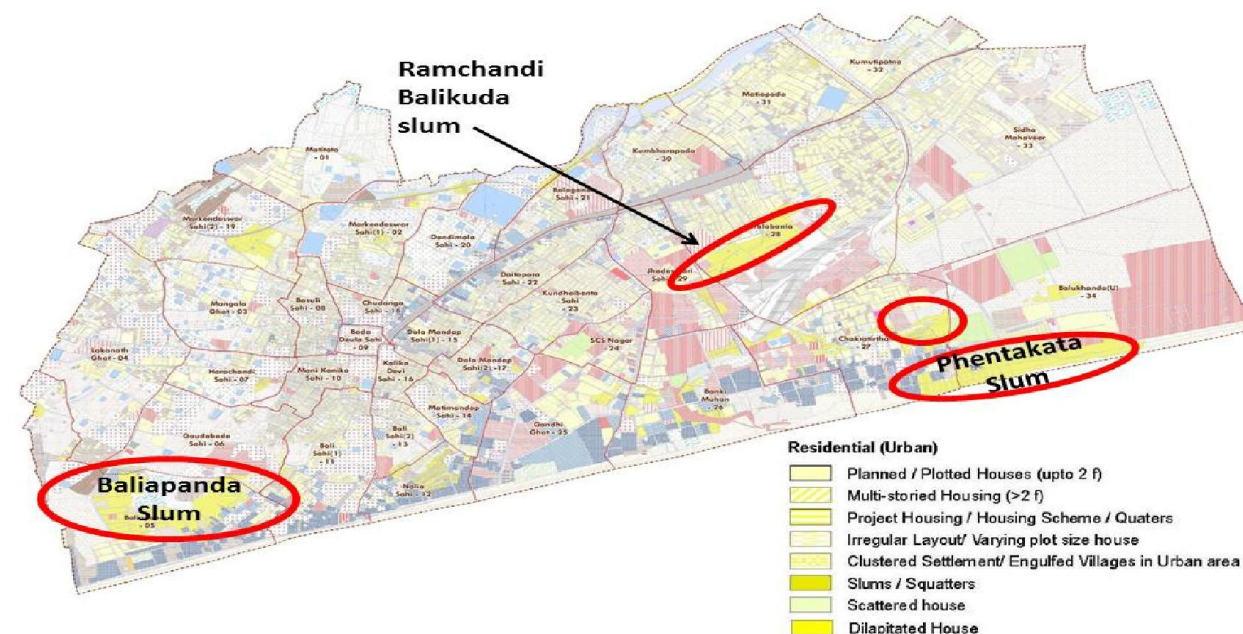
Number of Slums in Puri

As per the CDP 2014-41, the city has 0.52 lakh (latest is 0.57 lakh as on October 2014) slum-dwellers residing in 69 slum pockets as of now. The slum population has increased from 0.47 lakhs in 2001 to 0.52 lakhs which implies that the growth rate in slums is about 11%. As there were 46 slums during 2006 (CDP 2006) and now the number has increased and 11% growth in slum population, it gives a clear indication of inflow of migrants to the city and growth in slum settlements. Based on Census 2011, the slum population is nearly 46% of the total city population.

Wardwise Distribution of Slums

Ward number 1 towards Brahamgiri road has the maximum number of seven (07) slums followed by Ward number 5 and 25 with 3 slums each. Out of 32 wards in Puri city, 12 wards are slum free. These are located along Grand Road and Jagannath Temple complex. The big slum pockets are located around Baliapanda fields and the coastal zone (Phentakata slum) and around railway station (where large scale evictions are being carried out). Few of the slum pockets are located near NH 203 and towards Konark road which is located in periphery of city. In the map below, the location of a few of the big slum pockets has been circled. Apart from these there are many small slum pockets.

Map 1. Location of few big slum pockets in Puri



Source:ELU, PKDA (http://puri.nic.in/pkda/ELU_Puritown.xls)

Table 8. Population in Slums in Puri

Slums where Slum-dwellers have Patta			Encroached Slums			Outside Slums (Fringe Area)		Total		
No. of Slums	HH	Popn	No of Slums	HH	Popn	HH	Popn	No. of Slums	HH	Popn
15	2925	15,008	11	7257	23,513	13,846	50,101	26	24,028	88624

Source:Puri Municipality

From the table above, it is clear that there are more people living with uncertainty and risk in the slums without patta than in slums with patta since this determines their ability to negotiate for access to better infrastructure and basic services from the local government.

A substantial area in the city falls under environmental risk zone like coastal regulation zone, wetlands, and Sweetwater fields where there are severe restrictions on development. Few big slum pockets like Phentakata, Baliapanda, Ramchandibalikuda, Talabania where more than 50%

of the slum people reside comes under various restricted zones.¹ Since these locations are conveniently situated close to the main livelihood areas, it becomes difficult for municipality to rehabilitate them elsewhere without disturbing livelihoods.² The case is same with other slums like Baliapanda (people depend on beach tourism for livelihood), Ramchandi Balikuda (temple related tourism as their livelihood).

State Interventions in Housing Sector: Review of BSUP in Puri

During 2006, out of 26 identified slums under Puri Municipality total 9 slums were taken up for implementation of BSUP scheme. A total of 355 dwelling units are being constructed in these 9 slums. The sanction of DU's is in two phases. Under the first phase work orders have been issued for 60 DU's and in second phase work orders for 295 DU's were sanctioned.

The beneficiaries had to clear three criteria : (i) had to be Below Poverty Line (ii) had to have land title or patta, (iii) housing quality should be substandard or kaccha. According to Hagn, it is important to note that, "BPL status is not necessarily given to the poorest households and that the

¹See Slum information table: Appendix 1

²The ULB is considering to relocate Phentakata slum. But slum dwellers who are predominantly fisherman communities are showing resistance to relocation due to their dependence on the coastal edges for livelihood.

Council decided both on BSUP areas and BSUP household selection through council resolution. Thus there was a local coalition of interests in the project and clearly some settlements had better traction with local leaders and the PMC than others.

It is interesting to note that the first CDP that was prepared by the City Managers Association for Puri city and submitted for approvals towards the end of 2006 was asked to be revised by the Appraisal committee. Particularly, the committee pointed out that though a recipient of JNNURM and BSUP grants, the CDP had not reflected the nature of urban poverty, the location and issues of urban poor settlements and plans to improve urban basic services and infrastructure in these settlements. The revised CDP which was approved in 2007, thus contains a separate and indepth chapter on the situation of urban poor settlements in the city. Clearly, in the visioning of the city and the initial thoughts around the city, it was heritage and beautification that was at the centre of the CDP exercise.

The project delivery (BSUP) happened like a public housing program (Patel, 2013). The municipality approached the contractors to build the housing who performed very poorly and left the project midway. There was very little involvement of beneficiaries in the whole process throughout last 9 years, except towards the end. The beneficiaries only acted as a receiver of the benefits of the scheme given the top down nature of the design and implementation of the BSUP program. SPARC (NGO) was also roped in to improve the dwelling unit in some cases. The details about other actors involved are described in further sections. Although BSUP stressed on the overall development of settlements through the development of community infrastructure and facilities in the slums, all projects in Puri were geared at housing construction only.

Records indicate that while some were constructed through the beneficiary contribution, many dwelling units were constructed through the contributions of an NGO called SPARC.

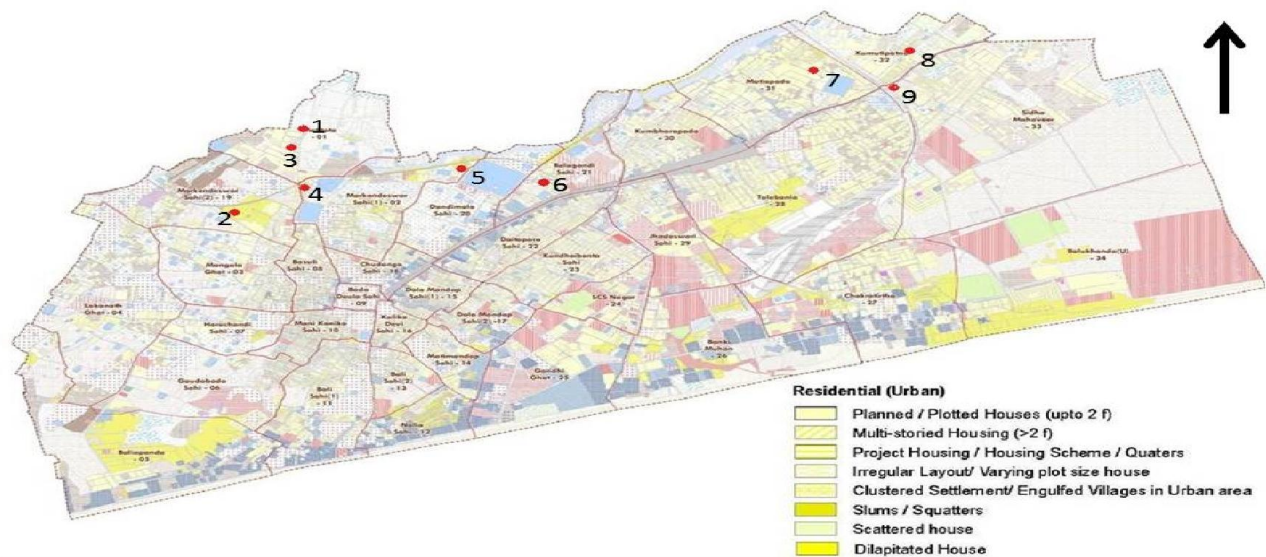
BSUP Sites

From the total 9 sites chosen for BSUP, Ward no. 1 has 5 slum pockets which is the highest. As discussed with municipality officers and ward representatives this ward consists of the maximum number of urban poor in the city and the biggest concentration of slums. Almost all the slums are there from more than two generations while few of them (Tikarapada, Kumuti patina) are there

more than 800 years from when Jagannath temple was built (12th century). Most of these settlements are called *sahi*, as discussed earlier. They form a small community as a part of village or part of the city. All the people from Tikarpada slum do the pot works (made of mud) for the Jagannath temple. This is their only source of livelihood. People in Ghokasahi are involved in fishing related commercial activities. On other way they collect fish from fisherman communities and sell it in market. Except these two slums all other people earn their livelihood as daily wage labor, rickshaw puller or involved in tourism related commercial activities.

Since these settlements are very old with inadequate basic infrastructure services, the structures dilapidated, and the population belongs to socially marginalized castes, are economically vulnerable, these were selected for the BSUP scheme under JNNURM. Referring to the map below, one can see the BSUP implemented slum locations.

Map 2. BSUP Implemented Slums



Source: Authors

Table 10. Selection of Slums for BSUP in Puri

Sr. No.	Name Of the Slum	Ward No.	No. Of HH	Population	Land Status	Land Owner
1	MatitotaSahi	1	81	442	Own+ Matha	Partly
2	Mishra NoliaSahi	1	-	-	-	-
3	MatitotaBhoiSahi	1	-	-	-	-
4	GokhaSahi	1	177	1309	Own+ Muncp	Partly
5	MangalaSahi NS Depot	1	151	1134	Muncp+ Own	No RoR
6	NarendrakonaBhoiSahi	21	149	741	Tahasil+ Own	No RoR
7	Tikarpada	29 & 30	102	624	Own	Fully
8	Kumutipatana	30	182	1006	Own	Fully
9	Chamarasahi	31	44	232	Own+ Muncp	Partly

Source: Comprehensive Development Plan for Puri 2014-41 prepared by PKDA, 2013

Slum Wise BSUP Scheme Status

BSUP scheme in Puri was carried ahead in two phases. In first phase a total of 60 DU's work order sanctioned and in second phase for 295 DU's work order issued. Detailed information

about individual slum DU's, work status and financial information can be found in the table below. The status of work completion on dwelling units is dismal. In the first phase only 8 of the 60 sanctioned dwelling units have been completed. While in the second phase, only 65 of the 295 sanctioned dwelling units have been completed. In the first phase 14% of the total DU's is in completion stage while in second phase it is 22%.

Table 11. Phase 1 details

Name of Slum	No. of HH in Slums	No. of Dwelling Units issued	Project Cost in lakh	Work Order issued	Work in Progress	Completed	Amount Spent Till Date in Rs.
MatitotaSahi	81	47(Beneficiary)	134.62	47	41	6	1868188
Mishra NoliaSahi	-	13(SPARC)	23.87	13	11	2	680000
Preparation of DPR, training & Capacity building (5%)			7.925				
A&S Charges (5%)			7.925				
GrandTotal		60	174.34	60	52	8	2548188

Source:Puri Municipality Status up to 31st Aug 2014.

Table 12. Phase 2 details

Name of Slum	No. of HH in Slums	No. of Dwelling Units issued	Project Cost in lakh	Work Order Issued	Work in Progress	Completed	Amount Spent Till Date in Rs.
MatitotaBhoiSahi		21	89.23	21 (Beneficiary)	16	5	2230100
TikarpadaSahi	102	46	129.8	46 (Beneficiary)	41	4	5572682
ChamaraSahi	44	28	86.74	28 (Beneficiary)	24	4	3753342
Kumutipatana	182	26	106.12	23 (Beneficiary)*	13	10	3474860
NarendrakonaBhoiSahi	149	23	75.06	23 (Beneficiary)	17	6	2082750
MangalaSahi NS depot	151	40	96.06	40 (SPARC)	34	6	0
GokhaSahi	177	111	260.39	111 (SPARC)	81	30	4377839
Preparation of DPR, training & Capacity building (5%)			42.17				
A&S Charges (5%)			42.17				
Grand Total		295	927.74		226	65	21491573

Source:

Out of the total money sanctioned for JNNURM for Puri city, only 11 crore or 3.5% of the total amount came for BSUP. Puri is facing drinking water issues but no provision for protecting sweet water zones came under this scheme. Rather a new water supply program worth 167 crore landed which is by now a failure project as mentioned by locals. This shows the complete and utter neglect for dealing with the housing issue of the urban poor in Puri, which is not an insignificant population in terms of numbers and their contributions to the economy of the city.

Strategy Adopted for BSUP Implementation

Beneficiary Selection

All the beneficiaries were selected on basis of (i) owned land (ii) name on the list of BPL and (iii) dilapidated or temporary housing condition. Those people who did not meet these three criteria were deprived of this scheme. The administration didn't follow the mandates as in BSUP guidelines, but rather took the safe route for selection. Since the communication was clearly made "only those people have 'pattas' and their name is on BPL list, they will be considered under this scheme", no opposition came from the other slum people (interview with slum residents). However, Hagn points out that ultimately whose name was incorporated into the BPL list was also part of a political strategy and decided by local leaders and not necessarily reflected the most vulnerable families in the settlement.

DPR and House Design

As discussed with Municipality officers that the DPR was prepared at ministry level. Since nobody took interest in preparing the DPR from Puri municipality the state level ministry had to do this. Mr. ArunPanda (Former Secretary MoHUD) took his own risk and outsourced the DPR preparation work to a consulting firm. No consultation was made with municipality while preparing DPR. For all the slums there was one single house design. It brings a contrast with the policy guidelines which says *that* "DPR have to be prepared by implementing agencies for funding under the mission including specific project components, viz, health, education and social security". Since the DPR was not with municipality as per the BSUP guidelines, it became very difficult to access detailed information about architectural design and other related information. No ground level survey even conducted or no municipal officer's involvement happened during DPR preparation. The beneficiary involvement in DPR preparation was also a big question mark, for the above reasons.

All the DU's were constructed according to in situ slum development plan. As they had to construct the houses on patta lands hence it was the only option available for them for giving houses to beneficiaries. There was no other alternative given to these beneficiaries for shelter. They had to demolish their houses and lived adjacent to that. Many people lived in a single

room, while many lived as tenants at neighbor's place during the period of reconstruction. Nobody moved outside their settlements given the proximity to social and economic ties. Rather they adjusted in those small communities. Also they got support from these communities as they had been neighbors for a long time.

Role of Contractors

Interviews with residents and some municipal officials revealed that the process of selection of contractors was questionable as it was common belief that those contractors who were influential were able to secure the contracts without meeting minimum eligible criteria. Most contractors built only part of the housing (after asking beneficiaries to demolish their own houses) and left the project in 2010. Thus it became very difficult to get interview them. There was hardly any information about the selection procedure of these contractors was available with the officer.

The involvement of UDRC³ via SPARC brought some relief to those families who had unfinished houses. After all the contractors left the work in the beginning, Puri municipality advertised few times for the tender of same work. But no contractor turned up since Rs 1,70,000 was far too little to construct a house in 2010. The prices of materials had escalated to nearly 30% to 40% since the project was put together in 2008. In one of the advertisement SPARC applied as only single applicant and hence they got into this project in 2010. They were issued work orders of 164 DU's(see Table 11 & 12).

Project Implementation Unit

The PIU at Puri municipality was established at the end of 2012 although the work orders etc. had already been given out. At this point of time the municipality got two appointments, one for a Municipality finance officer andan IT officer. Other posts were not filed up. Till then, the Executive Officer used to look after the finance related works of JNNURM. If the municipality had been informed regarding the new appointees and their job (how they will cooperate other municipality staff in successful implementation of JNNURM) by state level nodal agency at least some better progress could have been achieved (interview with municipal staff). One another aspect is that, the state didn't appointed another six posts as per the mandate which could have

³UDRC in collaboration with SPARC/NSDF has been supporting community led housing initiatives which are people process in its spirit and reality. (<http://www.udrcalliances.org/project.htm>)

given the whole scheme a better push. Also it brings more interest to know that why the state appointed the PIU so late in 2012, which should have been from very beginning.

Community Case Studies

Three slums out of total nine were chosen for detailed case analysis of BSUP scheme. These were Tikarpadasahi, Matitotasahi and Mangalasaahi NS depot. All the visits were done by observations, photo documentation, in-depth interviews and FGDs with beneficiaries at site. These communities were chosen according to age of slums, livelihood, and vulnerability of communities. Detailed information about these slums can be found in individual case analysis.

Case 1: TikarapadaSahi

Tikarpada is one of the oldest settlements of Puri with existence of more than 800 years. The locals use to call it *Sahi* which is here from when Jagannath temple was established (12th century). These people belong to Kumhar/Khumbar community (Potter). They make pots for Jagannath temple. During seasontime (Car festival) they use to make good income out of this. All the houses have separate place of around 50 sq. feet to 70 sq. feet for doing this work. This is their only source of livelihood. Their monthly income average comes around Rs. 3000 and if one or few more members of the family work at some other places then there are chances of some more money.

The sahi is structured with very narrow road width of maximum 2 meter and all the houses are Kutchha in nature. All of them are jointly structured leaving the 2 meter road as open space with a 1 ft open drain carrying all waste waters. The housing condition before BSUP scheme:

Photo 1. Tikarapada Sahi DU



Source: Rajkumar Sahoo

BSUP Implementation Impact

Out of 102 households only 46 got selected under BSUP scheme. As one of the oldest and having high attachment (livelihood related activities) with Jagannath Temple, while the houses were in kutcha condition without all other basic amenities. After discussion with municipality through multiple meeting finally the construction work began on 2009. Initially the work order was given to contractor through municipality. Contractor initiated the work with 15 to 20 houses. According to municipality instructions all the houses have to be demolished for constructions work. Also the contractor insisted by communicating that “sooner you demolish your house or make it good enough for initiation of construction work, the sooner I will complete your house” (Interview with beneficiary). With such kind of hope and promises of getting a Pucca houses where they won't have to invest every year for repairing as likekutcha houses most of them demolished their own houses.

A beneficiary claimed: “from childhood we have been staying in kutcha houses and when we got to know that Sarkar has brought us such Pucca housing provision scheme we all got greedy of getting a Pucca house. We could have never built a Pucca house with this small amount of income in our life time and if we are getting one from government, at least our children will be able to live there life in good way. Hence most of the people agreed and did self-demolition so that immediately their work will be started and they will be handover with Pucca house. ”

However, these contractors left the work in the middle without finishing the construction. The DU's were incomplete at various forms starting from foundation level to below lintel level. This was the situation during 2011. After that nobody turned up for further construction of work. Looking at this situation municipality opened up tenders for these unfinished projects but no one even filed application for this. With such conditions municipality finally had to give self-work order where the beneficiary will have to work by investing his/her own money and after verification by municipality they will receive cheque under different stage of completion. There was one single case where the contractor took money till lintel level (Rs. 42,000) just by only digging the ground for foundation work. Most of the beneficiaries are not above 10th or in many

cases not even 5th standard and illiterate. They are very simple and blindly believed whatever the contractor asked them to do. Somehow the contractors were able to influence the Council members to get the signature of beneficiary on paper and succeeded in manipulating the payments. This points to a lack of monitoring and evaluation by the municipality.

Then municipality communicated regarding self-work order and promised the beneficiaries that they would be paid in phases upon completion of each phase. Hence several beneficiaries started constructing on their own. As the price of materials had already escalated more money was required to complete each DU. Also due to lack of communication many of them didn't follow the design provided by Municipality. Most of them borrowed money from local lenders with an interest amount of 3% to 5% per month and started constructing houses with the hope of quick work progress and also receiving money from municipality.

A beneficiary named Kashinath Sharma who constructed his house by putting his money which sums of more than Rs. 3,50,000. He has received only Rs. 40,000 till lintel level. Now his roof is casted from last 6 months. Many times he has gone to municipality but no responses from them. Out of the total money he has borrowed Rs. 1,00,000 for which he is giving per month interest 3,000 and for 6 months he has already paid Rs. 18,000 as interest amount. The case is same with most of them those who have somehow completed their houses. All of them are in debt and sometimes they even couldn't pay interest money properly. Even those houses which were half built by contractor and then built by beneficiaries landed up costing more than 3 lakhs.

There are cases where beneficiary are in old age more than 65 now and their houses are incomplete. Their conditions are more vulnerable than before the project. Some of them stay by covering plastic bags in those half built houses. Many times in municipality meeting they have demanded at least for a plastic bag, so that they get some shelter by covering these half built houses. All the beneficiaries have lost their work place and now they are even facing problem with livelihood. As the community is one of potters – they deal with mud work hence it has to be protected from water, moisture, rain. But during rainy season they face the disaster. Since last 4 years this cycle is being going on.

Sankara Saran Muduli, a resident, says: *“from the few completed house my house is one. From the municipality I got to know that my house has received the “complete status” and contractor has taken Rs. 1,46,000 from municipality. When contractor left the work the house was in very bad condition and was not in a position to stay. Hence I had to put another Rs. 1,20,000 from my pocket which I borrowed from local lenders and completed the house with minimum requirements. Every month end I am paying Rs. 3,600 as interest. Sometimes I have to borrow money to pay interest. It becomes very difficult to pay principal amount. If this continues it might take a life time period to clear my debt or my children will clear them.”*

Even after self-work order issued most of the beneficiary couldn't progress with their construction work. This self-work order notice came during end of 2011. By now most the material and labor prices were doubled. For foundation (plinth level) the minimum requirement was Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 50,000. Very few beneficiaries would able to do this and rest couldn't because of money problem. Also when other beneficiary faced problem in getting money from municipality those who even thought of progressing their work, they stopped. They say our income is not more than Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,000, from where we will get such large chunk of money. Somewhere in the mid of 2013 municipality took risk of another method by providing them advance bill of Rs. 20,000 each. Even after receiving advance bill didn't progressed. The only reason was, now the prices are doubled and not possible with this amount of money. Those who were able to they went ahead and others remained with the same half built unconstructed house struggling for their dreamed Pucca house as permanent shelter.

Also there are many cases where during demolition lot of people have cut down their coconut tress which were a good source of income for them. Now they regret for even being selected under this scheme.

Current Situation

UpendraBisoi a beneficiary who has completed his houses by investing more than Rs. 4,00,000. His comments “*We were staying in kuchhahouses which were better. With taking this responsibility on our head we all are bankrupted. We don’t have any money with us now. As per their instruction we demolished our houses and they said you will have pucca houses. But when the contractor left the work in the mid, then we didn’t had any places to stay. We became bound to take the work order on our head and start work by us. Previously we use to have big places for mud works but this has become difficult now. The whole sahi was happy with kuccha houses. From the day this houses has come as a gift from government to us, we all have lost our money by investing here. Our income is very low. We only provide mud pots to Jagannath temple and Lord Jagannath has kept us survived. We thank very much to lord Jagannath. All the households in our Sahi have borrowed money from different sources to build their houses. We are paying heavy interest rates to the lenders.If this would have been the situation, we would have never taken the responsibility to build houses. The Sahi has lost its unity; previously we use to sit together, share festivals together. But now days, from last 4 years everyone is busy with paying interest, those who couldn’t borrowed money and also do not have that much money to invest, are staying in very bad condition. The government has snatched our happiness from us.*”

Even if the houses were constructed in front of beneficiaries the community felt excluded from the process of rebuilding. Since most of the old houses were demolished, they had to adjust in very small spaces (whole family doing all the home activities in one room). The situation remains the same after the work stopped half-way. This has created larger problem for the women of the houses in terms of doing various activities. Many times the beneficiaries approached municipality, but the municipality has not responded to them. In the meantime, the beneficiaries began to lose their daily wage as it was spent in going to the municipality. On one side they are burdened with loans and other side they are losing their incomes too. To avoid this, women of the community gathered together and started going to municipality with a hope if at least they see women coming regularly they will act soon. Still the response from municipality didn’t changed and it is still going on till today. However, this has not moved the municipality either.

Picture of the houses which are partly constructed by contractor and no progress in construction has been made from last two to three years.

Photo2. Tikarpada Sahi partly constructed DU's



Source: Rajkumar Sahoo

Picture of the houses which are same as above situation but beneficiaries somehow covered the roof by polythene sheet or asbestos.

Photo 3. Roof covered by polythene sheet or asbestosin partly constructed DU's



Source: Rajkumar Sahoo

Photo 4. Makeshift arrangements by beneficiaries in partly constructed DU's



Source: Rajkumar Sahoo

Beneficiary Demands

Our only demand is that either they complete the construction of these half built houses or otherwise they give us the full money so that somehow we can make the houses complete for shelter purpose.

Case 2: MangalaSahi NS Depot

It is a 200 year old slum of the city which is placed in the road side towards Bhradhagiri road. It comes under Ward no. 1 and most of the people work as daily laborers (unskilled). Few also work as hawkers or vegetable sellers. Most of the people belong to SC category and their annual income varies from 8,000 to 15,000.⁴ The land status is “*Stitiban*” or they are the owner of these lands. Half of them have education qualification till 5th standard while the rest are illiterate. The house condition was Kutcha house with drainage facility, no road, no drinking water and no sanitation.

As it is situated on both side of NH, but the internal roads are in very bad condition. This NH becomes a public open space for social interaction while this is unsafe to do this. But there is no other way. In 2012 the local MLA inaugurated a publictoilet for them.

Photo 5. Kutcha houses in MangalaSahi NS Depot



Source: Rajkumar Sahoo

⁴As per survey done by Puri Municipality during 2006.

BSUP Implementation Impact

The work order for this slum got sanctioned in 2009 through contractor. Immediately after work order issued the contractor placed some materials for starting construction work. But within a month contractor left the site without initiating a single DU construction. Out of the 41 beneficiaries not a single DU's construction was even initiated. The first beneficiary named PatitaMallik was kind of front person for all these 41 beneficiaries. He himself went one step ahead and helped all the ground level work before work initiation. Later on they got to know that the contractor was asked for money from local rowdies. Rent seeking by local elements and the cost escalation of materials apparently forced the contractors out of the job.

After multiple tender advertisements only SPARC in 2010 turned up and as it was the only applicant hence municipality gave the contract to SPARC to build the DU's. In total SPARC was given 164 DU's to construct in three different slums (Gokhasahi -111 DU's, Mngalajahi NS depot- 41 DU's, Mishra Noliajahi- 13 DU's). As disused in earlier section, SPARC in association with UDRC (Regional level) started the construction work. At local level they allotted MahilaMelan (NGO)⁵ to monitor and facilitate the construction work. As of now at MangalaSahi,UDRC has completed 6 numbers of DU's.

Out of these 6, initially UDRCstarted constructing 4 DU's adjacently. After completion of these houses all the beneficiaries had to put another Rs. 60,000 to Rs. 80,000 for full completion of house. They had to bring electricity connection, floor finishing work and some cases painting. As discussed with UDRC officials they ended up investing 2,50,000 per DU till full completion. They are investing a lot of money from their own pocket (interview with UDRC officials).

With such situations and consistent escalation of cost of materials, SPARC also stopped doing work but still remains in contract. As per their calculation a total amount of 36,000 was required for only labor charges for full completion of house. But as the prices of materials are hiked, also the labors increased their fees. For which they had a meeting and finalized that each beneficiary will add another 5,000(which is now Rs. 17,000+Rs. 5000= Rs. 22,000) from their part. Even after this the laborers didn't turn up and finally they surrendered that with Rs. 1,70,000 it

⁵Mahila Milan (Women Savings Group)

becomes impossible to complete the house. Hence they also asked the beneficiaries to take self-work order. Those who took it they ended up investing more than Rs. 4,00,000. As they were constructing a Pucca house for once and long term purpose they had to put good quality materials. With the same design the investment was more than 4 lakhs. Here also people borrowed money from local lenders or bank to support the construction. According to phase wise completion they receive money from SPARC. The self-work order was continued by very few numbers of beneficiaries because most of the beneficiaries didn't have that good credibility in market for which they were denied bank loans.

Current Situation

There are many DU's which were left just after roof casted or partially constructed position. Many of the beneficiaries demolished their houses and now staying in a single room with 7 to 8 members or covering plastic bags. These houses are left like this since last two years.

Photo 6. Partly Constructed DU's in MangalaSahi NS Depot



Source: Rajkumar Sahoo

As beneficiaries do not have money they are not able to complete these houses at least for livable condition nor do they have other places to stay. With such circumstances they are using somehow these Pucca houses under JNNURM scheme.

The design of the houses is uncomfortable to the beneficiaries because kitchens remain are placed next to indoor latrine and bathroom. Rather latrines and bathrooms are used as store rooms. The details can be found in picture below.

Photo 7. Toilets in completed DU's used as storerooms

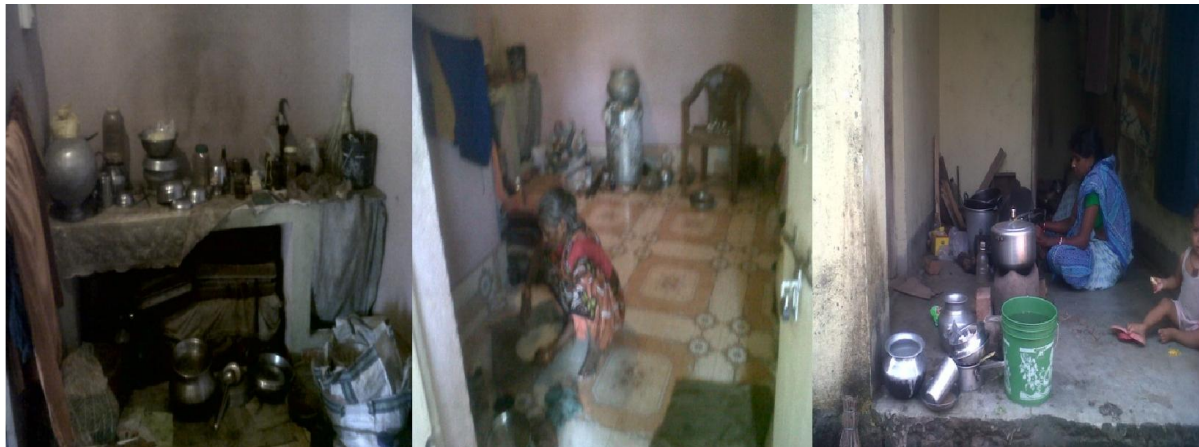


Source: Rajkumar Sahoo

The above pictures show how the latrines and bathroom are being used without water supply. The amenities are there but there is no water line connection made to these services.

The case is same with also kitchens. They use their individual rooms as kitchen. Details can be found in pictures below.

Photo 8. Rooms double up as kitchens in completed DU's



Source: Rajkumar Sahoo

These houses got completed last year and within a year there has been development of cracks just below the roof slab. According to beneficiaries, the materials used in the construction work

is of very low quality also the work has been highly manipulated for which these houses are very weak. The details are in pictures below.

Photo 9. Cracks in roofs of completed DU's



Source: Rajkumar Sahoo

There are cases where constructions of houses are not yet started while the beneficiaries have given some amount from beneficiary contribution (Ranging from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 17,000). People have demolished their houses but no construction has been yet progressed by now. Now they are waiting for them, when they will come and construct their houses. They say it is a day dream to us and we were stupid that we believed in this scheme.

As per the guidelines many of the houses plinth level are also below the road level. There is always storm water flood in these houses in rainy season. One beneficiary said: *“Those people who are constructing these houses will they build their own house like this? Are we human or something else for which they are treating us like this?”*

Beneficiary Demands

Their only demand is that their house should be constructed for them. Their condition is much worse than those who are staying in Kutcha house. Or else municipality should give them their share so that at least they can make it a livable shelter. As one beneficiary mentioned: *“We stay here, we will decide how we want to live. What power does municipality is having, so that they snatch our shelter from us?”*

Case 3: MatitotaSahi

MatitotaSahi is at west periphery of the city with establishment of more than five generations. It belongs to ward no. 1. The BSUP scheme has been implemented at Matitotasahi by splitting it into two sahis. One is Matitotasahi (MatitotaPradhanSahi) the case which we will go through and the other one is MatitotaBhoisahi. In Matitotasahi there are 47 beneficiaries out of which 6 are in completed status. The rest are in progress status.

The people here earn their livelihood from daily wage labors and agricultural activities. They also use to have coconut trees which bring them a good income. Most of the people have education qualification below 5th standard. All the people have their own land - the structure of the plots are 7 feet in width to 60ft to 70 feet in length. Situation of sahi before JNNURM can be found in below pictures.

Photo 10. Condition of Sahi before JNNURM



Source: Rajkumar Sahoo

BSUP Implementation Impact

The work order issued for this slum under first phase. First the construction work was given to contractors in 2009. Here also the contractor worked most of DU's till roof casting level. There are few DU's which were left partly built till lintel level. Few of the beneficiaries whose roof was casted they themselves added up some money and completed the house. Those who didn't

have money there houses are still unfinished like that without any doors, windows and other basic amenities. Those who completed they landed up investing another Rs. 80,000 to Rs. 1,00,000. Not a single house has latrines and bathroom. These people still use open defecation for these activities.

Beneficiaries have gone to municipality many times for bill clearance. But municipality has kept them waiting for months. Few of them have been paying interest for more than a year. They are facing major problem with the interest amount. They have also approached to ward councilor but still no response. There may be certain other circumstances (officers busy with Navakalevara development/3 JE's handling all 32 wards/problem at ground level) for which municipality is not able to clear the bills quickly as promised, but these are beyond their comprehension. The Residents are worried because they are running on high debt with every passing month and paying huge interest amount which is nearly equal to their income for a month.

As per the instructions most of the beneficiaries demolished their houses and from last three years they are staying with very bad conditions. As this is a very small community, hence nobody could get rented room to stay. With one single room and covered with plastic bags or in Kutcha conditions they are living this life. The community which is also in uncompleted conditions, finally had to become a shelter for a family whose house got demolished during storms. Few of the houses which are in partly completed can be found in picture below:

Photo1. Partly constructed DU's



Source: Rajkumar Sahoo

Few houses got cast roofs but other amenities could not be put together. These are shown in pictures below.

Photo 2. DU's with completed roofs, lacking other amenities



Source: Rajkumar Sahoo

These entire DU's with roofs cast had been left in this condition for the past 3 years. A child apparently lost his life to a snake bite while residing in these half constructed houses. Most of the houses are made up of very low quality materials and low quality of work. During rainy season rain water falls directly from the roof through leaking roof slab. The whole house becomes a waste water collection centre. The mortar from the walls easily gets displaced by simple rubbing with hands. They fear to even stay within such poorly constructed houses.

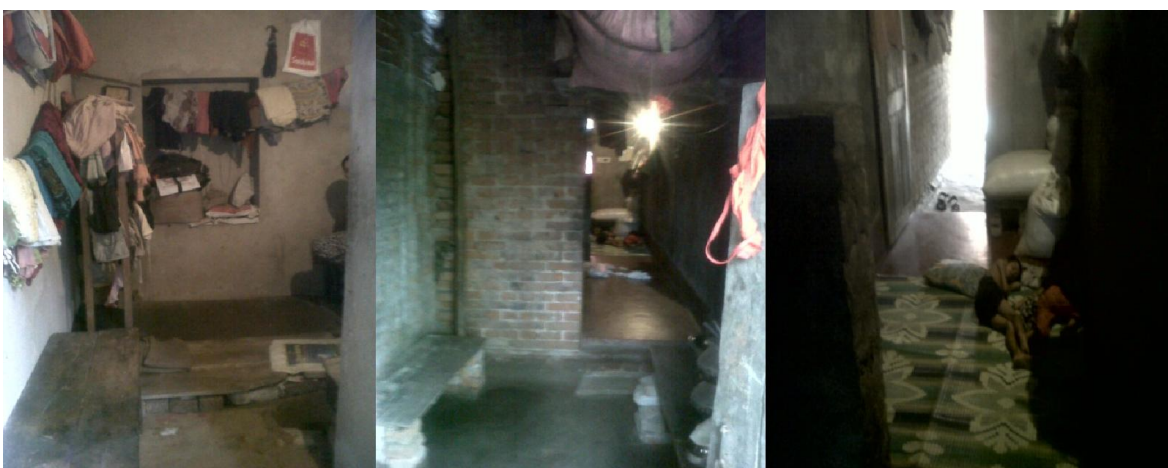
Current Situation

Because of high amount of loan borrowed from local lenders, most of them are facing heavy financial problems. From municipality they are not getting the remaining funds while every month end they have to pay huge interest cost. There is no proper communication regarding what amount of money is left with each beneficiary. They have no idea what is happening with their remaining amount. Most of the people cut down their coconut tress which was a major source of income for them and now they are suffering that income deficit which they could have been able to generate.

All of them were initially communicated that they have to pay Rs. 17,000 as beneficiary contribution. Later on in the beginning of 2014 all the beneficiaries were communicated by municipality that another 8% to 9% of their Rs. 1,70,000 will be deducted on basis of VAT-5%, royalty- 1% to 2%, income tax- 1%. When the beneficiary complained about this to chairman, then the decision was made not to charge these service charges.

There were few cases where the houses made by contractor are very small in nature. Many times the beneficiaries requested the contractor to think of alternative designs but contractor didn't listen. The details can be found in pictures below.

Photo 3. Lack of space: Small houses built by contractors



Source: Rajkumar Sahoo

Kitchen rooms have been constructed attached with bed rooms but they are not being used by beneficiaries given paucity of space. The DU's which some got completed but the beneficiaries haven't received the full money from municipality can be found in pictures below.

Photo 4. Completed DU's



Source: Rajkumar Sahoo

Beneficiary Demands

The demands are same as other two slums. Those whose bills are pending they want that amount to be given to them immediately. The financial conditions are deteriorating for them. Those whose DU's are incomplete, they want those money to be given to them in advance so that they will be able to start the construction and complete it.

How Municipality implemented BSUP

When the program was launched it took two years for the center to sanction the work order for Puri municipality. Particularly for Puri the DPR was sent in beginning of 2007 and finally at the end of 2007 municipality received sanction order. Municipality itself took another one year to do the local tasks and self-preparation. By the time it reached mid of 2008, 2009 election environment came up. It so happened that municipality officers got engaged with election work while municipality itself officially got involved for 3 months in election.

After completion of election, finally the work started in mid of 2009. By this time already the price of raw materials were escalated till 30% of the original price. The same thing also happened during 2014 election period.

Initially work orders were given to contractors and at most of the sites they initiated the construction work. All of sudden from all the sites contractors left the work. All the contractors worked till lintel level which is the creamy part where maximum profit can be generated. After this municipality did advertise many times but no contractor turned up. When the works remain stopped and gradually they were getting close towards completion of scheme, finally they gave self-work order with a hope at least beneficiary will add some money from their pocket and they get the houses under this scheme. In the meantime SPARC took the contract for building 164 DU's at three different slums. According to the municipality, there are many beneficiaries who haven't given their share of contribution even today. In some cases, they have taken the risk of releasing advance cheque but still no progress.

When DPR was prepared, it wasn't prepared by Puri municipality. No body from the municipality even took interest to prepare the DPR. Finally at state secretary level Mr. Arun Panda called one outside consulting agency and outsourced the preparation of DPR. Puri municipality had no role in the preparation of DPR. No consultation was made with municipality or relevant officers at municipality. As all the slums had different characteristics, a unique DPR for Puri turned to be a failed DPR. This one of the major reason for the failure of the project by now. As of now there is near about 100 odd DU's for which the work is not yet initiated. A total of 73 DU's are in complete status. As per the recent instruction from MoHUD that "A DU will

be called as in complete status except outside plastering and painting.”⁶ Hence they are able to achieve this figure.

As per the BSUP guideline section 7 (admissible component), the municipality has barely touched very few points. Even they are not 100% success on these points. Not a single site has any other basic required infrastructures other than these partly built (poor quality) unfinished houses. It is possible the municipality and the state was not clear what was meant by “Integrated development of slums through the provision of basic urban services“. The beneficiaries said “We are not even expecting them to build a toilet or drainage for us. We pray to them, so that at least they should complete the construction of our houses”.

As discussed earlier the beneficiaries remained as state welfare receiver while they should have been the most important stake holder. Starting from the DPR preparation phase till execution they were never included in any decision making.

Junior Engineer Role

At present there are total three (3) JE’s who are looking after all the developmental work at their level. Each of them looks after 10 wards on an average. During the interviews, most of the municipality was steeped in preparation for the Navakalreva. Thus, other developmental works suffered greatly. Another problem that engineers faced was that most of the works were in self-work order status. Hence there was a high mismatch between guidelines and what the beneficiaries had constructed. As most of them haven’t followed the DPR designs (barring the houses constructed by contractors), there are major differences between actual and constructed measurements. Engineers are afraid to green light these houses. But the beneficiaries are not in a situation to understand these reasons leading to conflict between the beneficiaries and the engineers. Staff vacancy for long periods of time also mean that many of the bills etc. take a long time to be processed leading to frustration amongst beneficiaries.

⁶Information collected by from municipality officer

Municipality Response

The BSUP under JNNURM is unsuccessful in Puri. The orders got sanctioned in late for which they had to face maximum problems with price escalation. There was no price escalation clause in the guidelines. The officers under PIU was appointed very late. Would it have been from the beginning, they could have performed better result than as of today. The PIU was set up for smooth working process but it didn't happened. Municipality is completely short of manpower for which it becomes very difficult to focus on such kind of scheme. Because of Navakalevara all the staffs are completely busy with other developmental works and when it turns towards to BSUP, prioritizing the scheme becomes very difficult. The municipality plans to cover the gaps under RAY. The municipality is invested in ensuring that beneficiaries complete their houses under construction. Previously people use to think that Municipality is there to do the maintenance of infrastructures of city like cleaning the city, maintain street lights, waste management. But JNNURM scheme helped the people to know that there are so many other important things which are being taken care by municipality.

Key Themes for failure of BSUP at Puri

Starting from top to bottom there are many reasons for which the BSUP scheme is unsuccessful:

1. Late sanction order from center

The final sanction order from center came in 2008 and municipality itself took another 1 year for self-preparation. Hence order sanction and preparation phase itself took 3 years. By this time the prices were escalated to nearly 30%. As time passed away the escalation was growing. Today it costs double or more than Rs. 3,50,000 to construct the same DU. This happened because of majorly staff problem. Till today the situation is same. A new scheme (RAY) has already launched, but the work has not been started. Since the state and center both facilitating the schemes and they are completely aware about the issues of staff, then why again they are keeping silent.

2. Issue related to DPR

From the municipality nobody took interest in preparing the DPR. This was because there were no proper skilled personnel available in municipality also all these things was completely new to them. Hence the DPR was prepared by outside agency. The outside agency didn't consult at ground level with municipality officers or community level. Municipality was not included when the surveys were conducted. There was a single design prepared for all the slum sites. As all the slums had different characteristics with related to land, livelihood and occupation, culture for which the DPR itself got failed in many cases while preparing layout designs. Even today many DU's are not even initiated because of this. Secondly the involvement of beneficiaries was never happened. The whole process should have been participatory, while the process went as *big babus* giving orders to people. The intention has to be changed at the state and local level if at all they want for an integrated development.

3. No proper staff engagement with BSUP

Puri municipality is having big crunch of staffs. There is no proper staff that only looks after slum issues. Also the JE's are very highly overloaded with other developmental work. From last two years the JE's are engaged with developmental work related to Navakalevara for which the DU construction progress is delayed. The council has demanded a slum improvement officer who will only look matters related to slum, but the state hasn't responded yet. At first the minimum basic requirement of setting up a PIU at implementing agency got itself failed. From the beginning the municipality went parallel with staff as a major issue. If the state and center are so focused positioning the city so called as global tourism city⁷, then why the state is bringing more projects rather than enhancing the capacity of the municipality.

4. Contractor Issues

As the prices were escalated by the time the contractors started the work, hence all the contractors left the construction work from plinth level to lintel level. It was otherwise called as the cream layer work where most of the profits were involved. Later on those who took self-work order and able to put some money completed their houses and those who couldn't the houses are still in same situation. As discussed earlier, we saw that all the contractors (big or small) were politically linked and how they got these contracts. Now more future projects are about to start. Weather the municipality need to act as a strong regulator or the state should bring more clarity on selection of these players for affordable housing programs is something that needs further discussion.

5. Self-work order issue

After multiple tender advertisements when no contractors or agencies stepped in and also the time was moving closer to March 2013, finally municipality decided to give self-work order to beneficiaries. Those who had some money or by borrowing from different sources, finally constructed houses. Those who couldn't are staying in very bad

⁷2006 CDP mission & Activities related to Navakalebara as discussed in earlier section

condition. Also as per municipality communication the cheques were not issued at proper time for which beneficiaries had to suffer various kinds of financial burdens. Looking at suchkind of issues those who had thought of even beginning the construction activity they stopped. Though municipality had though that this will bring them a better result but it didn't work out.

6. Lack of proper communication to beneficiaries

In the whole process there was no clear communication made to the beneficiaries. What amount did contractor spent from beneficiaries' fund, what amount is left for beneficiaries from Rs. 1,53,000 is still unclear to most beneficiaries. Also when the self-work order was issued lot of beneficiaries thought that they were adding some money from their side, hence they will construct the houses little bigger so that their children can live happily. They had no idea that they have to construct according to the design given by municipality also no consultation was made from their side. When municipality officers visited they found difficulty in proper measurements according to guidelines which created a bottleneck for immediate issue of cheques.

7. Navakalevara development pressure

From the past two years the developmental activities for Navakalevara are being pursued aggressively by the municipality. Even the JE's who are overloaded with 10 wards per each and they are engaged with this. The political pressure is also very high on them for which many times they can't give adequate time into BSUP. The overlapping developmental activities have caused biasness towards major requirements while many poor people continue to live in painful conditions. In fact, due to this pressure, some of the more vulnerable slum settlements, without patta, have faced the brunt of brutal mass evictions.

Issues in Implementation

BSUP project in Puri was hugely unsuccessful because of many reasons. The beneficiaries have not benefited by this project. Many still think that they were better off earlier. In almost all the slums under BSUP program, these common problems were identified in the **Housing component** of the project:

- Due to lack of funds, the beneficiaries could not start the construction work, as a result there was no progress at all in Municipality records. In some cases, the houses are partly constructed and abandoned due to similar problems. Unfinished houses can be seen in these photos.

Photo 15. Unfinished Houses



Source: Rajkumar Sahoo

- In many cases, the beneficiaries frequently visited the municipality to collect their cheques, but the municipality did not issue them the cheques in time. Because of this the beneficiaries had to face delay in the construction.
- Municipality demolished many houses in the identified slum areas, but after that the beneficiaries could not construct the houses due to financial problems. So, basically the slum dwellers were left without any house for many weeks and after that they returned to the same condition again.

- The beneficiaries also stated that the officials in the municipality are never present on duty when they go for grievance or complaints regarding the project.
 - The beneficiaries of many BSUP sites are constructing their houses by availing funds from the local lenders. They charge them heavy interests as the beneficiaries cannot repay the lenders in time. The municipality does not issue the beneficiaries cheques in time.
 - Many houses don't have the toilets which was promised as a component of the project. The cost of the dwelling unit could not afford to construct the toilet in some cases. Some of the beneficiaries constructed the toilets by using their own funds or by lending from others. If there are toilets, then due to paucity of space, or the design, these are not being used.
 - The design of housing does not take into consideration the livelihood aspect of these communities. Many beneficiaries have lost the spaces within or between houses which they used as areas for drying and making clay pots. Others have lost coconut trees etc which used to give them supplementary income.
 - Most beneficiaries have gone into a cycle of debt and predatory lenders are making a big profit.
 - Communities have been fragmented and inequality has grown within these tightly knit communities because some have been able to access funds to complete their houses, while others are living in half constructed houses, falling ill due to exposure to elements or else, losing livelihood because they are busy with house construction.
 - Many of the beneficiaries accept that they are not satisfied by the BSUP project as the Municipality has not assisted in a proper manner.
- Problems faced by the beneficiaries in the **Infrastructure Component** of the project:
 - In many slums there is not proper drainage facilities. In some areas, the sewage water is also discharged into the same. The picture shows the drainage at Kumutipatana Slum. At some areas, the drains are having very less width and are choked. The drains are discontinuous at some slums.

- Roads in the identified slum areas have not been constructed properly. The photo below shows the un-done road at Tikarpada Slum.

Photo 16. Dirt track instead of paved path in Tikarpada slum



Source: Rajkumar Sahoo

- Community Centre at some places are not utilized. Finishing is not done in many of the community centres. At Kumutipatna, the community centre constructed by the Municipality was unfinished. Some of the local residents pooled in resources and made the building functional.
- In **Matitota Phase 1** BSUP Slum which is in ward no. 1, beneficiaries have reported that the municipality officials have said that the project cost of a DU has been reduced to 1,36,000. The project cost of a single dwelling unit is Rs.1,70,000 and the beneficiary share is 10% which amounts to Rs. 17,000. Some of the officials from the Puri Municipality have stated that the cost per dwelling unit has been changed by the govt and it now Rs1,36,000 only. On hearing this statement, the beneficiaries whose cheques are still left to be collected from the municipality are worried. It is still unclear as to why the costing was revised.
- In **Matitota Phase 1** BSUP slum, many beneficiaries have constructed their houses by lending funds from local sources. They are paying heavy interests as the Municipality is not

issuing them the cheques in the stipulated time. Due to their delay and irresponsible attitude, the beneficiaries are suffering a great deal. Some of the photos of the slum.

Photo 17 . Matitota Phase 1: Houses constructed with money borrowed from local sources



Source: Rajkumar Sahoo

- In the **Tikarpada slum** of Puri, initially the contract was given to a local person with the consent of the beneficiaries. The contractor took the money for the construction of the BSUP houses. He started the work but fled during halfway of construction. The main reason was the price escalation of construction materials and labour. The picture here shows one such incomplete house in the Tikarpada Slum. The DPR was prepared in 2004 and implementation started in 2008. The 1.7 lakhs was nowhere near enough for a DU of 25 sq. mts. As a result many of the BSUP houses were left without any roof or finishing. They themselves could not afford to construct the rest of the house. They admit that they were happier in the kutchha house before.

Photo 18. Incomplete House in Tikarpada Slum



*Source:*Rajkumar Sahoo

- **In Tikarpada**, the beneficiaries are generally potters. Their houses are completed on the records of the Municipality but on site the story was completely different. The houses are exposing the brick masonry and they are not even plastered. There are no doors and no windows. Due to the humid climate of Puri, the walls are gradually losing its binding and started to fall off. A woman living in such a house has her life endangered by the construction.

Conclusion

Puri although is a small city but the significance it has for the state of Orissa and to an extent the country is immense. One of the prime reasons is its historical religious importance and another is its potential as a tourist destination.

Puri city has transformed over the decades but, in comparison to other cities like Bhubaneswar, this process has been a slow one. Over period of time, the role of the Temple as an institution has not declined but remains intact. With the coming up of new institutions, somehow this has strengthened or has been reinvented. The economic contribution of the tourism related activities of the temple and the beach continue to play an important role in the city.

The private real estate sector is a very new entrant in Puri but from the very start it has developed a shady character. Most of the players in real estate sector of the city have been caught on the wrong side of the law. In the month of May this year the state's crime branch (CB) arrested Subhransu Singh, managing director (MD) of Sribhumi Constructions for allegedly swindling funds to the tune of several crores and cheating investors in Khurda and Puri districts on the pretext of providing them double the amount on their deposited money.

The hotel industry operates as a 'mafia' according to local civic activists. Many complaints of building bye-law violations, violation of environmental laws have been filed against them but they operate as per their own whims and fancies. The state benevolence to the hotel industry can be gauged from the fact that in a recent High Court order on a matter related to demolition of illegally constructed hotels, the High Court ruled that "the Puri Konark Development Authority (PKDA) has no power to order demolition of any illegal hotel". This is related to matter whereby the PKDA had identified and issued demolition notices to over 300 hotels that have illegally encroached upon the seashore.

Housing sector in Puri can be described as one that has been facing the neglect of the state authorities. Although the potentials for improvement and successes are immense but it has never been on the radar of the executive or the political class. The inequality that exists in the city is marked by housing inequality also. As such there is no shortage of land that could explain the non-provisioning of housing, but it still remains a mirage. One can say that housing as an agenda

has never been on the radar of municipal authorities. It has been left over to people themselves to arrange for it and do in the way they can do. Thus the housing that gets generated might be not in compliance with the building bye-laws but is the one that fits in people's requirements as well as means.

On comparative terms, the 'slums' of Puri are much better than the slums of metros and big cities. But then with the coming up of central government schemes and money, a new set of dynamics in housing sector has been introduced. The budgetary allocation led housing intervention has not generated any new ideas or improvement in the housing sector. Even after the housing budget being made available under JNNURM not much progress could be made. This cannot be explained with factors like corruption but somewhere it resonates that housing is a non-issue in the mindscape of those who are at the realm of affairs of the city. The two issues of temple and beach-tourism over shadows every other issue. The calendar of the city revolves around these two. It would have been a due expectation that given the immense importance of the city, something better could have been done in the housing sector but unfortunately that has not been the case so.

In Puri, 'traditional slums' appear to be distinct from newer urban poor neighbourhoods. While certain social groups may be poor and marginalised (caste system), they perform a role in the socio-economics of the temple city. Some even have patta (land titles). By contrast, migrants from other districts in Orissa and from the neighbouring state Andhra Pradesh often live in neighbourhoods on encroached land: They lack tenure security. For BSUP, the city council has selected nine slum areas in Puri. Three criteria were applied for households to benefit: apart from BPL status and sub-standard housing quality, beneficiaries had to own patta. This practice excludes poor residents without security of tenure. The finding supports the assumption that the socio-economic status of poor neighbourhoods and their location are critical for the prospect to access government funding (Hagn, 2011).

The BSUP implementation has led to the entry of several stakeholders in the field of housing provision for the urban poor in Puri. First of PMC itself is involved. Alongside, contracts, beneficiaries and NGOs (SPARC) is directly involved. Money lenders, material providers, and labourers are other people involved in this process. Influential local leaders play an important

role in the decision making as well as implementation at the local level. But the design of DPR etc in the initial stages show that state intervention is considerable along with consulting agencies.

The poor quality of design, construction, material, implementation and they lack of finished dwelling units in all the slums points out to the ways in which the inhabitants have faced the brunt of a poorly executed scheme. Many have become poorer, vulnerable to money lenders. Many have lost places to practice livelihood. Many have lost a roof over their heads literally and are living in extremely poor conditions. Some benefited from the pucca housing and think it has been a good investment. It has also brought the communities into direct contact with the local political leaders and the PMC thus enhancing the scope for democratic processes.

JNNURM had a detailed component of reforms but even after the lapse of the project period the agenda of bringing in reforms remains un-finished. PMC till date has not made any land reservations for the housing of EWS/LIG which shows that housing as an agenda has still not been its priority. Similarly the earmarking of budget for the urban poor was still underway at the time of the research.

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Urban Transport Initiatives in Odisha, August 2013

Website / related links

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Government of Odisha, Official Portal - <http://www.odisha.gov.in>

Housing and Urban Development Department, Government of Odisha - <http://urbanorissa.gov.in>

Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India – <http://moud.gov.in>

Census of India – <http://www.censusindia.gov.in>•

JNNURM – <http://www.jnnurm.nic.in>

Odisha Diary – <http://www.orissadiary.com>

Centre for Environment Education - <http://www.ceeindia.org>

Centre for Science and Environment - <http://www.cseindia.org>

ANNEXURE 1: STATUS OF URBAN REFORMS UNDER JNNURM IN ORISSA

Sl. No.	Reform Agenda	Timeline	Status	Implementation Details
State Level Mandatory Reforms				
S-1	Implementation of the 74th Constitution Amendment Act	2010-11	Achieved	On track. ULBs are constructing & maintaining Municipal roads, which constitute major portion of road length in the ULB. State PWD & NHAI roads & bridges functions are carried out by the respective Departments/ Authorities.
S-2	Integration of City Planning and Delivery Functions	2006-11	Achieved	(1) Implemented & Town Planning functions of Development Authorities delegated to ULBs as per GO No.Reform-UR-10/2010-7678, dtd 30.03.2010. (2) Making PHEO accountable to the ULBs except Bhubaneswar city; Govt. Resolution No.Reform-UR-18/2010-7192/HUD, dated 22.03.2010 notified.
S-3	Rent Control Reforms	Not Applicable	No Rent Control Act exists in Odisha	Orissa Rent Control Act -1967 is ceased to have effect since 04 May 1988; vide Orissa Act 15 of 1989.
S-4	Rationalisation of Stamp Duty	2007-08	Achieved	The stamp duty has been reduced to 5% with effect from 05.08.08 by the State Govt. in Revenue & Disaster Management Dept. vide Govt. Order No.Stamp-10/06-33267/RDM, Dtd 05.08.2008.
S-5	Repeal of Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act	Not Applicable	Achieved	The Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act was repealed in Odisha before the launch of JnNURM.
S-6	Enactment of Community Participation Law	2007-08	In Progress	Tabled in the Odisha Legislative Assembly along with Property Tax Bill & presently under consideration of a Select Committee of OLA. Awaiting legislative approval.
S-7	Enactment of Public Disclosure Law	2006-07	Achieved in 2009	1. The Orissa Municipal Corporation (Amendment) Act.2008 has been published in the extraordinary issue of Orissa Gazette vide Notification No.I-Legis-32/2008-

				<p>2409, dated 13.02.2009 in this regard.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Capacity Building programme are being undertaken under different schemes for implementation of PDL. All information on H & UD Department are being disclosed in the website.
State Level Optional Reforms				
O-1	Introduction of Property Title Certification System in ULBs	2011-12	In Progress	A note on experiences in different states has been prepared.
O-2	Revision of building bye-laws to streamline approvals	2006-10	Achieved in BBSR; Under Progress in Puri	Govt. instruction issued to Development Authorities, Town Planning and Regional Improvement Trusts to follow it at the time of approval of new buildings. Provision is already available u/s 44 (1) of BDA (Planning & Building Standard) Regulation, 2008.
O-3	Revision of bye-laws to make rain water harvesting mandatory	2006-09	Achieved in BBSR; Under Progress in Puri	Same as above
O-4	Earmarking at least 20-25% of developed land in all housing projects (both Public and Private Agencies) for EWS/LIG category	2009-10	In Progress	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> A "Scheme for Affordable Urban Housing in Odisha, 2012" has been notified vide Notification No.HUD-HU-POLICY-82/2012-25140, dated 05.09.2012 with provisions for earmarking 30% of total built-up area for EWS & LIG in all housing projects to be taken by Odisha State housing Board (OSHB) and at least 15% of built-up area shall be reserved for the above categories in all apartments/group housing projects developed by the private developers. Instruction has been issued for earmarking of 10% of developed land in all housing projects for EWS/LIG category to all Developmental Authorities, Improvement Trust & Special planning authorities by Director

				<p>Town Planning vide letter No.MP-VI-61/05/264/DTP, dated 17.01.2011.</p> <p>3. Bhubaneswar Development Authority Notified by Gazette No.4248/dt.27.02.2012 to earmark at least 10% of all housing projects developed by Builders/Developers.</p>
O-5	Simplification of legal and procedural frameworks for conversion of agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes	2006-10	Achieved	The legal procedure for conversion of agriculture land to non-agriculture purposes is available under 8-A of Orissa Land Reforms Act.
O-6	Introduction of computerized process of registration of land and property	2009	Achieved	Computerization process of Registration of Land and Property is implemented in the state under e-Registration.
O-7	Bye-laws for reuse of recycled water	2012	In Progress	In-principle decision of the State Government has been made. Draft Bye-Laws has been prepared.
O-8	Administrative reforms - VRS, non-filling up of posts falling vacant due to retirement	No Timeline	In Progress	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 75 % base level posts abolished by State Govt and other Govt undertakings. 2. Need based training being imparted for capacity building. 3. State sponsored e-municipality for better governance is being implemented & WIPRO has been engaged as SIC for implementation of NMMP under JnNURM. RFP for engagement of State Implementer is under finalisation.
O-9	Structural Reforms: Urban Cadre etc.	2012	In Progress	Creation of Urban Cadre is under process. Draft Odisha Municipal (Recruitment of Officers & Employees) Rules-2012 has been prepared sent to Finance Department for concurrence before approval of the Cabinet.
O-10	Encouraging Public Private Partnership	2008-09	Achieved	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Odisha Urban Infrastructure Development Fund (OUIDF) has been set-up vide Notification No.Reforms-UR-01/2012/2709/HIID. dated

			<p>31.01.2012 to support the ULBs & Development Authorities etc for development of urban infrastructure projects on PPP mode. Loan Agreement & Financing Agreement have been signed with KfW, Germany for availing EURO 52.5 Million support for OUIDF.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Various PPP initiatives are already underway. It is a platform to attract private partners for development projects environment related infrastructure projects. 3. Various Housing Projects are undertaken by the Development Authorities & Improvement Trusts with private developers for construction of Group Housing Schemes. 4. IFC has been engaged as the Transaction Advisor for Street Lighting Project of Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation & Solid Waste Management of Berhampur Municipal Corporation. 5. Solid Waste Management & Sanitation job is outsourced to private parties. 6. In Khurda, Water Supply Project for IIT, NISER & AIIMS is undertaken in PPP mode.
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Source:

ANNEXURE 2: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

Name	Designation	Contact No.
Field visit to three slums where project implementation happened.	Tikarpada , Matitota Sahi, Mangala Sahi NS Depot	
	(In-depth interviews at each slum where minimum 30 beneficiaries were covered)	
Mr. Rajat Rakhit Mishra	Dealing Assistant , Works Department, Puri Municipality	9861332292
Mr. Gadadhar Sahoo	RAY Cell, Slum Development and Capacity Building Officer	8093474740
Mr. P.C Gochikar	Technical Assistant, Puri Konark Development Authority	9861087212
Mr. Bhibuti Bhusan Dash	Councillor, ward no. 30	9437281903
Mr. Gaurahari Pradhan	Former Chairman 2004-07, Now Councillor	9040353738
Mr. Tulasi Das	Mahila Melan, Representative	9238070520
Mr. Probod Mahanty	Urban Development Research Centre, Bhubaneswar	9778477831
Dr. Pari Mohan Patnaik	Registrar, Sri Jagannath Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya	
Mr. Gadadhar Sahoo	Businessman in Construction Industry	
Mr. Sudhakar	Representative Of Chairman, Puri Municipality	9040751422
Mr. Jagannath Bastia	Environmental Activist, Journalist	9437195820
Mr. Pramod Kumar Samal	Junior Engineer, Puri Municipality	
Mr. Abhimnyu Behera	Enforcement Officer , Puri Municipality	
Mrs. Santilata Pradhan	Vice Chairman, former chairman(2009-14) Puri Municipality	9437091528
Brajabandhu Pradhan	Basti Unnayan Mahasangh	
Vasudev Mohanty	Resident Ramchandi Balikunda Sahi	
Daya Nidhi Mudli	Resident Vijay Nagar Balia Panda	

Kunjay Upadhaya	Journalist	
Raj Kumar Mohanty	Journalist	
Shri Nandnandan	GIS Expert, Puri Municipality	
Jayanto Das	Trade Unionist AITUC	
Sheikh Abdulla	Bhubaneshwar-Slum Activist	
Mr. Rajat Mishra,	Junior Assistant, Puri Municipality	

Source: Authors

Field visit to three BSUP sites in Puri: Tikarpada , Matitota Bhoi Sahi, Mangala Sahi NS Depot

Interviews with residents related to BSUP projects in Puri:

Sl. No.	Name of Beneficiary	Father / Husband's Name	Plot No.
TIKARPADA			
1	Bisika Bisoi	W/o Late Bansidhar Bisoi	98 (part),180
2	Harihari Bisoi	S/o Late Nakula Bisoi	56,59 (part)
3	Laxmidhar Bisoi	S/o Late Gopal Bisoi	57 (part)
4	Dhirendra Bisoi	S/o Late Basudev Bisoi	93 (part)
5	Kanak Lata Bisoi	W/o Late Raj Kishore Bisoi	-
6	Trinath Bisoi	S/o Panchu Bisoi	100 (part)
7	Surendra Bisoi	S/o Late Narayan Bisoi	99 (part)
MATITOTA BHOI SAHI			
1	Krushna Bhoi	S/o Late Gouranga	27/250
2	Meena Bewa	W/o late Dinabandhu	-do-
3	Dhuna Bhoi	S/o Late Arjuna	-do-
4	Narayan Bhoi	S/o Late Kartik	121 & 122
5	Laxmidhara Bhoi	S/o Late Batua	-do-
6	Kailash Bhoi	S/o laxmidhar	-do-
7	Bhima Bhoi	S/o Late Gouranga	25
8	Abhimanyu bhoi	S/o Bhima Bhoi	-do-
9	Nakula Bhoi	S/o Late Gouranga Bhoi	-do-

CHAMARA SAHI			
1	Laxmidhar Behera	S/o Late Panchu Behera	9
2	Benudhar Behera	S/o Arta Behera	11
3	Brundaban Behera	S/o Arta Behera	-do-
4	Gahama Behera	W/o Late Nata Behera	12
5	Basanta Behera	S/o Late Nata Behera	12
6	Kailash Behera	S/o Laxmidhar Behera	9
7	Subala Behera	S/o Late Dasarathi Behera	713
8	Sridhara Behera	S/o Late Chaiyn Behera	49, 50, 51
9	Pravakar Behera	S/o Late Chaiyn Behera	-do-
10	Bhanumati Behera	W/o Banamali Behera	-do-
KUMUTIPATNA			
1	Gauranga Senapati	S/o Late Kuni Senapati	221
2	Nata Senapati	S/o Late Raghu Senapati	221
3	Pramod Nayak	S/o Late Kabu Nayak	220
4	Bharat Naik	S/o Late Kelu Naik	222
5	Dhoba Nayak	S/o Rajan nayak	212
6	Ramesh Nayak	S/o Rajan nayak	-do-
7	Jogendra Roul	S/o Banchha Roul	293/553
8	Ghana Behera	S/o Late Muli Behera	292/329
MANGALA SAHI			
1	Sanju Bewa	W/o Late Barajui	-
2	Dinabandhu Bhoi	S/o Late Sananda	-
3	Kurupa Bhoi	S/o Late Sananda	-
4	Kukuma Bewa	W/o Late Bhima	-
5	Dasarathi Bhoi	S/o Late Bhima	-
6	Prafulla Bhoi	S/o Late Natia	-
7	Babuna Bhoi	S/o Late Hatia	-
MATITOTA PRADHAN SAHI			
1	Tikina Swain		-
2	Gandharba Swain		-

3	Bhikari jena		-
4	Gauranga Jena		-
5	Shyama Pradhan		-
6	Braja Samartha		-
7	Mali Samartha		-
8	Keluni Prtadhan		-
9	Bharat Pradhan		-
10	Bidu Swain		-
11	Kuni Swain		-

Source: Authors