

***EDUCATION AND URBAN TRANSITIONS: A STUDY OF DIVERSE
SPATIAL CONTEXTS OF BHUBANESWAR CITY***

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of requirements
for the award of degree of
Doctor of Philosophy*

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DECLARATION

I, Roma Ranu Dash, declare that this thesis entitled *Education and Urban Transitions: A Study of Diverse Spatial Contexts of Bhubaneswar City* submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University, is my bonafide work. I further declare that this thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that this thesis entitled *Education and Urban Transitions: A Study of Diverse Spatial Contexts of Bhubaneswar City* submitted by ROMA RANU DASH in fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University has not been so far submitted, as part or full, for any degree of this or any other university. This is her own original work, carried out in the Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.G-Accounts General.

AICC- All India Congress Committee.

AICTE-All India Council of Technical Education.

AIIMS-All India Institute of Medical Science.

AIPH- International Association of Horticultural Producers

AMRUT- Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation.

ASI- Archaeological Survey of India.

ATI- Advanced Training Institute.

B.A.T- Bhubaneswar Art Trail.

B.B.A-Bachelor in Business Administration.

B.C.A-Bachelor in Computer Application.

BCUC- Bhubaneswar Cuttack Urban Complex.

BDA-Bhubaneswar Development Authority.

BDPA- Bhubaneswar Development Planned Area.

BEST- Bhubaneswar Electronic and Software Technology Park.

BIMTECH- Birla Institute of Management Technology.

B.J.B- Buxi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar.

BPO-Business Process Outsourcing.

B.M.D.A- Bhubaneswar Metropolitan Development Authority.

BMC-Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation.

BTCD- Bhubaneswar Town Center District.

BPUT-Biju Pattanayak University of Technology.

BRIT- Bhubaneswar Regional Improvement Trust.

CET-College of Engineering & Technology.

CDP- Comprehensive Development Plan.

CIPET- Institute of plastic Technology.

CNC- Computer Numerical Control.

CSM- Company Sergeant Major.

CTTC- Central Tool Room and Training Center.

CUTM- Centurion University of Technology and Management.

D.A.V- Dayanand Anglo Vedic.

DLF-Delhi Land and Finance.

DRP- Dharavi Redevelopment Project.

ESSPL- Enterprise System Solutions Private Limited.

EWS- Economically Weaker Section.

GOI-Government of India.

GOO-Government of Odisha.

HIG- Higher Income Group.

HPCL- Hindustan Petroleum Corporation Limited.

IAS-Indian Administrative Services.

ICAR- Indian Council of Agricultural Research.

IDCO- Odisha Industrial Infrastructure Development Corporation.

ICFAI- Institute of Chartered Financial Analysts.

ICT-Internet Communication Technology.

I.G-Indira Gandhi Park.

IIIT- Indian Institute of Information & Technology.

IIPH- Indian Institute of Public Health.

IIT-Indian Institute of Technology.

IMFA- Indian metal and Ferro Alloys Ltd.

IMI- International Meteorological Institute.

IMMT- Institute of Minerals and Material Technology.

INTACH- Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage.

IPS-Indian Police Service.

IOC- Indian Oil Corporation.

IT-Information Technology.

ITER- Institute of Technical Education and Research.

ITES- Information Technology Enabled Services.

I.T.I- Industrial Training Institutes.

JNNURM- Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission.

JNU- Jawaharlal Nehru University.

KIIT –Kalinga Institute of Industrial Technology.

KISD- Koustuva Institute for Self Domain.

LIG- Lower Income Group.

LRC- Land Right Certificate.

M.B.A-Master in Business Administration.

M.C.A-Master in Computer Application.

M.F.C- Master in Finance and Control.

MIG- Middle Income Group.

MIT- Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

MLA-Member of Legislative Assembly.

N.A.C- Notified Area Council.

NGO-Non Government Organization.

NIFT- National Institute of Fashion Technology.

NISER- National Institute of Scientific Education and Research.

NISWASS- National Institute of Social Work and Social Sciences.

OAS- Odisha Administrative Service.

OEC- Odisha College of Engineering.

OSDA- Odisha Skill Development Authority.

OSHB-Odisha State Housing Board.

OUAT-Odisha University of Agriculture Technology.

PPP- Public Private Partnership.

RCFCE- Odisha Right of children to Free and Compulsory Education.

RIE- Regional Institute of Education.

RMRC- Regional Medical Research Center.

RRL- Regional Research Laboratory.

SARFESI- Securitization and Reconstruction of Financial Assets and Enforcement of Security Interest Act.

SLIP- Service Level Improvement Plans.

SMS-Short Message Service.

SOA- Siksha 'O' Anusandhan.

STPI- Software Technology Park of India.

TCS-Tata Consultancy Services Limited.TOI-Times of India.

UCCI- Utkal Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

UPSC-Union Public Service Commission.

U.S.A-United States of America.

XIMB- Xavier Institute of Management Bhubaneswar.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The process of urbanisation the world is witnessing today is not a new phenomenon, though the scale and spread of urbanisation of the present is different from the past centuries (Rao 2017). In India too, this transformation has been significant. Sandhu and Sandhu (2013) point out that in absolute numbers the urban population has increased more than 15 times from 25 million to 377 million during the period 1901 to 2011. Given the proportion and pace of urbanisation, Annapurna Shaw declares that the “Twenty First Century will be India’s urban century” (Shah, 2012: xvii). As per the 2011 Census, about 31percent of India's population lived in cities. In real terms, the pace of urbanisation has been tremendous in the past two decades of the new millennium. Not only is India experiencing this scale of urbanisation, but the developing countries in general are also witnessing massive urban surge. According to Sharma (2013), there is a ‘mega urban transformation’ at the global level in which India is not a mute spectator. Thus “Urban” has gained so much prominence that the cities have become a ray of hope for millions of rural populations to come and make cities their home.

Different trajectories of transformation are found among the cities across the world. in general and the Indian cities in particular. Indian cities have gone through transformation from “self regulatory, non-codified and localized means of urban control” in a pre-colonial context to a colonial urban development and finally arriving at the post colonial city or a post Independence city (Shaw, 2012:11). The post colonial or the post Independence city is particularly important as it is characterised by extensive urbanisation in the 1960s and 1970s which attracted the attention of scholars and social scientists. Cities in this phase acted as ‘modernising’ and ‘industrialising’ spaces which acted as sites of progress and modernity (Donner and De Neve, 2006)¹. According to Patel (2006),

¹This phase is also important as many new towns were built. The city of Bhubaneswar was built in this period as the state capital of the newly created state of Odisha in an attempt to build new towns according to Donner and De Neve.

The post- independence saw a complex pattern of urbanization in India in which the demands of the market, its organisation within the nation state, together with the nature of state policy on industrialisation, an ideological affirmation of the values of urbanism and its equation with development, all played roles in propelling the growth of urbanisation in India (Patel, 2006:25).

The role of industrialisation however remained limited in the context of India in comparison to the Western countries (Patel, 2006). Studies like Rao (2017) in the context of Kota in Rajasthan point out that the phase of rapid industrialisation which came up in the Post- Independence period underwent a change in terms of ‘deindustrialisation’ in the 1980s and 1990s and thereafter culminating into a phase of ‘post industrialisation’ which centred around the “provision of educational services” as a “trigger for accumulation and circulation of capital in the city” (Rao, 2017: 421).

The post 1990s neoliberal transformation which is characterised by unabated capitalistic interventions and the coming up of the ‘market’, had also witnessed the restructuring of the urban space. Rao (2017) further observes that the root of this capitalistic intervention lies in the “way financial capital is generated, accumulated, and transferred as a principal driver of capitalist society” (Rao 2017: 420). This neoliberal transformation that is experienced in India is also because of the integration of local with the global economy. It is an undenyng fact that the state has a definite role in this neoliberal transformation of the Indian urban landscape.

What is pertinent in all the neoliberal urban transitional phases is the internal differentiation and division of the city spaces in terms of different social classes. The simultaneous growth of gated communities or exclusive residential spaces of the elite and the middle classes along with a widespread and tremendous growth of slums and squatter settlements is an example of this differentiation. For Nambissan (2017), this complex pattern of urban growth in India is “mediated by social structure, economic and social policies, civil society engagements and the aspirations of different social classes” (p.299).

Though scholars have divided city transitions from broad perspectives, there are various continuities and overlaps between the phases of urban transitions. The continuities of pre-colonial and colonial urban forms have also been found in the context of the modern neoliberal city. Thus there is still a far greater influence of the earlier forms of urban life on the current stage of development of the cities (Appadurai, 1981, Dirks, 1987 mentioned in Donner and De Neve, 2006). Donner and Neve (2006) give the example of Delhi which remained a prominent center of religious, political and economic power during the colonial period retaining a place of prominence in the contemporary urban growth story and transitions.

It is important to note that each city is rooted within a particular historical context. As Majumdar (2017) notes, the urban has its own “*contextual specificities*” (p.320). It is also true that the cities undergo change over time. Malekandathil (2014) gives the example of Agra which emerged due to political reasons but has acquired a economic meaning and is now considered as one of the important commercial centers of North India even after the power base of the Mughals shifted to Delhi. Towns like Benares though emerged because of religious and pilgrimage reasons became major center of banking and mercantile activities. Similarly, the city of Bhubaneswar is different from many other cities in terms of its history, social composition, and occupational patterns. It is in this context, the study examines the urban transformation of the city of Bhubaneswar and the role education played in these transformations. It aims to understand how education shapes and is shaped by the aspirations of populations inhabiting diverse spatial contexts in the city of Bhubaneswar.

I. Understanding Urban Transformations in India

As mentioned earlier, cities undergo transition in different phases like the pre-colonial to colonial to a post-colonial or post-independent city to a neoliberal city. Discussing the transitions of cities from one transitional phase to another, Sarah Moser (2015) argues that there has been a ‘significant shift between the new cities’ that came up in the post Independence period and the present entrepreneurial cities which are derived by corporate interests. She opines that a number of parallels can be drawn between the

colonial cities and the current generation of new cities. There are several studies of urban transformations in the Indian context. For instance, scholars such as Patni (1999), Suchitra and Nandakumar (2008), etc. have studied the transformation of Bangalore from a 'pensioners paradise' or from a quite summer retreat for British Offices, to India's IT capital. They say that Bangalore known as the "Silicon Valley of the East", has gone a long way from being a city with sprawling residential localities with palatial bungalows, tree lined avenues to high rise apartment complexes, technology parks, roads with heavy traffic and suffocating pollution signifying transformation from a 'city of officers' to a 'city of IT professionals'. Similarly, Bass (2007) tracing the transformation of Bangalore observes that it was nothing more than a provincial town at the end of nineteenth century. According to him, the city transformed itself from "provincial backwater" or "pensioners' paradise" to a center of development of Information Technologies (Bass, 2007: 69). The irony behind this is that the city was able to shed its old image of a 'pensioners paradise' to the city of "young and hip" who have money to spend (Bass, 2007: 69). This revolution of Bangalore led by technology transforming the world into a global society based on information exchange and manipulation is also studied by Heitzman (2004). He mentions Anthony Smith who calls this transformation as a "third revolution in communication". Grondeau (2007) also traces the urban transformation of Bangalore and Hyderabad through creation of IT clusters. Kamat (2011) also talks about the transformation of Hyderabad from an old city famous for its monuments to a high-tech city or its rebranding as the "Silicon Valley of the East".

In the context of Mumbai, Nijman (2007) notes that "the colonial phase and the global phase feature a high degree of connectivity to the global economy with a powerful imprint on the urban landscape" (p. 239). Compared to colonial phase, in the global phase, the International connections are more 'diverse' and 'intense' as a result of which the urban land use is influenced by market forces. Nijman points to a 'changing space economy' in Mumbai after the liberalisation phase. Masselos (2003) tracing the growth of the city of Bombay observes that in the first decades after Independence, following the post-war population explosion, the city limits expanded to include and incorporate dense and extended settlements beyond what was known as Bombay suburbs on the Salsette Island.

Annapurna Shaw (2004) in her book on *'The making of Navi Mumbai'* speaks about the making up of Navi Mumbai as a 'city of twenty-first century'. She says, Navi Mumbai was built to manage the rapidly expanding population of Mumbai and also because of a growing realisation of the need for planned and orderly growth in Indian cities. Unfortunately, this 'unplanned' to the 'planned' change has returned to 'unplanned'. She feels that though it was created to manage the urban growth in the core areas of Mumbai, it has made no difference as its presence has not been able to contain the growth of the old city either. Shaw (2004) further says that Navi Mumbai's role has been more of extending metropolitan development further into the adjacent mainland rather than reducing the attraction of Greater Mumbai.

In the case of India Shaw (1999) further argues that the opening up of the Indian economy since 1991 has stimulated the development of cities and led to the creation of new hubs of urban growth. In this phase of neoliberalisation, cities are witnessing large scale transformation under the influence of the expanding capital and new technologies. At the same time it has brought about increased spatial and economic inequality, ethnic segregation, social movements and the contested role of the state (Sharma,2013). An example of this neoliberal turn is the case of Amaravati, the new capital city planned for the state of Andhra Pradesh. In a bid to make Amaravati a 'world class' capital, recommendations of the Shivaramakrishnan Committee were bypassed and the capital was set up in a highly fertile multi-cropped land area. This resulted in aggressive land pooling which benefitted large landowners. The land that was taken was considered to be one of the best agricultural lands in the country, opines Ramachandraiah (2015, 2016).

A certain kind of neoliberal restructuring is found in the cities today or in the newly built cities. Vakulabharanam and Prasad (2017) observe that after the separation of the states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh (A.P), A.P has begun to give privileges to unproductive capital accumulation including money lending and speculation in real estate. It has entered a phase of 'post- productive capitalism'. Scholars like Venugopal (2005) have made observation about the coming up of the neoliberal phase which brought land speculation in Hyderabad and the politics over land which has led to the setting up

of multi-storied apartments. This has increased the density of the city, the widening of roads and has altered the character of the city.

Further, Narain (2009) talks about the phenomenal growth of the city of Gurgaon had witnessed. The city has expanded because of the real estate boom, through the process of acquisition of land from adjoining peri-urban villages. Due to this, the peripheral villages are seeing large scale urban transformation which has “created widespread dissatisfaction with the manner in which policies for land acquisition are implemented” (Narain, 2009: 503). The Land Acquisition Act of 1894 gives power to both central and state governments to acquire land for ‘public purposes’. Narain notes that in many cases land was acquired forcefully for construction of water treatment plants. The forcible acquisition of land led to a diminishing of land holdings of individual farmers as a result of which the farmers of the Basai village have switched from ‘commercial to subsistence farming’. Farmers also have moved on to new activities like ‘brick making’, opening shops in the village or have taken to tourism and travel services.

Apart from the megacities which are undergoing tremendous transformation in recent times, there has also been a transformation of in non-metropolitan cities in India. Donner and Neve (2006) observe that much urbanization in South Asia is taking place in non-metropolitan urban contexts. Many provincial towns have been transformed under the influence of economic liberalisation policies but the studies on the small cities are few as compared to large metropolitan cities. Meher (1998) speaking about the urban transition of the steel town of Rourkela in Odisha informs that the city was created as the ‘first steel town’ by the Government of India after Independence to promote planned economic development. Urbanisation has thus subsequently moved beyond the confines of the steel township resulting in haphazard growth resulting in an alteration of the social composition of the town.

Kalia (1987) in his book on Chandigarh mentions that within a decade of coming up of the city of Chandigarh, the city started witnessing unplanned urban growth which mushroomed even within the restricted zones of Chandigarh like the military cantonment, tools factory and other industrial zones. The unauthorised urban growth is also seen near

the airport which led to overcrowding in the city. Further, the illegal commercial shops were also established which tarnished the planned character of the city.

Sandhu and Sandhu (2013) state that the urban development in Punjab has followed a colonial pattern of development which is uneven. They say that in the last six decades the level of urbanisation in Punjab has gone up from 21% to 37.49% whereas the urban population has increased more than five times 19.24 to 103.05 lakh and the number of towns has increased by 60% during the same period. Grewal (2005) discusses about the planned model colony towns which were founded by the British administrators in Western Punjab. She further says that in towns like these, the introduction of railways brought in some minor changes in the physical form of the old towns as it added a new railway suburb to the towns it passed through. Railway colonies also were founded for the workers. Over time, many additions like the offices, schools, and factories sprang up in the areas between the railway suburbs and the old town forming a linear extension to the town.

Beyond these transformations, there are multiple identities that are present in a city. The study regarding the transition of the city is not just a description about different parts of the city but different worlds that surround them, different views of human life, and different ways of thinking and living which may lead to different goals (Lal, 1970: 6). Stallmeyer (2008) discusses how these transnational clusters continue to discipline members working in these to maintain appropriate behavior shaping a distinct identity for them. According to him, there is a link urbanisation has with tradition under the conditions of globalisation. Through this “the software workers of Bangalore and other informational cities define and redefine their identities as members of a global culture” (Stallmeyer, 2008: 34).

Space is an important aspect in the construction of identities. De Neve (2006) in his analysis of the upwardly mobile Vanniyars of Tamil Nadu tries to show how space has been a dynamic force in the creation of identities. Analysing space by drawing on Lefebvre’s production of space, he has analysed how neighbourhood is reproduced as a homogenous and an exclusive space for a upwardly mobile caste, the Vanniyars. The

Vanniyars after their success in the textile industry, tried to relocate their newly acquired factories to the neighbourhood from which they originated. This relocation is seen as a spatial means to reconnect community and place reconstructing a new class identity for themselves. The multiple identities that exist in a city is derived from different social classes that form an important part of transition of cities.

II. Social Class and Urban Transitions

The city is also made by its people. A city space shows difference in the sense that the urban structure is made up of different castes and classes who make up the city. These castes and classes manifest in different spatial locations in the city. Meher (1998) speaking about Rourkela in Odisha notes that the residential neighborhoods that came up in the city was divided on the basis of caste and class solidarities. There is also a slight alteration of the land use pattern of the city. There is also a growth in the stress level of city dwellers as large scale migration to this area creates resentment among the tribal population for jobs which are blocked by outsiders.

For Kosambi (1995), Bombayites represented a diverse group which is arranged in hierarchical pyramid. At the apex was a small group of people who manned the city's administrative, naval- military, commercial and educational superstructure. This group preferred to call themselves 'European' or 'Anglo Indian'. Secondly, there was the mercantile population who benefitted from the commercial nature of the city of Bombay. This group constituted the Parsi community who had commercial dealings with the British and derived benefits from these dealings. It is these communities which consisted small literate elites who took up Western education. Apart from these there were other group which consisted of mill workers, labourers, domestic servants, artisans and cultivators.

Similarly, Patel (2006) looks at Bombay as a city of 'extreme contrasts'. Significant portion of its population live in slums, in pavements, under bridges, near railway tracks. Many of them do not have the legal ownership of the land they occupy. Though these classes constitute half the city's population, they occupy only 2000 of its 43,000 hectares of land in 1985. Kosambi (1995) further says, at the height of Mumbai's transformation,

Bombay was also a center of exploitation or “conduits through which the wealth of the country was channeled to Britain” (Kosambi, 1995: 11). The extremes of affluence and poverty were juxtaposed even in the different wards of Bombay.

Peace (2006) found major inequalities in Jaipur which is marked by a separation of traditional inner city which consists of majority of the urban poor. On the other hand, there are modern suburbs which are the residential locations occupied by the middle classes. These localities are provided with basic facilities. Peace finds considerable differentiation between different classes in the city. Studies like Grondeau (2007) points out that though there is the creation of ICT clusters in cities like Bangalore and Hyderabad which have become strategic issues for India, it did not benefit most of its population. The ‘Silicon Valley’ though is made up of ‘engineers’, ‘executives’, ‘researchers’ among others, is also characterised by the moving out of people who may not afford to live in these spaces because of an increase in real estate prices. This is also true about the new cities like the city of Amaravati which being a highly regulated city, may not accommodate the urban informal sector or the low income group people who migrate to the city in search of livelihood opportunities, opines Ramachandraiah (2015, 2016).

In the planning of Chandigarh city, Kalia (1987) believes that little attention was paid by the planners to urban labourers. Informal activities were discouraged inspite of the fact that it was the most important occupation next to the administrative and clerical jobs. According to its demographic composition, manual labourers constituted 19% of the earning force of the city. He concludes by saying that though people have admired Chandigarh for its physical features, its open spaces, but designs and constructions do not by themselves make the urban environments better. The city is defined by the people who live in it.

Vakulabharanam and Prasad (2017) mention that no place exists for labour in the imagination of new accumulators in Andhra Pradesh after it became a new state. There is tremendous accumulation of land by displacing farmers, agricultural workers and tenant farmers. This displacement leads to a creation of working class that doesn’t own the

means of production but whose labour is crucial for capitalist accumulation. The displaced labour is not accommodated and is left in tatters. This crisis the labour goes through neither concerns the state nor the accumulators.

The role of the middle class in shaping urban identity has been dealt by many scholars. Bringing class analysis to the discussion on urban transitions, Suchitra and Nandakumar (2008) and Patni (1999) say that in all the developments that accompany transformation, it is the old against the new. According to them, the old being the idli-dosa eating traditional middle class and the new being the beer consuming and pizza eating IT crowd. But, in between these two classes, there are the invisible others like the labourers who also play an important role in the transformation of the city. They opine that the slum dwellers and the people belonging to lower classes also have a stake in the city but are often neglected. Das (2003) in his analysis of slums in the city of Mumbai discusses how the failure of the Government to implement the scheme of 'free housing' to the slum dwellers led to violation of land, housing and human rights abuse. The slum dwellers have to face abuse and threats of displacement leading to their alienation. Further, Nijman (2007) speaks about the 'duality' inherent in the transition of the city of Mumbai. He says,

Besides the obvious divide between rich and poor, these dualities include 'lifestyles, cultural attitudes, planned intervention, verses kinetic or incremental growth, big moves verses small gestures, passive verses active interventions, governmental action verses private initiative, the pukka verses the kutchra city etc (Nijman, 2007: 256).

The liberalization era has been the defining factor in the ascendancy of the middle class according to scholars. Saavala (2010), Jodhka and Prakash (2016) relate the emergence of middle class to colonialism. Jodhka says that the modern middle class in India is a "historical and sociological category which emerged with the development of the modern capitalist society, with the markets and cities which brings a new kind of social order" (Jodhka and Prakash, 2016: xxii). They further argue that the expanding service economy, private manufacturing economy has contributed to the growth of the middle class due to which its influence in the political system also grew.

III. Politics, the State and the Right to the City

The state has been playing a crucial role in urban transformations in India. Asha Ghosh (2006), in her study of the Bangalore city, observes that there is politics behind land use in the transition of the city. The control over land has been shifted to various agencies due to such political and state interventions. In her study, it has been pointed out that though the Bangalore Development Authority has reserved additional land for the development of IT sector, it is found that there is a conflict of interest in terms of priority over planning and regulation in the development of the city.

Studying the transformation of Bombay, New Bombay and the Metropolitan region, Verma (1985) says that the physical growth coupled with the political and economic events control and direct the life and limbs of the city at different points of time. For him, this physical growth is determined by the conflicting needs of the power from outside, the business class and the middle and working classes in the Post Independence period. The political interest groups vying for space in the urban area and altering the urban space according to their interests in case of Hyderabad is also studied by Venugopal (2005).

The political nature of space is evident from the ways in which the relation of power is reflected in an urban space. Kushal Deb (2006) in his study on Hyderabad notes that the state plays an important role in the growth of the major cities which were colonial port towns, administrative centers or political and administrative capitals of the rulers which is particularly prominent in India. Firstly, post Independence, a centralised system of administration was inherited. Secondly, the dual necessity of capital which on the one hand took up intensive industrialisation and on the other hand had to provide wide welfare measures. Thirdly, after Independence, the onus of channelising people's aspirations fell on the leaders who led the independence struggle and their party was voted to power. This led to the rise of "*party charisma*" (Horowitz cited in Deb, 2006:341). For Deb, the state sponsored growth shapes the spatial pattern of cities and the spatial implication of the space sponsored growth is clear in the case of Hyderabad. The decisions of the state however are guided by the logic of capitalist accumulation.

Similarly, Kosambi (1995) traces Bombay's trajectory from a 'mere fishing place' and a 'barren unhealthy island' in the late seventeenth century to the heights of the 'urbs prima in India' two centuries later. It can be said that many changes took place from the time a city is formed to the present day. The city may be established for one reason but the identity takes up different forms through time. Kosambi further says that Bombay was the spearhead of commercial and the imperialistic ambition.

Thus, the discourse of the city is incomplete if we do not understand the politics around the urban space. The multiple identities of the city that unfold through urban transitions brings the politics of space to the forefront of the discourse on the 'right to the city'. Purcell (2002) notes that the concept of the 'right to the city' gained popularity in the post 1970 because of the global restructuring involving changes in the governance of the cities. According to Purcell (2002), the governance was being rescaled in which institutions in the supra-national scales are acquiring great powers, policies are getting reoriented towards competition and the "state functions were being transferred to non-state and quasi-state bodies" or there was a "shift from government to governance". These changes have "provoked concern that urban inhabitants are becoming increasingly disenfranchised, specifically with respect to the control they exert over the decisions that shape the geography of the city" (Purcell, 2002: 100).

But this notion of the right to the city has been dealt with by scholars differently. Attoh (2011) argues that there are numerous ways in conceptualizing the 'rights to the city'. The concept of 'right to the city' is central to the writings of Henry Lefebvre. Lefebvre's notion of the 'right to the city' is central to his analysis of the production of space under capitalism. For Lefebvre, it means the "right to inhabit the city, the right to produce urban life on new terms (unfettered by the demands of exchange value), and the right of inhabitants to remain unalienated from urban life" (Lefebvre, cited in Attoh, 2011: 674). In other words, 'the right to the city' is a "transformed and renewed right to urban life" (Attoh,2011:674). It can be said that the control of the city in all its aspects in practical, moral, material terms is what is Lefebvre terms as the 'right to the city' (Gough,2014). For Gough (2014) this right which Lefebvre talks about goes beyond a mere right to live

in the city to a completely different form of bourgeoisie-democratic right. The ‘right to city’ perspective was subsequently dealt with by David Harvey. For Harvey,

The ‘right to the city’ is not merely a right of access to what the property speculators and the state planners define, but an active right to make the city different, to shape it more in accord with our heart’s desire, and to remake ourselves thereby in a different image (Harvey, 2003: 941).

For Harvey (2003), the city is dominated by the accumulation of capital through market exchange. According to him, the ‘right to the city’ derives from the Marxian tradition passed through Lefebvre (Basta 2016). Basta notes that Harvey’s ‘right to the city’ merges both Marx’s conception of “*transformative dialogue*” which man should maintain with nature and Lefebvre’s “urban dimension” of human condition as a cause of alienation of masses” (Basta, 2016: 5). He opines that Harvey connects the positions of both Marx and Lefebvre “signifying the idea of urban transformation as an act of self transformation” (Basta, 2016: 5). In other words, “the right to the city is the right to change ourselves by changing the city” (Basta 2016: 5).

Marcuse (2009) echoing on Lefebvre observes that for Lefebvre, the right is “both a cry and a demand” (p.190). A cry out of necessity and a demand for something more. The demands come from those who are directly oppressed or those whose direct needs are not fulfilled. The cry comes from the aspirations of people who are not properly integrated to the system and are also constrained by their lack of opportunities for creative activity (Marcuse, 2009: 190). Further Marcuse says that in the right to the city “the demand is of those who are excluded, the cry is of those who are alienated; the demand is for the material necessities of life, the aspiration is for a broader right to what is necessary beyond the material to lead a satisfying life” (Marcuse, 2009: 190). Marcuse ascribes the right to the city both for the ‘deprived’ and the ‘discontent’ (Attouh, 2011).

IV. Education and its Role in Urban Transition

Education is an intervening aspect in the growth and transformation of a city and its modernisation. Sharma (1979), drawing from Yogendra Singh, observes that education is

one of the most instrumental elements of modernisation in India. It helps in mobilizing peoples aspirations for nationalism, liberalism and freedom (Y. Singh, cited in Sharma 1979:14). Sharma further says, but as the city grows, there is a trend towards “investment approach to education” and expenditure on education tends to be viewed as a process of capital formation. Education is seen as legitimizing the existing power relations and perpetuation of structural oppression.

Lipman (2010) discusses the relationship between urban education and urban political economy in a neoliberal society. She talks about the relationship of education to the neoliberal restructuring of cities. For her, neoliberal education policies have important implications which are political, economic, cultural and spatial which impact on the future of the cities. Lipman (2010) discusses the role of education in the “restructuring of urban space both materially and culturally along multiple dimensions of power” (Lipman, 2010: 243). She argues, “the territorial organization of capital, the physical location of production facilities, the built environment of cities, places of consumption is destroyed and is rebuilt elsewhere in order to establish a “new locational grid” for the accumulation of capital” (Lipman, 2010: 243). For her, this process is implicated in the ‘investment’ and ‘disinvestment’ in schools.

Besides, Kamat (2011) observes that education has played enormously an important role in the transformation of the city of Hyderabad. She notes that the focus on the education sector or the educational development and policy has enabled the growth of the IT sector in Hyderabad. According to her, understanding neoliberal globalisation owing to city growth will remain partial and incomplete without an analysis of the education sector and the educational evolution in the region. In her study she makes an important point that the nature of education sector can only be located within the broader socio-economic transformations of the region. The educational transformation came up with the establishment of private engineering colleges. Gradually the demand for professional degrees grew and higher education in engineering and sciences expanded creating Hyderabad as a global IT hub and the coming up of the HITEC city, a city within a city. She also points out to the fact that caste and class serve as intervening variables in the spread of educational facilities leading to city growth.

Though there has been a growth of the city on the basis of the growth of education resulting in the creation of IT hubs, but the question remains as to who can access these opportunities, who are the people who participate in this and who are the people left behind. What is important is the trickle down effects of ICT as mentioned by Ramachandraiah (2003) in his article on 'Information Technology and Social Development' discusses about the growth of IT parks in Hyderabad, Ramachandraiah says that certain areas in the city are exclusively developed as IT hubs with world class and with high tech facilities. It is also important to note that this brings a divide between the core elite who participate in the information intensive global economy and on the other hand a non- participation by the masses in which the 'internalization of the city' brings negative impact on the poor (Ramachandraiah 2003).

Carol Upadhyia (1988) in her study on the farmer Capitalists of Coastal Andhra Pradesh observes that education and a preference for urban life were the reasons for rural urban migration of these farmer capitalists. She further says that the majority of them received higher education and went into business in urban areas or found technical level employment. But this opportunity was denied to many other classes. Further pointing out at the exclusion that operates in employment in the IT sector, Upadhyia (2007) says that the IT workforce is largely homogenous in the sense that it is largely urban, middle class and high middle class. She points out to an exclusion that operates in the educational system and the recruitment to that sector.

According to Sarma (1996), in ancient Orissa, Agraharas were the principal seat of education which developed originally as a result of royal favour. Students came to these institutions to learn from the learned Brahmin scholars who were patronized by the monarch. Next to Agraharas, education was propagated in the temples of the Hindu gods. In these temples along with the traditional Sanskrit learning, provision was made for the study of fine arts, whereas in the Agraharas study was confined to traditional Sanskrit learning. Both the teachers and students used to stay in the temples. Sarma further says that several Viharas also developed as centers of education which were maintained by royal patronage. In addition to these there were monasteries which acted as educational institutions. More emphasis was given to the moral and spiritual aspects of life.

Education thus not only plays an important role in city transitions but also in the reproduction of class structure in a city of Jaipur (Peace, 2006). He argues that the amount of investments made by the middle class in their children's education in a way devalues the participation of lower classchildren in the formal education system. Because of this the gap between the private institutions frequented by the middle class and the public ones by the lower class the lower classes are left further behind and are excluded in a competition for better and prestigious employment. The middle class activities and performances to lead a comfortable lifestyle in the city of Jaipur contributes to the reproduction of lower class poverty in the city of Jaipur opines Peace (2006). In other words, in contrast to a common career path taken up by the middle classes, the urban poor could not reproduce it as they are not even able to acquire a completed primary education. As a result of which a majority who belong to lower classes have little opportunity to come out of their occupational status. This contributes to the reproduction of structured social inequality in the city and even widening the gap between different classes.

This brings us to the idea of linking education with the right to the city. Linking education to the 'right to the city' perspective, Lipman (2010) observes that education is integral to the cultural struggles over the 'right to the city' in the "*neoliberal restructuring of cities*" (Lipman, 2010: 244). In the context of Chicago, Lipman talks about the involvement of elite institutions in formulating urban school policy. She gives the example of elite clubs and leading CEOs and the civic elites who make decisions about school policies. The policies taken up by these corporate bodies increases educational inequality and hence the city becomes an important site for the contestations over the 'right to the city'. She further says in order to restructure the power relations in an urban space there needs to be a shift in the control towards the urban inhabitants.

Grant et.al (2014) discuss how globalization is challenging schools in urban spaces through policies which perpetuate social injustice. They point out at the mayoral control of the Chicago public schools which has introduced reforms resulting in closure of schools. These policies restrict the 'right to the city' for individuals who are impacted through the implementation of these policies. Through the school closures communities

are losing their right to participate in the school system and their voices are getting silenced because of the application of neoliberal models of education.

V. Review of Studies on Urban Transition of Bhubaneswar

Apart from the studies on urban transition in India, there are some empirical studies which are based on the urban transition of the city of Bhubaneswar. Freeman (1975) speaking about the old town of Bhubaneswar observes that the temple services were based on rigid caste restrictions. The temple rituals were complex and time consuming. But with the transition of the city Freeman notes a change in occupation among the priests. He observes that the new town adjacent to the pilgrimage center provided new economic opportunities to the priests, as a result of which many priests took up new occupations in the town.

Sivaramakrishnan (1976-77) in his report on new towns² in Eastern India talks about Bhubaneswar as the “cathedral city of India” (Sivaramakrishnan,1976-77: 41). Tracing the transition of Bhubaneswar, he says that a significant feature of the city was that though it was a seat of administration, the government was not the only landlord in the city. Interestingly, the government land was also taxed. He mentions that private housing and commercial construction were also encouraged and commercial plots like residential, dwelling units, shopping units were also found in the city. This private ownership of residence or shops makes Bhubaneswar town different from the company towns³. According to Bhide (2015), this lent a certain corporate-ness to institutional entities, their land development and disposal practices. From these studies, it is evident that “land from the very beginning was treated in a manner that came closest to that dictated by purely capitalistic considerations” (Harvey cited in Logan and Molotch, 1987).

²Sivaramakrishnan (1976-77) defines new towns as a town which is newly built. Though in most cases it would mean towns constructed on green field sites or on a site uninhabited before, this would also include new towns built in places of small village settlements. India’s new towns originated with the coming up of railway towns like Kharagpur, Asansol etc. They were only a collection of Government quarters and station buildings. The building of a new town became a major urban phenomenon with the construction of Industrial Township all over the country.

³Sivaramakrishnan (ibid.)categories company towns as settlements with economic self containment or centers which are free standing or having an economic base of their own. It can of many types such as natural resource town, single product town, military town, resort town etc.

Bhide (2015), in her study on the governance and infrastructure transformation in Bhubaneswar through JNNURM, says that though Odisha was one of the least urbanized state in India according to census 2011, but it is also a state which has seen rapid urbanization and expansion in the last decade, namely post 2000s. The capital city of Bhubaneswar has been the pinnacle of this expansion in the state realm. Bhide further cites Shivaramakrishnan's study which says that there has been an exclusion of marginal population and unsecured employees from the fabric of planning. As a result of which services for these segments of the population have developed in informal arena and has been accepted by the regulation of the growth of slums. This also finds resonance in the study of Kalia mentioned previously in the case of Chandigarh, a planned city like Bhubaneswar which also came up at the same time as Bhubaneswar.

A study which gives a historical account of Bhubaneswar is Ravi Kalia's (1994) book, "*Bhubaneswar: From a Temple town to a Capital City*". It gives a detailed description of the old town of Bhubaneswar, its colonial history, the coming up of the new province of Odisha, the deliberations and the controversies regarding the creation of the new capital, the architects behind the creation of the new capital and a detailed historical account of the city of Bhubaneswar.

Susan Seymour (1980) in her book '*Transformation of a sacred town: Bhubaneswar*' talks about the urban transformation of Bhubaneswar from an old town to the new capital city. The book is the product of the Harvard-Bhubaneswar project initiated in 1961 to study rapid urbanisation and the resulting sociological change in Bhubaneswar. She talks about the economic development of Bhubaneswar and the surrounding areas, the interplay between religion and politics.

Hertel (1981) echoing on David Miller's work on the monasteries of the old town says that the monasteries remained strong and even grew in number since the construction on the new capital began. The works of the household priests and gurus have remained more important for the Hindus than the temple religion. So, inspite of moving to the new cities, the well to do and influential professionals maintained their ties with their old gurus.

Similarly, Usha Menon's (2013) book "*Women, Wellbeing and the Ethics of Domesticity in an Odia Hindu Temple Town*" is an ethnographic work on the everyday lives of people in the temple town from the perspectives of the Odia Hindu women of the old temple town of Bhubaneswar. Her work speaks a lot about the occupation of women in the old town. According to her, "almost all women belong to families of ritual specialists who earn money by performing rituals either in the temple or in people's homes" (Menon, 2013: 12). She also gives an account of how they have agricultural incomes being tenants of the presiding deity of the temple. They also are engaged in cultivating land which has been given to the temple and can appropriate its harvest. Due to this, the transformations that are visible in other parts of the country are less visible in the temple town. She further says "despite the increasing number of intrusions from the outside world, customary Hindu thinking and practice still tend to guide and shape the orientation of the temple town residents towards life and the world" (Singer cited in Menon, 2013: 37).

VI. Significance / Rationale of the study

Going through the literature and the review of various studies on city transitions in India in general and Bhubaneswar in particular, it has been found out that very less has been researched on the small and medium sized cities like Bhubaneswar, particularly in terms of the transitions that are experienced by these cities in the post liberalisation era. Banerjee- Guha (2013) says that serious academic engagement and discourses on smaller cities and towns have been relegated to a near redundancy. Moreover, perceptions of the city dwellers on the transition of the city and the role of education in such transitions is almost non-existent. The urban space is also not understood from the perspectives of diverse groups of people who occupy the city.

The city is known by the people who occupy it, "*it is a mosaic of social worlds*" (Park, 1915). It consists of people with divergent personalities who draw upon their social worlds in a city to form certain experiences of the city or it can be said that the cities are important because they are the sites of "urban culture" (Gottdiener and Budd, 2005). Heffernan (2007) says that urban sociology looks at how cities affect social interactions, foster communities and creates a social structure. The footpaths, the cafes, restaurants,

museums, theaters, parks - all provide city dwellers a culture that helps to free their minds. This is explored much more in detail by Louis Wirth in his work on “urbanism as a way of life”, in other words, urbanism is a set of attitudes or an urban way of life.

Keeping the above perspective in mind, most of the studies on the city have neglected the way the people construct the city. Studies have not captured urban transitions and urbanism in India systematically at a micro level and have tended to neglect the role of education entirely in the growth and development of a city. Nor have studies actually looked at how education shapes the aspirations of different social classes like the elites, middle classes and the masses in different spatial contexts in the transition of the city. So the present study aims to fulfill this research gap by looking at different spatial contexts and what is happening to education in these contexts. The present study provides a holistic picture of the city life taking into account education, and their role in urban transitions. Though the discussion on what an urban way of life is all about goes on between scholars, what they failed to see is how different sections of population perceive the city and the urban way of life. It is this research gap the proposed study aims to fulfill.

VII. The Study

a. Objectives of the Study

- a) To study the socio-historical evolution of the city of Bhubaneswar through its various transitional phases.
- b) To understand the role of education in the transitions of the city of Bhubaneswar.
- c) To study the perceptions of city dwellers in diverse spatial contexts regarding the transitions of the city in general and the role of education in these transitions in particular.
- d) To understand how educational transformations in the city manifest in transforming the culture, social life and outlooks of the city dwellers in diverse city localities that have distinct social class compositions.

The questions that the study focuses on are-

- a) What have been the social, economic and political factors that may have contributed to the urban transitions of the city in these diverse social contexts?
- b) How did urban transitions influence ways of life of people belonging to different social classes like the elites, the middle classes and the masses in the city in each stage of transition?
- c) How did education intervene in transforming city life and culture? Did education make the city dwellers modern or does traditional orientation of Bhubaneswar continue to shape the way city is shaped and also the way the dwellers exhibit and experience their everyday lives in the city?
- d) What role did education play in the economic, cultural and political transitions in the city in different spatial contexts in the city?
- e) How is education planned in a city? What is the role of education in a temple town? How is education planned in a planned city space? How is education shaping in diverse spatial contexts? Is educational growth the cause and consequence of city transitions in those spatial contexts?

b. The Study/Field Setting

Bhubaneswar was selected for the field study as the city is one of the fastest growing cities in Eastern India which has seen a lot of transitions. It has also come to be known as an educational centre of Eastern India. From being a temple town it is seeing neoliberal growth in recent times. All these transitional phases are unique in their own respects and are occupied by different castes and classes. The detailed description of the city of Bhubaneswar is provided in Chapter 3.

Map 1.1 The Bhubaneswar city



Source: www.spaenvis.nic.in/WriteReadData/links/Bhubaneswar-map-284102826.jpg

The spatial contexts selected for the study:

As the city has gone through different phases of transformation, data was collected from different spaces looking at the stages of transformation of the city. Data was collected from the residents of the temple town which is called the “old town area”, the residents of the ‘units’ or the part of the city which houses the government quarters that came up with the new capital city, the industrial estate areas and the IT hubs that came up with the neoliberal development. The role of education in these spatial contexts was looked at.

Area-I: The Old Temple Town Area

The old town area lies in the Western part of the city of Bhubaneswar. The old town is known for its numerous temples and houses different temples like the Lingaraj Temple,

the Rajarani Temple, the Kapileswar temple, the Parshurameswar temple, etc. Though the temple town also has transformed by the coming up of and many new multi-storeyed buildings in recent years, efforts were made to collect data from the oldest places and the residences which can be called the *sahis* or the streets occupied by people belonging to different castes. Interviews were also conducted at different *sahis* like the Harachandi sahi, the Brahmin sahi and also the *sahis* belonging to the ex-untouchables or the Bauri sahi in the vicinity of the Lingaraj temple to get an account of the life of the people in the *sahis*. Both the Brahmin sahi and the Baurisahi were included in the sample for a better understanding of the daily lives of different sections of the population, their class location, their occupation, their level of education etc. This gave the researcher a proper understanding of the social structure of the old town of Bhubaneswar. Data was also collected from the Kapileswar village surrounding the Kapileswar temple which acts as a satellite to the Lingaraj temple. Some priests who were found sitting in the premises of the Lingaraj and Kapileswar were also selected on a random basis to be included in the sample. Effort was also made to visit the old town at the time of the major festivals like Shiv Ratri to understand the dynamics of the temple town.

It is not only the temple areas that were taken for study but the schools like the B.M High School, the colleges like the Ekamra College was also included in the sample to understand the role of education in the changing aspirations of the people.

Area II: The Capital City or the Planned City Area

The capital city area houses the residential areas of government offices which is divided into various units from Unit-I to unit-X. These areas occupy the core area of Bhubaneswar which houses the secretariat building, the Odisha Legislative Assembly and many important offices. It is mainly occupied by administrative officers starting from IAS officers to junior level officers like the clerks.

The places where the retired bureaucrats stayed like the areas of Sahid Nagar, Satya Nagar, Bapuji Nagar, Jayadev Vihar and Acharya Vihar which surround the planned city areas were included in the sample. Like the government residences in the units which are located in big sprawling localities, these areas too have equally large residencies of the

employees. These areas also grew as an important centre for trade and commerce, some business entrepreneurs who set up their shops at strategic locations of the city were also included in the sample.

Gradually when the city expanded, Bhubaneswar became an important place for the growth of trade and commerce, and the industrial estates and the IT sector grew due to neoliberal development. These developments took place in two phases. The first phase of transformation came up in areas of Rasulgarh and Mancheswar because of coming up of industries. Another phase in the transformation came up with the development of IT hubs around the Chandrasekharpur and Patia areas in the North of the city which are seeing recent developments. Data was collected from business entrepreneurs in the Cyber City areas which house the IT companies or areas which are called IT hubs. Data was also collected from the Patia village that surrounds these places which is seeing unprecedented development in recent times.

Area III: The slums and the lower income areas of the city

The city of Bhubaneswar has a number of slums belonging to different spaces in the city. In the central part of Bhubaneswar, data was collected from the Science Park Basti and the Salia Sahi Basti, the Mali Colony Basti, and the Nandinipalli Basti which houses the Munda tribes. The Salia Sahi Basti is the largest slum of the city and has different Bastis within it like the Saranapalli Basti, the Adivasigaon which were included in the sample. From the industrial estate areas like Mancheswar, data was collected from the Jharana Sahi Basti. Data was also collected from the Padmakesaripur village which is inhabited by “snake charmers”. This community was initially a part of the Patia village but gradually were separated from the Patia village and were relocated to the Padmakesaripur village where they are currently residing.

c. Different Phases of Conduct of Fieldwork

Each of these spaces that constitute the city of Bhubaneswar have been studied and the urban transformation in each of these spaces have been noted. The researcher began her field work in November 2016 keeping in mind the aims and objectives of the study. The

researcher though has familiarity with some spaces of the city but all spaces were not part of the the imagination of the researcher who hails from the city of Bhubaneswar. As the transformation of the city as a whole could not be captured at a time owing to its vastness, the field work was conducted in different phases. In the initial phase, the demarcation of the spaces corresponding to diverse spatial contexts was done through a pilot study. A mapping exercise was done to get an idea of various parts of the city involved in transition. This gave the study a direction on transition and the growth of the city. It was done to help the researcher gain some familiarity with different spaces of the city before conducting in-depth research and to understand the complexity of the theme. For example, the old town of Bhubaneswar was visited by the researcher and different spaces belonging to different castes within the old town was studied. Different spaces were visited and an attempt was made to collect maps demarcating those spaces so that a detailed understanding of each of these spaces could be made. Before conducting a detailed research, it was important to understand the history and the subsequent changes in the city as the city is not a static entity but is changing or it is the “kinetic city” to quote Annapurna Shaw.

In the second stage of field work, the secondary sources like books and articles on the history of the Odisha state and in particular the city of Bhubaneswar were explored through frequent visits to the leading libraries of the city. The Harekrushna Mahtab State Library, the Odisha State Achieves located in the city of Bhubaneswar were particularly explored to find the relevant materials about the broader theme of study. Later on, other libraries like the Kanika Library of the Ravenshaw University at Cuttack, the Parija Library of the Utkal University, the Jayadev Bhavan Library at Bhubaneswar were explored.

To know about the old town of Bhubaneswar, the Kedarnath Gabeshana Pratisthana which houses old and rare collection of books and articles on the history of Bhubaneswar were also visited and consulted. These collections were explored to get a first hand information on the history of the old town which has a rich tradition. In this phase, visit was made to the government departments to collect reports, documents relating to the city of Bhubaneswar.

Frequent visits were made to the directorate of town planning, the Bhubaneswar Development Authority and the Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation to collect maps and reports relating to the transition of the city in the course of the field work. Further, in this phase, an attempt was also made to establish rapport in some spaces like the poor habitations and the slums. A key informant was identified in each slum who assisted the researcher in reaching out to the respondents and obtaining data.

The third phase was started in the month of September 2017 and was completed by December 2018. In this stage the study employed various research methods like observation and interview methods. In-depth interviews were conducted with the population chosen for study. The interviews were conducted in different stages. It was the longest phase of the field work and the researcher had to stay in the field for longer period of time. In the first stage, the interview schedule contained questions ranging from broad aspects of city transformation like the economic, geographic, political, etc. It inquired into how education acted as an intervening variable in these transitions and how education provided an identity to the city. In the second stage, the interview schedule contained different questions for different categories of city dwellers like the elites, the middle classes and the working class as the context changes from one stage to the other. In this stage, the questions were related to more specific aspects like the perceptions of the people regarding these transitions.

With the completion of the third phase it was found that there were still a lot of gaps in the data. With the guidance and the advice of the research supervisor, the researcher set out to the field again in March 2018. This phase did not take a long time as most of the data was already collected in previous phases of data collection. Within all these phases, the researcher attended a lot of seminars, lectures conducted by different agencies in the city. The researcher attended the Bhubaneswar Art Trail (BAT) urban lecture series, various workshops organized by the Government of Odisha, seminars conducted at different universities on the area of research.

In the initial phases of the field work, collecting primary data was not given importance as it was more important to get the feel of the city and its diverse spaces, the different

classes of people occupying different spaces and the kind of urban change it is experiencing.

d. Methods, tools and Techniques of data collection

Data was collected through observation, interviews and informal discussions with the target population. The tools used for the collection of data was structured open ended interview schedule. Snowball sampling technique was undertaken to access and select the respondents for the collection of data. While we selected the areas on the basis of their relevance to the particular kind of transition in the city's growth, the selection of respondents was made on the basis of snow ball sampling. We initially, relied on the personal contacts and as the involvement in the study increased, efforts were made to reach out to those who were not known to us, but have played an important role in city life and its transitions.

e. Sample selection for the study

As the study looked into the perceptions of the city dwellers, data was collected from different categories of people - the elites, the middle classes and the masses or the working classes. All the three classes are included in the sample to get a holistic picture of the city. By looking at the perceptions of different classes on city transition we could get an idea of how different classes constructed the city.

Though it can be said that a proper definition of class is not possible and as Cole (1955) in his book on studies in class structure says, no single criterion can serve adequately as a means of assigning every person his appropriate class. With the taking over of villages and agricultural land by the spread of towns, a shift from rural to urban ways of living brought about a change in the social composition of the people and the vast migration coming with it has even altered the character of the village. The city is very different from the small town socially. Data was collected keeping this ambiguity in mind.

Elites included in the sample included the city elites who are the respected citizens or some eminent personalities of the city, the intelligentsia, the top bureaucrats or civil servants living in the cities, the educationists, the political leaders, etc. It is these sections

that are 'power elite', to use C Wright Mills' notion, of the city in different historical epochs. It also included retired professionals, servicemen, or business or political leaders.

For classifying the middle classes and the working class for the purpose of the study, Eric Olin Wright's class analysis was taken into consideration. Keeping in mind the context of the city of Bhubaneswar which is not a typical industrial city, the conception of the middle class and the working class is very different. Similarly, working class or underclass as Wright (1989, 2004) uses the term, included people who are placed in a position in which they are "economically oppressed but not consistently exploited within a given class system" (Wright, 2004: 24). Wright further says that these classes are "oppressed because they are denied access to various kinds of productive resources and the means to acquire the skills needed to make their labour power saleable" (Wright, 2004: 24). Certain communities which are kept away from the temples in earlier days or the slum dwellers who are deliberately kept away from decision making.

It is these considerations and analysis of classes which was kept in mind for the selection of the sample for the study although the points of reference of elites, middle classes and working class differ from one stage to another in the transition of the city.

In the old town or the temple town area, different categories of people belonging to two generations were selected. As in the old town class is very much tied to caste, data was collected from the priests both Brahmins priests and priests belonging to other castes like the "Mallias". Apart from this the ex-untouchables like the Bauris were also included in the sample. They are the castes which included people who were never a part of the temple and were deliberately kept away from the temple premises.

Similarly, in the capital city, data was collected from the IAS officers in the rank of secretaries of different departments, and the OAS offices who are involved in decision making in the city and who are at the helm of affairs and were directly or indirectly involved in the city transition when Bhubaneswar became a capital city. These officers stay in their respective government quarters in different units of the planned city area. Apart from the senior officers, the clerks, peons, the driver and the gardeners working in different departments are also interviewed.

Some retired IRS, IPS officers and IAS officers in the rank of Assistant Chief Secretary were included in the sample to get an understanding of city transitions from their perspectives. The middle classes consisted of the people like the clerks of the Government departments. The working class consisted of the peons, the people involved in lower jobs in the Government departments.

To look at the perceptions of people in the neoliberal phase of transition, data was collected from the CEOs of the IT companies. Data was collected from at least two generations of the people from each of the sample as they may have different experiences in viewing the transition of the city and we could get an idea of the city transition and the role of education in these transitions.

f. Data Processing and Analysis of the Data

Unprocessed data looked scattered and meaningless. The qualitative data was analysed through different phases. Analysis of the data began with the transcription of the in-depth interviews. Though most of the data recorded were in English but many had to be translated into English from Odia. The transcription of the audio-recorded interviews was a tedious and time consuming process as long conversations sometimes exceeding two hours had to be carefully written down. The field diary was helpful in transcription as many relevant observations in the field was noted down which could not be captured through audio recordings. Both the field notes and the transcribed interviews were categorised under different themes on the basis of the data emerging from the field. On the basis of these themes data was developed into different chapters.

g. Organisation of the chapters

Chapter 1-Introduction

This chapter sets the background of the study. It presents a thematic introduction to the ideas of urbanisation, urban transition and the role of education in urban transition as a trend or factual analysis. This thematic introduction is presented through the review of empirical literature on the various dimensions of the study. Apart from this, it provides

the rationale for the study, the objectives of the study, the research questions that the study enquires. It also provides a detailed description of the ethnographic methods undertaken in the field.

Chapter II - Urban Transformation of Bhubaneswar: From Temple Town to a Neoliberal City

This chapter provides a socio historical account of the city of Bhubaneswar. It gives a detailed outline of the urban transition of the city of Bhubaneswar from a temple town to a neoliberal city. It also looks at the various spatial contexts corresponding to different stages of the transition of Bhubaneswar city. Through these phases of transition, it discusses the social, economic and political factors that have contributed to the growth of the city. It provides a detailed discussion on the land use pattern and the spatial spread of the city.

Chapter III- Education and Urban Socio-Spatial Change

This chapter presents an overview of the role of education in different phases of transition of the city of Bhubaneswar. It discusses how education unfolds in diverse spatial contexts in the city, the expansion of educational institutions and the growth of educational market in the city. It discusses the role education plays in the economic, cultural and political transitions in the city.

Chapter IV – The Old Town: Social Structure, Cultural Identity and Educational Aspirations

This chapter looks at the social structure, the spatial segregation, the economy and culture of old town of Bhubaneswar. It discusses the transformations in the aspirations and the emergence of a new identity due to the rise of modern educational opportunities in the old town. It also sheds light on the coexistence of tradition and modernity in the city and experiences of different sections of the population consisting of different castes and classes and their contribution in shaping the identity of the city.

Chapter V- The Elites and Middle Class Habitats: Educational Aspirations and Expression of Ownership of the City

This chapter looks at how elite and middle class localities are spatially arranged in the city of Bhubaneswar. It explores how these localities reproduce the administrative caste structure of the city. It further discusses how the educational aspirations of these castes is responsible for creating an educational market in the city, the differentiation in terms of educational attainment. It discusses how the bureaucracy still holds a dominant place in the city and express ownership of the city through its vision of the city.

Chapter VI The Urban Margins and their Educational Imaginations

This chapter discusses about the life and diversity in the slums and poor localities in the city of Bhubaneswar. It gives a detailed account of different slums located in diverse spatial contexts in the city of Bhubaneswar. It also discusses the urban poor's imagination of the city, how the city which was a hope for the poor becomes a despair for them. Lastly, it examines the educational aspiration of the slum dwellers in these situations of 'hope' and 'despair'.

Chapter VII- Summary and Conclusions

The concluding chapter presents a comprehensive analysis of the field. It summarizes the major findings of the study. It draws out the implications of the study for understanding urban transitions. The chapter concludes with a note about the possibility of future research in this area.

CHAPTER II

URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF BHUBANESWAR: FROM TEMPLE TOWN TO A NEOLIBERAL CITY

The city of Bhubaneswar, the capital of the state of Odisha is located in the Khordha district which is the first urbanized and the most densely populated district of the state in which 48.16% of population lives. It is the largest city of Odisha, situated to the South-West of three great rivers The Baitarani, The Brahmani and The Mahanadi. Panigrahi (1961) notes that the geographical area of Bhubaneswar consisted of a vast expanse of wastelands and jungles, though unfit for cultivation, provided an ideal centre for the growth of habitations. Bhubaneswar and its immediate neighbourhood consists of laterite formations occasionally broken by hillocks of sandstone which are an appropriate material for the construction of buildings and monuments. The favourable climate and some perennial springs possessing curative properties have contributed to its growth as a religious and cultural center from time immemorial.

Transformation of any city can be understood from its history. As Anderson (1970) argues, the urban way of life is influenced by the ecology and geography and even by its history. In addition, there is an underlying trigger which can be political, economic, cultural apart from only being demographic which come to characterise city transitions.

Similarly, the city of Bhubaneswar has seen several historical epochs of transformation from being a temple town, to a planned city or a capital city to a city that has been witnessing neoliberal growth and development. Under each of these epochs the city has experienced transitions in terms of the nature of the urban, its characteristics, growth, its social structure, the land use pattern, social life, employment structure and the educational opportunities. Through these transformations different spatial aspects of the city become visible. Further, Nambissan (2017) rightly points out that the spatial divisions that are visible in the city like the elite suburbs, the exclusive enclaves and the high poverty areas are shaped by the political economy of the urban.

Ravi Kalia, (1994) in his book *“Bhubaneswar: From a Temple Town to a Capital City”*, discusses elaborately the transformation of the city of Bhubaneswar and its rich historical tradition beginning from around 261 BC. Bhubaneswar has been the center of

pilgrimage in recent history and this has given it a distinct identity. To be precise, the city has a history of 3000 long years and has evolved through ancient ages to the medieval to the modern. Partly, these historical antecedents of the city of Bhubaneswar can be observed in the way the old temple town of the city is structured.

The demographic transformation of the city of Bhubaneswar can be inferred from the population growth of the city over the years.

Demographically speaking, the population of the temple town was just 8,110 when it was a temple town. The population almost doubled to 16, 512 in 1951 when the capital city was established. It further increased to 38,211 in 1961 due to a lot of transformation taking place which resulted into a huge influx into the city. Gradually as the city expanded, it engulfed many surrounding villages and the population increased to more than 1, 00,000 in the 1980s. This period also witnessed the growth of industries and the development of the industrial zones or the industrial estates. The decade of 1990s was characterised by high and stable growth. In 1991, the population crossed 4, 00,000 as this was the period of emergence of the Information Technology sector. However, this was followed by a period of stagnation as a result of which the population saw a decreasing trend of urban growth. Though the population increased further to 6, 00,000 in 2001 and further to more than 8, 00,000 in 2011, the rate of growth had declined sharply.

Table 2.1 Growth of population of Bhubaneswar

Census	Population	Percentage of Growth
1951	16,512	—
1961	38,211	131.4%
1971	105,491	176.1%
1981	227,525	115.7%
1991	423,465	86.1%
2001	647,302	52.9%
2011	837,737	29.4%

Source: Census of India (2011)

The population projection for Bhubaneswar Development Planned Area (BDPA)⁴ in 2030 is estimated to be 2 million as per the Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP) prepared by IIT Kharagpur. Within all these broader transitional phases, there seems to be a lot of trigger for urban transformation and the simultaneous expansion of educational institutions.

Table 2.2 Profile of Bhubaneswar city

Indicator	City (Municipal Corporation)	State (Urban)	India (Urban)
Total Population	840834	7003656	377,106,125
Total Population of UA (if)	885363		
Share of ULB population in District Urban population (%)	77.55		
Population Growth Rate (AEGR) 2001-11	2.6	2.39	2.76
Area (sq. km)*	135		
Density of population (person per sq. km)*	6228.4		
Literacy Rate (%)	91.89	85.75	84.11

Source: compiled from various sources- census of India 2011, *District Census Handbook, Census of India, 2011, http://smartcities.gov.in/upload/uploadfiles/files/Orissa_Bhubaneswar.pdf (Retrieved on 6th July, 2018)

Thus the city of Bhubaneswar had witnessed spurts of growth over the past six decades or so and has passed through multiple legacies and urban inventions for keeping up with the trends of growth. Bhide (2015) notes, the multiple legacies of Bhubaneswar however have their contradictions, inclusions and exclusions, and thus produce a complex cityscape. This cityscape is also linked to the neighbouring cities of Puri and Cuttack. Bhubaneswar, Puri¹ and Konark together form a golden triangle because of their ancient history. The city of Cuttack is closely linked to the Bhubaneswar city and they both together are called “twin cities”. But the histories of both the cities are different in the sense that the history of Cuttack revolves around the fortified urban centre which was built by the Eastern Ganga dynasty which is distinct from sacred complexes that surround Bhubaneswar. Patnaik (2006) observes that Odisha is divided into four great regions of

⁴ The BDPA has been formed by the process of amalgamation and annexation of BMC, BDPA Rural, Khurda and Jatni

pilgrimage. On the Southern side of the river Baitarani are the shrines of Shiva and to the South-East lies the famous sun temple at Konark.

It is a region of pilgrimage dedicated to Shiva and consists of a series of temples which make Bhubaneswar unique. There are many towns in Odisha which are centered around sacred places but Bhubaneswar is unique when compared to other places. Panigrahi (1949) while comparing Bhubaneswar and Puri says that Bhubaneswar is different because firstly, Bhubaneswar became the capital city of Odisha and secondly, it is unique because it is difficult to find at one place such a large number of ancient monuments existing for such a long period of time.

With such rich history of the city and its surrounding areas, Bhubaneswar has transformed into a modern city in the Eastern part of India, along with the other cities on the East coast like Kolkata, Vishakhapatnam etc. Along with the changing character of the city, the spatial contours and contexts have also undergone tremendous transformation.

The diverse spatial context in the city has different stories to tell. It is these stories that this chapter aims to reveal. Importantly, the chapter seeks to explore various phases of city growth and transformation. It also highlights the major social divisions that come to represent various phases of urban spatial transformations. Essentially, the study identifies the following phases of urban transformation.

a) The old temple town of Bhubaneswar- The first phase of the city transition describes the life in the old villages and town of Bhubaneswar. The old villages of Bhubaneswar include the villages surrounding the temples of the old town and also many peripheral villages which together constituted Bhubaneswar. It may be noted that the social and cultural contexts of all these villages differs.

b) Stage of capital city construction- This stage describes transformation of the city into an administrative capital of Odisha. It will examine the unit based development of the city. As the city expanded, many villages that were located in the periphery of the city got included in expanding city. Though in large cities this includes the satellite towns, in cities like Bhubaneswar, it includes the fringe villages located around the city.

c) The growth or the evolution of industrial corridor- This phase has mainly seen the growth of industrial activity in the city. The city has begun to change with the coming up of manufacturing sector. The space corresponding to this phase is the industrial corridors of the Mancheswar Industrial Estate. This phase explores how industrialisation of Bhubaneswar has transformed its social, economic and political landscapes.

d) Phase of post liberalisation urban growth or the emergence of post- Industrial urban economy- This phase includes the influx of the floating population of the city who have come and settled in designated enclaves because of the sudden turn towards Information Technology. These include students and IT professionals who have come for education and job opportunities. The space corresponding to this phase is the Infocity area which is also regarded as the global education hub.

This chapter describes the urban spatial transformation of Bhubaneswar through all these phases. The thrust of the discussion here however is on various spaces that grew and transformed as a result of these major policy or temporal changes in the city.

I The old town of Bhubaneswar

Historically, Bhubaneswar is called as *Ekamra Kshetra*, “a sacred area adorned with hundreds of mango-groves, wherein exists a single Devakula (temple) surrounded by numerous temples”⁵. As per the *Ekamra Purana*, a 13th Century Sanskrit treatise, it is believed that this sacred *Kshetra* was Panchakrosha (10 miles) in circumference bordered by Khandagiri hills in the West, Kundalesvara temple in the East, Balhadevi temple on the North and Bahirangesvara temple near Dhauli on the South with Lingaraj temple at the center. There was an inner circle to this *kshetra* which was bound by the Meghesvara temple in the East and Sunderasvara temple in the South. It comprised 45 villages. The Lingaraj temple formed the center of the old town with Bindusagar Tank in the vicinity. The town structure was a derivative of the Mandala concept⁶ (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5916/>) Retrieved on 19/05/2019

⁵ <https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5916/> Retrieved on 19/05/2019

⁶ It is a spiritual and ritual symbol in Hinduism and Buddhism that represents the Universe. Graphically it denotes any plan or chart which symbolically represents the cosmos. Most of the Mandala pattern is a square with four gates containing a circle with a center point. It exhibits radial balance (whc.unesco.org)

The old town has gone through several religious influences culminating into the rise of Hinduism and the establishment of a large number of temples, making Bhubaneswar a “temple town” (Kalia, 1994: 20). The spread of Brahmanical Hinduism brought in significant transformation in the society and culture of many religious towns. It has witnessed several empires starting from the ancient to the medieval to the modern day. In Ancient times, in 261 B.C, the place saw the rule of the Mauryan king Ashoka which led to the spread of Buddhism. It was the capital of the Kingdom of Kalinga, the kingdom of the ruler Ashoka. Ashoka’s monuments near Bhubaneswar remain the main source of the early history of Bhubaneswar. Aiyer (1946) argues that the temples have come up because of religious devotion and the commemoration of the military glory of a ruler. Pradhan (1993) notes that Old Bhubaneswar is also called Shaiva kshetra in the religious history of India which can be attributed to the numerous *Shaiva* shrines that have been erected at different times by different rulers of Odisha.

The history of Kalinga is a story of several minor dynasties. Emperor Kharavela’s reign in 49 B.C led to extensive military campaigns, which then had an impact on the Bhubaneswar town. Under his authority there was a spread of Jain ideology and the Khandagiri and Udaygiri hills gained importance. Emperor Kharavela established his capital at Toshali. The town “Toshali”, known today as Bhubaneswar was the capital of Kalinga Empire. According to the Comprehensive Development Plan of Bhubaneswar (1993), the capital spread over an area of nearly 12 sq.miles and included among other sites the present old Bhubaneswar, Khandagiri, Udaygiri and Dhauligiri.

Debala Mitra (1961) notes that the Jain caves located in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills and the Chausath Yogini Temple at Hirapur to the North West and South East of Bhubaneswar besides the rock edicts of Ashoka at Dhauri and the ruined city of Sishupalgarh make Bhubaneswar a place of great historical importance (Mitra, 1961:3). Bhubaneswar thus enjoys the privilege of being chosen by emperor Ashoka as one of the sites in India where he inscribed the message of peace and non-violence (C.D.P, 1993). Both Ashoka and Kharavela introduced Buddhism and Jainism to the people of Kalinga respectively. Bhubaneswar is the only place which has seen the rise of Buddhism and Jainism and Hinduism. According to Mishra (1979, 1980) the history of Bhubaneswar is

presented in the ruins of Sisupalgarh, Dhauli, Khandagiri⁷ and Udayagiri⁸ hills which go back much earlier than 4th Century B.C. These places are bustling tourist spots in the city today and are major sources of revenue for the city. Bhide (2015) mentions that this area had served as the capital of the region under a variety of rulers before the capital shifted to Puri in the medieval ages. The ancient history of the city is not only known for the hills and temples but also known as a center of learning. According to Das (1982) a university named Puspagiri flourished at Udaygiri hills at a time in history.

With the passage of time, Buddhism and Jainism receded into the background due to the absence of royal patronage (Kalia, 1994). Shaivism however remained the dominant religion which was patronised by the Kesari kings and it is due to their efforts, construction of the Lingaraj temple at Bhubaneswar could be completed. Kalia (1994) notes that, according to historical accounts, the Kesari kings imported ten thousands of Brahmans to Odisha from Oudh to perform vedic sacrifices. This led to the Aryan colonisation of Odisha and Brahmans claiming decent from them. He further argues that this migration of Brahmans may have resulted in introducing urban culture in Odisha. The Kesari kings also patronised arts and architecture. The dynasty of the Gangas came subsequently and introduced Vaishnavism which remained influential during their time. The temple building activities at Bhubaneswar continued till the end of 11th Century during the rule of Ganga dynasty.

According to Patnaik (2012), the Ganga dynasty came to an end in 1568 A.D with the death of Mukunda Deva and the last Hindu kingdom was henceforth annexed by the Afgan sultan of Bengal in 1568 A.D. So, the cultural history of Bhubaneswar is full of such influences which shaped the old town, its culture and ways of thinking and living. Due to these influences, the temples of the city represent the north (Nagara style), the south (Dravidian style) and also a blend of the local to produce a distinct Odisan art. Mishra (1980) notes that “the “kalinga style” of architecture spread over a period of

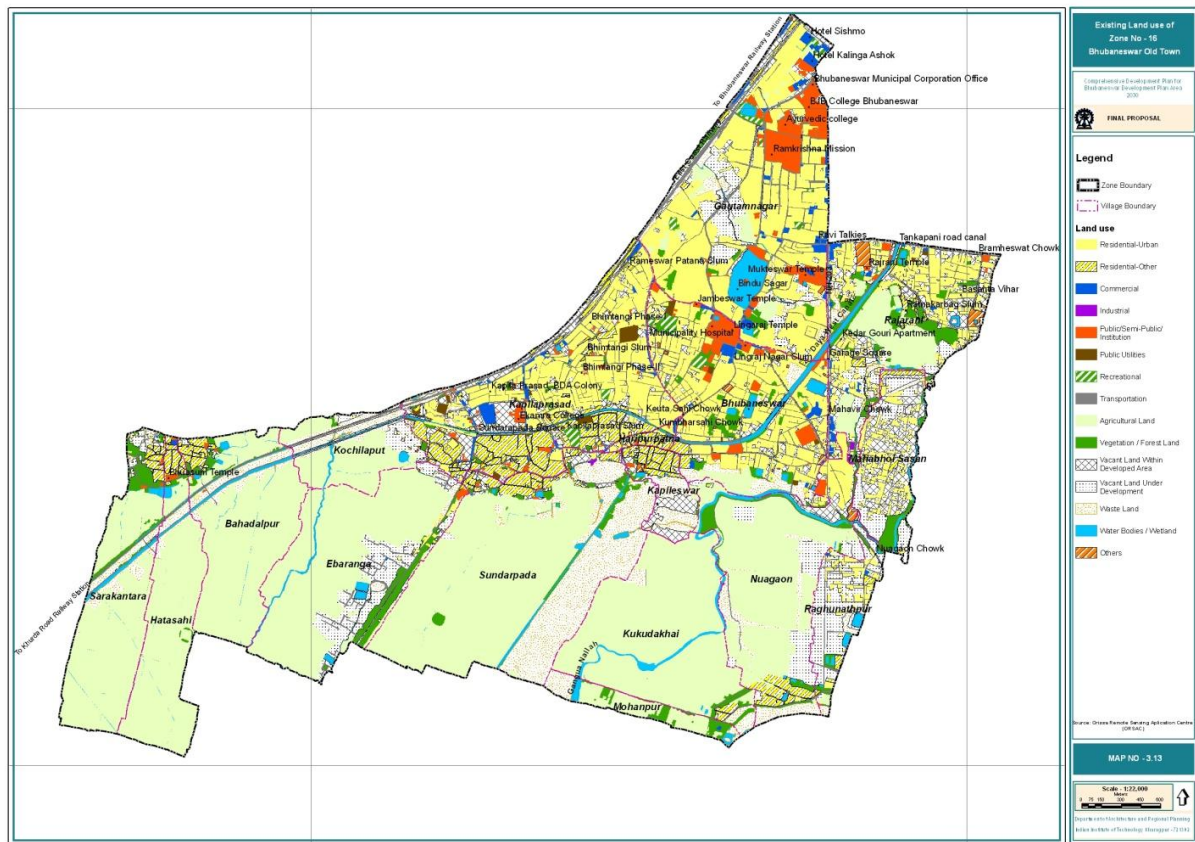
⁷ Khandagiri means broken hill or a part of a hill broken from the original. Das (1982) says that they are one of the earliest groups of Jaina rock cut shelters in Eastern India. He further says that the engravings on the walls show evidence of the existence of the dynasty of the Chedis who came to power in Kalinga.

⁸ It was a great religious center for Jain ascetics. Das (1982) says that the spirituality inherent in the environment of the Udaygiri hills attracted Kharavela

about two thousand years has epitomised the monuments of Bhubaneswar” (Mishra,1980:7).

The reign of Mughals in the 16th Century was said to be devastating for Kalinga due to the attack of Kalapahad who had as per historical accounts, destroyed many temples in Puri, Bhubaneswar and Konark. After the Mughals came the Marathas. CDP (1993) states that historical writings do not throw any light on the developmental efforts in Bhubaneswar during the Maratha period and probably the history of Bhubaneswar may have remained more or less the same without much fanfare and events.

Map 2.1 Spatial spread and the existing land use of old Bhubaneswar



Source: C.D.P for Bhubaneswar Development Plan Area: Vision 2030
[Chttps://cms.bhubaneswarone.in/uploadDocuments/content/3.13_Existing_Land_use_of_Old_BB_SR.pdf](https://cms.bhubaneswarone.in/uploadDocuments/content/3.13_Existing_Land_use_of_Old_BB_SR.pdf) Retrieved on 20th July, 2019.

Apart from the temples, the old town of Bhubaneswar is known for its architectural history as many images of Goddesses are carved on the walls of almost all the shrines. It is often technical and a matter of surprise and bewilderment that such knowledge existed in those times. It was not only about Gods and Goddesses but it was also about architectural and technological knowledge. The architectural importance is seen in the Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills with rock cut caves. The temples like Mukteswar temple⁹ have been called a “gem of Orissan architecture” and “a dream in sandstone” by James Fergusson (Fergusson,1876: 419). The figures depicted in Mukteswar remain unparalleled in the field of architecture. These are the most ornate carvings, done delicately which display a high standard of artistic achievement in Eastern India. Das (1982), in describing the architectural beauty of the Mukteswar temple points out that the entire body of the temple is well carved with meticulous care and perfection as if the sculptors have given their best to create this epitome of glory. The other temple which is famous for its architectural glory is the Rajarani temple. The temple is known for the type of stone¹⁰ used in its construction rather than the deity which is being worshipped there. Panigrahi (1949) argues that the monuments, being of immense historical importance, have made the history of Bhubaneswar, the history of Odisha. Bhubaneswar also boasts to be one of the five known Yogini temples of the country famous for *tantra* worship called *Tantra pitha* (Roy, 1991:14-15).

Not only the temples and the architecture, but also the tanks and springs deserve special mention in the context of Old Bhubaneswar. Almost all the temples have tanks either close to them or have it in their premises. The most remarkable of all the tanks are the Bindusagar¹¹, Sahasra Linga , Kedar Gouri , Papanasini, Ganga Yamuna, Kotitirtha, Brahma Kunda¹², Megha Kunda, Rama Kunda, the tank of Kapileswar temple, etc. The Anant-Vasudev temple was built on the banks of Bindusagar tank in Bhubaneswar. Das

⁹ Das (1982) says that the locality and the name of the temple suggests that the nomenclature has been derived from attainment of mukti or salvation by many sages and seers by worshipping the image in the temple.

¹⁰ Das (1982) says that the type of stone used in its construction is called Rajaraniya, a very fine grained buff, red sandstone. Das further says that many others think that this temple is known so because of the life story of a king and queen depicted on the stone walls of the temple.

¹¹ The bindusagar tank is the most remarkable. In the center of the tank is a temple and there are a number of fountains at the bottom of the tank. The tank contains drops from all sacred rivers and tanks on earth.

¹² Kunda means tank in Odia.

(1982) mentions that there is a legend associated with the tank. It is said that the tank came as a blessing from lord Shiva, which came to serve as a perennial source of supply of water for daily ablution and cleansing the body and mind of all sins.

The old town also grew in importance because of its mutts or *mathas*¹³ and dharmashalas. The mutts around the Lingaraj temple are the Bharati Matha, Gopalatirtha Matha, Sivatirtha Matha, Jagannath Matha, Goudiya Matha etc. The Goudiya matha in the old town is a branch of the Central Goudiya matha at Mayapur, Nawadwip in Bengal. Sri Ramakrishna Ashram was inaugurated by Swami Brahmanandji Maharaj in 1920 as he found old Bhubaneswar as a congenial place for spiritual practice. It is the most famous of all the *mathas*. Mohapatra (2005) notes that every monastery gives some services to Lord Jagannath and Lord Lingaraj. Every *matha* had under them some land which also provides income to the temples. The sages and hermits who go to Puri stay at the mathas and are provided with services. The dharmashalas are like rest houses for the pilgrims. Some dharmashalas include the *Dalmia dharmashala*, and the *Dooduawala dharmashala*.

Incorporation of villages into the urban landscape

Bhubaneswar was not only confined to places surrounding the temples or the *Ekamra Khetra*. There is much more to old Bhubaneswar than just temples. Many respondents noted that Bhubaneswar was declared as the capital by incorporating the areas of old town as its base. The city also included villages which were spatially different from the old temple town. These remote and scattered villages or “revenue villages” were located within the reserve forests area and had lot of open spaces.

Bhubaneswar in its older times had witnessed diverse spatial growth. There were residential settlements where houses and huts were huddled together and agricultural fields, pastures, water tanks and ponds are all around it. The two together constituted a territorial unit called revenue villages according to A.M Shah (2012). Bhubaneswar also had a lot of scattered villages. The scattered villages of Bhubaneswar were Nuapalli, Jharapada, Laxmisagar, Bargarh , Rasulgarh, Jagamara etc. Between the old town and

¹³ The religious monasteries belonging to different sects.

these hamlets was the reserve forest called Rampur Bharatpur reserve forest. The Chandaka forest lies in the Bharatpur area which is still protected but parts of the forest are undergoing transformation into urban habitat.

Bhubaneswar in present days can be called as a combination of old villages as when the city grew it engulfed the scattered villages in its periphery. The residents of the peripheral habitations were engaged in different occupations like stone cutting, mason's work, and other agricultural activities. In Baramunda village, people either did agriculture if they had land or worked as labourers or used to cut stones from *Pathara khani* (stone quarry) and used to supply stones for construction of houses when Bhubaneswar was being constructed. All these villages were surrounded by jungles and villagers were once called "*jungle loka*" (jungle people) or "*side loka*" (people who were not included in the mainstream) who were not seen as civilised and were not designated to be the residents of the old town or the temple town. The residents of some of these villages tamed a lot of animals, used to them for grazing, make their living by selling them. They also engaged their children in these activities. Since the villagers were not engaged in temple activities they were not considered civilised. They were not only looked as "the other" by the residents of the old town but also by the people of the central and core areas of the new Bhubaneswar. For instance, one of the respondents was quoted as saying that the people of the fringe villages used to loot people who came for pilgrimage to Puri and pass through Jagannatha sadak¹⁴.

Caste also is said to have played an important role in the demarcation of fringe hamlets. Respondents of this study point out to different villages dominated by a single caste though there were other castes that were residing in the village. For example, the Badagada village was said to be dominated by the Khandayat caste though other castes resided in the village. Apart from them there were Bauris and Saoras who were agricultural labourers and belonged to the Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes.

¹⁴ Puri mandir was the place which attracted a lot of devotees from far and near. So any road that led to Jagannath temple was known as jagannath sadak.

When the capital city came up, people from these villages were uprooted from agriculture and were drawn into work in the new capital. They got engaged as labourers, did loading and unloading of big boulders on their bullock carts, etc and helped in the building and construction work. Some have worked as contractors also. The land where the state Secretariat has come up was very uneven, notes one of the respondents. So, people were engaged in leveling that place by putting boulders so that construction work could begin. These people left the work in the fields to work as construction labourers in the newly built capital but once the construction work stopped, they were out of their jobs and at the same time could not return to the fields. So, their situation became worse.

Another important aspect is that most of the urban development that had happened has actually happened on the lands of villages that got incorporated into the capital city. Shah (2012) rightly observes that in the urban transformation the village lands get transformed and though the village is included in the city, the rural-urban linkage remains and makes the categories “rural” and “urban” more fuzzy. It may be said that not only are the settlements intact, villagers also find it difficult to fully integrate within the city.

One of the examples of transformation of a traditional occupation is seen in the Patia village which was once called the “land of snake charmers” or “*sapua Kelas*”¹⁵ in Odia. The snake charmers lived in the Patia village with other communities. But due to their job of catching snakes which was not liked by the other communities, they were driven out of the Patia village and are presently residing in another village called the Padmakesaripur¹⁶ village where they have been provided land by the king of Patia. In order to facilitate their change of place from one village to another they were given very meager amount of lands. Subsequently, they have given up their nomadic practices and have become permanent residents of this village. They have changed their profession from snake

¹⁵According to Puri District Gazetteer (1977), the Kelas are nomadic people believed to have come from South India. They are divided into five subcastes like the Nalua, Sapua, Matia, Gandia, Sabakhia etc. Out of these the Sapua Kelas are basically the snake charmers and are known because of their snake charming skills. Das (2006) in his work on the Kelas says that the Sapua Kelas derive their name from the word “Sap”, “sarpa” meaning snake. The Sapua Kela etymologically refers to the people who play with snakes or are snake charmers. They are also known as Patia kela, Goudia kela, Ahir Goudia or Ahir kela.

¹⁶ It is a hamlet of the revenue village which comes under Kalarahang Grampanchayat of Bhubaneswar block. It is a settlement that has come up in a rocky fallow land lying between Enjana and kalarahang villages and are separated from these villages (Mohanty and Mohanty, 2004).

charming to odd jobs as domestic workers and entered other occupations in the unorganised sector in the city.

The transformation from traditional and agrarian occupations in the 1960s was not very smooth as there were not many educated villagers who could take on modern industrial or administrative occupations. For instance, a old resident of Jagamara village reminisces the fact that there was only one family which used to be educated; he used to travel all the way to the regional college to get education and there was no transportation and communication facilities at that time. In Ghatikia a resident notes that there was only one family in which all the four or five brothers were educated.

The incorporated villages also had a unique culture in themselves. They had an identity of their own, though much of it was derived from ‘the temple’ and the religious character of the ‘old town’ area. For example, the name of the Mancheswar village is derived from the *Manchanatha* deity worshipped as Shiva. The villagers are believers of this deity and they take part in all the rituals associated with it. Festivals like Dola Purnima¹⁷ are celebrated with much fervor. However, it may also be stated that the residents of the villages derive their identity from being “*Bhubaneswaria*” (people of Bhubaneswar). This brings us to the question of “who belongs to the city?” or “who are its residents?”. The idea of citizenship in the context of a city is contested as there are differences between the people who call themselves natives and the migrants who have come to the city for livelihoods. Thus, the legal definition of citizenship is a bone of contention (Jayaram, 2010, 2015). In the case of Bhubaneswar, the native residents, be it the residents of the old town or the incorporated villages often complain that they are left out and are neglected by the migrant population to the city and are treated as second rate citizens.

The fringe villages surrounding the city are famous for ‘*jatras*’ which is a localised festival confined to a particular space or a village. The *jatras* are an important part of their lives. Mention can be made of the Khandagiri *jatra* celebrated by the residents of the Khandagiri village. Though the *jatras* have become modernised, but they still keep their faith intact. However, *jatra* faces a threat from the expansion of the city and

¹⁷ In this festival the deity visits the homes of the devotees in a palanquin and accepts / partakes Prasad served to the deity. So all areas the deity visits had bhaichara among them.

congestion of the city traffic. For example, respondents mention the jstras like the Khandagiri *jatra* where there is huge inconvenience to city dwellers due to congestion. One often hears the demand for shifting the venue of the *jatra*. That means the original *jatra* loses its spatial uniqueness and gets removed from its place of origin, namely the villages. A villager asks: Will *jatra* hold the same uniqueness that it has always been known for?

II Emergence of Bhubaneswar as a Capital City

Odisha came under the British rule in 1803 and for many years it was not made a separate province. Parts of the state were with Bengal, Bihar and Madras provinces. According to Patnaik (2012) Baleswar, Katak (Cuttack), Puri districts were a part of Bengal till 1912. In 1912, the new Bihar and Odisha province was created when they were separated from the Bengal province. Southern Odisha or Ganjam remained as a part of Madras Presidency till 1936. The Odia speaking regions remained spread in different provinces of Bengal, Madras, Central Provinces and Bihar. As a result of which the Odias living in these provinces were reduced to the status of linguistic minorities and were neglected and deprived.

Odisha was declared as a new province on 1st April, 1936 when Bihar and Odisha province was split to form Bihar province and Odisha province. Thus, Odisha became the eleventh province of British India. Das (1982) says that the province was created with six districts taken out of the provinces of Bihar, Orissa¹⁸ and Madras respectively. Cuttack was the then capital of Odisha division which formed a part of the province of Bihar and Orissa. Dash et.al (2015) notes that that Cuttack was the only urbanized town in Odisha before independence. It was also a leading commercial center and a place where the elites and intelligentsia resided. Gradually there started a debate regarding the location of the capital of the newly created province. Looking at the political and economic situation Bhubaneswar was declared as the capital of the new province. The decision about site selection for the new capital did not come all of a sudden. There were lot of debates regarding the selection of the new capital.

¹⁸ Odisha was called Orissa previously.

For Pati (2012) a typical feature of the period of making of the Nehruvian nation state in Orissa was the desire to build a capital. This idea of building a new capital assumed new dimension in the context of decolonisation premised on the idea of acquiring legitimacy for the Nehruvian state and the Oriya ruling class. According to Mohapatra (1996) the question of the new capital was examined by the Odisha Administrative Committee under the chairmanship of John Austin Hubback. The committee recommended that Cuttack should be the capital and the sites of Chauliaganj and Tulasipur were selected for the purpose. There was however a strong reservation against this proposal as Cuttack had little scope for expansion. The Committee after investigation suggested that the capital would be located at Rangeilunda. This was followed by vigorous agitations in Cuttack. Thereafter the “Dain Committee” decided that the capital should be located at Cuttack Chaudwar. In 1944-45, it was proposed by the then Planning Department and the Planning Advisory Board that the area between Old Bhubaneswar and Mancheswar should be the capital of the province.

When the Second Congress Ministry came to office in the month of April 1946, there were three sites before the Government for the establishment of the capital. They were Rangeilunda, Cuttack Choudwar and Bhubaneswar. Pati (2012) says, Choudwar was separated from Cuttack by the Mahanadi river and Cuttack-cum-Choudwar was considered a serious contender for the capital. The then Chief Minister of Odisha, Harekrushna Mahtab¹⁹, made up his mind in favour of Bhubaneswar as the most suitable site for the purpose of the capital. He put his proposal before the Assembly on 30th June 1946. He defended his decision firstly on the basis of communication as he anticipated that would be better connectivity between Cuttack and Bhubaneswar than Chaudwar and Cuttack. Another important aspect was the economy. Chief Minister Mahtab felt that the buildings constructed during World War II by the Americans for the aerodrome and residential facilities could be used for the purpose of offices and quarters. Besides this, Bhubaneswar had plenty of land and the acquisition of land would be possible without

¹⁹ Harekrushna Mahtab is called the ‘builder of modern Orissa’. He is known for his three major achievements. Firstly, he was the main architect behind the construction of the Hirakud dam project on the river Mahanadi. Secondly, for his contribution to the creation of the new capital of Odisha in Bhubaneswar. Thirdly, for the merger of princely states into Orissa province. He also attempted to revamp the prevailing institutional set up by bringing in qualified surgeons, intellectuals, engineers from outside the state (Das and Nanda, 2001).

causing any hardship to the common people. Plenty of land was available to the Government at a nominal cost and the Government can start construction on the land without any hassle. Apart from this, the rich heritage and cultural tradition of Bhubaneswar was two thousand and one hundred years old, from the time of Asoka.

On 30th September 1946, the proposal to shift the capital to Bhubaneswar was approved. Moving the resolution that the capital of the province be located at Bhubaneswar, Mahtab stated that steps must be taken to construct the buildings at the capital as early as possible. Mahtab stressed on the ‘magnificent instructions of the great Kalinga edicts of Asoka which would be the guide and a source of inspiration for the Government. Apart from the glorious history and tradition, the site of the new capital had the advantage of lying on the border between the fertile delta and the hilly forest areas of Orissa which was useful for geographical advantages²⁰. The members present in the assembly were convinced of its advantages over all other sites which were discussed and the motion was unanimously adopted. Kar (2012) notes that the central Government also proposed to bear the full expenses for the construction of the new capital. Perhaps, it is the only new capital in India which has received a grant from the Government of India for its construction. Even Chandigarh, received funds in the form of loans. Das and Nanda (2001) say that Mahtab was instrumental in convincing the then Finance Minister of the Executive Council to release the central financial grant to meet the cost of expenditure for building the capital. Thus, Bhubaneswar was declared as the new capital of Odisha. On 13th April 1948, the foundation of the capital was laid by the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru.

The shifting of the capital however was not smooth. The officials resisted as the city was not developed to provide residential accommodation to the employees. There was also absence of facilities such as markets, educational institutions, communication, healthcare, water supply, etc. On the contrary, Cuttack had all these facilities and most of the officials were natives of Cuttack. As the Government was determined to shift the capital

²⁰ The ground sloped from West to East and was divided into two parts intersected by the railway line. The Western part was a highland with laterite soil clad with forest and the Eastern part was low with alluvial soil suitable for agriculture.

to Bhubaneswar, on 8th June, after a brief ceremony, in the Collectorate of Cuttack, the officials left for Bhubaneswar.

According to Mohapatra (1996), the new capital had its real beginning with the holding of a meeting of the Assembly for the first time with the members from the merged states on 10th October, 1949. The Chief Minister made an exhaustive speech welcoming the members to the new capital at Bhubaneswar. He said,

We are meeting today almost exactly three years after the resolution of Bhubaneswar was passed in 1946. We are meeting at the new capital and the Assembly today consists of more members on account of the amalgamation of the states with the province. (Mohapatra, 1996: 22).

Pati (1998) points out that when Bhubaneswar was chosen to be the capital city of the state of Odisha, it was a petty town with no modern significance. It was the most important archaeological site of highest value and was connected with historical association of rare importance. Given such background Mishra (1980) stresses that the present day capital is developed as a well planned modern city with varieties of designed buildings. The buildings of the Raj Bhavan (Governor house), the state secretariat, the Odisha Legislative assembly, The state archives, the state museum, Gandhi Bhavan, Rabindra mandap, OUAT and Utkal University etc came up gradually.

The motive behind the site selection for the new capital thus seems to be rooted in history. Many scholars however have opined that a secular institution like the state or the capital city cannot be located at a religious place. This is the reason why Puri being a famous place was objected to be a capital city and that it could not have been a seat of secular government. Moreover, Muslims and Christians would find it difficult to get a house in Puri (Dash et al. 2015: 35). Opposition for Puri also came in because there were inherent disadvantages in “making an all India centre of pilgrimage the seat of a provincial government” (Kalia, 1994:67). The importance of education was also in the mind and the decision in favor of Puri could not be taken because of this reason. On the other hand Cuttack had the Ravenshaw college which had transformed into a “modern

intellectual centre and also had become the centre of the Odisha nationalist movement” (Kalia, 1994:69).

But in Cuttack city which is situated between both Kathajodi and Mahanadi rivers, there is no possibility for the growth and expansion. The engineers felt that the construction of the bridge between Cuttack and Bhubaneswar was the first possible development linking the twin cities that can complement the capital city of Bhubaneswar. Simultaneously building activity was also taken up by the IDCO (Odisha Industrial Development Corporation).

Ravi Kalia in his book suggests that there was also an inherent political motive which has fuelled the struggles in Bhubaneswar. He writes,

Just as the people of Kalinga had built thousands of temples in praise of the Gods to solicit their divine benediction for moksha (salvation), so, too were the people of Orissa inspired to consecrate the new state by building the capital city at Bhubaneswar” (Kalia, 1994:11).

The authorities of the BDA say that, as a result of this there is an interface between the need of the people and the city planning. The planning of the city was the first step towards building the city. There are however various phases in the transition of the planned city of Bhubaneswar.

Phases in the urban transition of the capital city of Bhubaneswar

As mentioned earlier, with a lot of deliberation, Bhubaneswar replaced Cuttack as the capital of Odisha in 1949. Dash et al (2015) says that “Bhubaneswar was a deliberate attempt towards planned change” (Dash et al, 2015: 566). There are various phases in the urban transition of Bhubaneswar. These phases are not exclusive as many developments were going on simultaneously and it cannot be straight jacketed into fixed phases. For a better understanding however, we have divided them into a few broad phases.

a) *The Master Plan*

The Master Plan of Bhubaneswar was prepared after ten years of functioning as an interim capital without any direction and a phase of uncertainty. Grenell (1980) observes that the actual town planning was done in three stages. In 1945, Julius L. Vaz was assigned the task of preparing the new capital plan. He drew the initial sketch based on the population projection and various physical and cost guidelines. In the second stage, V.C Mehta, a town planning expert, was brought in to advise on the planning. In 1947, the Chief Engineer suggested that a German planner Otto.H. Koenigsberger be requested to assist in planning efforts. When Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab became the Chief Minister of Odisha a decision regarding the Master Plan was taken and Otto H. Koenigsberger²¹ was entrusted to prepare the Master Plan of Bhubaneswar.

First Master Plan of the city of Bhubaneswar was put forward by Otto Koenigsberger in 1954. The new capital of Bhubaneswar was similar to the old temple town in terms of the concept of neighborhood unit planning²² with administration as the primary function of the city (Kalia, 1994). The administrative complex was located at unit-V of the planning area. According to Praharaj (2013) the design of the city lay in linear pattern with a central artery forming the main spine to which neighbourhood units were attached. She further notes that each neighbourhood unit would have major amenities of life, like the schools, shopping centers, libraries, etc and also at the same time would afford an easy walking distance for a child to a kindergarten. According to the Plan, the town center consisted of the market building, weekly market and a daily market. For Koenigsberger (1952), the neighbourhood would be large enough to afford the major amenities of urban

²¹ Dash et al (2015) says that Koenigsberger was a German who had come to India in the 1930s. He had prepared the development plan for the city of Jamshedpur in the neighbouring province of Bihar. When the Odisha Government invited Koenigsberger for preparing the masterplan, he was at the service of the Maharaja of Mysore and had acquired good reputation in the Government circles.

²² The concept of neighbourhood planning is used while designing most of the towns in India. Otto. H.Koenigsberger (1952) says the conception of the neighbourhood unit in town planning was first mentioned in Russia in 1934. The idea was subsequently taken up in Holland, France and even Great Britain and the U.S.A. He further says that that neighbourhood planning forms the best possible link with a type of community life people know from their villages. But in modern systems, Koenigsberger says, it is difficult to suffice. The danger which is associated with this is the possibility of “ghetto formation”. In most of the cases an attempt is made to represent each professional and social group in the community but this has met with strong resistances from the administrative towns.

life but at the same time small enough to keep all the amenities in convenient walking distances for the inhabitants.

Koenigsberger in his master plan tried not only to make Bhubaneswar a symbol of power and day to day administration but also involved the active participation of the public. In other words, he tried to break the barrier between officialdom and the general public which will distinguish it from New Delhi which was planned to be an administrative capital. According to Koenigsberger, he did not want an administrative caste to emerge which “was as harmful to the country as the old castes which we are trying to abolish” (Koenigsberger,1948: 2). Grenell (1980) states that he feared that this new caste might arise from a rigid occupational and spatial structure, instead he wanted a happy community to develop in Bhubaneswar.

In the words of Koenigsberger (1948),

In 1948, the term “administrative capital” means much more. It describes the lively nerve center of provincial activities where workers and their representatives, manufacturers, businessmen, scientists, officials and last but not the least politicians meet and collaborate in the development of all aspects of provincial life (Koenigsberger, 1948:1-2).

Koenigsberger also did not want to create a segregated settlement for officials and thus provide ample scope for private building activities for the housing of the non-officials. But as observed by the researcher as city expanded and was taken over by the planners, one can see middle class or the elite bias in the visioning of the city. The masses are not a part of the vision of the city. For Krishna Menon (1997) the idea of town planning in India is derived from the Western notions without much knowledge about the indigenous town planning experience and there has been a colonial influence on the way town planners conceive urban problems. The same happened in case of Bhubaneswar. According to Grenell (1980) the Government however had other views and did not support the concept of diversified development put forward by Koenigsberger.

It is often criticised that the decisions taken during the construction of Bhubaneswar involved officials with limited knowledge of planning and that a foreign planner was

given a free hand in the design of the new town. Notwithstanding these criticisms, the city was planned for 40,000 people, including official population of approximately 20,000 and the other 20,000 for the non-official or the semi official population of the proposed capital. Thus the population rose and it was around 10,00,000 as per the 2011 census. One of the respondents commenting on the lack of vision in the planning of Bhubaneswar mentioned that by 1971, the planners thought the population will reach 40,000. But to the utter surprise, by 1961, the population was already 40,000. The projection of the growth of population thus could not foresee the rate at which Bhubaneswar grew.

The reason for the growth of population in this period was because of huge influx of migrant population from different parts of Odisha into the capital city of Bhubaneswar. This mainly happened due to the opening up of different employment opportunities and the requirement of manpower for the new capital. This shows the “inability of the technocratic planning apparatus to manage or cope with a bewildering demographic growth” (Nair, 2005:125). Juneja cited in Nambissan (2017) says that the early urban planning appeared to be informed by a larger vision of building an egalitarian and integrated society, but “the ground realities were different as the planning of the cities and towns did not keep pace with the rapid urbanization which followed” (Nambissan, 2017: 305). Moreover, the Master Plan areas, for Nair (2005) account for only a small part of the city, with the rest given over to unauthorized constructions.

Further, the neighborhood concept would not fit into the type of city Bhubaneswar was planned for. It was planned to be an administrative city and the concept of neighbourhood was felt not be appropriate as the residential quarters of the Government employees are already very isolated and exclusive. According to Goldstein (2016) the proximity does not necessarily determine community or belonging to a particular neighbourhood. After speaking to several bureaucrats and politicians, it was found by the researcher that they seem to create exclusion or exclusivity and their attitude does not seem to include people from all sections of the population. When asked about the places they stay many respondents who belong to privileged sections of the population used phrases like “we are fortunate enough to get houses at strategic locations”, these are “elite colonies”,

“there were some of us who were privileged who got land at this place” when they were asked about their residential location. Most of them had negative attitudes about the slum dwellers or towards all those who do not belong to their “class”.

It brings us to the question about the experiences of planning of other cities in India. This has been echoed by Kalia (1987) in his analysis of Chandigarh, one of the first planned cities in India. For him, though the city of Chandigarh was to serve as the catalyst of modernization of India it was forgotten that the modernization policy also must consider the social, economic and physical elements of the planned community to make it a success. As per archival sources, it is stated that Bhubaneswar was planned by Koenigsberger who could not stay for a longer period in Orissa (Dash et.al, 2015: 38). As a result, his belongingness to the city was also very short. There was no perspective thinking on planning, notes one of the respondents, who is a geography professor at Utkal University. No one could actually think that the city will grow so fast and that it will expand beyond NH 5, he said. In some cities which are planned by the British, the width of the road was much more than what was planned for Bhubaneswar. Why narrow roads for Bhubaneswar when it was planned in 1951, laments another respondent. According to him, this indicates lack of vision of the planners.

In the original Plan, though it was mentioned that there would be a high school in each unit it is an irony that nothing was mentioned about higher education which is an important aspect of urban transition. The administrative organisations, the buildings, the industries and even the traffic management acquired devoted chapters and are elaborated in detail but there is complete absence of planning for education especially higher education which is the greatest drawback of the Master Plan. Grenell (1980) notes that town planning for the Government of Orissa in 1948 meant town layout design. Koenigsberger was consulted for this purpose and his recommendation went beyond the Government’s expectation. He further says that the administration set the financial, physical, social parameters for the project and Koenigsberger’s task was to find a spatial expression for them. It can be said that what turned out to be was a designed city and not a planned one (Kalia, 1987).

Subsequently many town planning measures were taken up as the capital had expanded and further expansion was needed. This led to renewed town planning activity. Ford Foundation's urban planning team was also invited in 1958 to assist in town planning (Dash et al, 2015). The Orissa Town Planning Act was promulgated in mid-1960 to control the unprecedented development that came up in Bhubaneswar. Grenell (1980) says that this influenced the pace and direction of planning for the capital's future growth. Gradually the city expanded and reached its outer limits. Anand and Deb (2017) mention about a number of other plans that came up which are not statutory in nature but have been prepared under central or state schemes with funding for implementation. The city development plan came up under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). Many Service Level Improvement Plans (SLIPs) came up for nine cities in Odisha including Bhubaneswar under the Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT).

b) Bottlenecks in the initial settlement

The state secretariat building was completed in 1956 after which the Government departments shifted from Cuttack to Bhubaneswar. Grenell (1980) argues that the Government's policy of limiting the amount and pace of administrative relocation from Cuttack to Bhubaneswar was a way of controlling private development. Gradually, many offices, institutions and other establishments shifted and flourished in the city (CDP, 2006).

The employee quarters also came up and the city was divided into Units (I to IX). Plots were allotted to government job holders. The newly formed Bhubaneswar was called the 'new capital' in contrast to the old town by which the city was known before. Till the 1960s, the city of Bhubaneswar was called a dead city as people came due to their jobs when the capital shifted from Cuttack and left Bhubaneswar in the evening. So, the city literally looked dead after sunset. Hardly there was any activity on the streets, according to most of the respondents.

In spite of being an administrative stronghold, Bhubaneswar failed to attract people in the initial years of its inception. Most of these officers were actually forced to come to

Bhubaneswar when the Secretariat building was shifted. The city of Bhubaneswar, at the time of inception notes Grenell (1980) was known as a wild place where bandits and tigers would roam freely and a few people wanted to move there. Moreover, the city had no infrastructure and facilities in comparison to Cuttack which was much more developed. One of the respondents was quoted as saying that “the idea was mooted and the city was placed”. Grenell quotes one official who said “They were begging us to buy land there” (Grenell, 1980: 34). But the city has undergone a lot of transition from a lonely city to one of the most crowded cities in Eastern India.

C) Role of Urban Development Institutions

The urban local body of Bhubaneswar was constituted as a Notified Area Committee on 1st December 1948 under the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act of 1922. It was subsequently declared a Notified Area Council (N.A.C) in 1952 under the Orissa Municipal Act of 1950 by taking 4 mouzas²³ of Old Bhubaneswar, Samantarapur, Kapileswar and Kapilprasad and Sundarpada. According to Grenell (1980) through the coming up of the N.A.C the Government preferred to maintain complete control on the administration of the town. Rout (2008) notes that Bhubaneswar became a Class III town in 1962 and subsequently, a class I city with Municipality status in 1971. Bhubaneswar finally became a Municipal Corporation in 1994. The Bhubaneswar city is administered by the Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation (B.M.C) which covers an area of 135 sq km including 47 revenue villages and 377 slums. Basu (2016) mentions that the development area of the B.M.C spans 233 sq km which is controlled by the Bhubaneswar Development Authority (B.D.A) rechristened as Bhubaneswar Metropolitan Development Authority (B.M.D.A). The B.M.C areas have been divided into five zones viz East, West, North, South and Central zone for administrative efficiency and for improving access to civic services like health, water and sanitation.

Further, the planning was undertaken by Bhubaneswar Regional Improvement Trust (BRIT). The plotted housing schemes were planned by the BRIT in 1970. It has contributed immensely to the urban transition of Bhubaneswar. The Comprehensive

²³ Mouzas are administrative districts corresponding to a land area or a revenue collection unit within which there may be one or more settlements.

Development Plan (CDP) terms the housing schemes as ‘major city transformation’. It encouraged many people to come and settle in designated places and, as a result of which many colonies grew and this led to the spatial growth of Bhubaneswar.

The Bhubaneswar Development Authority (BDA) came into being in 1983 with the passing of the BDA Act 1982. Within two years the BDA started preparing plan for the city. In the year 1994, the first CDP was prepared. In 2002, some additional areas were added to the first CDP and the 2nd CDP came up in 2010 in which additional 419 sq.km was added. As the city grew, the plan also shifted from a city development plan to a comprehensive development plan²⁴.

Further the Bhubaneswar Cuttack Urban Complex (BCUC) perspective plan was prepared by IIT Kharagpur in 2006 and the final proposal was submitted in September 2007. Subsequently, in the year 2010, a CDP 2030 for the Bhubaneswar Development Planning Area (BDPA) was prepared by the Department of Architecture and Regional Planning, IIT- Kharagpur. According to the Plan, the BDPA covers an area of 419.1 sq. kms which forms a part of the BCUC.

The planning officials of the BDA note that when the Koenisberger Plan was introduced, it focused on the unit planning of core area, the central area. But when rapid expansion started, this led to haphazard development, people took permission from the panchayats and started illegal developments without taking approval from BDA. As a result, different restrictions were placed on land use and a CDP was introduced. Though Bhubaneswar had 40% of slum population, planning for them came only post CDP.

The city expanded also because of the Housing Board and the B.D.A developed shopping complexes, residential colonies etc. According to Bhide (2015) some of the housing projects of B.D.A are Laxmi Sagar Housing Scheme, Baragarh Housing scheme, Chandrasekharapur Housing Scheme, Klinga Nagar Housing Scheme. Similarly, the

²⁴ The comprehensive development plan as opposed to the city development plan includes all sectors which takes into account the strategy of planning, the land use pattern and the spatial distribution. The city development plan is just a strategic plan, it is a broad plan or a conceptual framework in which there is no demarcation but just identification. With the move to Comprehensive development plan there was a move from strategic to spatial plan. The urban design came from spatial planning. The Comprehensive development plan is more detailed.

Odisha state housing board (OSHB) also took up a number of housing schemes in Bhubaneswar. Some of them are located at VSS Nagar, Baramunda, Chandrasekharpur and Dumduma areas. Till the 1990s it was these two urban development institutions which developed housing in the city of Bhubaneswar and this played an important role in how the city grew spatially.

The All India Congress Convention held in January 1964 also made some impact on the urban spatial spread of Bhubaneswar. Important roads were constructed, state Assembly building and different colonies like the Delta colony came up at that time as Bhubaneswar geared up to welcome Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. It was also the time when a lot of evictions took place. Grenell (1972) mentions about a number of *kutchha* shop-cum residences which were removed on the orders of the Chief Minister and was a part of the Government's clean up campaign.

Although the city was characterised as an administrative city initially, but once it became a capital city, all the developments was concentrated around that. Grenell (1980) observes that Bhubaneswar was not subject to tremendous land speculation when it was declared as the capital city. After 1957, when the administrative move was completed, private interest in Bhubaneswar reawakened. This came about when it was decided to lease out Government land for the building of private homes in order to accelerate construction and obtain more funds for development. After that, speculation in plot leases and land continued and demand for space in the capital soared.

The major turning point that came in the city transformation appears to have come when it was decided to lease out large amount of Government land in and around the new capital (Dash, et al 2015). Till then the development was controlled and the residences catered to the Government servants but when commercial interest grew in the city, private plots began to be sold and land prices grew exponentially. The residential development in the private sector was followed by commercial activities in the city (CDP, 2006).

Growth of trading and commercial activities in the city

From the 1960s onwards apart from being a planned city and city of Government employees, the city of Bhubaneswar saw yet another transition during this phase to become a city of trading activities. The city received traders from outside Odisha especially from Punjab who came and settled in Bhubaneswar. Their contribution for building the city is immense. It is said that it is the Punjabis who built the city and made it their home. Prior to Bhubaneswar becoming a trading center, Cuttack was the center of all trading activities. Some of the migrant traders who came from outside Odisha also went to Cuttack and set up their business.

Cuttack Road, a place in Bhubaneswar, came to be dominated by the Sikh community who put up mechanical workshops, spare parts business. One of the respondents said that after partition, some families from West Pakistan as well as Burma came to Bhubaneswar. Assembly building was constructed by Uttam Singh who was given the responsibility of the construction by Biju Patnaik before the AICC session in 1964. The Narulas, the Lalchands (from Quetta in Pakistan) came after the partition to set up businesses in Bhubaneswar. Santok Singh who came from Burma played an important role in bridge construction in Bhubaneswar.

Paradeep Port too played an important role for the influx of people and was instrumental in migration of communities from outside the region into Odisha, particularly Bhubaneswar. When Paradeep port came up in 1966, the need to transport arose and Sikhs mainly dealt with such transportation activity. They became owners of trucks, mechanics, and even sold spare parts of automobiles. Paradeep port used almost 200 trucks on a daily basis for loading and off loading of goods, notes a respondent. Before coming up of the port, big boulders used to be carried to Paradeep for the construction of breakwater. Not only the Sikh community but many people gained employment because of the making of the Paradeep port. Taub and Taub (1980) observe that when the Paradeep port was constructed people who had transport vehicles thrived and even those who did not have any vehicle, bid on the contracts to transport ore and on being awarded

such contracts were able to purchase trucks on credit and repaid the loan from the money they made on the basis of their contracts.

Migrants from different communities though stayed at a wide range of places, chose to stay in Bhubaneswar because they found the place very calm and quiet and people were very welcoming. Everybody got some opportunity at Bhubaneswar. Though the port was constructed mainly to handle cargos, the very idea of the port was attractive and many industrial houses of the country showed interest in setting up industries in Odisha.

The Unit I market building was an important commercial center in Bhubaneswar. The Lalchand's came from Quetta and started selling *chai* and *samosa* at the Unit I market which was being newly constructed. A hotel was started by Chunnilal Hans who developed the Master Canteen square²⁵ or what is popularly known as station square, located in the central part of Bhubaneswar. Gradually other members of their family came, settled and expanded their business. They were also allotted plots at strategic locations to expand their business. They were one of the first families who got into trading and had considerable influence in Bhubaneswar. They also established the leading jewelry shop in Bhubaneswar which is located at the center of the city.

Migrant Sikhs, due to their expanding business, could get in touch with influential people, which helped expand their business. Taub and Taub (1980) argue that although political chicanery plays an important role in the prosperity of many private individuals or entrepreneurs across India, but its impact in Odisha is particularly visible and dramatic as the sources of successful industrial growth are meager. One of the Sikh respondents who has made Bhubaneswar his home for many years opined that his father was having influence at that time and the executive engineer was well known to their family. So, subsequently, his father was given license and he became a contractor and was given the responsibility of constructing internal roads at some strategic places of the city of

²⁵ Apart from the Lalchands who made the area famous, Master Canteen square derived its name from a food outlet known as 'canteen' which was run by a person popularly called 'master'. Similarly other landmarks also had peculiar names like the Rajmahal Square which became popular after Rajkishore Sahoo popularly known as 'Raju Sahoo' who started a small road side dhaba or stall. In the course of time this dhaba grew into a restaurant and hotel of the city. The square was named after the Rajmahal hotel started by Sahoo.

Bhubaneswar. Most of the big buildings except the secretariat building were constructed by migrant Sikh contractors, and if not necessarily by Sikhs, then people from outside or by migrants to the city. The Pathaks constructed the “*Naatala*” or the nine storey building which houses most of the offices of the heads of the Government departments.

The Burma General Store which came up in 1966-67 has been an important textile store in the city. It is now named as Kalamandir (came up in 1985-86) which is a famous store in Bhubaneswar. Burma General Store family was the only family that could diversify their business and that had far greater impact on the evolving middle class culture of the city. It brought a sea change in the way people dressed. Apart from the Burma General Store, Indersons Constructions led by Santok Singh also played an important part in the cultural transition of the city. As Bhubaneswar did not have any Gurudwara before, a Gurudwara used to function on the top floor of his house which was called Burji Niwas.

Another family that influenced the city of Bhubaneswar was the owner of Pal Automobiles. They came from Punjab at the time of the Paradeep port construction. They also expanded their business and gradually went into hospitality industry with development of Pal Heights, and subsequently Pal Heights Mantra etc. Pal Heights hotel and shopping complex has come up in a strategic location and is frequented by the youth of Bhubaneswar. It is located near the XIMB (Xavier Institute of Management Bhubaneswar) and has become a great attraction not only because of the hotel but the market complex. Another family was Narula family. They also had established a good business in Bhubaneswar.

Apart from the Punjabis, there were some Odias who were also into business though not many of them were successful, owing to Bhubaneswar as an administrative city. The Odia contractors were also confined to Cuttack. Business in Bhubaneswar was basically taken over by Punjabis for a certain period of time notes one of the Sikh respondents. One of most important Odia industrialist was Bansidhar Panda, founded the Indian metal and Ferro Alloys Ltd (IMFA) in 1961.

One of the respondents notes that almost all the Odia business men who started their business had some political connections. Most Odias tend to be government employees

and do not belong to a business community. One of the respondents, an advisor at Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH), says that the importance of Odisha especially Bhubaneswar, grew in trading activities because of decline of trading activities in cities like Calcutta. For him,

In Eastern India, Calcutta was the entry and the exit point for trade, industry, health, education, consumer product, manufacturing, the first university, the first college everything was at Calcutta. But gradually many problems like the Naxalite problem, political uncertainty, lack of industrial growth, diverted the attention towards Bhubaneswar. There was a lot of migration to Bhubaneswar also because of this.

Trading activities also have grown because of trade in handicrafts. Handicrafts also played an important role in the economy of the city and also contribute to the foreign exchange earnings. The crafts include silver filigree works, appliqué works, stone images, wood carvings, brassware, bamboo, patta paintings etc (CDP, 2006:15).

But the commercial activities carried out in the city have also ensured that the city expands and transforms. They have also contributed to the emergence of an Industrial corridor in the city of Bhubaneswar.

III Development of Industrial corridor - New thrust to urban development / transformation

The city of Bhubaneswar saw a major transition in the 1980s when the Government under Janaki Ballav Patnaik (J.B Patnaik) started to encourage small scale industries when number of urban centers started concentrating around industries and commerce. When J.B Patnaik became the Chief Minister of Odisha in 1980, in his effort to create entrepreneurship among the Odias, a new Industrial Policy Resolution was formulated whose objective was to bring about rapid industrial development in the state. The famous slogan given by him was “1000 industries in 1000 days by investing 1000 crores”. A respondent who is a relative of J.B Patnaik and a leading media tycoon of the state, states “Patnaik encouraged industries with the hope that apart from bureaucrats and

Government employees some other sections of the populations should also come to stay in the city”.

J.B Patnaik’s period brought in a lot of first generation, small-scale entrepreneurs and many industrial estates were set up (TOI, April 22, 2015)²⁶. The industrial policy evolved further when Biju Patnaik became the Chief Minister again in 1990. Industrial policies came up in 1986, 1989, and 1990, but have eventually failed. According to the CDP (2006), apart from cottage industries, there are four industrial estates in Bhubaneswar, namely, Rasulgarh, Mancheswar, Chandaka Industrial complex and Bhagabanpur. Though the Industrial Policy resolution was launched with much fanfare it did not sustain.

The reason for the failure of industries seems to lay in the apparent corruption, noted the respondents. According to them when the industrial policy initiatives were announced, influential people became overnight entrepreneurs. In order to encourage industries people got land at a cheap rate, and could also get loans for investment through Government. In other words, the Government made it so easy for them that they did not have to pay a price for the failure of the business as they took cheap government land, mortgaged it to banks, got loans or got some subsidy from the government funding and used that to get personal profits so that even if their business collapsed, they were personally saved. This kind of mindset is said to have led to industry failures. A respondent who is a member of the Utkal Chamber of Commerce and Industry (UCCI) says that the Odisha State Finance Corporation gave indiscriminate and improper financing without considering the viability of a project.

The industries which became sick, at the time of loss, could not survive in the competitive market due to high operative and maintenance costs. As a result they were not able to repay the dues to the financial institutions from where they borrowed at the time of operation as they had mortgaged the land and plant to these financial institutions which enabled the financial institutions to sell these properties under Securitisation and

²⁶ <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Janaki-Ballav-Patnaik-A-leader-who-left-behind-indelible-marks-of-progress/articleshow/47006327.cms> Retrieved on 25th Feb,201

Reconstruction of Financial Assets and Enforcement of Security Interest Act (SARFESI)²⁷.

Subsequently, these properties were bought by people which led to the setting up of educational institutions, skill development centers, hospitals etc. In course of time, there was also the revival of some sick units etc. Many food processing units gradually came up in these estates. There were also many barren lands of Odisha Industrial Infrastructure Development Corporation (IDCO) which were allotted to new entrepreneurs for setting up of printing press, hotels, etc. In this way, the Industrial Estate which was basically meant for manufacturing industries gradually was diverted towards secondary (processing) and tertiary (service) sector industries. Presently, most of the lands in the Industrial Estate is used by the service sector industries like educational institutions, hotels, hospitals, etc.

Many entrepreneurs blame the overall environment towards business in Odisha and called it incompatible. Taub and Taub (1980) in their study on the Cuttack entrepreneurs say that the entrepreneurs established their industries when their friends came to power as a result of which they never learned how to manufacture their product efficiently or how to compete for business in the marketplace. Moreover, when their sponsors left office, their businesses declined. This nexus between industries and the government is even more visible in Bhubaneswar as the government being a big driver of industry, it is difficult to avoid government in business.

Living in areas like Mancheswar Industrial Estate, the everyday life of people started to revolve around these industries. The residents of Mancheswar observe that when industries came up in the area, people started to work in these industries and many came from outside and settled in this area as a result of this. There however seems to be a lot of disagreement about how many people actually came from outside and how many from the city and how much the place reaped the benefit from the coming up of these industries. The place also had witnessed the development of the Rail Coach Factory and

²⁷ Under the Act banks and other financial institutions can auction residential and financial properties to recover loans.

the Rail Sadan. The Rail Sadan was established as quarters for the employees of Railways, and as a result of this there was a lot of influx of people into this area.

Most of the respondents opine that Bhubaneswar city is not fit for industries, unlike Cuttack and Chowduar. They were skeptical that setting up of industries in the city is problematic as there is a restriction on gaining entry into the city, as a result of traffic congestions. Heavy vehicles are not allowed into the city and had to take a different route to reach Mancheswar Industrial Estate. So, it is difficult for raw materials to reach the city. Many industries are shifted to Chowdwar or many have begun operating from Khurda. The other reason is that being close to residential area, these industries have a difficulty in operating as people would complain about toxic elements. Gradually, there has been a move towards Information Technology (IT) and Information Technology Enabled Services (ITES) with the coming up of an “educational market”. The dream to set up industries got diverted and the setting up of IT complexes gained importance and also became an important part of the transitions of Bhubaneswar. A respondent who is a member of UCCI says that there is an attempt to promote ‘green industries’ like the IT and ITES in Bhubaneswar.

IV Post- liberalization era and the emergence of new economy and urban growth.

Decline of manufacturing industry is however followed by a turn towards the IT sector in the 1990s. The city began to innovate to find its sustenance through hosting the IT and IT enabled service industries. There has also been a slow but a steady growth of service industry in the city like banking, financial services, educational institutions, hospital and private healthcare industries etc.

The Bhubaneswar chapter of Software Technology Park of India (STPI) was established in 1992 which then triggered economic growth of the city. Many small and medium software houses subsequently set up their offices in the STPI park. With the initiative of the state Government major software houses like Infosys Technology Limited established offices at Bhubaneswar. The state Government is even planning to develop the

Bhubaneswar Electronic and Software Technology Park (BEST) spread over 500 acres of land in Chandaka area in the periphery of Bhubaneswar and has a proposal to provide modern facilities and promote IT industry there.

Plate-2.1 The Infosys campus



Plate - 2.2 Infocity



Plate- 2.3 The TCS campus in the Infocity area



Plate- 2.4 The Chandaka Industrial Estate



The coming of Infosys to this area has been a driving force in the urban development of Bhubaneswar city. The area of the Infocity, a complex of 350 acres was developed for IT industries on the outskirts of Bhubaneswar. Infosys set up its first offshore office outside

Karnataka in Bhubaneswar²⁸. According to the Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, GOI, Bhubaneswar is among the first three cities along with Pune and Bangalore where the Government of India has established STPI centers in which the export turnovers have grown from nil during 1994-95 to a staggering 1800 Crores in 2012-13, putting the state in a comfortable position in the IT map of the country. It is the only destination in Eastern India where all four IT majors like Infosys, Tata Consultancy Services, Wipro, and Tech Mahindra have set up their offices. It also hosts other IT companies like Mindfire solutions, Mindspace Technologies, Genpact, Mindtree, Luminous, Tatwa, NetTantra Technologies, ESSPL, CSM among others. Many of these IT companies have their offices in the DLF Cybercity in Bhubaneswar. A 750-acre IT Park, Info valley is also stated to come up in Bhubaneswar.

The IT industries came up in designated areas away from the new capital. Once the IT companies came, the area witnessed the emergence of a number of gated communities. This led to an influx of floating population and the city began to gear up to accommodate the younger generation, for an active night life. Pubs, night clubs etc too emerged in an otherwise conservative temple town. Several malls, shopping outlets, food courts are clustered around this area giving it a modern look. The development that this area is going through is very different than the development that had come up when the industrial estates like Mancheswar were established. Now, one finds many high rise apartments which give a distinct culture in the city. It can be appropriately called the 'New Bhubaneswar' or 'newness within the new' city. This created several enclaves designed for certain classes of people. One of the respondents who is a leading business man in the city claims that he establishes showrooms in different parts of the city owing to the market demand. Recently he has established his business in the Patia area which is seeing growth because of education and IT sector.

When Bhubaneswar was declared the capital city of the state, it stretched from Rajmahal to Sahid Nagar through Vani Vihar and the main attraction was the secretariat building. Later, growth, particularly around the area surrounding the Infocity became more saturated and it is no more a suburb but an extension of the city itself. It has moved on to

²⁸ <http://www.bbs.stpi.in/whybbsr.jsp>. Retrieved on 5th July 2018.

become a symbol of modernity through its business centers which is essentially an IT hub and an emerging market complex.

The emergence of the IT sector can be partly attributed to the government policy of encouraging IT and ITES and partly to the fact that Bhubaneswar is the capital city and the only growth center in the Eastern state of Odisha. But, as it has been observed the growth of IT sector is still very limited compared to other cities like Bangalore and Hyderabad. One of the respondents, who is a well known academician observes, in the 1990s, Bill Gates had visited both Bhubaneswar and Hyderabad to establish Microsoft office but he chose Hyderabad instead because of bad road connectivity in Bhubaneswar. But things have changed now as many IT companies are gradually opening offices in the city.

Most of the respondents pointed out that the IT sector in Bhubaneswar also went through a lot of stagnation. Though in the 1990s Infosys and Satyam were the first IT companies to start offices at Bhubaneswar, for 15 years, the Government did nothing to develop the sector, notes a prominent political elite of the city. But in recent times, because of its tilt towards neoliberalism efforts were made to revive the IT sector and new companies began to come up gradually and open their offices in the city.

Further, a retired Indian Foreign Service officer quoted Narayan Murti who once said that Infosys Bhubaneswar was the second office to be opened after the first one at Bangalore. But during the first 15 years since its inception, it did not expand. The reason given by Murty, he shared, was the limited talent pool at Bhubaneswar. The fact that people also did not prefer to come to Bhubaneswar and work there was also cited as a reason. As a result, there is no growth of Infosys at Bhubaneswar. He further quoted a TCS employee who said the number of employees working in TCS Bhubaneswar was just 3000 and it is the smallest office TCS has in the country. On the other hand TCS at Calcutta has 40,000 employees and in some other places it has 60,000. But this never strikes our policy makers the respondent wonders. According to him “We are happy that we got 3000 people in TCS but it is striking that we have the smallest office and we have also very

less potential...here IT meant BPO sector but IT also means software engineers, not merely people who worked in BPO”.

The corporate and IT sectors have come up in the North of the city where the present growth is concentrated. Apart from the IT sector this area is also shaping into the biggest residential and institutional area of Bhubaneswar. After the decade of 2000s, various technology parks were set up at Bhubaneswar. Bhubaneswar is gearing up to become an electronic city in recent times. The initiative for setting up of the electronic city was made by an announcement by the then Minister of state for electronics who said that an estimated Rs 2000 to Rs 10,000 crore worth of production will take place in this electronic city. Many domestic and foreign investors began to search for places to set up industries. The state government expects that the electronic city in Bhubaneswar would prove to be a boon for Odisha (Ray, 1986). The present expansion of the city is centered around this development. This has extended the periphery of Bhubaneswar to Jatni, Patrapada, Kalinga Nagar and it has almost touched Janla.

Urban fringes of the city and the changes in the land use pattern

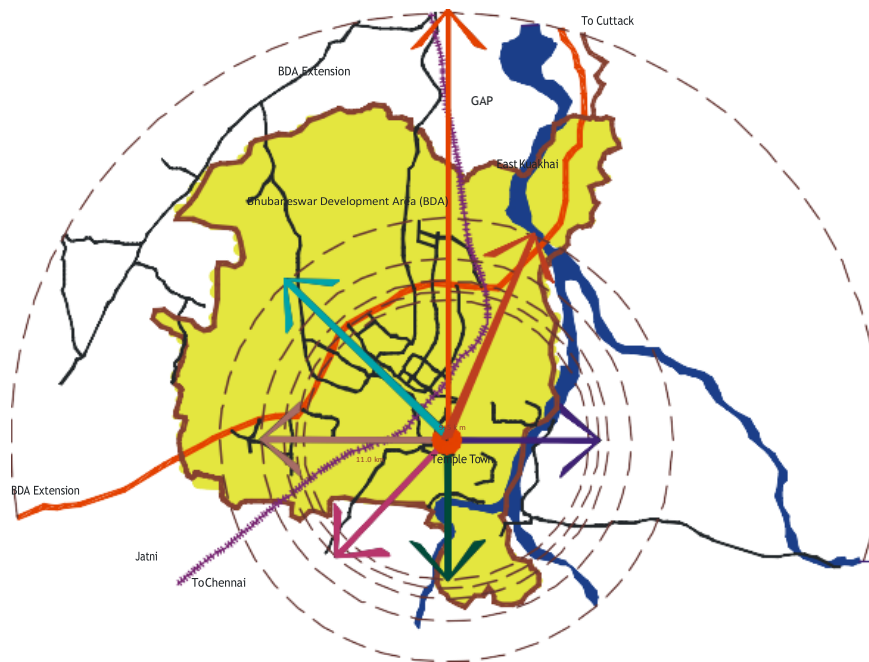
An urban fringe is a boundary zone outside the urban area proper where rural and urban land use intermix and interact (Rath, 2014). In other words, it is often referred to as the “fringe areas that surround cities and that bear the brunt of urban expansion” (Narain,2009). It is an area of transition from agricultural and other land uses to urban use and as a result of which the characteristics of this area change from largely rural to semi-urban to purely urban. The land use changes are mostly seen in these areas. The competing land use in the urban fringe is due to the constant pressure for new urban developments in these areas. This is true about the city of Bhubaneswar.

The land use of the city was mostly agricultural when the new capital came up. However, in recent times, it is only on the bank of the Kuakhai river that we see some agricultural activities. In a study on the peri- urban areas of the city of Bhubaneswar, Rath (2014) finds that the bank of river Kuakhai and its fertile agricultural land is threatened due to the rapidly expanding city, impacting its fragile ecosystem. It is also getting destroyed by the brick kilns that have come up, due to the construction boom in Bhubaneswar city. The

brick klin owners lure the poor farmers into renting out their land on lease but during the lease period, the entire land gets destroyed and cannot be put to further use as the top soil is lost.

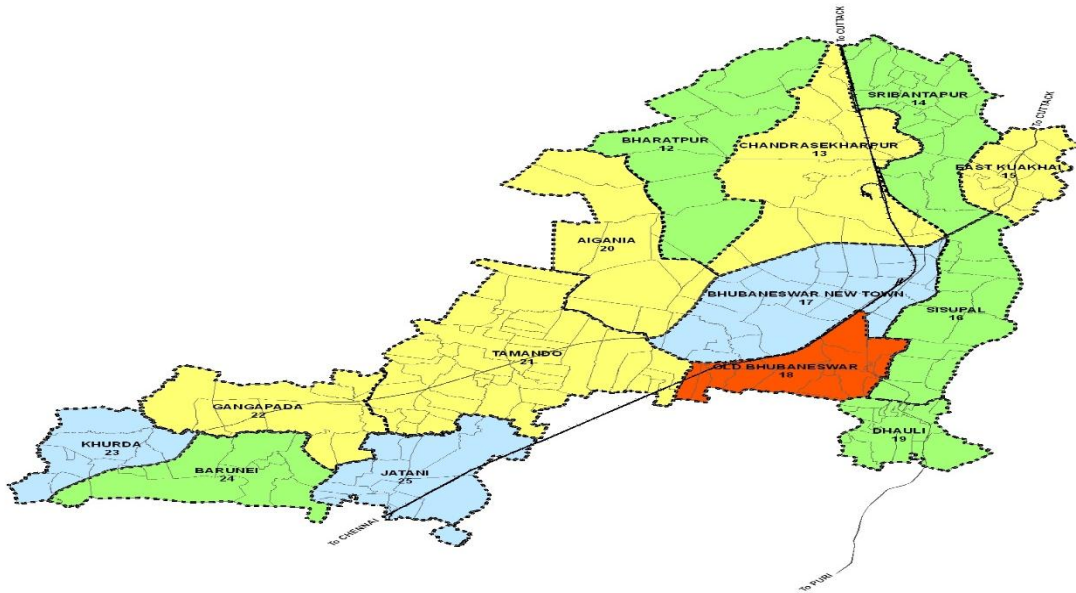
The city has grown in seven different directions engulfing many fringe villages. But the availability of the Government land in the North and the West has helped in the growth of the city. The added areas in the North include Chandrasekharpur, Sailashree Vihar, Niladri Vihar which were developed by the BDA for residential purposes to cater to the growing population. The extension towards the South and South East is limited due to the existence of flood plain of the river Daya, a tributary of the Kuakhai River. According to the recent Comprehensive Development Plan, the city of Bhubaneswar will expand to include Bhubaneswar, Cuttack and surrounding urban centers, which will form, as mentioned earlier, a big urban complex called Bhubaneswar Cuttack Urban Complex (BCUC).

Map 2.2 Spatial spread of Bhubaneswar city in different directions



Source: <https://khordha.nic.in/document/urban-indicator-annual-report/> Retrieved on 30th May, 2019

Map 2.3 The broad development zones of Bhubaneswar city



Source

https://cms.bhubaneswarone.in/uploadDocuments/content/13.1_Broad_Development_Zone.pdf

The maps above explains the extent of growth and the direction of the city from the temple town. To the North, the city extends 22.5 kms towards Patia village extending upto Chandrasekharpur. To the North- West it extends upto 14.5 km. To the West it extends upto 11 km beyond the Khandagiri junction. To the South –West, 8 km and to the South, 6.5 km which extends beyond the Daya West canal. To the East, 9.5 km and the development is confined to Daya West canal. Further to the South- East there is no growth due to the location of the flood plain of Kuakhai and Daya River. To the North- East it extends along the NH-5, beyond B.D.A limits towards Cuttack²⁹.

²⁹ <https://khordha.nic.in/document/urban-indicator-annual-report/> Retrieved on 30th May, 2019

With neoliberalism came the markets, and the economy came to be driven by market forces. In an interview with the BDA officials, it was revealed that the work of BDA is just to allocate an area or land use zones as residential, commercial, industrial, forest, openspace, and public and semi public zone which is activity based. They just demarcate the land use and then leave it to market forces. The institutions like health, education, and the socio cultural institutions come up in these zones gradually however, a detailed planning is not done on these parameters. The development that is taking place in Bhubaneswar is market dependent, argue the planners of the BDA. Certain areas are growing because of external influence, private land which is not under the control of BDA but it can be regulated by BDA.

Shaw (2012) notes that the country's largest cities are experiencing "construction boom" from the rapidly growing residential and office real estate as well as from large infrastructure projects such as flyovers, shopping malls and entertainment centers. In this process, a considerable land use change has been occurring as a result of which the look and feel of various parts of the city is different. Shaw further argues that in smaller cities, the change is mostly confined to residential and office real estate and shopping malls.

This is true in the case of Bhubaneswar where the land use pattern of the city has undergone massive transformation because of the real estate boom. The entry of private developers into the city led to the coming up of unplanned residential areas. As a result of this, the large spreads of agricultural lands were converted into unplanned residential areas. This was true particularly in the 1990s and the early 2000s. Bhide (2015) states that the market saw the entry of private developers from outside the state like the Mani Group from Kolkata, Assotech Realty and SJ Developers from Delhi and Tata Housing from Mumbai which are constructing many apartments in the city.

Table 2.3 Land use change from agriculture to other category (2000-2005)

land use change category	Area in hect.	% change
Agriculture-residential urban	139	12.8
Agriculture-residential other	214	19.6
Agriculture- institution	70	6.3
Agriculture-vacantland under development	602	55.02
Agriculture-vacantland within development	36	3.2
Agriculture- wasteland	21	2
Agriculture-industrial	0	0
Agriculture-others	12	1
Total	1094	100

Source: Mishra et.al (2006) <http://www.gisresources.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Urban-Sprawl-Mapping.pdf> retrieved on 30th May, 2019.

There is a land use shift from agricultural to unplanned residential areas and even the agricultural lands are getting converted into vacant lands. In recent times, the land apart from getting converted to unplanned residential areas, is also developing because of the coming up of educational and knowledge hubs. There is huge land speculation³⁰ due to the urban development of Bhubaneswar. For example, a respondent who belongs to the Patia village claims that he had purchased a plot for Rs 3000 but sold it for 15 Lakhs. For Lipman (2011),

Real estate is a key speculative activity.....with holdings in real estate transformed into financial instruments which are traded in the financial markets.....the real estate speculation pushes up property values and property taxes and leads to displacement of public housing residents and working class renters and home owners (Lipman, 2011: 32).

³⁰ It is a financial activity that involves the purchase of real estate with the hope that the prices will increase. As land tends to appreciate in value over time due to scarcity most land purchases are referred to real estate investments <https://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-land-speculation.htm>. Retrieved on 5th July 2019.

Plate- 2.5 Picture showing the Patia village at the backdrop



Recently, there has been a lot of controversy regarding the emergence of several educational institutions at one place on the lands owned by IDCO. One of the respondents who is self employed says that the job of IDCO is not just to allocate land for industries but also to make provision for good roads, electricity and water. The value of the industrial land is also dependent on the provision of facilities.

The newer constructions do not come up in the planned city area, but have come up at designated spaces as planning rules will not allow such changes. One of the respondents who is self employed argues that, there is alteration of land use in the planning areas too, as most of the old structures are being demolished and multistory building are constructed. The Patia village located in the Northern part of the city is where most of these developments are concentrated.

In a CDP for the Bhubaneswar Development Plan area, it is proposed that there would be a distinct North-South divide which is evident in which the affluent Northern part is in total contrast to the slow growing South and South West area. It further states that the distinction is also evident in the planned and unplanned areas of the Bhubaneswar

Development Planned Area (BDPA) region which indicates problems of unbalanced growth.

Summary

The journey of Bhubaneswar from being a temple town to a city which is seeing unprecedented growth is very long. The city is growing and changing very fast. It was called a temple town and its identity was derived from it having thousands of temples and a rich heritage. From being a temple town the spatial transformation of the city has gone through several transitional phases to arrive at the present Bhubaneswar. In spite of all growth, Bhubaneswar is in its youth phase of urbanisation as it has a huge scope for expansion in different directions. The story of the urban transition of Bhubaneswar will not be complete unless the role of education in the transition of the city is discussed at length. The next chapter discusses the educational transformation and its role in the urban transition of Bhubaneswar.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION AND URBAN SOCIO-SPATIAL CHANGE

Education is city centric. It complements and supplements the growth of the city. The growth of the city concentrates where educational institutions come up. When Cuttack was the center of activities, all educational facilities became centered in Cuttack like the Ravenshaw college which became a university later. Gradually when Bhubaneswar became the capital city, all educational activities shifted to the city of Bhubaneswar. According to Kamat (2011) understanding neoliberal globalization owing to city growth will remain partial and incomplete without an analysis of the education sector and the educational evolution in the region. In her study she makes an important point that the nature of education sector can only be located within the broader socio-economic transformations of the region.

The growth of educational institutions and centers of learning in present day Bhubaneswar marks an important phase of the transformation of the city. Educational development had unfolded in various transitional phases discussed in the previous chapter, and has impacted the spatial structure of the city too. The growth and expansion of educational infrastructure in the city has created an economy of their own in and through which all the urban development is concentrated. It can thus be said that education and urban growth are related. In other words, the place where there is no education, there is no urban growth and the place which has no urban growth has not much educational development. Though initially people came to Bhubaneswar because of work in the new capital city, as the educational facilities of the city expanded, they came for educational facilities and opportunities. For Sable (1977) Bhubaneswar emerged as a good research site because of its educational system. Hence, the new capital of Odisha was planned to be the state's educational center and a model in the provision of educational opportunities. This chapter discusses the general transformation of educational infrastructure in the city of Bhubaneswar.

I School education

The establishment of a school in Bhubaneswar goes back to the year 1940 when Bhaktakabi Madhusudan high school (B.M High School) was established in old Bhubaneswar. Mohapatra (2005) mentions this was established as a vernacular school. As this school was the oldest school, many people of eminence in the present day have been the products of this school.

For instance, famous Odia poet and writer, Madhusudan Rao³¹, also known as Bhaktakabi, passed out from this school and went on to study in the Puri Zilla School. Others like Pandit Lingaraj Mishra³², a freedom fighter and a scholar, also studied in this school. Mohapatra (2005) who himself was an alumnus of the school notes that the environment surrounding the school was very different in the past. He reminisces that when he was in school, there was no fast food stall in the area surrounding the school. There was just one run by a widowed woman who sold *vada* and other snacks. The minor school at that time used to have boarding facilities and children from nearby villages stayed at the boarding. Subsequently a girls school, L.P School came up in Bhubaneswar. This was the only girls' school. Mohapatra (2005) states that there were not many girls initially at that school and that the peon of the school had to fetch girls from their homes to the school and he also would drop the girls at home after school.

After Bhubaneswar was declared a capital city, the Capital High School came to be established in 1951 in Unit-III in the heart of the capital. It is also one of the oldest schools in Bhubaneswar. In 1962, the education scenario changed as many more schools like the Sainik School, Stewart School, Demonstration Multipurpose School came up. This created influx of people from outside Bhubaneswar, from places like Cuttack, Puri and some even came from outside Odisha.

Sainik School started as a residential school for boys in the close vicinity of Vani Vihar, the place where the Utkal University campus is located. It is called the institutional area

³¹ He was a famous Odia poet and a writer. He was also called Bhaktakabi. He is the father of modern Odia poetry.

³² He was a well known freedom fighter from Odisha. Apart from being a freedom fighter he was a well known scholar, editor and Legislator.

because of the presence of several educational institutions like Utkal University, Institute of Physics, Institute of Minerals and Materials Technology and Sainik School. It can be said that there was a 'clustering effect' or a colloidal mix of different kinds of institutions in one definite space (Dober, 1967, 120). Dober (1967) giving the example of the Universities in the U.S.A says that in the Boston- Cambridge area one can find Harvard, MIT, Boston University, North- Eastern University and six or seven different medical schools, art schools and so forth. A particular area comes to be known by the university which is located in that area.

Many students from outside Bhubaneswar came to study in the Sainik school. Their parents also came and many of them found Bhubaneswar attractive to live. The land prices too were cheap and affordable at that time and many such parents have invested in land at central places like Sahid Nagar in Bhubaneswar. One of the respondents who came from outside the city studied in Sainik School and has made Bhubaneswar his home since then observes,

I came from a village near Puri to study at the Sainik School. From that time I have settled at Bhubaneswar. The city gave me all the facilities and the opportunities to develop my career. After completing my studies at Sainik School, I went on to study in the B.J.B College and have made Bhubaneswar my home.

Such examples are many. Bhubaneswar became a city for good education among the people from neighbouring small towns, villages and even from across the state borders. This in a way begun to shape the cosmopolitan composition of the city and the way the 'city public' came to be constituted. Another development that had added to this process of cosmopolitanisation of the otherwise traditional temple town was the setting up of the Kendriya Vidyalaya in 1966 to cater to the educational needs of children of transferrable central government employees including defense personnel and paramilitary forces. The Kendriya Vidyalaya No.1 was established in 1967 as a small school in the Unit-1 Boys High School. A new campus was built in Unit-IX³³.

³³(<https://kv1bbsr.edu.in/>). Retrieved on 10th July, 2018.

The first D.A.V School at Bhubaneswar came up in 1971 in the Nayapalli area. The D.A.V schools are a part of Dayanand Anglo Vedic School systems and the D.A.V College Trust and Management Society, New Delhi. These schools were basically attended by the children of mostly Government employees, defense personnel and the people who had some influence in the city. In the year 1989, the area of Chandrasekharpur started developing because of the setting up of the D.A.V Public School.. Most of the people of influence in the city started sending their children to the D.A.V school. Highlighting the significance of the school, one of the respondents, who is a retired bureaucrat, claimed: “The D.A.V Schools became so important that the Principal of D.A.V, Chandrasekharpur at one point of time was more influential than the Prime Minister”

In the early 2000s there was a mushrooming of schools in the Chandrasekharpur-Patia area. Looking at the demand, gradually many English medium schools were opened. One of the respondents belonging to Pokhariput area notes that an important transition is seen in Pokhariput with the coming of the D.A.V school. Pokhariput was a small village but it developed both because of B.D.A constructing housing schemes and establishment of D.A.V.

In recent times the emergence of several international schools has changed the face of the city. The KIIT International School was founded by Achyuta Samanta in 2006. Sai International School was founded by Bijoy Kumar Sahoo in 2008 which was subsequently converted into a residential school. The St. Xaviers International School also came up in 2009. The irony is that all these international schools have come up at one place, the Chandrasekharpur-Patia area and has had a great impact on the spatial transformation through the coming up of commercial centers, showrooms, garment shops, restaurants etc in the area. Some of the private schools like ODM Public School, Future Bhubaneswar School have also added to the transformation. KIIT has different colleges for medical and engineering in the same area. Lipman (2010) explains such upsurge in the urban school infrastructure particularly brought in by private players which according to her is an offshoot of neoliberal education policy shifts. It can be said that the educational opportunities in Bhubaneswar ranges from poor quality, lower

primary schools to institutions whose academic standards can be compared favorably with the most educationally advanced nations (Sable, 1977).

Plate 3.1 Sai International School³⁴



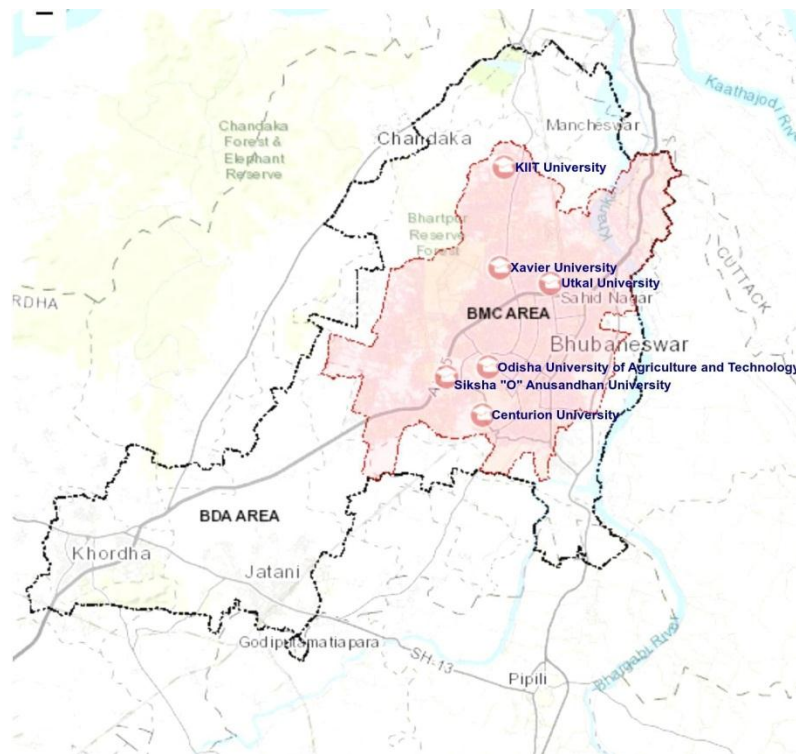
II. Higher education

As per the data of the Task Force on Higher Education (2009), most of the major central institutes of importance and two major deemed universities are located in Bhubaneswar. The central institutes of importance include the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), the National Institute of Scientific Education and Research (NISER), The Institute of Physics, Institute of Life Sciences, Institute of Minerals and Material Technology (IMMT), Regional Institute of Education (RIE), Central Institute of Freshwater Aquiculture, Regional Medical Research Center (RMRC). The deemed Universities include the Kalinga Institute of Industrial Technology (KIIT) University and the Siksha O Anusandhan (SOA) University. The State universities recognized by the Department of Higher Education that are located at Bhubaneswar, include the Utkal University and the R.D Womens' University. Apart from these there are many private universities like the

³⁴<http://www.boardingedu.com/school/sai-international-school-infocity-bhubaneswar-odisha/>

ICFAI University, Xavier University and the Birla Global University. The Government autonomous college located in Bhubaneswar is the B.J.B College. Sable (1977) observes that by 1966 two universities, three colleges and a special college of education that served the entire Eastern region of India were present in the new capital. Many new primary and secondary schools were constructed in the new capital and the old town and the village schools were upgraded by this year. Because of the rapid expansion of educational infrastructure people living in all parts of Bhubaneswar had geographical access to educational opportunities from primary school to post-graduate level.

Map 3.1 Map showing the location of universities in the city



Source: <http://www.bhubaneswarone.in/Bhubaneswarone/> Retrieved on 13th July, 2019.

The names and the year of establishment of some of the higher educational institutions in Bhubaneswar in a chronological sequence are listed in the table below.

Table 3.1 Educational Institutions in Bhubaneswar

Sl. No	Name of Educational Institution	Year
1	Utkal University	1943
2	BJB College	1962
3	OUAT	1962
4	Regional Institute of Education (RIE)	1963
5	IMMT (formerly RRL)	1964
6	Utkal Sangeet Mahavidyalaya	1964
7	Dr. Abhin Chandra Homeopathic medical college	1969
8	Regional Center of Central Institute of Indian Languages	1970
9	National Institute of Social Work and Social Sciences	1971
10	Institute of Physics	1972
11	Rajdhani College	1973
12	Ekamra College	1978
13	Regional Medical Research Center (RMRC)	1981
14	CET Bhubaneswar	1981
15	Regional College of Management	1982
16	B. K. College of Art and Craft	1984
17	Institute of Hotel Management	1984
18	CIPET	1986
19	Orissa Engineering College	1986
20	Orissa institute of maritime and south-east asian studies	1986
21	Guru Kelucharan Mohapatra Odissi research center	1986
21	Nabakrushna Choudhury Center for Developmental Studies	1987
22	Central Institute of Freshwater Aquaculture (CIFA)	1987
23	Xavier Institute of Management	1987
24	Institute of Life Sciences	1989
25	IITM Bhubaneswar Campus	1996
26	Utkal University of Culture	1999
27	Institute of Mathematics & Applications	1999
28	College of IT & Management Education	2000
29	KIIT Bhubaneswar became KIIT deemed university	2004
30	First private medical college: Hi-tech medical college	2005
31	First private dental college: Gandhi Dental College, Bhubaneswar	2005
32	ITER Bhubaneswar became SOA deemed university	2007
33	KIMS (Second private medical college)	2007
34	IMS (Third private medical college)	2007
35	NISER	2007
36	IIT	2008
37	NIFT	2010
38	IIPH (Indian Institute of Public Health)	2010
39	IMI	2011
40	AIIMS	2012

41	Xavier University	2013
42	BIMTECH	2013
43	Rama Devi Women's University	2015
44	Birla Global University	2015
45	Skill Development Institute (SDI)	2016
46	ICAR International Center for Foot and Mouth Diseases	2017
47	Kalinga Institute of Social Sciences	2017
48	Odia University	2017
49	AIPH University	2017
50	ICT (Institute of Chemical Technology) Mumbai's IOC-Bhubaneswar campus	2018
51	National Skill Training Institute	2018
52	International Institute of Information Technology	2007/2013
53	World Skills Center	2019
54	Asian School of Business Management	2019
55	CVRaman Institute of Technology	2019
56	Silicon University, Sambalpur and Bhubaneswar	2019
57	Indian Institute of Skills	2019
58	Advanced Training Institute (ATI)	Announced in 2016

Source: compiled from www.orissalinks.com Retrieved on 25th June, 2019.

The higher education scenario in Odisha changed after Ravenshaw College came up at Cuttack as an intermediate college in 1868. This later became a university in 2006. The role of Ravenshaw College in the spread of education was so pivotal that Dehury (2007) writes the following: “The history of Ravenshaw College is virtually the history of Modern Odisha and anybody who is somebody in Odisha is a Ravenshavian” (Dehury, 2007:51).

Other than the Ravenshaw University, there are a few colleges like the Madhusudan Law College at Cuttack established in 1869 and the Shailabala Womens' College in 1913. All in all, the ever expanding higher education infrastructure in the city had immense effect on the spatial dynamics of the city of Bhubaneswar. Most significant of the effects was visible with the establishment of Utkal University in Bhubaneswar.

The Utkal University

The education scenario in Bhubaneswar changed with the establishment of the Utkal University. With the creation of Odisha as a separate province in 1936, there grew a popular desire for a university. Odisha did not have a university and the colleges were

under the jurisdiction of either Patna or Madras University even seven years after the creation of a separate Odisha province. According to the Utkal University Handbook (1995), various committees were appointed by the Government to report on the establishment of a university. The first official committee was appointed by the Government on 14th April, 1937 and the second committee on 2nd March, 1938. The Utkal University Act was passed by the Odisha Legislature on 30th June 1943 and the University started functioning from November 27th 1943.

Plate 3.2 The Utkal University³⁵



The Utkal University was initially set up at Cuttack and it started functioning from the Ravenshaw College. As per the Annual Report (1989) of the University, it was started as an affiliating and an examining body but teaching became one of its major activities subsequently. As per the report, the introduction of teaching commenced in 1956 with the opening of the P.G Department of Geology, the Department of Computer Science and Application in 1990. The University was operating from only one room in the Ravenshaw College at Cuttack (Annual Report, 1989-94). Subsequently it was shifted to its current campus called “Vani Vihar”, which became functional in 1962.

³⁵<https://www.bing.com/images/>

The University came to be located in an area of about 400 acres with around 263 affiliated colleges and 26 Post- Graduate Departments (Das, 2004). The Annual Report of the University further states that the University had a record number of affiliating colleges of the country but its wings were clipped in 1967 with the institution of two more Universities from the other two revenue zones of the state, namely the Berhampur and the Sambalpur.

The foundation stone of the Utkal University was laid by Dr. Rajendra Prasad on 1st January, 1958 and the campus was inaugurated on 2nd January, 1963 by the next President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Though in the beginning it was started as an affiliating University, during the course of time, it has grown to be one of the largest in the country (Das, 2003). The Odisha Universities Act came in 1989 which replaced the Amended Act of 1967 and the process of democratic management came up with the new act. The report further says that First Statute of the University was available for operation from 1st January 1990 (47th - 51st Annual Report, 1989-94: Utkal University, Bhubaneswar).

With the coming up of the Utkal University, Mishra (1980) argues that the new capital earned importance not just as the capital of the state, but also as a center of learning. In 1968, there were two undergraduate colleges and two universities, Utkal University and Odisha University of Agricultural Technology (OUAT). Eminent people who are the doyens of modern Odisha like Pandit Nilakantha Dash, Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati and Pandit Godavarish Mishra founded the Utkal University to fulfill the aspirations of the people of Odisha (55th Annual Report, 2005-2006, Utkal University). Utkal University became the umbrella organisation for all the universities of Odisha. Sambalpur University and Berhampur University which are now popular universities in Odisha had not come up at that time. So, the focus was entirely on the Utkal University.

The Utkal University, being a premier institution, has nurtured many people who are considered elites of Odisha, particularly of the city of Bhubaneswar. In a report of the Utkal University on its 63rd foundation day celebration, it was mentioned that

The University from its very day of foundation has created, nurtured the elite of Orissa and have contributed immensely to the all round development of the

state. It has today the gift of wisdom, experience and has a well defined vision. It has geared up to meet the challenge of the globalization, the challenges of the century of knowledge (55th Annual Report, 2005-2006, Utkal University).

The blend of tradition and modernity can be seen from the logo of the Utkal University which has a ship which symbolizes maritime activities, the stalk of corn which emphasizes the role of agriculture, the mount stands for natural resources and the fort for the past military achievements (55th Annual Report, 2005-2006, Utkal University).

Magdaniel (2013) says, the orientation of a university campus is influenced by not only institutional demands but is related to socio-economic situations in which these institutions are located. The Utkal University came up in a very different neighbourhood, surrounding it were commercial shops and residential areas of low income groups as it basically catered to the local students. But the private institutional area that came up in an upscale neighbourhood with all kinds of modern facilities is different as it caters to students from outside the state.

The Odisha University of Agricultural and Technology (OUAT)

The OUAT was founded on 24th August 1962 under the leadership of Chief Minister Biju Patnaik and was inaugurated by Professor John Kenneth Galbraith, the then US Ambassador to India. It is the second oldest Agricultural University in the country. The history of State Agricultural Universities (SAU) goes back to the efforts of the University Education Commission of 1949 which emphasised the need for establishing agricultural universities in India. Subsequently the Indo- American team under the chairmanship of Dr K.R Damle suggested a system of education as followed in the Land Grant³⁶ Colleges of U.S.A. The planning Committee constituted for the purpose felt the inadequacy of trained personnel for substantial output in agricultural operations. These

³⁶The land grant colleges of the USA are a product of the Morrill Land- Grant Act of 1862. Under this act the states were given public lands on the condition that these lands be sold and used for profit and the proceeds used to establish at least one college that would teach agriculture and the mechanical arts <https://www.nap.edu/read/4980/chapter/2> Retrieved on 28th May, 2019. Though this land grant model has been accepted in India but the aim has been to adapt it to the Indian conditions and setting rather than to transplant the system to the Indian soil (Naik and Sankaram, 1972).

recommendations in the course of time led to the creation of Agricultural Universities to accomplish the integration of teaching, research and extension³⁷. Dr. J.H Longwell from the University of Missouri visited Odisha in 1956 and a discussion with the state Government resulted in a contract between the Government of India and the University of Missouri to provide assistance to the Agriculture and Veterinary Colleges of the state. In 1960 a decision was taken to establish an agricultural university in Odisha modeled on the Land Grant Colleges of the U.S.A. Subsequent visits by various consultants and representatives from the University of Missouri led to the establishment of OUAT³⁸.

Naik and Sankaram (1972) notes, two Government colleges namely the College of Agriculture and the College of Veterinary Science and Animal Husbandry were transferred to the control of OUAT from 1st February, 1963 along with the Agricultural Research Station at Bhubaneswar. These colleges constituted OUAT. Apart from teaching and research, the university maintains agriculture and dairy farms at different places of the state. Gradually various colleges came under the OUAT like the College of Agricultural Engineering and Technology, College of Home Science, College of Basic Science and Humanities and College of Fishery (Das, 2004).

The agricultural universities were the new 'service oriented' institutions which directly related to the field problems of the farmers. In this way they recognised a responsibility towards the needs of cultivators rather than only being a seat of learning and scholarship. These extension of functions were primarily educational in character (Naik and Sankaram, 1972). This can be inferred from the influence of OUAT on the peripheral villages of Nayapalli as it had attempted to put in place demonstration of improved methods of cultivation in the Bhubaneswar block. But these 'service oriented' institutions seemed to benefit only the upper castes like the Karans and Khandayats who cultivated their fields based on the advice of the agricultural experts. These attempts were unproductive initially as these classes resisted the use of high yielding varieties of

³⁷Extension includes all educational programmes undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining the problems of research in agriculture and allied subjects, disseminating the results of research and providing training for the purpose of such dissemination (The OUAT Act, 1965) https://indiacode.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/5894/1/orissa_university_of_agriculture_and_technology.pdf. Retrieved on 27th May, 2019

³⁸<http://www.ouat.nic.in/home> Retrieved on 27th May, 2019.

rice but later when they began to achieve good results, they resolved that they would continue the new procedures in future (Das, 1980). Moreover, respondents speaking about the OUAT opine that though it was supposed to be an institution of international repute it did not take off as it was expected to and did not create the impact it was supposed to create. “It has become a rag picker of government schemes”, according to one respondent.

Institutes for Sciences, Art and Culture

Later, many agricultural research institutes were established by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR). The Indian Institute of Water Management came up in 1988 to cater to the needs of research on agricultural water management. The institute is located at Chandrasekharapur. The Central Institute for Women in Agriculture was set up in 1996 to undertake research on various issues such as women’s role and participation in agriculture.

Then Buxi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar (BJB) College was established in 1962 and soon became one of the leading colleges of the state. Gradually it was given the status of an autonomous institution. The Ramadevi Women’s College was also established in 1964 and, in 2015, it was granted the status of a university. It is the only women’s university in the state.

Apart from this, as mentioned earlier, institutions like the Regional College of Education (RCE), the Regional Research Laboratory (RRL) came up in 1963 and 1964 respectively. The RRL has been renamed as the Institute of Minerals and Materials Technology (IIMMT). The Regional College of Education (RCE) initially came up on the fringes of the residential areas in Nayapalli village which was engulfed by the expanding city. The first medical college to be established was the Abin Chandra Homeopathic Medical College in 1969. The National Institute of Social Work and Social Sciences (NISWASS) was established in 1971.

The Institute of Physics was established in 1972 and subsequently, it was taken over by the Department of Atomic Energy in 1985. This gave a boost to scientific education in

the state. National institutes like NISER (National Institute for Science Education and Research) was also established in Bhubaneswar to train and nurture human resources in the sciences for the knowledge economics of the future. In 1989 Institute of Life Sciences was established as an autonomous institute under the administrative control of the Government of Odisha but its administration was later taken over by the Department of Biotechnology, Government of India. It was declared as a national center for excellence.

The Rajdhani College and Ekamra College were established in 1973 and 1978 respectively. Other national institutes like the International Institute of Information Technology (IIIT) came up in 2006. But, in private sector, education was still not fully developed till the 2000 and Odisha lagged behind other places like Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka etc. Hence, aspirational students from Odisha went to other states to get engineering education.

Apart from the research institutes, various institutes related to art and culture came up. The reason for the establishment of these lay in the ancient history of Odisha which was the confluence of different cultures and races. The Utkal Sangeet Mahavidyalaya was established in 1964. The Rashtriya Lalit Kala Kendra was established in 1988 to cater to the needs of the art community of not only Odisha but of other states including Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh. It later came to be known as the Lalit Kala Academy. The Odisha Art Conservation Center was established in 1995 on the premises of Odisha State Museum basically to carry out conservation of palm leaves and manuscripts. The most important university which came up for the purpose of promoting art and culture was the Utkal University of Culture in 1999 at Bhubaneswar. It was a university dedicated to preserve, promote, propagate and protect the richness of the cultural values of Odisha. In 2010, 'Vrindavan Gurukul' an institute to train students in classical music was set up at Ghatikia in Bhubaneswar. It was the brainchild of renowned flute player, Hariprasad Chourasia.

III Bhubaneswar as a Center of Technical Education

Educational transition in Bhubaneswar took a sudden turn in the 1980s. The demand for skilled education was met with the emergence of a number of engineering and medical

colleges after the era of liberalisation to complement the educational market situation. As a result of this, many engineering colleges were established in Odisha especially at Bhubaneswar. Within a span of ten years, the demand was high that 70-80 engineering colleges were established in the city of Bhubaneswar.

Before the mushrooming of engineering institutions there was government engineering college, called University College of Engineering at Burla, which started functioning in 1966. After completing studies from Utkal University, students who wanted to pursue a course in engineering used to go to Burla or Rourkela. For medical education, students used to go to Cuttack, Berhampur or Burla. Thus, for the students of 1970s, there was no option to pursue engineering or medical at Bhubaneswar, notes one of the respondents, who has been a student of Utkal University.

The College of Engineering and Technology started functioning in 1981 from the OUAT campus in Bhubaneswar. The first private engineering college to be started in Bhubaneswar was the Odisha College of Engineering (OEC) in 1986. It was founded by Kaminikanta Patnaik, a well known tax practitioner. The Indira Gandhi Institute at Sarang³⁹ came up in 1991. The Ajay- Binoy Institute's foundation was laid in 1996 at Cuttack in the memory of Ajay Bhuyan and Binoy Mishra, the two young entrepreneurs who had died in a road accident. Apart from this, a number of Industrial Training Institutes (I.T.I) were also started during this period (Das, 2004). In 1997, Institute of Technical Education and Research (ITER) was established. Other noteworthy institutions established in the early 2000s are Krupajal Engineering College, Koustuva Institute for Self Domain (KISD), Silicon Institute of Technology, N.M Institute of Engineering and Technology , Trident Academy of Technology are some other engineering colleges that came up at Bhubaneswar.

The establishment of these institutes was partly because of the Information Technology boom in 2000 which created a demand for engineers. A respondent who is a former director of AICTE mentioned that till 2007 there were only six lakh engineering seats in the country but the demand was much higher. As a result, engineering colleges began to

³⁹ Sarang is a place near Talcher in Dhenkanal District.

charge premium fees. Another respondent observed, in order to control this situation, there was a proposal to create more seats by encouraging people to open more colleges. This is the period during which many deemed universities too came up in Bhubaneswar city.

ITIs and Skilling Odisha

The ITIs⁴⁰ played a role in the educational scenario of the city. Many engineering and polytechnic institutes are taking up skill enhancement. Owing to a greater unemployment rate in urban Odisha (4.4%) than rural Odisha (3.7%) in 2015-16, and the rising share of marginal workers in the total workforce from 33% in 2001 to 39% in 2011, the state government attempted to address the problem through interventions like taking up of skill development programmes (Odisha Economic Survey 2017-18). To carry this mission forward, the government has of late been focusing on improving quality of education in government ITIs and reviving the ITIs through the Skill India Mission.

As a response to the Skill India Mission, the Odisha Skill Development Authority (OSDA) came into existence with an objective to skill the unskilled. The main stakeholders are the school dropouts from class V onwards aged 18 to 35 years. Training is being provided through a training partner by linking it to the provision of job through Public Private Partnership (PPP) mode. The training partners are selected through certain criteria like they should be having large scale training centers throughout India and also have links with many companies for placement. The various skill training that are being implemented are in Institute of plastic Technology (CIPET), PR Institute of Health Sciences, Sterling Resource Private Limited. There are different sectors under which skill is provided like medical and nursing, retail, hospitality, IT and under these sectors there are different trades.

A former Vice Chancellor of BPUT points out, at one point of time there were more number of graduate seats, less diploma seats, and even lesser ITIs. So, to reverse the

⁴⁰A respondent who is an advisor of SOA University says that the first ITI opened at Baripada in the year 1931 with 14 girls as Mayurbhanj was connected with Tatas as they took ore from the state. Many people got jobs in Tata and this was the motivation for enhancement of skills. Mayurbhanj was also a good center of hosiery. So, females joined the ITIs.

situation, the government thought of opening several ITIs so that the city gets a pool of skilled people. According to him, the situation was such that on each day around 8 new ITIs were opened. He felt however, that it failed to provide quality teaching and training in relevant skills. So, at present not even 50 % of the seats are filled up as against much higher sanctioned strength. The remaining seats are filled up by the diploma people who are unemployed and feel that they can get another degree and increase their job prospects. This was corroborated by a officer in the district employment office:

We have more training centers but people taking training are very less and within them people from Khurda district are even lesser. Most of the trainees come from outside the district and mainly from the tribal districts. If 100 people take training, only 4 people are from Khurda district.

The kinds of jobs provided through skill mission are mostly semi-skilled jobs like that of a sewing machine operator in garment manufacturing, technician, mason, welder, housekeeping in hospitality sector etc. These are the most preferred employment sectors and very less people go into IT or BPO sector, remarked one respondent. He further added that in some skilled professions, there is demand for Computer Numerical Control (CNC) machine operators. As a result of this people are getting trained in Central Tool Room and Training Center (CTTC), Bhubaneswar for CNC machining and are going outside for work. It can be said that manufacturers are coming to source people from these institutes.

The involvement of the “third party” in assessing and placement tracking as is mentioned by a respondent who is a officer dealing with skill development is intriguing. He said “a third party has been selected to do this job which we were doing” indicating the involvement of the private sector in placement which leads to many fake placements. This has created another path for wealth generation for private players.

The other issue that comes to the fore is mobilisation done by the training partner through ‘mobilisers’ and ‘career counselors’, ‘*nijukti mela*’ (job fair), ‘block level counselling’ to generate livelihoods etc. Further, there is also an attempt to promote ‘*brand Odisha*’ through the logo “Skilled in Odisha”. “We are skilled in Odisha and we will go global” is

the motto which tries to project Odisha on the global stage. A bureaucrat of the OSDA opined that by creating a brand Odisha “The whole world will know that they are skilled in Odisha and hence we will be globally recognized”. In other words, he said “our skilled youth will be workers in the entire world”. The increasing use of brand is a way of marketing the city. However, one of the respondents was of the opinion that by creating a brand through the use of logos will not help the city grow. Similarly, Govers (2013) opines that “it is not the symbol that builds the reputation” (Govers, 2013: 74).

The creation of ITIs, moreover, was always linked to the provision of jobs in the industry. However, it may be noted that the employment opportunities provided in the state could not match the ever increasing number of institutions and thus the graduates found it difficult to secure jobs as Bhubaneswar was neither an industrial city nor a manufacturing city. Hence, the demand for these technical colleges have come down. Moreover, to match the demand, the local manufacturing sector was not promoted and instead money was put into gold and land. One of the respondents commented that “compared to the population of the city, the number of ornaments shops one finds in Bhubaneswar is huge”. Another respondent commented that the ITIs train people in areas where there is no demand. He gave the example of draftsman trade highlighting that even if there is no demand in the present day due to the growth of software, still all ITIs in Bhubaneswar are offering draftsman course.

Gradually, therefore, the demand for engineering education came down. There are reports⁴¹ which suggest that almost 65% of seats of private engineering colleges are lying vacant. It can be said that though the city went through a lot of transition from being a new capital to being new Bhubaneswar, the employment opportunities are still limited. It is limited especially for the lower income groups as they are forced to take up jobs which give them very less income. Till the 1980s, the city saw unprecedented growth because of the increasing opportunities for people and thus attracted large number of migrants, but it declined thereafter. The liberalisation in the 1990s brought a demand for technical

⁴¹<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/bhubaneswar/65-engineering-seats-vacant-in-Odisha/articleshow/48491183.cms> retrieved on 27th May, 2019.
<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/education/news/no-takers-for-26000-engineering-seats-in-odisha/articleshow/64793711.cms> retrieved on 27th May, 2019.

education, management and medical education. After the year 2000, there was a decline in demand for general education, which then led to an increase in the market demand for engineering institutions. Because of an increase in computerisation, there has been a demand for M.B.A, M.C.A, B.C.A, B.B.A, M.F.C (Master in Finance and Control), programmes which then led to establishment of training institutions in these fields.

Further, to absorb the educated, unemployed youth and due to the skill India mission various institutes like the Institute of Entrepreneurship Development and other skill development institutes are gradually coming up in Bhubaneswar. These institutes are coming up in designated spaces which came up due to a modification of the existing spaces on the basis of changes in the land use. We have discussed in previous chapter how a space like Mancheswar area which was originally allotted for manufacturing has been gradually taken over by tertiary sector including educational institutions. This deindustrialization and the coming up of various institutions can be partly attributed to what Rao (2017) argues about the development of Kota city which underwent de-industrialisation in the 1980s and reemerged as an educational city in the post 1990s. Though this cannot be said to be completely true for Bhubaneswar as contexts surrounding both the cities are different, and the educational development in Bhubaneswar is essentially attributed to other factors like mining.

V Emergence of Educational Market in the City: Triggers for Growth

Though the opening up of these colleges was a result of a macro phenomenon, what was unique in case of Bhubaneswar, however, was that many parallel micro processes started operating. For instance, this period also saw generation of wealth through the mining boom. Mining sector has been an important sector for Odisha's economy. In the past years, it had contributed on an average 9.5% to the Gross State Domestic Product (Odisha Economic Survey 2017-18). Money from mining has created a parallel economy in Bhubaneswar, it has inflated the real estate prices, commented one of the respondents. He observed that the real estate price in Bhubaneswar presently is possibly the highest in the country making it the safest haven for black money to be generated. A respondent who is an MLA and a media baron in Odisha noted:

Through the mining boom the owners got money, the transporters got money and the bureaucrats who participated in the process also got money. The mining business created a lot of unaccounted wealth which was invested in gold and land. The money from mining coupled with the plenty of land around Bhubaneswar also created a real estate boom and the land prices of Bhubaneswar went up.

The increase in real estate prices in Bhubaneswar can be attributed to the policies of the Bhubaneswar Development Authority (BDA), said one of the respondents. He opined that the BDA for a long period of time did not permit high rise buildings in the city. There were 12 or 14 high rise buildings, he recalled and most of the buildings were not permitted to construct beyond three floors in the name of Bhubaneswar being a heritage city. This regulation led to undersupply of houses in Bhubaneswar. When the BDA regulations were changed in 2008 this created a real estate boom. Rajsekhar (2015) argues that the money pumped into real estate found its way into education (cited in Scroll, 2015), He quotes Soumya Patnaik⁴² who said,

Once those benefitting from the mining boom decided to invest in land they gravitated towards education. Since they were not just buying land but building a productive asset in the form of a college, bank funding was available. It conferred respectability (Patnaik cited in Rajsekhar, 2015).

This led to investment in education and subsequently a market of education emerged in the city. It can thus be said that there was a simultaneous growth of ‘education as a market’. Rao (2017) in his analysis of shadow education in Kota tries to show how shadow education grew as a market for potential investors to invest in the city. The same happened in case of Bhubaneswar. Growth of real estate and the market of education went hand in hand and people began to invest in education. Money was invested in education because by investing less amount of money people can get more returns or profit. According to a faculty member in the Utkal University, “In Bhubaneswar whatever one does in the name of education will succeed”. He further observed, “Mining

⁴²He is the founder and editor of Odia daily ‘Sambad’.

and chit fund money was pumped into education sector. Success of some starters also pushed some more to venture into this”.

By the year 2010, the number of engineering colleges rose to 100 out of which almost 70 were in Bhubaneswar alone. Acquisition of land also became rampant due to the establishment of several colleges. Most of the investments were made through setting up of engineering colleges as compared to medical education as the investments in medical colleges are greater. For Rao (2017), in the education economy there is no stress of recovery or loss of revenue. There are also very less risks involved. Most of the institutes came up on the outskirts where land prices were comparatively low. The financial institutions also helped by providing funding to the engineering institutions. The banks gave loans as they thought that by financing the engineering institutions, their money is in safe hands. As a result, most of the education entrepreneurs could manage to get support from banks. At the same time a lot of technical personnel ,particularly Odias, working in various institutions abroad were also searching for an opportunity to invest in Odisha and they had the opportunity to come back through “investment” plans and for starting “education as a business”. A retired bureaucrat laments, “Education is no more a sacred job. It is all about money. Now the attitude is give us money and our job is over”.

In the 1980s, many institutions also increased the capitation fees and encouraged huge donations to be paid against the seats. For example, Rajsekhar (2015) while quoting a faculty member of an engineering institution in Bhubaneswar notes,

Engineering College taking 300 students could sell 30 of seats in the management quota each year. If a college charges Rs 800,000 for a management quota seat it would work out to be 2.5 Crore each year. Apart from that, all 300 students pay Rs 50,000 as fees which work out to another Rs 1.5 Crores (Rajsekhar, 2015).

There were no regulations that governed these institutes and, at the same time, education business was very lucrative. Everyone wanted to start a engineering college and wanted to make money. As competition grew people from far off places came and settled in Bhubaneswar, due to which the population increased and this led to a further increase in

seats in engineering colleges and this also was a trigger for many more to come up. One of the respondents who is a leading politician and a media baron said,

Both migration to the city and the provision of educational opportunities complement and supplement each other in the growth of the city. They reinforced each other. Gradually education became a prime need and as a result of this, there came a new market in education. Today, education, land and infrastructure are all linked with each other.

This opinion thus summarises the essential shift in the urban landscape of most of the towns and cities in India. This inter-linkage of education, land and urban infrastructure has been thus the essential trigger for massive urban transformations. One of the respondents opined that the four pillars of the economy of Bhubaneswar rests on engineering, mining, chit fund and real estate.

Further, a respondent who teaches in the Utkal University said,

Approval from the government in setting up of engineering institutions was not very difficult. Committees were constituted by the government owing to which the government representatives would visit the institution and check for certain important things like the plan of the building, the amount of money deposited, and to get an approval when someone has money was not a difficult task. All these could be manipulated by money power.

So indirectly, a lot of government support and also political will went into the setting up of these institutions though most of them claim to have come up on their own. A respondent who is an advisor of a private university in Bhubaneswar opined that the political motive behind the opening up of so many private colleges in Bhubaneswar was also to pull out the youth from their agricultural base, give them education and recruit them for political activities. He further added that the political cadre in most of the institutes are created and sustained by the politicians. It is surprising that most of these institutions have a political person as its patron.

Some of the respondents were skeptical about the role of the government and the higher education department which they feel was instrumental in relaxing the norms or bringing out some liberal notification for opening up of engineering institutes and colleges which allowed almost everyone to succeed in opening them. There was also a lack of regulation and the notion of “*education as a business*” got further strengthened in Bhubaneswar.

V Emergence of Education Center and Urban Spatial Change in the Neo-Liberal Era

The emergence of Bhubaneswar as a center of education in recent times can be attributed to the government policy of expansion of educational institutions. In order to construct a roadmap for higher education, a task force was constituted by the Ministry of Higher Education, Tourism and Culture, Government of Odisha, on 7th October 2009. The key recommendation of the task force was to restore, to expand and consolidate educational infrastructure over the periods of 2010- 2012, 2012-2017 and 2017-2022. The taskforce clearly mentions that to attract private ‘edupreneurs’ in the field of education, private universities should be established. It envisaged rapid expansion of higher educational institutions from the period 2012-2017 in which emphasis was to be given on setting up of new affiliating universities and institutions, unitary universities by upgradation of existing institutions and branch campuses, and initial steps to be taken up for setting up of research centers. According to Stephen Ball, the edupreneurs or education companies are the “new kinds of global education businesses and the new economy of education business which cut across the public-private education division, and work to render educational services, of all kinds, as forms of commodity which can be traded and from which profit can be extracted” (Ball, 2007:33).

Further, the most important recommendation of the task force which makes the intent of the thinktanks very clear is that all the private and public sector companies that are using Odisha’s mineral resources must be encouraged to contribute in establishing higher educational institutions. The use of words such as ‘expansion’ in place of ‘establishment’ which was used in previous acts like the Odisha Education (Establishment, Recognition,

Management of Private Colleges) Amendment Rules 2001, also speaks a lot about the priorities of the government.

In a notification by the Department of Higher Education, Government of Odisha, one of the objectives for the establishment of state private university is that it shall not be an institution imparting education leading to conventional degrees only but emerging area of knowledge not being pursued by conventional or existing institutions (GOO, Department of higher education, notification dated 8/8/2012).

One thing that was clear from the intent of the task force was to concentrate on expansion of higher educational institutes with a specific focus on infrastructural development like the upgradation of the higher educational institutions. It also encouraged public-private partnerships, thought as an imperative to build institutes of higher learning which is a key aspect of the “neoliberalisation of the city”, “capital-state collaboration to reshape the landscape of urban education” (Lipman, 2011:57). This makes us believe, as Lipman argues, that “the education policies are embedded in a neoliberal social imaginary and are a means to reshape social relations and social identity” (Lipman, 2011: 10).

Further,

The overarching goal of such experiments is to mobilise city space as an arena both for market oriented economic growth and for elite consumption practices” (Peck, Brenner and Theodore, 2008 cited in Lipman, 2011:23).

In order to ease the establishment of private universities, the government came up with a “de novo” category of universities whose selection is to be made by a committee of experts comprising eminent academicians and the secretary of the concerned department dealing with the subject. It further states that these universities should come up in not less than 15 acres of land in urban area and 30 acres of land in non-urban area out of which the administrative building should be at least 1000 square meter and academic building at least 10,000 square meter. By failing to make it clear as to how much land a private university should hold, the government’s approach leads to ambiguity and has been encouraging speculation of land (GOO, Department of Higher Education, notification

dated 8/8/2012). A respondent who is an advisor in a private university in Bhubaneswar remarked,

There is a mad rush in creating as many universities as one can. Government colleges are turning into universities but it does not bring out anything. Practically nothing has happened by such a move. If we go by the number one can say that there are large number of institutions in and around Bhubaneswar. But what we do is just change the name but how does the change in name matter?"

In the year 2000, the Information technology boom created further growth and contributed to the creation of 'new' spaces in Bhubaneswar. These spaces came up in relation to the educational institutions and the IT sector like the Patia area or the space around the electronic city. Earlier, though industrialisation produced urbanisms, there is a difference in the way spatial transformations occurred. As Soja (1999) observes, now, we are placed in a situation in which industrialisation and economic growth are "shaped through the social production of urbanised space orchestrated by the increasing power of the state which is expanding to encompass more and more of world's population and resources" (p.96).

Particularly in the post 1990s, education has been buffeted by globalisation, privatisation and the neoliberal ideology (Nambissan, 2017). The urban space thus gets restructured when some influential people manage to acquire huge tracts of land to set up educational institutions. Jeffery et al (2006) argue that the presence of educational institutions gives particular urban spaces social, economic and political importance. The educational scenario however may differ from place to place, one spatial context to another. In some cases, as Jeffery et al (2006) observe, the colony came first and the educational institutions like the schools emerged later, elsewhere the school came first and gradually the colonies were attracted towards it. The same is the case of Bhubaneswar, where education unfolds differently in different spatial context of the city.

There are spaces like Mancheswar where colonies had come first and educational development came up later when the industries were closed down. The area was planned

initially for industrial development and the land was allotted to 64 small scale industries, which is now turning to be a space that is being taken up by educational institutes, shops, lodging and other trading activities. The government has recently set up a “World Skill Center” around the Mancheswar industrial estate. Similarly, Patia and Chandrasekharpur are experiencing different growth patterns due to the economic importance of land with the entry of private educational institutions like universities, international schools in those areas. The growth in this area is an example of what the development of educational institutions can do to a particular area. With the growth of private educational institutions and technology parks, enclaves of educational economy in the city too have emerged in Bhubaneswar. Perry, Wiewel and Menendez (2009) opine that “these enclaves act as scientific and reflective ivory tower removed from the subjective turmoil of the city” (Perry, Wiewel and Menendez, 2009:2). It can thus be said that the production of the city along the capitalistic lines which depends on exchange values drive the urban redevelopment.

Deemed universities, international schools did come up in the lands earmarked for the industrial estates in the post liberalisation era in the new millenium. In addition to government lands, sprawling campuses of the universities too come up in privately acquired lands (people transferred their private lands in the name of the universities) and we came across instances of grabbing of forest lands for private educational establishments due to lack of regulation. The land acquisition was in a way permitted by IDCO (Industrial Development Corporation of Odisha) as most of the land was owned by it. One of the respondents opined that these institutions came up because of the market and subsequently people have raised objections about the vast tracts of land these universities grabbed or acquired- legally or illegally.

It may therefore be said that the educational institutions act as “real estate developers” (Perry, Wiewel and Menendez, 2009, Lipman, 2011) working for the cause and convenience of real estate developers. These institutions develop unique relationship with the city as they acquire vast stretches of land required to accommodate activities of the university. Land is sometimes acquired when the university becomes more than just an academic institution. The KIIT University, for example, apart from being academic,

has also constructed various temples like the Jagannath Temple, the Sai Temple and many more in the vicinity of the university campus. These temples are named after the institution. It is a matter of surprise that many other private schools have set up temples on campuses. This is in sharp violation to the Odisha Right of children to Free and Compulsory Education (Odisha RCFCE) Rules, 2010, which clearly states that the school building and the other structures on the ground are used only for the purposes of education and skill development⁴³. It is like creating a larger than life image (predominantly Hindu) which is a way to attract students, remarked a respondent.

Plate 3.3 The KIIT Jagannath Mandir



These institutions also help the real estate sector to grow. Many students from nearby places come to Bhubaneswar, rent flats near the institutions and settle in the city because they want their children to get good education. A respondent pointed out that for those who come from nearby places, the aspiration is to send their children to international schools like Sai International or Mothers Public School.

⁴³http://opepa.odisha.gov.in/pvtrte/PDF/Norms/Operational_guidelines_for_private_schools_pranay_18_Oct_2010.pdf retrieved on 12/02/2019.

The university campuses of the Utkal University and a private university like KIIT are very different from each other and their urban context is also different. The architectural design of the universities, colleges, schools or even the courses they offer are different. On the one hand is a university that came up in post-colonial times like the Utkal University and the other in the neoliberal times in which the market gets a freehand in education and education is seen as a good investment option.

The educational scenario in the neoliberal times gives way to a different kind of entrepreneurship. There are management institutions which instill the concept of entrepreneurship among the students. These universities have “industry- academia interface,” as mentioned by a university professor. Students at the management institutes go for industry visits and people from industrial houses come to these institutes to find out what kind of role the institution plays in the growth of the industry and business environments. A professor of the KIIT University remarked,

In our academic board we have several people from industry who shape the syllabus with respect to the requirements of industry, as a result of which students get placed easily.

The KIIT University’s career advisory and obligation services under the School of Management acts as a finishing school which builds up students’ standards like making them ready for jobs, making them employable.

Magdaniel (2013) observes that the universities are expanding their roles from “anchor or place based institutions” which are rooted historically in the cities towards the knowledge economy in which there is a link and an interaction with the industry and the private sectors. The role of the universities also depends on the city and its performance in relation to attracting and shaping the future knowledge workers. Perry, Wiewel and Menendez (2009) argue that the university campuses sometimes act as not only hubs of knowledge and social interaction, but also as centers of employment and ongoing construction which influence the urban spaces. They further claim that the most conflicting nature of the university as an urban institution is more evident in its real estate development practices. For example, the KIIT University has such an impact on the

urban landscape of Bhubaneswar that this prompted one of the respondents to remark that “KIIT is an example of ‘soft diplomacy’ of Bhubaneswar. Another respondent opined that people may not know Utkal University but they certainly know KIIT. The way the educational institutions are bringing urban spatial change, by 2025 they will have to declare themselves as ‘republics’, remarked another respondent.

Further, many respondents pointed out that the so called universities are only attractive in terms of infrastructure and not due to the academic depth of the courses they offer. Most of the educational institutions like the engineering institutes came up in the city because of the personal and business interests of the businessmen. As these institutes were created keeping in mind the business motives, they do not provide quality education and gradually, respondents noted, the demand for such academic programmes is declining.

According to one of the respondents,

Private educational institutions that have been coming up in the city are modernising the academic courses. These new courses are designed to fetch jobs and to maintain a distinction from conventional courses. Their courses are designed according to the need of the companies. The establishment of these private educational institutes of repute is the real cause of the growth of the city of Bhubaneswar.

But inspite of this the respondents say that only three to four professional areas which seem to interest students in Bhubaneswar is - technology, engineering, medical education and law.

Private universities are also governed in specific ways. It is also evident in student movements which distinguish one type of university from the other, a Professor of KIIT told the researcher. He was of the view that the Universities like the Utkal University were famous for student movements. But in a University like KIIT,:

Democracy is suppressed here. We don’t have unions, staff union, workers union, employees union, may be because it is not there in the guidelines of UGC and AICTE. So we don’t follow. We are excessively democratic as we

cater to the needs and necessity of every student and parents hence it doesn't necessitate the establishment of democratic set up among the students.

Another important aspect of the growth of educational infrastructure is that it triggers other ancillary or related economic activities. An economy is built around the enclaves created by the educational institutions, through setting up of eating joints, mess facilities, the shopping complexes which then determine the ecosystem of the university. These educational institutions or the 'university areas' bring in different economics of space in which they are located. It can be related to Harvey's concept of space acting as a constitutive aspect of capitalist accumulation. For Harvey, there is a relationship between capitalism and urbanisation. Lipman (2010) too argues that the new spaces that are coming up are rebuilding spaces in order to establish a "new locational grid" for the accumulation of the capital. Dober (1967) points out that in the case of universities of the U.S.A, there is the growth of science based industries around the campuses.

Dober (1967) further says that the very presence of the intellectual activity also begins to draw people into a 'university city'. People want to live near universities because they are "vigorous, audacious, controversial and full of ferment" (pg.120). In the city of Boston, he writes, sizeable sections of the population survives because the university activity continues. In his opinion: "it is our root for a viable city of the future" (pg. 120). In sum, universities for Dober are not quiet, country reserves but urban centers located in an urban environment carrying out a wide variety of programmes and activities.

Sometimes it is the boundaries of a university that speaks a lot about it and the place it is located. One of the respondents who was a Utkal University student and a leading business man observed: "The Utkal University did not have a boundary till the 1970s. It was only in the 1970s that a boundary was constructed after so many years of its existence". The absence of a boundary signifies the interdependence of a university and a city. It is also about how accessible a city is to the residents of the city.

When we compare universities like Utkal University to private universities that have come in recent times, it can be said that the boundary comes first and the university comes later. There is an attempt to demarcate the space first. In this context the concept

of the “University campus” and the urban space becomes significant . Perry and Wiewel (2005) explain that ‘campus’, a Latin word for ‘field’ is an expression for an ensemble of buildings for higher education. The campus indicates a location, the self contentedness of the institution and its separateness. They further explain that this self contentedness was derived from the perceived nature of the intellectual mission of the institution and the separateness of the working of the academic community or in maintaining an “enclave”. The campuses of universities differ according to the location and the time they came into existence. The three types of campus settlements discussed by Den Heiger are campus as a separate city, campus as a gated community in the city with or without gates and a campus integrated with the city (Heiger cited in Magdaniel 2013).

In case of Bhubaneswar the university campuses of the present times are turning into gated communities as compared to campuses integrated within the city like the Utkal University campus. Even the campus of Utkal University is different when compared to the Ravenshaw University which came up in the 1850s. The advisor of INTACH who was a student of Ravenshaw University shared, Ravenshaw had a different impact on the city of Cuttack. According to him, “The University and the city coexisted. Any event that happened at Ravenshaw became an event of Cuttack. Ravenshaw was Cuttack and Cuttack was Ravenshaw”.

Further, there are a lot of administrative decisions that went into making the universities that existed in the past. A retired IAS officer recalled, how the senior IAS officers have an important role to play in the land encroachment cases of the university. This shows the amount of bureaucratic interference in the older universities as compared to the universities of the present. He further reflected that in the past the universities functioned according to the ethos of the society. Their progress was very slow, casual and laggard. Another bureaucrat said that the campus of the Utkal University came up near the railway line and there was chaos.

But the private universities that are coming up in recent times come up in areas which are far away from the hustle and bustle of the city center. They are built keeping in mind certain agenda of catering to the elite and middle class population. A student of KIIT

University said that the universities which have come up in recent times attract people from particular urban locations and classes. He remarked that if the students are from Odisha, they generally come from the bordering districts which are educationally better than the remote places. Most of the students who come to KIIT are outsiders and generally from the Eastern belt particularly West Bengal, Jharkhand etc.

From Calcutta, there is more possibility of a student to come from Salt Lake and less possibility of a student to come from Hoogly. They are taking 12 Lakhs as admission fees from an M.B.A student. How many can pay such a huge amount?

Further, the direct role of the state has reduced as it happened in case of universities of the past, as Lipman (2011) notes. The state now interferes indirectly by first destroying the existing institutional arrangements and then creating a new infrastructure for capital accumulation.

One of the respondents who teaches at the Utkal University explained,

In the same courses offered by both Utkal and KIIT, one is taking 35,000 per year for a law graduate and the other is taking 1.5 lakhs for the same course with even a low standard. They operate as a market and their consumer is from outside Odisha. There is a wide and conscious difference between KIIT University and universities like the Utkal University.

The admission process is also very different as there is an all India entrance examination but it is regulated by the authorities of KIIT but in all other government universities, they are regulated by state Governments. One of the teachers of the KIIT University said “People who are studying here definitely belong to a particular class “the elite class” or “a category”, “they create an ambience altogether”.

He proudly stated that

People have started choosing Kalinga as a place where they could have their education. The pockets have changed and due to this, the city is growing and nation wise people are getting aware of the educational facilities at

Bhubaneswar. This part is one of the elitist places of the city. There are a lot of gated communities at this place and the kind of apartments that have come up in this area is nowhere in Bhubaneswar. It has become a satellite city in itself.

Owing to a stage of stagnation of the Bhubaneswar city it would not be proper to say that the city of Bhubaneswar is totally integrated to the world economy as Manuel Castells says about “technopoles” but it is just beginning its global integration. One of the respondents felt that “the areas around the educational institutions in Bhubaneswar are caught up in a low level economy”. He opined that though a large sum of money is being pumped into bringing up restaurants and children of wealthy parents invest a lot in them but there are instances in which many popular restaurants have closed down due to lack of demand. Another respondent who is an educationist shared that the changing macro scenario is reflected in Bhubaneswar because it is a capital city and no other city in Odisha is developed and connected with air. It is the power center. The situation finds resonance in what Nair (2005) says, “that the effects of the new economy on the cities can be understood only from the specific regional histories which negotiate through the remnants of other social economic or cultural forms and the emergent economic and political forms”.

Summary

The city of Bhubaneswar has seen different phases of educational transition. Education has an important role to play in its urban transitions. The emergence of different educational institutions like the engineering colleges has contributed to the growth of the city. It can be called the hub of technical education. But in the neoliberal times the city is undergoing tremendous transformation partly due to the government policy of expansion and the building of institutions in huge acres of land meant for industrial estates. But this transformation is still limited when we compare it to other cities. It can be said that though Bhubaneswar has come this far it still has to go a long way because of a long phase of stagnation.

CHAPTER IV

THE OLD TOWN: SOCIAL STRUCTURE, CULTURAL IDENTITY AND EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Every city has certain unique characteristics which makes it different from other cities. The uniqueness of the city is known by its history and this is true in the case of the city of Bhubaneswar which has a rich historical and cultural heritage. Bhubaneswar has been ruled by a number of kings who had made it their seat of administration. It is also unique because it was once a traditional city as it revolved around the temples and it underwent rapid transformation in the recent times. People visit old Bhubaneswar for the purpose of worship. Every village in the old town has a presiding deity who is held in high esteem by the villagers. Menon (2013) says that the old town is the name used locally to distinguish this neighbourhood from the new capital, a modern city, planned and built after 1947.

Krishna Menon (1997) in his article “imagining the Indian city” says that in terms of settlement density, social heterogeneity and economic mix, the traditional cities or the old towns have an urban character which is not found in those parts of the city which are developed by a modern town planner (Menon, 1997: 2935). This chapter discusses the social structure, cultural ethos and educational transformations of the old town. An important trend that is visible today is that the old town population is gradually moving out of the traditional occupations related to the temple rituals and taking up new professions based on modern education but their relationship to the temple is still there. The chapter also discusses how the intermixing of tradition and modernity has contributed to the construction of identity of the old city and how the inhabitants of the old Bhubaneswar view the transition, what this transition means for the social and educational aspirations of old town dwellers and how these aspirations are shaped.

I Caste and social structure of the old town

The construction of religious structures like temples has required the involvement of people who are attached to these temples and have performed the tasks delegated to them (Mishra and Ray, 2017). The social structure of the old town is determined by the existence of multiple caste groups who are attached to the temple and perform their designated tasks. Thus caste plays an important role in determining the social structure of the old town of Bhubaneswar. In terms of social composition of the town, Mitra estimates that, in 1872, one-sixth of the population of old Bhubaneswar were professional temple priests, and one-quarter of the population were temple servants (cited in Miller and Wertz, 1996). According to him, together, the priests and servants must have equaled nearly half of the community. The other half of the residents, Mitra argues, existed by serving those who served the temples. It may thus be inferred that the temple town in itself instills a culture of tradition in the city of Bhubaneswar. Sahu (2015) says that Bhubaneswar or Ekamra as it was called previously, is an important temple city as well as a political center which has attracted not only grades of artisans and craftsmen, pilgrims, state officials but has also been the site of market and merchants to fulfill the inhabitants' everyday requirements.

Since the social structure of the old town is derived from the caste system, it is rigid and hierarchical. According to Menon (2013), the upper castes particularly the Brahmins are proud of their high ritual status and recognise that this high status is derived from their disciplined lifestyle and the practices they religiously follow. It is also believed that the Brahmin superiority is derived from the royal grants, especially land grants, given to the Brahmins by the kings. Singh (1993) states, the readiness of the king to bestow tax-free grants of land to the Brahmans provided an ideal opportunity for the enterprising Brahmans and they gradually emerged as an important landed class and subsequently as influential mediators in terms of religiosity and social values in the village. These tax free lands in most cases meant a permanent renunciation of the state's revenue claim over the *brahmadeya* land⁴⁴. Apart from this, many private endowments were also given in favour

⁴⁴ It is a type of landholding or settlement.

of temples like the provision of flowers or perpetual lamps for the deity⁴⁵. Menon (2013) further says that the Odia Hindu cultural world is imbued with such Brahminical sensibility that even the non-Brahmins adhere to Brahminical values of purity and self-refinement and do not subscribe to liberal ideas. Self control and self discipline seem to garner ritual prestige and social dominance in the old town of Bhubaneswar.

The influx of people to the old town started as early as early medieval centuries when a lot of immigrant Brahmins came and settled at this place. What is surprising to gather from the legends is that there were no Brahmins in Odisha. All the ancestors of the Brahmins have come from outside. Singh (1993) cites Swati Dutta's study of Brahminical migrations which argues that the Brahmins migrated to a number of places like Maharashtra, Bengal and Kashi but the largest of them migrated to Odisha. According to the legends, to conduct a *Yagna* or *havan* to please the rain God, as Odisha is always hit by a spell of famine, the king is said to have invited 10,000 Brahmins from outside especially from Uttar Pradesh (Kannauj) to Jajpur. These Brahmins did not go back after the *Yagna* and asked the king to give them some land so that they could settle at this place. As a result of this, as the legend goes, the king sent some Brahmins to each temple.

Peasants and other occupational groups constitute the non-Brahmin or the Shudra order in the old town. Sahu (2012) mentions that Kalinga witnessed the emergence of the middle peasants around the middle of the first millennium CE and the lower peasantry and the other rural inhabitants by the seventh-eighth centuries. The artisanal sections like the *Kumbhara* (potter), *kamsakara* (bronze-smith), *karmakara* (iron-smith) and the *kayastha* (writers' class) also came to the town in this period. He further says that gradually the

⁴⁵Singh from her study of inscriptions notes that, many kings gave the donees the rights over the inhabitants of the village such as weavers, cowherds, brewers and fishermen. This reflected a significant enlargement of the scope of the rights granted to the Brahmana beneficiaries. Sahu (2012) writes that these Brahmins even disseminated knowledge of agriculture, helped agrarian expansion, invented genealogical links for the ruling lineages and spread Vedic, Shastric and Puranic ideas across sub regions.

occupational groups have crystallised into castes and professions. Gradually, these acquired a hereditary character and occupations mostly became caste names⁴⁶.

The social structure of the old town also depends upon the differentiation on the basis of different *sevas* (services) done by the *sevaks* or *sewayats* (people who offer service at temples). According to Behera (2008), the service groups of the Lingaraj temple are divided according to the four varnas. They can also be divided into two groups- the *Bhitara sevak* and the *Bahara sevak* former performing their duties inside and the latter outside the temple. Though there are differences between the *sewayats*⁴⁷ they are still interconnected as one *seva* cannot be performed in isolation from the another. Due to this interconnectedness, one of the respondents argues, ranking is not on the basis of who is superior or inferior rather what matters is the work schedule and the nature of work.

Behera (2008) mentions that, according to the tradition, Brahman *sevaks* originally came from South India and were named as *kama Brahmins*. But their number decreased in the course of time and the kings of Odisha brought Brahmins from Kannauj. Subsequently, there were further divisions between different castes and the present social structure came into existence.

Pujapanda, Mahasuar, Dash, Mohapatra, Mishra castes are some of the Brahmin *sevaks* of the Lingaraj temple. Other Brahmin *sevaks* are Patri (they arrange the puja materials for worship), *Bhitara Khuntia* (they guard the sanctum sanctorium) and prevent the outsiders from entering the temple during the offering. The *sewayats* have different responsibilities. Some of the castes and the work they perform are Puja Panda- who perform the Puja of the deity inside the temple, Mahasuar, Mohapatra- who make *bhoga* or are the cooks of the temple. There are two types of *bhoga*- dry (Khai) and the main

⁴⁶Sahu (2012) traces the history of the emergence of various caste groups in Odisha. Between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, the movement of various communities into Odisha and their integration with the Odia society along with the evolution of *patras*, *mahapatras* and *pattanayaks* from status terms to high caste surnames, the transformation of *nayaks* and *paikrays* from military ranks to khandayat caste particularly in Central and South coastal Odisha are central to the making of caste system from diverse sources (Sahu,2012:13).

⁴⁷Respondents shared with the researcher that in Puri, the *sewayats* act as a group in which intermarriage is permitted irrespective of caste. But if the marriage between a Brahmin and a non-Brahmin *sewayat* family takes place, the offspring are not permitted to do *seva*. They can only perform *seva* when they get married to a Brahmin family.

bhoga or the cooked food. Mahasuar prepare the main bhoga or cook food for the deity, and dry bhoga is prepared by the Gudias who are non- Brahmins. Dash and Mishra perform puja of the deity outside the temple such as pinda dana, puja on the ratha (chariot), in the homes of people, Devi puja on mandap, chandi patha. Apart from this, there are Mallias and Mali who sell flowers inside the temple and raise mahadipa (the earthen lamp) onto the top of the temple on the occasion of Shivratri. They are allotted different sahis (neighbourhood) but now they also stay outside.

Behera (2008), Sahu, (2012) find that the origin of the Badu caste is obscure as there is a controversy surrounding their origin⁴⁸. Sahu (2012) further writes that the Badus despite having autochthonous origins not only come in close contact with the deities but also become their personal attendants.

The social structure of the old town also consists of the ex-untouchables. Behera (2008) states that there are Shudra Sevaks who had an important role to play. They even enjoyed the right to supply water for use in the kitchen. They are basically the drum beaters. When the procession of the deity goes out of the temple they are also engaged in sweeping the road near the temple. Raghavan (2016), in a study on the non- Brahmin castes of the Lingaraj temple, notes that the Hadis and Bauris even received tax free land from the temple. These labourers were called “*kala bethias*” or the chariot pullers. A Bauri respondent mentions that that they have an important role to play in the car festival in which they are engaged in sweeping the road and without their help the *rathas* of the deities may not have a proper movement. She boasts that the harijans apply colour to the walls of bindusagar tank making them attractive at the time of festivals. They go to Puri if their help is required in sweeping the road at the time of festivals. On the other hand, the Hadis are engaged in cleaning drains and toilets.

⁴⁸They bear the surnames like *Badu, Mahapatra, Samantra, Macadam, Singhari*. Mention can be made of the Badus who constitute a significant community of the old town. Menon (2013) says that the *Badus* are said to be the descendants of a Savara mother and a Saivite ascetic (*tapasvan*). The Badus even wear the sacred thread and identify themselves as Brahmins. There are differences, however, within Badus’ community also.

Plate 4.1 A Bauri Household



Apart from the permanent sevayats associated with the Lingaraj temple, there are others who are part-time sevayats and whose services are required whenever there is a need. Those who are engaged in carrying deity Lingaraj to various places called as *Bahaka* are called Khuntia sevak, they live in at Kapileswar village. All the places are earmarked. According to Mahapatra (1980) there are thirty six different persons engaged in the daily rituals. They constitute twenty-five categories of temple servants, twenty of which are called sevakas while the others are ex-untouchables.

Apart from the Lingaraj temple, there is another temple called the Kapileswar temple which is a satellite of the Lingaraj temple. But respondents mention the Kapileswar temple as the epicenter of the old town which ran into problems because of infighting between the *pandas* and *pujaris* as a result of which, the Lingaraj temple, subsequently, became the center. This can also be inferred from the fact that the oldest cinema hall called 'Roop Mahal' was located in the vicinity of the Kapileswar temple. Mahapatra (1980) observes that this temple is important as it provided livelihood for many castes devoted to the care of the deities and had performed many social and educational

functions as well. It had a rich historical background and is known for its *puranic* tradition. This is a unique aspect of the diverse spatial context of Bhubaneswar. Each part of the old town has a unique story to tell and the identity is also shaped by the uniqueness of each of these parts. According to the priests of the Kapileswar temple, Ekamra Khetra is also called Chakra Khetra. As the spokes are as important as the center, in the same manner, temples are placed in a charka formation in which Lingaraj temple is at the center. All the temples come within that chakra and give support to the chakra.

Kapileswar (deity is known as Kapilanath) temple which is located in the Kapileswar village is mainly inhabited by the Mallia sevaks and the Khuntia Sevaks (Brahmin sevaks). The priests of Kapileswar echoed that Kapila muni⁴⁹ used to pray here. Legend has it that the great sage, Kapila, established his hermitage near the village and engaged himself in austere penance. Pleased with the rigour of Kapila Muni's penance, Lord Shiva had to appear in person to offer boons and bestow blessings. The rites, rituals and festivals that are observed in Lingaraj temple are repeated in Kapileswar temple as well. Kapileswar is given the place of honour as the chief advisor of Lingaraj, designated as the king of the area. Another legend that is frequently heard in the old town is that Lord Lingaraj comes to pray Kapilanath deity, does *Sani Puja*⁵⁰ in the temple and their meeting is called "Hariharaya Bheta" (meeting), Kapilanath being Hari and Shiva being Lingaraj. With the passage of time, however, disintegration of temple rituals has begun and the respondents shared that for the past two years many rituals have been discontinued due to the differences arising among priests.

According to the priests, the major part of their earning comes from offering the sacred water to their jajmans and the former also claim to have cured many diseases and blessed childless couples. In return of their work, the priests are even given land in exchange. The Kapilanath deity was said to have a lot of property and large quantity of grains (paddy) used to come in the name of the deity. As a result of mismanagement, there has been a gradual withering of many rituals of the temple. The temple is currently managed by a trust.

⁴⁹ A vedic sage.

⁵⁰ Puja offered to the Sun God.

Further, attachment to the temple is so much that the locals say “Kapila is there so Mallia is there”. There are around 250-300 Mallia sevak families in the Kapileswar village and each and every family has some relationship with the temple. Freeman (1977) finds that both the Mallia and the Khuntia sevaks own most of the land and wealth of Kapileswar. Their distribution of wealth, political power and privileges depend on the position their caste holds in the Kapileswar temple. Freeman further says that the village has people from other castes as well who are engaged in different sevas. There are Bariks who carry mashal (torch) to show light when deities are taken out. There are sevaks who wash the temple premises. The temple has allocated land to each sevak. Their work is to cultivate land and engage themselves in the services of the temple. Interestingly, they do not have land related documents or patta of the land. It is all temple’s property. They can neither sell their land nor can they mortgage their homes. The day they stop doing temple seva, they will be thrown out. In the present context, the population is getting mixed up as outsiders are coming into the sahis and are staying on rent in the homes of the sevaks. However, the older names are still retained.

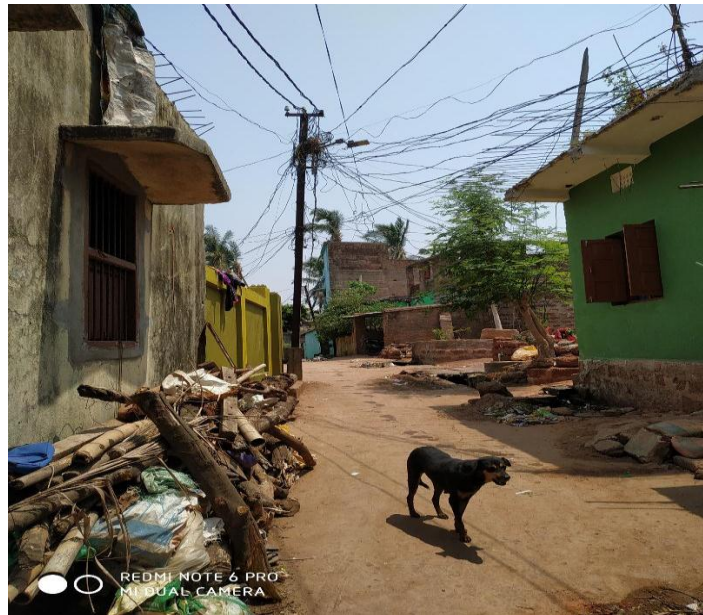
Spatial segregation and social relations

Caste based segregation manifested not only in the assignment of temple tasks but also in the occupation and allocation of land. Land acted as a resource for the maintenance of the people who depended on the temple for their livelihood (Mishra and Ray, 2017). Different sahis (streets) in the old town belong to different castes. It may be said that the space is divided according to caste affiliation and sometimes in terms of the shrines dedicated to different Gods and Goddesses which are scattered throughout the temple town. Sahis are narrow and congested lanes with houses on both sides. These sahis are densely packed habitations around the temple. Bharne and Krusche (2012) opine that the

The Hindu temple is not only a sacred architectural object, but also an urban catalyst that has invariably attracted people to its workings, thereby nurturing habitats around it (Bharne and Krusche, 2012: 159).

Sahis such as Kumhara Sahi, Bania Sahi, the Brahmin Sahi at Tinimundia deula⁵¹, Pujapanda Sahi, Badu Sahi, Brahamana Nijoga, Chembdi Sahi, Mishra Sahi, Bania Sahi, Barika Sahi, Bauri Sahi, Gouda Sahi, Hadi Sahi are all named after castes. There is the Hara Chandi Sahi which is named after the Goddess who is the presiding deity. There are also Samartha Sahi, Hata Sahi⁵². Since each caste had its own traditional occupation, segregation of the sahis is also on the basis of occupation. As Bailey (1963) says, segregation is achieved in several ways. For instance, each caste has its own name, the washerman, the herdsman, the warrior, etc and the streets are also on the basis of this, the warrior street, pan street, distiller street, potter street, etc. The four fields, names, occupation, residence and customary distinction are an everyday reminder of difference, according to Bailey.

Plate 4.2 Chembdi Sahi



⁵¹It is a Hindu temple or also known as Vaitala deula due to the three spires on top of it which is believed to represent the three powers of goddess chamunda- Mahasaraswari, Mahalakshmi and Mahakali.

⁵²Inhabited by people who are engaged in the ritual of raising the earthen lamp during the Shiv Ratri festivals.

Sevayats are provided land to make sure that the rituals of the temples do not stop and the temple remains an important part in their lives. The Lingaraj temple owned lot of land⁵³ and the sevayats were given land so that they could cultivate and stay peacefully near the temple and carry on the temple service. These places were vast empty lands where paddy was cultivated. There was very less population and more vacant space. But due to the coming up of the new town and the growth of population, the spaces have become very congested and haphazard. Miller and Wertz (1996) note that a housing shortage produced by the rapid expansion of population has caused some single- caste wards to become heterogeneous. According to Mahapatra (1980), the caste solidarity was very strong and there were caste associations called *nijoga* for Brahmin sevayats and *jatiana sabha* for non-Brahmin sevayats. These associations played an important role in enforcing internal discipline and to settle matters relating to intercaste and intracaste conflicts.

Sharma (2010) observes a discriminatory pattern of living even in the religious towns which had spatial segregation of communities where the privileged lived in the central part and the serving communities lived at the peripheries. Menon (2013) in a study of the old town points out that the Odia Hindus seem to justify the inequalities that exists between jatis as manifest in one's karma and defensible. They view these inequalities as an expression of innate differences in talent, abilities and physical substance. Miller and Wertz (1996) notes that even the monasteries acted as feudal landowners and exacted rents and services from the lower castes who worked as labourers. Freeman (1977) says that the dharmashalas catered to the "pilgrim trade", which was the main occupation of the old town (Freeman, 1977:17).

Freeman (1977) in his study of the Kapileswar village says that caste discrimination spills onto residential segregation. High caste streets have most of the facilities in the village like good roads, street lights as compared to the lower-caste people who live in peripheral pockets in the village. The Bauris lived in mud houses and thatched dwellings which are prone to be destroyed by slightest of natural calamities. He further says that the development of new capital has not been good for the poor of Kapileswar. Although incomes have increased, very few families have made the transition from poor to middle-income or well to do status.

⁵³Mohapatra (2005) tell us that the lands extended to the Mausima temple in the North, Kapileswar in the South, Nuagaon in the East, Pokhariput in West, Jagamara upto Siripur mouza.

Elaborating further on the residential segregation, Freeman says,

Caste segregation is carried beyond isolated location. Paths connect the high caste wards, but in most instances, there is no way to go directly from one low caste ward to another. Thus, in the northwest corner of the village, untouchable sweepers, the village potters and the caste of untouchable Bauris live adjacent to each other yet are physically separated to such an extent that daily activities and even festivals take place in one ward and go completely unnoticed by the inhabitants of the other two wards (Freeman,1977:26).

Freeman (1977) further says that this exploitative aspect of caste remains strong in Bhubaneswar as they were twenty years ago and the lower castes like the Bauris are denied more than even the bare minimum that would keep them alive. The caste system is so much prevalent in Old Bhubaneswar that a Bauri respondent was quoted as saying that “We don’t drink water from the hadis. They belong to the lowest strata”. This reveals that the Bauris who face discrimination themselves discriminate those below them. In this way even lower castes imbibe Brahminical values and worldviews.

One of the respondents also pointed out that the super cyclone of 1999 is also a contributing factor for the urban transformation of Bhubaneswar particularly the old town. The destruction caused by the cyclone prompted people to construct double storeyed houses replacing old houses due to the insecurities it brought with it.

But the old town is also going through spatial transition due to the coming up of the real estate sector. Freeman (1977) observes that the open spaces between the new capital and the old town got filled up with different housing projects and the land prices soared. All the agricultural lands are converted into barren lands full of sands. Respondents observe that vicinity of the temple have been given to the private players. Land is sold to private individuals very close to the temples. A Professor at the Indian Institute of Tourism and Travel Management while comparing Bhubaneswar with Bagan (a city in Myanmar)⁵⁴ says that the old town is no less when we compare it with Bagan as both the places have almost 3000 temples. But in Bhubaneswar the government has allowed private

⁵⁴ Ancient Odisha had close maritime contacts with the Islands of Indonesia, Java, Sumatra, Bali and Borneo. There are a lot of resemblance in the temple architecture of these Islands with Odisha signifying the craftsmanship of the Odisha sculptures. As a result of this, the temple architecture of Odisha is often related to these Islands and in many contexts both the places are compared.

developments to flourish. She mentions instances in which people have *mandirs* in the backyard of their houses as the land beside the temple belongs to them. She further claims that there are various small unnamed temples within the boundaries of people's homes. As a result of which the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) is not able to reclaim most of the temples in old Bhubaneswar.

Plate 4.3 Private developments in the vicinity of the Mukteswar temple



It was also observed that, there are no major changes in the villages or the sahis of the old town but the only change is that the 'huts have been converted into multistoried buildings' and these buildings are all over the place. Simultaneously, for the first time, strangers moved into caste segregated neighbourhoods which never had housed strangers of another caste before (Freeman, 1977). One of the priests claims that in course of time, if original villagers would be 30%, outsiders would be 70%.

Culture, Economy and Politics: Constructing the Old Town Identity

The administration in the old town pointed out to a relationship between kingship and the sacred domain (Singh, 1993, Mubayi, 2005). Singh (1993) points out a relationship between royal patronage and temple establishments or the meeting of the political and the religious domains. Mubayi (2005) in her analysis of the relationship of temple and the

state argues that the long established link between the temple and kingship was an important factor underlying the political and cultural institutions and relationship. Champakalakshmi (2005) also points out how the temples acted as centers of various socio-religious groups pursuing economic activities around the temple and also acted as land magnets as tenants and temple servants were being remunerated through lands. She further mentions that the temples acted as a base for politics, religion and pilgrimage and subsequently evolved into huge urban complexes either around a single temple or with numerous temples which forms a part of an urban complex. In other words, the growth in the activities of such temples led to urban development. This relationship between the political and the religious created a unique social structure in most of the temple towns including the old town of Bhubaneswar.

A lot of changes occurred in the temple administration after the coastal districts of Odisha were occupied by the British in 1803. Mahapatra (1980) notes that intrusions happened in the internal affairs of the Lingaraj temple which led to the passing of the formal legislation for the proper management of the religious endowments in 1810. Subsequently, the public Hindu religious endowments were placed under the direct control of the board which appointed a superintendent. Mubayi (2005) in her study of Jagannath temple of Puri, says that the recalling of the *Raja* (the king) and appointment of the superintendent by the company administration reformulated the ritual link between the *Raja* and the temple and a modification of the traditional network of dominance and the resultant material and ideological reciprocity of the region.

Mahapatra (1980) further notes that, with the coming of the Odisha Hindu Religious Endowment Act of 1863, the traditional hereditary functionaries became defunct. Gradually, a lot of changes happened in the Lingaraj temple's administration. Up to 1957, the maintenance and repair of the temple was looked at by the endowment but gradually, when the endowment and public gifts failed to finance the maintenance of the temple, it was given over to the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) in February 1958. Changes were also brought in when the Notified Area Council (NAC) came into existence. Grenell (1980) says that the NAC administered both the New capital and the Old town. This was dominated by the Government and gradually assumed many of the duties and responsibilities traditionally held by the Lingaraj Temple Trustees. The entry of another secular organization into the affairs of the temple brought in a lot of changes in the

structure of the temple and its administration. The temple-based power hierarchy of old Bhubaneswar was affected.

Temples are important because of its relevance to the economy, culture and politics in a particular city. The temple is a “*hub of activity*” observes one of the respondents. They act as administrative units as well.

For Mishra and Ray (2017)

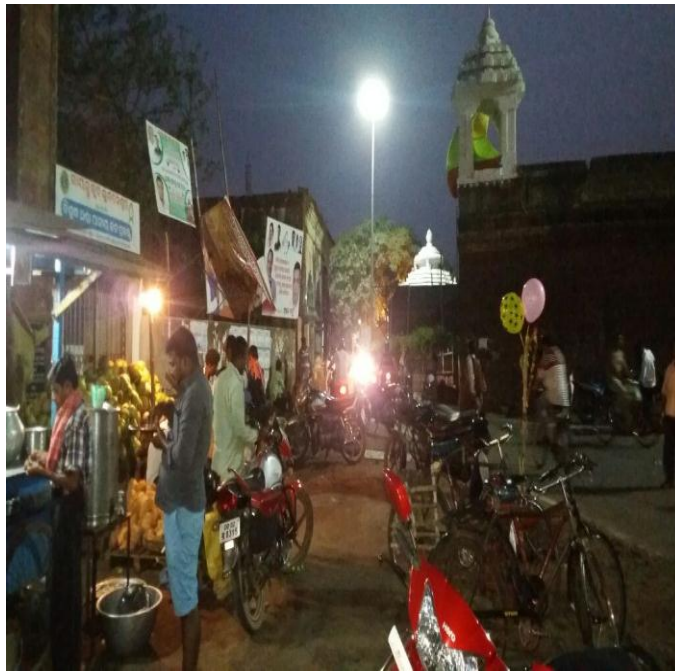
The temples and religious edifices not only represent the prevalent religious beliefs and practices, but also, bear testimony to the social and economic conditions of which they were a crucial component/element (Mishra and Ray, 2017:231).

According to Freeman (1977), temples serve as pilgrim centres, provide a livelihood for many castes which are in turn devoted to the care of the deities. He observes that the rituals of the temples reveal a dual nature of the deity and its economic significance for the villagers. In his role as a king, the deity is served by many castes in return for which they receive goods, cash and paddy lands. The deity also draws pilgrims to the temples which becomes a source of income for the priests. Thus, the deity provides a link between a sacred cosmology and the daily activities of the village surrounding the temple. In the temple town, the life revolved around the temple and religious fervor. All the residents of the temple town had some connection to the temple and derived their identity from the temple. As Mubayi (2005) says, “The temple constituted a social, material and cosmic microcosm for its community” (Mubayi, 2005:27).

The temple also creates an informal economy around it which constitutes the petty shops around it as can be seen all around the Grand Road leading to the Lingaraj temple. It is also surrounded by narrow lanes in which shopkeepers sell all the items required for worship like flowers for devotees which is typical of any religious place. The shops and markets in the vicinity of the temple also indicated that the temple acted as consumers of commodities used in rituals (Mishra and Ray, 2017). The presence of so many shops and crowded markets places made the spatial structure of the old town haphazard marked by congested roads, polluted water bodies and open drainage (Praharaaj, 2012).

The economy and social needs of the temple centers around the *haats*⁵⁵ (weekly markets) which form an important commercial center of the old town. Mohapatra (2005) says that there was a *haat* on the south of Lingaraj temple which served as the main commercial centre for Bhubaneswar and the nearby villages. People used to get varieties of fish, dried fish, vegetables and groceries from this *haat*. It was revealed that many people from remote scattered habitations thronged to the old town to buy vegetables and other items. Apart from the activities around the temple, the sale of prasada (an eatable offered to god which is later distributed to the devotees) inside the temple is also an important part of economy of the temple and acts as a source of revenue generation through the temple⁵⁶.

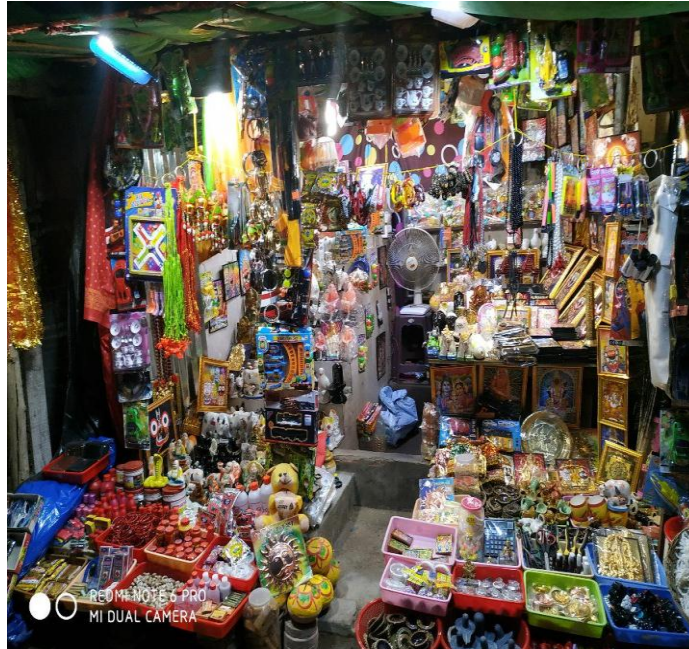
Plate 4.4 Shops in the vicinity of the Lingaraj temple



⁵⁵ A local market which acts as a trading center for local people especially in the rural areas.

⁵⁶ Mohapatra (2005) further says, conflicts between Puja Panda, Badu and Brahmin sevaks caused lot of disturbances in the rituals of the Lingaraj temple. As a result of which the orders for the Prasad from the neighbouring villagers were diverted from the Lingaraj to other temples like the Kapileswar temple. This is more visible in the holy month of Kartik when lots of people throng the Kapileswar temple from nearby villages. But in Kapileswar temple also, the sale of Prasad stopped due to the disturbances in rituals created by Mallia sevaks and the Khuntia sevaks (Brahmin sevaks). Subsequently, in Basudev temple or the Ananta Basudeva temple⁵⁶, near Lingaraj temple, the sale and order of Prasad increased at the time when the capital was shifted to Bhubaneswar because the same Brahmin sevaks who were engaged in Lingaraj temple were now engaged in Basudev temple as a result of which till now the Basudev temple has been the only place where temple Prasad is sold to the public.

Plate 4.5 A shop selling items required for temple rituals



Aiyar (1946) describing the South Indian temples mentions that temples are also a source through which we learn about the ruling powers of the day, their achievements and other information which provides a political reflection of society. Offerings made to the temple on different occasions, for example, success in the battle field or overcoming a sickness, also projects the nature of society that operated in particular historical times. He further says that with the images and rituals, the bathing tanks, the offering of fruits and flowers with the pillars, domes and spires are a product of Indian thought and the social and economic condition of India. They also signify political pact by the royal chieftains to safeguard their life, power and prestige.

Aiyar (1946) argues that, from an economic point of view, the temples went through a lot of land deals. They bought and sold lands, and also kept a record of assets and liabilities and leased out lands to private individuals. With reference to the Kapileswar temple in the old town Freeman (1975) notes the Kapileswar temple had vast 300 acres of tax-free, non-saleable land which provided economic security to the priests who could devote time to the rituals of the temple. But with the population growth, the temple land underwent changes and the temple landholdings were subdivided through inheritance. Some lands

were so small that it could barely sustain even a minimum income to a family which pursued its hereditary occupation. Many priests became landless as they sold their lands or lost them to temple endowments.

Some scholars state that the temple acted like any other property owners (Aiyar 1946). The transfers of lands to private individuals were taken up in return of their services like finishing and construction of temple tank and well, polishing the images of Gods, etc. It also transferred obligations from one class of people to another. Studies reveal the importance of land in any transaction of services and the temple happens to be the biggest landlord owning properties by gifts and purchase with surplus funds. It also employs people as labourers, cultivated lands and also have encouraged agrarian activities.

The monasteries⁵⁷ which are an important aspect of the temple town also played an important economic role. Mohapatra (2005), Miller and Wertz (1996) inform us that every monastery gave some services to Lord Jagannath and Lord Lingaraj and were founded to administer agricultural lands to support the temple. Mention can be made of the Bharati Matha in old town which had lots of landed property and these properties were more or less equal to that of the Lingaraj temple. Miller and Wertz (1996) claim that monasteries can be “corporate entities” when they receive donations regularly in cash or kind from their patrons and survive even after the death of the present head ascetic. The monastery owns buildings or shops and rents them out for extra income to insure its survival as an economic entity. Some monasteries provide social services to the sages and hermits who go to Puri and stay at the *mathas*. The dharmashalas are like rest houses for the pilgrims. Some dharmashalas include the Dalmia Dharmashala, the Dooduawala Dharmashala, etc.

Miller and Wertz (1996) say that monasteries are a source of interaction between the two towns and a connecting link between the new capital and the traditional religious establishments of the old town. The civil servants, including some engineers, scientists

⁵⁷Miller and Wertz (1996) mention about different kinds of monasteries. There are “endowed monasteries” which derive their wealth from land. Those monasteries which live purely by continual cash donations are called “patronized”. There are also “client supported monasteries” which depend on the day to day clients for support and are non-corporate.

and even university professors of the new capital provide a major source of financial support for the monasteries of the old town, act as their patrons and even attend ceremonies within them. They further say that the traditional elites still support traditional values though they have added new values such as modern education while questioning the Hindu religious institutions that have survived.

Elaborating on the interaction between the old and the new town and the coexistence of the past with the present, Kalia (1994) says

The story of Bhubaneswar is one in which a people attempted a break with the past in hope of a new future, accompanied by urban transformation that was conditioned by the collective unconscious. Somewhere in the experiment, it would seem, the local familiar gods, close to the hearth fire, overpowered and replaced, and certainly outranked, the distant gods of modernism identified with secularism (Kalia, 1994:196).

Praharaj (2012) observes that, the old town of Bhubaneswar is sacred as the people are proud of their cultural, spiritual and architectural heritage. For Mack (2004), though the setting of the temple was just a ritual experience for the devotees, the temple town is a private landscape for the residents who made the temple town their home and resided within its boundaries. Mack (2004) like Mubayi (2005) notes that temples form an integral part of the towns that surround them. Though the ideal temple town is constructed keeping in mind the temple complex at the center and the streets radiating out in different directions, in practice, conceptual rather than the physical presence of temples helps it occupy the center of the town. This is true of the city of Bhubaneswar, for example, in spite of many transitions that the city went through, it is still known as the 'temple town' or the 'old town'. Menon (2013) says that through the temple rituals, the men also serve the divinity. Service to divinity is one of the significant dimensions of the lives of the people and adds grace to their lives.

The festivals celebrated in the old town also give the old town a distinct religious and cultural identity. The Kartika Purnima, the Chandana Yatra, the Mahashivaratri⁵⁸, Ashokastami⁵⁹ are some of the leading festivals of the old town. The old town grows in importance at the time of various festivals especially in the holy month of Kartik in which many devotees throng the old town, The devotees are particularly drawn on the day of Shivratri as Bhubaneswar is considered as the abode of Lord Shiva. In the month of Kartik, Habisialis⁶⁰ come to the town to offer puja at the temple and stay at various dharamshalas around the temple. Shivaratri is the most important festival of the Lingaraj temple . Festivals like Durga Puja have become very popular though it was started much later by the Bengalis in the Kedargouri area of the Old town. Gradually, it spread to all parts of the city of Bhubaneswar, which is now visible, specifically becoming prominent in places like Sahid Nagar, Nayapalli, Rasulgarh, Bomikhal, Jharpada, Old Station Bazar etc.

The priests of the old town are so much tied to their cultural identity that they resist any intrusion into their cultural beliefs. They also have a negative attitude towards people of the new town. Priests consider themselves as the old and original residents of Bhubaneswar. One of the priests who is 81 years old and was born there claims, “The people from the new capital are new to Bhubaneswar. They came before our eyes. We are the original residents”.

An IAS officer in the Housing and Urban Development Department opined: “The new culture and the old culture are not colliding with each other but the new culture is helping the old culture to grow”. People of Bhubaneswar love to carry the old values with them. They do not like to dispel their own origin, culture, language, values. He further says “a city which has shun its relationship with the past cannot grow”.

⁵⁸Shivaratri, was popularly known as jagar jatra. In this festival people spent the whole night burning earthen lamps inside the Shiva temple or the Lingaraj temple.

⁵⁹It was celebrated as the rath yatra of Lord Lingaraj.

⁶⁰Elderly women who observe fast in the Hindu holy month of Kartik. They perform elaborate rituals in the temple in which they pray and eat food cooked in the temple. These women prefer to stay at the Dharmashalas and lodgings around the temples as they do not want any intrusion into their ritual space.

The culture of the old town is also shaped by the Bengalis who came and spread the Bengali culture. Many Bengalis came, settled in the Old town and had made it a center of recreation because of its cool climate. These Bengalis brought in a culture of their own and have built houses and colonies which contributed towards the urban sprawl of the old town of Bhubaneswar. They came to the old town to cure diseases by having the medicinal water from the tanks or from the “Dudha Kunda” (a sacred tank) at Kedargouri in old Bhubaneswar. One of the common ailments that they tended to cure were the stomach ailments. Water from these tanks used to be carried to even Kolkata, notes one of the respondents. The Bengalis have had many big houses and most of the big structures in the Kedargouri area of the old town were once owned by Bengalis. When they had come to visit the place, they purchased land, built houses and stayed for 3-4 months in a year during summer.

According to Mohapatra (2005) when outsiders used to visit this colony they would often have a feeling that it was a Bengali village. The Bengali respondents note that, when the Bengalis left, they asked the pandas (temple priests) in the temple to take care of their houses but gradually the pandas took over the houses. In one instance, a respondent notes that the pandas took their windows, doors, and even iron rods and grills. This is because the owners sit at Calcutta and they cannot come to claim their house because of internal rivalry between brothers as to who should own the house. So, the pandas were said to have taken advantage of the situation and took away their houses. The Bengali residents of the old town complain that, the Pandas encroach the government land and temple land too. They even sell those encroached lands after using it for 15-20 years. They are said to engage in all kinds of illegal means to prove that the encroached land is their legitimate property.

The identity of the old town is derived from the intermingling of traditions. Nanda cited in Pradhan (2007) points out that this intermingling of tradition is found from the very beginning, since the historical times. In the old town, the Saiva tradition has intermingled with Vaishnava tradition and Lord Lingaraj embraces both the sects together and has established an unparalleled unified culture. This is evident from the “Pinaka dhanu” of lord Shiva and the “chakra” of lord Vishnu situated at the top most point of the Lingaraj

temple. Both the weapons stand together as a symbol of integration of both the sects. Sahu (2012) talks about a bull pillar in front of the bhogamandap of the Lingaraj temple which bears on the top, not only a bull, the mount of Shiva but also a Garuda, the mount of Vishnu. This gives an example of a nuanced relationship between sects in shared cultural context.

II Structure and content of education in the old town

As culture, politics and economy revolved around the temple, so did education. According to Mahapatra (2003), in ancient India, religion and learning were closely intermingled and each Tirtha or holy place was also a center of learning and culture. The literary component of the temple is so important that some of the great classical Tamil works were composed in temples. Moreover, the recitation of hymns and the reading of epics enabled people to faithfully follow their religion and enrich their minds. In the temple town of Bhubaneswar too, the temple served as a source of education. Aiyar (1946) states that temples encouraged the study of Vedas, philosophy, grammar and other sciences. The importance of mutts as educational institutions is important in this context. The mutts or *mathas*⁶¹ associated with temples act as religious institutions. Das (1982) notes that when people flock to the temples for psychological satisfaction and mental peace, certain likeminded people form groups and associations which need certain place to function and the *mathas* are created because of this purpose. Das further says that this is true of Bhubaneswar which is called “Dakshina Kashi” which attracted many faiths and, as a result of this a number of *mathas* came to be established.

Aiyar (1946) writes that the religious head of the *mathas* was highly respected and these encouraged teaching and spreading of knowledge in religious lore. Muktimandapa inside

⁶¹ According to Pattnaik (2005) the Mathas were founded with the purpose of imparting education to the chelas or disciples and for feeding travelers, ascetics and beggars. He further says that the mathas were connected with the worship of Jagannath and have various duties to perform in the temple. The priests of the temple used to be trained at the sankaracharya matha and only after obtaining a certificate from the matha were eligible to enter into priesthood and worship in the temple. Many scholars like Mohapatra (2005) says that the temple of Lord Jagannath is the seat of Brahminical culture and this culture has been institutionalized by the Muktimandapa.

the Jagannath temple premises, is a good example of this kind of forum for collective congregation of all castes for religious discourses and discussions. Miller and Wertz (1996) mention about the monasteries which have played an important role in education. The Gurus of the monasteries acted as administrators, and as educators and preachers who were learned in Sanskrit. Miller and Wertz also mention about a couple of monasteries which operate schools in the old town of Bhubaneswar like the Utkalamani Gurukula Brahmacharya ashram which is primarily a Sanskrit school and the other is the Ramakrishna Mission School⁶². They further note that these schools have shifted their emphasis from traditional to modern learning to suit the requirements of the dynamic society.

In spite of the existence of spaces for education, education was a prerogative of few castes and social classes. According to Kanungo (2003) in the context of the Jagannath temple at Puri, priority for congregation and discussion was given to Brahmins of the Sasan village⁶³. The mutts were important for Brahmins as by studying Sanskrit they could use it in their rituals which included reciting slokas, offering shraddha etc. Singh (2016) argues that traditionally the content of education was esoteric and metaphysical, its communication was limited to the upper classes, or the twice born castes and the structure of its organization was hereditary and closed.

It may be noted that there were informal schools through which children were educated. These informal schools were called the '*chatalas*'. It is a system of education in which these children who were interested in getting education were picked up from their homes by the tutors and were taken to a place where they were given education. It functioned like a nursery school. Children were educated in rooms called "*devi ghara* or *mandap*", used for the puja of deities located at different sahis at the time of Dussehera (a Hindu

⁶²This school was founded by the Ramakrishna matha and mission. In contrast to the Sanskrit tols, the mission schools provide a broad general education for the children of the old town area.

⁶³The Sasan villages are the Brahmin settlement around Puri who were brought from Ujjain and were bestowed with land and other endowments for living a dignified life and were bestowed with ritualistic responsibilities. They were assigned various duties like studying , teaching, performing Jagna, donating and receiving donation. They were expected to perform specific ritualistic duties in Jagna. These Brahmins took upon themselves as proprietors rather than tenants. They acquired the rights to sell a part or whole of their property and exercise all ordinary proprietary rights except the division of rent or liability. A Sasan village is originally the autonomous community with revenue, judiciary and police power and no Government official unless specifically ordered can exercise any power in a sasan village (Mohapatra, 2005).

religious festival celebrated in autumn). Sometimes, they operated outdoors with a teacher giving instruction in arithmetic and literature. In this system, very less number of children got education. From the *chattasalas*, the children who belonged to affluent families of teachers, businessmen went to “Ananda Marga School”.

Apart from this, there were Sanskrit *tols* (educational institutions) around Bindusagar area surrounding the Lingaraj temple which were the prerogative of the privileged castes like the Brahmins where they were taught about the temple rituals. There were sloka recitals also. There were Bhagabata tungis (tungis is a small room) or the evening classes. Those who go for work and are busy throughout the day, or are not educated, come and listen to Bhagabata recitals in the evening by literates in the village. This is open to all villagers who are interested. Regularly one *skanda* (give English translation of the word) from the Bhagabata is read for 1-2 hours. The Bhagabata tungis had very peculiar sitting arrangements, remarks one of the respondents. Though all castes were allowed to participate, but in the sitting arrangements privilege was given to the Brahmins who occupied the front rows. Lower castes like the Bauris sat outside the tungis.

The rise of modern educational opportunities, changing aspirations and the emergence of a new identity of the old town.

Modern education was never present in the old town as people preferred to follow family vocations, remarks a respondent. The moorings of modern school education in Bhubaneswar goes back to the 1940 before the new capital planning. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the oldest school in Bhubaneswar was the B.M High School which was located in the old Bhubaneswar. Before the establishment of this school there were Sanskrit *tols* and two Upper Primary schools. There were no high schools up to Khurda before the coming up of the B.M high school. As this school was the oldest school, there were many people of eminence who took education from this school. Mohanty cited in Pradhan (2007) notes that the school was under private management when it was started. It was founded by Banshidhar Mangaraj, a scion of the Baliana Zamindar family. The school was started in a vacant land which was donated by the heirs of Bhaktakabi

Madhusudan Rao for the noble cause. Hence the name of the school is Bhaktakabi Madhusudan High School.

In addition to school education, the only college that came up in the old town was the Ekamra College, established in 1979 with the initiative of Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab. The exclusive nature and the target audience for this college is reflected in its website. It is stated that the college was set up in a locale where urbanization had not reached. This college was established for a larger cross section of students who were outside the reach of the educational privilege offered by the capital city.

One may note that the old town has witnessed vast transformation from the time of British invasion into Odisha, through the creation of a separate state of Odisha and the coming up of the new capital in the vicinity of the old town. Firstly, there was a change in the temple administration. Interference in the affairs of the temple from outside also brought a change in the social structure of the temple. Significant changes that seem to affect the old town are due to the spatial and structural changes which also saw a rise of educational opportunities and aspirations among the people.

When Bhubaneswar became the capital of the newly found state of Odisha, the old town underwent transformations. Freeman (1975) notes that when the new city of Bhubaneswar came up near the ancient Hindu pilgrimage town, the inhabitants of the nearby villages found themselves confronted with a new and contrasting world. As a result of this there was some change in the socio-cultural condition of the temple town. Due to increase in various opportunities, agriculture was no more seen as very promising as it was felt that the government jobs bring more prestige than cultivation and agriculture. This has also proved to be a turning point in the education scenario.

Most of the respondents pointed out that the construction of the new capital made them aware about education and its importance especially for securing government jobs. It brought change in the aspirations of the people and they started to look forward to government jobs. Education at least at the level of secondary school and college became a necessity for people to secure placement in the growing bureaucracy of the state and the municipal governments. Another reason for the growing importance of education and

jobs among the youth is the reduction in the number of days a family is entitled to do *seva*. Though one family is permitted to perform *seva* all round the year but as the generations get divided, the number of days a family is supposed to perform *seva* also gets divided among themselves. Each generation gets less number of days for *seva*. As a result of this people are forced to look for other options to earn extra income in addition to the temple *sevas*. A respondent remarks that “in course of time one family becomes a *sahi*” (neighbourhood).

Education according to Freeman, was seen just as a means to secure a government clerical job. Freeman also provides a picture of rising number of students in high school and a decline in the number of college students in 1971, when the job market was changing and the government jobs were becoming unavailable. In his study on the Mallias of Kapileswar, he writes, when the Government jobs slowed down during the period from 1960 to 1965, many Mallias who had acquired high school and college education turned to other means of employment such as establishing small food stores and tea shops.

Education and government jobs also brought in a lot of opportunities for people. Many people who had resources and belonged to the higher castes took advantage of the situation and became engaged in different occupations. One of the respondents who belongs to the “Puja Panda” (Brahmin) caste and is a big business man in the city says, working as a clerk in government service opens many opportunities for people. His father reaped the benefit of government service but gradually left the job to enter into business. His father had started with a small business and after his father’s death the son expanded the business and now is a leading businessman of the city. He has built many showrooms across the city and is planning to diversify his business and enter into apparels. He further notes that his immediate family has no connection with the rituals of the temple. He has moved out of the old town and is staying at the Tankapani road. However, his relatives are said to be still associated with the temple.

Through the field work it was revealed that though the younger generation work as lower level employees in government departments, the opportunities in terms of provision of

Government jobs that the new capital brought with itself are getting saturated and people are moving to the private sector. One of the respondents the researcher interacted with worked as a ground staff at the Bhubaneswar Airport.

Though the younger generation take up different kinds of jobs, they still have some relation with the temple. It is not because of the actual ritual and the religious fervor that they come to the temple, but they come because they see an additional source of income especially during festivals. An old priest, when asked about the profession of the new and younger generations, says that during the festival time around the holy month of Kartik, they get an opportunity to earn extra income as the temple is flooded with a large number of devotees. He has four son-in-laws who are into businesses and government jobs but also engage in the temple work. They all stay in the Kapileswar village. The residents of a village in old town remarked that the *pandas* (priests) of the old town are reaping benefits because nowadays they are demanding more money from people who visit these temples. If they don't do any work, they can sustain themselves through this. Most of the respondents pointed out to the decreasing importance of the *nitis* or the everyday rituals of the temples. Instead temples have become commercial places and the upper castes get a lot of money from them. Through this business they earn more than 1000 rupees a day, according to a Bauri respondent.

The researcher also observed many youngsters who were engaged in wooing the devotees to the temple and repeatedly asking them from where they have come. The rates of the services are decided on the basis of the place these tourists come from. They have their shifts of work as Usha Menon says, on normal days when lord Shiva is not doing anything strenuous as compared to festive days, they devote more time to their respective jobs and businesses and very less time to the temple worship and rituals. Around the festive time, they even take a break from their work and come to the temple. Some of them take leave or give official responsibility to others and try to spend as much time as possible in the temples. But on normal days they tend to neglect the *seva* of the temple says one of the respondents.

The older generation plays a crucial role in this context as they want the younger generation to come to the temple. An old priest said, they must first visit the temple after taking bath, pray and then go for work. During the field interviews it was observed that the priests want their children to ultimately go to the temple and not sever their relationship with it in spite of the modern education they receive. The attitude towards education among the older generation was not very encouraging as they are priests and they were only interested in the temples.

As it has been already discussed that the old town is also witnessing a mixed pattern of population growth as there is a lot of migration into it. But the growth prospects in education are still limited for the old residents but for the outsiders those are different. One of the respondents who is a very old resident of the old town mentioned that the original residents still follow their “*maulika parampara*” (original culture) as they were doing before. They are still confined to their old spaces, there is no change in that. It is just that the outsiders have encroached upon.

An older priest says that,

We maintain good relationship with those who come to offer puja. Our work is to do seva. Those who come here to perform puja perform it and give us money. We don't want anything more.

The growth in educational opportunities has helped a few castes. According to Sable (1980), the education system of the city of Bhubaneswar mirrors its rich social and economic diversity. It can be also said that there are very few people who have ventured into business and have moved out of the old town and taken up different occupations. In most of the interviews it was found that though people are getting educated to access the increasing economic opportunities, educational aspirations underwent a very slow change. The slow change that took place in the old town can be attributed to the neglect of the old town at the time of construction of the new capital. Respondents were of the opinion that though the new town came up at a distance from the old town and the planners actually wanted to keep the sacred and the secular separate. Integrating the old town and the new capital in matters related to social, educational, trade and commerce is

difficult. One of the respondents said that “the damage that has been created cannot be rectified at a later stage”.

The situation is still very different for the Hadis and Bauris (the ex-untouchables) who are still educationally backward. The researcher interacted with some members of these castes. The Bauris worked as agricultural labourers in the fields belonging to upper castes. They said “*chasa kariki ame chaluthilu*” (we made our living through agriculture). Though it was difficult for them they used to make their livelihood on the share or *bhaga* they got from agriculture. But after they were driven out of agriculture due to the growth of the city they worked as labourers in the construction of the new city. This prompted one of the respondents to remark that due to the influence of the new town, “*clerk kam hele, petty contractor, mulia, mistry besi hele*” (less people became clerks, more people became petty contractors, labourers).

Their economic condition deteriorated at a later stage and they were unable to find work. The women have to work as domestic helps and are engaged in cleaning utensils. A Bauri woman notes that she has to get up at 3 am to go to work in individual houses. She comes back only in the afternoon and is paid a meagre amount for her work. She further says that she has four sons and none of them has a regular source of income. They work as labourers and when there is no work, they sit idle. She further added that her grandchildren study in the Government Primary school and B.M High School in the old town as it is nearby. In her words: “*school ku gale, asile, khaile au bulile, au kana karibe?* (they go to school, come back, eat and roam around what else will they do). From the interviews it was inferred that they are not sure as to what they will do after they complete schooling; “*au kana padhibe?*” (what more will they study) after schooling. The Bauri respondents mentioned that very few people from their community have gone for higher education and they generally go to the Ekamra College which is close to their home. Though the Bauris are not allowed inside the temple still they are not able to sever their ties with it and are ready to offer services whenever required. According to one of the respondents belonging to the Bauri community, “We are discriminated against when it comes to performing rituals and even entering temple. But whenever the temple demands our service, we do it with perfect dedication”.

Though the construction of the new capital has helped the Hadis as most of them got engaged as sweepers in the Bhubaneswar Municipality, their education levels are similar to that of the Bauris. The condition of the younger generation of the Hadis are more precarious as they could not reap the benefits of getting permanent employment as sweepers in the Municipality. They have very less education and also are discriminated against.

In spite of the changes, the facilities provided by the government organisations or the schooling options, caste continues to influence the lives of the people of old Bhubaneswar. The field study revealed that caste still plays an important role in education in the temple town. A former principal of the B.M High School in old Bhubaneswar said that even in the present context a lot of students, mostly the Brahmin students, do not prefer to have mid-day meal in schools as they are skeptical about the caste background of the person who cooks the meal. Most of these children prefer to go home for lunch instead or get lunch from home. But she does not face a similar situation in the Capital High School located in the city where she is currently posted. She further argues that the spatial context of the school matters when it comes to the functioning of the school and the aspirations also differ on the basis of this location. The space seems to be important in this context. Sable (1980) highlights, unlike the schools in the new capital, teachers and students in old town schools share social intimacy as the teaching staff is aware of the caste of most of the students and even their father's occupation. Sable further adds,

Schools in various parts of the city have markedly different atmospheres, reflective of their social and cultural contexts (Sable, 1980:178).

The education scenario in the Old town is changing because of the entry of private educational entrepreneurs. An executive trustee of a private college trust, whose chairman is the who belongs to the old town, admits that he is a businessman. His college has educated many people and they also got job as a result of this he also got money, gave money to his employees and even gets recognition wherever he goes. In the process, he believes that those who have money accessed education and moved out of the old town and settled in the other areas. He questions the utility of education in the old town.

He said, “What have the local people gained in the process? What happened to the people of my area?”

He further argued that the impact of education is generally felt in the areas where the educational institutes have come up, but the impact will be limited in the old town. “There is a high school in old town, but how many people pass from that high school?”

Further, by comparing educational institutions to shops he asks, “We have opened a shop, how many local people will come and buy from that shop?”

Looking at the diversity in the social structure and the access of and aspiration towards education in the old town one is reminded of what Sable (1980) says that in old town certainly a generation is emerging that is largely literate, and many families will be first generation literates and enter the world of modern salaried employment with social status. However, it is difficult to tell to what degree the city’s educational system is a harbinger of change.

Summary

The old town of Bhubaneswar is unique in terms of its social structure and its cultural identity which is derived from its numerous temples. In this temple town education was to the privilege of few castes. But after the new capital came up it led to the spread of modern educational facilities in the old town. The educational facilities encouraged the younger generation to take up modern occupations. The city of Bhubaneswar is thus unique as it retains the characteristics of both a city and a town. City as it has grown by leaps and bounds and can be called as a city in the real terms but at the same time, the older parts also retain the characteristics of the town. To the present day the old Bhubaneswar is called “old town” in common parlance. But there has been a dilemma between tradition and modernity in case of Bhubaneswar. Bhubaneswar in this respect is unique as Lal observes it is a site of the ‘living clash of forces’ of tradition and modernity (Lal, 1970:5). He further observes that Bhubaneswar is the only place where the “old” rub shoulders with the “new”. He observes, other than Bhubaneswar, in no other state capital this juxtaposition of the ancient and the modern can be seen with greater force.

CHAPTER V

ELITE AND MIDDLE CLASS HABITATS: EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPRESSIONS OF OWNERSHIP OF THE CITY

The chapter discusses how the new capital city of Bhubaneswar and its educational opportunities were perceived by the elites and the middle classes. It discusses how with the creation of the new capital city and clustering of Government offices and residences, middle classness is reproduced and how the imaginations of people are shaped by this. It further discusses how the “administrative space” created a certain hierarchy in different spaces which made the city and also in the allocation of residential spaces in the city. It further discusses the important role education plays in an administrative city and contributes to the overall growth of the city. The role of middle classes in the transformation of the city and how education is a contributing factor in constituting the middleclassness of the city is also discussed.

I. Spatial arrangement of Elite and Middle Class Habitats in the Planned City

Spatial context became an important aspect during the construction of the new, planned capital city . Many distinct spaces were earmarked for administrative purposes and residential use to fit the service oriented nature of the city. The private developments also came up in places far away from the government establishments and the residential areas allocated for the employees. According to Grenell (1980) the industrial development was also discouraged as noise, dirt, congestion together with the labour troubles might adversely affect government activity in the newly constructed city.

The planned city’s activities were basically concentrated around the secretariat building which was completed in the year 1956. The secretariat building became the “urban nucleus” and the administrative stronghold. Just as the Lingaraj temple dominated the old town area of Bhubaneswar, the Secretariat building, the Assembly Hall, the Raj Bhawan or the Governor’s Residence dominated the skyscraper of the new capital. Gradually the offices of the heads of department and of various state level government and semi-government institutions were shifted and thereafter they have flourished in the city.

During this phase, an important landmark which came up was the parade ground in front of the secretariat building in which big rallies and meetings were organised. The parade ground was supposed to be the place where people congregate to express their democratic demands through rallies, demonstrations etc. In course of time, it was converted into a park and was named after the Former Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. Sahoo points out that the conversion of the parade ground into a park was an attempt not to beautify the city but to diffuse pressure and tension the government was exposed to when a meeting was convened by the opposition (cited in Pradhan, 2007). This is an example of what Lipman says that the government attempted to exercise control over social movements, urban rebellions and also to diffuse social conflict and resistance (Lipman, 2011). The intent of the government was also clear when it tried to keep away industries from the city as it would lead to strikes by labour unions. It is also a matter of concern that in the whole city, there is hardly a ground where big meetings could be organised.

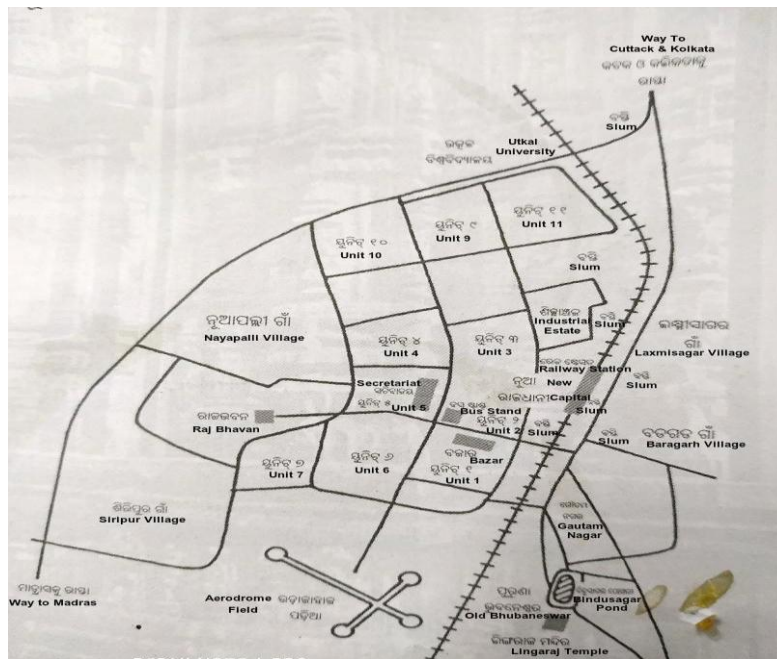
In recent times, the attempts to beautify the capital has been further intensified with the paintings of walls at important public spaces in the city. This is an example of how the city spaces are reconstructed and reclaimed as sites of leisure to suit the urban middle classes' taste. The idea of a 'park' is used as a recreational space in which the elites and the middle classes are regularly seen going for morning walks, jogging, or relaxing with their families and friends. This amounts to "privatisation of public space that bestows 'user rights' on the individual pleasures of joggers, walkers or those on family picnic" (Nair, 2005:218). It is a way to return the city to the middle and upper middle classes (Lipman, 2011: 25). This can also be related to what Nair (2005) mentions about the Cubbon park in Bangalore. According to her,

The gates installed at the entrances to the Cubbon Park and other legal restrictions speak of the middle-class citizenry's success in preserving this area from the uncertainties of plebian democracy" (Nair, 2005:218).

The city center occupied by the middle class becomes the focus when the development of the city is considered. A discussion with an officer of the Housing and the Urban Development Department revealed that to take up developments like the construction of smart city, the most suitable place is the Bhubaneswar Town Center District (BTCDD) which is the nerve center of the city and connects the city to the national highway.

The most strategic use of the space for the middle class could be seen from the employee quarters that came up in different units, from Unit 1 to IX, which formed the nucleus of the planned city. The government quarter varies from Type- VIII which is the largest and has the highest status to Type- I which is the smallest and the lowest (Taub, 1969). This finds resonance in what Soja (1990) argues, that urban planning acts as a tool of the state in serving the dominant classes by organizing and reorganizing urban space for the benefit of capital accumulation and crisis management. In order to encourage people to stay in Bhubaneswar, plots were allotted to bureaucrats so that they could settle down at that place. Seymour (1976) notes that the houses were spread out along broad intersecting avenues which created “units” or squares. Each unit contained houses of different sizes or of different “types” which were numbered and also assigned to people depending on their place in the hierarchy of the government service. This can be inferred from the fact that the largest and the most spacious quarters were built near the place where the original developments took place and smaller and the cheaper plots including those designated for lower level civil servants and support staff were built along the railway line to the east and across the railway in Old Bhubaneswar and to the North following the linear pattern (Grenell, 1980).

Map 5.1 Map showing different ‘units’ of the new city of Bhubaneswar



Source Ramahari Jena: accessed by the Author through BAT Lectures Conducted in Bhubaneswar

Plate 5.1 Picture of Unit III with quarters lined up along the road



Seymour (1976) states that in the new capital people lived in mixed neighbourhoods which was based on achieved status in the civil service rather than on the basis of caste or kinship which is characteristic of the old town. In the context of urban planning, Soja writes,

The major attention was given also to class conflict over housing and the built environment, the state provisioning and siting of public services, community and neighbourhood economic development and many issues which revolved around how the urban space is socially organised for consumption and reproduction (Soja, 1990:95).

There was also an indiscriminate attempt to grab lands and lease them out in favour of influential people. Sahoo mentions about an instance wherein the B.J.B College had to do away with the North-West corner of its compound to house the elites of the city (cited in Pradhan, 2007). He further notes that had the then students of the B.J.B College not forcibly occupied the building of the Badagada High School or the Arts block of the present times, the B.J.B College would have been a much smaller campus. It can be

noted that before the neo-liberal times it was the state which was engaged in land grab in a very subtle way. Once neo liberalism was ushered in, the markets along with the state took over the urban expansion.

According to Lefebvre, what differentiates the modern city from the socialist city is that the city center is appropriated by the ruling class as residential and social space in the modern city and the ordinary residential areas, on the other hand, become increasingly differentiated and separated by income, ethnicity and culture (cited in Celik and Gough, 2014). But in a socialist city, it is the majority who creates the city and controls it in every aspect. In the case of Bhubaneswar too, the ruling bureaucrats appropriated the city center and lived in sprawling government quarters. For Patel (2006), “The construction of administrative buildings, residential compounds as well as bungalows are examples of how space was an outcome and a reflection of power structures characteristic of colonial capitalism” (Patel,2006:23). So “Space in itself may be primordially given, but the organization and the meaning of space is a product of social translation, transformation and experience” (Soja, 1990:80).

The use of space can be attributed to the fact that there was a complete absence of any other activities in the city like industrial and infrastructural. As a result of this, land was not allotted for any purpose other than the residential quarters of the employees, resulting in a low density of population. The hierarchy was imminent from the disparities in accommodation. The disparity of accommodation also instills a certain middle classness in the city layout in the Master Plan. This has also been corroborated by Kalia (1987) when discussing about the physical constructs of Chandigarh city like overscaled streets for high volume motorized traffic, single family homes with garden, open spaces and the overall physical standards of the city. He notes that even the most economical houses were provided with two rooms, a kitchen, a bathroom and a courtyard. Thus, Grenell (1980) rightly argues,

The Government built a physical representation of its own social structure, and a new set of status symbols was adopted as residents became conscious of the number of rooms, windows and water taps each house had and whether flowers or vegetables were planted in front or rear yards (Grenell,1980:41).

Grenell further notes that the reality of hierarchy was very strong and overt in the case of Bhubaneswar. It is the result of the government's attempt to stick to single storey construction as it did not expect Bhubaneswar to grow as large or as fast as was projected in the Master Plan. As discussed in Chapter IV, out of the 14 high rise buildings that had come up in Bhubaneswar, most of them were government buildings. Subsequently, with the increase in demand for more land, officials realized that the earlier policy was extravagant. Thus, single storey dwellings were discontinued and multi-storey flats were constructed. It can be said that the new capital was seen as a new administrative colony and not as a new city.

II Elite and Middle Class Locale and the Production of an Administrative 'Caste'

The space and clustering of the government quarters belonging to a particular class of employees also led to the emergence of an 'administrative caste' which was characterised by a strong hierarchy. This prompted one of the respondents to say that power, prestige and patronage decide the elites in Bhubaneswar. He further added that in a developing economy, more recognition should be given to doctors, engineers and scientists but more recognition is given to bureaucrats in the city.

Grenell (1972) argues that the implicit values of the Western-style bureaucratic form of government administration have reinforced traditional hierarchical values. Seymour (1976) points out that at the top of this hierarchy were the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) officers who were centrally deputed and the senior Odisha Administrative Service (OAS) officers together with some engineers who held the top government posts and monopolised the largest government houses. The top of the hierarchy consisted of the administrative elites. As C. Wright Mills (1956) writes in the opening chapter of his book "*The Power Elite*", "they are all that we are not" (Mills, 1956 :3).

One of the respondents who is a bureaucrat stated that a collector or even a sub- collector of a district stays in 5 acres of land. He further said that it was designed by the British to exercise control over others and this becomes more rigid in an administrative city. He justifies by saying that "there need to be some control over people and this is key to power". Taub (1969) opines that this distance from people may be necessary for development to take place. In this way, spaces are appropriated by the 'bureaucratic

caste'. This finds resonance in Weber's concept of bureaucracy as a modern organisation. There is a kind of "authority" which is ingrained in this modern organization and this authority is held by a minority group within the organization in which every civil servant was not a member of the ruling class. Albrow (1970) too argues that all officials in different organizations were not included in Weber's bureaucracy. Albrow further says, bureaucracy is a body of officials according to Weber, or a collective term for a body of officials, but within this body there comprised a notion of distinct forms of action. There are ranks within the bureaucratic organization or the bureaucratic class in case of Bhubaneswar. Even in a bureaucratic set up, some classes are differentiated from the others.

In the middle of the hierarchy were assistant secretaries, deputies and clerks to whom were assigned medium sized houses. At the bottom were peons and sweepers, who were assigned the smallest houses, who had little education and earned a subsistence salary. The sweepers were even relegated to separate neighbourhoods.

The reproduction of this kind of an "administrative caste" system can be seen from the exclusive spaces these groups occupy even after retirement. Places like Sahid Nagar grew in importance when plotting of this area began. The place is also located along the main arterial road network which included important spaces of the city like the Rajpath, Janpath, Sachivalaya Marg. As one of the respondents said, "if you throw a stone in Sahid Nagar it would hit a secretariat employee". These classes became more powerful when they became owners of land at strategic locations in the city. At one point of time they were allotted quarters at central places of the city and after that they stayed at posh localities owing to their ownership of land and this has helped them to maintain that position.

Most of Sahid Nagar area plotting belongs to secretariat employees. It has gradually become the space in which almost all the houses belong to some retired bureaucrat. Interestingly, all these allotments were based on the rank of the people. The senior officers have land at the main road in the front, highway and the lower level employees in the interior parts, at the backside of an area. But what is important to note is that most government employees had some land. Through the course of the study it was found out that most of the retired government employees including the elite I.A.S officers who were

at the helm of affairs of Bhubaneswar had a house at Sahid Nagar. Sharma (1999) says that land is simply not an economic phenomena but has a cultural value. Those who own and control land also use it as an instrument of power and domination over those who do not possess land at all and also over those who have less. The top level bureaucrats who possess land at strategic locations are able to maintain that status.

The area also developed when educational institutions like the Rama Devi Women's college (now a university), which was the only women's college in Bhubaneswar came up. A large number of commercial establishments like garment shops, bakery shops, beauty parlors, cosmetics and stationary shops came around the surrounding area which became the commercial hub of the city. Government establishments like the Odisha Industrial Infrastructure Corporation (IDCO) was also built in this area. Many important landmarks of this place include shopping complexes like Pantaloons, Central Mall, Reliance Trends, to name a few. Though the Sahid Nagar area was planned as a residential colony, but in the course of time it grew into a commercial hub.

Contrary to what Koenigsberger, the master planner of the city felt, this class became the decisive class and wielded a lot of influence. This can be seen from the formation of elite clubs like the Bhubaneswar club⁶⁴ which was founded in 1948 when the officers needed a place to meet socially for some recreation. V.S Matthews, who was the first I.A.S officer to arrive at Cuttack and to be posted in Odisha in 1947, said that the inspiration to build a club came from the members of the Cuttack club, the oldest club to be established in 1860 by the British after they stormed the Barabati Fort in 1803. It was an exclusive club of all officers who were posted at Bhubaneswar. Initially it was called IAS club (Matthews cited in Pradhan, 2007:27). These exclusive clubs are different from the clubs of the old town⁶⁵. Bendix and Lipset (1966) mention about Marx when they say this

⁶⁴The club initially operated in the hall in the garden of one of the first settlers Jhunjhunwala who was a big businessman. At a later stage, it was allotted a posh location in the forest park area.

⁶⁵ Mohapatra (2005) says that the town club was the first club that started in 1925 in Bhubaneswar especially in Old Bhubaneswar. It was started by Digambar Srichandan who motivated some youth to join as members of the club. The club used to do many developmental works like construction of boundary walls of Papanasini pond which was completely destroyed. In 1936, a library named Binapani Pathagara was opened in town club. This club was instrumental in celebrating various festivals and Pujas till today and also hosted conferences and meetings. It also has reserved a place for senior citizens for their recreation and also had facilities for tailoring training for ladies in its second floor. The club was also maintaining a playground at patana Sahi which encourages football, hockey, badminton etc among children. The "town club" and the "kedargouri club" which was existing in the old town provided social service during certain important festivals. It also took part in various tournaments.

ruling class which owes its position to the ownership and control of the means of production, also controls the moral and intellectual life of the people. According to Marx, “Law and government, art and literature, science and philosophy: all serve more or less directly the interest of the ruling class” (Bendix and Lipset, 1966:6).

The hierarchy was also reproduced in case of the housing societies that were constructed. Various housing board colonies were built by the Odisha State Housing Board (OSHB). Housing was provided to people on the basis of social class or on the basis of graded housing patterns. These were HIG (Higher Income Group), MIG (Middle Income Group), LIG (Lower Income Group) and EWS (Economically Weaker Section)⁶⁶. This distinction was made on the basis of amount of land available. One of the respondents who came and settled in BRIT colony at Baragarh shared that all the houses in the colony were located in one area as per the availability of government land. Places like Baragarh, came up close to the old town and many people found it convenient to relocate to such housing societies attracted by the open spaces. People belonging to moneyed families from old town too migrated to this place to move away from the unplanned and clumsy built of old town.

It is ironic that though the government provided basic facilities like drainage and electricity it did not invest on educational facilities and this was the only aspect which was not focused on when housing societies were coming. Gradually, when people started constructing multi-storeyed buildings in the same plot, the area became clumsy. It has been observed that most of the housing societies look like any other private residential colonies. Apart from the housing societies, various market complexes constructed by Bhubaneswar Regional Improvement Trust (BRIT) and Bhubaneswar Development Authority (BDA) came up. Some of them are, Laxmisagar Market, Municipal Market at old Bhubaneswar, Ashoka Market, Ruchika Market at Baramunda etc.

In Pallaspali area also employees were allotted plots at very cheap rates. Pallaspali was the first place where the concept of duplex was introduced. The duplex houses at

⁶⁶ The Odisha Government classifies the HIG, MIG, LIG and EWS categories on the basis of the RBI classification and on the basis of a 50% increase in the Consumer Price Index. Mohanty and Das (2015) in a study on the affordable housing in Bhubaneswar city categories these on the basis of monthly income as- EWS- Upto 7,500 per month, LIG- 7501-15000, LMIG-15001- 20,000, MIG- 20001-25000.

Pallaspalli looked very attractive at the time, noted a retired Government employee. All the houses looked the same with elaborate spaces for garden in front of the houses. The senior level officers had houses in specific locations like the forest park area. Similarly, Nayapalli area was carved out for development in which few influential people purchased land and built houses. Some colonies were named V.I.P colony and in this area plots were allotted to ministers, ex-ministers, M.L.As, senior I.A.S officers, etc. Apart from the administrators who ruled the city for many years, especially after the city came into existence, there emerged a whole political structure which paralleled the administrative machinery and in course of time, became influential in relation to Bhubaneswar's development. Taub (1969) observes that there existed a strain in the relationship between the politicians and the bureaucrats particularly at the minister-secretary level. The collector who was once said to be the 'king of the district' had to share his kingdom with political agents (Taub, 1969: 113). This tussle continues to this date.

In most of the neighborhoods dedicated to the "bureaucratic castes", people from different sections of the bureaucratic hierarchy live with whom the researcher interacted with.. In the Unit III area, there are big plots appropriated by the retired government employees and there are also government quarters for class IV employees which are occupied by the drivers, peons, gardeners, etc. The relationships between the people who occupy these quarters are not very cordial and there are several dimensions that came to the fore during the interviews. A driver who was a resident in the cooperative colony in Unit III shared that they are seen as the 'other' and are not allowed to cross the boundary which divides the people occupying higher and lower administrative positions. This sense of othering is defined by Lister as "a process of differentiation and demarcation, by which the line is drawn between 'us' and 'them' between the more and the less powerful- and through which the social distance is established and maintained" (Lister, 2004 cited in Jensen, 2011: 65). In other words, "the group which is othered is also in the process defined as 'morally and/or intellectually inferior'" (Schwalbe et, al, 2000 cited in Lister, 2004).

The wife of an IPS officer staying in Unit VI government quarter said that they stay in independent houses. She used terms and phrases like "a lagoon", "an oasis", "a different

area altogether” “a private space” “away from the crowd” to describe the exclusivity of the area she has been staying in.

The exclusiveness of this group is described by Taub (1969) in his study on the administrators of the city of Bhubaneswar. He quotes one of his respondents,

You see, they replace...the ICS.....Because they pass a difficult examination, these fellows feel too high for themselves. They don't mix with other people, but stick to themselves and act superior, not even talking to others. They become their own society, creating a division in the community.....Now these people are not all bad to begin with. What happens is that they get a little power and they become power mad. They are suddenly big people. Without their position, they are nothing (Taub, 1969: 134).

Due to this overarching bureaucracy most of the respondents describe the city as a “*gulam city*”, “*gulamnagari*” or the city of servants, having a “*kirani culture*” (clerk culture) or “*haan ji*” (obedience) culture. On enquiring further, one of the respondents said that “if you talk to an officer in the city, they will start talking about what is happening in their respective departments. They always tend to relate everything to the government functioning”. It is basically like saying “I agree sir” or “I am sorry”, observed the respondent.

The influence of the ‘bureaucratic caste’ is so strong that a respondent remarked that there are no middle classes in the city as the middle classes come from various backgrounds and they are the ones who has a contribution to society, they act as a pressure group on the Government to change policies creating a different ambience. These classes create a vibrant society as well. He opines that

If we look at our city, the intellectuals are mostly the retired Government officials or the Government officials”. Those 150 people will decide everything. Looking from that angle, we don't think we have a middle class except the numbers of people who have a disposable income. Otherwise they have no role in society. They should be a part of a vibrant civil society.

The bureaucrats reproduced the “administrative castes” not only in the abstract space but the social space as well. For Gottdiener (1993),

The abstract space is the hierarchical space for those who wish to control social organizations such as political rulers, economic interests and planners. Social space arises from the practice- the everyday lived experience that is externalised and materialised through action by all members of the society even the rulers (Gottdiener, 1993:131).

It is in this respect the imagination of different classes of people in connection to the city and education is important. In the 1990s when there was a real estate boom and an increase in land prices a number of agricultural lands were taken over as a result of which there emerged a certain class of agricultural peasants who sold their lands, built houses with the money and survived on rent. This class came to acquire new visibility. These agricultural peasants generally belonged to peripheral villages. This phase became an important phase in the transition of the city. In most of the interviews there was a particular mention of this class who became rich overnight and were looked down upon by the administrative and other classes because of the lack of cultural capital such as educational accomplishments of this class. Through an interaction with the residents of the Mancheswar village it was found that though the situation is changing for the younger generation of this group with the establishment of educational institutions, there has not been a drastic change in educational aspiration.

Further when the city developed, private developers came. Simultaneously some ‘Odia entrepreneurs’ or ‘edupreneurs’ entered the education market and took up the initiative to build private schools and colleges in Bhubaneswar. The researcher interacted with the founder of an international school for whom education and development were synonymous. With the emergence of new classes and aspirations, many new spaces such as the gated enclaves were developed. In the case of Bangalore, Nair (2005) points out that there was a shift in middle class preference from plotted development to more stylish housing offered by private developers which became evident in the early 1990s. But in the case of Bhubaneswar it came much later only in late 2000s.

IV Educational Aspirations and Emergence of Market for Education

In an administrative city education is the most important aspect of status retention for those who are placed higher in the strata and a source of mobility for those who are placed lower. “*It is all about reputation*” opined a respondent. For Verma (2007) education was always valued by the middle classes. It was the only means to maintain the distance from those below. The administrative class is tied with education and culture. A class IV employee quoted an IAS officer who had said “Mu bahut patha padhichhi mu government ra bada chakara, peon ta patha padhini siye government ra chota chakara” (I am educated so I am a senior government servant, the peon is not educated so he is a junior servant of the government).

This ‘administrative caste’ acted as a closed group and at the same time caste was represented in it as most of them came from high castes like the Brahmins and the Karans. Education was one of the most crucial means through which entry into these castes and classes could be achieved. Within these castes, the educational imaginaries are different as there are hierarchies within them too. This difference in educational imagination brought in different experiences to different sections of the population on the basis of caste, class and even spatial location. For a particular category of people, the approach to modern education is very different, for some others it brings a cosmetic change only. The approach to education has become a class phenomenon, said one of the respondents who has seen the transformation of the city. In Bhubaneswar, there seem to be a strong correlation between education and the making of a “class”. When talking about educational aspirations in Bhubaneswar a respondent succinctly put it: “*Education makes a difference here*”. Those who are educated belong to a different class altogether. Comparing Bhubaneswar with Cuttack, he went on to say,

There is a strong bonding between educated and uneducated at a place like Cuttack. Education doesn’t make much importance in the lives of people in Cuttack. They don’t look at education as a parameter of the strength of their camaraderie. But in Bhubaneswar education makes a difference. There are clear cut distinctions between people in terms of their educational achievement.

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to understand imaginations, aspirations and expectations of the elite and middle classes of the city. The educational system of Bhubaneswar it may be noted, relied on its Odia medium primary, middle and high schools when it became the capital. There was a high school in each unit and was frequented by the residents of all social classes. However, mention can be made of the Capital High School which came to be established in 1951 in Unit-III at the heart of the capital. It is one of the oldest high schools of Bhubaneswar. A resident of Bhubaneswar who had come to the city in the 1960s opined that, in the 1960s, children went to two schools basically- one was Capital High School if it was Odia medium and the other was Convent School if it was English medium. The other schools in different units came up gradually.

Most of the retired bureaucrats with whom the researcher interacted had studied in the Capital High School. Beuria says that he came to Bhubaneswar only when he was uprooted from his school at Cuttack and was put into Capital High School by his father, a bureaucrat who was posted at Bhubaneswar (cited in Pradhan, 2007). Studying at the Capital high school was a class phenomenon, remarked a bureaucrat who was an alumni of the school. When asked about why he chose Capital High School even if there were other schools, he said that as his uncle was a DSP, he got admission in the school. He said, “How can a person whose uncle was a DSP in the 1960s study at any other school apart from the Capital High School?”.

A retired IPS officer shared that he came to Bhubaneswar for the purpose of education. He studied at the Capital High School which was considered as the best. When Bhubaneswar became the capital, the government was the sole provider of education and almost all the retired government bureaucrats went to government schools. For higher education, most of them studied at the Utkal University.

The IPS officer further said that he could not think of going to a private school as he belonged to a lower middle class family and his parents were not exposed to the educational opportunities that were available in those times. Though his parents had aspirations which was the reason for his studying at Bhubaneswar but the aspiration was

limited. They could only think of a government clerical job for their son. But when he saw the convent girls and boys he was surprised by the way they spoke English, their demeanour and the way they dressed which was very different from the government school children. “We got fascinated by the conventees which was frequented mainly by the non- Odias whose parents who came and settled in Bhubaneswar because of their jobs”, he said.

He further added,

When I came to Bhubaneswar and saw convent educated girls in smart dresses, speaking English fluently, my aspiration towards education changed and I became envious. I thought if they can go to convent why couldn't our children? My first aspiration was how my children will go to the best school.

Aspiration grows by seeing and knowing others.

The change in aspiration by seeing and knowing about others was termed as ‘demonstration effect’ by a Economics Professor of the Utkal University. They are the ‘subtle aspects of social learning’ represented in forms of talk, presentation of self, dress, demeanour, modes of interaction according to Ball (2003: 85). The IPS officer went on to say that his children got their education from English medium schools. Later ,his daughter went to London to pursue her Ph.D. . His son studied in Sainik School which was a residential school suitable for the nature of his job which was prone to transfers. Later his son went on to study in Utkal University and finally to do a P.hD in the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), Delhi. Subsequently, his son joined the Odisha Administrative Service and secured a good government position. He had different aspirations for his children and wanted his children to either become civil servants particularly the IAS or IPS or settle abroad.

Another retired IAS who held important bureaucratic positions and mostly stayed in the city said that his children studied in the convent school. The need for English education for the children of the high level government officers of Bhubaneswar acted as a trigger for the establishment of private schools in the city and the simultaneous rise of aspiration towards education. As Nambissan (2017) says, schools and colleges are the main sites of

competition for mobility and positional advantage . Taub (1969) argues that the officers were ambitious for their children and were willing to spend time and money to get their children educated. This was particularly important for the administrative officers as they belong to the wealthy, urban and educated classes who would want to see their off springs to pass a particular competitive examination. It was also revealed in a study by Taub (1969) on the elites of Bhubaneswar that the status of a father helps to provide an index to the status of the son and from Taub's sample it is clear that the members of the IAS came from families of high status and hence would pass on the same status to their children.

In the newly constructed planned capital city of Bhubaneswar, a large number of schools and colleges were established to cater to the needs of the population. In the 1960s the education scenario changed as many more schools like the Sainik School, the Stewart School, the Demonstration Multipurpose School came up. According to Sable (1980), the entry of the Convent School, the Stewart School and the DM School in the educational landscape reflects the relationship between education and the elites of the city. He observes that the Odisha education department approached the educational authorities of the Baptist and Roman Catholic churches to open branches of the Cuttack Stewart and Convent Schools in the new capital for which the department even subsidized the construction and operation costs of the schools. He argues that the subsidies disbursed for these two private schools equaled to approximately one-third of what was expended on all the Odia medium schools combined though these Odia medium schools enrolled approximately ten times as many pupils (Sable, 1980:175).

Sable (1980) points out that the setting up of the Demonstration School throws light on the elite's pressure upon the educational system. The Demonstration School was designed as a multipurpose institution which offered vocational as well as academic courses of study. But the machine shops, architectural equipment, and even the domestic science unit to accommodate vocational courses remained unused because less than 5% of students were enrolled for these courses. In due course, a struggle ensued between the headmaster who wanted equal enrollments in both educational and vocational courses and the local educational authorities who wanted the facilities to be used so that "it

provides the best academic training possible to the children of officials posted here” (Sable, 1980:176). Subsequently, the Demonstration school had to abandon its commitment to offering vocational and academic training and became exclusively an academic institution.

Schools like the Sainik School conducted national level entrance examination, and attracted students from rural areas and far off areas like Balasore, Bhadrak etc. Most of the students from outside the city preferred to come to this school as it was a boarding school and provided financial support to children belonging to low income families. It started as a residential school for boys in the close vicinity of Vani Vihar, near the Utkal University campus. Most of the parents also chose this school because it enforced strict discipline among its students.

The historical account amply testifies that education was given importance in the 1950s by the “administrative caste” of elites and middle classes of Bhubaneswar. The bureaucrats were very concerned about their children’s education. From an interview with a retired bureaucrat, it was inferred that, every bureaucrat gave a lot of importance to education and wanted to send his or her child to a good school. School was something which was absolutely necessary in those days, noted another bureaucrat. One of the respondents who heads the Directorate of Planning, Government of Odisha said that his father who was in the rank of a chief engineer, remarked to him, “If you do not study you would have no money to paint the house I built”. He further said that the children of the top level bureaucrats and government employees were brought up in a very healthy atmosphere. He said, “A lot of facilities were there, open playgrounds, place was very peaceful etc. There was no space constraint in the city”. He added, “Almost everyone had some minimum level of education when we speak of class IV⁶⁷ employees as the atmosphere was that only. They may not be very well to do but acquired some education”.

It is not only the school but also the type of education that mattered. An editor of a leading newspaper who is one of the old residents of the city mentioned, as he was the

⁶⁷They are the lower middle classes in the bureaucratic set up.

youngest of his siblings, he was sent to the Convent School at Cuttack. He moved on to study in Stewart School when Convent became an all girls school. But he was eventually withdrawn from the Stewart School in the 4th standard when his father felt that in English medium schools Mathematics would be very bad. He sent to Ravenshaw Collegiate School, as in an Odia medium school Mathematics would be strong. The Conventees were just smarter than them, he said.

A business entrepreneur and the daughter of a medical officer in Indian Army shared she would have never come to Bhubaneswar had she not thought about education. She moved to the city because Bhubaneswar was supposed to be a good place for education. She went on to say that “you belong to a different breed when you get parents who give importance to education and at the same time teach you how to challenge life”. She further said “my learning came from my exposure”. Apart from studying B.Sc she took up various other courses and also went for youth exchange programmes.

According to Stephen Ball (2003)

Social and cultural capital combine in various ways....in generating, decoding and management skills in relation to expert systems, like schools and higher education. Both these capitals are intertwined and interdependent with economic and emotional capital. It is the combination of these that is often what makes the middle class family so effective in educational domain (Ball, 2003:82).

This justifies what Sable (1980) argues that there is a close association between educational credentials and specific employment opportunities and that the children and their parents can plan schooling in a rational manner. From his research, he points out that virtually all the high school boys and their fathers knew exactly which positions and what salary they can obtain with the educational credentials available for them. This establishes the Weberian belief that education reinforces the status groups and leads to the creation of a middle class identity. As Taub (1969) argues, it depends on the nature of jobs themselves. For example, the college degree is required for becoming an officer,

technical training is required for becoming an engineer. That means the degree required for academics demanded that these groups be educated in that particular arena.

The difference in educational aspiration does not seem to be very sharp between the elites and the middle classes in terms of the choice of schools. One of the respondents whose child studies in ODM School, a private school, was of the view that the difference between schools frequented by the children of elites and middle classes is getting blurred. It does not matter to which school a child is going if it is a school of repute, even if it is not an international school. There is also a thin line differentiating an international school and a public school in terms of aspiration of parents in Bhubaneswar. For example, he says; “Whether someone goes to SAI International or Loyala School or ODM public school it does not matter much. Though SAI International is always a preference for many parents but the aspirations are also shaped by the reputation rather than the school having the international tag”.

Another female respondent who is a business entrepreneur said that she chose to teach her children in the Loyala School as she felt that no school can teach better than a convent school. “A convent education grooms you in all respect, the speaking ability, the discipline can be only learnt in a convent environment.... the community.... the kind of peers they get is different” she opined. It is the convent education, she felt, that has given her children good communication skills and confidence face any situation. She emphasized strongly upon the role of the school in instilling discipline in children.

According to a retired IPS officer whose grandson goes to an international school, though there is not much difference between the results secured by the children of the international schools, on the one hand, and the public schools, on the other, the real difference among these schools lies in terms of exposure. The body language or the way they dress, the exposure, discipline, cleanliness etc are much better than other public schools. Children can go abroad in exchange programmes in an international school. There are also leadership camps organised by these schools which are a source of attraction. He boasted of his grandson’s visit to London in an exchange programme as his mother could afford to pay 1.5 lakhs. How many can afford, he wondered. This kind of exposure, the ex-bureaucrat believed, could not have been possible if his grandson had

studied in any other school, even if it were a public school of repute. Apart from the exchange programmes and leadership camps, the extracurricular activities provided by these schools is also a source of motivation for the parents. An interaction with the founder of an international school revealed that one of the motivation for him to start an international school was the absence of extracurricular activities like sports. competitions in public schools existing in Bhubaneswar.

The schools that were existing are places where children go, read books, pass exams and come back. I was totally against that. I thought we will have 8 hours of school in which 6 hours should be dedicated to education and 2 hours would be dedicated to sports, hobbies. This was my personal passion and I live with my passion.

Through these extracurricular activities the social and cultural capital can be accumulated according to Stephen Ball (2003). Ball (2003) further makes an observation that these activities though are frequently mentioned by the students of private schools are rarely mentioned by state school students.

The education market in Bhubaneswar grew because of this class of elite and middle classes. It seems to be catering to the middle class. It is a means of status retention for the middle class, a performative class in which the failure to perform involves the risk of falling in class (Dickey, 2016). In this way “maintaining a class identity is a process” for the middle classes (Dickey, 2016:141). An editor of a leading daily remarked, “We studied in Odia medium schools and it is our inferiority complex which forced us to choose English medium schools for our children”. Clearly, it is the family which acts as role models and makes crucial decisions about their children in terms of schooling which effects their academic and career paths (Drury, 1993). It is also a ‘strategy of social reproduction’ in which “the members of a given class act (consciously or not) to maintain or better their position by safeguarding and increasing their capital” (Drury, 1993:10). Jodhka (2016) said that the introduction of English education enabled a section of the erstwhile local elite to educate their children in Western learning and as a result of which they became lawyers, professionals, doctors, teachers in the empire. But gradually, their size, spread increased and so did their aspirations.

It was apparent that the schools that came up in early days be it elite schools or the public schools, excluded the masses from the educational system. The English medium schooling became the preserve of the upper classes and the middle classes in the city. One of the respondents was quoted as saying that “none of the schools understood the English language well other than the Convent”. In case of Bhubaneswar, it was the elite bureaucracy who was the decision makers in the city. According to Scrase and Scrase (2009) the consequence of the linguistic shift to English created further division on social and cultural basis which led to stratification of Indian society and separation of the elite from the lower castes and classes. They further say “The process of class and cultural re-configuration in India reflect the situation in which a subtle, nevertheless distinct, differentiation emerges between the various class fractions and their cultural practices together with their mobilization of cultural resources, or cultural capital” (Scrase and Scrase, 2009:139).

Seymour (1980) points out that even caste was getting reproduced in the education sector as though educational opportunity existed for all castes to improve their socio-economic status, but Brahmins and Karans took advantage of education and tended to dominate the upper and middle level positions in the government hierarchy.

Education as the basis of differentiation among classes

Education has also created division between people. In recent times, though public schools are coming up, they have widened the gap between the rich and the poor. Nambissan (2010) opines that “the state schools are largely dominated by children from the poor, belonging mainly to lower castes and minorities” (Nambissan, 2010: 287). A retired IPS officer whose grandson studies in an international school in the city said that the public schools are competing among each other on the amount they can spend to attract students belonging to a particular section of the population. He believed, “The education sector has destroyed the fabric of our society. It has divided the rich and the poor”.

The aspiration and the imagination for education is different among people within the administrative caste also. The senior bureaucrats seem to have a choice about their children’s education. The senior bureaucrats, owing to their financial security, have more

freedom to choose. They were more open about their children experimenting with different career options as they had financial support.

A junior level employee from the office of the Directorate of Planning opined, the older generation who were not in very high government positions felt the monetary pressure more than the younger generation did. According to him, his generation did not have enough resources at their disposal to pursue their education. He could not get as good an education as that of his Senior level government officials because of the limited resources his father had. However, he sees a different future for his own children and is well aware of their educational future as the job market is tied to the educational credentials. He believed that the increase in competition also raises the aspiration level of the parents. For example, “To sit for entrance now children have to prepare from 7th grade onwards”, he said.

The junior level employees as parents generally assess the institutions on the basis of placement and the reputation of the institution in the market etc. If a particular course provides better placement then obviously the demand for education goes up and parents are ready to pay whatever is demanded by the institution.

During an interaction with a gardener working in a government nursery it was revealed that though he has aspirations for his children and gives a lot of importance to their education, his choices are limited due to lack of financial security. His constraints also result in a limited vision for his children’s future. He spends 2000 for his son’s coaching with the hope that if his son gets education he can tutor 20 students and can earn up to 40,000 per month. According to him there is no need for job if there is education. His lack of security had prompted him to educate his children in Satya Sai School which is a government aided educational institution and Capital High School. He could not even afford to send his children to Saraswati Sishu Mandir, a low fee private school as these schools demand fees and also require proper uniform. Though he wanted to send his children to English medium schools his meager income of Rs 3000 per month did not allow him to do so.

Plate 5.2 Saraswati Sishu Mandir located in Unit III



The parents seem to heavily rely on private tuitions cutting across social classes. Almost all the respondents, be it the elite, the middle classes or even the people living in the slums said that they send their children for private tuitions. But it was pointed out by the respondents that the concept of private tuition was not there in the 1970s.

The educational strata in the case of Bhubaneswar seems to be clear cut- The top strata or the higher strata of people go to schools like Sai International, Delhi Public School, Mother's International, Xavier's International etc. In the second layer of the hierarchy are schools like the D.A.V, Kendriya Vidyalaya, Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya though the difference between the first and the second is not very clear and sometimes overlap. The third strata comprises Saraswati Sishu Mandir, Vivekanada schools, and Aurobindo Schools etc. In the lowest strata are the Odia Medium government schools which are attended by the children particularly living in the slums or in some cases children of class IV employees. Ball (2003) writes that in the differential distribution of classes in terms of education there are stark differences between the middle-class and working class students. The differences are clearly marked in case of state school and private school students. The differentiation among people on the basis of education is in stark contrast to what Nehru said in his inaugural speech while laying the foundation of the new capital of

Odisha that “Bhubaneswar would not be a city of big buildings for officers and rich men without a relation to common masses. It would accord with our idea of reducing differences between the rich and the poor” (Kalia, 1994: 157).

It is an irony that, in Bhubaneswar what is seen is the withdrawal of the state from the provision of education and the expansion of the private schools. A leading political elite of Bhubaneswar said the government schools have drastically dropped in performance. He opines that though there is an improvement in infrastructure quality has drastically reduced. On the other hand the results of the private schools are far better than the government schools.

This withdrawal of the state has also led to the mushrooming of the low fee private schools which are catering to a vast section of the poor and lower middle class population. Most of the respondents seemed to point at the low fee private schools like the Saraswati Sishu Vidya Mandirs⁶⁸, part of the chain of schools run in the country by a political and religious organization.

This withdrawal of state from education signifies neoliberalism that champions privatization of social goods and the withdrawal of the government from the provisions of social welfare on the premise that competitive markets are more effective and efficient (Lipman, 2011:6). In this neoliberal restructuring it is the children of lower classes and the poor who suffer the most as they are unable to get quality education and at the same time unable to afford private education, thus often ending up in low fee private schools where quality may be compromised. The state’s withdrawal from education is accompanied by a discourse of poor quality education provided by government schools. This was reflected in what one respondent said: whether it is a missionary run school or an NGO run school or it is a for profit but low fee entrepreneurial school they all do better than government schools. Another respondent who was a former Vice chancellor

⁶⁸The first Saraswati Sishu Mandir was set up in 1952 in Gorakhpur, UP. When the number of schools grew, an all India coordinating body called Vishwa Bharti as set up with its headquarters in Delhi (Sundar,2004). The SaraswatiSishu Vidya Mandirs are affiliated to Siksha Vikas Samiti, Odisha at the state level and the Vidya Bharati at the National level. Siksha Vikas Samiti, Odisha is a registered organisation affiliated to Vidya Bharati www.ssvmniladrivihar.org/. Retrieved on 4th July, 2019. The Sishu Mandirs caters to two Lakh students in their schools spread across Odisha.

of BPUT put forth: “Private institutions came up primarily because the government failed to provide any educational facilities” or “the government has left higher education to private people”.

A retired doctor went to the extent of saying that the government knowingly withdrew from the education sector to encourage private sector. “When so many private engineering colleges have come up, why will the government bother to open more government colleges. Those who have money, force, power, they can do anything”.

As quality is not maintained in government schools, the number of private institutions have gone up rapidly in the city leaving behind vast sections of the population from getting quality education. This even prompted one of the respondents to say that “some Government schools deserve to be closed down as they are so bad”. In other words, the degeneration of the state sponsored schools had contributed to the growth of private education, which in turn had contributed to the growth of the city. The most determining factor is that government could not keep pace with the needs and demand of the city in terms of education. It could not maintain the quality in government schools, remarked one of the respondents.

At present, there is already a degradation of the educational standard in the Capital High School which was once the most important school in the city, where the quality of education provided was far better than any other school. The political and bureaucratic establishments are often blamed for the failing standards of the government schools.

Each Unit in the city was planned to be self content with elementary high schools. Today, however, children from well to do families go to English medium schools, as a result of which much of the city’s schooling is commercialised. The gentrification of urban space serves as an opportunity for profitable investment in education which is a key source of revenue for cities and also a tool for marketing the city to the upper and middle classes. Several respondents said that there was no vision for education among these business entrepreneurs and they had set up these schools solely for economic and profit purposes. They do not think about the employability of the students either.

One of the respondents articulates the schooling dilemmas in Bhubaneswar, succinctly in this manner:

Forget about SAI International, KIIT International school, people require a minimum of 15-20,000 monthly for a kindergarten school or for a non-descript school. It is even higher in better schools. So, all the lower level employees, the children of rickshaw pullers, vendors go to government schools.

According to a retired bureaucrat living in one of the units in the city, the motivation of the teachers also came down and this has affected their involvement in school activities. As a result, the quality of education in Odia medium schools has gone down drastically. On the other hand parents of the children going to English medium schools are busy and are unable to give their children time as they are all working.

Commenting on the changing educational settings, a respondent drew a comparison and explained how things were different in the past:

Teachers also are looking at teaching from a commercial point of view. There used to be debates which everyone was supposed to participate in, which prepared them to be leaders. Apart from general education, there was also a PT class, children were taught how to speak, how to address, and then start the debate and were asked to speak in favour or against a particular topic. Education was holistic to prepare someone to be a complete human being. There were some extracurricular activities and exercise was given importance. Swimming was not the only game as it happens in today's so called International school. Apart from this students also participated in NCC or Airwings or navy though they were voluntary. Certain periods were dedicated for these sports.

What is worth noting here is that the urban transformation brought changes in the aspirations of people for higher education. In the 1960s the aspirations of the students in the city were basically towards lectureship and the civil services after someone completed Master in Arts. Banking jobs were looked down upon and no one was interested in those

jobs. People preferred to take up a clerical job in the secretariat rather than take up a banking job at any other place. If they had nothing, they preferred State Bank of India but not any other bank. Though there were jobs in the Indian Oil Corporation (IOC), Hindustan Petroleum Corporation Limited (HPCL) even in steel plants like Tata Steel, it required influence and most of the people could not get into those jobs without influence of social networks. Employment options and the number of posts in civil services were very limited in the 1930s, as was shared by one of the respondents. After Independence the posts increased marginally. In the early 1960s employment opportunities expanded a bit when companies like Life Insurance Corporation came up. Then there was a sudden spurt in job opportunities. A retired bureaucrat recalled that in their generation, their parents were not very concerned about the education of children as they little exposure. Initially he wanted to become a journalist but then in order to have a steady source of he joined civil services.

New colleges in Salipur, Nimapada, Jagatsingpur came up in the 1960s and many got enrolled in those colleges. Private colleges also came up and students got absorbed into those as well. There was a clear cut relationship between the performance of the students in exams and the jobs they got. But the students who could not get into civil services got absorbed into these private colleges as lecturers. After 1970s the scope widened to include engineering and medical services and banking services. Thus, these developments in the city reveal that the city of Bhubaneswar has been a growth center for the people of Odisha.

An interaction with the founder of an international school revealed that when his school was opened in 2008, people in Bhubaneswar has two aspirations, either to take up medical or to opt for engineering professions. But the entry of private schools opened hundreds of options for the students, he opined.

The broadening of options in various disciplines also seemed to benefit the upper and middle classes. An assistant professor who belongs to an influential family of bureaucrats said that her daughter wants '*exposure*' and wants to '*explore*'. This option was limited when she compared to her own generation. She also felt that her daughter has many

options to choose from and is free to take up any course which she wishes to pursue. Reflecting on the changing times she spoke about the amalgamation of different courses which can be opted by the younger generation. A business entrepreneur also opined that there is no restriction on what her children want to do. She cited the example of her son who aspires to be a stand up comedian, a highly unconventional choice of career. But she would like him to complete his education first and then ‘explore’ other opportunities that come his way. She wants her children to ‘*enjoy what they do*’.

Contrary to what the upper middle class feels about their children’s education, the lower middle class have no option to ‘explore’. Their choices are limited. They perceive education as a way to secure better income. A respondent who is a faculty member of the National Institute of Tourism and Travel Management opined that though they have introduced new courses related to tourism most of the middle class parents, when they come for admissions ask “*ketemiliba?*” that is how much salary will their children draw after the completion of the course. Though most of the parents are encouraged to attend the orientation lecture given by the faculty most of them do not prefer to attend it.

V The dominance of the bureaucratic caste and the expression of ownership of the city

But in spite of the growth, the city which started as an administrative city has not changed its character opined most of the respondents. According to one respondent, business in the city has meant some supply business to the government which is not business but rent seeking. Real business where people are taking risks is much less in Bhubaneswar when compared to other places. Bhubaneswar still has the ambience of an administrative city, according to him. Donner (2012) observes that the city of Kolkata saw the rise of middle class as a political power owing to liberalisation. In this process, the old middle class of government servants and professionals, their way of life, the privileges which they held in close association with the state is gradually disappearing. But when we look at the city of Bhubaneswar, this class still wields a lot of influence.

One of the respondents however disagreed and argued that times have changed. When she got married to an IPS officer, she said, the IAS and IPS officers were a different coterie altogether and they never mingled with the business classes. But in recent times, she observed a noticeable collapse in this divide. The IAS and IPS officers according to her have been intermingling with other classes, for example, in private parties even the bureaucrats invite business people. Though she felt that the “Babudom” concept has gone she was quick to add that there are more well paying jobs in the public sector in Bhubaneswar, referring to income as a criteria for class mobility. So, even if ‘grudgingly’, respect is given as the bureaucrats are realizing the importance of other classes. Another important point she made was about the “sustenance of a class”. For instance, the hitherto exclusive club, Bhubaneswar club, is now opening up to other classes even if it is out of ‘compulsion’ because its own sustenance is at stake. In other words, though this class is still powerful, the realization, that in order to get what it wants it needs to compete with others is “forcing some of its percipient members to begin to engage with society in their own self interest” (Verma, 2007: XXViii).

Most of the respondents like the business entrepreneurs, the professors and even some bureaucrats the researcher interacted with were proud of their association with the “bureaucratic caste”. They mentioned about giving lectures in the Gopabandhu Academy of Administration⁶⁹ (Administrative officers’ training school) and indirectly mentoring young administrative officers who are their ‘students’, clearly associating themselves with the bureaucrats and the ‘secretariat’. The researcher also came across instances in which there were different queues for the so-called ‘VIPs’ consisting of mostly politicians and bureaucrats and the ‘common people’ in important events and also private functions justifying the bureaucratic stronghold in the city. Due to its image as a bureaucratic city, it has become a MICE destination in which meetings, incentives, conferences and events are organised, opined a respondent. National conferences are being organised in the city as it is a cheaper alternative to Calcutta, he added. He also

⁶⁹It was established in May, 1958 at Hirakud, Sambalpur. It started as an administrative officers’ training school under the General Administration department of Government of Odisha. It was shifted to its current location at Chandrasekharpur, Bhubaneswar in August 1989. It is a leading training institute of the state. Its objective has been to provide training to the probationers of the Odisha cadre civil servants (<http://gaodisha.gov.in/node/661>). Retrieved on 5th July, 2019.

mentioned a school which recently completed 50 years of its establishment and on this occasion the school felicitated students who have cleared UPSC, clearly identifying their measure of success and a reference to the influence of this class.

The bureaucratic hold of the city is still strong and is reflected in the way the city is addressed like “*city of retired people*” or “*retired bureaucrats*”. A respondent who works for the Ford Foundation told the researcher that his friends worked abroad for 30 years and have earned enough money to be able to come back to Bhubaneswar as it is the best place to retire. He further said that the private sector in the city has not grown much as the city has become aspirational only for the Cuttack entrepreneurs who have limited options to expand their business in Cuttack because of space constraints. For him, the spinners of development and growth of the city are not there. He commented that “We are looking at those 50,000 offices which is nothing more than Sector 54 of Gurgaon”.

The bureaucratic stronghold is also evident from the stagnant growth of the city. “Officers unless are corrupt can never be a high spending category” a respondent remarked. They will always be within their limitations. He added “even if the officers have money, they will try to invest it in their children’s education rather than investing it in purchasing extravagant goods”. In the words of Drury;

Families invest part of their wealth (which would otherwise be transmitted as simple inheritance) into education, in effect converting economic capital into ‘certified cultural capital’ a form of patrimony that will give their children access to dominant position in the economy (Drury, 1993:6).

The middle classes or the bureaucrats discussed at length about the opportunities, both educational and economic, that have come up in Bhubaneswar in recent times. An IAS officer who works in the Housing and Urban Development Department spoke about the rapidly expanding medical facilities and hospitals and increase in trainings, diplomas, degrees and also doctoral degrees in this field. According to him, an important parameter of the growth of the city was medical education which was not available in the past but later spread rapidly. In his words: “a city without medical services cannot be called a

city”. Most of the bureaucrats also spoke about the growing number of engineering colleges which have proved to be a boon for the city.

Respondents, particularly the IAS officers, have expressed the ownership of the city by saying that in comparison to other cities that have grown by leaps and bound and have reached such a stage where the problems cannot be corrected, in Bhubaneswar there is still scope to rectify the mistakes. Bhubaneswar still has the scope to grow. He says, “A city is a living thing and every city has its own pace of growth and development. A city that grows with its pace gets the right acceptance. Bhubaneswar is lucky to grow in a pace in which course correction can be made. But many more things are to be done. We maintain our own speed”

A respondent who is a faculty at a National institute and the wife of an IPS officer, said that the marketing and promotion of Odisha as a tourist destination is remarkable. There has been an image creation of the state, particularly, of the city of Bhubaneswar, which has attracted people, business and travel companies . Due to the establishment of so many institutions the accessibility of services has increased. An economics professor at the Utkal University sees city transformation in terms of educational opportunities, in the way a number of private institution like private colleges, hospitals, non-banking financial institutions like insurance companies have come up. He gave the example of National level institutions like Birla Global, Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) which are coming up and changing the educational scenario of the city.

The middle classes have positive perceptions about the city and feel that the city has a lot of potential to grow and will grow much faster than what we are thinking of. They are optimistic that Bhubaneswar is becoming a gateway to South Asian countries as a result of which the trade and commerce of the city will go up. Most of them feel that in 15-20 years this city will be totally different as it is now.

Though these bureaucrats look at the city positively in terms of opportunities they themselves have global aspirations for their children. It was found in most of the interviews that the children of these bureaucrats chose to go abroad to pursue their higher education. The large and spacious residences of this group were occupied by few

members only as the children were living abroad. When probed deeper it was revealed that many have settled abroad clearly signifying their “global aspirations”. Most of the bureaucrats were quoted as saying that their children studied at a private school in the city, went to study abroad and are settled there. In all their discussions and the examples they gave, there were constant references to “technology transforming lives”, “connectivity” “being global”.

In the words of a woman entrepreneur “Just being Odia will not make you a successful. You have to go global. You have to change as per the demand of the situation”

In the case of children from middle class households,

Boys and girls alike are expected to pass through college, and preferably go for a university degree in England or the USA. Because their English medium primary education in India is often combined with higher education abroad, they are global (meaning Western) and secular in their outlook, and travel abroad occasionally (Waldrop, 2004:205).

Culture, an important constituent of the bureaucratic ownership of the city

But, most of the respondents blamed the private schools for the disintegration of ‘*sanskriti*’ (culture) and felt that the Odia culture should be ingrained in the child’s mind. They emphasized on the way one should dress, the type of marriage choices one should make and values such as the family should not be neglected by the children, duties of the daughter in laws and so on. Cleanliness of the house and the kitchen was especially pointed out by the Brahmin respondents. The focus on prayer, *dhyana* or yoga as a means of practicing meditation and invoking God was also reflected in the responses of the respondents. Respondents also used terms and phrases like “*roots*”, “*ethical values*” with reference to the city.

One respondent said that Bhubaneswar is a better place to live in as there is a combination of the old and new. It is a place where the “*old charm*” still prevails and that “she fits into it”. Another respondent said that “we still have tradition here”. In this way there are contradictions in the way middle class projects itself. The middle class

talks about bringing about change and at the same time also talks about the preservation of tradition (Joshi, 2011). In other words, the “middle class activists sought to be ‘modern’, but their own social positions meant that they would use the resources of tradition to construct that modernity” (Joshi, 2011:97).

The contradiction of the middle class identity was evident when the researcher interacted with a woman entrepreneur who has a Startup in the city. She spoke about the struggle she had to go through as a woman entrepreneur, how independent she is, the kind of confidence she has which was possible because she had the right exposure and modern education. But her constant references to her marital life, to her husband whose presence made her work easier was intriguing. She said, “If some one doubted me I used to say my husband is there with me. So, people accepted us in a much better way and had confidence in us. Our turnover grew because we were together”. She further said that as a woman entrepreneur she has done it all: “I am married, had children, I have done everything, that is why I call myself a successful entrepreneur”. Here she takes into account the family responsibilities and gender roles assigned to her by the society in defining herself as successful. This finds resonance in the work of Sanjay Joshi who talks about the new ideology of gender relations which is constructed by the middle classes. This ideology though speaks about the equality of both the sexes and the importance of modern education for women “uses much older vocabulary drawn from the ideology of ‘stridharma’. This stitching together of older and newer ideas created a modern full of tensions and different possibilities” (Joshi, 2011: 96).

Summary

When we look at particular cities like Bhubaneswar the category of middle class is very different when we compare it with other cities. It can be said that “the middle class also have their specificities” (Jodhka, 2016: xxii). The city of Bhubaneswar is appropriately called a ‘bureaucratic city’ with the ‘bureaucratic caste’ who wield enormous influence in the city. This bureaucratic caste is reproduced in diverse spatial locale in the city and also in terms of the way education is organised in the city. It is the aspiration towards education of this caste which led to the emergence of private schooling in the city and the

degeneration of the government schools. This created a wide gap and differentiation between the different classes. In the words of Lipman (2011) argues “education is a private good , an investment one makes in one’s child or oneself to “add value” to better compete in the labour market, not a social good for development of individual and society as a whole” (Lipman, 2011:15). Through their access to education the ‘bureaucratic caste’ claims ownership over the city and have a particular vision of the city. In the next chapter the everyday lives of the people on the margins and their educational imagination is discussed.

CHAPTER VI

THE URBAN MARGINS AND THEIR EDUCATIONAL IMAGINATIONS

The story of urban transformation of Bhubaneswar would be incomplete if the low-income areas of the city or the slums which constitute a significant portion of the city are not looked at. Davis (2006) rightly points out that everywhere in the global South, slum growth has been out-pacing the urbanisation per se. This is true of Bhubaneswar too. This raises an important question as to whom does the city belong to. The voices of the slum dwellers and the urban poor is beginning to get louder. In the words of a respondent, “*basti ku neiki Bhubaneswar*” (Bhubaneswar is constituted by the bastis).

As Lipman (2011) argues, cities around the globe signify contrasts of wealth and poverty, marginality and centrality. “These contradictions are magnified in gated communities and favelas, glittering downtown developments and decaying working class neighborhoods, and a globally mobile elite is juxtaposed with low income communities” (Lipman, 2011: 4). For Breman (2003) the urban centre has acquired a big city allure: it has a new skyline with architecturally satisfied buildings, new roads, cars of the latest models, well maintained lawns, street lightings etc but unfortunately there are beggars, people sleeping on pavements, vendors, rikshawpullers, prostitutes etc who are “unceremoniously ejected from the arena of modernity” (Breman, 2003:134).

This chapter discusses how slums are different in terms of space in comparison to the old town and the units and how the city of Bhubaneswar is treating the slum dwellers and is shaping their aspirations. It discusses how the city which was once a ‘city of hope’ is proving to be a ‘city of despair’ because of the insecurities the slum dwellers experience in terms of slum clearances implemented by the government and how the city context and their life situation shapes their educational imagination, and how they strategise to realize educational aspirations.

I. Slums in Bhubaneswar: Growth and Demography

In Bhubaneswar, there are around 436 recognised slums which house around 80,665 households with a population of 3,01,611 identified by the Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation (BMC). But it is a matter of concern that out of 436 recognised slums⁷⁰, 320 (73%) are unauthorised and only 116 slums (27%) are authorised. In the city Municipal Corporation area, 19.5% of population lives in the slums. These slums have sprung up in different spatial locations and with differing sizes across the city. The largest slum is the Salia Sahi Basti and the smallest slum is the Radha Krishna Basti.

Table 6.1-Type of slums in Bhubaneswar

Sl.No	Slum data of Bhubaneswar	Authorised slums	Unauthorised slums	Total
1	No. of slums	116	330	436
2	Households	13963	66702	80665
3	Population	54778	246833	301611

Source: Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation.

The growth of slum population in the city of Bhubaneswar over years has been represented in the table below.

Table 6.2 Slum population of Bhubaneswar over the years

Year	Population of City	Slum Population	No. of Slums
1951	16512	-----	-----
1961	38211	-----	-----
1971	105491	10664	7
1981	219211	20327	23
1991	411542	-----	86
2001	647302	71403	190
2011	840834	163983	-----
BMC figure	-----	301611	436

Source: Compiled from various sources, Rout (2008), Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation, Census 2011.

⁷⁰ Areas recognised as ‘slum’ by state, Union Territories, administration or local government, housing and slum boards which may not have been formally notified as slum under any act can be considered as a recognised slum (www.censusindia.gov.in/2011-Documents/Slum-26-09-13.pdf) Retrieved on 12th July, 2019.

According to a study conducted by Anand and Deb (2017), the authorised slums are erstwhile villages which are presently within the BMC boundaries and they retain their land rights. They can be government rehabilitation sites, the housing projects which are a part of the Basic Services for Urban Poor (BSUP)⁷¹ and urban villages. They further say that some rehabilitation sites came into being in the 1980s in which the residents were removed from the city and resettled in sites which are extremely far away from the city. Plots were given to these households along with financial assistance in terms of loans or grants with a 90 year lease agreement. The unauthorized slums are settlements which are either on central (Railways or defense) or state government lands and do not possess any rights on the land on which they live.

The influx of migrants to work in the real estate and construction activity had contributed to the expansion of slum population in Bhubaneswar. The construction activity required workers in large numbers, from different parts of Odisha. Routray, Rath and Sahoo (2000) in their study point out that during the active period of shifting of the capital from Cuttack, almost 38% of migrants were added as lower order service class and construction workers. Mohanty and Mohanty (2005) observe that “Constructions in a vast area around Bhubaneswar acted as a grand pull center for the low paid and unemployed village people” (Mohanty and Mohanty, p.80).

Along with the workers who were engaged in construction activity, many others were engaged in different wage earning activity like rickshaw pulling, street vending etc. By 1970s, about 82% of the total migrants in Odisha came to the city to work as labourers (Routray, Rath and Sahoo, 2000).

Grenell (1980) explains that the rigid pattern and slow pace of urban development at the time when Bhubaneswar was becoming a capital city had resulted in formation of fewer slums than what would have otherwise arisen. The inability to provide space for service population is the main reason for formation of squatter settlements, particularly, along the railway line between the new capital and the old town and on the outskirts. The increase

⁷¹ BSUP is a pro-poor measure taken up by the Odisha government under the JNNURM (Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission). Provision of basic services for the urban poor includes security of tenure at affordable prices, improved housing, water supply, sanitation and ensuring the delivery of services including education, health and social services.

in the population of slum dwellers, the construction workers, the domestic helpers, over the years is due to the offer of brighter economic opportunities for migrants in comparison to their villages.

The growth of slum population in the administrative spaces or the central spaces is, however, due to administrative and political motive, as stated by a few respondents. The government officers wanted people to work in their homes and had them settle nearby. What began with settlement of one or two families gradually multiplied and those spaces got converted to large slums. The slum growth is also a political move as they happen to be a major vote bank. The political parties ensure that these people have their voter ID cards so that they can vote for them, which then legitimises their place of stay. According to Jayaram (2015) the emigrants concentrated in specific localities constitute vote banks for political parties and they are successful in getting their candidates elected and therefore, no political party can lose sight of them.

It can be said that the migration to the city is also caused by the changing needs of the economy of the city. Thorner (1995) argues that, in the case of Bombay, potential labourers were recruited to the labour force in accordance with the changing needs of the economy which proved to be productive for the city. According to Thorner (1995), hundreds and thousands of huts clustered in all sizes and locations of slums testify to the determination of wave after wave of immigrants who want to make the town their home. Rout (2008) believes that landlessness was the major reason behind the movement of people to slums from their area of origin.

Bhide (2015) notes that slums in the city of Bhubaneswar grew when gradually public housing agencies became secondary to private market. In all the housing schemes, very less number are allotted to the Economically Weaker Section (EWS) category. The beneficiary selection process is also inadequate and in most cases the housing units meant for the EWS are appropriated by the well- to- do sections of the population. According to the Annual Report of Bhubaneswar Development Authority (2017-18), the quota of plotted housing schemes for the EWS section is the lowest with just 79 as compared to MIG for which there are 2251 plotted schemes. Mohanty and Das (2015) too point out

the housing shortage in the city particularly in the LIG (Low income group) and EWS category. On the other hand, vacant HIG housing are in abundance. The failure to meet the demands of the poorest sections of the urban population resulted in the production of informal habitat where the poor constructed makeshift housing (Dupont 2008).

Another contributing factor to the growth of slums is the super cyclone that ravaged the city in 1999. Due to this calamity, many people from the nearby rural areas or towns came to Bhubaneswar in search of security and livelihood, particularly, when they lost their homes and means of livelihood. The migrations prior to the cyclone were from hilly areas like Koraput, Keonjhar, Kalahandi and Mayurbhanj but after the cyclone, migration from Jagatsinghpur also began. In a way, disasters like super cyclone too have triggered migrations to the city. According to a retired bureaucrat, the slum growth needs to be understood in phases relating to pre and post 1999. This opinion is supported by the observation made by a resident of a basti, “The super cyclone proved to be a debacle in my life as my institution got destroyed and this was the reason why I came and settled in the slum. I continue to practice the same profession of imparting training in music in the basti too”.

According to a study by Anand and Deb (2017) the number of households in the slums vary from 13 in Rangamatiabasti to 1,414 in Tarini Nagar SaliaSahibasti. The study points out that the bigger slums are found in clusters in Northern, Southern and Western parts of the city. The central parts consist of much smaller number of slums and are confined to scattered settlements. Further, Rout (2008) notes that the slum population of Bhubaneswar can further be classified into colonies belonging to industrial workers, common slums, population squatting on government land.

Slums are also organized on the basis of caste, language, traditional family occupation, social background, etc (Routray, Rath and Sahoo, 2000). Within a larger basti there are small ghettos where people belonging to different communities live. In SaliaSahi cluster, for instance, there are construction workers, daily wage labourers, peons, home guards, auto drivers and people belonging to many other lower level manual and semi or unskilled professions. said that Settlements within a larger slum are categorized as sahis

(hamlets). The SaliaSahi cluster has around 38 slums like the Pradhan sahi, Munda sahi and even constitutes of Adivasi gaon where adivasis who are the migrants from Mayurbhanj district of Odisha live.

Apart from small ghettos within a larger basti, there are bastis which are mostly constituted by a particular community like the Nandinipalli Munda Sahibasti inhabited by the Mundas. However, it may be noted that most of the slums have a mixed population. Even a few government employees live in the slums in rented houses. Routray, Rath and Sahoo (2000) also point out at the refugee colony in Laxmisagar which is occupied by the migrants who had come after partition of India from what is now Pakistan. Apart from this, there are slums which are newly resettled colonies and slums which have a concentration of industrial workers who live within the industrial estate.

The mushrooming of the bastis (slums) in different locations speaks about the urban transformation of the city. The old bastis (which are more than 50 years old) seem to have come up near the central places but as the city expanded bastis have spread all around the city and its periphery. Recently, bastis are surfacing at places that surround newer city developments in the fringes of the city. Some bastis at the Industrial Estate area like Mancheswar are of much later origin as compared to the bastis located at the center. Similarly, bastis near the gated enclaves are of more recent origins. Anand and Deb (2017) reveal that most of the slums have surfaced on the government land meant for partly residential and partly non-residential purposes. This is true of the proposed land use of the city in which 93% of unauthorised slums and 49% of authorised slums are in partly residential and partly non-residential areas (Anand and Deb, 2017).

Thus, the nature and the characteristics of slums depend on the space where the slum is located in. The researcher visited a number of slums in different parts of the city and it can be said that there is some similarity in terms of the nature of jobs, the population composition, the amenities they have and their aspirations towards the city and education in spite of some differences within them. However, the slums located on the periphery are different in terms of the nature of jobs and their educational aspirations. The profiles of life in some of the bastis are presented in detail in the following sections.

II Social and Everyday Life in Slums

The Salia Sahi basti is the biggest and one of the oldest in the city. The population of the basti is 100,000 approximately and it is spread over 256 acres of land. It has a mixed population and its inhabitants have come from other districts of Odisha like Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj etc. Due to the varied population and the representation of almost all the communities of Odisha, this basti is sometimes referred to as “mini Odisha”. This slum has several sub-settlements and colonies and has two municipal wards (Ward no 16 and 20) in the basti. It is an unauthorised settlement built on government land, therefore, the residents of the slum do not have any tenurial rights. Still people have built pucca houses. Most of them live in small, one room houses of asbestos or live under thin sheets. Initially settlers of the basti have built rooms and have given some portions of their rooms on rent. Davis (2006) observes that “landlordism is a fundamental and divisive social relation in slum life worldwide” (Davis, 2006:42). Most of the male residents work as auto drivers, wage labourers, shopkeepers within the basti or near it. Some work as peons and home guards in various places of the city.

Plate 6.1 The Salia Sahi Basti



It may be noted that in the Salia Sahi basti, spaces are earmarked for different purposes and activities. It is a basti in which different communities and groups have come and settled. Any visitor to the basti is greeted with shops, houses, places of worship, and the daily *haats* where things ranging from daily use articles, vegetables and even *handia*⁷² (an intoxicant) are available. It can be said that “there is a hidden world in the basti which looks negative from outside and turns out to be both worse and better than it appears” (Dovey and King, 2012: 277). As Nijman (2010) points out about the Dharavi slum in Mumbai, the use of space is more intense than any other place. Every bit of space is allocated for a specific purpose and they know who belongs to where, what belongs to whom, what is private and what is public. In the same way when the researcher entered the Saliasahi slum and started to enquire about the different lanes in the basti she was informed precisely which lane is inhabited by which community, what their profession is, how can one navigate through the lanes and reach the place, what is the suitable time one should visit a particular community.

The researcher visited different spaces within the SaliaSahi basti like the Tarini Nagarbasti, the Saranapallibasti and the Adivasi Gaon. In the Adivasi gaon there are various adivasi groups like Santhals, Mundas, Bhumijas etc. The adivasi women are basically engaged in selling *handia*. They prepare *handia* during the daytime and sell it in the market inside the basti in the evening. They mostly survive on their *handia* business. The researcher observed that as it gets darker the customers at the *handia* stall grows and the women offer them *handia*. They go back to their homes once they sell all the *handia*. As Banerjee and Duflo (2007) have observed that for a poor woman who has less skills and less capital, being an entrepreneur is often easier than finding an employer with a job to offer. The single women with whom the researcher interacted had to go through a lot of hardships as they had no other option but to sell *handia*. They even fail to engage themselves in vegetable vending as they are unable to go to the market to collect

⁷²Preparation of *handia* is an integral part of the lives of the tribals. The respondents say that *handia* is offered to God during festivals and is an important part of their ritual. If it is taken in moderate quantity it also has health benefits. But the *handia* is getting commercialised in today’s society. People take *handia* in larger quantity to get intoxicated and even sell it to make a living. The sale of *handia* has become rampant as there is no restriction by the government on its use and sale. Outsiders also come to the basti to have *handia*, as shared by a respondent.

vegetables. The business they run is extremely small as they have no money, borrowing is risky and no one wants to lend them (Banerjee and Duflo, 2007).

Most of the adivasis came 20-25 years back when the city had huge stretches of jungles which they cleared and built their huts. They came to Bhubaneswar in search of livelihood and were initially engaged in construction activities in the city. Gradually, they had to sell *handia* to earn their livelihood. Women explain why they have shifted from construction to selling *handia*. According to them, construction work (head loaders) was easier when it involved construction of just single storey buildings but later became risky and difficult with the construction of multi-storeyed buildings. Studies like Lingam (1998) reveal that though male workers have the opportunity to upgrade their skills, achieve horizontal and vertical mobility, women stagnate at the same level or drop out from a level.

Most of the slum dwellers have a strong relationship with the village as it is a matter of survival for them. They depend on their native villages for rice, wheat, grains which they cannot afford to buy in the city. Thus, we find that the city and native village linkages are intact, even after almost twenty years of settlement in the city. The men in this basti work as labourers and some have also opened shops in and around the basti.

On the other hand, the Tarini mandap basti within the SaliaSahi cluster is mostly occupied by the day labourers who are the rent paying tenants. They have to pay a rent of about 1200-1800 per month for a small one room tenement. Unlike other lanes in the basti where the researcher could find respondents during the day, most of the houses in this basti were found to be locked during the day as the women are also engaged in daily wage labouring. The only place one finds them is at the labour market near the Indradhanu market area in the morning hours. The different activities include loading and off loading of items from the vehicles, construction work, digging, plastering, etc.

The Mundas in the SaliaSahibasti are mostly engaged in low paying Government jobs like as home guards, etc. Apart from the adivasis who live in the basti, there are some government employees who came to live in these bastis. Other occupations include driving (autorickshaws), tailoring, petty businesses, vegetable vending etc. The residents

of the Saranapalli basti in Salia Sahi cluster say that the basti people contribute immensely to the growth of Bhubaneswar. They are the main vegetable vendors in the city and without them it is difficult for the vegetable market to operate.

The Nandinipalli Munda Sahibasti is located in Nayapalli area in the heart of the city. The basti is named after Nandini Satpathy, the former Chief Minister of Odisha, who had helped to set up the basti. Most of the residents of the basti belong to the Munda tribe whose older generations had come from Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar to work as labourers in the newly built institutions like the Regional Institute of Education. Residents recalled that as there were vacant lands and jungles they preferred to stay near their place of work and gradually the houses multiplied and became a basti. Staying at a central location in the city provided them an opportunity to stay at a place in which they found all facilities like hospitals, markets, etc. The Mundas of the Nandinipalli Munda Sahibasti feel proud that they stay close to the Kalinga stadium, in a central location or core area of the city. They even feel proud that they are part of the smart city. A resident of the basti was elated when he said the following, “People in our village say that Oh, you stay near Kalinga stadium! What a proud moment it is for us! The location is very important. We are no less as we stay in a smart city”.

The basti has 150 households and has mostly pucca houses. The women in the basti are engaged as domestic helps in residential colonies. It can be said that through their proximity to the strategic urban spaces “the poor gains access to cultural capital and make claims of belonging to a ‘world-class city’ (Schindler, 2013:570) or a ‘smart city’ in the case of Bhubaneswar.

For both the adivasis of the Adivasi Gaon of Salia Sahibasti and the Nandinipalli Munda basti, their tribal culture is an integral part of their lives even if they live in the city. The preparation and distribution of handia is an important tradition and it is served during marriages and even when marriages are fixed. For the adivasis, there is no concept of chai – biscuit (tea and biscuit) so they welcome their guests with a small sip of *handia*, irrespective of whether the latter wish to have it or not. They indulge themselves in music and dance at the time of festivals like Holi and welcome guests to their basti by entertaining them through their dance. They celebrate festivals with much fervor and they

perform what they call “*nachha* and *geeta*”. Through this they share a special bonding and build a feeling of togetherness. A resident remarked, “We celebrate two festivals in a year and we cannot leave our culture as it has been carried on from generation to generation and we want to save that tradition”.

The Mali colony basti is located at Kharavela Nagar, surrounding the middle class and elite localities of Bhubaneswar. It consists of the Telugu speaking people who migrated from different parts of Odisha but most of them have come from the coastal villages of Andhra Pradesh too. They came to Bhubaneswar in search of jobs and decided to stay in the city thereafter. The migrants from Andhra Pradesh settled initially in Ganjam district of Odisha before coming to Bhubaneswar. The basti came up around the government quarters which were allotted to the gardeners (*malis*) employed in government departments. The basti came to be known as the Mali colony basti as it is located around the colony. It is basically an extension of the government quarters, called Mali colony. As the numbers of quarters are very limited, the basti is occupied by low level government servants too. However, once the employees get quarters they leave their basti residences to their relatives. Also, since the quarters are very small, and are not enough for a bigger family many tend to squat on the nearby bastis when families expand. So, this is a two way process and the government quarter is dwarfed by the basti as it gets bigger and bigger with more number of people coming in.

Located in the central part of Bhubaneswar near a commercial area is the Kedar Palli basti. This basti is inhabited by the *hadis* (ex-untouchables). This is a 50 year old basti and houses 1000 *hadi* families⁷³. The researcher observed heaps of garbage in and around the basti which looked more or less like a dumping yard. An open drain leads to the basti and it is devoid of basic services like water and sewerage. The residents noted that though they came to the city 50 years back they got electricity in the year 1980. The residents mostly work as sweepers and got their jobs when Bhubaneswar became a Notified Area Council (N.A.C). In the present day they continue to work in the B.M.C. The respondents said that when they joined the service as sweepers, they used to get 250

⁷³ What distinguishes this basti from the *hadisahi* discussed in Chapter V is that this basti is an unauthorized basti in comparison to the *sahi* which is on a permanent land (people have got land). Apart from this, more people from this basti work as sweepers as compared to the *hadis* in the *sahi*.

rupees a month. Gradually their salary increased to 700 rupees and now most of them get 8000-9000 rupees per month.

What is surprising is that the basti inspite of being located in a central location is devoid of basic services. This is an example in which the city discriminates against the basti residents because of their caste affiliation. The residents said that though they clean roads and toilets of others they themselves have to live in unhygienic conditions. Thus, “residential segregation by castes surpasses residential segregation by socio-economic status” (Vithayathil and Singh, 2012: 61). Those who work as permanent sweepers are staying in government quarters inside the basti but still are devoid of water and basic facilities. There are 150 government quarters as reported by the respondents. But, most of the residents work as sweepers on a temporary basis and are unable to get permanent jobs even after working in the B.M.C for 18 years. Due to the location there are private constructions around the basti.

Plate 6.2 Private buildings around KedarPallibasti



Another settlement, the Jharana Sahi basti is located in the Mancheswar Industrial Estate and is mostly inhabited by the industrial workers. Both men and women work as labourers. Women mostly work in the industries such as in shrimp export industries,

particularly the Falcon Marine Export, which is one of the largest employer of women workforce in Mancheswar area. Girl children are also employed in the industry to supplement their household income. A woman respondent shared that she has five daughters and three of her elder daughters work along with her in the industry. She maintained that together they have a decent income, better than what she was paid when she was engaged in sanitation work in a hospital. What makes this basti different from all other bastis is that women here do not work as domestic helps which according to the residents of Jharana Sahi basti is a degrading occupation. They believe working in a factory gives some respectability to women as opposed to working in someone else's house. Apart from this, they have an assured income and are covered under the formal rules and regulations, such as Provident Fund (PF) etc in comparison to domestic workers who live an insecure life with no stable income and extra perks. Men, on the other hand, are engaged in loading and offloading from the vehicles in the Industrial Estate. In almost all the households ladies are engaged in factory work.

The work in the industry has attracted many from far off places like Nayagarh, Kendrapada and also places closer to the city, namely, Cuttack. They added, however, that they have to go through instability of job as there is frequent change of ownership of the companies. A woman said that from the time she had come she has seen 10 companies come and leave. In the past, the researcher was told, there were no facilities for women and as a result they had little or no say, but now the women assert their rights and even threaten the company to go on strike over nonpayment of wages. They asserted that the companies run only because of women as the proportion of women to men in their company is huge. "Companies have started fearing us, as if we leave their company it will be closed down".

Deeper investigation, revealed that some of them have left the company as they were denied a break for meal and rest. A woman respondent shared that they went to work at 5 am in the morning but were not allowed to have food till 10 am because of which some women got agitated and left the job. In the industry the exploitation is so subtle that many women maintained that they have no issues and no enmity with the company and that, they left the company because of lack of provision for food. One of the female

respondents who left the company said, “We worked for almost 9 years in the company...does the company not know that we worked so sincerely. It is even calling us back...”.

Through these years she has gained so much experience that she can work in any shrimp company, she confidently put forth. Due to her experience Falcon is asking her to come and join their company and is even offering advance but she doesn't want to go back. Due to the strenuous nature and instability of work condition, most of the respondents in the basti prefer to change their jobs from manufacturing industries or factories to retail units as they feel it is more prestigious.

One of the respondents who is employed in Aditya Birla Retail as housekeeping staff feels that what happens in any corporate sector also happens in manufacturing. Initially women work with low salaries but once they gain experience, they tend to switch jobs and prefer to work somewhere else. Speaking about a retail firm “Company has a life and once we put the jacket and I-Card of Aditya Birla it carries prestige and has some value as no one will look down upon us”.

Apparently, the company told them that the ID card should always be around their neck and should not be taken off till they reach their home. Moreover, there is better bonus and medical benefit, provision of meals at a cheaper rate. ‘There is so much demand for this company that people are in waiting’ remarked one respondent. They aspirants submit their contact details and the company calls the persons when it requires employees. According to the respondent “it is like a government service”. All procedures followed at the time of recruitment into government service are followed in that company. All these aspects including the idea of having an I card gave the respondents a sense that they were in an important and respectable job.

The other reason why many of them leave the manufacturing sector is because of the long hours of work and hard, physical labour begins to adversely affect their health. Women from the basti also work in coconut oil manufacturing company. One respondent who is engaged in packaging gets 6000 rupees for a 8 hour job. In addition to the job in factories, some women take up tailoring work in the evening to supplement their income.

The shifting of jobs is prevalent among the men too. A respondent worked in a fishing net production company but when he was denied wages he shifted to another company that offered a decent salary. They said their socio-economic conditions have improved because of the increase in their salary over the years by changing jobs.

But another respondent, working in an ice cream factory, was of the opinion that they have to work as “*dadanasramika*” (daily wage labour) and there is no holiday for them. If they go on leave their wage will be deducted. It is only the income that has increased but not the benefits. It has not necessarily impacted their living conditions. It is like “Labourers come and work hard... if you remain absent for a day you lose your salary for the day”.

After a month’s hard work, workers get wages when the company makes its own profit, a respondent of the Jharanabasti said. Previously, there were frequent labour strikes but now there are no strikes in the neoliberal era as labour is no longer employed under the company directly but under contractors (outsourcing). It can be said that the so-called ‘precariat’ has displaced the traditional proletariat as the urban life is sustained by insecure, often part time, disorganized and low paid labour. Elaborating on the situation of the labour, a respondent said, “now even if a labourer dies by working hard no one cares”.

The labourers have to face difficulties as most of the production units are converted into warehouses/godowns. The labour is also being displaced because most of the industries stop functioning and educational institutes come up in the land. It is surprising that some people use part of the industrial lands as their private spaces, property and give the rest to a company on rent.

The Sikharchandi basti or cluster, located in Ward no-2 is an authorised slum. This basti is 30 years old and is a relocated or resettled basti. This basti was located in Unit III, in the heart of the capital previously. It was razed down and the people carelessly were relocated to the periphery of the city, in the wilderness in the Northern part of Bhubaneswar. The settlement is inhabited mainly by the Telugus who have migrated from Ganjam district of Odisha. Anand and Deb (2017) write that the Sikharchandi

cluster is spread across three clusters, namely, Shikharchandi cluster I, Cluster II and Cluster III. They further write that the residents have been given tenurial rights on a 90-year leasehold with a restriction on sale. As it is an authorized basti, people have built multi-storeyed houses. Due to the multistoried constructions it looks like an urban village. Most of the male residents have set up their own petty shops in the vicinity of the basti or in the basti. It was observed that the shops in this basti were bigger and more in number than the shops in other bastis. The women work as domestic helps in residential colonies.

Plate 6.3 Multistoreyed constructions in the Sikharchandi basti



A basti located in the Northern part of the city, Ward no-1 is the Chirgal Tola⁷⁴ basti. It is a home to the Santhals from Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj district of Odisha. What is significant is that the basti has 3000 tribal families making it one of the largest tribal bastis of the city. What further attracted the attention of the researcher is that the population of the ward has increased by 61.9% in the last 10 years. The general caste population though has increased by 34.4%, the tribal population has increased by 508.5

⁷⁴The basti is named after the Santhali language Chirgal meaning 'awareness' and Tola meaning 'sahi'.

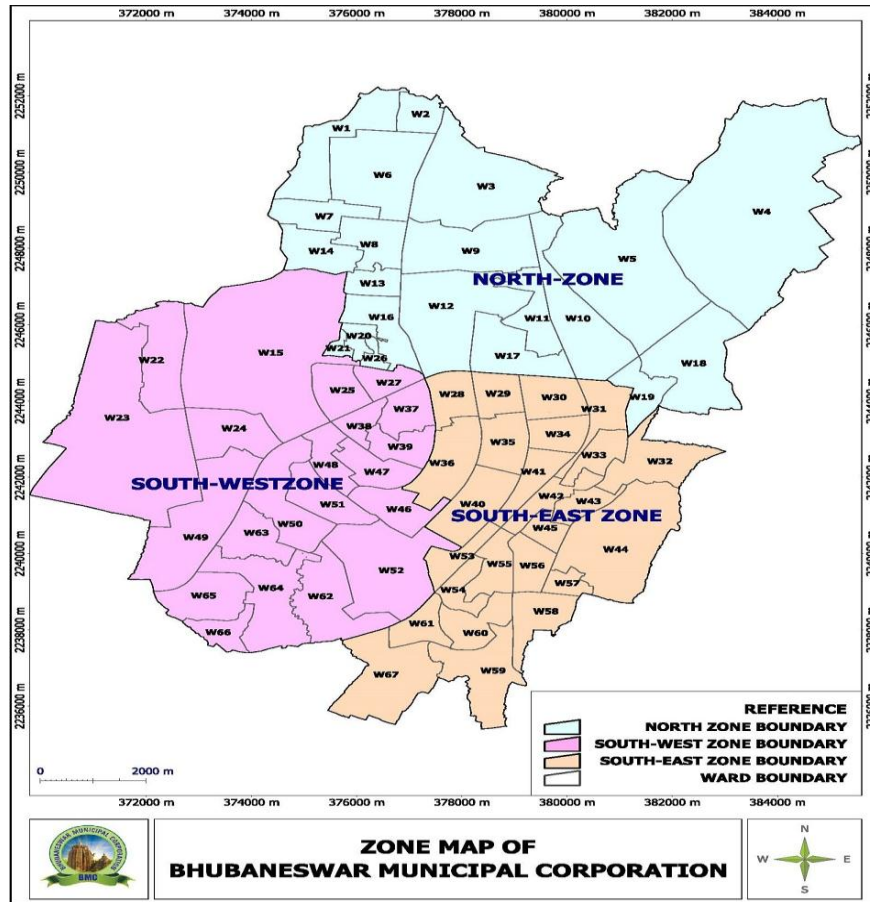
as per the 2011⁷⁵ census, making it the most populous ward in the city in spite of being located in the fringes. This puts an impact on the spatial spread of the city.

Most of the residents of this basti migrated in the year 2000 when they faced drought in their districts and came to Bhubaneswar in search of work. The development that was taking place at Bhubaneswar was also a trigger for them to come and settle at this place. The establishment of the apartments in and around Patia area gave opportunity to these people to work as labourers for example in the construction of Prashanti Vihar apartment. The work opportunities further expanded with the coming of KIIT. Interestingly, when probed deeper the respondents mentioned KIIT not as an ‘educational institution’ but as an ‘industry’. The respondents were quoted as saying that “*we worked in KIIT industry*” and their work was in no way different than people working in industries. Presently, both men and women of the basti work as labourers and have shops and fast food stalls in and around the basti. Some of the residents also work in various companies. Very few people are into Government jobs. One of the respondents mentioned working as a havildar in Odisha police. Though he initially stayed at the B.D.A colony near his office, he chose to come and settle in the basti to be around the people from his community.

The researcher observed that those who have government jobs have better economic condition than the rest of the residents. For example, the havildar who is the secretary of the basti owns all luxury items including a car. His son studies at the Centurion University of Technology and Management (CUTM), a private university. This also speaks about the economic diversity in the basti. Ganguly (2018) in her study of a Balmiki neighbourhood in Delhi speaks about the internal heterogeneity among the Balmikis on the basis of occupation, income and ownership of assets and a distinction was also evident in the way respondents positioned themselves vis-a vis others (p. 55).

⁷⁵<https://indikosh.com/ward/426026/bhubaneswar-ward-no-0001> Retrieved on 20th June 2019.

Map 6.1 The ward boundaries of Bhubaneswar city locating Ward No-1



Source- <https://www.bmc.gov.in/about/zones-wards>

Urban Poor’s Imagination of the City: Between ‘Hope’ and ‘Despair’

The city has been an extraordinary source of dreams, aspirations and illusions, notes Jayaram (2015). For him, the city acts naturally as a magnet not only for public and private investment but also for rural population. Jayaram describes the city as an island of promise in the midst of despair. A city like Bhubaneswar is an appropriate example of this island because it basically caters to the needs and aspirations of population of nearby villages. As mentioned earlier, people in the slums have migrated from the neighbouring villages and districts of Odisha like Ganjam, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar . It has also witnessed migrations from coastal villages of Andhra Pradesh. Speaking about migration patterns, Routray, Rath and Sahoo (2000) point out that migrants from Southern Odisha,

particularly Ganjam district, have generally undergone the experience of two towns before finally selecting Bhubaneswar as their destination. Whereas the migrants from Northern Odisha have visited three or more towns including Cuttack before settling down at Bhubaneswar. This indicates a stepwise movement of migrants from other urban centers to engage in the economic activities of the city. It can be said that the demand for specific services for a city creates spatial contexts like slums. Bhubaneswar as a capital city offers more opportunities to earn higher income, particularly in the informal sector than their native places and other places in Odisha. Apart from the economic opportunities, the city is less crowded in comparison to other neighbouring cities like Calcutta and is also peaceful which proved to be reasons for migration.

Other than the pull factors such as Bhubaneswar being a higher income destination the push factors mentioned by the migrants were that the villages are unable to provide employment and there is lack of enough cultivable land. According to them they migrated to Bhubaneswar mostly because of the poverty and indebtedness they had to face in the village. They came with the hope that the city will help them move out of this situation, their labour will fetch them more money in comparison to the village. They point out that, for the same amount of labour, for which they get 150 rupees in the village they get 400 rupees in the city. Lack of educational opportunities as also a push factor for some to migrate to Bhubaneswar.

Though some of the slum dwellers had cultivable lands in their native villages, it was not sufficient for a decent living. Cultivation also depended on the vagaries of the weather. Moreover, the absence of proper irrigation facilities also refrained most of them to cultivate lands and forced them to search for a new and better living. A woman in the Jharana sahi basti who has been a resident for 17 years stated that she had come to Bhubaneswar because of 'hope'. She came and worked in the shrimp factory, got married and had children and is now settled in Bhubaneswar. Most of the women mentioned about having the opportunity to constitute Self Help Groups which was beneficial to them. They can get money at a very low rate of interest of just 2%, a Munda woman said. But it is still not enough for these women to carry out their living.

One of the respondents who had migrated to Bhubaneswar 30 years ago said that at that point of time people migrated because of extreme poverty but the new migrants come to the city to fulfill their dreams. They are coming to secure their future by getting some extra income. One respondent, however, argued that villages are no more pushing people to migrate as the villagers are getting several benefits because of the populist measures adopted by the government. Nowadays “we have to depend on the villages”, he said. Most of the lower classes who have migrated in recent times have some or the other person known to them who are already residing in the city. It has become like a “chain system”, echoes a respondent.

During one of the field interactions it was found that for the lower level government employees who had come to Bhubaneswar and stayed in government quarters previously or stayed in outhouses of the employer were forced to move into the basti after retirement from service or in many cases after being driven out of their job, as they had no other place to go. So, settling in a basti was their only option as they were unable to stay on rent. There were also instances where people who were initially staying in the basti vacated their homes, put it on rent and went to stay somewhere else once they secured a government job. So, this is also a kind of vicious circle. It is like a “*poverty trap*” for majority of slum dwellers who are neither temporary nor a stopover on the way to greater economic opportunities (Marx, Stoker and Suri, 2013: 188). It was also observed that people who had come and settled earlier in the basti constructed houses on government land and even sold it later or in many cases they just claimed the space as theirs and sold it to someone else.

Many slum dwellers lamented that staying in the basti involves a lot of struggle. Most of the respondents who have been living in the basti for more than 40 years shared the struggles and challenges to settle down in the basti after their migration to the city. They recounted the times when there was no communication or conveyance; they had to clear the jungle and also had to protect themselves from wild animals or had to coexist with them. However, overtime, they built a life for themselves. Even after staying for so many years in the basti they have to face the ridicule of the other social groups who say: “arrey eguda basti pila” (look!! they are basti people). The respondents of the Chirgal Tola basti

spoke about the way the residents of the Prashanti Vihar housing board colony looked down upon the basti residents and lodged complaints against them for creating nuisance in the area. In this way, the low intensity struggles go on between the new middle class and the poor over space and the terms of its use (Schindler, 2013: 558).

It can be further said that there is a combination of material poverty with social stigma which they have to face outside their social circles and they are often identified in terms of where they belong (Nijman, 2010). As a result of this stigma they fail to recognize themselves as true citizens of Bhubaneswar. If they had their own space which they could claim as their own they too will be able to say in a true sense that “ama ghara Bhubaneswar re ma”! (Our house is Bhubaneswar)!

Most of the respondents also opined that though their conditions are not any better than their village counterparts, they have become a reference group for the people who stay in the villages. The villagers feel that those who stay in a city like Bhubaneswar are better placed than them. A respondent quoted his proud mother: “mo pua Bhubaneswar re rahichhi” (my son is staying in Bhubaneswar). This was irrespective of what he does at Bhubaneswar. Another respondent of the Munda Sahi basti felt that their relatives in the village also comment on their food habits in the city by saying that “*you eat bhata (rice), dali (dal) and tarkari (curry) in the city but in villages we have to be satisfied with saga and pakhala*”. “The expectation of our family in the village also grows when we stay at Bhubaneswar and we have to keep sending money for our dependents” said another respondent. Most of them pointed out that though their salaries have improved it doesn’t guarantee a better living condition for their families.

Bhubaneswar has proved to be a city of despair for the day labourers as they feel that it is not creating enough jobs for them and they have to move to the periphery to find jobs. The same city which once acted as a site of hope and opportunity is proving to be unattractive to the labourers and many frequently go to their villages or find work outside the state if a crisis arises. It is a matter of survival for them as they are forced to do small scale work in order to survive. This “Overurbanisation is driven by the reproduction of poverty, not by the supply of jobs. This is one of the unexpected tracks

down which a neoliberal world order is shunting the future” (Davis, 2006:16). Breman (2003) argues that the exodus from the village economy in the third world does not mean that the swelling numbers of migrants succeed in settling down in urban locations. Due to these insecurities and anxieties most of them maintain strong connections with their native villages.

It can be said that these informal day labourers have limited claim to the city and they feel that they belong to nowhere. They don't belong to their villages as they cannot stay there for long nor they belong to the city as they cannot lay claims to it. As a result of this, they frequent their villages for fulfillment of their daily requirements. They also leave their children in the villages in the care of their relatives. Banerjee and Duflo (2007) say that the poor also migrate for shorter periods and leave their families behind to maintain their social links. The poor sometimes avoid long term migrations and value remaining close to one's social networks as it might be the only source of insurance available to these people (Munshi and Rosenzweig, 2005 cited in Banerjee and Duflo 2007). Their life is so uncertain that respondents said: “*Duty milile jibu nahale ghare soibu*” (if we get duty, we go for work otherwise we sleep at home).

Moreover, their chance of securing permanent work is thwarted by the contractors who sometimes employ middlemen or people known to them to bargain with the labourers. Reportedly, these middlemen pay less wages to the labourers. In many cases, these middlemen create a group and are employed by contractors and most of the labourers are left out in the process. If a contractor fixes the wage of a labourer at 350 rupees per day, 50 rupees goes into the pocket of the middleman and the labourer is left with 300 rupees. Sometimes the contractor also makes a deal with a labourer whom he knows, to exploit his fellow labourers as a result of which their daily wages are dependent on the whims and fancies of the contractors and the industrialists. Though the contractors go directly to the basti to hire labourers they are hired for a particular period of time, say, 15 days or a month. In that way the labourers hired from the basti have an assured income, at least for a particular period of time. Sometimes, they demand some money in advance but take the rest of the amount after the contract is over. Even if a day labourer who is hired from a labour market charges 500 rupees per day he may sit idle for other days

making these day labourers more vulnerable. Their day starts at 7 in the morning and they only think about their work. This kind of a job market does not have what economists call 'structure'. They refer to it as 'structureless market' or 'open employment relationship' (Bartley and Roberts, 2006: 44). For Bartley and Roberts (2006), the job assignments are made on a short term basis and most jobs require very few skills or is a "highly impersonal, fluid and exploitative employment scenario" (Bartley and Roberts, 2006:44). This makes the nature of work informal without any social security benefit.

Similarly, the women labourers who are found standing in the labour market are mostly engaged in construction work, domestic work etc. There is no permanent source of income as their nature of work fluctuates and they are themselves not sure that they will get work. Everyday, they wait for a couple of hours, or till 12 noon, in the market and return to their homes if they fail to get work. They are often paid less than they deserve, complained the day labourers.

It can be said that the 'city of hope' is proving to be a 'city of despair' for some of the poorer sections. The daily ordeal of finding employment is coupled with looming threat of evictions as slum clearance projects are undertaken by the authorities. Grenell (1980) suggests that in order to make land available and encourage private residential development, the government undertook a lot of slum clearance initiatives right from the days of planning. Grenell, further, points out that another wave of slum clearance came when the All India Congress Committee meeting was held at Bhubaneswar in 1964. In this period, slum clearance was initiated in the railway zone's squatter colonies to build an entire neighbourhood unit to house the delegates.

Grenell notes that the squatters were also subject to periodic eviction. Since the slum dwellers are the so called "illegal" occupants and cannot prove their long term residences on the land they occupy, they have no right to compensation (Harvey, 2012). For the rich people surrounding the squatter, the homes of the poor are an eyesore, a blight, a cancer and the local homeowners association generally strive for their removal (Neuwirth, 2005). The residents of the basti resist any attempt to evict them. They have resisted with

bows and arrows in the past at the Chief Minister's office, notes a resident of the Salia Sahi basti. The residents of the Jharana Sahi basti said that they have resisted by sleeping in front of the bulldozer and have marched to the Sachivalaya (secretariat) with a hope of stalling the demolition of the basti.

For Baviskar (2006), the question of land lies at the center of the demolition drive. Since the basti residents are settled at that place they do not want to move and demand to be given land at that place only as it was built by these people over many decades. Chatterjee (2004) opines that though the squatters admit that their occupation of public land is illegal and goes against a proper civic life, they make a claim to their space and livelihood as a matter of right and use the association created by them as an instrument to pursue their claim.

Respondents of the Jharana Sahi basti dwellers recount an attempt to evict them where the basti was razed by the Government in 2003 following which the people had to face a lot of hardships: "our condition was comparable to animals". On the day their basti was bulldozed, people ran to a nearby place with just a *chhadar* (bed sheet). When the government enforcement staff came back again to do fencing, the residents did not backtrack, they protested as their livelihood depended on that place. "We became hopeless as we did not know what to eat and what to do. It was winter and we had to face the biting cold", recalls one of the basti resident. It can be said that what were once unclaimed spaces, vacant plots of land made habitable by the squatters, are now ripe for development. The lands in which the urban poor live have been incorporated into the profit economy (Baviskar, 2006). This leads to eviction of the urban poor from their habitat not only in Bhubaneswar but in cities across the country..

The basti dwellers also recount that they had to face double tragedy when the cyclone struck in 1999 and their homes were destroyed. This cyclone was more dangerous than the previous one, noted a respondent: "That was batya and this was narabaty". Following their protests, they were given polythene sheets by the Government which they temporarily used to rebuild their huts. Gradually, they took out time for reconstruction in the evening after coming back from work, with the help of lanterns. They became

desperate to get the lands that were once promised by the government. They organized protest rallies in order to have some clarity about rehabilitation promises and fight for their rights in the city. As Chatterjee rightly puts it, the claim to the right to the city forms a crucial aspect of the “*politics of the governed*” (Chatterjee, 2004: 57).

Another example of relocation from one area to another is of the snake charmers or Kelas of Bhubaneswar. These people were not only evicted from their original homes and resettled in Padmakesaripur, their source of livelihood was also lost when the government banned catching of snakes from the wild as per the Wildlife Protection Act 1972. Nowadays, NGOs are generally called for rescue of snakes as a result of which the importance of the Kelas is going down. Apart from snake charming, they were also engaged in selling herbal medicines to people. After being removed from their traditional way of life and livelihood they have nowhere to go and are forced to take up labour work or take up low paid work in companies.

These snake charmers were nomads earlier and used to come to the village only during festivals. But as their traditional occupation is at stake, they are forced to settle in the basti. Earlier the Kela women were engaged in tattooing and are now engaged in domestic work like cleaning vessels in other’s households. Initially they hesitated to take up such work but were later forced to do so in order to survive. Similarly, the residents of the relocated Sikharchandi basti say “When Government needed land in the town, they relocated the basti people to the periphery. In future there is no guarantee that they will not be relocated again”.

The Government demolished bastis in Nayapalli area and resettled them at Bharatpur which lies in the periphery. Routray, Rath and Sahoo (2000) observe that some settlements which were affected by eviction by the government were resettled beyond 10 kms of distance from the city center. The resettlement areas were so remote and barren that people never wanted to go to those areas. What is interesting is that they are the first to develop a place into a habitable settlement and once there is some habitation the middle classes come to occupy that place and claim it as their own. They say, “The

middle classes derive their strength from us. It is we who go and stay at a place and the area develops subsequently”.

Importantly, there is no guarantee that these people will not be evicted again as all the gated enclaves and posh localities come up in these areas and the poor may be driven out when the need for further development arises. When the area develops a bit then the original residents will be thrown out, shared a respondent. Most of them pointed out that the “rich never want a basti in their vicinity but want the services of the basti dwellers”. The eviction of the slum dwellers and the establishment of the gated communities can be termed as “accumulation by dispossession” (Harvey, 2007, Banerjee- Guha, 2013) “whereby states advance the material interests of upper and middle classes, developers, corporations and transnational finance by rechanneling public resources and evicting the urban poor” (Doshi, 2013: 844).

The basti residents felt that they have an important role in the urban transformation of the city as they are the ones who clear the jungles and make it habitable for middle classes and elites to come and live there. Not only this they also guard the residences of upper and middle classes and act as a protective shield for these residences. So, it is obvious that the poor are as important for the survival of the other classes. Schindler (2013) emphasizes that both the middle class and the poor are interdependent; “The poor depend on the new middle class for their livelihoods, and the lifestyles of the middle class are enabled by services provided by the poor” (p.558).

According to Bhan (2013) this experience of displacement is a double- edged sword for the poor. In addition to the violence and eviction, it is a moment where the process of resettlement offers a tenuous hope of legality and tenure security. The process of settlement is never complete in such cases and the poor are (un) settled regardless of the decades they have lived in the city. Bhan further notes that the multiple stories of habitation, displacement and resettlement tells us how the city has been built to arrive at its present form.

The recent incidence of displacement of slum dwellers happened during the Hockey World Cup which the city hosted in 2018. It resulted in the eviction of slums from the

vicinity of the venue of the games. The Kalinga stadium area was being renovated to host the games and build a brand in the run to make Bhubaneswar a 'world class city'. It is an example in which the space is put to some abstract purpose like the reproduction of capital for the achievement of a neoliberal vision (Boano, Hunter and Newton, 2013). It speaks volumes about the interconnection between capitalism and urbanization (Harvey, 2012). Speaking about the evictions in Delhi for the Commonwealth Games of 2010 and the making of the city as a 'world class city', Bhan (2009) argues that evictions and resettlement become not only tales of destruction of lives and livelihoods of people but the erasure of an image of a slum, "emptied of the people who live in it" (Bhan, 2009:140). This observation by Bhan was also echoed in a field interaction in which a respondent noted that their contribution in building the city is immense: "*Ame Bhubaneswar gadhichhu*" (we have built Bhubaneswar). This indicates their sense of rootedness in the space they occupy. It can be related to Lefebvre's notion of the "city as an 'oeuvre' or a work produced by the labour and the daily actions of those who live in the city" (Lefebvre cited in Attoh, 2011: 674).

Most of the basti residents seemed uninterested in the games and the fest which happened in the city and have not even visited the exhibition ground which is very close to their place of residence. They wondered as to from where does the government get so much money to spend on the games and how many people really watch hockey in the state and the city? Instead they suggested that it could have been spent some other way like on basti improvement from which they would have benefitted.

Slum clearances are also an attempt at beautifying the city through the effort of the Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation. The B.M.C has sought partnership with major corporate houses, government undertakings, private mining agencies, hotels and restaurants to turn Bhubaneswar into a major tourist attraction. The attempt at beautification also resulted in paintings on the walls throughout the city and the artists have been funded to the tune of 30 lakhs for some of the paintings. The B.M.C website even declares about "beautification of the market building area popularly known as Unit-

II market, investing around 80 lakhs...”⁷⁶. These are, in a way, attempts to cover up the city and change the image of the city by projecting it as a city free of sites or spectacles of poverty.

The residents of most of the bastis with whom the researcher interacted with, expressed that they are always in a state of uncertainty. They are always living in the hope that the government will eventually provide them with some land. Their uncertainty is such that it prompted a respondent of the Saranapalli basti in Salia Sahi to say that, “the village suits us more than the city as we can freely lead our lives in the village which we are not able to do in the city...our profession is only in the city but our lives revolve around our villages”.

A respondent who is a retired professor opined that the whole idea of slum clearance does not work and is very unrealistic. He noted, “when you need people at morning 7’o’ clock at your doorstep, how can they stay 20km away and still work for you.... they have to be somewhere close by”.

He further stated that in developing countries you need people in low paid jobs to do your domestic work and they generally find locations closer to their clientele. In this way the middle class has “pulled the poor into the informal service sector” (Schindler, 2013: 558). Schindler further opines that the new middle class does not seem to exclude the poor from their environs but regulates the poor’s access to space.

Due to this constant threat of eviction, the slum population felt that when they stay in a familiar environment they feel secure as it acts as a closed community. They talked about togetherness among them and how people help each other when they are faced with an adverse situation which instills a sense of fear and helplessness something which characterises their lives. In a situation of need they even collect money from different households and contribute. If something happens to someone, the whole basti comes to their support. This finds resonance in Jayaram’s (2015) opinion when he says that “social space gets embedded in physical space” (p.8). In this context it can be said that there are newer articulations of segregation and exclusion as opposed to traditional religious cities which were segregated on the basis of caste (Jayaram, 2015). For a state in which the

⁷⁶<https://www.bmc.gov.in/beautifying-bhubaneswar> Retrieved on 15/04/2019.

majority of people live in rural areas and with less urbanization, the city of Bhubaneswar has been the growth center of Odisha attracting the slum population.

The ownership of land is also what differentiates a basti resident from a middle and upper class resident. The middle and upper classes have money and can afford to stay in a city even if they vacate government quarters. On the other hand, there are those people who belong to the old villages in the periphery who have their own lands which they offer on rent and earn money. This group has a secure place to live and can continue to live in the city. But the basti residents cannot lay claim to the city as they don't have lands.

Irrespective of the space they occupy, the bastis residents face discrimination. Even if they occupy the central location their condition is more or less same as any other basti located in the periphery. Surprisingly, when the researcher went to most of the bastis, the residents enquired about the lands the government had promised to give them as it is the most important thing which will secure their existence in the city. According to one of the respondents, "We have built a culture in the basti over generations. How can we go and stay with unknown people at an unknown place? We don't even know who our next door neighbour is?"

It can be related to what Boano, Hunter and Newton (2013) in their article on "contested urbanism" in Dharavi discuss. With respect to the controversial Dharavi Redevelopment Project (DRP) the authors argue that in the production of Dharavi through the DRP, a master distinction is made between those who produce a space for domination and those who produce space as an appropriation to serve the human need. They further say that the DRP envisions a transformation from horizontal low rise "slums" to high rise typology where residential units will be placed on top floors and commercial units will be located at the ground and first floors. This is also in sharp contrast to the master plan formulated by Koenigsberger in the case of Bhubaneswar.

What was evident from the interviews is that caste plays an important role even in the choice of neighbours of the slum dwellers. Many respondents were apprehensive that if the government provides them with alternate land in some other place or shifts them to apartments they might be forced to stay with a person of lower caste. . One of the

respondents claimed that if a Brahmin lands up with a *hadi* as a neighbour (ex-untouchable), then they will avoid staying at that place. In addition to the scheme of providing flats at Mainshikhal, the Government of Odisha also formulated The Odisha Land Rights to Slum Dwellers Act in 2017 in order to solve the problems of the slum population by regularizing the bastis and providing them land. According to the Odisha Land Rights to Slum Dwellers Act, 2017, “Every landless person occupying land in a slum in any urban area, shall be entitled for settlement of land and certificate of land right shall be issued in accordance with the provision of this Act” (Housing and Urban Development Department, GOO, 2017).

A respondent who is a government employee even said, this is the first act in India that provides land rights to the urban poor living in slums in the same way revenue department provides for the rural poor. This is basically for economically weaker sections of the population and other people who have no land in urban areas. The right permits them to mortgage their land in financial institutions to get loan, prohibits them to sell that land but it is inheritable. It is a matter of surprise that this Act is not applicable to spaces and people who are in need of this Act like the areas under Municipal Corporation, namely, the city of Bhubaneswar. Instead, this Act is only applicable for (N.A.C) areas and the Municipal areas. In other words, this will not help the slum dwellers in the city of Bhubaneswar.

IV Educational Imagination of the Poor

The slum population is not only under constant threat because of periodic evictions but also due to slum clearance policies adopted by the government. The uncertainties they face in the city or the conditions in which they live affects their aspirations towards education. The aspirations also differ from one section to another depending upon the economic situation and the kinds of employment taken up by the basti residents. The basti residents who work in private firms or those who are in government jobs have a different aspiration towards education as compared to the day labourers and the factory workers. One important finding of the study is that most of the respondents in the bastis are forced to educate their children in government schools.

For primary education, most of the respondents chose government schools which are in close proximity of their basti. For high school they prefer a government high school located nearby. For example, the residents of Laxminarayana basti located in Unit IX prefer sending their children to the Unit IV Girls High School and Unit IX Boys High School. For college education, they prefer to go to government colleges like the Biju Patnaik College, Maharshi Womens' college etc which mostly cater to the children of lower classes. Similarly, the Munda tribes of the Nandinipalli Munda Sahibasti say that most of the basti children go to Nayapalli Ashram School, for high school they prefer Unit- IV Girls High School and for boys they prefer Unit-IX Boys High School. Apart from this many prefer Capital High School which is also accessible to them.

Their preference for government schools is shaped by monetary concerns and most of them mentioned that if they had money they would educate their children in a private school, preferably the low fee private schools like the Sishu Mandirs. They prefer Sishu Mandirs over the government schools as they feel that there is a lack of responsibility among the government school teachers towards children, a grievance that finds resonance in literature on government schools in India. The respondents frequently mention about the environment of the government schools which is not good.

Most of the respondents including the adivasis noted that for education, the city provides more opportunities as compared to their villages. There are several facilities in the city and if one wants to educate children they can do so in a good manner. Laxmi, a Munda woman, observed that “Even if you do a computer course you can enter into any private job even if it is low paying in a city”. Some respondents added that “awareness comes from living in a city”. In this context, Ganguly (2018) opines that “the larger context of the urban space is of significance because of the imagination of the urban has always been that of a space which offers more opportunities for employment, socio-economic mobility and access to ‘good education’ as compared to rural” (Ganguly, 2018:52).

Though the basti dwellers spoke of educating their children in good schools and colleges, they were uncertain about what their children should study. From the field interactions one could infer that parental aspirations were shaped by their constraints and limited

exposure to education. A young female respondent from Mali Colony basti, who was working in a dry cleaning shop, shared that though she was studying 10+2 in the R.D Women's College and wanted to appear for various entrance examinations, she was not sure about what to take up as a career and what to do beyond that. Similarly, the daughter of a respondent from Laxminarayana basti who was studying in Biju Patnaik College was not sure about what she wanted to do after completing her 10+2. But the middle class parents because of their favorable position in the class hierarchy reproduce this in terms of educational attainment and thus can strategize the education of their children in a proper manner. Their children also have the freedom to 'choose' or 'explore' different opportunities. This speaks about the educational disadvantage of the basti dwellers.

In the interviews, the parents were often heard saying that, "Though they try their best to educate their children, the willingness of the children to study is the only thing that will make the difference".

A respondent in the Nandinipalli Munda basti stated that they will be able to guide their children only till the high school after which once the child goes to college the parents will not be able to guide or make decisions about their educational trajectory and careers. . "What they will do depends on their wish", noted a respondent from Laxminarayan basti. She further elaborated,

"If I want my son to be an engineer but he does not have the talent to be an engineer then he can't be even if I want he will ultimately blame the parents to have forced him to take up engineering".

Children sometimes question the parents' intention when it comes to spending on their education. A respondent of the Laxminarayan basti revealed that she doesn't know if her parents can spend for her education in future. She feels, "though I aspire to do B.A, I know that my parents will not let me study beyond 10+2". Moreover, she opines that there are also very less options available for a person who wants to study beyond the 10 +2 level and even if there are good colleges the percentage required to get through them is also high. This shows the inability of parents to educate their children and also the less options available to educate their children.

Educating children is also a challenge for the basti residents because of lack of space. A respondent of the Jharana Sahi basti said “We have to adjust in a small piece of land and in a limited space, what can we do.... where will we eat.... where will we teach our children?”. Within that limited space they sleep, watch television and do all other household chores. It is harder for respondents who live on rent as one has to adjust in a small space without being able to make more room by expanding or making changes to the existing space.

Apart from space constraints one needs a proper environment; a disciplined society, a respondent commented. They also mentioned about the “club houses” or the rooms for recreation in the basti which are misused for illegal activities as a result of which they don’t feel free to leave their children behind in the basti in the absence of parents or elders. The role of ‘educational environment’ and its role in ensuring social and economic advancement becomes important for the slum dwellers in this context (Ganguly, 2018).

Another respondent pointed out that though they are sending their child to school however over the years their son’s performance has been deteriorating and they as parents are unable to give him time and help him out in his studies. Both husband and wife go out for work in the day time, and the child is left behind. He observed that if someone from the basti emerges as successful in attaining education it is like a lotus blossoming in a muddy pond. According to him it is all a matter of destiny, few lotuses do blossom but not many, suggesting that only a handful of people from the slum are able to make it big by living in this environment. The imagery of the lotus and the mud is to remind one of the unfavourable social and physical environment of a slum. He further added: “Everything depends on money. If one has enough money one can educate their children”.

On the other extreme are the daily wage day labourers who remain excluded from the educational scenario in Bhubaneswar. Most of them prefer to leave their children in the villages under the care of grandparents or relatives. Curiously, the mothers among them got angry when they were asked about education of their children and avoided any discussion on the topic. Some of them wanted their male counterparts to respond to any

question on education, that were posed by the researcher. Those who said that they are educating their children in Bhubaneswar, failed to name the school and location of school. They used expressions like “*seyijaga*” (that place), “*seyi school*” (that school) and some even used the names of popular colleges like the B.J.B College or even Utkal University. In most of the cases, the city of Bhubaneswar was just out of their reach in terms of educational opportunities for their children. One of the respondents who was a day labourer noted that it is even difficult to get their children admitted in an anganwadi, forget about their school and higher education. They have to constantly face discrimination and ridicule. For instance, they reported that the authorities in anganwadis mock them by saying, ‘*Anda chhatua khaibaku tume chhatapata hauchha*’(you are so desperate to have eggs and chhatua).

If poor basti dwellers choose Bhubaneswar as an educational destination for their children, government school is their only option. They say “*ame khatiki khaiba loka pila ku patha kana padheibu*” (we ourselves are labourers how we will educate our children?). They don’t even get the time to see if their children actually go to schools or not. They send children to schools only because they themselves have to go to work and want to keep their children busy however, in their absence children often falter, roam around aimlessly, enter into bad company and drop of schools. Their helplessness and poverty is evident from the expressions they use such as “*peta lagi nata*” (all the struggle for the tummy). They were more interested in sharing their stories of struggle for survival in the city than about education, “*Ame khatuchhu khatibakatha kahipariba patha padheiba katha kahiparibani*” (as we are labourers we can just say about our labour we cannot say anything about education).

Similarly, the educational level of snake charmers (Sapuakelas)⁷⁷ is also very low. In the Padmakesaripur village inhabited by the snake charmers, most of the people not educated. Studies like Mohanty and Mohanty (2004) though indicate that their education levels are improving; the male literacy has increased from 26.97% in 1983 to 47.85% in 2004, but it the literacy rate is very low when we compare it with the overall literacy.

⁷⁷ They are a semi-nomadic community who are considered impure and are ranked low in the traditional caste hierarchy. This community suffer through the stigma of untouchability resulting in their social, economic and educational backwardness Mohanty and Mohanty (2004).

Further, the literacy rates of females is lower than males. The female literacy has increased from 10.32% in 1983 to 29.62% in 2004 (Mohanty and Mohanty, 2004). As they were a nomadic community, they roamed from one place to another, taking their children along with them, as a result of which they were unable to educate their children. When they used to return to their villages in the month of June-July at the time of Raja sankranti and again in September-October at the time of Dussehra, the seats in the schools used to get filled. As they are no longer engaged in their previous occupation and are settled in the village, they have began showing some interest in educating their children.

The residents shared that none of the children in the village can claim to have a job with a decent income. In contrast to this basti, the Kalarahanga Gram panchayat in which the village is located is a developed village as it is inhabited by the Brahmins who own agricultural land which they cultivate, sell and make their living.

The residents of the Kedar Palli basti inhabited by the Hadis (ex-untouchables) complained that the only upper primary school operating in their basti was demolished a year ago. This led to large scale dropout of the basti children. The reason given to the residents for demolition was that the school structure had become weak and they were promised that a new building will be constructed soon. But the school was never rebuilt and the basti dwellers have to struggle for basic facilities. The residents were finding it difficult to fulfill the educational needs of their children after the closure of the only school within their reach. They believed that the educational facilities and other needs in the basti were neglected on the basis of caste. Due to their caste affiliations, teachers are not willing to come to their basti and teach. This shows us that despite the growth and urbanization of Bhubaneswar discrimination on the basis of caste still persists. It can be said that space is defined not only in terms of physical aspects but social as well. The socio-economic status of the inhabitants and their ties with the outside world is important to understand a neighbourhood space (Lupton, 2003 cited in Ganguly, 2018).

Moreover, the *hadis* are unable to get caste certificates made for their children and avail benefits as they don't have land rights certificates (LRC) of their land. The educational

attainment level of the hadis is dismal. When asked about the education of their children, the basti residents said that only 4-5 people from the basti have studied up to 10+2 and they too do not have a decent income and experience job insecurities. Though the older generation has been working as sweepers in the B.M.C, the younger generation works as sweepers, in the private sector, with a meager income of INR 4000 – INR 5000 per month. This indicates a continuation of the traditional occupation.

Not just instrumental role, Education is for making good human beings: Most of the basti respondents who educated their children focused on the importance of morality in education. When enquired about the reason for educating their children, the parents said that they wanted their children to be ‘*bhala manisha*’ (good human beings). For parents, obedience, culture and having respect for elders was the most important aspect of education. There were frequent references to the deterioration of standards in government schools as students lacked discipline and the teachers also did not make efforts to cultivate obedience among students. They also spoke about the decreasing capital punishments or ‘*danda*’ in schools as a result of which the children are not able to perform well. The respondents believed that ‘children should have ‘*bhaya*’ (fear) and a lack of which is causing decline in academic standards. Parents felt that there was no use of educating children if they grew up to be indifferent towards their parents and abandoned the former; “What is the use of education if children go abroad and are unable to come back if their parents are in trouble?”. One respondent said: “*Bhala manisha is dependent on bhala sikhya*” (good human being is dependent on good education). “*Kharap sikhya dominates over bhala sikhya*” (bad education dominates over good education).

Thus, good education included respect and concern for the others especially parents, showing obedience and leading a disciplined life. Education, for them, is also related to appropriate behavior in public. Another respondent added to this discussion by saying, ‘In Bhubaneswar if there is 10% good education 90% is bad education’. They equated good education and bad education to conduct in public places and how people show disrespect to each other. On further probing the respondent pointed out to an incident that happened in a vegetable market in which the vegetable vendor was addressed as “tu” (a mark of disrespect) instead of “tume” (respect) by a customer. He argued, “If the

customer even if he belongs to a higher class/ caste addresses someone as “tu” in public, then what is the value of such education!”.

He explained that people do not even address their domestic help as “tu” and if someone does utter “tu” that signifies that their parents have not given them good education.

As they are always struggling to make ends meet, their primary concern is that they should eat something and wear something signifying the lack of high aspiration. Most of them felt that their children may work or may not work but they should have ‘*sadbudhi*’, meaning the sense or judgement of good and bad, or a good conscience. Their situation also limits their confidence to go out in public and to be able to survive in the city one should have that confidence otherwise it is difficult to face the city. This kind of response is evident from the limited world they operate in as a result of which their exposure also gets limited.

Though most of the respondents came to the city in the hope of greater income opportunities, one respondent said that he came to Bhubaneswar to educate his younger brothers who got enrolled in government high schools under the Adivasi quota in 1996. But then they also required money to sustain in a city like Bhubaneswar. So he decided to stay and work in the city to earn and support his brothers’ education. The importance of education among them was evident when they said that education is essential for survival in the city and if they were educated their conditions would have been better. The basti dwellers seemed to know that certain kind of education will fetch their children certain kind of job. The children of most of the slum dwellers generally do not go for higher education after completing school. As a result they end up with low income jobs as sales persons in retail malls such as Big Bazaar or other shopping complexes or work as lower level staff in mobile companies. The aspiration for education among girls is even worse compared to boys.

The slum dwellers cannot lay claim to the growing educational facilities of the city as most of the big institutions like Kalinga Institute of Social Sciences (KISS) which cater to the educational needs of the lower classes, focus on the children belonging to other districts of Odisha and not on those within the city. These institutes have their agents who

are employed in different districts basically to ‘recruit’ poor children who in their imagination can sustain in bare minimum requirements provided by these institutes. They provide placements outside the state for a meager income of INR 7000-8000 per month which is quite insufficient for sustenance notes a respondent.

Summary

It may be said that the city of Bhubaneswar has attracted a lot of migrant population from nearby and far off places, who have come and lived in various locations of the city, including the bastis or the low income settlements. They came from villages leaving behind their agricultural land with some hope of settling well in a city. The economic situation differs from one basti to the other and it depends on the space they occupy in the city. The residents of the bastis in the central location are engaged in small time business like running a shop and have more options but the bastis in the periphery and in the industrial estate have to work in industries as labourers and also have limited options. Irrespective of their economic status they fail to incorporate themselves fully into the city both in terms of living and their educational aspirations. It can be said that they are in a constant state of flux.

Even if they live in a city, they fail to plan their children’s education in a proper way especially after a certain level. The aspiration towards education is not similar across bastis. The labourers and the factory workers fail to look at what their children do as they are so busy in their work. For most of them, development is only at the level of infrastructure which benefits a certain class of people not all of them. In this context, the words of David Harvey seems to be important. According to Harvey,

Only when it is understood that those who build and sustain urban life have a primary claim to that which they have produced, and that one of their claims is to the unalienated right to make a city more after their own heart’s desire, we will arrive at a politics of the urban that will make sense (Harvey, 2012:XVI).

The next chapter presents the summary of the findings and the conclusion arising out of these findings.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the study has been to understand the socio-historic evolution and urban transformation of the city of Bhubaneswar through its various spatial contexts. The spaces included in the study are the old town or the temple town, the new city or the planned city, the areas under transformation and the slums and poor habitats. If we consider the empirical studies on urban transition, we find that very scanty attention is given to understand such diverse spatial contexts and population living in those urban spaces.

Further, it is important to note that education became a crucial aspect in the growth of the city ever since Bhubaneswar became the capital of the state of Odisha. The first aspect which came to the mind of the planners is to place a good educational institution in the city. Subsequently, many educational institutions came up making the city a center of education in Eastern India. Thus, understanding the role of education in various phases of city transformation has been crucial for the study. By studying the role of education in diverse spatial contexts the study tries to bridge a gap in the areas of urban studies and urban sociology.

It may thus not be untrue if it is said that the spatial growth of the city took place because of education, be it Utkal University which came up in the Vani Vihar area or the KIIT University and the SOA University which came up in Patia and Khandagiri areas respectively. The emergence of a market for education because of the neoliberal policies of the economy is evident in the city of Bhubaneswar. In other words, the growth of private sector in education in the city may qualify these institutions acting as ‘real estate developers’ as their contribution to the spatial growth of the city is immense.

I. Summary of Findings

Through this study it is revealed that different spatial contexts of Bhubaneswar have different stories to tell. The old town of Bhubaneswar is a temple town which has the

presence of innumerable temples. It has an elaborate class and caste structures and is typical of a religious town. Inhabitants in the temple town area continue to stay in various *sahis* (streets) located around various temples. *Sahis* are clearly earmarked and are divided on the basis of caste. Through the *sahis*, people create various sub-cultures and through these sub-cultures social circles persist in an urban setting (Fischer, 1975: 2013). Further, these subcultures do create a distinct identity or identities for them.

The study found that the old town has undergone transformation. Firstly, due to the setting up of the new capital which brought in economic opportunities for the people of old town. The new capital acted as a trigger for people to look for other options beyond the temple work. Secondly, as the families multiplied, they could not sustain only on the temple income, as a result of which they had to go out and search for other sources of livelihood for themselves and their families.

However, what is significant to observe through the study is the critical role of education in the transformation of the old town. Firstly, education became a 'necessity' for securing a better job. Secondly, a better education has become a compulsion as the income from the temple was not enough for the survival of all the generations. Interestingly, when the new capital came up, people were more interested in government jobs and the old town dwellers were quick to take up jobs as clerks in the government departments in the new capital. Gradually when securing government jobs became difficult, the younger generations took up modern occupations, mostly in the private sector.

The study reveals the fact that inspite of the younger generation moving into modern secular occupations there has been a dilemma between tradition and modernity. This dilemma comes from the generational differences in which the older generation want the younger generation not to abandon temple rituals and engage themselves in temple activities. The younger generation on the other hand see the temple as a source of extra income particularly during festivals when many people throng the temples. Between the dilemmas of tradition and modern, what has strikingly emerged through the study is that the overwhelming influence of tradition still holding sway over the people of the old town.

In contrast to the old town, the New Capital or the planned city of Bhubaneswar was built as an 'administrative city'. This space is typical of a modern city space occupied by the 'bureaucratic castes' who stay in several 'units' in the city. There is a kind of modernity inbuilt in the transition of into the planned city. It may be appropriate to refer to the words of Louis Wirth (2013) in this regard: ".....the beginning of what is distinctively modern in our civilization is best signalized by the growth of great cities" (p33). In comparison to the old town, the spaces in the capital region is divided on the basis of one's class position in the bureaucratic hierarchy rather than on the basis of one's caste affiliation. Both the 'physical' and the 'social space' in the new capital is shaped by this 'administrative caste'.

The 'administrative caste' is characterised by a rigid hierarchy, just as the traditional caste hierarchy found in the old town area of Bhubaneswar. Interestingly, it acts like an exclusive group which restricts entry of non-members into it. It is also interesting to note that this 'bureaucratic caste' is a class which takes the form of a caste. In other words, it is a class which becomes caste-like. The field data suggests that this class holds an important influence in the state and constitutes a key power in the state administration. The influence of the administrative caste is very much felt particularly in the context of all important activities that are concentrated in the city and the way the space is organised in the planned city area. The study however finds that there indeed are differences within this administrative hierarchy mainly constituted of the middle and the lower middle classes.

The data reveals that the hierarchy that is found in the composition of the 'bureaucratic caste' is not only reproduced in the spaces of the city but also in terms of educational aspirations. Most of the bureaucrats studied in government high schools but aspirations for their children's education was a trigger for the growth of private education market in the city. The administrative classes treated education as a key to what sociologists call the 'status retention'. It is interesting to note that the coming up of private educational institutions on one hand and the falling of standards of government schools is said to be a consequence of a differentiation within the planned city population.

In order to fill the void created by two contrasting educational opportunities, the study shows that there is an emergence of low fee private schools like the Sishu Mandirs which cater to the aspiration of the lower middle classes. The lower middle classes in order to improve their status within the hierarchy prefer to educate their children in these low fee private schools.

It is interesting to note that this overarching bureaucratic structure is reproduced in educational attainments too. What is unique to the city of Bhubaneswar is that the city has not changed its administrative character. The bureaucratic caste continues to feel that they have ownership of the city and that 'the city is for them'. The study establishes that the bureaucratic caste have global aspirations and apply neo-liberal strategies in their aspiration towards their children's education. In other words, the bureaucrats exactly know 'what to do' in educating their children. These characteristics of the bureaucrats create a peculiar version of the city which may be very different from metropolitan cities in India like Bangalore, Hyderabad etc.

The other space the study brought to the fore is the slums and poor localities of the city. In comparison to the spaces described earlier, slums and the poor locations are very different in their spatial context. It is an irony that, as per the Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation (B.M.C) report, there are around 436 slums in Bhubaneswar and out of this most are unrecognized, squatting on government land which has more than doubled in the past two decades, say in the post year 2000. Contrary to what most studies in the past have projected, slums are scattered across the city and have a wide spatial spread. It has been found that there is a wide diversity of slums in Bhubaneswar in terms of their size, composition, location.

Most of the slums consist of people from diverse communities but some are exclusive spaces occupied by a particular community like the Mundas or the Santhals, the tribal communities of Eastern India. It is found that Bhubaneswar, which is the only growth center in the state of Odisha and a capital city, has been a center of hope for the people of other places in the state who come to the city in search of job opportunities. Most of the slum dwellers have come to Bhubaneswar to work as labourers in construction industry.

Migration to the city coupled with housing shortage for the poor resulted in the growth of unauthorised slums in the city.

Interestingly, though Bhubaneswar has been a center of hope for these slum dwellers but the threat of evictions and slum clearances taken up by the government from time to time continue to haunt the slum dwellers. Even the slum dwellers who are settled in relocated *bastis* (shanties) with a 90 year lease agreement do not feel secure. It can be said that the slum dwellers irrespective of being a part of the city cannot claim the space in which they live. Further, this sense of insecurity arising from their location within the class hierarchy also impacts their educational imaginations.

When we speak about educational imagination, the study reveals that the poor are the most vulnerable. The educational imaginations of the poor are very different from the old towners and the middle classes of the planned city. The middle classes seem to have a 'choice' which the slum dwellers apparently feel they do not have. The middle classes seem to have the capability to 'explore' which the slum dwellers doesn't seem to have. The slum dwellers suggest that they cannot even plan their children's educational futures. The study reveals that though they can plan the future of their children upto a certain level but beyond that they fail to do so.

Education thus makes a difference in the city of Bhubaneswar. It has proved to be a great divider. Even in the context of the old town, though spread of educational opportunities proved to be a source of mobility for the higher castes who could access it, it did not bring any difference to the status of the lower castes who failed to access the opportunities. The example of the ex- untouchables like the *bauris* and the *hadis* is most pertinent in this context. They continue to do degrading and menial jobs and there is no significant improvement in their status.

What is interesting in the study is that there are not only differences between classes but there are differences within classes as well. It can be said that the habitations cannot be viewed in homogeneity and they are subject to a lot of internal differentiation. The internal differences within class positions of the slum dwellers is an important aspect which comes up in the course of the study. For the day labourers and the *hadis* (the ex-

untouchables) the city throws up more insecurity as compared to other slum dwellers. Firstly, the day labourers are insecure as they do not have proper place to stay and have to live on rented accommodation in the *bastis*. Secondly, their job is so insecure that they do not get an assured income everyday and most of the times end up sitting idle. Apart from them, they also suffer in the hands of middlemen. There are differences in the educational imaginations within this class as well .

The *hadis* being the sweepers face discriminations as compared to other slum dwellers. This internal differentiation spills over to educational discrimination and affects their educational imagination. The reluctance shown by the teacher to visit the school located in the *hadi basti* is an example of how these people are deliberately kept away from access to education even in the heart of the city. This reflects the segregation of different spaces in the city. Similarly, the bureaucratic caste consists of different classes which are different in their educational imaginations.

What is pertinent in the discussion on the city of Bhubaneswar is the overarching role of culture in the transition of the city. As discussed earlier, in the old temple town, cultural continuities still exist. Further, in the middle class localities, the ‘bureaucratic caste’ seem to give a lot of importance to culture. Even if they have neoliberal strategies for their children, they are rooted in the tradition. This cultural worldview is also seen in the aspirations of the poor when they say that inspite of the one's attainment of education, one shall not forget one's culture and tradition.

II. Towards a political economy perspective to understand an Indian city: Concluding Remarks

From the above discussion it is clear that the transition the city of Bhubaneswar is witnessing is because of capitalistic interventions. It can be said that the political economy perspective is applicable to the city of Bhubaneswar as in recent years the city is seeing a lot of transformation and the expansion of urban areas under the market forces which is supplemented by government policies. In other words, what goes on in the city is also a reflection of the changes that happen in the wider society and economy, or as

Flanagan puts it, the city is has been a “physical expression of capitalism” (1993:88). The political economic perspectives offered by Henry Lefebvre, David Harvey and Manuel Castells have been useful to understand the nature of transitions and the production of space in the city of Bhubaneswar. For them, it is in the nature of capitalistic models of urban development to envision and develop spaces in the city.

Central to this capitalistic political economy is the concept of ‘space’. Patel (2006) argues that there are two ways in which these theorists have theorized space - the first aspect relates to how the economy or capitalism construct space. Secondly, how the way space structures the economy and society, and by implication education too, due to which it becomes a source of differentiation between and within the urban settlements. These aspects of space are vividly seen in the case of Bhubaneswar. The new spaces that are coming up in Bhubaneswar is because of the capitalistic interventions and are a source of differentiation.

Analysing the socially produced space, Lefebvre distinguishes between nature as something which is given from the ‘second nature’ which is the transformed and socially concretized spatiality arising from the application of purposeful human labour."It is this second nature which becomes the geographical subject and object of a materialistic interpretation of spatiality” (Soja, 1989:80).

For Lefebvre,

Space is not a scientific object removed from ideology and politics; it has always been political and strategic. If space has an air of neutrality and indifference with regard to its contents and thus seems to be purely “formal”, the epitome of rational abstraction, it is precisely because it has already been occupied and used, and has already been the focus of past processes whose traces are not always evident in the landscape. Space has been shaped and molded from historical and natural elements, but this has been a political process. Space is political and ideological. It is a product literally filled with ideologies (Lefebvre, 1976:31).

The concept of production of space thus, for Lefebvre, is not just about the buildings, monuments and works of art but it has certain underground aspects. These underground aspects are important when we talk about the city of Bhubaneswar. The city though has seen material growth in recent times with the building of roads, flyovers, institutions but in addition to its material aspects, the city is also about imaginations. There is infact huge diversity in the imagination of the city as well as we have seen in the foregoing discussion. For Soja (1989), the space has a 'subjective meaning' and through this 'human spatiality' can be analysed which is different from the physical space. Further, Merrifield (2002) echoing on Lefebvre argues, space is not dead, but organic, fluid and alive; it has a pulse, it palpitates, it flows and collides with other spaces (Merrifield, 2002: 171).

Space, according to Lefebvre, is 'perceived' (physical space), 'conceived' (mental space) and 'lived' (social space). According to De Neve (2006), the material aspect of space refers to the physical environment like the houses, factories, streets of a particular neighborhood. The perceived aspect of space refers to how the space is represented by the outsiders and the insiders. The lived dimension of space is reflected in the experiences of the locality in terms of the home and sites of work.

Seen in this light, it may be said that Bhubaneswar became a 'perceived space' when the decision to place the capital was taken. There were a lot of debates and discussions as where to place the capital city and it was perceived by looking at the physical attributes of the city. It became a 'conceived space' by the planners and the architects who were involved in the construction of the city. According to Soja (1989), in this 'mental space' or the 'conceived space' power and ideology are represented.

As the data suggests, there has been a 'production of space' to suit the needs of a particular class, the 'bureaucratic caste' in the case of Bhubaneswar. The physical growth especially in the central part of Bhubaneswar was given much more importance as it was the seat of power. Moreover, the spaces occupied by the elite and middle classes in the center of the city with huge spaces speak about how power and hierarchy become a part of the city planning. This can be an example of "how space serves and hegemony makes

use of it, in the establishment, on the basis of an underlying logic and with the help of knowledge and technical expertise of a system” (Lefebvre, 1991:11).

Lumsden (2004) speaks about the new urban landscapes as “conceived spaces of hierarchy, ideology, authority and knowledge which would have been embedded in the overall plan of the city” (p.189). Through this the physical expression of the ‘spatial organization of hierarchy’, authority and social order.....were clear (Lumsden, 2004: 190). In this context, Celik and Gough (2014) note that, for Lefebvre, the politics of the space also consist of the hegemony of the bourgeoisie and this hegemony is exercised over society as a whole including culture, knowledge and even avenues of human mediation such as politics, political leaders, parties, etc.

The lived space or the representational spaces are the spaces of ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’, according to Lefebvre. It is “a passively experienced space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate” (Lefebvre, 1991: 39). The study brings to the fore the importance of space which is a social enterprise in itself. As it has been discussed in the previous chapters, in all the transitional phases the city of Bhubaneswar had gone through, it is the social space, the space created by rulers, the higher castes in the context of the temple town, or the space constructed by the elites and the middle classes when we talk about the planned city area, or the space that is created by the poor and the marginal sections of the population which is important. This social space is created by the everyday lives of people or, what Lefebvre perceives, as “lived space”. This spatial analysis of the lived space is crucial to the study. The ‘social production of space’ is thus fundamental to the reproduction of society and also to the growth of capitalism. Capitalism has survived upon the production of space. It is the city that is the locus for development and perpetuation of capitalism.

To quote Lefebvre (1991): “Capital and Capitalism influence matters relating to space, from the construction of buildings to the distribution of investments and the worldwide division of labour”. (Lefebvre, 1991:9)

The discussion of space under capitalism has been taken forward by David Harvey. Space for Harvey is an ‘active moment’ in the expansion and reproduction of capitalism. It is a

“phenomenon which is colonized and commodified, bought and sold, created and torn down, used and abused, speculated on and fought over. It all comes together in space: space internalizes the contradictions of modern capitalism; capitalist contradictions are contradictions of space” (Merrifield, 2000:173).

Harvey talks about a relationship between the development of capitalism and urbanisation. Harvey (2005) argues that the urban has a specific meaning under the capitalist mode of production. Harvey further elaborates by saying that the capitalists begin the day with certain amount of money and by the end of the day they get more as profit. So they decide to reinvest to get even more money or consume their surplus in pleasures. There is also a constant competition between the capitalists if one fails to invest the other will invest. In this way, the surplus is reinvested to earn more surplus.

Education is central to this capitalistic mode of production in the case of the city of Bhubaneswar. The relationship between capitalistic mode of production and education is seen when capital generated from mining and many other sources is reinvested in land, in setting up of educational institutions, shopping complexes, restaurants, shops or is invested in fixed capital like real estate for the absorption of surplus. These developments contributed to the urban transition of Bhubaneswar under capitalism. The opening up of mines for unregulated exploitation is a capitalistic agenda of development and this becomes rampant under neo-liberalism.

For Brenner and Theodore (2005), the neoliberal ideology is built on the belief that open, competitive and unregulated market which is liberated from all forms of state interference represents the optimal mechanism for economic development. An important criteria for the coming up of cities, according to Max Weber, is the market. Weber (1958) says that the cities are defined by the existence of an established market system. The city is a settlement, the inhabitants of which live primarily off trade and commerce rather than agriculture (Weber 1958: 67). Weber sees the city as significant in the break with feudalism and the foundation of the conditions of the development of capitalism.

The theory of growth under capitalism places accumulation of capital at the center (Harvey 1975). Accumulation powers the growth under capitalist mode of production.

Though there has been accumulation of capital during the rise of capitalism which Marx termed as “primitive accumulation”, this has become intense under the neoliberal model adopted by different countries. For Harvey, urbanization is nothing but a process of capital accumulation. Within the framework of capitalism the urban process revolves around the twin themes of “accumulation” and “class struggle” which are the two windows from which the capitalist society can be viewed (Harvey, 1981). Capital accumulation according to Harvey, says Patel (2006), goes through three circuits. The first concerns the production of commodities within manufacturing which ultimately results in overproduction of goods. In other words as Harvey (2005) says that the individual capitalists act in a way which when aggregated runs counter to their own class interests. This produces a tendency of over accumulation or too much capital is produced in aggregate to the opportunities to employ that capital.

Patel (2006) further notes that in the second circuit, the capital gets invested in fixed capital such as infrastructure, housing, construction of offices leading to the growth of a town or city. She further observes that for Harvey, due to this process, land is transformed into built environment for both production and consumption and it becomes a part of the process of accumulation of capital. The fixed capital is immobile in space and the value incorporated in it cannot be moved without being destroyed (Harvey 2005). So, the investment in built environment entails the creation of a physical landscape for the purposes of production, circulation, exchange and consumption. In this way, the city’s growth is associated with the changing investment strategies as capital moved from manufacturing to land development(Patel 2006).

The production of city spaces can be also be seen in the coming up of the private educational infrastructure which is accompanied by spatial transformation leading to a shifting of the urban character of the city which is a key aspect of the “*neoliberalisation of the city*”. As Lipman points out, “capital-state collaboration reshape the landscape of urban education” (2011: 57). An important aspect which became evident in the city of Bhubaneswar is that the policies towards urban education are “embedded in a neoliberal social imaginary and are a means to reshape social relations and social identity” (Lipman, 2011: 10).

Another important aspect in the accumulation of capital which is pertinent to the city of Bhubaneswar is the increasing importance of real estate. Savage and Warde (1993) opine that, for Harvey, land as a commodity in capitalist society is something which can be bought and sold like any other commodity. He mentions about the specific character of capital investment in land which is highly significant for the functioning of the capitalist economy as a great deal of capital is tied up with a built environment and also because such investment has an enduring physical legacy. The built form can on one hand can aid capital accumulation if it is a profitable avenue for investment and can also be a barrier to it when its qualities render it outdated in a short period of time. This double edged nature of property for capital accumulation is thus central to Harvey's work.

This is true of the city of Bhubaneswar which has seen transformation from one mode of production getting transformed into the other as the city grows. The city saw some industrial and manufacturing activities and the coming up of industrial hubs. But later land belonging to industrial estate was allotted for social sectors like hospitals, schools, colleges etc. The condition of the flow of capital into secondary circuit is due to 'the existence of a capital market and also a state which finances and guarantees long term and large scale projects in relation to the creation of built environment (Harvey 1981: 2005).

As the city of Bhubaneswar grew, the greatest emphasis was given to the establishment which brings in much economic revenue to the state like technology parks, technical education hubs, etc. The growth of the housing sector owing to the construction boom in the city of Bhubaneswar is an important indicator of capital entering into the secondary circuit. The tertiary circuit of capital, according to Harvey, comprises the investment in science and technology and a wide range of social expenditures which relate to the process of reproduction of the labour power. This involves investment in education and health by which the capacity of the labourers to engage in the work process is enhanced. In this sense, it can be said that the capitalists need certain investments in order to find a social basis for further accumulation.

The role of the state is crucial in carrying out the neoliberal agenda. The state has been a facilitator of many capitalistic and neoliberal projects when it finances projects without looking at their viability. Harvey (2007, 2012) suggests that the role of the state is to create market where it doesn't exist like in the cases of land, education, healthcare, social security or environmental pollution and beyond that the state should not venture. But the actual practices of neoliberalism diverge from what it is supposed to be. The state sometimes intervenes with policies that facilitates circulation like in guaranteeing mortgages and creating municipal debts through the investments of public funds (Flanagan, 1993).

According to Hackworth (2007), the city governments facilitate the growth of commercial mega projects with selective deployment of state craft to spur real estate developments in certain sections of the city. Basu (2007) finds that in the era of neoliberalism the state power is used in rewriting economic laws and its harsh implementation. For Brooks, Fuller and Waters (2012), the increasing involvement of the private sector has also shifted the locus of policy-making of the state. Castells (2004) point out at that the state played an active role in siding with the private capital to make it profitable. Castells gives the example of the public highway infrastructure which makes use of the automobile possible or the urban renewal operations which permit the action of private promoters.

This nexus between the state and real estate developers in shaping the urban space is also seen in case of Bhubaneswar. Though Bhubaneswar had been a planned city, but recently it has taken up haphazard development and there is a clear cut demarcation between a planned and an unplanned area. The unregulated growth in unplanned areas is rampant. Hoelscher (2016) observes that the construction of the city through master plans is altered with the changing land use patterns that come up with economic expansion, informal appropriation and sale of urban territory.

In these transitional phases, as George (2006) observes, a certain kind of neoliberal model for education is advocated. The neoliberal model for education advocates for a competition among institutions involving less government intervention, decentralisation

in the management of these educational institutions with a aim to supply to the needs of labour market. As discussed in previous chapters, in the city of Bhubaneswar too, the coming up of private educational institutions like the universities are very different from the government universities in terms of the influence of the government, the management and also the spatial spread. This can be inferred from the way these educational institutions are further the neoliberal criterion of “*education as business*” or building an “*education market*”.

The unabated privatisation of education visible in the city of Bhubaneswar is nothing but a new form of capital accumulation. Infact, Harvey opines,

Public utilities of all kinds (water, telecommunications, transportation), social welfare provision (public housing, education, healthcare, pension), public institutions (such as Universities, research laboratories, prisons) and even warfare (as illustrated by the “army” of private contractors operating alongside the armed forces in Iraq) have all been privatized to some degree throughout the capitalist world (Harvey, 2007:35).

Robertson (2010) in applying the “spatial lens” in the sociology of education talks about the policy of decentralisation and the coming up of education market which is a neoliberal discourse has resulted in the relocation of education activity from fixed institutional centers to new reworked spaces of knowledge production with new geometries of social relations. Further Lipman (2010) also substantiate the role of education in “restructuring urban space both materially and culturally along multiple dimensions of power” (Lipman, 2010: 243).Citing Harvey, Lipman notes that the spatial restructuring of urban education and its relationship to urban development is nothing but a “*spatial fix*” (Lipman, 2010: 243).

Further, from the political economy perspective we may understand the surge of poor localities in the city and their relationship with the production process . As Mc Gee states, this kind of urbanization in the South East Asian and the developing countries is nothing but “*pseudo-urbanization*”. He notes,

This flood of rural migrants to the cities where employment in productive occupations could not be created at a rate sufficient to absorb the migrants could be a source of political instability and economic hardship. Thus, if they chose to remain in the cities they would be forced into low productivity occupations in the service sector such as street vending and labour intensive transportation sectors....Since the infrastructure (e.g housing) of cities was inadequate in providing the basic needs of these low income populations they would be forced into poorly- serviced squatter settlements or crowded tenements in the decaying cores of these cities. (Mc Gee, 2002: 12).

Though the city is a social institution and made up of people who live in it, because of its capitalist nature, it is not equally perceived by all classes. In a city, there are different social classes who have different stakes and who reproduce their culture in the city in different spatial contexts. In the city transition, different classes have different roles and stakes. There are elites, the middle classes and the working classes who make up the city as in the case of the city of Bhubaneswar. These classes have different aspirations towards the transition of the city and also in their educational aspirations. The study has amply demonstrated this aspect.

The study has also pointed out that the new spaces created by the political economy under neoliberalism become a source of differentiation. According to Harvey (2012), , “Almost every city in the world has witnessed a building boom for the rich- often of a distressingly similar character- in the midst of a flood of impoverished migrants converging on cities as a rural peasantry is dispossessed through industrialization and commercialization of agriculture” (2012: 12). Further,

in this neoliberal turn, there has been attempts to restore or reconstruct upper class power which reestablishes the condition for capital accumulation. In case of India it has created conditions for capitalist class formation (Harvey, 2007). The capital accumulation also involves the dispossession of people from their land which Harvey termed “accumulation by dispossession”. This accumulation by dispossession is seen in case of the city of Bhubaneswar too when the slum dwellers are evicted from their places due to the developmental projects undertaken by the government.

Sharma (2010) echoing on Harvey says that urbanization in the neoliberal era relates to capitalist formations, which divide the city dwellers into consumers living in “gated neighborhoods” separated from the underprivileged others who are denied ‘the right to the city’. The right to the city is crucial when we talk about different classes which occupy different spatial contexts in the city. In the old town, the *bauris* and the *hadis* are constantly negotiating their ways in the city. They are constantly trying to cope up with the situation. In the same way, the slum dwellers and the poor in the city are not passive recipients of the government schemes but are constantly trying to improve their situation through getting their children educated in private schools. It can be said that the poor demand and aspire for higher than what they have. In the words of Marcuse (2009), “the demand is for the material necessities of life, the aspiration is for a broader right to what is necessary beyond the material to lead a satisfying life” (Marcuse, 2009: 190).

III. A Word of Caution:

It may however be said that, notwithstanding the relevance of the political economy perspective to the study of an Indian city like Bhubaneswar, the perspectives provided by the Western scholars, particularly the political economy perspective, may not capture the uniqueness of the Indian urban transitions. It can be said that the developing societies such as India are ‘unique’ and ‘different’.

The perspectives on the right to the city offered by the Western scholars like Lefebvre may be too radical for cities in the Global South. According to Purcell (2002), though Lefebvre’s right to the city provides a good starting point for a critical analysis of the city, it “offers a much more radical, more problematic, and more open ended vision of urban politics” (p.100). Purcell (2002) further opines that the right to the city is an approach that is both ‘exciting’ and ‘disconcerting’. “It is exciting because it offers a radical alternative that challenges the current structure of capitalism and liberal-democratic citizenship. It is disconcerting because we do not know what kind of a city this politics will produce” (Purcell, 2002:100).

It is also important to take note of what Attoh (2011) opines. According to him, though there has been a considerable amount of literature on the ‘right to the city’ but there has

been a little talk about what the rights mean. He says “rights within the literature on the right to the city remain a black box” (Attoh, 2011: 669). For him, rights are ‘sites of struggle’ and how one defines rights is important. Further Attoh commenting on Lefebvre’s ‘right to the city’ notes that his notion of rights is sketchy, and doesn’t clarify those instances when two or more traditional rights collide. This lack of clarity of definition of what a right means to the citizens is thus applicable when we speak of cities like Bhubaneswar. Thus, it is not possible to see Indian cities from a single lens as there are different spatial contexts and different actors involved in the transition of a city. Bergel (1955) too argues that the city doesn’t have merely a single function but a combination of different functions and not all the functions are present in every city. The unique aspect of the city of Bhubaneswar can be derived from the fact that in the city though the underlying thread of the growth lies in capitalistic interventions explained through the political economic perspectives but the way transition is taking place incorporates both tradition and neoliberal tendencies. In this respect, it is not possible to apply a single perspective to study the cities like Bhubaneswar which may be considered as a limitation of the study.

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Annexure I

Interview Schedule

A) *Basic Profile of the Respondent*

1. Name
2. Age
3. Place of origin
4. Location of stay in Bhubaneswar/space of residence
5. No of years stayed in Bhubaneswar
6. Designation/ Profession
7. Designation/Profession of spouse
8. Form of the family (Joint/Nuclear)
9. Educational level
10. Educational level of spouse
11. No of children
12. Age of children

B) *Information about education of children*

- 1) No. of children going to school in the family
Boys:
Girls:
- 2) Name and Location of the school
- 3) Standard in which children are studying
Boys:
Girls:
- 4) Medium of school attended by children
Boys:
Girls:
- 5) No. of children in higher education
High School:
Colleges:
University:
- 6) Spatial location of the institutions attended
Bhubaneswar:
India:
Aboard:

C) *Information about the job profile of children*

- 1) No of children in job
Boys:
Girls:
- 2) Place in which children are working
Bhubaneswar:
India:
Abroad:

3) What kind of jobs taken up by children?

Boys:

Girls:

Questions on urban transformation of Bhubaneswar

- 1) What is the reason for staying in Bhubaneswar?
- 2) What do you feel about the transformation of the city?
- 3) Do you feel the city has transformed or not?
- 4) What are the social, political and economic reasons for the transformation of the city?
- 5) Which areas do you feel are the reason for transformation? Why?
- 6) What kind of transformation are you seeing in that area?
- 7) What do you feel about the surrounding areas?

D) Questions on education and urban transformation of Bhubaneswar

- 1) What is the reason for the transformation of the city?
- 2) Do you feel education is the reason for transformation of the city? If yes, Why? If no, Why not?
- 3) What kind of education is the reason for urban transformation? School, Colleges, University
- 4) What about the area in which this transformation is taking place? Description?
- 5) How do you compare between an older university and a university that has come up in recent years?
- 6) Is there any difference in the areas both the universities have come up?
- 7) If yes, why do you feel there is a difference?
- 8) What creates this difference?

E) Questions about the spatial locations of the respondents (old town)

- 1) When did the *sahi* come into existence?
- 2) What is the composition of the *sahi*?
- 3) How many families are there in the *sahi*?
- 4) What is the reason for the coming up of the *sahi*?
- 5) How many families from other castes are staying in the *sahi*?
- 6) How is the relationship between the families shaping in the *sahi*?
- 7) What about other *sahis*? How is the relationship between *sahis* shaped?
- 8) Which *sahi* is the closest to this *sahi*?
- 9) How are the families of the *sahi* dependent on the temple?

F) Questions about the spatial locations of the respondents (planned city)

- 1) Which unit are you staying in?
- 2) What is the reason for staying in this unit?

- 3) Since how many years have you been staying in this unit?
- 4) Where have you been staying before moving in here?
- 5) Where are you planning to stay after your / your spouse's retirement?
- 6) Why did you choose that particular place to stay after retirement?
- 7) Is moving out of Bhubaneswar city an option for you after retirement?
- 8) What are the differences or similarities in spatial location that you stayed before, now, and after?
- 9) Are there other classes staying in this unit?
- 10) If yes, which other classes are staying in this unit?
- 11) How are the relationship between these classes?

Questions about the spatial locations of the respondents (margins)

- 1) When did the basti come about? When did you come and stay in the basti?
- 2) Why did you chose this particular basti?
- 3) What was the reason behind you coming and staying here?
- 4) Describe the location of the basti. The area in which it is located?
- 5) Are you still engaged in your previous occupation? Or is there a change in occupation?
- 6) How many families are staying in the basti?
- 7) What is the social composition of this basti?
- 8) What are the different occupations the residents of the basti are engaged in?
- 9) Is there any alternative income source apart from the main income?
- 10) If yes, what are the other sources of income?
- 11) Do you still have relationship with your place of origin?
- 12) If yes, why?
- 13) Do you have the option of going back to place of origin?

G) Questions on the educational imaginations of the respondents (old town)

- 1) Is education a reason for your stay in the city?
- 2) Do you feel that education is as an important aspect of transition of the city?
- 3) If yes how do you look at education in the city? Infrastructure, content etc
- 4) What are your aspirations towards your childrens' education?
- 5) Are you happy with the educational qualifications of your children?
- 6) What are the educational institutions which are most accessed by children in the city?
- 7) Do you find any changes in the educational scenario in the city different from previous years?
- 8) If yes, what changes do you find?
- 9) Can you compare the educational aspirations in your generations with that of your child's?
- 10) What are the new occupations that are being taken up by children in the city?
- 11) Is education responsible for transforming the outlook of people in the city?