

Master planning implementation in Bhubaneswar: a case of Bhubaneswar Development Authority, Odisha

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Abstract

The real challenge in cities is to make an inclusive and people centric planning. Planning is a coproduction of diverse efforts pursued by different state and non-state agencies. Therefore, parastatal agency such as Development Authority of a city partnership with Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) needs to coproduce and effectively implement the plans. Over the last few decades, there has been a great deal of urban planning activities in India. But evaluating the plan implementation is a complex process and empirical studies are scarce due to methodological difficulties especially in collecting the data on plan implementation. Careful analysis of the existing literature reveals that one of the major deviations in planning process is the missing 'locals'. This study aims to explore in what extent local people, and local knowledge is incorporated in city planning by taking the case of Bhubaneswar Development Authority (BDA).

Keywords: *Planning, implementation, Bhubaneswar, collaboration, neighbourhood*

Introduction

The case study of Bhubaneswar Development Authority (BDA) aims at unraveling a paradox: how does a planned city that aspires to continue to hold the planned characteristics adapts to different kinds of planning, yet that needs to be collaborative, participatory and incorporate local people into the planning process. While new and better ways of planning¹ are seen as a solution to the problems of growing urbanization yet none of them could solve the problems of urban spaces such as housing, sanitation, waste management, increasing pollution, insufficient and inadequate infrastructure (for example, water supply and sewerage), poor transportation, and unplanned and

unauthorized developments (Kamath 2014, Jain 2011, Anand et al. 2017, Doron et al. 2018, Ghertner 2015). Bhubaneswar is no exception despite being a planned city of independent India. The city has adopted multiple planning interventions such as neighbourhood planning in its first master plan (1948) by German planner Otto H. Koenigsberger (1948, 1952) that continued through second master plan (1968) which was prepared by the Directorate of Town Planning, Odisha. Third Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP, 1994) was prepared by Bhubaneswar Development Authority (BDA) and the fourth CDP in 2010 was prepared by IIT Kharagpur, an outsourced agency (BDA

¹ Such as: making planning inclusive, participatory, collaborative, enhancing urban infrastructures, improving attitude of the planners and technical personnel, innovative thinking for effective implementation and improving technical know-how and reducing urban poverty and inequality.

2010). In the first and second master plans neighbourhood planning approach was used in Bhubaneswar where the neighbourhoods were the basic planning units for planned developments. But in third and fourth plan, Bhubaneswar has moved to rational planning approach where the Development Authority is the apex body to prepare and implement the master plans in which 'Zones' constitute the basic units for planned development. Rational planning approach is essentially centralized in nature, rejects collaboration with parastatal agencies and also lacks in public participation in planning process. Neighbourhood planning approach on the other hand advocates planning the neighbourhood units and emphasize the role of neighborhood associations in planned development of the locality which aims at strengthening the functioning of city as a whole. In French cities neighbourhoods have been recognized as a relevant unit in planning activities (Baugnet and Kumar 2011). In 2002, 'neighbourhood councils' were created in French cities and each council had more than 80,000 inhabitants. Though in practice it could not live up to the expectation, yet functioning of these councils contributed to giving voice to the people. Bhubaneswar adopted Development authority model following Delhi Development Authority (DDA)², which is true for many other Indian cities such as Mumbai, Hyderabad, Chennai and Chandigarh. It was envisaged that the development authorities will help to plan, implement and coordinate activities in a

structured way. But multiple agencies involved in the planned developments of the city lack in clear division of the responsibilities. Often this leads to multiplicity of roles and overlapping of functions resulting in duplications and delay in plan preparation and implementations.

Nevertheless, these two approaches of planning are characterized by a number of similarities and differences. The similarities include their technical character and their limited flexibility to deal with the dynamic changes of the city. But the difference lies with the democratic responsiveness characterising rational planning compared to the neighbourhood planning approach. However, most Indian cities including Bhubaneswar has moved to the rational planning approach to prepare the plans as the early master plans of independent India were often produced by a relatively small number of internationally trained planners or consultants, replicating a limited range of ideas in planning. On the other hand, master plans later on became a tool to manage planning strategically and as platform it allows multiple stakeholders to collaborate for the planned developments.

Many of the cities only recently have realized the relevance of neighbourhoods in planning and have emphasized on local planning and have adopted 74th constitutional amendment act³ to realize planning at local scale with the participation

2 Delhi Development Authority (DDA) was created in the year 1957, in the second five-year plan under the provisions of Delhi Development Act for ensuring the development of Delhi in accordance with a plan. DDA prepared its first master plan in the year 1962, which served as a model for many other states (Shaw 1996).

3 74th constitutional amendment act (also known as Nagarpalika act) is an initiative by the government in the year 1992 to strengthen metropolitan (urban local bodies) governance to discharge their duties effectively and efficiently. But many scholars have noted that 74th amendment has failed because of lack of financial autonomy, administrative capacity to carry out functions of local self-governments (Sivaramakrishnan 2013). Depoliticization forced by the state government appointed municipal commissioner made the Mayor and Corporators (ward representatives) merely as ceremonial heads of the cities. Further, presence of multiple numbers of parastatal agencies responsible for multiple urban services shadowed the role of municipality in past decades. Therefore, in the dynamic and uncertain urban space there is a need to rethink better ways of urban governance (Sharma 2011; Nandi and Gamkhar 2013).

of Urban Local Bodies and stakeholders of interest (Sivaramakrishnan 2013). This is evident in *Bhagidari*⁴, a scheme introduced in Delhi by the Delhi Municipal Corporation that aims at increased participation by Resident Welfare Associations (RWA)⁵, especially in order to access services from the Corporation (Mohanty 2014; Ghertner 2015). By introducing *Bhagidari* it is understood that the relevance of neighbourhoods is realized, yet it is not formalized in the planning practices of Delhi. Even after integrating the relevance of neighbourhoods through the Municipal, the plans have remained less participatory and rigid. Bhubaneswar does have similar practices where RWAs and other neighbourhood organizations (such as slum organizations), are integral to planning practice, but are yet to be proactive, participatory and included in the organizational design of planning structure and practices like the French cities mentioned earlier in this paper.

Scholars have pointed out that while there is a clear structure of plan preparation, there is little as far as plan implementation is concerned (Heitzman 1999; UN-HABITAT 2008). In addition, failure to implement the plans has been considered as a significant barrier to effective planning (Berke et al. 2006). It is also confirmed from the fieldwork that the organizational set up of planning in Bhubaneswar is not clear on which urban

local bodies or parastatal agencies have to take the responsibilities of plan implementation. As the planners in BDA have stated, their task is to prepare the plans and once it is over, implementation of the plan lies with other parastatal agencies and the individual residents must follow the plans, which the residents are are unaware of. Interaction with many residents of the city from planned and unplanned neighborhoods has revealed that they do not have idea on what planning strategies are made for their neighbourhoods and therefore through the resident welfare associations they are getting connected with BDA⁶ and Municipal Corporation for the necessary development their neighbourhoods. Regardless, Bhubaneswar Development Authority itself is operating a planning system following the Odisha Development Authority Act, 1982, which has not strengthened the powers of other local bodies and neighbourhood associations to implement plans.

Methodology and methods

For this research, the first author has carried out the field work and has enquired into the role of three different sets of actors. This includes 9 planners and 19 officials/technical assistants from various organizations such as Bhubaneswar Development Authority (BDA), Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation (BMC), State Urban Development Authority (SUDA) and Directorate of Town Planning

4 The term 'Bhagidari' means "partnership" or "participation". As a program Bhagidari was started in the year 2000 to increase government transparency, reduce corruption and bureaucratic inefficiency, and produce good governance in Delhi (Ghertner 2015; Bhan 2013).

5 RWAs are neighborhood associations, primarily made up of retired men with bureaucratic backgrounds became prominent after the year 2000, guided by the idea of 'stakeholdership' and 'the right to city'.

6 The Rural-Urban Relationship Committee in the year 1966 recommended for creating the Urban Development Authority to look into the planning and development of Bhubaneswar (Mohanty 1982). Similarly, in 1973, the town planning organization, which was then the apex technical body advising on urban and regional planning issues (later known as Town and Country Planning Organization (TCPO), suggested formation of a Development Authority comprising of both government and non-government representatives (Sarangi 1988). After nearly a decade-and-half after initial recommendation, Bhubaneswar Development Authority (BDA) was created by the state in 1983 and replaced the preceding agency called Bhubaneswar Regional Improvement Trust (BRIT), which was created in the year 1976. BDA was entrusted among others, with the responsibility of preparing and implementing master plan for Bhubaneswar city.

Table 1: Distribution of respondents in urban local bodies, Bhubaneswar

Organizational affiliation of respondents	Number of respondents
BDA	Planners- 06, Technical Assistants- 03
BMC	Slum Improvement Officer, (OAS)- 01, Planner- 01, CDPOs- 03, Technical Assistant- 01, Corporators- 03
DTP	Planners- 02, Technical Assistants- 03
SUDA	Administrative Officers- 02

Note: CDPO: Child Development Project Officer; OAS: Odisha Administrative Service

(DTP) that are engaged in planning activities. Detail information on distribution of the respondents is given in table 1. With the help of an (semi structured) interview we explored the experience, opinions and perceptions of planners and officials involved in Bhubaneswar city planning by giving due importance to their knowledge and professionalism on ‘urban planning’. The major emphasis is on understanding the significance of BDA, the sole planning authority of the city. The information gathered from several reports of various parastatal/state agencies on Bhubaneswar planning and development was triangulated and verified with multiple sources.

Interviews were recorded and transcribed. Field notes about own observations in the field site were maintained. Observation and informal conversation with technical assistants in Bhubaneswar Development Authority (BDA), Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation (BMC) and Directorate of Town Planning (DTP) helped in summarizing insights regarding intra and inter group cooperation and collaboration among the organizations involved in planning the city. Triangulation with archival information, and minutes of the meetings organized by Bhubaneswar Development Authority with other parastatal agencies regarding Comprehensive Development Plan, 2010

preparation allowed the authors to check the potential self-reporting and retrospective biases in the interview evidences. These semi structured interviews, discussions and observation helped in generating a case narrative depicting BDA’s operating context, organizational processes, development, its structure and practices proving deeper insights into States’ perspective towards planning and development of the city.

Snowball method was used to identify the sample respondents based on their position and involvement in planning process. In the interviews with the residents (of the neighbourhoods) aspects that are explored include inclusiveness, identified problems and issues that the inhabitants face in the locality and therefore emphasized to understand people’s perspective on the role of BDA, the planning authority. The respondents were asked questions from the semi structured questionnaire without strictly following the sequence of the questions because of the reluctance to respond for long hours. By doing so we could reduce the long hours of questioning by avoiding common questions, and by emphasizing conversations that feed to the main objectives of the study. Further, questions of importance were asked depending on the respondents’ availability and affordable time. As stated earlier, number

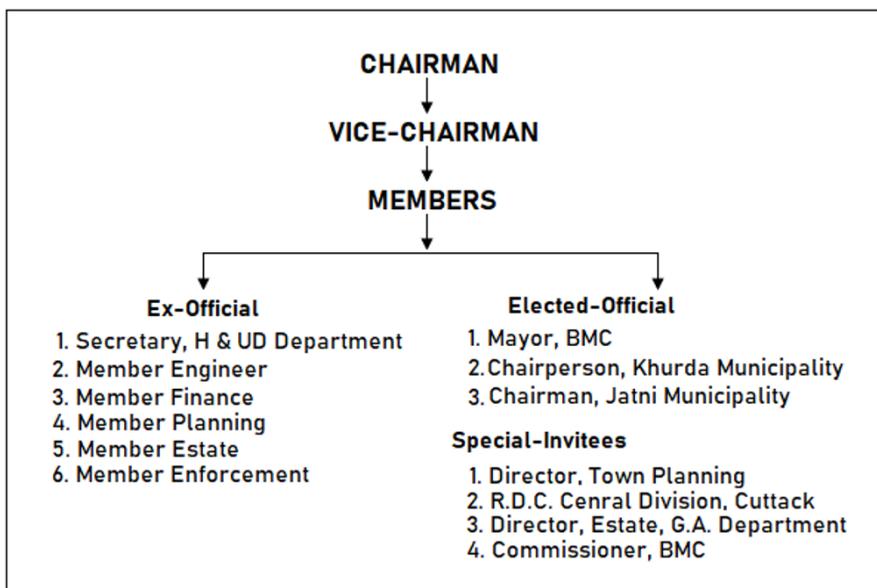


Fig. 1: The Authority, BDA, Bhubaneswar
 Source: www.bdabbsr.in

of interviewees was purely based on their availability and accessibility. Questions differed from interviewee to interviewee based on their comfort level and the kind of engagement they had with the neighbourhood associations.

BDA: Ineffective Coordination?

BDA has many inter-dependent departments such as planning, heritage, ground water recharging cell, planning vigilance cell, grievances cell, and Project Management Unit (PMU) in order to improve the efficiency in providing various services. Figure 1 explains the Authority in BDA that primarily comprised experts from finance, engineering, architecture, and planning. It is a pity that the organizational structure of the BDA does not have professionals from social sciences or humanities who could make a difference by contributing on perspectives that goes beyond technocratic agenda and make a holistic

assessment of the functioning of the society such as crimes, gender, aesthetics and security issues, and issues such as health, poverty and exclusion. As such, social considerations are marginalized in planning (Madanipour et al. 2018). It is evident that when any major crisis on the community falls on certainly master plans lack in flexibility to reduce the impact of the fluctuations. This explains how to make master plans to be effective instruments for collaborative developments. Otherwise, master plans will remain top-down and technocratic tools that coordinates a speculative stakeholders, without having any resilient connections with the social scientists and local capacities and needs. It is widely accepted that technocrats view planning from a narrow perspective usually bereft of social dimensions which they dismiss as value-loaded. Similarly, public representatives such as Mayor act as an authority in BDA only in paper. In practice, the Mayor has little role

in the organizational structure of the BDA as well as in the decision-making process⁷.

BDA has multiple responsibilities ranging from land acquisition and development and disposal of land to allotment of plots/housing, commercial complexes, road development, recreational places, bus/truck terminus, construct foot over bridge and passenger shed. BDA also carries out enforcement task and regularizing unauthorized developments. BDA is becoming sensitive towards poor and marginalized section by allotting LIG/EWS⁸ houses and incorporated environmental aspects such as pollution, disaster management, river front development, dimensions of culture and engaging private sectors into master planning (BDA 2010, BDA 2018). While dealing with these issues BDA functions as an independent organization that deals with plan preparation, coordination and implementation. But evidences from the Comptroller and Auditor General of India reports (Government of Odisha: 2013) and evidences from 1968 and 1994 master plans (Town Planning Organization 1968) reveals that most of the planning tasks with BDA are not delegated, and BDA has much deviated from its duties and hence has been largely unable to achieve its targets in stipulated duration.

Opinions collected from the Director, Directorate of Town Planning (DTP), Slum

Improvement Officers from Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation (BMC) and officials from State Urban Development Authority (SUDA) as well as the presidents and secretaries of many Resident Welfare Associations (RWAs) converge on the fact that the BDA has infrequent and limited interactions with other parastatal agencies of the city and the public (from the field data). Planners, officials and the residents remain disappointed with BDA for single handedly handling planning issues with no or limited collaboration with other parastatal and non-state agencies. Lack of collaboration between the Development Authority and Municipal Corporation in Bangalore is already reported by Kamath and Vijayabaskar (2014). According to Bhagat (2014) the “parastatal agencies and development authorities need to play a supportive role and even partnership with Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) rather than taking over functions which properly belong to the ULBs”. Bhagat also mentioned that, while urban basic services are neglected, Development authority’s planning cannot be a successful only with the real estate and infrastructure development. These statements confirm that there is a lack of collaboration between Development authority and other ULBs in most other cases including Bhubaneswar.

BDA has limited connect with the

⁷ One organizational structure of urban governance has Mayor Council wherein Mayor, an elected representative of people, has the power to integrate perspectives from the political and administrative arenas. In this structure, the Council consisting of elected representatives scrutinizes workings of the organization. Nallathiga (2008) has noted that Kolkata has Mayor-in-Council Administrative system. Urban governance, in most cities of India is headed by Commissioner, a bureaucrat appointed by the state government. Commissioners manage all issues of the city along with councilors who are representing wards and the political wing (Nallathiga 2008). Bhubaneswar city has also the Mayor-in-council structure that is headed by the Mayor followed by Deputy Mayor and the commissioner, who together govern the City. Further, BDA bypasses the Mayor in decision making process. That means BDA does have a decentralized practice in planning but it does in a limited way by relying on the commissioner than the Mayor. This is based on the information gathered in my Ph.D. field work. For instance, Housing and Urban Development Authority (HUDA), BDA and Office of Honorable Chief Minister all communicated to the Commissioner, BMC instead of Mayor, who is the highest elected authority in BMC and was in function during the time of communications made from 2003 in the draft Comprehensive Development Plan, 2010 preparation process.

⁸ LIG means Low Income Groups and EWS refers Economically Weaker Sections.

residents of the city. This is largely due to complete absence of residents' voice in the organizational structure of the BDA. From the field work in Kailash Vihar and Gouri Nagar Resident Welfare Associations it is evident that residents are unable to access BDA because of the professional restrictions and bureaucratic practices and authoritative staffs of BDA. Due to lack of communication and interaction between BDA and the residents, planning becomes a time consuming process. Plan approval procedure is long and time consuming and a costly affair. Therefore multiple deviations in the building construction are noticed. Gouri Nagar has many buildings constructed without plan approval. When asked for such violation of rule, residents complained of complex, time consuming and expensive approval process of the BDA which compelled them to go ahead with house construction without a plan approval with the hope that they would regularize the construction in future by taking advantage of Sarbakshyama yojana⁹.

Many such instances were noted during the fieldwork. This only confirms the fact that BDA continues as an authoritative agency and rarely coordinates either with the parastatal agencies or with the people. Interview conducted with officials from several parastatal agencies and the

presidents, secretaries and other members of neighborhood associations only confirmed this glaring lack of coordination

Interviews conducted with the Corporators¹⁰ revealed their unfamiliarity with procedures and nature of planning activities undertaken by the BMC. All of them complained that the BDA rarely holds any meetings related to city planning activities. Nearly all of them are unaware of the existence of zonal plans, or plan for the wards they represent. As stated earlier, the Mayor too is merely a nominal head of the city and is no way connected with crucial planning decisions. The BDA has infrequent consultation with the Sarpanchs¹¹ from Panchayat samities (rural local bodies) to address the problems identified in areas located in the outskirts of the Bhubaneswar Development Plan Area (BDPA)¹².

Highhandedness by the BDA?

Allegations of highhandedness and even outright corruption by the BDA are many and the most authentic source is Comptroller and Auditor General's report. The Development Authority has been alleged to have made multiple allotments to single person or family in the land or housing allotment process (Government of Odisha 2013). BDA has the provision that one person, by rule, cannot

9 BDA has regularized unauthorized settlements and approved deviated plans and allowed reconstruction of the same. "Regularization of unauthorized/deviated construction through compounding (ROUDCTC)" or Sarbakshyama yojana was in force during 31.12.2007 to 30.06.2009. During this period BDA has disposed 3771 applications out of 4598 based on first come first serve basis (Government of Odisha 2013; Annexure II). Under Sarbakshyama yojana there was a provision to have a panel consists of representative of Development Authority, public health engineering or municipal engineer to check randomly the construction sites of 10% of the total cases before that get regularized.

10 An elected representative of the 'Ward' of the Municipal Corporation.

11 A Sarapanch is an elected representative and decision maker of a constitutional body of local self-government called 'panchayat' (a constituent of 'Wards' that comprise of a few villages) in rural India. Panchayat is part of Panchayati Raj system generally refers to the system of local self-government introduced under 73rd constitutional Amendment Act in 1992 (Jain Manisha 2018).

12 Bhubaneswar Development Plan Area (BDPA) includes Municipal Corporation area, adjacent towns such as Khurda and Jatani, and BDA rural among the government, private, government reserved and forest department. Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP) was planned for BDPA in the year 2010 and currently under the process of implementation.

apply for more than one unit of land or house in the city. But during 2002-2012, 29 people were allotted houses valuing 60.79 million by BDA when these people either themselves or their spouses were allotted houses in earlier schemes (Government of Odisha 2013). All these allotments happen in 5 housing schemes: 2009 Anant Vihar Housing Scheme Ph-II, HIG Duplex; Netaji Subash Enclave in 2007; Lumbini Vihar in 2001 and 2002, Prachi Enclave Ph-II and Udayagiri VHS in 2002 (Government of Odisha 2013). Despite using advanced Management Information System since 1993, BDA does not have a database to check any replication! The opaqueness in land or house allotment by the BDA is astounding.

Government of Odisha report (2013) has also brought out multiple evidences stating irregularities in house allotments. BDA has allotted houses based on first-come-first-served basis. Moreover, BDA has also considered the applicants who have applied prior to the public notification and did not notify either in its website or in local newspapers. Even allotment process under discretionary quota (DQ) which is supposed to be allotted by the Chairperson of the BDA is not transparent because the criteria or standard parameters chosen for identifying the allottees were not clear. Many plans were approved (for instance, Vipul Greens at Raisingpur) and construction



Fig. 2 : Internal road, Kailash Vihar



Fig. 3 : Laying of Sewerage line, Kailash Vihar



Fig. 4 : Cowsheds in the middle of Kailash Vihar



Fig. 5 : Slums developed within Kailash Vihar

activities commenced sans environmental clearances mandatory for high-rise buildings (Government of Odisha 2013).

BDA is accused of not continuously updating, monitoring or evaluating the plan, which often leads to failure of plan implementation. For instance, for preparing zonal development plans (ZDPs) in CDP 2010, BDA took 5 years to prepare plans for 8 out of total 14 ZDPs. While preparation of master plan/Comprehensive Development Plan itself is time consuming, implementing, monitoring and evaluating becomes even more cumbersome tasks. Legally, master plans need to be evaluated every five years, which BDA authorities said is difficult as they are short of staff and are loaded with numerous tasks.

Similarly, master plan implementation is not backed by legal provision as far as financial commitment is concerned. From several interactions with the planners in BDA it is revealed that allotted budget of BDA never tallies with the proposed plan. All departments have budgetary allocation for their own plans, but release of funds from various departments at a single time happens rarely. Further, BDA does not have any mechanism to raise the entire fund for the plan preparation and implementation process. Ahluwalia (2019) states that planning needs to integrate with financial plans and argues that institutional reforms could allow private sectors to share the financial burdens and bridge the infrastructure and service gaps in the cities.

Weak local representation?

Field work conducted among residents in Gourinagar, Mahishakhala and Acharya Vihar localities of Bhubaneswar on issues related to land allocation, regularization of unauthorized buildings, building plan approval and implementation of Rajiv Awas Yojana in Bhubaneswar reveals deep seated resentment against the BDA with regard to its trustworthiness. The slum dwellers of Mahishakhala¹³ stated that BDA has approved a certain portion of land to ‘ineligible’ (residents call them as mafia) persons without consulting or giving any notice to the dwellers of Mahishakhala. Those lands were allotted to the present residents of Mahishakhala by Biju Patnaik, the former Chief Minister of Odisha for rehabilitation which could not be formalized due to procedural delay leaving much scope for land grabbing by the mafia who claim that they have bought the land legally. Rather than resolving the claim the BDA suggested to the committee members of Mahishakhala sangha¹⁴ to settle the issue by discussing with those who claim that they have brought the land. This has resulted in conflicting situation while BDA has remained a silent spectator.

The disparity between the old and newly developed parts of the city too is glaring as far as planning for their development is concerned. Increasing flash floods in the neighbourhoods of the inner city such as Acharya Vihar and Gouri Nagar and lack of infrastructure facilities in the peri-urban neighborhoods such as Kailash Vihar bear testimony to the negligence in planning

13 Mahishakhala is one of the oldest slums, located in old Bhubaneswar city. It was established in the year 1965. Centrally sponsored G+4 RAY project is under implementation in two slums (out of 436 slums) in Bhubaneswar that includes Patharbandha and Mahishakhala.

14 Mahishakhala Sangha is a neighbourhood organization that facilitates government schemes to get implemented in the slum. It helps the residents in resolving multiple issues related to inadequate infrastructure facilities, in handling official matters and maintaining quality life in the neighbourhood.

implementation. BDA alone is not responsible for these unplanned developments. Organic or haphazard growth in the peri urban and lack of collaboration among the local organizations are also the reasons for negligence in planned development (Rout 2015). The neighbourhood of Kailash Vihar, despite being started in late 1970s, was neglected both in municipal services and planning provisions for the last three decades. With several initiatives from the neighbourhood association (RWA), this neighbourhood now has drainage and sewerage lines across the streets. Roads are constructed only in the front side of the neighbourhood, leaving many residents to walk through the muddy internal roads. Several roads are unapproachable in rainy days and some of them were under construction following the laying of the sewerage and drainage lines (see figure 2 and 3). Moreover, the presence of DAV public school, Chandrasekharapur (campus 2) and Infocity (IT based company) created an environment where the private and public agencies negotiated to construct roads, which benefited some parts of the neighborhood. Existence of cowsheds in the middle of the neighborhood with scant hygienic practices has also been the cause for much conflicts among the neighbours (see figure 4). Further, slums have come in the middle of Kailash Vihar by occupying government land which is fiercely contested (see figure 5). Lack of minimum basic facilities in Kailash Vihar such as infrequent drinking water provisions, poor internal roads, problems in the collection and disposal of sanitation needs attention of both BDA and the Municipal Corporation.

Conclusion

Judging by the evidences from past several

decades, one of the major problems of master plan in India has been the rigid and inflexible character of the master plan by not allowing multiple stakeholders to work in collaboration, especially the locals are neglected in the entire planning process. Rather plans are prepared and implemented solely by the Development Authority of the concerned cities. Further, master plans are criticized either for not being conceived from the start or not being inclusive in terms of issues, stakeholdership, and finance. In addition, master plans are shaped based on command and control approach and are yet to be decentralized, participatory and collaboratively coproduced.

Master Planning has remained a useful tool for the urban planners and helped in transforming the city both in infrastructure and quality of living. However, deviations to planning practices of Bhubaneswar Development Authority, irregular development, negligence in infrastructure planning, large scale unauthorized developments along the sub-urban areas-all point to the fact that master plans are at odds with collaborative practices, public involvement and requirements of urban community. Strategic nature of master plans has given priority to some places, groups and activities at the expense of others, which we have evidenced in case of Kailash Vihar in Bhubaneswar. It is evident that the narrow focus of master plans in cities with wide ranging problems would make planning ineffective in addressing these problems. Therefore, master plans need to be sensitive towards local needs and contexts and strategic in both plan preparation and implementation by focusing on concerned issues and areas collaboratively.

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