

Kumbh Mela
Preliminary Report from the Field
November, 2012
By Namita Dharia

Contents:

I Activity Report for Third Preliminary Visit	2
II Organization and Plan of Maha Kumbh mela	3
III Road and Bridge – Public Works Department	5
IV Architecture of the Nagri	8
V Public Health Program	10
VI Flows of Capital and Goods	12
VII Electricity	14
VIII Laws and Governance	16
IX Different Occupants or Groups	18
X Lost and Found (Public Announcements System)	18
XI Safety strategies during Kumbh	18
XII Social Dimensions	19

**I Activity Report for Third Preliminary Visit:
Physical Data Gathered:**

- Digital masterplan 2012-13 (preliminary)
- Hard copies of 2007 plan of Ardhha kumbh and 2001 Maha Kumbh plan
- Report on Aradha Kumbh (book published by Mela officials) with details of last Kumbh (Hindi)
- PWD preliminary drawing of roads
- Electrical preliminary drawing of sub station locations and electrical lines
- Police public report on arrangements (Hindi)
- Medical team organization chart (Hindi)

Interviews conducted with:

2 administrative officials in Kumbh Mela
Electrical Engineer
Health officer and 2 juniors from sanitation department
Chief Town planner
Junior Engineers PWD
Mithai Wala
Shreyasth Agarwal (Lalooji Enterprises grandson of Lalooji and Sons)

Photo Documentation (Dinesh Mehta)

Ariel View of Parade Ground where main activity is concentrated
Photo documentation : electrical work, pontoon bridge construction, sewerage pipes, road construction activity, health store, tents and built up areas.

II Organization and Plan of Maha Kumbh mela

- The Kumbh Mela takes place in an approximately 4x8km area on the flood plain of the Yamuna and Ganga river and on defense land behind the old kila at Allahabad (popularly known as parade grounds).
- Mapped into 4 zones – Arail (N Bank), Jhusi (W bank), Parade grounds, Upper Bandh and lower Bandh. With the parade ground being government and institutional area and Upper Bandh and Lower Bndh the sites of maximum activity (also closest to holiest spot: sangam).
- Parade grounds are the current defense lands behind the sangam and will hold all the government offices
- Kumbh Nagri is notified by the UP government as an official 76th district of Uttar Pradesh, all the laws and regulations that pertain to the rest of UP's 75 districts are applicable in the Kumbh.
- This year Ganges has settled in such a way that greater land area is on the Western side (Jhusi) than the Eastern side (Kila/ upper/lower Bandh side_ as is usually the case.
- Planning is done with an assumed 20% increase in population from the Ardha Kumbh numbers (they did not remember the number)
- Amin or tehsildars are the chief layout makers of the Kumbh. They head to the field everyday and mark out the entire city. Most often than not they do this before the town planners draw up the map.
- Town planners say they often navigate around the work already done on site in their plans.
- This year the area of the mela extends almost 2 km up river on the Ganges to reduce the density of the Kumbh Nagri.
- Government area is situated on the parade ground. It houses:
 - offices of a majority of government departments: jal, health, electricity PWD, Police.
 - ATM, internet access kiosks, ONGCoffices , cell phone towers, and also bank branches.
- Expected number of visitors: 14th Jan: 1crore 13 lakh, 27th jan 55 lakhs 10th feb 3.25 crores.
- Approximately 1 crore population (check) rumored to be staying as residents. However, people tell me that Mela authorities exaggerate numbers. Estimated population counts still underway by Tourism Department.
- On 20th Oct, the Ganges fully receded and final flood plain mapped. Layout work commenced.

Sectors Planning

- A total of 14 administrative sectors are planned this year. Each sector represents an administrative district. Police, health and other departments have a different number of sectors.
- Sectors are mapped according to population density. It is calculated at 20% more than the ardha kumbh. Each sector has roughly the same amount of residents. The

large sectors on the periphery of the nagri are large as they have a lower density of occupancy.

- They are waiting to adjust size of sectors based on population predictions by Tourism department.
- Sector 8,9,7 are largely residential, Sector 12 is largely open ground.
- The sectors closer to sangam are smaller as these are high density areas.
- Boundaries of the sectors are defined by 1) the river bank edge (i.e. where the sandy bank ends and the mainland starts—usually characterized by an elevation difference) 2) the water edge 3) existing roads (Ref: Chief Townplanner)
- Each sector has its small zone of shops.
- Rules, building bye laws etc apply to the Kumbh Nagri but it has a lot of special provisions that are passed by the committee created for it.
- Masterplan of Allahabad has special provisions for Kumbh accounted in it.
- Kumbh mela is one of twenty land uses on the master plan.

III Road and Bridge – Public Works Department

Roads and Bridges:

- Public works Department (PWD) of UP is responsible for roads and bridges: their construction and maintenance. The creation of signs for them as well.
- Team organization: Head: ENC – Engineer in charge UP. At site: 1) Chief Engineer-1, 2) Superintendent Engineer -1. 3) Executive Engineer-1 4) Assistant Engineers-6 5) Junior Engineers 28, 6) Agents or workmates –multiple nos 7) Beldars or unskilled labor-multiple nos
- Motilal Nehru Institute of Technology (MNIT) performs third party checks on the construction.

A Roads:

- Two types of Roads 1) Permanent (pucca): bituminous roads constructed on the parade ground and in the city on non flood plain areas 2) temporary roads made on sandy belt (banda ke neechein).
- Permanent activity has included road widening projects on the Lucknow road, Sringerpur (sp) Road, Benaras Road for about 20-25 km.
- The roads in the main center of the Kumbh Nagri are historic roads. Their lines are etched into the sand from previous magh melas. They get erased but their names remain and it is common local knowledge that x road is parallel to y after which comes z (For names see master plan and also PWD working drawing)
- The inner lanes between the main roads are called gattas (patti roads) and are kuccha.

Construction :

- A main road is 45 cm high at its center from ground level and is gradually ramped on two sides (see Road section drawing). This is made from earth soil and sand. This is done by tractors in recent years but was once done by hand.
- A series of chequered metal plates are laid in two strips to match vehicular wheel widths. These form the base for car traffic.
- The chequered plates are 1m long, 1’ wide and 6mm thick (check) and are joined together by a 8” ms 6 mm thick steel plates with bolts (drawing)
- An estimated 116 Km (check) of chequered plates will be used.
- U pipes are passed under the roads at select points to facilitate drainage.

History of construction:

- They have tried several permutations for the roads in the past including cinder blocks. They have found as traffic both pedestrian and vehicular increased over the years. The blocks and other techniques gave away due to the sandy soil base.

B Bridges (Known as pontoons)

- 17 Pontoon bridges are proposed across the Ganges and two across the Yamuna (see masterplan for names)
- 2692 new pontoons being built. There are 1510 old ones.

Construction: (Felipe Pontoon report compiled with this)

- Bridges are made of “Pontoon (“Pipa” is the Hindi name for the floating iron cylinders). They are 8’ wide and 32’ long.

- These pieces are reused in different festivals, the last time they used them for the Kumbh Mela at Haridwar four years ago. The pipas are made of a thin layer of iron that keeps a large volume of air inside
- They are made of ms plates molded and welded, The fixing process includes welding pieces and the application of a waterproofing black layer (images Preliminary visit 2).
- Each of them has two inspection chambers in the upper part approximately 70 by 60 centimeters large.
- Preventing the water from seeping inside the pontoon is key therefore the inspection chambers allow safety of crowds.
- The volume of water displaced by the all the pipas defines the resistance of the bridges. The weight of the water displaced minus the weight of the whole structure of the bridge would be the quantity of charge the bridges are able to support without sinking. According to the people in the ground the weight of each pipa is 5.459 tons.
- The pontoons are laid in water using a flat bed truck and cranes.
- The sandy bank is ramped up or down to meet the levels of the pontoons in water.
- The pontoons have two kinds of ropes attached to them a steel wire on the upper side of water flow and a coir rope on the lower side of the river flow.
- A bamboo tripod like structure is made and turned into a makeshift net into which sand bags full of river sand are loaded. These tripods become anchors and are embedded into the river bed and water. Each pontoon is anchored separately on both its sides (see images Dinesh).
- The pontoons are about 5 m center to center.
- Once in the water the pontoons are connected using MS I section girders that are bolted to them. MS plates are then bolted onto the girders and finally the plates will be lined with Sal wood (the same used for railways sleepers/tracks). 70,000 sleepers are needed. 19000 new sleepers have been ordered from forest department.

Maintenance:

- Each bridge will have a team of 30-35 people to watch its repair. 2 junior engineers, one assistant engineer, 1 superintendent and one chief engineer head the team.

Contracting:

- The PWD has a list of 'registered contractors' they contract work out to
- In actuality the key contractors for Kumbh have a monopoly and remain the same over the years. New ones are added as the work size increases.
- Most of the big contractors subcontract as well, so that there are several small players on the ground.
- At the moment the work force is from Allahabad and surrounding areas. Soon labor will be drawn in from across UP.
- Laborers are both skilled and unskilled and are paid on a day wage basis. Often skilled workers are paid multiples of day wage 1.5, 3 etc.

Materials:

- MS plates are acquired from SAIL and are kept in storage used for various melas around UP.
- Wood comes from the Van Vibhag (forest department and is also stored and recycled).

Economics:

- All governmental / public funding . 30% funding of roads borne by Central Govt and 70% state.
- A charge of 50 rs per vehicle and parking costs will be levied to recover sums
- Each pontoon (pippa) it cost is 3.5 lakhs rupees.
- The daily payment for each worker is 250 rupees per day.

Time lines:

- January 2012: Planning begins:
- February 2012: estimation and costing of different works prepared. Tendering started.
- March 2012: Costing cut and approved detail planning begins. Work begins on bituminous roads pre rains.
- The process of assembling the bridges takes 30 days.

IV Architecture of the Nagri

- Entire Nagri is constructed largely out of bamboo, cloth and tin. More permanent VVIP areas and hospitals are in plywood.
- The sandy banks of the Ganges are leveled by tractors at the cost of the government.
- There are a total of 13 contractors who build the makeshift architecture on the government side.
- The same contractors, most often than not, build the akharas and pandas etc for which they are paid by the pandas or akharas. Akharas often get a discount. But individual groups can choose to bring in their own contractors – a lot of the tourist operators have their own teams.
- Lalooji and Sons (LJS) is a historic company who supplies everything from the tin to the beds and blankets. They say that the Kumbh Nagri exists because of them .
- LJS is the dominant contractor but there are several companies Lalooji , Lallooji Enterprises, etc which are split companies from the central one. They are all brothers or cousins and compete with each other. These are pan India companies. They set up melas in Haridvar, Nasik, Delhi etc and have stores and offices all over.

Teams:

- The Amins mark out the boundary of the administrative area or the private camp. The respective contractor (lalooji and sons or cousin) is then called by the party the land is allocated to. Together they plan the different components of the camp (see image planning).
- Contractors have a series of head managers, managers, site supervisors, skilled and unskilled laborers.
- Units of design include 1) a kitchen area of tin 2) bathroom : can be attached deluxe, luxury or separate latrines 3) tents (various types) 4) Tin enclosures 5) covered areas for meetings.
- Different types of enclosures can be made of ballis (bamboos), pipes, or of hangars for larger spans
- Plywood cabins-- normal, super deluxe, and deluxe-- can be made according to demand
- Hangars spans stretch from 72' to 120'.
- Sizes of Tents: 1) Darbari (VVIP) 45'x30' 2) Swiss Cottage (VIP) 30'x30' 3) EP Tent (Staff) 24'x25' 4) Choldari (for labor classes) 18'x18'
- Everything is supplied has different degrees of luxury e.g. presidential blankets, ordinary blankets, high backed cushioned chairs, metal chairs etc. For VVIP's they buy new items.

Contracting

- All the architecture is contracted out. The contractors are all related and compete against each other. Subcontracting is very common. Rates are fixed by Mela Adhikari but discounts are often given for the holy men.

Economics:

- Public funding is utilized to build the various government areas as well as the residential area of the samaj sevak residents.
- Akharas are given a significant discount based on their relationship with the contractors.

- The rent of each plot is a 1000 rupees per tent (ref Felipe –needs to be checked).
- The supply of material for government areas is also from registered contractors. E.g. forest department will provide all the bamboo poles.

Timelines:

- Early March-April sees repair work of all the equipment. The equipment is also circulated across India.
- 20th September : began to move material to site
- 30th September : work order issued and began work
- It takes 5 mins to erect a bamboo and tin segment consisting of two bamboos and two to three tin pieces (10'x2' -10"). This makes part of a boundary wall

V Public Health Program

Organization:

- 22 administrative sectors for health
- “This is not a medical facility but a health program.”
- Here again facilities are divided between 1) Permanent: with existing hospitals such as GT hospital being improved 2) Temporary: hospitals and related facilities created at Kumbh.
- No serious illnesses are treated at Kumbh they are ambulated to the town hospital.
- There are three wings that fall under this department 1) Public Health: which does sanitation work and has check posts for infectious diseases. They also check food and water samples on a regular basis. 2) Clinic: dealing with medical treatment 3) Vector Borne Disease Control Unit: which is largely the anti fly unit.
- Staff for the Health Department is drawn from hospitals all across UP. Lower level and first aid staff are drawn from government schemes like Aganwadis (child care centers).
- They also hire the lower ranks of staff like sweepers and laborers.
- Medical supplies and equipment procurement is handled by the Purchase department.

Infectious disease control and health checks

- The health department folk claim that there has been no infectious disease break out so far
- There will be about 10 check points near entrances and parking lots of the kumbh and new arrivals will be interrogated and screened.
- I am told they try and check each incoming group or watch for signs of infectious diseases
- NGO's and Governmental Program come and work with them: they use their space but have their own set of operations. For E.g. Pulse Polio is expected to be here this year again.
- When trying to check Cholera in 89-91 they would not let anyone into the Kumbh Nagri if they did not have a certificate of immunization/testing.

Planning

- One, 100 bed hospital at parade ground: this will be made of plywood
- Ten hospitals of 20 bed each across sectors these will be made with tin, tents.
- The entire hospital is made by Lalooji and Sons who hold a monopoly over the construction of the Nagri.
- 2 infectious disease units

(see document for details)

Sanitation:

- Is still done by 'traditional method'
- 22 sectors will be serviced by sweeper gangs who will sweep the areas free of night soil and waste (image of carts the garbage is carted in). Laborers dig large pits in available open areas and on the outskirts (wherever they can find space I am told). They also liberally spray these pits with DDT and other chemicals to prevent spread of bacteria etc.
- each gang consists of 11 sweepers , one of whom is in charge of them.

- there will be 9000 sweepers at Kumbh this year.
- There are expected to be 35,000-45,000 toilets created at Kumbh (image of toilets). Toilets are constructed in tin shed and a cement platform with the Indian style toilet is made within it. Plastic pipes lead into a pit dug behind the toilet rows. The pit is lined with bricks but I am to understand that a lot of them end up being just pits. Pits are covered with a lattice of bamboo and covered with dry grass to allow gasses to escape. Mud is placed on them. Extra pits are made for overflows. In sandy areas – tin barrels are placed upside down to act as septic tanks as otherwise the sewage rises up through the sandy soil
- A large number of the visitors are villagers who refuse to use toilets as they are unaccustomed to them. They squat in any available open land. Their night soil is swept up every day and taken to pits and buried. I can see this as a huge problem: already areas in between two tin compounds or near existing drainage canals are lined with human feces.
- 2000-2500 pits are dug for garbage and night soil (environmental nightmare!), I am told the sweepers also act as scavengers and remove plastic and other recyclable refuse as they dig the pits.

Vector Borne Disease Control

- AKA Anti Fly Unit . This consists of spraying insecticide: DDT, Gamexene, Noran, B.Tex were some of the names they listed.

Economics

- Here again expected funding is 30% from Central Government and 70% from state.
- Medical Supplies are also included in this (so they say but it might be different)

VI Flows of Capital and Goods:

Kumbh Mela is a religious space that meets a capitalist space. There is a lot of barter and giving of Prasad and Food to the residents but a lot of money exchanges hands within the Nagri.

Public Sector

Expenses include:

- Large parts of the Kumbh Mela construction costs are public sector: electricity, sanitation, sewerage, hospitals, tube wells, water supply, police post, first aid centers exhibition areas, ground leveling and preparation, public announcement systems etc.
- The construction costs of offices, residences of government officials that manage the Kumbh are also publically funded.
- Akharas are given free utilities (check).
- The NGO or samaj seval residential areas are also built through public funding

Funding

- 30% of the estimated budget of the different departments is supposed to be borne by the central government funding and 70% through state funding. This year, however, the UP government has asked a couple of the departments to pick up the 70% tab themselves.
- The water and electricity departments charge per connection. The various departments will meet with Adhikari to decide upon the rates.
- Parking and incoming vehicles will be charged (at 50 rs a vehicle?)
- Land is allocated and charged as well (on a number of tents basis at 1000 rs a tent-needs to be checked). Bribes are common place to secure land.
- Advertising booths are apparently present and bring in revenue (check). E.g. Hero Honda had a scooter on display last Kumbh.
- Shops, advertisements space, and exhibition and sale areas are allocated on an auction basis. However established business and shop owners at the Kumbh are guaranteed spots and are in fact invited to set up shops and distribute goods. Here again, bribes are common place for new comers.
- Established business owners also pay half the rent for e.g. A shop space in the Ardha Kumbh cost a mithai wala Rs 10,000 and outsiders wishing to set up were charged approximately Rs 22,000.
- A large exhibition area also sells things like seeds, fertilizers, farmer tools (these may be public sector companies though).
- BSNL sets up wireless towers as well as sells land line connections
- ONGC sells gas cylinders.
- 18/19 banks set up ATMs (number may be wrong).

Private Sector:

- There are a number of shops that are present in the Kumbh Nagri
- There is a planned shopping zone called Meena Bazaar which is in the central government area / parade area (image shopping)
- Other than that there are several shops in each sector.
- The shops are auctioned off by the Mela Adhikari office.

- There are an estimated 1000-1200 shops on auction.
- Memorable stalls are the Prayag Dairy and Loknath Mishthan Bhavan who run multiple stalls.
- There are various kinds of shops that have different rental or licensing prices: 1) shops in Meena Bazaar 2) Exhibition cum Sales areas 3) shops in sectors 4) shops along main arteries 5) peddler shops.
- A large amount of informal selling takes place as well.

Kinds of goods sold at Kumbh:

- Dry good stores
- Milk, milk products and bread (Parag Dairy is the chief supplier and there is a separate administrative department for milk and food products).
- Mithai and kachori stalls: Popular stalls-Loknath Mishthan Bhandar. Sulakilal Shrinath and Sons
- Clothes (woolens, bedding etc)
- Stoves and dung cakes to burn on stoves are under production on the Kumbh site (image in Dinesh image set)
- Brand items such as coke, Nescafe etc are all present but are through local store owners who get the respective agents to supply for the Kumbh
- Companies such as hero honda etc have stalls that advertise, but not sell products.
- Meena Bazaar: this is the specified area allocated for small shops at Sangam and generally has a clothes market where a large number of Tibetans and Kashmiris sell goods.
- Religious goods: texts, prayer beads, other things required for rituals, music cds and cassettes, religious idols and posters. These include Buddhists as well.
- Huge exhibition and sale area sells: khadi gram udyog items, different kisan instruments, beej, kisan udyog products etc. Immunization guys and public health eservices have an awareness area there too.

Networks of goods and material supply:

- There are a large number of networks on the ground for the supply of goods. Mithai shop owners for example have their milk suppliers in local villages and up their required quantity during the Kumbh.
- The presence of the Maha Kumbh is local knowledge and local suppliers and supply changes are already planning the anticipated increase in demand.
- Milk suppliers will stop supplying to dairies and only supply to mithai wallas. Additional vegetable are planned to be sowed.

Pricing

- Pricing differs radically inside and outside the Kumbh Nagri boundaries. For instance a Thali that inside the boundaries of the Kumbh costs 100 rupees outside 30 rupees Or a bottle of water inside costs 30 rupees while outside costs 15 rupees. (ref Felipe)
 - I am told this is because traffic is controlled within the Nagri and it is difficult to move goods in and out and thus increases pricing.
-

VII Electricity:

- Two types of Works are covered:
 - 1) Permanent: this covers the outer periphery of the mela and is beneficial to entire city
 - 2) Temporary: for Kumbh Mela only. The Superintendent Engineer I interviewed is in charge of all temporary works.
- Substation requirements are based on demands of last Kumbh with an assumed percentile increase (20-25% check).
- Supply will come from Northern Region Grid and Kumbh Substations will have priority during the mela dates
- Electricity is cut off during the day so as to prevent accidents.
- Timeline:
 - Procurement of material started since January 2012: estimation and tenders floated in January 2012
 - Began work on 20th October when the Ganges receded
 - All electrical pole and substation work on upper Bandh completed by 31st Oct 2012.
 - Total work to be completed by 30th November testing till 15th Dec.
 - 15th Nov – Dec end akharas will give their load supply demands

Layout:

- The Mela Administration marks out roads. The electricity poles are run along the roads and drainage systems are put into place then too.
- Spaces for the substations are also marked out.
- They have to chase the mela administration for the markings.
 - Multiple generating stations (see map)
 - Size of substation is 80'x80' as they not only hold the 2 transformers but also Swiss cottages for the staff and their families.
-

Economics

- Electricity is a government funded enterprise. 30% of funds come from central. 70% was supposed to be given by the state but the state has asked the electricity board to pay for all this themselves. They are a little resentful of this.
- Residents are charged on a connection basis and not meterage: my sense is that there are two types of connections 1) supply and 2) CFL or tubelight though the engineer only told me of latter.
- They will be installing energy meters to calculate the tab of the kumbh.
- In the past they charged 40 rs per bulb connection. This year they want to charge 150rs as CFLs are expensive.

Contracting :

- Two types of contracting: 1) material supply 2) executing works
- 12 contractors executing the works
- The execution and maintenance is a joint contract and the repair work through Kumbh is included

Substations:

- 48 substations of 2x400 KVA will be built – they are double transformers and operate at 50% capacity in order to have backup supply (Image of substation at Kumbh)
- 2 kinds of wires: 1) LT for domestic use: 700 km of wires 2) HT --11KV from transformer to transformer -300 km length
- 36 transformers to be provided to 36 tube wells.
- 10 250 kva transformers for large structures such as Akharas
- Hospital has its own 250 kva transformer
- To ensure 100% supply the main is a ring main so supply from double sources.
- Expecting a 40 MVA demand per minute.
- They have 126 home guards to guard the 48 substations in 3 shifts.
- 2 types of wires – I phase of 4 wires and 3 phase of 6 wires.
- 22000 halogen streetlights on their own wire.
- 1,30,000 connections estimated.
- One lakh connections in past
- 45 diesel generators for backup for street lights
- Electricity poles are 6' tall and easy to put into the sandy soil they are about 30-40m apart.

Contracting:

- The electricity work is subcontracted to registered contractors: most often contractors who worked the Kumbh for years.
- The contract is an installation and maintenance one.
- People are charged per connection made. In the past one CFL is given per connection.

New Technologies:

- Started an online digital inventory to prevent material pilferage. That costs 9.5 lakhs itself.

Team:

- HCN: Anil Verma
- 1 executive engineer
- 6 assistant engineers
- 6 junior engineers
- 6 retired persons experienced with Kumbh on advisory capacity
- meet at 9 pm everyday

Permanent works:

- Increased jail road capacity to 5 MVA
 - Connected 5 new substations 2x10 capacity increase through them
 - Each of the 8 main supply station is fully capable of taking entire load of kumbh
-

VIII Laws and Governance:

Police Arrangements:

- 30 police outposts planned
- Police forces are arriving in three batches 15th oct, 15th nov, 15th dec
- Reserve police force drawn from stations and lines all across UP
- Training session being conducted in batches. Currently the trainers are being trained who will then train the remaining regiments.
- 3 types of police forces – central reserve police force, Uttar Pradesh police and paramilitary will be present at the Kumbh
- On main bathing days police stand and pull people out of the water as soon as they take a dip
- Crowd control through a system of mazes—making people walk as much as possible. These are adjusted according to the main bathing dates and expected audiences
- Police are in charge of parking and vehicular movement.
- Traffic will be stopped 7km before the Kumbh Nagri and people will have to walk.

Laws and Authority (from Felipe report):

The following is based in the “United Provinces Mela Rules”, which is the act that provides basic rules for the Mela and designate power to officers.

- For every version of the Kumbh there is a new “governing” committee composed by no more than thirty people, from which only twelve can be official. There will be designated one Manager, appointed by the District Magistrate to act as Manager of the Festival. The District Magistrate is also the Chairman and the Officer in charge of the Mela acts as the secretary of the committee.
- According to the Mela regulation the committee should meet at least one time per year.
- The act of Mela regulation also gives power to the district magistrate to designate people to inspect at any time, day or night places for producing and selling goods or drinks for human consumption.
- The same act gives power of arresting to any police officer or any person authorized by the district magistrate without warrant to any person contravening the rules specified by the rule 13 of this act which are quoted in the next paragraph and also carry on any profession without license, evading tools or fees, using as urinal, latrine, rubbish dump, bathing place, washing clothes any spot different from the specified by the Mela administrator.
- Regarding Infectious diseases the act is very clear forbidding the access to Mela boundaries to any person, which present symptoms of infectious disease. The officer in charge has the power of ordering the person suffering of the infectious disease to leave the Mela boundaries or to take him to the hospital for a fixed amount of time. The same officer has the power of destroying any personal belonging of the infected person without any payable compensation to the affected. If an epidemic breaks out the Mela boundaries the district magistrate should isolated it and gives warning to all the neighboring districts. The closing point of the act express the following:
“District Magistrates Responsibility – The District Magistrate is generally responsible for the proper conduct of the Mela and it would be his duty to supervise

the work of the officer in charge and to coordinate the activities of all departments working in the Mela area”

IX Different Occupants or Groups:

- The Kumbh mela is only called a Kumbh mela if the 13 main Akharas (sadhu camps) are present. They make the Kumbh. Word has it they have a large number of foreign disciples and are often funded by foreign currency.
 - They occupy the premium space at the Kumbh: the site right by the Sangam on the main bank (Lower)
 - After them come their central disciple or clans known as maha mandeleshwars who set up camp with various sadhus.
 - After them come samaj sevak camps which flank the main roads.
 - 60,000- 70000 kalpvasis who stay there. AKA pandas are ordinary citizens who stay for the entire month.
-

X Lost and Found and Public Announcements System:

- The public announcement system has a centralized control point within the lost and found space in the central administrative area (check).
 - One contractor called Asha and Company supplies the system for the Kumbh.
 - scouts drawn from local government schools aid in communication and other help. They bring kids and other lost people to the lost and found. They also meet people at the train stations and carry bags, give information.
 - The RSS too brings help teams to site.
-

XI Safety strategies during Kumbh:

- water of the river is controlled from upriver (possibly haridwar) to keep it calf deep and thus minimize chances of drowning.
 - elaborate systems of mazes ensures that crowds do not stampede towards the river on main bathdates. There is a calculation of expected numbers for each day and the pattern of cutoffs and points of cutoffs will be changed to match estimated numbers.
 - Vehicular traffic is cut off 7 km ahead and you have to walk into the site.
 - Special permits are required to be in main sangam area on key bathing dates.
 - Electricity is cut off during the day so as to prevent accidents.
-

XII Social Dimensions

Each government department is allotted large amounts of space for their facilities. Within this they create their own accommodation and invite friends and family to live in premium spots. This is a perk of the job.

Geographies of the Kumbh

- While the Kumbh spatially is localized to the boundaries of the Kumbh Nagri on the banks of the Yamuna and Ganga: it activates a number of spaces across North India from which people, goods, money etc move.
- A large amounts of the Akhara finances are generated from foreign sources
- Tents, tin, furniture etc come from Hardwar, Delhi, Nasik, Rishikesh, and other Mela sites across North India.
- Laborers come first from outside Allahabad but gradually from areas of Eastern Uttar Pradesh.
- Same goes for vegetable and milk supply chains.
- Religious artifacts and clothes are brought by vendors across India from Tibet as well.

Historical Knowledge

- A large part of the making of the Kumbh is on the basis of dense localized, historical knowledge.
- There are a series of existing networks on the ground- vegetable and goods supply, labor supply, transportation organizers, contractors, disciple camps that are mobilized for every Kumbh.
- This historical knowledge also tactically adjusts itself based on the size of the Kumbh, building on its contacts in a pyramidal way.

Kinship Networks and Lines of familiarity:

- “Kumbh Mela hai- pandit hi sara kaam karenge” (This is the Kumbh Mela the pandits will do the work for it.) This was a response given to me when I asked why most of the people running the Kumbh have names such as Mishra, Srivatava or Dwivedi.
- While the administrative officials on special duty are deputized in Kumbh, often for the first time, their staff are all long time residents of Allahabad.
- Generations do the same work for the Kumbh Mela and every one either knows each other or is related to each other.
- This facilitates the break neck speed of work and also produces a series of understood **codes** through which the Nagri is built.
- A common **knowledge and language** exists in the Kumbh Nagri. For e.g. about tent and camp construction – how to demarcate structures, whom to call and when. Most likely than not the contractor will turn up just before you call them.
- Contractors move materials even before their work orders come: they are confident of the outcome.
- Implicit understandings and a series of historic patterns are encoded into the locals and they operate on the same.

Manpower

- The making and managing of the Kumbh demands and draws a large amount of manpower from across UP.
- Public servants are brought here on special duty and this is a responsibility that is added to their other existing responsibilities.
- Attention to the Kumbh, I am given to understand, comes at the cost of the neglect of something else.

Religion and Power

- I am given to understand that the Nagri draws and demands a lot of resources from UP due to the religious importance of the festival. A lot of the administrative departments are paying out of pocket for the construction of the Nagri.
- The akharas are considered almighty all the state officials and administrators “go and bow at these” and each administrative department is expected to provide 2-3 men who will look after the needs of each Akhara.

Temporalities of the Kumbh

- Temporalities in the Kumbh are cyclical as they are based on the cycles of the Magh Mela
- The largest temporal cycle is the sacred cycle of the Maha Kumbh dates that then drives the other temporalities.
- Each department and aspect of the Kumbh has its own temporal cycle
- Road and Bridge works begin the earliest and finish the first
- Electricity follows them and end just before the Kumbh
- Health supply systems come next but continue through the Kumbh
- Akharas have initiated their own planning cycle and are making preparations at their various ashrams.
- Panda owners have mobilized their groups.
- Fruit vegetable and food has its own cycle as well.
- It is possible to map these temporalities in relation to each other.