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## Analytical I

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Name: Availability of Funding

Description: - General statements about the availability of funding support
- For those features that are applicable to both HH or COMM
- DO NOT AGGREGATE
- From any source: Panchayat, TNSCB, consumers, community-members, NGOs, CBOs, businesses...

Reference 1 - 1.47% Coverage

I: If it is the community level, will people be contributing and participating in such an endeavour for the building and maintenance of it?

P4: Everybody’s participation and cooperation ought to be there. And I am sure everybody will contribute for it. People have to contribute if they want to drink more and good [water]. People will do whatever is possible from their means and their ends.

P5: Water is important, hence people will contribute for it.

P4: People will contribute their money towards reasonable expenses for such thing. They will contribute definitely for such thing.

Reference 2 - 2.98% Coverage

C: If it is done at the common or community level, will people be contributing money for such a common cause? As you have mentioned, the example of the youth volunteers in the fourth sector who are able to provide the necessary services by charging Rs. 20 and everybody [is] willing to contribute for it. Will that be the case if we have one community-level water treatment [system]?

P4: Definitely people will contribute for it. There are four groups [SHGs] even in this particular sector and if we have a seperate meeting and explain to them the need to have a community level water treatment system, and ask them to speak to their respective members in their sector to contribute their share... then people will definitely contribute for it! If we ask them to get the requisite money from the community, they will get it accordingly.

P2: Everybody will give it.

P5: Water is important and people will definitely contribute it.

P3: If people are getting good water then they don’t mind contributing for it.

C: Since water is highly important, so people will work for it?

P5/P3: People will contribute for it. Since they are getting good water, definitely people will play their part in it.

Reference 3 - 0.27% Coverage
**M:** Even if there is fee to pay for it, are you ready to pay for it?

**ALL:** Yes, we are ready to pay for it!

Reference 4 - 1.66% Coverage

**P4:** I will suggest [a strategy] that can be implemented sector wise. We have to appoint people according to each sector and provide them with salaries and ask them to take care of [the community water treatment unit] both in its storage and for cleaning and maintaining it. They can charge Rs. 2 per household and the community will contribute for it as it is common and a community effort and their salaries have to be paid from that collected amount. They have to clean the water either in a week or within every three days. This will ensure in getting good water at all times and is good for the people. Hence community level water treatment is good for the people.

Reference 1 - 0.76% Coverage

**M:** Would you all be ready to spend money for such a common task?

**R:** Yes, all of us will give.

**R:** No. Some of them may refuse to give.

**R:** They will give.

**R:** They will not give.

**R:** They will not.

Reference 2 - 2.75% Coverage

**F:** That is why he is asking how would you want to do it? Would you like to do it individually or collectively?

**R:** Even if someone wants to do like that [collectively], they have to collect money from others and do it.

**I:** Will everyone give money if someone takes interest and starts doing it?

**R:** Yes, all of us will give.

**R:** If someone comes and collects money at our door steps we will give. Everyone will give.

**C:** Will there be any problems? Other sector people told us that there would be problems.

**R:** Yes. Problems will arise. They will suspect that the entire amount would not be spent for the cause. They will question them.
R: We cannot say everyone would come forward to give.
R: Some will be ready and some will not be ready.

Reference 3 - 1.30% Coverage

I: [R] madam says she is ready. What do you say?
R: When it is good for the entire community and when it is good for me too I will surely cooperate with others for the common cause!
R: The result should be good. It is enough.
I: [R]... What do you say?
R: When it is for the welfare of the community we have to give. We happily give Rs. 20 for that.

Reference 1 - 0.53% Coverage
R: Even now when something should be bought when there is a power cut, we contribute money to buy it.

Reference 2 - 0.79% Coverage
R: We collect money when there is a big common problem. But when there is a small problem we just spend from our own pockets and get it done [ourselves].

Reference 1 - 1.32% Coverage

M: OK, I want to ask you a question that follows up to one point you just mentioned. You mentioned that people would contribute 10%, 15% of the cost of running a project. Do you think that hypothetically if some NGO was going to build a water treatment system in the community, that everyone would share, would people be willing to contribute some of the capital costs to this thing?
R: Yeah... definitely people contribution will come. So water is one of the need. Still not yet met. So people will come and contribute. That is how we communicate and how we take it to the people, that is also very important.

Reference 1 - 2.52% Coverage
M: Would they [the Panchayat] provide financing?
C: If an NGO contributes money will the Panchayat [also] contribute [money]?
R: Yes, they would. They [the NGO] should follow the proper method and give a written request saying that they want to do water purification and that they need the cooperation
of the Panchayat. The cost should be mentioned. It would be discussed [at the Panchayat’s council] and [if accepted] the sanction would be passed.

C: He says there is a proper process. They should ask by writing a letter. Then the Panchayat would cooperate and do whatever is needed, they should mention the cost in the letter. The Panchayat would decide it in a meeting of a body and pass a resolution.

Reference 2 - 2.38% Coverage

M: If the NGO is financing it, how about the Panchayat managing the system?

C: He is asking, if an NGO contributes the money and builds a system at the community level, will the Panchayat do the maintenance?

R: Yes, the Town Panchayat always does the maintenance. Definitely.

C: They will discuss everything in a Panchayat meeting and decide things.

<Internals\Interviews\INT #2 - Rehman Bibi - Notes> - § 1 reference coded [0.92% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.92% Coverage

Even if we are taking care of the latrines, it brings revenue. If we are collecting [only] 50 paise, [still] it will create revenue.

<Internals\Interviews\INT #3 - Vijaya (World Vision) - Notes> - § 2 references coded [13.36% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 9.09% Coverage

Q: Why did the latrine-cleaning effort fail?

Vijaya can’t say ultimately what led to the failure of the programme, but she suggests that it was poor cooperation from people that contributed to its downfall. WV also offered small loans to households in MBN to construct their own toilets, but this programme had low enrolment (suggesting that people are not interested in sanitation investments). WV also tried to hire volunteers from MBN itself who use the toilets themselves as cleaning staff under the auspices of WV, but this too failed in the end.

The cleaner’s wage was Rs. 900 per month and there was one cleaner per sector. This was initially paid for by WV fully. Later on, WV tried to involve local beneficiaries to contribute at first Rs. 5 per month, and then later on Rs. 10 (to make the cleaning programme sustainable). However, this effort ultimately failed because local beneficiaries didn’t want to pay for the latrines to be cleaned regularly and refused to take on the financial burden from WV.

Reference 2 - 4.27% Coverage
Q: Given the experience with the latrine cleaning programme, do you think people would contribute money to the collective construction of a community-level water treatment system?

It is difficult to envisage that people will contribute funds. In the case of water, people are willing to immediately pay Rs. 20 to get a bottle of water (20 L), but they would not be willing to put money into a collective project for good water, even if the returns would be better eventually.

Reference 1 - 1.72% Coverage

• IN RESPONSE to these gaps, Ashok's association has undertaken the following activities. These are supported by the Association collecting a voluntary fee of Rs. 20 per month from each of the households in Sector 4.

Reference 2 - 3.84% Coverage

• Ashok went to meet the head of TNSCB, Mr. Abuji Sharma, recently and was told that with interest accumulated, the residents owe Rs. 50,000 (instead of the Rs. 11,000 it was originally) to reach the target and normalize their plots
• Ashok says many residents are ready to pay this even now (there has been a lot of economic development in the community, and they've really come up in recent years) but the Panchayat and the TNSCB are not ready to accept the payment he claims

Reference 1 - 3.15% Coverage

R: Yes. They [the Panchayat] should have given but they didn’t. We were even asked to open a bank account. They didn’t credit any amount except Rs. 20 per house. We were not able to run the show. Even that was irregular. For such jobs one should be paid at least 5 or 6k [per month] for the then-cost of living. The Panchayat didn’t pay even 10 paisa [penny] to us for collecting the garbage. We collected money from the residents along the lanes where we collected the garbage.

Annotations

1 Rs. 2 < Rs 2.50 of the lorry water (bad quality too) – this seems to be an indication of the ‘willingness to pay’ and the target price range (per 20 L)
2 Rs. 2 seems to be the competitive cost level
3 Main reasons for COMM seem to be:
   1) Full availability of water at any time
   2) Egalitarian, everyone is served by it
4 The matter of whether individuals would contribute (financially, materially, labour) to a collective effort is certainly not uncontroversial.
5 From ON: Jeyanthi, nesib: About my knowledge, everybody won’t give the amount. The naysayers are these two. The others seem to think it’d work just dandy fine.
6 So, if water quality is a big common problem, the community would work together to solve it. The question then is, is water quality a common problem [that warrants such a response]? It seems that water quality has
already been devolved to the individual households and that is the status quo for water.
Q: Even if there is no revenue being drawn from MBN, would they still support?
   He says he is very interested to support (i.e. take money from) an external NGO or individual who wanted to do something in MBN
   But on the question of the Panchayat actually contributing new funds for a start-up project (even matching what an NGO contributes):
     o The process is very long to approve discretionary funds for the Panchayat
       • EO - District Collector - Director - DC - EO
     o There are also no examples of the Panchayat undertaking a cost-sharing agreement with an NGO doing developmental activities
     o Thus, there is little possibility of the Panchayat being involved in financing
Name: Cost Issues

Description: - Instances where people discuss the importance of cost of water and its impact on accessibility

Reference 1 - 1.73% Coverage
P5: Water is important for drinking, water is the most important problem here, getting drinking water is an important problem. The [tap] water here cannot be used for drinking purposes. People are buying [lorry] water in cans paying Rs. 2.50. [The tap water] can be used for washing, cleaning and other purposes but it cannot be used for drinking purposes. We don’t like to drink this [tap] water. (P4 @ 10:52: It is tasteless!!) Fossils are formed after couple of days, even worms are forming in the stored [tap] water. How many can afford to buy [lorry] water for Rs. 2.50 for drinking purposes? Skin problems are coming so getting good drinking water is the main problem here. <10:37 to 11:09>

Reference 2 - 0.26% Coverage
P5: People who can afford to buy [lorry] water pay Rs. 2.50. [How] can it be for everyone[?]
<11:43-12:00>

Reference 1 - 0.29% Coverage
R: We need to pay Rs. 2 for water. What can we do when we don’t have those Rs. 2?

Reference 2 - 0.57% Coverage
R: When we are not sure about staying here it is doubtful to give. Those who have money can give. How can everyone give? Anyways we are cooperating till date.

Reference 1 - 2.70% Coverage
M: Much higher, yea... What do you think about a community level system that will be inside Balaji Nagar?
R: Inside Balaji Nagar, also the same thing. If you go to Balaji Nagar, see how they store the water.
M: But let me suggest this. There’s some examples in rural Andhra Pradesh where some NGOs are—
R: Yeah, they are doing RO plant and they give it in the cans.
M: Yeah, in the cans!
R: Yeah, if you do that type of a thing, it will work. But if you don’t have any proper, ok, storage system and all the things, again the same thing will be happening. But there the charge is there, they’re charging ten rupees or something.

I: Yeah, it’s fairly expensive. It’s not as much as the market models, but—

R: Yeah, it is half the market price.

M: Yeah.

Reference 2 - 3.29% Coverage

M: Do you think such a system [a community level RO-type system] could work there?

R: Depending upon the mentality of the people, if whether they are ready to pay. Because this people, whoever is going for the tap water, they don’t have any means or capacity to pay, otherwise already, other people are going for the thing [bottled water], isn’t it?

M: Yeah.

R: So that’s what we have to look into, the lowest rate, what is the paying capacity. And no, when the children are there - food or this water or what will they be doing?

M: I see. So even that kind of system may be too expensive for our target population.

R: Ah yea, because they may need one bottle everyday, 10 rupees going for that one, when will they be able to afford? Otherwise, they will gave gone by now, isn’t it, for that one, 20 rupees.

M: Yes, 20 rupees.

R: Yeah, it is only 20 rupees, so—

M: So we’re aiming for the very, very lowest part of the market.

Annotations

1 JJ says that this means that the water is without a ‘purified’ or ‘clean’ taste; neither salty nor clean – lacks that ‘sweet’ water taste
2 JJ: she means sediments layers collect at bottom
Name: Upkeep

Description: - Only those specific instances relating to upkeep O&M funds

Reference 1 - 2.25% Coverage

C: Will you all contribute money to such a collective effort?

R: The plan is already on.

R: The Panchayat would [pay to] install the [water] tank.

R: Someone [else] would maintain and all of us would contribute money for that.

M: What I understand from what you are telling is, the Panchayat would build a tank for you and you would not spend money for building the tank but you are ready to spend money for maintaining it.

Reference 1 - 4.45% Coverage

However, the Panchayat is prepared to support a project by taking on operation and maintenance tasks

- If the capital costs are taken care of, they can mobilize limited funds within their own budget (the local committee can approve up to 4 lakhs; anything higher must go up to the DC for approval)

- All that would need to happen is a local body resolution to take up the maintenance and operation of the system and then to take it over
P4: I will suggest [a strategy] that can be implemented sector wise. We have to appoint people according to each sector and provide them with salaries and ask them to take care of [the community water treatment unit] both in its storage and for cleaning and maintaining it. They can charge Rs. 2 per household and the community will contribute for it as it is common and a community effort and their salaries have to be paid from that collected amount. They have to clean the water either in a week or within every three days. This will ensure in getting good water at all times and is good for the people. Hence community level water treatment is good for the people.

M: So let me ask you, can you speak about why you felt that the rapid sand filter with the charcoal dual media was the best for this community.

R: Ah yeah, see when we analyzed the water quality, we could see that the major problems were bacteriological quality, then turbidity, and then this one, odour and taste. So if you want to remove these things, turbidity - filtration is the easiest method. Ok, and we have to have an economical unit, is it use, and the community should have the know-how to develop it, so if you go for any high-end technology, ok, finally when it goes from us to somebody else, the middleman will be taking all the profits, yeah, profits and all the things. Ok, so, finally it will be working as any filter which is available in the market. But this filter means, ok, sand and... everybody knows that what this media will do, because our grand-grand-parents were using this one in three pots -- that three-pot filter system was existing long, long, long time back. Ok, so, this is just a modification of that one, so.

M: Can you tell me a bit about the history of the three-pot filter, like where was it used traditionally?

R: In most of the households where they were collecting the water from the surface sources.

M: In Tamil Nadu? In Kerala? In south India...?

R: Um... in many rural areas. It is not location specific, it was spread everywhere.

M: Everywhere this is a very common practice?

R: Yeah, wherever it was there, ok, filter will be using a cloth and put it through the sand and... Because I remember, when I was in school in 4th standard, this was one of the projects I made for the...

M: Oh really! So you started early!
R: Yeah, at that time we were trying to do that one. We didn’t know what is actually happening in the systems and all, but it was clearing the water, so.

M: I see.

R: Because charcoal will take care of your, any organic matter present, and definitely the residual turbidity also. And the chlorine will disinfect the system.

Reference 3 - 2.86% Coverage

M: Can you speak to why you chose to put the sand on top and the charcoal on the bottom, and not the other way around?

R: Okay, see, we are putting the charcoal mainly to remove the taste etc. Ok, but the sand, will be able to remove only the turbidity. So if you put the charcoal in the top, the charcoal pores will be getting clogged with turbidity very fast, ok, and the cleaning will be, ok, and what purpose we used, we proposed it, may not be achieved fast.

M: I see.

R: Ok, so, if you put the sand, sand will be taking care of the turbidity particles. Then only whatever the left over, the colour, the organic matter, whatever is coming, that sort of thing will be there, so that one will be taken care of by the charcoal.

M: So, the life is extended—

R: Life is extended and it will be used in a better way.

Reference 4 - 3.64% Coverage

M: Ok, so this basic system - dual media gravity filtration - how would it look like if it was done at a community level system?

R: Community level system also it will be the same way. We can put a big filter. Ok? Either in the same tank itself, we can put the sand and the charcoal, ok? Or you first put sand filter, then you can go for the charcoal. Because if put it both the things together, backwashing time the charcoal will be coming at the top.

M: So the reason we can put it this way in the buckets is that there's no backwashing, so there's no gravity settlement.

R: Because usually the dual-media filter, anyway, whenever we talk about the filtration, they’ll tell that effectiveness will come if the process water goes in the top and the small, ok? But we did the other way because of this purpose. Ok so.

M: So in a city plant that has a GAC filter or something, that would be a separate unit from the...

R: Yeah! Actual sand filter, followed by a GAC.

M: As long as you’re doing backwash.
R: Always, always, separately.

Reference 5 - 0.90% Coverage

R: Another thing is, you don’t need the RO water, isn’t it?

M: It’s very high quality.

R: Yeah, very high and, no, why do we want to remove all the things?

M: There’s no chemical contamination!

R: Yeah, there’s no chemical contamination here!

• ON HH vs. COMM:
  o About 10% of people in the Sector are not able to purchase bottled water (Neela brand available locally, manufactured at a plant nearby)
  o Ashok feels that people are far more ready to purchase bottled water rather than use a WTU at the household level
    • People have little time being day labourers to use the WTU at the home à convenience is a major preference
    • Also the cost and taste are an issue à it would have to be substantially cheaper and taste on par with bottled water to justify treating water at home

Annotations

1 Rs. 2 < Rs 2.50 of the lorry water (bad quality too) – this seems to be an indication of the ‘willingness to pay’ and the target price range (per 20 L)
2 Rs. 2 seems to be the competitive cost level
3 Main reasons for COMM seem to be:
   1) Full availability of water at any time
   2) Egalitarian, everyone is served by it
Name: Nodes\Analytical \Community Preferences

Description: - General bin for statements by respondents outlining their direct preferences on a variety of features
- DO NOT AGGREGATE
Name: Nodes\Analytical I\Community Preferences\COMM for Quantity vs. Quality

Description: - Features speaking to perceptions of which is more important, or how they balance out in people's minds
- This one features the instances where people talk about the tension b/w quant vs. qual in COMM, as an added benefit

<Internals\FGD I\FGD #1 - Transcript> - § 5 references coded [5.78% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.41% Coverage

P4: Since there is great water shortage and lack of good [quality] water, people will definitely do anything for getting good [quality] water and water in plenty.

Reference 2 - 1.69% Coverage

C: So people will do anything for water right since water is highly important and there is water problem here?

P4: For a short time during April and May, [tap] water may come even once a month [only]. [Even if there is water available,] if something happens to the main pump - I mean, if the pipe is broken due to lorry [damage] - then the water will not come and we will stand near the [standpipes] at the middle of the night waiting for water!

P5: Water may come in the pipes well after 12 and 1 a.m., and we will wait to collect the [tap] water. We have to wait for getting water. Getting water is the biggest problem here in Balaji Nagar. Otherwise there is no problem here.

Reference 3 - 1.18% Coverage

M: Ask them if water availability is the main reason for them to go for the community level water treatment or there any other reasons beside it? Ask [P4], she has come.

P3: Water is in daily usage, so if water is available at all times it is good.

I: Is there any other reason for wanting a water treatment system at the community level? Is it due to the fact that there will not be water at the individual level, hence going for the common level?

P3: Not like that.

Reference 4 - 0.84% Coverage

P1: We are getting lorry water [but] not everybody can afford paying for lorry water. For those people who cannot afford [it] and where a sump is not available, it will be good if water is available at the community level and is available at all times for the people.

I: So that is why they wanted the community level water treatment.

Reference 5 - 1.66% Coverage
P4: I will suggest [a strategy] that can be implemented sector wise. We have to appoint people according to each sector and provide them with salaries and ask them to take care of [the community water treatment unit] both in its storage and for cleaning and maintaining it. They can charge Rs. 2 per household and the community will contribute for it as it is common and a community effort and their salaries have to be paid from that collected amount.\(^1\)\(^2\) They have to clean the water either in a week or within every three days. This will ensure in getting good water at all times and is good for the people. Hence community level water treatment is good for the people.\(^3\)

Reference 1 - 3.02% Coverage

_M:_ One thing I noticed in the focus groups I was running, when I would ask people which one do they prefer - household level system or communal system - they would always say communal system.

_R:_ They always told community?

_M:_ Because, they said, if we have a communal system, it means we can get water any time we like.

_R:_ Yea, but there should be a continuous supply, isn't it?

_M:_ So! They assume that the communal system means that there's going to be - anytime I go to that, I can buy the water and take it.

_R:_ But how are we going to assure that the community—

_M:_ That's the catch! So people would like it, but the situation is not appropriate for that one.

_R:_ Yea, because first we have to make sure that we'll be getting supply to that one [the system]. That is the [case], that is fine, whenever they want they can go and get the can of water.

Reference 1 - 3.09% Coverage

_I:_ Do you mean to say that even if the supply is not continuous it should be of good quality?

_R:_ Yes.

_I:_ Don’t you want the supply to be continuous?

_R:_ Of course it is important. But the quality is also important.

_I:_ You mean both are important?

_R:_ Yes. Both are important.

_M:_ Do you think everyone would feel the same way?
R: Yes. Most of them would feel the same way. Water should be consistently supplied. It should be of good quality too.

Annotations
1 Rs. 2 < Rs 2.50 of the lorry water (bad quality too) – this seems to be an indication of the ‘willingness to pay’ and the target price range (per 20 L)
2 Rs. 2 seems to be the competitive cost level
3 Main reasons for COMM seem to be:
   1) Full availability of water at any time
   2) Egalitarian, everyone is served by it
**Name:** Nodes\Analytical I\Community Preferences\Level of Application

**Description:** - General bin for instances of people speaking to the direct reasons why they prefer HH or COMM systems
- Also, instances that capture the contradiction between desire for COMM but admission that it may not be possible
P3: It is good if it is done at the community level.

I: If it is the community level, will people be contributing and participating in such an endeavour for the building and maintenance of it?

P4: Everybody’s participation and cooperation ought to be there. And I am sure everybody will contribute for it. People have to contribute if they want to drink more and good [water]. People will do whatever is possible from their means and their ends.

P5: Water is important, hence people will contribute for it.

P4: People will contribute their money towards reasonable expenses for such thing. They will contribute definitely for such thing.

C: You said that people will do it if it is done at the individual level. Will there be such effort and cooperation if it is done at the community-level? Say, if we were to construct a common water treatment facility? If it requires ten people to play a part, will people be willing to play a part in it? Whereas if it is done at the individual level, people are ready to play their own part. How much will people play their part if the water treatment is done at the community-level? Will people opt for common or community level water treatment or water treatment at the individual or household level?

P4: It is not possible for everyone to do the water treatment at the individual or household level. There are 2500 households here and it is not possible for everyone to have this [treatment unit], and if it is done at the community level, then at least everybody will be benefitted even partially.

C: When you said that the if water treatment is done at the community level, there will have to be contribution from all people and everybody will provide their help and support for it, so as to get water for everyone, and at the individual household level wherein you said that everybody will do it as a matter of necessity and they will do it compulsorily. During times of change, during seasonal changes, such as during shortage of water and during seasons of excessive water, which treatment method will you prefer? At the community level or at the household level?

P4: Community level treatment is good... done at the sectoral level, as it is beneficial for everyone. We should do the water treatment collectively, in each sector preferably, or at the
individual level, if the community level treatment is not possible or [situation] is not conducive [for it].

Reference 3 - 1.05% Coverage

M: Did you ask the water system question? Ask them one by one the kind of water treatment system that they think is best and their preference for it and the main reasons for it. If it is at the community level, why it is done there, and why cannot be it at the household level and vice versa.

P3: If it is at the community level it is beneficial to everyone whereas if at the household level it serves only the household.

Reference 4 - 0.38% Coverage

P2: If it is at the community level, it is useful and beneficial [for all], whereas if it is at the individual level, it is for household members only.

Reference 5 - 0.61% Coverage

C: Will it be feasible if done at the community-level in Balaji Nagar?

P3: Everybody should feel that it is ours and they should take responsibility for it and should take [part in] the community-level water treatment in a responsible manner.

Reference 6 - 0.84% Coverage

P1: We are getting lorry water [but] not everybody can afford paying for lorry water. For those people who cannot afford [it] and where a sump is not available, it will be good if water is available at the community level and is available at all times for the people.

I: So that is why they wanted the community level water treatment.

Reference 7 - 2.26% Coverage

C: What should be the level of water treatment -- at the community level or at the individual level? Which is best and what are the reasons for it?

P4: Water treatment at the community level is good.

C: What are the reasons for it?

P4: I will suggest [a strategy] that can be implemented sector wise. We have to appoint people according to each sector and provide them with salaries and ask them to take care of [the community water treatment unit] both in its storage and for cleaning and maintaining it. They can charge Rs. 2 per household and the community will contribute for it as it is common and a community effort and their salaries have to be paid from that collected amount. They have to clean the water either in a week or within every three days. This will ensure in getting good water at
all times and is good for the people. Hence community level water treatment is good for the people.  

Reference 1 - 1.19% Coverage

M: I understand that there are difficulties. Is it possible to have a community level, shared system?

R: Yes. They would cooperate when it is going to be good for everyone.

R: Someone should explain and convince them.

R: If someone takes the initiative, they would have no objection to cooperate.

R: It is possible.

Reference 2 - 2.31% Coverage

M: I want to go back to the issue of land patta. Would you prefer to do the purification of water at the individual household level or at the community level? Would you involve yourself in community level system for water treatment?

I: Do you think that it [a community system] is a waste of money and effort when you don’t have patta?

R: No one will think that way. When it is common we have to cooperate as long as we are here.

R: We use the [tap] water. So we have to cooperate with them [the rest of the community]. Nothing wrong in it.

R: Otherwise we are going to pay our own money and get things done [in the household].

Reference 3 - 2.09% Coverage

M: This is my last question...which one do you think is better [at Mylai Balaji Nagar]? Is it a household level water system or community level water system?

C: Which one would you prefer for sector 4?

R: It is better at community level. All of us use it. So all of us should do it.

R: It is impossible for a single person to do it also.

R: It is better at the community level.

R: Yes.

R: Yes.
R: If everybody cooperates we can do at the community level. This is a better method.

I: What do you say?

R: I will prefer it to be at the community level.

R: The [water quality] result is assured. We won’t know if the home-based method would be fruitful.

R: Someone [else] or another would look after it when it is common.

M: This is my last question -- which one do you think is a better approach for a water treatment system in Balaji Nagar? Is it household water system or community level water system?

R: It is better to be at the community level.

R: Yes.

I: Why do you say so?

R: We may have a doubt or fear that it may not be proper if it is done in individual level. We believe that the system of treatment would be better if it is done in community level.

R: The water would be cleaner [when treated at the community level].

C: Will everybody cooperate if it is at the community level?

M: Can you tell me the other reason for saying that you prefer water treatment at the community level?

R: We may not get time to do it at home.

R: As the duty is shared, we will have [sufficient] time to do it at the community level.

M: Will that be an issue to go and bring water from there?
I: If it is household level, it is available inside your home. If it is community level you have to go and bring the drinking water from somewhere. Will that be okay for you?

R: Of course it would be an issue for us. Otherwise they can distribute the purified water to our doorsteps through the [public distribution] pipeline [and standpipes].

M: What do you think about it if it can’t be brought to your home through the pipe and you have to go and bring the drinking water to your home?

R: If it is one or two pots we can bring it. How can we bring the entire water needed for our household consumption!

C: It is only for drinking purposes only.

R: In that case it is fine. We can go and bring [drinking water].

R: Yes, we can manage to bring.

R: Anyways, we are already bringing drinking water [in hand] from Metro Water like that.

R: Yes. We use it [lorry water] for drinking and cooking purposes.

R: Of course it would be an issue for us. Otherwise they can distribute the purified water to our doorsteps through the [public distribution] pipeline [and standpipes].

M: So the final question is... you prefer community level system - is it possible here to mobilize the people here to make it possible?

I: Do you feel that the people here would spend time, effort and money for that?

R: Yeah. Surely.

R: If it is common we will contribute for that.

C: We will go back to the old question, which one will your neighbor prefer about the water treatment level - at the community level or household level? Which one do you think, going back to the basic issue that we are discussing about. Which one would your neighbor opt for for water treatment -- to be at the community level or the household level?

P: Community level only. People will not do [treatment] correctly [at home].

P: We might not find time, as children might be there, and old people might be there, patients might be there, and people might be going for work, so it will be good if things are done at the community level. We can buy from the community-level the treated water or get it pumped to our houses from there.
C: At the community-level means everybody should contribute their time, effort and money together collectively to construct a public facility, whereas the household level means all the expenses, time and effort are borne at the individual level in each household.

P: Only knowledgable people might be able to do it at the household level, whereas if it is done at the community level, then everyone can benefit by it. If at the household, it means children might drink water not knowing the difference between the good one and the bad one. If it is common then we can even pay and get the water.

Reference 3 - 1.34% Coverage

C: Is it possible to have a community level water treatment system in Myali Balaji Nagar?

P: It may be or may not be.

C: Whatever you feel you share.

P: If everybody joins together, then we can do it.

P: If everybody cooperates then it is possible.

P: If everybody cooperates and acts together and has a will and a heart for it then it is possible.

Reference 4 - 2.87% Coverage

C: If everybody comes together and if everybody comes and listens just like the way we did for you then people will cooperate for it.

M: But the question is -- does everybody feel the same way?

P: People have to be told and educated about the usefulness of such a thing [a community level water treatment system] and people themselves will realize the need for such a common thing in the community and accordingly will play their part. People who do not know will come to know about the usefulness of this thing and will play their part. People, once they realize that it is for their good, will definitely work for it.

C: We have to educate the people and then people will cooperate and act together. If people are able to understand then they will do accordingly.

Reference 1 - 14.81% Coverage

M: So I want to ask you the core question. The core question has to do with... there are two levels you can have for the application of water treatment system, either people can treat their water in the house, meaning boiling, filtering it, adding bleaching powder, alum - this is something they do by themselves to make the water for their own family, and they bear the cost themselves. The other alternative is to do it at the community level, so you have a shared facility, everyone pays a little
money, everyone puts a little time and effort in to run this system. They share the work, but they also get all of the benefit. Do you think a community level system is feasible in MBN?

R: Which system is feasible? Yeah, that family level is a good one.

M: What are the reasons you feel that way?

R: But in future, the community level, the bigger one. The immediate level, is the family level. What is the difference is, again, how it is we are going to take it. How is it going to help the people. This project is definitely going to be helping to the people, people will go for it. But we will have to face many things.

M: For example?

R: For example, the government itself! We say there is no <inaudible>. They will say, yeah, we are providing water daily. See for example, that day the water this and that. They will say…. For that reason, we provide Sintex tanks. So when the extra water comes and you store and use for some other purpose. So government is the challenge you are going to face. Community, how you take it to the community, depends. But it is a very needed work, you can go ahead.

C: So household level is very possible, for now. Can you tell me some reasons why it is better than community level?

R: Yea, community level is since we got some knowledge we know the truth there, so the community level is going to help. The people also think like that, then they will come forward. So the families, they are very concerned about their own families. So this is a good thing. So we can do it. If we boil your water, our children will be health, we will be health, like that. If it is community, so they will be 'ohhh... nobody... who is going to come do?' like that they will think. So many exploitation happened.

M: What do you mean exploitation?

R: Yeah, the government says, and some few NGOs came. Their only purpose is... they will say microfinance and this that. So their only purpose is paying interest.

M: Like a bank?

R: Yeah, so they will came and give money and get things then some times extra money, in between people, so you have to take care of 10, then 10 repay, that is your responsibility, one is not repay, then fight will be there. Another will not give, a fight will be. So their only motive is the interest, not for the community, not for the family, not for the individual. So whatever we do, World Vision thinks about building the family, not the house, the family, so family relationship.

M: When you say there's been exploitation, you mean that it prevents people, it makes people want to stay in their house and take care of their own family first. Cos there's not some trust - is this the issue?

R: So if going for community level, you should have pukka cooperation from the community, then only you can go ahead. Otherwise… you can take your time and explain everything.

M: So in conclusion, you think right now household is the best?
R: Ah yes, but personally I'm saying that community-level is the best. As Balaji Nagar person I'm saying, family. But as a NGO person, I'm saying community-level is the best.

I: Do you want to say anything more about their involvement in community level?

M: No one will get involved. If you observe during the Temple Festival in the local area, [only] ten men would involve themselves. Married men will not come for collection of money. Young boys and bachelors like me would go.

R: Yes.

M: Why did you prefer this one [the household latrine]?

R: There were no facilities...

R2: It [the public toilet block] was not maintained properly. They didn’t wash it properly.

R: World Vision made arrangements [for cleaning the public toilet blocks]. There was one person appointed for it. He withdrew as he didn’t receive any salary. [Now] they don’t wash it every day. It was very dirty. It was not hygienic. So we built an individual toilet.

M: When World Vision stopped doing the cleaning and all, did you not start doing [it yourselves] at the community level?

R2: No, we did not.

R: There was not sufficient water [for cleaning]. The water was supplied only once in fifteen days. We also tried to hire two or three persons to learn it. It didn’t work out.

R2: Some times the water would be supplied even after 20 days!

C: He is asking why you can’t solve the problem yourselves.

R: We can't take the initiative when our [community] heads are there. We don’t know what we should do to make the [intake] well [tap] water clean at the source level!
M: Will World Vision help you to solve the problem?

R: Certainly. Definitely...by all means. If that well is here we would have solved the problem years back. There should be a lid to the well. A security person should be there. They can use a machine to purify it.

Reference 2 - 0.82% Coverage

M: Would the sangam or the federation be ready to run a community level system?

C: Will the sangam and the federation maintain it by cleaning and looking after the treatment system's maintenance and management?

R: Can maintain...

R: Can't it?

R: Only by hiring somebody for it!

C: She says the sangam and the federation would do it. But someone should be appointed [hired to run the system].

M: Is the sangam a registered one?

R: Yes, it is.

Reference 3 - 0.73% Coverage

M: Do you think there would be good cooperation from everyone in the community for the community level treatment system? Will everyone cooperate?

R: <Firmly and aloud> Yes! Surely everyone will cooperate because it is about water!

R: Certainly. Why not?

C: What they say is that water is the basic necessity and so everyone would cooperate definitely. For water they will do [what is required].

Reference 4 - 5.67% Coverage

: Yeah. A [sewage] pumping station is going to be built in the government school. They [the women] did not want it to happen. They tried to stop it [by going to the government]. They [the men in the community] asked "Who are you to do this??"

R: We even approached the Collector. But the gents were a hindrance. We sent a letter to the Panchayat board. We sent a letter to the C.M. [Chief Minister] cell. We sent a letter to the Collector's office. We told them that we didn’t want it [the sewage pumping station] to be in our area -- especially in the [grounds of the] government school. It is said that the drainage water from all over [the Panchayat] would accumulate here and then be pumped out. They
take [the sewage] to Perungudi it seems. We gave a letter to the M.L.A. too. He says that it is too late as it was approved before three years. He says it should only be built there and that is the right place. This area is already treated as garbage dumping area. It may lead to kidney problem to many people here... In addition to that problems would be severe if this also is established. The diseases would spread more. That is the reason why we gave a letter to all these officers. But everything was in vain.

C: They gave letter to Panchayat, M.L.A., Collector... they even gave a letter to the Collector’s office. But nothing was fruitful. They said it was already too late. They said it was approved three years ago. We cannot do anything. They said we are doing it for the benefit of so many people. They said that so many people opposed many matters. They could not be stopped. Likewise this would also happen. These people say that this is a government school. Building a drainage pumping station would damage the health of so many people.

R: Around 500 children are studying here [in the government school]. This is in the middle of the community too! It has students up to the 8th class too.

C: She says approximately 500 children are studying in this school. From every place it [sewage] is going to come here and accumulate.

R: The smell would spread around the entire area. Students have to eat only there! Actually it is a place where there was a park previously for the children. The children are supposed to eat here!

C: She says students have to eat there! The place is a park for the children. The children are supposed to eat here. There is going to be a [sewage] pumping station and the children have to eat there.

R: These children are not even rich sir! They are all poor children. They eat and they inhale the smell too. Why won't diseases affect the children?

C: She says the children eat and smell at the same place where the pumping station for drainage [sewage] water is going to be built. They fear that their health may get affected.

R: There is one more concern. The bad gas would evolve there. We clearly know that it would lead to kidney problems. But however we tried [to fight it, but] we could not succeed.

C: She says the gas which comes out would lead to health problem... that is kidney problems. The entire community would get affected.

M: Before the Metro Water is given, the quality of water coming in the pipes [currently] is quite bad. We have given some filters to some households. There are two ways to do water treatment – one is community level (RO) treatment and the other is at the household level.
C: The water [that is] now supplied, it is not that good is it not? We have given filters to [some of] the households. There are two ways to do the water treatment. One is community level RO treatment and other is in household level.

R: The RO plants [in other community-based treatment projects] are not maintained well.

C: *Is there any [RO] plant in this area!*

R: No, I saw it somewhere else...

Reference 2 - 1.75% Coverage

M: *Okay. Will the Panchayat cooperate with an NGO for the improvement of water quality?*

R: If they do it in a single place [i.e. community level treatment], they can do.

C: *He says it is possible [only] at the community level [for the Panchayat to be involved].*

Reference 3 - 4.69% Coverage

M: *Would they [the Panchayat] provide financing?*

C: *If an NGO contributes money will the Panchayat [also] contribute [money]?*

R: Yes, they would. They [the NGO] should follow the proper method and give a written request saying that they want to do water purification and that they need the cooperation of the Panchayat. The cost should be mentioned. It would be discussed [at the Panchayat’s council] and [if accepted] the sanction would be passed.

C: He says there is a proper process. They should ask by writing a letter. Then the Panchayat would cooperate and do whatever is needed, they should mention the cost in the letter. The Panchayat would decide it in a meeting of a body and pass a resolution.

Reference 4 - 2.38% Coverage

M: *If the NGO is financing it, how about [the Panchayat] managing the system?*

C: He is asking, if an NGO contributes the money and builds a system at the community level, will the Panchayat do the maintenance?

R: Yes, the Town Panchayat always does the maintenance. Definitely.

C: *They will discuss everything in a Panchayat meeting and decide things.***

Reference 5 - 3.59% Coverage

M: *How much time would it take to get the approval of the Panchayat for a community level water treatment system?*

R: Our tenure [as the Panchayat] is coming to an end. We have after all two months left with. Hereafter it [Pallikaranai] is becoming part of the Corporation [of Chennai]. Rather it is going to become the Corporation. I doubt whether it is practically possible to do [a community level water treatment system]. It is going to be the Chennai Corporation for the next move. It may or may not be the Town Panchayat. We can’t say now.
M: Ok, so you had done a defluoridation project in Rajasthan?

R: Rajasthan, it is a sponsored project.

M: Ok, and all the systems you deployed were household level filters?

R: We had both.

M: Oh you did!

R: Yea, both the things were there -- community level and household.

M: Not many people...

R: Nobody came.... So same thing was happening. We were going for the regeneration of that, because, after passing a particular quantity [of water], the activated alumina was getting exhausted. So we had to clean it. So we used to go every two months to the site to clean it, with all the chemicals and all the things. And whenever we asked them to come and just pump the water for the cleaning purpose, not a single person was ready.

M: ...For the community level?

R: Yea, we just put it for them, and they are using the water.

M: Were they using it?

R: They were using it!

M: They were taking the water from it?

R: They were taking the water from it, but when we have to clean it...

M: No one came...

R: Nobody came...

M: I see.

Reference 2 - 2.51% Coverage

M: If you were going to place a community level system at Balaji Nagar, where would you put it? What's a good place for it, you think?

R: Community level, I suggest it will be in that infiltration well itself.

M: At the infiltration well? Inside it or...?

R: Inside the well itself we can put it.
M: So like have an upflow well.

R: Yeah, upflow mode, we can put it.

M: Oh ok.

R: So that's what initially we were thinking. But that never came because during the transport itself lots of contamination chances are there. Unless we plug that one, no point in having treatment unit there, isn't it?

M: Yeah, it's a much bigger process to rehabilitate the—

R: Yeah, and the cost will be much higher.

Reference 3 - 2.70% Coverage

M: Much higher, yea... What do you think about a community level system that will be inside Balaji Nagar?

R: Inside Balaji Nagar, also the same thing. If you go to Balaji Nagar, see how they store the water.

M: But let me suggest this. There's some examples in rural Andhra Pradesh where some NGOs are—

R: Yeah, they are doing RO plant and they give it in the cans.

M: Yeah, in the cans!

R: Yeah, if you do that type of a thing, it will work. But if you don't have any proper, ok, storage system and all the things, again the same thing will be happening. But there the charge is there, they're charging ten rupees or something.

I: Yeah, it's fairly expensive. It's not as much as the market models, but—

R: Yeah, it is half the market price.

M: Yeah.

Reference 4 - 3.41% Coverage

R: Another thing is a community system, how are we going to ensure the continuous supply of water to that system, because now also it is coming in only once in 10 days. When the water is plenty in the lake also, we are only getting once in 10 days. The community system, if you put it up, how are you going to make sure that the system is working continuously.

M: But for a rapid sand filter, it can run intermittently no?

R: Yeah... rapid sand filter and all, we can run it intermittently... No, this also we can run in intermittently, but what I'm telling is when a community system is there, if they are getting water only once in 10 days, they have to go and again store it and all the things, isn't it? Will it be, how
many storage vessels you need? Ok, that will be a big problem, isn't it? But this type of a system means whenever they need they just have to pour and get the water, so that's all.

M: And they control how to spend their own water as well.

R: Ah yeah, yeah.

Reference 5 - 3.98% Coverage

M: So, can we itemize all the things that would need to happen in Balaji Nagar to make a communal system possible? One of them is that water supply—

R: No, once their continuous water supply system is assured, then community level system will definitely work.

M: Ok, what else has to happen?

R: Huh?

M: What else?

R: ...Uh...then create awareness among the people. See, if you have to get something, ok, you have to contribute something. So that type of a feeling, unless it comes everything will be coming free of cost.

M: So, collective action...

R: Yeah, collective action, that type of a thing is needed, isn’t it? Definitely, isn’t it?

M: And for that one, land tenure is important? People have to have patta to...

R: Yeah, see, unless they have the ownership of the land and all the things, whether this people will be ready to pay? Because many of them are just orally transferred the properties isn’t it, three times, four times, and all the things. So who will be responsible if they put up something and give a water connection. So unless those types of things are settled how will they be able to do it?

M: Ok.

Reference 1 - 1.90% Coverage

Q: What kind of support can be counted upon from the Panchayat for a HH or COMM system?

Panchayat will not work at the HH level

Only COMM level is possible for support the Panchayat

Reference 1 - 8.68% Coverage

On the other hand, with community-level systems (COMM), there will inevitably be competition and conflict between people to pass on the responsibilities of its collective management and operations
to others. In fact, there is an example of the failure of such a COMM system in a similar kind of community nearby. The RO plant that was investigated for implementation at MBN but was ultimately not built because of unacceptable GW quality was ultimately installed at another slum in Kannagi Nagar, Thuraipakkam. It failed there because it was given to the community, but the people were not involved enough, so it fell apart eventually. Kannagi Nagar is a similar kind of slum resettlement place as MBN is. More than 12 to 15 slums were resettled at the same place. There are multi-storey buildings there built by the TNSCB. Srin indicates that an NGO called Monfort Community Development Society working there and he can connect me with the coordinator, one Mr. Arul.

Reference 1 - 9.34% Coverage

- **ON HH vs. COMM:**
  - About 10% of people in the Sector are not able to purchase bottled water (Neela brand available locally, manufactured at a plant nearby)
  - Ashok feels that people are far more ready to purchase bottled water rather than use a WTU at the household level
    - People have little time being day labourers to use the WTU at the home à convenience is a major preference
    - Also the cost and taste are an issue à it would have to be substantially cheaper and taste on par with bottled water to justify treating water at home
  - Collecting bottled water from a COMM system may be a viable alternative
    - There is a Rs. 5 mark-up from the manufacturer to the store, which if eliminated by a COMM system could yield a cost-saving
    - Though the distribution network for existing bottled water is quite good à every little corner store has bottles on hand for sale and the manufacturer regularly comes to replenish the stock
  - Ashok feels the menfolk are ready to organize and work together for a COMM system were that pursued, at least those men involved in the Association à he suggests that such an undertaking would fit well and work well through the Association

M: The main question I want to ask you is about a water treatment system. You can do it in two ways. One is at the household level, like boiling the water, adding alum. The other is you can all join together and make it happen [at the community level] and then you pay money for that. Which one do you think is the most possible here? Is the second one the most possible?

I: Is it possible in Balaji Nagar?
R: It is possible. People here have awareness. Water is the major critical problem here. People would be ready to unite for the sake of water. They would be ready to do some work for that. Those who can afford will be ready to pay as they would get water which they wanted. So it is easy to do things in community-level system. The underground water is saline now. If someone would treat it as drinking water, it [a desalination facility] would cost some 20 or 25k rupees. If people can collect 10k someone can come forward to subsidize it.

Reference 2 - 1.94% Coverage

M: Which one do you think is better? Is it household water system or community water system?

R: It would be useful for everyone in the society if it is done bigger and at community level. That is better. We cannot be selfish. Everyone should be equally benefited. Everybody should get water.

Reference 1 - 10.41% Coverage

Would the Panchayat be willing to implement our household filter in the households of MBN?

- Panchayat cannot do anything for individual households
- “We can render the services that we already do”
- “We are already chlorinating the infiltration well intake 1-2 times a week” → there is no water quality problem, they say…
- The Panchayat is satisfied with their work

Annotations
1. Rs. 2 < Rs 2.50 of the lorry water (bad quality too) – this seems to be an indication of the ‘willingness to pay’ and the target price range (per 20 L)
2. Rs. 2 seems to be the competitive cost level
3. Main reasons for COMM seem to be:
   1) Full availability of water at any time
   2) Egalitarian, everyone is served by it

4. From ON: “Nesib : if everybody co-operate means we can do, but people wont join together.” Jeyanthi :is it not possible. Because someof them will give and others wont…

   ***Someone captures the contradiction between what is preferred and what may be possible.

5. Like what Ashok was talking about.

6. TO elaborate from ON: She suggests that wealthier people in the community can contribute a bit more to the capital and operating costs of the system, a Rs. 10,000 investment may be possible

7. ON: So this might be a rock and hard place situation – COMM might have benefits but the gov’t is too incompetent previous experience shows; HH would not be supported by the gov’t so it’d have to be independently done through the markets/NGO

Linked Memo
Memos\Convenience for COMM!
Name: Nodes\Analytical I\Community Preferences\Level of Application\COMM Contradictions

Description: - Instances where a contradictory point between the prefereability of a COMM, but the cooperation challenges that will inevitably arise

<Internals\FGD I\FGD #2 - Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [1.21% Coverage]
Reference 1 - 1.21% Coverage

I: A little while ago, all of you preferred community level systems! Suddenly you have changed your mind. Why?

R: This is very small. Not enough for everyone!

M: We will give it in a big scale!

R: We will take that water from the community system and filter it with this [household] filter!

<All the respondents laugh>

<Internals\FGD I\FGD #4 - Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [21.74% Coverage]
Reference 1 - 21.74% Coverage

M: Let me ask a question going back to the choice -- we have household level versus community level. If your neighbor is going to do one way or the other which one do you think they would choose?

C: We will go back to the old question, which one will your neighbor prefer about the water treatment level - at the community level or household level? Which one do you think, going back to the basic issue that we are discussing about. Which one would your neighbor opt for for water treatment -- to be at the community level or the household level?

P: Community level only. People will not do [treatment] correctly [at home].

P: We might not find time, as children might be there, and old people might be there, patients might be there, and people might be going for work, so it will be good if things are done at the community level. We can buy from the community-level the treated water or get it pumped to our houses from there.

C: They prefer community level, because people will not do it correctly and rightly [at home] and children might be there, elders and patients also might be there. If it is at the community level, then people can get it from the community system or get it pumped to their houses.

M: You have to go. Thank you very much. Nandri.

C: Elders and patients also might be there. If it is at the community level, then people can get it from the community system or get it pumped to their houses.
M: Community level means that people will have to work together collectively, so people will have to give their time and effort and money to do some kind of public level infrastructure, whereas household level means all the work and everything is done in the household.

C: At the community-level means everybody should contribute their time, effort and money together collectively to construct a public facility, whereas the household level means all the expenses, time and effort are borne at the individual level in each household.

P: Only knowledgable people might be able to do it at the household level, whereas if it is done at the community level, then everyone can benefit by it. If at the household, it means children might drink water not knowing the difference between the good one and the bad one. If it is common then we can even pay and get the water.

C: If it is done at the community level, then people can pay and get the treated water, whereas doing it at the household level involves certain procedures which everyone might not know and the children will not be able to distinguish between the good one and the bad one. Somebody might know how to do it and how to maintain it and some others might now. Community level will be better according to her.

M: Do you think any conflict will arise if people shared responsibilities and some people were doing more and some others were not doing as much in the community?

C: Will there be any problem if the water treatment is done at the community level as it might involve some working more and some others working less? If it is done at the community level, it means everybody’s cooperation is required and some have got to do more work and some others may end up doing less work.

P: Yes, definitely problems of this sort might come.

P: Definitely things might come like that.

C: He is asking the same thing will there be any problem because of some working a lot and other’s doing less work.

P: Problems will come definitely sir; if I am going one hour earlier and doing things and someone else comes later, I might definitely ask them why they came late and so on. Don’t I have work at home? So problems will definitely come because of this. Definitely problems will come on this account, sir.

C: She is saying that if I come one hour earlier and doing work and somebody else is coming late and doing work, then I might ask them don’t I have work at home? Still I come early and work. Why do you come late and do less work than me. Definitely problems will come on this account.

M: Do you think this conflict can be managed? Can people be encouraged to work together or is it too difficult? Some people always say that no... no... You do the work I will not do it.

C: He is asking whether the conflicts can be managed or is it beyond anyone’s control? Will more people be giving troubles like this?
Problems will be coming. It is difficult to adjust [the attitudes of] people at all times.

Can we manage [such] troubles or will it be a recurrent issue?

Problems will be coming. It is difficult to adjust [the attitude of] people at all times. Even sometimes I might fall ill and others might say why you are not coming, expecting us to work always instead! I have BP [high blood pressure] and sugar [diabetes], and people might accuse me of not working and themselves of doing more work.

You are telling the truth!

Yes, very much sir!

She is having sugar [diabetes] and other health illnesses, and some might accuse her of not working [enough] and so on.

So it seems like people want to have a community level system because it seems easier to use for you and for your kids. But you also worry about who comes to work or not, you don’t feel that it is possible. Is that correct?

Some of you are saying that it is good to have the community level water treatment system. Do you feel that it might be difficult to implement because of the problems that might arise because of people working or not working, that children might not do it?

Yes, it is difficult, difficult to do it at the community level.

You feel that it is good to do it at the community level, as children do not know how to do it and the problem of people working or not working then is it difficult to do it at the community-level.

Yes, it is difficult, difficult to do it at the community level!

So I want to ask you the core question. The core question has to do with... there are two levels you can have for the application of water treatment system, either people can treat their water in the house, meaning boiling, filtering it, adding bleaching powder, alum - this is something they do by themselves to make the water for their own family, and they bear the cost themselves. The other alternative is to do it at the community level, so you have a shared facility, everyone pays a little money, everyone puts a little time and effort in to run this system. They share the work, but they also get all of the benefit. Do you think a community level system is feasible in MBN?

Which system is feasible? Yeah, that family level is a good one.

What are the reasons you feel that way?

But in future, the community level, the bigger one. The immediate level, is the family level. What is the difference is, again, how it is we are going to take it. How is it going to help the people.
This project is definitely going to be helping to the people, people will go for it. But we will have to face many things.

M: For example?

R: For example, the government itself! We say there is no <inaudible>. They will say, yeah, we are providing water daily. See for example, that day the water this and that. They will say.... For that reason, we provide Sintex tanks. So when the extra water comes and you store and use for some other purpose. So government is the challenge you are going to face. Community, how you take it to the community, depends. But it is a very needed work, you can go ahead.

C: So household level is very possible, for now. Can you tell me some reasons why it is better than community level?

R: Yea, community level is since we got some knowledge we know the truth there, so the community level is going to help. The people also think like that, then they will come forward. So the families, they are very concerned about their own families. So this is a good thing. So we can do it. If we boil your water, our children will be health, we will be health, like that. If it is community, so they will be 'ohhh... nobody... who is going to come do?' like that they will think. So many exploitation happened.

M: What do you mean exploitation?

R: Yeah, the government says, and some few NGOs came. Their only purpose is... they will say microfinance and this that. So their only purpose is paying interest.

M: Like a bank?

R: Yeah, so they will came and give money and get things then some times extra money, in between people, so you have to take care of 10, then 10 repay, that is your responsibility, one is not repay, then fight will be there. Another will not give, a fight will be. So their only motive is the interest, not for the community, not for the family, not for the individual. So whatever we do, World Vision thinks about building the family, not the house, the family, so family relationship.

M: When you say there's been exploitation, you mean that it prevents people, it makes people want to stay in their house and take care of their own family first. Cos there's not some trust - is this the issue?

R: So if going for community level, you should have pukka cooperation from the community, then only you can go ahead. Otherwise... you can take your time and explain everything.

M: So in conclusion, you think right now household is the best?

R: Ah yes, but personally I’m saying that community-level is the best. As Balaji Nagar person I’m saying, family. But as a NGO person, I’m saying community-level is the best.

M: We were talking about the potential treatment where everyone shares one community unit...if the government is involved for some help, how would you react?
R: None of us would get involved in that. We would keep away from that. Why should we do when they do it?

M: What would others say?

R: What would they say? They would welcome the water!

M: What would they do if their cooperation is needed? If government provides fund and you have to arrange the laborers how would the people react?

R: They would say yes and do the needful.
Name: Nodes\Analytical I\Community Preferences\Level of Application\HH

Description: - Speaking positively of, or in general relation to HH

<Internals\Exploratory Work\PK - Prabha's Report on MBN Women's household water management> - § 2 references coded [6.46% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.09% Coverage
Mannammai says that if she got a free filter she would like to use it, but that it has to be small in size as her place is small.

Reference 2 - 5.37% Coverage
Some questions/thoughts that arise for me from these few interviews.

1) Some thought needs to be given to who would use a filter developed by this research. For example, if women or households are today buying bottled water, will they change to a filter which is likely to be more work to use and maintain than bottled water.

2) The cost of buying, replacing and maintaining a filter has to be low for it to be an incentive for people to use it, i.e. much lower than paying for bottled water every month.

3) The filter has to be small enough for economy of space in the houses of the residents, but yet should filter sufficient water in a reasonable time.

<Internals\FGD I\FGD #1 - Transcript> - § 2 references coded [2.34% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.10% Coverage
C: We were talking about water treatment, let's go back to that. Is it best at the community level or at the household level [here]? If we are doing at the community level, then cost will be lower as everybody is going to share it and it is done in a big batch, but it needs everybody's cooperation and participation and the work is shared. Whereas if we do the water treatment at the household level, then everyone ought to do it themselves at the individual level, but the cost involved will be bit higher. Which does the community prefer for water treatment?

P1: If it is common and public, there will be a clash as to who will do it and everybody will try to shift [the responsibility] and point to others to do the task. If it [is at] the individual-level, everybody ought to do it and they will not like to shift from their responsibility.

Reference 2 - 0.24% Coverage

P4: During times of water shortage, we prefer doing the water treatment at the household level.¹

<Internals\FGD I\FGD #2 - Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [7.15% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 7.15% Coverage
M: Would you give up the [household study] filter or forego the filter, if there is one common facility to treat the water?
R: We will not give up the [household study] filter!

R: We will manage with our own filter!

<All the respondents laugh>

R: We will not forego the present one!

R: Someone may muddle with the common device and we may not get that benefit [anymore].

R: I will keep my personal belongings carefully.

R: Yes. I feel the individual filter is better.

R: How can we give back what was given to us?

M: What are the reasons for you prefer the household devices?

R: This is good. The Rs. 2 [lorry] water is muddy. But this filter makes it very clear.

M: If the household system and the community system give the same quality water for the same cost, which one would you prefer?

R: Individual household system!

M: What is the reason?

R: We cannot look after the community device whereas we can keep a watch at home.

I: A little while ago, all of you preferred community level systems! Suddenly you have changed your mind. Why?

R: This is very small. Not enough for everyone!

M: We will give it in a big scale!

R: We will take that water from the community system and filter it with this [household] filter!

<All the respondents laugh>

R: It would be nice if they dig a bore well here.

R: Her leg is not okay. So she needs a bore well [near her home].

M: Do you say this to have access to the water or do you think that you cannot manage the device if it is in community level?

R: During the night time, the boys [vandals] may break [the community system].
M: Would you like to share anything else about it?
I: Even at home, children may play with ball and break [the household filter]? 
R: No. We have instructed our children not to do so.
R: Children in this area play with glass bottles and throw them.
R: We cannot even ask them [to not damage the community system].

M: Would you like to share anything else about it?
I: Even at home, children may play with ball and break [the household filter]? 
R: No. We have instructed our children not to do so.
R: Children in this area play with glass bottles and throw them.
R: We cannot even ask them [to not damage the community system].

Reference 1 - 3.05% Coverage
R: Few of them may prefer to do it at home considering the situation at home.
M: What type of situation would make them decide so [for the household system]?
R: Those who have financial problems would prefer to do it at home.
R: Going out and bringing water may be a [tough] task for them...they may not want to go out to bring the water. They would want to make it conveniently at home.
C: Are there any other reasons to prefer to do it at home?
R: No other reason is there.
R: Money is a reason. They may think it is a costly affair [to purchase water at the community system].

Reference 2 - 2.09% Coverage
M: Will that be an issue to go and bring water from there?
I: If it is household level, it is available inside your home. If it is community level you have to go and bring the drinking water from somewhere. Will that by okay for you?
R: Of course it would be an issue for us. Otherwise they can distribute the purified water to our doorsteps through the [public distribution] pipeline [and standpipes].

Reference 1 - 14.82% Coverage
M: So I want to ask you the core question. The core question has to do with... there are two levels you can have for the application of water treatment system, either people can treat their water in the house, meaning boiling, filtering it, adding bleaching powder, alum - this is something they do by themselves to make the water for their own family, and they bear the cost themselves. The other alternative is to do it at the community level, so you have a shared facility, everyone pays a little
money, everyone puts a little time and effort in to run this system. They share the work, but they also get all of the benefit. Do you think a community level system is feasible in MBN?

R: Which system is feasible? Yeah, that family level is a good one.

M: *What are the reasons you feel that way?*

R: But in future, the community level, the bigger one. The immediate level, is the family level. What is the difference is, again, how it is we are going to take it. How is it going to help the people. This project is definitely going to be helping to the people, people will go for it. But we will have to face many things.

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R: For example, the government itself! We say there is no <inaudible>. They will say, yeah, we are providing water daily. See for example, that day the water this and that. They will say.... For that reason, we provide Sintex tanks. So when the extra water comes and you store and use for some other purpose. So government is the challenge you are going to face. Community, how you take it to the community, depends. But it is a very needed work, you can go ahead.

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M: *When you say there’s been exploitation, you mean that it prevents people, it makes people want to stay in their house and take care of their own family first. Cos there’s not some trust - is this the issue?*

R: So if going for community level, you should have pukka cooperation from the community, then only you can go ahead. Otherwise... you can take your time and explain everything.

M: *So in conclusion, you think right now household is the best?*
R: Ah yes, but personally I’m saying that community-level is the best. As Balaji Nagar person I’m saying, family. But as a NGO person, I’m saying community-level is the best.

M: Many of you have got filters already. Would World Vision support implementing and maintaining such a device if it is supplied at the household level?

R: Certainly. We will arrange for a meeting [with the World Vision officers]. You come and talk in the meeting. They will be ready for it. In fact they wanted to get a branded water filter called "PureIt". But it was not possible due to the budget. You give your device. We will tell our people. Will the device be suitable for our water? Do you mean to say you need funds? Our contract ends in October as far as this area is concerned. That is why they wanted to supply the water filter "PureIt". But the cost [per unit] was Rs. 1500. They couldn’t buy it. Instead they got us [Syntex] tanks. We have applied for 100 more tanks. Most of them [residents] have Syntex at home [now].

M: Ok, so meeting with Dr. Philip... So what are the reasons that you felt that the household level system was the best way to go for this particular community [Balaji Nagar]?

R: See, our experience with the household and community level treatment units for defluoridation in Rajasthan and other areas, ok.... We felt that when we put in the community, they feel that it is nobody's baby, ok. So they never give any attention to clean, then this filters and all we have to do the backwashing, clean, maintain it and all the things, nobody do anything, ok? But when you give it to the house, and if they are aware of the problem, ok they feel that it is their own thing. If they maintain it, they can get immediately the benefit. Ok, so that type of mentality is there, prevailing, so that is the reason.

R: Ok? But in household -- I’m not telling that household unit was also 100% successful -- but the success rate was over [higher]... the maintenance was better in household unit compared to the community level.

M: I see.

R: Household level also some people were, because we were giving nice steel vessels at that time, so they have removed the media and they used it for storage. So those types of things we could see, but at least 70% was successful there.

M: When you had the community level filter—
R: Ah, yeah, that is one thing. Another thing is at this moment we are looking mostly for the bacteriological quality and we know the surrounding hygienic conditions... So if you have the community level unit, they have to collect the water and go and keep it somewhere.

M: So there's a risk of recontamination?

R: Ah yeah. And they'll be storing in a vessel, carrying in one vessel, and storing in some other vessel. It is not immediately used. Ok, so the chance of contamination will be there. The unit, whatever we have given now, they are treating it and immediately using it, so the chance of contamination will be much less.

Reference 4 - 2.94% Coverage

R: No, because, this is what I strongly feel. Because if you go for a household thing, at this stage, that will be the best thing. Because community level may not be successful.

M: In your career, have you found a place where a communal system was successful?

R: Ummm.... I haven't seen anything!

M: You have not seen one! In your many years of working in this field...? <laughs>

R: <laughing> No, no.

M: Really!

R: Unless it is run by the government, I cannot see any community thing being successful.

M: I see. So, do you always tend to go towards household level...?

R: See, from the experience only we learn, isn't it?

M: Yes, definitely...

R: No, other type of experience also may be there, but I didn't have any experience in whatever we have done. So that is what we must see.

M: Ok! Thank you very much.

Reference 1 - 2.07% Coverage

Q: So, based on your experience with WV’s activities at MBN, do you think household or community-level would be most feasible at MBN?

With household-level systems (HH), people will maintain their own systems and use it correctly.

Reference 2 - 6.49% Coverage
Q: If WV was to do a water treatment project in MBN, which way would it go: household or community level?

Initially, WV has always had the preference to do community level interventions, even with challenges. But with many bad experiences, this is changing. WV are increasingly focusing on household level initiatives after these failures. For instance, WV is shortly going to be distributing 500 L tanks for each household in MBN.

Again, at the HH-level, people will take care of the good. And they can also control the quantity of water they have and manage its consumption wisely according to the home’s needs. At the COMM-level, WV anticipates conflict over responsibilities that would ultimately derail the effort.

Reference 1 - 4.25% Coverage

- ON HH vs. COMM:
  - About 10% of people in the Sector are not able to purchase bottled water (Neela brand available locally, manufactured at a plant nearby)
  - Ashok feels that people are far more ready to purchase bottled water rather than use a WTU at the household level
    - People have little time being day labourers to use the WTU at the home; convenience is a major preference
    - Also the cost and taste are an issue; it would have to be substantially cheaper and taste on par with bottled water to justify treating water at home

Annotations

1 What this suggests is that during times of great shortage when there is competition for scarce water resources, there is enough conflict that people would prefer to take care of their own first before the community as a whole. This may suggest weakening of social cohesion during times of water scarcity.
2 There is a SECURITY issue associated with COMM systems!!
**Name:** Nodes\Analytical I\Community Preferences\Local Development Priorities

**Description:** - Instances where local people discuss their own priorities

<Internals\Exploratory Work\PK - Prabha's Report on MBN Women's household water management>
- § 4 references coded [7.54% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.60% Coverage

For the women of Mylai Balaji (MB) Nagar and their families, the lack of sufficient and safe water is a problem and occupies much of their time and energy as does the management of waste water.

Reference 2 - 2.47% Coverage

According to Parameswari getting water even every other day would make a big difference to her life, because then

Water storage on the veranda

she could get all her household responsibilities done early and then be able to do other things. She would not have to wait for water the whole day.

Reference 3 - 1.47% Coverage

She would prefer to pay all her taxes for water, electricity and land so that she can get better services rather than waste her entire day waiting for water from the stand pipes.

Reference 4 - 2.01% Coverage

She would prefer to pay taxes for water, electricity, etc. so that they can get better, frequent and guaranteed services. She would prefer to get water frequently. So far, she and her family do not have any health problems due to unclean water.

<Internals\Exploratory Work\PR - Prema's MBN Report- A Case of Urban Development Displaced 2009> - § 1 reference coded [8.35% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 8.35% Coverage

The last open ended query was pitched on the expectation of the respondents from the IIT-Madras research team. It was not surprising to see their wish that the IIT team would genuinely represent the community and its needs to the Government and find ways and means of obtaining them. Water is a serious concern and they look forward to intervention favourably that will provide them with safe drinking water facilities. On this positive note, the team is looking forward to a phase of significant research with community participation to ensure that the goals of the project are met.

<Internals\FGD I\FGD #1 - Transcript> - § 6 references coded [7.88% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.46% Coverage
The first question that we are going to ask you we are going to talk for three to five minutes is -- What do you think are the biggest problems relating to water supply in Mylai Balaji Nagar?

What are the problems that you face in Balaji Nagar with respect to water? <10:31 to 10:36>

Water is important for drinking, water is the most important problem here, getting drinking water is an important problem. The [tap] water here cannot be used for drinking purposes. People are buying [lorry] water in cans paying Rs. 2.50. [The tap water] can be used for washing, cleaning and other purposes but it cannot be used for drinking purposes. We don't like to drink this [tap] water. (P4 @ 10:52: It is tasteless!) Fossils are formed after couple of days, even worms are forming in the stored [tap] water. How many can afford to buy [lorry] water for Rs. 2.50 for drinking purposes? Skin problems are coming so getting good drinking water is the main problem here. <10:37 to 11:09>

Fever comes quite frequently, and the drinking water is the biggest problem here. <11:59 to 12:16>

Mosquitoes are formed on the stored [tap] water. Water is the biggest problem here.

Since there is great water shortage and lack of good [quality] water, people will definitely do anything for getting good [quality] water and water in plenty.

Were there any negative effects, besides the other assurances given, when you reported this matter to the authorities... you should not have come to tell us this and we will not do anything?

When we reported to them [the Panchayat] about the problem of water and the non-availability of water for 20 days... 30 houses or 25 households get [tap] water from a single standpipe. We asked for more standpipes... we asked for standpipes on every street and they put standpipes close to the people who were outspoken and aggressive, but not near the soft-mannered households and asked them to get water from the common standpipes [that were already] available.

So far, we have spoken of many things. Let us summarize. We spoke of the organisations that have been serving here in Balaji Nagar; the problems associated with water at Balaji Nagar; the kind of demonstrations made by the people to the Panchayat and public officials and their response; and the kind of water treatment level that is possible here - that is, at the community level or at the
household level. We have also discussed about the kind of community cooperation to solve the water problems and the kind of reporting made by people here to the associations and to the public authorities. Do you have anything more to add than what we have discussed?

P5: Nothing more. Getting water is [an] important problem and concern here.

P3: People are not going to faraway places, or even [going] for work, because of water. People forgo their work, leisure and travel in order to get water!

P5: People are even not going for work because of the [erratic] water supply. People are even forgoing family functions, or attending emergency situations, [because of it]!

M: So, what they need is storage capacities for water and water available for regular usage.

R: There is no pump or bore or well here. We have to depend upon this tap for everything! If there is no tap, we are finished...

R: We need to pay Rs. 2 for water. What can we do when we don’t have those Rs. 2? Why don’t they [the government] provide us a bore well?

R: It would be nice if they dig a bore well here.

R: We collect money when there is a big common problem. But when there is a small problem we just spend from our own pockets and get it done [ourselves].

M: You feel that the quality of water we were talking about is coloured and it causes loose motions. Is this what the issue is or is there anything more?

R: As far as we know there is nothing else. This is the problem.

M: Are these [water quality] problems acute enough that every one of you would cooperate for it?

I: Will everyone spend time, money and effort for it [water quality]?

R: Yes.

R: Yes... they will.
People will work together for the crisis arising out of water and electricity. But they will not come together for any other cause! 

There used to be accidents once a week [along the nearby main road]. A demand requesting the appointment of traffic police - a police station - and the request was placed before the District Collectorate. [There were a] lot of thefts [then]. There was no security for us. A wine shop has also opened up close by. So we have placed our complaints to the District Collector’s office here.

There was no patta, so there was no electricity no water facility here.

There is no government hospital close by. For everything we are going to the Kamakshi hospital which is a private hospital.

The wine shop is run by the members of the political parties. It was hard time getting things from the ration shop because of the wine shop. People were not able to buy anything.

We went to do a road blockage one more time to have the ration shop return close by and finally they have put the ration shop in its original place in the next block.

It would have been good if they removed the wine shop from this place.

Wine shops are everywhere.

They should have a police station first in this place.

Yeah, second sector. This is issue, they wanted to have a roadblock. But the liquor shop owner already covered the leaders, with financially as well as liquor. They confused the particular women, those who are going to lead things. So, today, tomorrow, morning, or afternoon, so like that. So one person came with 15 members, police man came and went. Another day another political party they put all the flags, but nobody stand there. So one person is those who are leading the government, that person, no no don't fight. Like that, they divided. But there is no proper communication to everybody, so that is the negative, the learning. So if they need the patta, everybody needs the patta, that’s the original authority document for the land, now they are not
planning to... only, they are paying rent only, but the land belongs to government. If we say that, all will come, because all are going to benefit. Like that.\textsuperscript{6}

M: I see. So if the benefits are shared, if its something that's needed by everybody, then everybody will participate. I see. ok. Lemme ask you another question....

M: OK, I want to ask you a question that follows up to one point you just mentioned. You mentioned that people would contribute 10%, 15% of the cost of running a project. Do you think that hypothetically if some NGO was going to build a water treatment system in the community, that everyone would share, would people be willing to contribute some of the capital costs to this thing?

R: Yeah... definitely people contribution will come. So water is one of the need. Still not yet met. So people will come and contribute. That is how we communicate and how we take it to the people, that is also very important.

R: The water problem is a major issue here. We also heard that the entire good water [supply] is supplied to the Kamakshi Hospital.

R: We expressed the matter. Even I told you in the meeting held by you long back. There was a meeting with the Ward Member and the Councillor. We mainly focused on the water issue there.

M: So I see the water is the big issue here.

C: Water is the big problem for you is it not?

R: Yes. The water supply is erratic and indefinite. I have to go out for work. I can't pay for water for all the purposes. I can't buy. It should be supplied at a fixed time.

C: She says that there is no regular timing for the water supply. She has to go out for her job. She cannot buy water every time for all things.

R: The [tap water] supply time is indefinite. Sometimes I have to take a leave from my household [maid] job to fetch water! At least they should tell us on which day which sector would get the [tap] supply!! Sometimes the [tap] water used to run [on and be] wasted without being helpful to anyone!

C: She says that when she approaches proper persons [at the Panchayat] they will say "Okay. We will do." ...but they won't. They also say that the [tap water] supply time is not scheduled. There is no regulation. They don't know when the [tap] water will come.
M: There is no system...

R: Yes, there is no system! Should there be any solution for the problem all the persons in charge should assemble in a place, which becomes impossible. The Panchayat President and the Ward Member along with the Councillor should listen to us together. They should involve themselves. But they don’t.

Reference 4 - 0.53% Coverage

R: Please talk to them. Even during the last meeting the [World Vision] manager asked if there is any possibility to make the prevailing water drinkable in our area. Even the madam [Ms. Sarela, Director at World Vision] mentioned that they want to do some help to build the overhead tank here.

Reference 5 - 0.50% Coverage

R: Let them not give electricity or water. But these places [house plots] were bought for the sake of the next generation. At least they should make it as our permanent place. That is enough for us. Don’t we need peace of mind? We don’t have big flat. It is after all a hut.

<internals\Interviews\INT #18 - Ligy - Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [1.54% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.54% Coverage

R: Yeah. Ok still, after they were asking only one question - you people are in the city, you just opening the tap, you get water in your kitchen, why can’t the government do they same thing for us?

M: So people’s first priority is to have a household tap connection.

R: Tap connection.

M: That’s their ideal.

R: Yeah, so if you can get it, then why should we go and clean the things and get the water? That’s what they are asking.

<internals\Interviews\INT #2 - Rehman Bibi - Notes> - § 3 references coded [5.96% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.36% Coverage

In this community, you can always notice the electricity problem. There will be power shutdowns frequently because of some faults in the line. But nobody takes the initiative to look after this.

Reference 2 - 0.63% Coverage

If you wanted to do something for us please do something for this waste management project.

Reference 3 - 3.97% Coverage
R: When you talk to World Vision, please mention [to them] about the latrine facilities. Ask them to take some initiative [for it]. They also placed 3 [Sintex water storage] tanks worth of Rs. 5000 [around the community] but they are no use without water [supply]! ADP should give responsibility to a suitable person, not to just anyone. Here [in Balaji Nagar], water comes once in 15 days, even sometimes once in 30 days. People who are wealthier are able to store [water] in a tank or a sump. But poor people suffer a lot [for lack of household water storage capacity].

Reference 1 - 2.53% Coverage

Since water is one of the primary problems at MBN, the SHGs have had a big role in trying to improve this situation. WV requests that we also do some more works to improve this situation. WV says the water quality is so bad here that a snake even came out of the public tap recently!

Reference 1 - 4.07% Coverage

- MANY REASONS for forming the Voluntary Association in MBN:
  1. Water Supply
     - Gov’t is not providing water or sanitation services in any meaningful way here
       - One of the biggest issues is insufficient water supply
       - 10-12 days waiting between having the public water supply come on
       - They also do not repair leakages/breakages in the pipelines due to the roadside construction (ironically, for the water main to go past MBN)
         - Much water is wasted, made worse by the fact that there is such water scarcity here

Reference 2 - 4.92% Coverage

2. Electricity supply situation:
   - 3 transformers in MBN à supply is not good (one of the transformers went out with a loud ‘BANG!’ in the midst of this very conversation, knocking out power in the sector)
   - Only streetlight connections and three transformers were installed by the gov’t à these are the only source of power
     - Streetlights were seen as the most basic necessity as it was the edge of the city, a vacant field, with nothing in it, so the gov’t at least gave streetlights...
   - No connections for any households officially
     - All households connect illegally to the streetlight circuits to access electricity

Reference 3 - 1.37% Coverage

3. Sanitation situation
   - Toilet blocks have been built but are very poorly maintained à hygiene issues make them difficult to use and people are forced to find alternatives
FINALLY, ASHOK REQUESTS ASSISTANCE in improving the solid waste management situation in Sector 4

Specifically, requesting funds to purchase materials to build 6 waste collection boxes

- 4 x 8 ft boxes require each:
  - 75 hollow bricks x 26 Rs./ea = 1950 Rs.
  - 4 bags cement x 280 Rs./ea. = Rs. 1120
  - ¼ lorry sand (1 unit) = 4300 Rs.
  - Total = 6370
  - For 6 units = 30-35,000 RS.
  - Association will provide labour
  - Ashok has contacts with the Panchayat to increase the once-in-three month garbage truck to once-in-a-month from the new dump sites
  - This is a necessary intervention to prevent dumping in the canal which leads to serious water stagnation problems and vermin during the rainy season

M: Do you know any other example in which people of Balaji Nagar worked together?

R: People fought together for the sake of water supply. We conducted strikes in order to get drinking water. Water is the scarcest thing for us here. We don’t get water in the summer season. [At that time], we are united together. We collected money and bought water in trucks. We got 5 pots per house. It was Metro Water. The water per [tanker] load costs Rs. 1200. We bought the water and distributed it among us.

M: The main question I want to ask you is about a water treatment system. You can do it in two ways. One is at the household level, like boiling the water, adding alum. The other is you can all join together and make it happen [at the community level] and then you pay money for that. Which one do you think as the most possible here? Is the second one the most possible?

R: Is it possible in Balaji Nagar?

It is possible. People here have awareness. Water is the major critical problem here. People would be ready to unite for the sake of water. They would be ready to do some work for that. Those who can afford will be ready to pay as they would get water which they wanted. So it is easy to do things in community-level system. The underground water is saline now. If someone would treat it as drinking water, it [a desalination facility] would cost some 20 or 25k rupees. If people can collect 10k someone can come forward to subsidize it.

R: Water is a basic necessity. It is needed for everything. It should be of good quality. Health should not be affected. Disease should not be caused.
I: *Do you mean to say that even if the supply is not continuous it should be of good quality?*

R: Yes.

I: *Don’t you want the supply to be continuous?*

R: Of course it is important. But the quality is also important.

I: *You mean both are important?*

R: Yes. Both are important.

M: *Do you think everyone would feel the same way?*

R: Yes. Most of them would feel the same way. Water should be consistently supplied. It should be of good quality too.

**Annotations**

1. JJ says that this means that the water is without a ‘purified’ or ‘clean’ taste; neither salty nor clean – lacks that ‘sweet’ water taste
2. JJ: she means sediments layers collect at bottom
3. So, if water quality is a big common problem, the community would work together to solve it. The question then is, is water quality a common problem [that warrants such a response]? It seems that water quality has already been devolved to the individual households and that is the status quo for water.
4. My notes say: 2-300 households came together for this agitation (but there may be some issue with the veracity of the note, be warned).
5. SHGs have written to the DC with these needs some five months back.
   - Need traffic police on Velachery Main Rd. as there are many accidents, at least one a week
   - Want to shut down the Wine Shop
   - Want a police station in the area as there too much crime and theft occurring

6. Link this to the Guatemala paper. MBN is like Ciudad Real – land tenure is the biggest struggle, before any services.
7. This passage does not pertain to MBN, but Ligy is relating it with reference to the villages in Rajasthan where she led a defluoridation project. Still, I am including it in the ‘Dev Priorities’ node as it speaks to the general desire of community's to have piped water in the home, over all other improvements,
8. Rehman Bibi is pushing for waste management, but saying the Councillor (lady) is not supporting it.
10. ON: Community did protests and demonstrations, including roadblocks on Velacherry Main Road, to get access to water à this is what led to the installation of the water standpipes
11. TO elaborate from ON: She suggests that wealthier people in the community can contribute a bit more to the capital and operating costs of the system, a Rs. 10,000 investment may be possible
**Description:** - Instances of people talking about possible ways to organize or mobilize for a safe water system

*Internals\Exploratory Work\Saraswathi - Summary of post-Waste Mgmt Day (Jan 2010)> - § 1 reference coded [3.19% Coverage]*

**Reference 1 - 6.38% Coverage**

Conclusion: • Talk to the people and make them understand their responsibilities. • Organize the self help groups together and get involved them in the project.

*Internals\FGD I\FGD #1 - Transcript> - § 5 references coded [8.36% Coverage]*

**Reference 1 - 2.08% Coverage**

C: **If it is done at the common or community level, will people be contributing money for such a common cause?** As you have mentioned, the example of the youth volunteers in the fourth sector who are able to provide the necessary services by charging Rs. 20 and everybody [is] willing to contribute for it. Will that be the case if we have one community-level water treatment [system]?

P4: Definitely people will contribute for it. There are four groups [SHGs] even in this particular sector and if we have a separate meeting and explain to them the need to have a community level water treatment system, and ask them to speak to their respective members in their sector to contribute their share... then people will definitely contribute for it! If we ask them to get the requisite money from the community, they will get it accordingly.

**Reference 2 - 1.45% Coverage**

C: **So you have identified doing water treatment at the community level and you have also rightfully identified the working of many organisations and associations working here. What are the ways by which these organisations can contribute in bringing this community level water treatment [to be], [to make it] more beneficial and accessible to more people in the community?**

P4: World Vision has provided bigger tanks [one lorry water capacity water tanks] in all the four sectors for water storage so water can be made available to all people making use of group-wise distribution.

**Reference 3 - 2.07% Coverage**

C: **These are the things that they have been done. What are the ways in which they can make community level water treatment more accessible and beneficial for all people [in Balaji Nagar]? What are the ways by which the organisations [working here] can serve [to improve the] functioning of the community level water treatment system, [in order to make water] more accessible to all people? You have asked for community level water treatment. What are the [types of support] you will ask from these organisations... the voluntary youth associations, or other organisations, to**
Contribute to the smooth functioning of such a community level water treatment [system] at Balaji Nagar?

P4: We can ask two people from every sector to clean and take care of the water and also to ensure proper distribution of water at the sectoral level!

Reference 4 - 0.51% Coverage

I: Who will take responsibility if it is at the community level or at the common level in case of any problems?

P1: We need to select a few people who will ensure its protection and [take] care of it.

Reference 5 - 2.26% Coverage

C: What should be the level of water treatment -- at the community level or at the individual level? Which is best and what are the reasons for it?

P4: Water treatment at the community level is good.

C: What are the reasons for it?

P4: I will suggest [a strategy] that can be implemented sector wise. We have to appoint people according to each sector and provide them with salaries and ask them to take care of [the community water treatment unit] both in its storage and for cleaning and maintaining it. They can charge Rs. 2 per household and the community will contribute for it as it is common and a community effort and their salaries have to be paid from that collected amount. They have to clean the water either in a week or within every three days. This will ensure in getting good water at all times and is good for the people. Hence community level water treatment is good for the people.

M: What would have to happen so that people could work collectively so that a community level water treatment system could be done for all people?

C: What should be done so that it works for the whole community? You know about the community better and you also know which one would work better for everyone and so on.

P: We should allot four persons each day [to operate the community system] and there will not be any problems.

C: What she is saying that we have to allot four people each day so that there will not be any problems. What you are saying is good. If people are allotted on a group basis then there will not be any problems.
P: If you allot people to work respectively each day, then there will not be any problem. It is difficult to make everybody work together [however].

Reference 2 - 2.87% Coverage

C: If everybody comes together and if everybody comes and listens just like the way we did for you then people will cooperate for it.

M: But the question is -- does everybody feel the same way?

P: People have to be told and educated about the usefulness of such a thing [a community level water treatment system] and people themselves will realize the need for such a common thing in the community and accordingly will play their part. People who do not know will come to know about the usefulness of this thing and will play their part. People, once they realize that it is for their good, will definitely work for it.

C: We have to educate the people and then people will cooperate and act together. If people are able to understand then they will do accordingly.

<Internals\Interviews\INT #1 - Darwin Moses (World Vision) - Transcript> - § 2 references coded [8.97% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.52% Coverage

M: OK, I want to ask you a question that follows up to one point you just mentioned. You mentioned that people would contribute 10%, 15% of the cost of running a project. Do you think that hypothetically if some NGO was going to build a water treatment system in the community, that everyone would share, would people be willing to contribute some of the capital costs to this thing?

R: Yeah... definitely people contribution will come. So water is one of the need. Still not yet met. So people will come and contribute. That is how we communicate and how we take it to the people, that is also very important.

Reference 2 - 6.45% Coverage

C: Do you have incidence of doing something with the community’s cooperation, and failing, because by knowing MBN is saying household-level is best. Do you have any examples saying that why are you saying community-level, do you have some experiences?

R: Yeah you are going to community level nah, who are the partners? So that is depends. Who is going to take responsibility? So who is going to go do? Even now you are doing research. You are, you have, IIT have power. So there is no help for the people, so they are looking you. So they are coming for 2 years, so nothing happened. People is thinking like that. So they want to do something. And also whatever you are doing you have to tell the people, so we are doing this and this, it will take time, this time that time. So you are approaching very few people and they are not, they are closing. Usually people will not explore good things. Sometimes they want, if the benefit for her, they will tell if it is not going to benefit anything, they will tell. For example, if I give so many schemes on the meeting, they will not tell everybody. It depends on the individual persons. Is there any person to help, that particular person they should listen to get to the ... like that. You are doing it, yes, you have to tell everything to the whole community so they can be aware. This is my suggestion. Whatever you are going to do, we will cooperate, whether we are working there or not.
So I will cooperate. Because that is my lab, that is my heart, so I can help, and also I can help instruct my people to cooperate.

Ref 1: And for our filter also, I think that would be a better solution, if they wanted to replace the carbon or something, if someone is there, one of the self-help group person is there, he can, she can give ok, 5 kgs this one, clean one, this much rupees, something like that.

Ref 2: Ah yeah. So we can, so you’re suggesting it’s possible to use a community group to sell new charcoal, throw out the old charcoal once it’s exhausted, and they get new one.

Ref 1: Yeah, the old charcoals, they can dry it and use it as a fuel. Ok, so no waste will be there.

Ref 2: Oh, ok, ok! I actually met with World Vision yesterday and we were talking about this exact same thing. So the self-help groups, two people from every self-help group join a federation. The federation is for all of Balaji Nagar. There is also a sangam, for all the women in the community who aren’t in the self-help groups, can join the sangam.

Ref 1: Yeah! And they can get some monetary benefits, some 2 rupees or 5 rupees or something like that, so that will self-sustainable.

Ref 2: So, the self-help groups do a lot of economic development, so there’s a business aspect there. And the sangam deals with a lot of water quality issues. So it’s a very natural connection, to use a sangam and the federation and the self-help groups to supply charcoal or help clean the filters, or something like that.

Ref 1: Yeal And here the cleaning is much easier compared to the other place, other place we have to use alkali. Ok, here it is just washing, because that washing they can do household level itself, that’s what I feel. Because why should they go and pay the money and all the things...

Ref 2: Yeah, just wash it like rice at home.

Ref 1: Yeah, but when they have to change the charcoal, instead of everyone going and buying and making it, this people can supply that one. Much better!

Ref 2: If you were going to place a community level system at Balaji Nagar, where would you put it? What’s a good place for it, you think?

Ref 1: Community level, I suggest it will be in that infiltration well itself.

Ref 2: At the infiltration well? Inside it or…?

Ref 1: Inside the well itself we can put it.

Ref 2: So like have an upflow well.

Ref 1: Yeah, upflow mode, we can put it.
M: Oh ok.

M: So, under the present conditions, does a community level system seem possible to you here in Balaji Nagar?

R: It is possible, but the leaders should cooperate[^6]. In the ADP, there are 42 SHGs. These leaders [of SHGs] should cooperate to make it possible. They should not think of [personal] benefits always.

M: To whom are you referring to when you say 'leaders'?

R: Leaders are the Self-Help Group leaders and the people from the [World Vision] ADP. Now they have started federations [of SHGs]. The federation leaders are also included in that [as leaders]. Because they are giving loans to so many people, they can [also] bring people together[^7]. For example, I am taking care of the hospital and I took on many initiatives in approaching people to bring resources to the hospital.

M: The main question I want to ask you is about a water treatment system. You can do it in two ways. One is at the household level, like boiling the water, adding alum. The other is you can all join together and make it happen [at the community level] and then you pay money for that. Which one do you think as the most possible here? Is the second one the most possible?

I: Is it possible in Balaji Nagar?

R: It is possible. People here have awareness. Water is the major critical problem here. People would be ready to unite for the sake of water. They would be ready to do some work for that. Those who can afford will be ready to pay as they would get water which they wanted. So it is easy to do things in community-level system. The underground water is saline now.
If someone would treat it as drinking water, it [a desalination facility] would cost some 20 or 25k rupees. If people can collect 10k someone can come forward to subsidize it.

**Annotations**

1. i.e 4-5000 L tanks!
2. Rs. 2 < Rs 2.50 of the lorry water (bad quality too) – this seems to be an indication of the ‘willingness to pay’ and the target price range (per 20 L)
3. Rs. 2 seems to be the competitive cost level
4. Main reasons for COMM seem to be:
   1) Full availability of water at any time
   2) Egalitarian, everyone is served by it
5. From Notes:
   S: It’ll fail if you make it voluntary; must force people to work!
6. Rehman Bibi believes a COMM system is possible if there is leadership supporting it – not just political, but also community leaders (of SHGs, etc.) and NGOs
7. Can build on loan-giving to comm.-development she suggests.
8. TO elaborate from ON: She suggests that wealthier people in the community can contribute a bit more to the capital and operating costs of the system, a Rs. 10,000 investment may be possible
Name: Nodes\Analytical I\Existing Treatment Practices

Description: - Instances where respondents refer to the water treatment methods they presently use

<Internals\Exploratory Work\PK - Prabha's Report on MBN Women's household water management> - § 2 references coded [6.26% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.03% Coverage

She feels that using the tanker water for drinking has not been too hazardous for her and her family. Only when the children are not well and have fever and diarrhoea does she boil water. When the kids are sick and she takes them to the doctor and the doctor tells her that the problem is with the water. She does not go to a government clinic but to a private doctor.

Reference 2 - 3.23% Coverage

Mannammai uses bleaching power to clean the water. She lets the dirt settle before she mixes in the bleach. One small package of bleach cost Rs. 3. She uses about 3 packages at a time. Household waste water is collected here and then dumped into the canals that demarcate the sectors. The portable water usually develops insects (larvae) within two days and the bleach kills all the insects.

<Internals\FGD I\FGD #4 - Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [0.65% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.65% Coverage

P: The water comes yellow in colour, it smells with a bad odour, and when it comes [through the standpipes] we use a cloth to purify [filter] it while collecting the water.

<Internals\Interviews\INT #15 - World Vision - Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [1.41% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.41% Coverage

R: After the [Kamakshi] hospital's entry in this area the wastewater started mixing with the drinking water source. The pipes joined. For the first half hour there would be bad smell in the [tap] water [when the taps were turned on], There would be a smell of gutter [sewage]. We would let the water [run] out for the first half hour. Then we would do all sorts of things like filtering and boiling. Some of them boil it and drink it and some of them consume it as such straight away. Many of them use can water because of the same reason. They use the can water for drinking purpose. They use only [Metro] corporation [lorry] water for cooking. Some get it for Rs. 3 and some get it for Rs. 2 [per pot]. It depends upon the sellers. The persons selling to us charges only Rs. 2.

<Internals\Interviews\INT #19 - Panchayat EO - Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [1.97% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.97% Coverage

Presently, the Panchayat is chlorinating the overhead tanks and wells in their jurisdiction

This works for some time (several years) but then fails and poor quality water becomes more likely.
There is a plan for the sewer to arrive into the area of MB Nagar in perhaps 2 years. I did raise the question of water with her. What will anyone do with the sewer if there is no water. After all, the sewer pipe planned for this area is planned as a water-borne sewerage system. She says yes, but she does not know when piped water will get to this area. Apparently everyone is waiting for the Veeranam Water Supply Project to get here. No one knows when that might be.

There is a major water expansion scheme in the works for this part of Chennai. I think it is the Veeranam Water Supply Project. Many are waiting for this to happen, but no one knows when the pipes will be extended. On the other hand, the sewerage pipe is a lot closer to being extended to this area, i.e. perhaps in the next 2-3 years. I have raised with many folks the notion that it makes no sense to expand the sewerage pipe and not the water pipe as we are talking about water-borne sewerage. Of course, everyone knows this and agrees, and I am sure someone has the full story on this. I was not able to meet with the Chennai Metropolitan Water Supply and Sewerage Board. Recognizing the general lack of water in Chennai and the rapid depletion of ground water, MB Nagar and the Pallikaranai town panchayat are also in the same stranded boat.

The government says it will bring Metro Water here and pipes will be laid for the water supply of Mylai Balaji Nagar. Do you think it will happen?

They have laid pipes [already].

If [Metro] water is brought here it would be nice.

They would not give [Metro] water.

They would give [Metro] water.
R: We have to wait and see.
R: We are not sure about it.

Reference 2 - 1.47% Coverage

I: Does [the Metro Water plan] stop you from operating as a group? Is anyone stopping you from doing your own water purification just because the government is going to bring the Metro Water connection?

R: No. Not like that.
R: The [Metro] water is yet to come. Till then this [community water system] can’t be stopped.

<Srini explains the question once more>

R: No, it didn’t happen like that.

Reference 1 - 8.21% Coverage

M: The government is planning to bring the Metro Water here and pipes would be laid for the water supply of Mylai Balaji Nagar. Do you think it will happen?

R: They say that it would happen in 2 years.
R: We are not sure if it will be done.

M: Does this [the arrival of Metro Water] affect whether you work together on water supply or not?

I: Does it stop you from operating as a group? Is anyone stopping you from collectively improving purification just because government is going to bring Metro water soon?

C: Are you able to follow? I heard in the first sector that they are going to build a common tank. If you have any such plan, would it be affected by the government’s plan? Do you think that it is a waste to take efforts for water supply when the Metro Water pipeline is going to be lain soon?

R: No. We won’t hesitate like that. We have not talked that way to one another.
R: They are planning to set up a [water] tank here.

C: Would it be done by the residents of this sector or some institution like World Vision?

R: No. Someone from this area should take the initiative and others would cooperate with him or her.

C: Will you all contribute money to such a collective effort?

R: The plan is already on.
R: The Panchayat would [pay to] install the [water] tank.

R: Someone [else] would maintain and all of us would contribute money for that.

M: What I understand from what you are telling is, the Panchayat would build a tank for you and you would not spend money for building the tank but you are ready to spend money for maintaining it.

C: Yeah. A [sewage] pumping station is going to be built in the government school. They [the women] did not want it to happen. They tried to stop it [by going to the government]. They [the men in the community] asked "Who are you to do this??"

R: We even approached the Collector. But the gents were a hindrance. We sent a letter to the Panchayat board. We sent a letter to the C.M. [Chief Minister] cell. We sent a letter to the Collector's office. We told them that we didn't want it [the sewage pumping station] to be in our area -- especially in the [grounds of the] government school. It is said that the drainage water from all over [the Panchayat] would accumulate here and then be pumped out. They take [the sewage] to Perungudi it seems. We gave a letter to the M.L.A. too. He says that it is too late as it was approved before three years. He says it should only be built there and that is the right place. This area is already treated as garbage dumping area. It may lead to kidney problem to many people here... In addition to that problems would be severe if this also is established. The diseases would spread more. That is the reason why we gave a letter to all these officers. But everything was in vain.

C: They gave letter to Panchayat, M.L.A., Collector... they even gave a letter to the Collector's office. But nothing was fruitful. They said it was already too late. They said it was approved three years ago. We cannot do anything. They said we are doing it for the benefit of so many people. They said that so many people opposed many matters. They could not be stopped. Likewise this would also happen. These people say that this is a government school. Building a drainage pumping station would damage the health of so many people.

R: Around 500 children are studying here [in the government school]. This is in the middle of the community too! It has students up to the 8th class too.

C: She says approximately 500 children are studying in this school. From every place it [sewage] is going to come here and accumulate.

R: The smell would spread around the entire area. Students have to eat only there! Actually it is a place where there was a park previously for the children. The children are supposed to eat here!

C: She says students have to eat there! The place is a park for the children. The children are supposed to eat here. There is going to be a [sewage] pumping station and the children have to eat there.
R: These children are not even rich sir! They are all poor children. They eat and they inhale the smell too. Why won't diseases affect the children?

C: She says that the children eat and smell at the same place where the pumping station for drainage [sewage] water is going to be built. They fear that their health may get affected.

R: There is one more concern. The bad gas would evolve there. We clearly know that it would lead to kidney problems. But however we tried [to fight it, but] we could not succeed.

C: She says the gas which comes out would lead to health problem... that is kidney problems. The entire community would get affected.

Reference 2 - 0.19% Coverage

R: Now they are constructing drainage [sewerage] pipes. It will take three years for it to be completed.

Reference 1 - 9.87% Coverage

M: What are the development plans here? Concrete road has come.

R: Drainage connection...

C: Sewage...

R: Rain water harvesting ...

C: Rain water canal... What else...?

R: Metro Water supply...

C: When will you get Metro Water?

R: In another one year.

C: He is saying that Metro Water will reach them after a year.

R: Already the drainage [sewerage] work is going on. We will get the Metro Water only after the drainage work is completed.

C: Once this drainage work is complete, then they will start working on the Metro Water connection.

M: Will the Metro Water connections be given to individual houses? Will each household have a separate line?

R: Unless we get the Metro Water supply, the drainage [water conveyed sewerage] will not function properly. There would be blockages!
C: *Will the Metro Water [connections] be given to each individual house?*

R: Definitely. Why not?

C: *They will have separate lines [for each household] and the connection would be given to individual houses.*

M: *Will that [the Metro Water connections] be given to every house or [just] to the houses which have got their NOC?*

R: I don’t know what will happen at that time...

C: *They don’t know.*

R: For slums, they will fix only a very low charge. But we don’t know what the cost would be.

M: *OK. Subsidized price...*

C: *Yes, but they don’t know what the cost would be.*

M: *They have yet to decide...*

R: The details are there. But we don’t know...

**Reference 2 - 7.60% Coverage**

R: We have already put out a tender for a Rs. 1 lakh project for an overhead [water supply] tank. Someone has already taken tender. But they have not done anything so far.

R: *<The assistant jumps in> There was a tender given for an underground sump which was for Rs. 2 lakhs. It has also not been done.*

C: *He says they have passed tender for a Rs. 1 lakh project for an overhead tank. Some company has even taken the tender. One lakh for the overhead tank and two lakhs for an underground sump were sanctioned. But they have not done [anything] so far. If it is done we can even go for a community level filter.*

M: *What is the time limit to build the overhead tank and the [underground] sump?*

R: The tender was passed and they have taken the tender too. But no, they say that the money is not enough for the project.

C: *The company has taken the tender, but now the company is resisting doing the work saying that the funds are not sufficient!*

R: They say that the budget is low. They say that the rate is low [the funds are too low for the project].

C: *They are negotiating with the PWD [Public Works Department] about the amount.*
The pipeline that is now being installed along Velachery Main Rd is the water main coming from the desalination plant that is being constructed south of Chennai. This is the “Nemmeli” plant and is a 100 million litre per day (MLD) desal plant that will supply Chennai city.

- There is also another 100 MLD desal plant to the north of the city that may or may not be online yet.

- The Nemmeli plant is not yet complete but is aimed to be completed by 2012.

- Whether this will actually be the case, or whether there will be further delays B cannot say.

- The pipeline being built will convey that water and there will be a tapping point for Pallikaranai.

- B says however that it could take 5 years to build the distribution network in the Panchayat itself, which would be necessary for the water to reach households there.
  - Could be low as 3 years if the gov’t comes under lots of political pressure.
  - But could also be up to 7 years with delays etc.

- On the matter of whether MBN would get water specifically, B says that because it is a “slum packet” it functions as a vote bank which will be valuable for political parties in the next election. The people living at MBN can use political pressure to ensure that they too will become connected (MBN will be covered so there will not be any need for political pressure to ensure them with metro water connection).

- B seems pretty convinced of the inevitability of MBN becoming connected, but B isn’t aware of a specific plan to connect or not connect MBN, or of the community’s particular circumstances.

What’s happening with the water main being put in next to MBN from Chennai Metro water – any plans to connect MBN into the city’s water system?

- Once the city expands to include MBN and Pallikarnai, it would become the CoC’s responsibility to provide water and sewage services in its own area.

- For now, the Panchayat feels that they are doing what they can (and beyond the call of duty) at MBN.

- It would be the Metro Water Department that would be able to answer the question on which parts of Velacherry will get connected to the new Metro water line.

- Water/sewage works financing follows the formula: 50% Panchayat, 50% Centre/State Gov’t.

What are the development plans on the part of the Panchayat for MBN?

- Cement roads are now being built in MBN.
• Overhead water tanks (same water supply though – untreated lake water) have been planned and it has been approved already
  o But, no one has accepted the tender yet!
• Underground sewage lines and drainage are planned within the next 2½ years

Pallikarnai may be connected to the new desalination works that Metro Water is building south of Chennai

Annotations
1 Like what Ashok was talking about.
She feels that using the tanker water for drinking has not been too hazardous for her and her family. Only when the children are not well and have fever and diarrhoea does she boil water. When the kids are sick and she takes them to the doctor and the doctor tells her that the problem is with the water. She does not go to a government clinic but to a private doctor.

M: The first question that we are going to ask you we are going to talk for three to five minutes is -- What do you think are the biggest problems relating to water supply in Mylai Balaji Nagar?

C: What are the problems that you face in Balaji Nagar with respect to water? <10:31 to 10:36>

P5: Water is important for drinking, water is the most important problem here, getting drinking water is an important problem. The [tap] water here cannot be used for drinking purposes. People are buying [lorry] water in cans paying Rs. 2.50. [The tap water] can be used for washing, cleaning and other purposes but it cannot be used for drinking purposes. We don’t like to drink this [tap] water. (P4 @ 10:52: It is tasteless!!) Fossils are formed after couple of days, even worms are forming in the stored [tap] water. How many can afford to buy [lorry] water for Rs. 2.50 for drinking purposes? Skin problems are coming so getting good drinking water is the main problem here. <10:37 to 11:09>

P4: It [the tap water] is not regular and it comes [on only] after 10 or 20 days. How can we use this for children [as] if they use [the tap water they] are subject to so many problems? <11:10 to 11:23>

P4: If you cook with that water, then the cooked food is also yellow in colour. We are taking our children quite frequently to the hospitals. <11:36 to 11:43>
P1: Even for washing [the tap water] cannot be used immediately. Skin problem comes...allergies comes from using this water! <12:48 to 12:50>

M: Now the first question is -- what are the major problems regarding water supply in Mylai Balaji Nagar?

R: There are many problems. Within two days, worms develop in the water. Children get fever frequently if we drink it. Children suffer from loose motions too. Water is yellow in colour. Mostly we use the [tap] water for washing feet, etc...

M: Do children get sick? Can you ask everybody?

P: Stomach pain, vomiting.

M: Stomach pain, vomiting ah. Loose motion happens?

P: Loose motion, yes sometimes.

M: Who is most affected by it? In the household who gets sick most often?

P: Children.

P: Old people.

P: Everyone who is drinking tap water!

P: All are having the same problem!

P: There is no government hospital close by. For everything we are going to the Kamakshi hospital which is a private hospital.

R: We use Panchayat [lorry] water too. It [the tap water] may come even once in 15 to 20 days. This [tap] water does not agree with the health of some boys here. They are allergic to it... The water is not good here. It causes a lot of health problems. They suffer with some or other problems or diseases.
R: We solve health problems too!

M: *What sort of health problems do you solve?*

C: *He is asking what sort of health problems do you solve?*

R: We help those who have TB and wheezing [asthma]. We give them a card. They can take it to the hospital and get free medicine. They can get weekly medicines for many months. The nearby hospital representatives come and supply us with the medicines. The sisters would give instructions about the dosage. The patients would collect it from us. If they don’t [come to] collect it we go and call them to [come] collect it and then supply the same to them. Even that is one of the achievements of our self help groups. Many people were cured by this method!

R: Now I’m taking care of the community hospital [in sector 2] that is run by St. John’s Ambulance. I did not want to take too many responsibilities. I’m just taking care of this hospital. I am the in-charge for this hospital.

R: I am in this hospital for 10 years. The newly built hospital in Sector [?] is running for the past three years and before this hospital [the St. John’s hospital] was built. This was running in a model house constructed by the Government in sector 2 [just south of the Lion’s Club School]. Then for a period of one year, it was running in my house, here, in this same premises.

I was able to meet many people to raise funds to construct this hospital. Social work students from Stella Maris College helped us a lot. Mr. Mathews only brought these Stella Maris students here. Along with the Stella Maris students, we used to visit the Rekha Hospital to help us in setting up of this hospital. There were [volunteer] doctors from the Rekha Hospital that used to visit this place before the construction of this hospital.

The hospital is running three days a week. It functions on evenings on Tuesday and Thursday and in the morning on Sundays.
Then we told them that we didn’t have hospitals. There was one doctor Beulah. She used to come only twice a week. There was another organization called YWAM. There was one more association called as Grace Founders [this was interpreted as “Christ Foundation” by Srinivasan. Raniamma’s pronunciation is likely to have been wrong]. They all helped to some extent. They came here 3 times a week. There was no facility of doctors here at that time. They used to come and sit here. They used to give tablets and medicine. There were no doctors to give immediate attention here at that time.

**Annotations**

1. JJ says that this means that the water is without a ‘purified’ or ‘clean’ taste; neither salty nor clean – lacks that ‘sweet’ water taste
2. JJ: she means sediments layers collect at bottom
She feels that using the tanker water for drinking has not been too hazardous for her and her family. Only when the children are not well and have fever and diarrhoea does she boil water. When the kids are sick and she takes them to the doctor and the doctor tells her that the problem is with the water. She does not go to a government clinic but to a private doctor.

P4: It [the tap water] is not regular and it comes [on only] after 10 or 20 days. How can we use this for children [as] if they use [the tap water they] are subject to so many problems? <11:10 to 11:23>

Reference 2 - 0.39% Coverage

P4: If you cook with that water, then the cooked food is also yellow in colour. We are taking our children quite frequently to the hospitals. <11:36 to 11:43>

M: Now the first question is -- what are the major problems regarding water supply in Mylai Balaji Nagar?

R: There are many problems. Within two days, worms develop in the water. Children get fever frequently if we drink it. Children suffer from loose motions too. Water is yellow in colour. Mostly we use the [tap] water for washing feet, etc...

M: Do children get sick? Can you ask everybody?

P: Stomach pain, vomiting.

M: Stomach pain, vomiting ah. Loose motion happens?
P: Loose motion, yes sometimes.
M: Who is most affected by it? In the household who gets sick most often?
P: Children.
P: Old people.
P: Everyone who is drinking tap water!
P: All are having the same problem!
The land is owned by the Slum Board. She says when people were moved here this was treated as a sites and services project. The only thing that people were provided was water and sites. She acknowledges that even toilets were not provided, but they should have been. [At some point World Vision built the one toilet block which is in Sector 4. (Is this correct?) People are still using this toilet even though there is no water in the block. They use the toilets with their own water.]

According to the Slum Board, this re-settlement is a 20 year lease arrangement. Residents who were given the original piece of paper and land allocation are expected to pay Rs. 90/month for the land and services. After 20 years they would be owners of their plots. She insisted that the collection staff of the Slum Board was collecting money and that that was all the Slum Board had to do with the residents. The town panchayat is responsible for the maintenance of all services. [I did some investigation about the Rs. 90 payment. Apparently, no one is paying this amount and the people I spoke with in MB Nagar have not seen the slum board in either a year or two years. It seems they would have last gone to MB Nagar when there was the discussion about upgrading via the JNNURM scheme. According to the town panchayat council this was more than a year ago.]

Further, she says that people who have been re-allocated always sell and move back or away. She says this is a constant problem for the Slum Board. Today, the property values in MB Nagar are high, so she does not expect residents to stay.

‘Apparently the land status has not come down from the government.’ [By this she means that what is to be done with the land tenure situation of MB Nagar has not yet been decided by the government.]
If people had been paying their Rs. 90/month for all these years or as a lump sum as was suggested during the JNNURM discussions, the residents would be owners of the land. However, Dr. Buvana made it very clear that only the original residents could own this land and not any of the new people who have since bought from the original residents. Thus, according to her, all the new people who are now living in MB Nagar do not have any rights to the land and the government has the right to evict them whenever they want. Since, and if, the residents with the legal right to be there are not paying their Rs. 90/month they too can be evicted without any compensation. If they had been paying then the government would have to give them some compensation if they decided to evict them again. However, I did not get any sense from her that eviction was on the agenda nor does she know about any future development plans for the area.

She would prefer to pay all her taxes for water, electricity and land so that she can get better services rather than waste her entire day waiting for water from the stand pipes.

She would prefer to pay taxes for water, electricity, etc. so that they can get better, frequent and guaranteed services. She would prefer to get water frequently. So far, she and her family do not have any health problems due to unclean water.

I did not have sufficient time to get a sense of the environmental management framework of Chennai. What I have been able to figure out is that the wetland is under the TN government and not the government of metro Chennai or the town panchayat. It seems that there is consensus at a senior level in government that the wetland should not be developed and in fact protected. Apparently it was designated as a bird sanctuary. According to Ligy, the TN government appointed a high level committee to ‘deal’ with the wetland. It was chaired by a woman IAS officer. However, she has no idea what happened or is happening with this initiative.

MRTS or the “Mass Rapid Transit System” in the city of Chennai was approved in the early 1990’s. Consequently the route had to be cleared over and on the banks of the Coovam
River of pavement dwellers and other encroachers. To re-settle these families the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board was entrusted with the job. As per the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board meeting dated 27-04-1993, a decision was made to allot the housing plots in Pallikaranai. In Phase I (Part – 1) 1322 plots and in Phase I (Part- 2) 828 plots were proposed. An extent of 39.30 acreas of land was acquired from the Revenue Department, which was free from encroachment. To formalize the project, the MMDA approved an initial layout of 2076 plots – each plot measuring 15 x 18 sq.ft (270 sq.ft of land). This settlement was to be covered under the “Sites and Services” scheme of the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board.

Initially about 1066 families were accommodated in the scheme. However on the request of the Vice –Chairman MMDA in the meeting held on 02-05-1995, all the plots in the scheme was to be reserved for the allotment of families dislocated by the MRTS alignment in future too. In addition homeless slum dwellers were also to be considered for the settlement when ever found convincing. The settlement therefore houses all displaced in Phase –II of MRTS from Tirumailai to Taramani also. Phase – I was from Beach to Tirumailai. Currently therefore “Mylai Balaji Nagar” can be broadly divided into 4 sectors with 2188 approved relocated families. Under the Sites and Services scheme, free electricity has been provided, but this 15 year old settlement is yet to receive all the other infrastructure that was promised at the time of re-location.

Reference 2 - 2.41% Coverage

To top it all, it seems that some of the early settlers have moved out and confusion prevails on land ownership and ‘Patta’ eligibility among the present inhabitants.

Reference 1 - 2.24% Coverage

C: You said that you reported these both, [first] to the Councillor, and then to the President of the Pallikaranai Panchayat... what did they say about your complaints and about your general requests?

P4: The only answer that the officials say when we go there [the Panchayat office] to report our general problems is that they are asking us to pay the taxes! Pay the land taxes, as you have been here for more than 15 years to 20 years, and unless you pay the taxes we cannot do anything to address your general problems.

C: They were not doing anything...
They keep asking us to pay land taxes. We [the Panchayat] cannot do anything [in Balaji Nagar] as you are temporary residents and not the permanent ones and hence nothing can be done here. Even in the past 20 days, there were posters posted on [each and] every of our homes from the Panchayat Board asking us to pay the land taxes.

C: There could be some people who own their lands and have proper pattas and for others who live on rents who lack patta. Is it hampering you to come collectively and do things to solve the water crisis? Do you fear that the governments will send you away at anytime to a new location or displace you at any time and hence you fear doing any constructive work here to solve the water problem [yourselves]? You don’t own the land because of lack of patta. Do you fear doing collective efforts? Is it the lack of effort due to [lack of] patta?

P5/P1/P3: [Lack of patta] is the primary reason why there is no collective and constructive efforts from the people. People fear that they could be displaced at any time for lack of patta or land documents, and hence, they are not ready for any joint efforts. Even if people come together and build an overhead water tank for solving the water [storage/supply] problem, they still fear that they could be displaced at anytime, hence even though they have the desire to have such [things], they are not ready to do it because of the fear of displacement!

C: You want to do many things... but fear of displacement prevents you from undertaking such tasks, like overhead tank back in your villages. You are not ready to do it for fear of displacement?

P5/P1/P3: What is the use of such efforts? People say, even if we come together, we have the fear of displacement! We are even ready to do something about the dumping of garbage near Balaji Nagar, but the lack of patta prevents us from undertaking any collective efforts! Hence, people fear contributing anything towards the common cause...

C: You fear being displaced after doing such community efforts?

P5/P1/P3: With patta, we can do everything and we will be assured our efforts [will not go to waste] and nobody will question us [our rights].
R: We want the slip [land tax clearance in order to get patta] for lower amount than what they demanded.

Reference 2 - 4.61% Coverage

M: What was the biggest obstacle for getting these things?

R: They say they would give the patta only if we had cleared the electricity bill and the land tax.

R: Some people are ready to pay and others are not.

M: How many of you have patta?

R: No one gave us any patta.

R: People from Nungambakkam and Mylapore came and settled here.

R: No one has patta here.

M: Does anyone have their own house?

R: Some of them have purchased houses and come here. They are not great in number.

M: If the government gives patta, how many of you would get it?

C: Do you understand his question? Some of you have come from Nungambakkam, some of you have come from Mylapore, and some of you have come from Teynampet. If it is decided that those who have migrated from other places would be given patta... how many of you are likely to get?

I: If you do not pay land tax and electricity bill, the government can send you out at any time. Is it not so?

R: Yes. Yes. You are right.

M: Are you worried about it that there is a possibility for this?

R: Yes. Of course.

R: Yes. Definitely we are.

R: Those who have purchased the land and settled here will not have any worry. But we [people who were re-settled] are extremely worried about it.

Reference 3 - 7.69% Coverage

M: I want to go back to the issue of land patta. Would you prefer to do the purification of water at the individual household level or at the community level? Would you involve yourself in community level system for water treatment?

I: Do you think that it [a community system] is a waste of money and effort when you don’t have patta?
R: No one will think that way. When it is common we have to cooperate as long as we are here.

R: We use the tap water. So we have to cooperate with them [the rest of the community]. Nothing wrong in it.

R: Otherwise we are going to pay our own money and get things done [in the household].

I: Do you say patta is not a problem at all?

R: Not at all. Whether we have patta or don’t have patta we will pay and do it.

M: Do you think everyone in the community thinks the same way?

R: Yes. Everyone will be ready to cooperate.

I: After paying money they would build a big water tank here. At that time you may be asked to quit [by the government] due to the patta problem. Do you have a feeling or fear about wasting money in this? Do you think that when we are not sure of staying here, how can we spend money?

R: Yes. When we are not sure about staying here how I can invest money here!

R: We are ready to give money even though we don’t have patta.

M: What are your reasons for saying that?

R: As long as we are here, we can have good water.

R: Worry and concern about water will not be there.

R: We want to have good water at least as long as we stay here.

<All of them repeatedly say this>

I: [R] madam says she is ready. What do you say?

R: When it is good for the entire community and when it is good for me too I will surely cooperate with others for the common cause!

R: The result should be good. It is enough.

I: [R]... What do you say?

R: When it is for the welfare of the community we have to give. We happily give Rs. 20 for that.

I: What do you say?
R: When we are not sure about staying here it is doubtful to give. Those who have money can give. How can everyone give? Anyways we are cooperating till date.

Reference 4 - 1.23% Coverage

M: Why do you say so?

R: We have fear since the bridge (fly-over) was built here.

M: What is the connection between the bridge and this issue?

R: There is a bridge. There was also a petrol station built here. So we may have to quit - we fear [being displaced again].

M: Who said so?

R: People around say so.

I: Rumors!

M: I have two more questions. Does everybody in Mylai Balaji Nagar have patta or do some of your neighbors have it and others do not have it?

R: Many of us do not have [patta].

R: No one of us has it [patta].

M: Is the government likely to displace you out at any time? Is it not so?

R: They [the Panchayat] has assured us that they would not ask us to quit [the location].

I: Do you have the fear that there is a possibility for this [re-displacement]?

R: No, they would not ask us to go out.

R: We are confident about it.

R: People are talking among themselves like that only.

Reference 1 - 3.09% Coverage

Reference 2 - 3.23% Coverage

M: The government is saying that it would give patta for the past few years. But there is a delay. Does it have a negative or positive impact for your joint efforts about drinking water?

I: Do you think that it is a waste of money and effort when you don’t have patta? Do you have a feeling or fear about wasting money in this? Do you think that when I am not sure of staying here how can we spend money?

R: No, we do not think that way.
R: Whether there is patta or not we will extend our cooperation.

R: Let the patta come when it comes. We will continue these common works.

R: As long as we live here we have to do it.

P: There was no patta, so there was no electricity no water facility here.

M: Now, I know there are some issues in Mylai Balaji Nagar on patta. Many people have no ownership; does that affect people working in groups collectively?

C: In Balaji Nagar, there are issues of patta for the people. Does the non-possession of patta prevent you from working together collectively? Do people feel that since I don’t have patta why should I work with others collectively and waste my money when I don’t have patta? Are there any issues like that?

P: People are saying that they [the government] are going to give patta.

C: I am not asking that. Most of the people living here in Balaji Nagar do not have patta and what he is asking is that because you don’t have patta, do you feel apprehensive about working together with other people? Are you ready to spend your money and effort to construct some common structure or do you feel okay to work with people even if you don’t have patta on spending money and effort and time?

P: All of these people are going to be in the same place [even if re-settled]. It [collective action] is not an issue even if there is no patta. The same kind of people are only going to stay here, so patta or no patta is not an issue [for us].

C: The same kind of people are going to stay together even if they are displaced. The people will go to the new place together. That’s what he is asking us well.

P: We are not going to leave [this place]. If the present government [DMK] is elected then they might give us patta. If the woman Jayalalitha [ADMK] is elected then we might not get it.

P: Anyway we are not going to leave from here.

C: Some people are saying that if we don’t have patta we are not ready to contribute, but if we have patta we don’t mind spending our time, money and effort.

P: Since the same kind of people are going to be here it makes no difference with or without patta.
M: Does the patta issue make it difficult for you to invest your own money in building a common facility, like building a park or something, planting some trees in the street?

C: Does the lack of patta prevent you from doing something like building a park or planting trees in the public areas?

P: It is not a hurdle. People [the government officers] are promising to give us patta after we give money [back taxes and fees]. People who can afford it can pay for it and can get patta. What about the people who don’t have money and are not able to pay anything to them [the government] to get patta?

C: Some people are saying that we are paying money to get patta and some others are saying we are not able to pay to get the patta.

R: Yeah, second sector. This is issue, they wanted to have a roadblock. But the liquor shop owner already covered the leaders, with financially as well as liquor. They confused the particular women, those who are going to lead things. So, today, tomorrow, morning, or afternoon, so like that. So one person came with 15 members, police man came and went. Another day another political party they put all the flags, but nobody stand there. So one person is those who are leading the government, that person, no no don't fight. Like that, they divided. But there is no proper communication to everybody, so that is the negative, the learning. So if they need the patta, everybody needs the patta, that’s the original authority document for the land, now they are not planning to... only, they are paying rent only, but the land belongs to government. If we say that, all will come, because all are going to benefit. Like that.

M: I see. So if the benefits are shared, if its something that’s needed by everybody, then everybody will participate. I see. ok. Lemme ask you another question....

C: What is the filling charge?
R: The area was very low. They had fill mud to raise it [reclaim the land]. They ask us to pay the filling charge. The Rs. 5000 is only the filling charge! If we pay they would hand over the land to the Panchayat board! Then they [the Panchayat] would give us patta. When we vacated the house they said it is a free place for us.

C: Wait, I have to tell all these things to this gentleman. She is telling that water is a problem. Electricity is a problem. They went and met the M.D. [of the TNSCB] one month back. He listed various types of wastelands and asked them which one does this place belong to. They [the TNSCB] are demanding these people pay Rs. 5000. Now it is Rs. 40 thousand [with interest]! But that amount is only [land] filling charge. This area was low [lying wetland]. To bring it up, they have to pay. In such a case, the area would then be given patta. That too... the Panchayat will give the patta and not the Slum Clearance Board. After paying this money they will send the documents to the Panchayat. Then the Panchayat will charge something else and [then finally] give patta.

M: Does the slum clearance board ask money for this [the land filling]?!

R: Yes. The M.D. [TNSCB] says so. He says “Pay the entire amount. I will give you a receipt. We will give patta [certificate] and allot the land to you.” The certificate will only confirm that the filling charge has been paid by us. There are 2500 houses here. They expect all the 2500 houses to pay the filling charge! Unless it is [all] completed, we can't expect [to get] the patta!

C: She says that even if one house does not pay the [filling] money, they will not give patta to anyone. Only if everybody pays the money they [the TNSCB] will hand over the place to the Panchayat.

M: Will it happen? Is it possible?

C: He is asking if it is possible and would it happen?

R: It does not seem to be possible. It seems it is impossible. It cannot be possible. This place is not permanent for us. Somewhat poor people may not pay and clear the amount. We told them [the TNSCB] to establish an office here and let him [the M.D.] sit here. We will collect installments though the [self help] groups and pay the amount to them. We will ask the residents to come to their office and let them collect the money and give them receipt. These days they send a person periodically. They will just come and talk to few residents here. They would collect if someone gives money and they would go just like that.

C: Does he give receipt?

R: Yes. He gives a perfect receipt.

C: How much does he collect?

R: The person gives just Rs. 300. How long will it take to reach 40,000? Moreover the delay will also cumulate [interest] penalty. There is confusion now due to another matter. Most of them [the re-settled evictees from Mylapore] who were brought here in the beginning have sold [their plots] to somebody else. Now most of the houses are in the third hand! To avoid
this confusion they [the TNSCB] have segregated the houses into two groups namely the first-hand holders [original settlers] and the second-hand holders [newcomers].

C: **Those who came first should pay...?**

R: At first, it was said that they have to pay only Rs. 5000. Then the persons got from them [the TNSCB] that they should pay Rs. 12,000. If you are allotted... it is Rs. 32,000. They also collect from the person who was allotted at first. So it is Rs. 32k + Rs. 5k equals Rs. 37k. They say that 100 months have gone [by]. They collect Rs. 300 per month. Many people have paid that money. But they were not given any proof for that! They collect interest on interest! Just imagine... 9% per Rs. 100!

C: **How much money was paid?**

R: At first, Rs. 7500 was collected. Then they collected Rs. 17k. Then they collected Rs. 21k. Then 32k! Now it is 38k which would come to Rs. 40k along with interest. There are people who got filled [the landfilling mud] in their lands - even when they were asked to pay Rs. 17k. But they were not given any receipt. These days whenever we go [to the TNSCB] and approach they say “Oh...Balaji Nagar..?” and they hesitate to do anything for us. They look down at us. We were happy that we have bought land which we could give to our children. After my demise, it should become permanent property for our children. What will that happen if the authorities are indecisive like this at this time? Nothing is clear. Everything is confusing. They don’t give a responsible response when we approach them. Will we get patta?

C: **When we approached the TNSCB, they say that only the Panchayat is responsible to allot the patta. When we approached the Panchayat they say that only the TNSCB is responsible to allot the same!!**

R: Yes. They repeatedly say the same thing to us.

C: **She is saying that those who originally bought it [the plots] should pay almost like Rs. 32k. People who bought from them have to pay an extra amount of Rs. 5000 as a penalty. Some of them have paid the full amount. They didn’t even get the receipt for it. She also says whoever the authority may be, they are not responding properly.**

R: Our Councillor, President, along with two or three important persons from this area [the community] and three of our members of [self help] groups went there [the TNSCB] and asked. We requested to them that we would pay Rs. 25k and asked them to give [us the] allotment. We would show it to Panchayat Board and make it ready. [Then] they asked for land/property tax too!! They see if the house has a mud floor or a cement floor or a mosaic floor or a marble floor! The tax differs according to the flooring of the house. The entire Palikkaranai area is full of patta lands. They collect the property tax according to the floor and roof of the house. OK... let them collect. No problem! But we should be allowed to live here [legally]. They are not amicable either way. They talk in a very strict way. They say that we should pay the entire amount immediately. They talk in a commanding voice. Those who have money would pay. How about the ones who don’t have money? OK. They ask us to pay
only Rs. 300. But they calculate the interest for the balance amount as well as the interest on the balance interest! The payments would continue up to our next generation too!

C: She is telling that they are paying Rs. 300 per month. But [for] how long? Again and again they are putting penalty [interest]. They are again putting the interest for the lack of money. If they pay Rs. 300 it will continue life long. They have to pay and the next generation has to pay!

Reference 2 - 0.96% Coverage

M: Do you have a fear that TNSCB or the Panchayat may ask you to clear out of this place?

R: No, because I have paid part (half) of the amount already. I have three houses. One house was paid Rs. 32,000 [?]. I have paid Rs. 24,000 totally -- Rs. 11,000 for one house and Rs. 11,000 for the other. They are in the name of my three sons and I am paying money in the name of all the three sons. What they say is I should pay Rs. 35,000 within this month and make things clear. Unless I pay this, the penalty and interest would grow.

Reference 3 - 2.77% Coverage

R: This place was given to us by the central government. One Mr. Swaran Singh made this area clear for us. When we came here they said that the area was freely allotted for us. “Go and live in your own house, why do you suffer in this slum [at Mylapore]”. So we came here. First they said the land was free. They filled [the wetland in with] mud. They asked us to pay the filling charge. We came here from Luz Corner in Mylapore. It was near the railway station. The place called Flower Garden was near our slum [there]. They said that the place belongs to Public Works Department. We all hesitated to vacate that place and were adamant not to vacate. I overstayed there for one more year. They asked us why we should have any fear when government allots free land and so we came here. There was no electricity here for so many years.

C: She says they lived in Mylapore. The place belonged to Public Works Department. They asked why they should hesitate when the government allots free land to you and so they came here at last half heartedly.

R: Ten years back Karunanidhi (the then Chief Minister) said he would give free patta for lands occupied by pavement dwellers. We went and gave request to the CM’s cell straight in the hands of M.K. Stalin (Deputy Minister and son of Karunanidhi). They said they would look into the matter and just collected the requisition papers. No progress was there! We have approached almost all the places. We have even approached the Fort and Collector [state government officials]!

Reference 4 - 0.50% Coverage
R: Let them not give electricity or water. But these places [house plots] were bought for the sake of the next generation. At least they should make it as our permanent place. That is enough for us. Don’t we need peace of mind? We don’t have big flat. It is after all a hut.

Reference 5 - 1.27% Coverage

R: I only had three sons when I vacated Mylapore. Now they are married and have a girl child each. Can we live in the same old small house? We borrow money and extend the house by adding a floor. They ask us "When you can’t pay the penalty, why should you extend the house? You are able to mobilize lakhs of rupees for building the house."

M: You said you got receipt for the amount paid?

R: They gave a receipt but they did not give any proof - that is the clearance certificate as we have not paid the full amount. It is only allotment paper. It is not a perfect patta.

M: How much more they have to pay? Is it not clear?

R: That is not clear because they are paying interest on penalty.

Reference 6 - 3.51% Coverage

C: I was talking to Panchayat Officer the other day. He said there is no revenue from Mylai Balaji Nagar. Even the E.B. bill was for more than a crore. These people are telling that they want sanction for houses. But they are not sanctioned as they don’t have patta. This area still belongs to SCB. The E.B. bill is not the prime issue. The problem is the Panchayat is confused about who has to issue patta. They say unless they pay the arrears they would not get allotment. Without an allotment they cannot get patta. Even that letter is a temporary allotment. Only when there is a registered approval everything is possible.

R: Let them give separate [electricity] connections individually for every house. See -- in villages if the water is supplied straight to your house, you have to pay water tax. In the same way let them give [power] connection and collect tax. Let them give patta and collect land tax.

Either one of the bodies [Panchayat or TNSCB] should take in charge. We the people are sandwiched in between. We are dying out of fear every day regarding the patta matter. Some of us paid money and suffer and the others suffer without paying. If they approach us we will give [the matter] importance in our federation and discuss it in our federation. We will take the matter to the public. If ten people gather we can get a better solution. We will get a permanent life. Even those paid the full amount and got the letter approached the electricity board and asked. Even they were refused individual [electricity] connections. They told them to come with the entire community after clearing the amount.

C: She says that let them give individual connection and collect tax.
R: There is no use in living here for ten years. It is better to live one year with happiness and satisfaction. The next generation should not curse us telling that "My parents have purchased [land] in such a [terrible] place..."

Reference 7 - 1.44% Coverage

R: They come and collect regularly. At first they said it is free for us. After a long time, in the year 2000, they asked us to pay Rs. 7,500. Then they asked for Rs. 11,500. Then it became Rs. 32,000. They say that the penalty is Rs. 5000 rupees per year per every house.

M: Penalty! Every year!!

R: Yes. Then there was a scheme from the Panchayat that if you have land they would build a house for you for Rs. 80,000. But they asked us to give a bribe of Rs. 20,000. But the scheme was helpful for this area, as it needs patta. They said to the federation that the allotment should be in our name. There was full rush for it! 100 persons are in the federation. Some of them are very poor. They don't have house. They said that unless the full amount is settled the Panchayath can't help.

Reference 1 - 47.14% Coverage

M: Hi... meeting Mr. Jayaprakash in sector 2 on Friday. The first question is what is the tenure situation and patta here?

C: Please tell us something about the land matters and patta [here].

R: This place belongs to the Revenue Department [of the Tamil Nadu State Government].

C: He says that this place belongs to Revenue Department.

R: But the Slum Clearance Board occupied this place and got CMDA approval. They divided [the land] into plots. They [the TNSCB] only got the 2nd phase, 3rd phase electricity approvals and they also got the approvals for the roads such as 10 feet road, 20 feet road and 30 feet road [from the CMDA]. They also arranged for public toilets in the ratio of one toilet for ten families.

C: See -- the Slum Clearance Board occupied the land and got the approval of CMDA. CMDA is the only authority to give approval. The Slum Clearance Board also arranged for the 10 feet road, 20 feet road and 30 feet roads.

R: But the maintenance is performed by the Town Panchayat [of Pallikarnai].

C: He says the Pallikaranai Town Panchayat is doing the maintenance [for Mylai Balaji Nagar].

M: What does he mean by the maintenance?

C: What is maintenance?
R: Water, road, waste, etc.

M: Can you tell me something about patta?

R: The Slum Clearance Board has allotted 270 sq. ft. [15 ft. x 18 ft.] for every family. They [TNSCB] say that the allotment would be given to those who pay all their dues. The Revenue Department [of the State Government] should give its approval in the form of a NOC [No Objection Certificate]. If it gives NOC then the patta would be allotted. But the NOC has not yet given by the Revenue Department.

C: The Slum Clearance Board has allotted 270 sq. ft. for every family. If they have paid the dues, the allotment letter would be given. Even then the patta will not be given because the Slum Clearance Board has to give NOC.

R: Actually this land is supposed to be cattle-rearing [agricultural] land. The Delhi [Central] Government has to give approval for using the rearing [agricultural] field for use for residential purposes.

C: This is grazing land. This is agricultural land. The Central Government has to approve the allotment. So the [Central] Government has to give approval for using the grazing land for living purposes.

M: Does this [land] belong to Revenue Department of the Central Government or the State Government?

C: Actually this land belongs to whom - the Central Government or the State Government?

R: Central Government.

C: Is it not the Tamil Nadu [state] Revenue Department?

R: The Revenue Department is that of the State Government, but the rearing [agricultural] land belongs to the Central Government.

C: Since this is grazing land they have to get approval from the Central Government.

M: The people have to get the approval or the [Revenue] Department?

C: Not the people. The Slum Clearance Board has to get it.

R: The Pollution Control Department [also] has a right in this land.

C: That means this [land] is under the control of the Forests Board? No... this is not forest area at all.

R: This is not a forest area. What is the English word which indicates the land where you take the cattle to allow them to eat grass? I am also aware of it. But the Agriculture Department [of the State Government] is also asking for land which equals the size of this land [as
compensation for it having been given away by the Slum Clearance Board and they say only on that condition will they approve this land for residential purposes. The TNSCB will give NOC to us. For that, they [TNSCB] has to get NOC from them [the other relevant Departments of the TN State Government].

C: The TNSCB has to give NOC to these people and the TNSCB will get NOC from the Revenue Department [of the TN State Government].

M: What do they have to do to get the NOC from the Revenue Department [of the TN State Government]?

C: They have to pay the money. But even then they do not have the approval of the Revenue Department. That is what blocking them.

M: What is the hurdle to get the approval from the Revenue Department [of the State Government]?

C: Tell us what should be done to get the approval of the Revenue Department?

R: They have to get the entire value [of all the land] from the residents. In 2001, they did a survey of verification of lands to know who has got confirmed allotment and how many vacant lands are there. They listed out who were allotted and who had purchased [plots] from the allotted persons. It was finalized in the year 2003. According to the survey it was announced that those who were directly allotted [i.e. the resettled evictees from Mylapore] should pay Rs. 17,040 and the persons who bought from them had to give an additional amount of Rs. 5,000 as penalty. But even after paying they were given only NOC and not patta. Even now the records say that these lands belong to the Revenue Department [of the TN State Government]. They also allowed them to give Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000 [as a down payment] and [then] to give the rest of the amount as installments of Rs. 300.

C: He says they did a survey in 2001. They listed out who were [originally] allotted lands. They have to pay Rs. 17,500 if they were allotted.

M: For how many months?

C: How many months should they pay like that?

R: Till they finish paying the entire amount. If there is delay they have to add [interest] penalty and pay. But this was the stage in 2003. Today the value has gone up to Rs. 40,000!

C: Yes. Every month they have to pay Rs. 300 extra if they fail to pay.

M: OK...once the people get NOC, then what will happen?

R: That is all!

C: The NOCs are the end...only they are aimed for.

M: [But] it is not [full] patta?
C: It is not patta. But the NOCs are enough to prove they are the owners for the time being, as no one is [being] allotted patta [due to intra-agency conflicts in the State Government].

M: Has anybody in Mylai Balaji Nagar got their NOC already?

C: He is asking if anyone has got their NOC here.

R: Yes, [about] 5% of them [the residents here] have got it.

R: <Another person jumps in> 7% is there.

M: Can they get patta using the NOC? What is the duty of the SCB then?

C: How can they get patta using the NOC?

R: They cannot get patta with NOC. But only if they have NOC they can get E.B. [Electricity Board] connection and drainage connection!

C: That is the rule of the S.B. [Sewerage Board] Department, that they should have NOC.

R: They can even get a loan [mortgaging the house], if they have a NOC.

C: He is saying that if they have NOC they can get electricity and drainage connections and even they can apply for loans [using the house as collateral].

M: What should one do to get proper patta?

R: Nothing can be done. They cannot do anything. The Central Government has to give [its own] NOC to the TNSCB [for changing the land usage].

C: He is saying that the Revenue Department [also] has to give [its own] NOC.

M: Who gives the patta? Who is the sponsor?

R: The Tamil Nadu State Government.

M: And for that one, land tenure is important? People have to have patta to...

R: Yeah, see, unless they have the ownership of the land and all the things, whether this people will be ready to pay? Because many of them are just orally transferred the properties isn’t it, three
times, four times, and all the things. So who will be responsible if they put up something and give a water connection. So unless those types of things are settled how will they be able to do it?

M: Ok.

Reference 2 - 0.66% Coverage

M: Because people need to have the patta and then they can have the—

R: Once they have all the rights, ok, people there... then all these things are automatically come isn’t it?

M: Ok.

Reference 3 - 12.23% Coverage

R: Unless that is done, how it will be? And the government thinks that, see, the land value is increasing so much, so these people will slowly be moving away from that place. Not a single slum people will be there. That’s what they are... At that time, somebody was talking, when they, because the land value is going on, so they’ll sell this one and go to some other slums or... Big people, or industry people, or economically affluent people will come to that area so all these problems will automatically solve.

M: Uh... how so?

R: See, you’ll be getting 25 lakhs for that small plot here. And that 25 lakhs you can buy much bigger plot in some other village. So what these people will do, as the land prices increase in that area, slowly, slowly, whoever is staying there, they’ll be leaving the place and giving it somebody so if some highly influential people, political people or this one, somehow they manage to get the patta and the things...

M: Oh, I see. So the wealthier people will be able to use personal connections to normalize themselves—

R: Yeah, personal connections. I don’t know what is the legal way for that one, but somehow they will... because so many... that Hyundai, I mean, some automobile companies all are there, isn’t it?

M: Yeah, and the IT companies are there too.

R: Yeah, so they will not be putting the IT firms without any proper patta or proper documents, isn’t it?

M: Right, right. So you’re saying that that whole land will be converted to commercial, industrial use?

R: Yeah, within a few years, that may happen. Because the city is spending so much, and the land prices or real estate prices are going up. So that’s what somebody was telling - "ok, we don’t have to do anything, the problem will be automatically solved, these people"--

M: Who was saying? The government people were saying?
R: Some government people... not officially... unofficially they were telling that this is what is going to happen. And even Prema was telling, you talk to Prema, she also tell the same thing, so naturally, this people will be going to some village areas later. Get the money and go away.

M: Retire... retire to the countryside.

R: Ah yeah.

M: I see. So there's a possibility that this is kind of... this place isn't—

R: Yeah, because you see the history, whoever actually was there... even half the people are not there.

M: Have of them have left, yeah.

R: Ok, so the other people will also be moving away.

M: So it's kind of like in limbo, you could say...

R: Yeah! Yeah.

M: It's kinda caught between two worlds.

R: So now, whoever is there they are not even the people who is rehabilitated, so they don't have to get any free... meals, isn't it? Because no water, no electricity should be given free to them, because they are not the actual sufferers. So the government may take that type of a stand - "unless you are the original people, why should we give you?"

M: We talked to the Panchayat, the Ward Member, he says there's a certain fee - Rs. 35,000 - to normalize the land. And if you bought the land and moved in - you're not the original allottee - then you pay an extra penalty of Rs. 5000. But then you still get it. 5000 rupees more and then you still get it.

R: Yeah.

M: So he said they, the Panchayat, are ready to normalize everybody if you pay it.

R: Yea, but if they are not willing to do even that one, ok, so, what anybody can do? Because when they expect something... ummm... they should have responsibility to you, isn't it?

M: I want to talk to you about Mylai Balaji Nagar. What is the patta status there?

C: He is asking about the patta status. Whom does it belong to?

R: It belongs to the government.

C: Which government does it belong to?
R: The State Government. You know...? The trains were running is it not? The people who did the encroachment of the places were brought here. The government itself formed it and allotted the places to them. I don’t have proper ideas about whether the allotted people live here. They are taking action for patta allotment.

C: Who is taking action?

R: It is happening in the government level. The Slum Board is doing it. The Slum Board has allotted it. Based on it things are moved. Even the MLA came and discussed the matter.

C: Who has to give patta? Is it the Panchayat?

R: No. Not the Panchayat...the Revenue Department [of the State Government] has to give patta. Always patta means it should be given by the Revenue Department only.

C: He is saying that the land is only the Tamil Nadu State Government’s land. He is telling that even the MLA also visited Mylai Balaji Nagar and discussed these patta issues. Actually the patta has to be issued by the Revenue Department only.

Reference 2 - 19.41% Coverage

M: What should the people do to get patta?

C: He is asking what the people should do to get patta.

R: First of all, we don’t know if the allotted persons [the re-settled evictees from Mylapore] live there [anymore]. We are not able to identify if the allotted persons live there. If there are 500 people, there may be 50 persons who were really not allotted. Chances are there for that. The officials who came from the Slum Clearance Board have discussed with them about who were allotted and if the allotted plots were sold to someone else. They thoroughly talked to them. Only after making these things clear we can think about patta. We cannot give patta to some other man [other than the original allottees]. We can give only to the person who is allotted! When someone is allotted someone else is not eligible to get the patta.

It is also said that a lot of dues are pending- not paid. I don’t have an exact idea because it doesn’t come under our department at all. Such activities regarding water, light, road and public heath are looked after by us. If you discuss with SCB officials they would clearly tell you. They would tell you how many plots were there, who were allotted and if the same persons reside in the same addresses. They will tell you accurately.

C: He is telling that before going to the patta issue, there are a lot of issues [that have to be resolved]. Who were allotted originally? Who were the persons who got the land from the persons who were allotted originally? He is taking care of the maintenance of other facilities like water and road. But they [the Panchayat] have no authority about the patta. Then he is suggesting that it [the patta matter] is with the Slum Clearance Board and we can ask them. They will tell. They have all these data about what number of allotments was given and what about the land status now. They are only responsible.

Reference 3 - 13.55% Coverage

M: Is there any long term plan to collect the money from them [Mylai Balaji Nagar]?
R: The very problem lies there! The major problem is only that. See, we have to find out and identify who was originally allotted and we have to get the [land] tax only from them. That task is still pending.

C: Is that the biggest problem for you?

R: Yes, of course. That is what ...we enquired there [Mylai Balaji Nagar] so many times. We have not received any details from them. Without those details we can’t do anything. If you are allotted, we should know this plot in this street with this number is allotted to you! It would be easy for us to collect tax from that particular person. When you don’t even know who is allotted - from whom we will go and collect the tax? Moreover they say that so many dues are pending from many persons who were allotted! Some dispute is going on between the Slum Board and the residents. I don’t know what it is. For the time being we can’t even collect the tax.

C: He is telling it is tough to collect the taxes. It is difficult because the originally allotted persons do not live in most of the houses. Unless they find out the original people who were allotted they can’t collect taxes. That itself is difficult. So they don’t get any revenue. But they are spending lakhs of rupees.

Reference 1 - 6.09% Coverage

- Panchayat is now saying to residents that if they want an official electricity connection they have to obtain a NOC (No Objection Certificate) from the TNSCB à the TNSCB says they will not issue a NOC as they say that the MBN project/file is now closed (and their efforts are now at Chamenjeri)
  - (How Kafkaesque!)
  - Ashok says that one reason they may not want to give an NOC is so there is no permanence given to their residency there
  - Ashok feels that even if residents were somehow able to obtain an NOC, the Panchayat would not accept it to connect the power and legitimize a permanent claim to that land à he alleges that the Panchayat is trying its utmost to keep the people at MBN informal so that they can be moved again whenever the gov’t decides

Reference 2 - 36.87% Coverage

- Residents are not paying land taxes at all since the beginning
  - The original “deal” of the re-settlement was that residents at MBN would pay at least Rs. 200/mo. until they reached a total of Rs. 11,000 (could retire the debt faster if they wanted), and then they would have full title to their plot
  - But the residents could not afford to do this as after they were forcibly re-settled they lost all sources of employment income from their previous location at Mylapore
    - Many households were involved in retailing, driving, cycle-rickshaws, cleaning in the old Mylapore neighbourhood
• They couldn’t get transport back to these old work places as at that time there was no bus-stand at MBN, and had to walk 3 km to Vijay Nagar to catch a bus so they lost their only source of income!!
• The households obviously had no money to pay the land fees in the beginning; in fact, Ashok says in those early days there wasn’t enough money to feed the children
• Moreover, they had to walk kilometres to get water at Pallikarnai cos there was not even the tap water system there then; no educational facilities for kids – nothing
• Development has only really accelerated in the community in the past three years says Ashok

Ashok tells us though he had a house and basic services at Mylapore (albeit informal encroachment as much of that displaced was), his ‘allotment paper’ (which he showed to us, and of which I have photographs) indicates that he was a street-dweller, and should be rehabilitated accordingly
• The language of ‘allotment’ is important as it is clearly not *patta*
• the people still have no legal right to the land, they have just been given permission by the owner – the gov’t – to use it for the time being
• this can be withdrawn at any time should the gov’t decide to seize the land for development purposes, setting off another cycle of displacement for the people of MBN (Ashok says he had been moved before from several places before Mylapore)

Ashok feels that there is no security for their land à software companies coming up to the south, to the west the plots in the wetland that measure 2400 sq. ft. (“1 ground”) are valued at 40-50 lakh each
• “And in the middle of all this is a slum”
• The value of the land at MBN is going up and up à this land is becoming extremely valuable and possibly lucrative for the gov’t so Ashok fears they may be displaced again
• Again, the issue of allotment is important as it means that residents may live there but they do not have the legal right to sell the land at the market price to other private actors
• (If they gov’t is going to ‘buy’ it back (if they pay anything at all should they decide to seize the land) they will severely undervalue it (<50%) says Siva)
• The plots in MBN are 370 sq. ft., there are some 300 households in Sector 4 totalling some 46250 sq. ft. (i.e. some 10 crore of value at surrounding land values!)

Ashok says that according to a law that the previous DMK gov’t passed people should get *patta* after 10 years of residence at a place
• However, they’ve been there for 16 years and nothing has happened
• Other places that were informal have been formalized this way
• Ashok is in fact a DMK “ward member” in the “party alliance” (i.e. a grassroots worker for the party)
• Some twenty petitions and letters have gone to the Collector, to the Deputy CM (formerly Stalin) to get *patta* through this law (even 5 to the “CM cell” which typically responds strongly within 24 hours) à but all to no avail

Some people are trying to pay it now in order to regularize their land tenure, but it seems the gov’t is not cooperating according to Ashok
• TNSCB and Panchayat are both shifting the responsibility to the other and making it very difficult and unclear to residents on how to regularize themselves or access basic services
• Ashok went to meet the head of TNSCB, Mr. Abuji Sharma, recently and was told that with interest accumulated, the residents owe Rs. 50,000 (instead of the Rs. 11,000 it was originally) to reach the target and normalize their plots
• Ashok says many residents are ready to pay this even now (there has been a lot of economic development in the community, and they’ve really come up in recent years) but the Panchayat and the TNSCB are not ready to accept the payment he claims
  • Ashok feels that gov’t won’t accept the back-taxes as it would legitimise residents’ claims to their plots and normalize their tenure;
  • He feels that the gov’t is trying to keep them on an informal basis so that they can be moved again whenever they decide to use the land for other purposes

What is the actual tenure situation at MBN?
• TNSCB is responsible for deciding on the patta matter
• The land at MBN belongs to the TNSCB, not the Panchayat
• The tenure situation is additionally complicated by the fact that there are both original settlers there as well as new-comers amongst (who have informally purchased land there, but are not the intended residents of the re-settlement scheme)
• The residents are not paying any taxes (so how can they claim to own the land?)

Will the land tenure decision responsibility always remain with the TNSCB, or will it be transferred to the Panchayat if the TNSCB transfers the land (and responsibilities) to the Panchayat?
• This matter is not yet decided
• But if it does, Pallikaranai Panchayat will be amalgamated to the Corporation of Chennai which would entail a big shake-up of the responsibilities

What are the barriers to the development of the community?
• There are no barriers per se → “If people demand it, we will do it”
• She feels that the people at MBN are irresponsible and are misusing the facilities that the Panchayat has provided there
  o E.g. breaking the water taps (but we know well why they feel they had to do this)
• She feels that people at MBN are not responsible people and don’t care for their place (she says this with disrespect and dismissal)
  o It is not due to lack of land tenure she says, but something due to their nature
Reference 1 - 14.79% Coverage

- Plot size = 15 x 18 ft.
  - Totally empty land at time of re-settlement
  - Only street lights at the time
  - Plots marked by strings
  - Families had to build their own homes
- Families were entitled to a "Hire Purchase" scheme to gain ownership of the land
  - Rs. 70/mo. for 10 years and then it’s theirs
  - Before MCS Lease cum sale agreement (Temporary)
  - After Permanent patta (permanent)
- But people didn’t pay owing to the disruption of employment and income ops → not a single family followed through with the scheme’s payments
- Maintenance issues then arose:
  - E.g. garbage etc.
  - TNSCB had to scrounge for funds to support these on-going services → they didn’t have funds earmarked for these purposes (shit planning eh?)
  - They say they transferred to Panchayat but they also have no funds
    - They tried to collect ~5 Rs. To do sewage, waste management, etc.

Reference 2 - 5.31% Coverage

- TNSCB doesn’t anticipate that MBN will be moved again
  - But it’s under the control of the Panchayat, TNSCB is not involved in these decisions anymore
- The Residents are now the ‘de facto’ owners of the land, he suggests
  - But they have to go to the Panchayat to be fully recognized/formalized, not the TNSCB

Annotations

1 Must be the Revenue Dept of the TN govt. PK also indicated that the wetland land that MBN is built upon is under the control of the state government.
2 JJ: the tamil word is ‘manvari’, it means land à there is one land tax only.
3 From ON: "Vijaya : We were staying in nugambakam and thainapet but Admk leadership transferred us to here"
4 ADMK were the instigators!
From Wikipedia: 1991 Tenth Assembly Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazthagam J. Jayalalithaa
****Amma won the state with ADMK and in 1993-5 presided over MBN being resettled!! Now she has come back (the party is also called AIADMK) to power in 2011, so people are not hopeful for their prospects.
5 Link this to the Gautemala paper. MBN is like Ciudad Real – land tenure is the biggest struggle, before any services.
6 Rehman Bibi told us this name - Swaran Singh [IAS officer] was the Chairman of the Slum Board at that time [of resettlement].
7 The CMDA is part of the COC and it handles electricity and roads in the city and its environs.
8 It seems that the Revenue Department is responsible for issuing and managing patta in TN: http://www.tn.gov.in/services/services_default.html#Revenue
9 The TN Slum Clearance Board is a division of the Housing and Urban Development Department of the TN State Government. The land originally belonged to the the Agricultural Department of the State Government.
The Revenue Department of the TN State Government is responsible for issuing patta. And somewhere in there the Central Government also comes in. What a damn mess...

9 This links up with what Jayaprakash and others were saying that the land actually belongs to the TN State Gov't (held by the Revenue Department specifically)
10 i.e. lease to own agreement
11 This sums to Rs. 8400
12 What does this refer to? I think it refers to the land ownership scheme.
13 Transferred what exactly?
**Name:** Nodes\Analytical | Local Capacities

**Description:** - Bin for the specific technical and management capacities that are available in the given locale
- These capacities are (mostly) required to support the implementation of a COMM system > may want to sub-divide

<Internals\Interviews\INT #5 - Raniyamma - Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [6.00% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 6.00% Coverage

**M:** *Given the previous experience in the waste management project how far would you be ready to work for the government?*

**R:** Government dug deep bore-wells in many places to convert the saline water into better one. They gave us training for that. They taught us. We cannot bring mechanics from outside if there is any fault in the bore. Sometimes the chain may get cut. They made things ready; but they never turned back to repair things. Even after we reported to them that the pump broke down they did not bother to come and see what is wrong with that. There was no one to repair that. We tried our level best to repair it by ourselves as we were given a set of tools. The metal became a waste as it was corroded by the salinity of water. Another point is that the government did not pay any attention about it. They would bring a scheme and would never continue any follow up. They will not monitor them.
A pilot survey of 40 houses – purposive sampling – 10 houses from each sector – to obtain initial insights on their demographic profile and practice and preference in water usage was conducted.

The following Tables 1 & 2 show the male / female break-up of those interviewed and the age group they primarily fall into. The chief criteria used for the interviews were that they should have been residing in the settlement at-least for 10 years.

### Table – 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table – 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>26 to 30</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>31 to 35</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>36 to 40</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>41 to 45</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is interesting to note 2 key observations. Majority of those interviewed were men and 13 out of 40 interviews fall in the category of 36-40. This is an important dimension as responses on water use may be largely influenced by the gender background of the interviewed.

Table – 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Daily Wage</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Self Employment</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Domestic Worker</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table -3: Provides the occupational category of the respondents and by and large, they are daily wage – labourers working in different sectors of the urban economy. Perhaps this is significant for they are away from their homes for long hours and hence the need and access to water may be minimal. It may also be noted that such labour ‘cook’ very little in the house – may be once a day either in the morning or in the night. Their needs are met at the workplace. This factor however needs to be probed further.
Enquires on the income of the respondents are always a difficult and at best approximate estimates. Table – 4 indicates that more than 50% of the sample earn Rs.5,000/- and less per month. This ties up with the casual nature of work schedules.

Table – 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Income in Rs.</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,001 to 3,000</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3,001 to 4,000</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4,001 to 5,000</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5,001 to 6,000</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6,001 to 7,000</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7,001 to 8,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the years of residence of those interviewed it was found that all of them have been residing in the slum from the beginning.

M: I know that you know many people living here. What are the kinds of jobs they are working at?
R: Most of them earn daily wages. They do house cleaning, driving auto etc. They belong to poor families.
M: When you say daily wages what do you mean?
R: It is general labour. Per day they may earn Rs. 100 or 150.
M: What else do they do?
R: They go for domestic work. Some of them do painting work. It is wall painting. It is daily wages …or weekly paid.
C: The residence cleaning work would fetch them monthly salary like Rs. 500 per month. Domestic works like washing vessels, cooking, washing clothes... etc.
M: *What else?*

R: Painting and auto driving only!

---

### Reference 1 - 0.57% Coverage

C: *Will they [World Vision] help to pay the fees?*

R: Yes, they would. But they will not help for engineering education because it is a college education. If the training is regarding a skill they would help. Electrician, plumbing, driving, nursing, polytechnic... they help for all these things. They pay the fees.

---

### Reference 2 - 1.47% Coverage

M: *What types of jobs do the women in this community do?*

R: They go for job, they go for household help/work, cooking and they also go for assisting in construction work. Some go to stick the tiles. Apart from that they also do some businesses. Some sell rice. Some sell clothes.

C: *They say they go for different types of jobs. They go for domestic labor like cleaning the vessels in the house. They go for cooking. They go for mild mason job. Even they go for construction jobs. Sometimes they lay tiles too. They go for selling saris.*

R: They sell vegetables too.

M: *So approximately what percentage of the women in this community goes for jobs?*

R: No woman stays at home these days in any house! If they are well off they stay at home. As far as this area is concerned this is the position.

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### Reference 3 - 0.66% Coverage

R: Some of them [community members] work in an office, some of them do assistance in construction work. Some of them are government staff and some other men are government staff. But the percentage of government staff would be very little. 10 or 8% would be government staff. Most of them are laborers. They get wages daily. The job is according to the education.

---

### Reference 1 - 3.15% Coverage

R: Yes. They [the Panchayat] should have given but they didn’t. We were even asked to open a bank account. They didn’t credit any amount except Rs. 20 per house. We were not able to run the show. Even that was irregular. For such jobs one should be paid at least 5 or 6k [per month] for the then-cost of living. The Panchayat didn’t pay even 10 paisa [penny] to us for
collecting the garbage. We collected money from the residents along the lanes where we collected the garbage.
Name: Nodes\Analytical I\Local Capacities\Local Knowledge

Description: - Instances where people discuss their understanding of the provenance of water supply and other environmental problems
- Bin for where people display complex understanding of the problems in question

Reference 1 - 0.20% Coverage

P3: People say that since [tap] water comes from [a distance], it is like this.¹

Reference 2 - 2.15% Coverage

C: When you said that if water treatment is done at the community level, there will have to be contribution from all people and everybody will provide their help and support for it, so as to get water for everyone, and at the individual household level wherein you said that everybody will do it as a matter of necessity and they will do it compulsorily. During times of change, during seasonal changes, such as during shortage of water and during seasons of excessive water, which treatment method will you prefer? At the community level or at the household level?

P4: Community level treatment is good... done at the sectoral level, as it is beneficial for everyone. We should do the water treatment collectively, in each sector preferably, or at the individual level, if the community level treatment is not possible or [situation] is not conducive [for it].

Reference 1 - 3.35% Coverage

M: Can you tell me a bit about the history of the three-pot filter, like where was it used traditionally?

R: In most of the households where they were collecting the water from the surface sources.

M: In Tamil Nadu? In Kerala? In south India...?

R: Um... in many rural areas. It is not location specific, it was spread everywhere.

M: Everywhere this is a very common practice?

R: Yeah, wherever it was there, ok, filter will be using a cloth and put it through the sand and... Because I remember, when I was in school in 4th standard, this was one of the projects I made for the...

M: Oh really! So you started early!

R: Yeah, at that time we were trying to do that one. We didn't know what is actually happening in the systems and all, but it was clearing the water, so.
M: I see.

R: Because charcoal will take care of your, any organic matter present, and definitely the residual turbidity also. And the chlorine will disinfect the system.

Reference 1 - 4.95% Coverage

- Also, spouses of drinkers preferred that the Wine Shop remain in MBN ironically
  - Otherwise, the men had to travel to either Vijay Nagar or somewhere to the south (Tambaram?) to the closest Wine Shop à pay for travel both ways
  - They would go to these other places and there would be fights and violence, drinkers passing out on the streets far from home
  - Hence, the wives of drinkers preferred that at least the drinkers were still in the community and could stumble home instead of being lost somewhere else
  - Of course the drinkers too preferred having the Wine Shop close by and resisted efforts to have it closed

Annotations

1 JJ: she's saying that the water comes from afar, so that is why it is muddy and unclear
**Name:** Nodes\Analytical \Meta-issues

**Description:** - Includes points relating to how the research exists in the real world, meta shit, ya know?
- includes how people perceive and relate to us

<Internals\Interviews\INT #1 - Darwin Moses (World Vision) - Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [6.45% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 6.45% Coverage

**C:** Do you have incidence of doing something with the community’s cooperation, and failing, because by knowing MBN is saying household-level is best. Do you have any examples saying that why are you saying community-level, do you have some experiences?

**R:** Yeah you are going to community level nah, who are the partners? So that is depends. Who is going to take responsibility? So who is going to go do? Even now you are doing research. You are, you have, IIT have power. So there is no help for the people, so they are looking you. So they are coming for 2 years, so nothing happened. People is thinking like that. So they want to do something. And also whatever you are doing you have to tell the people, so we are doing this and this, it will take time, this time that time. So you are approaching very few people and they are not, they are closing. Usually people will not explore good things. Sometimes they want, if the benefit for her, they will tell if it is not going to benefit anything, they will tell. For example, if I give so many schemes on the meeting, they will not tell everybody. It depends on the individual persons. Is there any person to help, that particular person they should listen to get to the ... like that. You are doing it, yes, you have to tell everything to the whole community so they can be aware. This is my suggestion. Whatever you are going to do, we will cooperate, whether we are working there or not. So I will cooperate. Because that is my lab, that is my heart, so I can help, and also I can help instruct my people to cooperate.

<Internals\Interviews\INT #10 - Mani & Faridha - Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [6.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 6.02% Coverage

**I:** Women have participated in other NGO groups too. How did men react after they achieved [benefits with] them?

**M:** At first they [the men] were quarrelling [with the women]. After they saw the benefits of money and loans they became silent. Now they are supporting!

**F:** Now they started believing them, as a tax [to the men] is also paid, but they don’t believe...<laughs>

**I:** But they don’t believe us! eh...<laughs>

**F:** Yes! <laughs>
**Name:** Nodes\Analytical I\Other Municipal Services

**Description:**
- History and evolution of electricity, roads, drainage, and other municipal services not covered in independent nodes (i.e. water supply and sanitation)
- Description of current state of these services

*<Internals\Exploratory Work\PR - Prema’s MBN Report: A Case of Urban Development Displaced 2009> - § 2 references coded [10.25% Coverage]*

**Reference 1 - 1.98% Coverage**

In general one can observe that roads are very badly laid; it has no drainage system, there exists no semblance of solid waste management.

**Reference 2 - 8.27% Coverage**

In this context when enquired about the promises of the services during the initial settlement, they were unanimous in mentioning that all amenities such as good roads, free electricity, workable and well maintained toilets with sufficient supply of water having been assured. After 15 years, what they have is only free electricity and rest is yet to reach them. They were again unison in saying that they expect all these facilities to be provided by the Government. From the settlement and the neighbours they seek cooperation to lobby for these facilities which are overdue.

*<Internals\FGD I\FGD #1 - Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [0.60% Coverage]*

**Reference 1 - 0.60% Coverage**

In the fourth sector, there is a youth voluntary association who have organised to provide electricity to homes by collecting Rs. 20 per month from the homes which don’t have electricity in their houses and are seeking to have [a connection].

*<Internals\FGD I\FGD #2 - Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [0.43% Coverage]*

**Reference 1 - 0.43% Coverage**

**F:** I too belong to this area. There was no power supply at first. There was not even street light. We pulled the supply.

*<Internals\FGD I\FGD #3 - Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [1.10% Coverage]*

**Reference 1 - 1.10% Coverage**

**R:** There would be frequent power cuts [before]. If it is 2 or 3 days of power cuts we take collective action.

**R:** There is a power cut every day here. But they [the gov't workers] come and rectify immediately.
P: A flood came when there were heavy rains and there was no place to take rest. There was water everywhere. Water came into our houses. Water everywhere...

C: When did that occur?

P: Water came and there was no way [drainage] for water to be released outside.

P: It was six or seven years back, there was water in every home during the reign of Amma. The whole village was filled with water.

P: How are the roads here? The roads are not good here.

P: When water comes it will be on the road.

R: It would be a big problem if there is a power cut.

C: She is telling if the power stops, it would be a big problem.

R: It [the power supply] is erratic and the timing is indefinite. There is no power and there is no water. Especially if there is a power cut in the night it is like a hell as the mosquito bite would be intolerable. Even snakes come in. We can even purchase edibles or food from outside. But can we buy electricity?

C: If we ask he says they didn’t receive even a single paisa from Balaji Nagar. The electricity bill was something like more than a crore it seems.

R: Should they not take action for that?

C: If they cut the electricity connection people come and quarrel from this area.

R: Even a poor family here has a fridge, washing machine and rice cooker! Let them cut the power and talk to us. In a way they are correct as some people here are arrogant and create problems. Let them come and ask. We will pay.

Even for the SCB we tell them the same thing. If they establish an office here we will regularly pay the amount. [Self Help] Group people are ready to collect it and give. At least let them sit till the 10th of every month. We are sure that we should pay the devil its due.
Let them take the step. They should not cut [electricity] for the entire area. They should cut only for those who don’t pay. They should take the step. When there is power in one house and no power in the other house they will have an urge to pay. We filled a form of Rs. 150 and sent a request to the E.B. [Electricity Board]. They are adamant not to give us. They say the SCB has not given approval for the same. The E.B. didn’t give sanction as there is no patta.

Reference 3 - 1.14% Coverage

C: I was talking to Panchayat Officer the other day. He said there is no revenue from Mylai Balaji Nagar. Even the E.B. bill was for more than a crore. These people are telling that they want sanction for houses. But they are not sanctioned as they don’t have patta. This area still belongs to SCB. The E.B. bill is not the prime issue. The problem is the Panchayat is confused about who has to issue patta. They say unless they pay the arrears they would not get allotment. Without an allotment they cannot get patta. Even that letter is a temporary allotment. Only when there is a registered approval everything is possible.

Reference 1 - 3.81% Coverage

M: Can they get patta using the NOC? What is the duty of the SCB then?

C: How can they get patta using the NOC?

R: They cannot get patta with NOC. But only if they have NOC they can get E.B. [Electricity Board] connection and drainage connection!

C: That is the rule of the S.B. [Sewerage Board] Department, that they should have NOC.

R: They can even get a loan [mortgaging the house], if they have a NOC.

C: He is saying that if they have NOC they can get electricity and drainage connections and even they can apply for loans [using the house as collateral].

Reference 1 - 9.31% Coverage

M: Who is responsible for providing water and other facilities?

C: Sir, is it the Panchayat [that is] responsible to provide water and other facilities?

R: Yes. We are doing it. Already UGD - underground drainage - is going on. We have already provided CC road and BT road². The roads might have been damaged due to the work of UGD underground drainage which is going on now. It would be rectified after the work is finished. If it is CC road, they would be [re]built as CC road, and if it is BT road, they would be [re]built as BT road. Water supply is only own source. We have built a well in the lake. Water is
supplied through a pump. Street lights, roads, underground drainage, and public health are looked after by us. We are doing these five aspects.

C: He says they are only checking water, street lights, roads, underground drainage, and public health. They are responsible for these things.

In this community, you can always notice the electricity problem. There will be power shutdowns frequently because of some faults in the line. But nobody takes the initiative to look after this.

1. Electricity supply situation:
   - 3 transformers in MBN à supply is not good (one of the transformers went out with a loud ‘BANG!’ in the midst of this very conversation, knocking out power in the sector)
   - Only streetlight connections and three transformers were installed by the gov’t à these are the only source of power
     - Streetlights were seen as the most basic necessity as it was the edge of the city, a vacant field, with nothing in it, so the gov’t at least gave streetlights...
   - No connections for any households officially
     - All households connect illegally to the streetlight circuits to access electricity
   - In 2006-7, the Ward Member in MBN, Jayaprakash, collected Rs. 500 from 300 households in Sector 2 in order to get their papers processed so they could get official electrical connections à but no connections came. Ashok seems to be suggesting there was something very irregular going on here.
   - Panchayat is now saying to residents that if they want an official electricity connection they have to obtain a NOC (No Objection Certificate) from the TNSCB à the TNSCB says they will not issue a NOC as they say that the MBN project/file is now closed (and their efforts are now at Chamenjeri)
     - (How Kafkaesque!)
     - Ashok says that one reason they may not want to give an NOC is so there is no permanence given to their residency there
     - Ashok feels that even if residents were somehow able to obtain an NOC, the Panchayat would not accept it to connect the power and legitimize a permanent claim to that land à he alleges that the Panchayat is trying its utmost to keep the people at MBN informal so that they can be moved again whenever the gov’t decides

2. Electricity Improvements
   - When there is a power outage caused by some local wiring or technical problem, the Association calls someone from the EB (Electricity Board) to come fix it
   - Also help people make connections to the streetlight circuits for household power supply
**Reference 1 - 2.75% Coverage**

- Wrts electrical supply, TNSCB installed street lights, but not household connections
  - (The street lights have now been spliced to provide electricity to homes!)

**Reference 1 - 0.33% Coverage**

R: They [the Panchayat] pay the electricity bill too.

**Reference 2 - 2.62% Coverage**

M: Who is responsible now for the lights, etc. [here at MBN]?

R: The Slum Clearance Board has [been] paid money for everything in advance. The Railway Department had given the entire amount to the Slum Board. They [the Slum Board] are benefited by us. We were not benefited by them. We said there is no school. Sriram [a private charity] built this house.

**Annotations**

1. My notes indicate also 2005.

   From notes:
   - people’s homes were flooded and they had to stay in the community hall; the gov’t provided food aid, but it was poor in quality
   - In the face of this, people lobbied the gov’t to give 5 kg of rice to everyone
   - Gov’t wound up giving Rs. 2000 to all the hutments

2. CC = cement/concrete
   BT = tar (i.e. asphalt?)

3. It’s not clear here who ‘they’ is that pay the elc bill, but from previous explorations, I take it that it is the Panchayat.
Name: Nodes\Analytical I\Quality Control & Monitoring

Description: Point relating to the following features:
- Is centralized monitoring of water quality desired or mandated?
- Gov't mandate to monitor/assure water quality
- Consumer confidence in water quality

Reference 1 - 0.51% Coverage
R: The [water quality] result is assured. We won’t know if the home-based method would be fruitful.

Reference 2 - 2.75% Coverage
M: This is my last question -- which one do you think is a better approach for a water treatment system in Balaji Nagar? Is it household water system or community level water system?
R: It is better to be at the community level.
R: Yes.
R: Yes.
I: Why do you say so?
R: We may have a doubt or fear that it may not be proper if it is done in individual level. We believe that the system of treatment would be better if it is done in community level.
R: The water would be cleaner [when treated at the community level].

Reference 1 - 1.60% Coverage
C: We will go back to the old question, which one will your neighbor prefer about the water treatment level - at the community level or household level? Which one do you think, going back to the basic issue that we are discussing about. Which one would your neighbor opt for for water treatment -- to be at the community level or the household level?
P: Community level only. People will not do [treatment] correctly [at home].

Reference 2 - 2.22% Coverage
C: At the community-level means everybody should contribute their time, effort and money together collectively to construct a public facility, whereas the household level means all the expenses, time and effort are borne at the individual level in each household.
P: Only knowledgable people might be able to do it at the household level, whereas if it is done at the community level, then everyone can benefit by it. If at the household, it means children
might drink water not knowing the difference between the good one and the bad one. If it is common then we can even pay and get the water.
Name: Nodes\Analytical \Relationships with Local Gov't

Description: - General bin
- DO NOT AGGREGATE
According to the Slum Board, this re-settlement is a 20 year lease arrangement. Residents who were given the original piece of paper and land allocation are expected to pay Rs. 90/month for the land and services. After 20 years they would be owners of their plots. She insisted that the collection staff of the Slum Board was collecting money and that that was all the Slum Board had to do with the residents. The town panchayat is responsible for the maintenance of all services. [I did some investigation about the Rs. 90 payment. Apparently, no one is paying this amount and the people I spoke with in MB Nagar have not seen the slum board in either a year or two years. It seems they would have last gone to MB Nagar when there was the discussion about upgrading via the JNNURM scheme. According to the town panchayat council this was more than a year ago.]

1) The governance framework in an urbanizing landscape

This is a complicated moment in Chennai in terms of government, governance and administrative structures. There is an administrative restructuring in the works and there is a consensus that Chennai will be divided into three administrative regions – no one knows when and exactly how. The metropolitan boundaries will be expanded. And there is a new Master Plan in development which has had some citizen participation. The town panchayat told us that they will become a corporation next year. In terms of India’s urban classification this is a major upgrading for Pallikaranai. It also means they will have a lot more money in their budget, a lot more power in terms of dealing with utilities and a lot of responsibilities. This could also mean the entire responsibility for MB Nagar could be handed over to the corporation including the management of land tenure, which currently resides with the TN Slum Clearance Board.

As you know, MB Nagar will not benefit from any of the pro-poor initiatives under the JNNURM urban renewal scheme, as it seems the panchayat, metro Chennai, the Slum Clearance Board and the residents could not come to an agreement. I am not sure what exactly happened here and who facilitated the communication with the residents.
M: Ok, so what were, what else, what other kinds of obstacles did you encounter?

R: Then government also once they put [the people] there, they not care about anything. If we approach Panchayat, Panchayat says it is the government - Slum Clearance Board. If we go Slum Clearance Board, no, no no! like that. I want to ask them, you say there is no review written, or you give written. So the people went to them, they asked, so whenever they need, government need, that time they go and everything like that, then they sat that, like that. So government also, after Mr. G.G. Paul, so when we took that time was very good cooperation from the government. When they say the project is not yet over, that project is started good they went back closed. So that is also another thing.

C: Wait, I have to tell all these things to this gentleman. She is telling that water is a problem. Electricity is a problem. They went and met the M.D. [of the TNSCB] one month back. He listed various types of wastelands and asked them which one does this place belong to. They [the TNSCB] are demanding these people pay Rs. 5000. Now it is Rs. 40 thousand [with interest]! But that amount is only [land] filling charge. This area was low [lying wetland]. To bring it up, they have to pay. In such a case, the area would then be given patta. That too... the Panchayat will give the patta and not the Slum Clearance Board. After paying this money they will send the documents to the Panchayat. Then the Panchayat will charge something else and [then finally] give patta.

C: I was talking to Panchayat Officer the other day. He said there is no revenue from Mylai Balaji Nagar. Even the E.B. bill was for more than a crore. These people are telling that they want sanction for houses. But they are not sanctioned as they don’t have patta. This area still belongs to SCB. The E.B. bill is not the prime issue. The problem is the Panchayat is confused about who has to issue patta. They say unless they pay the arrears they would not get allotment. Without an allotment they cannot get patta. Even that letter is a temporary allotment. Only when there is a registered approval everything is possible.

R: Let them give separate [electricity] connections individually for every house. See -- in villages if the water is supplied straight to your house, you have to pay water tax. In the same way let them give [power] connection and collect tax. Let them give patta and collect land tax.
Either one of the bodies [Panchayat or TNSCB] should take in charge. We the people are sandwiched in between. We are dying out of fear every day regarding the patta matter. Some of us paid money and suffer and the others suffer without paying. If they approach us we will give [the matter] importance in our federation and discuss it in our federation. We will take the matter to the public. If ten people gather we can get a better solution. We will get a permanent life. Even those paid the full amount and got the letter approached the electricity board and asked. Even they were refused individual [electricity] connections. They told them to come with the entire community after clearing the amount.

Reference 1 - 39.38% Coverage

M: Hi… meeting Mr. Jayaprakash in sector 2 on Friday. The first question is what is the tenure situation and patta here?

C: Please tell us something about the land matters and patta here.

R: This place belongs to the Revenue Department [of the Tamil Nadu State Government].

C: He says that this place belongs to Revenue Department.

R: But the Slum Clearance Board occupied this place and got CMDA approval. They divided [the land] into plots. They [the TNSCB] only got the 2nd phase, 3rd phase electricity approvals and they also got the approvals for the roads such as 10 feet road, 20 feet road and 30 feet road [from the CMDA]. They also arranged for public toilets in the ratio of one toilet for ten families.

C: See -- the Slum Clearance Board occupied the land and got the approval of CMDA. CMDA is the only authority to give approval. The Slum Clearance Board also arranged for the 10 feet road, 20 feet road and 30 feet roads.

R: But the maintenance is performed by the Town Panchayat [of Pallikarnai].

C: He says the Pallikaranai Town Panchayat is doing the maintenance [for Mylai Balaji Nagar].

M: What does he mean by the maintenance?

C: What is maintenance?

R: Water, road, waste, etc.

M: Can you tell me something about patta?

R: The Slum Clearance Board has allotted 270 sq. ft. [15 ft. x 18 ft.] for every family. They [TNSCB] say that the allotment would be given to those who pay all their dues. The Revenue Department [of the State Government] should give its approval in the form of a NOC [No
Objection Certificate. If it gives NOC then the patta would be allotted. But the NOC has not yet given by the Revenue Department.

C: The Slum Clearance Board has allotted 270 sq. ft. for every family. If they have paid the dues, the allotment letter would be given. Even then the patta will not be given because the Slum Clearance Board has to give NOC.

R: Actually this land is supposed to be cattle-rearing [agricultural] land. The Delhi [Central] Government has to give approval for using the rearing [agricultural] field for use for residential purposes.

C: This is grazing land. This is agricultural land. The Central Government has to approve the allotment. So the [Central] Government has to give approval for using the grazing land for living purposes.

M: Does this [land] belong to Revenue Department of the Central Government or the State Government?

C: Actually this land belongs to whom - the Central Government or the State Government?

R: Central Government.

C: Is it not the Tamil Nadu [state] Revenue Department?

R: The Revenue Department is that of the State Government, but the rearing [agricultural] land belongs to the Central Government.

C: Since this is grazing land they have to get approval from the Central Government.

M: The people have to get the approval or the [Revenue] Department?

C: Not the people. The Slum Clearance Board has to get it.

R: The Pollution Control Department [also] has a right in this land.

C: That means this [land] is under the control of the Forests Board? No... this is not forest area at all.

R: This is not a forest area. What is the English word which indicates the land where you take the cattle to allow them to eat grass? I am also aware of it. But the Agriculture Department [of the State Government] is also asking for land which equals the size of this land [as compensation for it having been given away by the Slum Clearance Board] and they say only on that condition will they approve this land for residential purposes. The TNSCB will give NOC to us. For that, they [TNSCB] has to get NOC from them [the other relevant Departments of the TN State Government].

C: The TNSCB has to give NOC to these people and the TNSCB will get NOC from the Revenue Department [of the TN State Government].

M: What do they have to do to get the NOC from the Revenue Department [of the TN State Government]?
C: They have to pay the money. But even then they do not have the approval of the Revenue Department. That is what blocking them.

M: What is the hurdle to get the approval from the Revenue Department [of the State Government]?

C: Tell us what should be done to get the approval of the Revenue Department?

R: They have to get the entire value [of all the land] from the residents. In 2001, they did a survey of verification of lands to know who has got confirmed allotment and how many vacant lands are there. They listed out who were allotted and who had purchased [plots] from the allotted persons. It was finalized in the year 2003. According to the survey it was announced that those who were directly allotted [i.e. the resettled evictees from Mylaopore] should pay Rs. 17,040 and the persons who bought from them had to give an additional amount of Rs. 5000 as penalty. But even after paying they were given only NOC and not patta. Even now the records say that these lands belong to the Revenue Department [of the TN State Government]. They also allowed them to give Rs. 2000 or Rs. 3000 [as a down payment] and [then] to give the rest of the amount as installments of Rs. 300.

C: He says they did a survey in 2001. They listed out who were [originally] allotted lands. They have to pay Rs. 17,500 if they were allotted.

M: For how many months?

C: How many months should they pay like that?

R: Till they finish paying the entire amount. If there is delay they have to add [interest] penalty and pay. But this was the stage in 2003. Today the value has gone up to Rs. 40,000!

C: Yes. Every month they have to pay Rs. 300 extra if they fail to pay.

M: OK...once the people get NOC, then what will happen?

R: That is all!

C: The NOCs are the end...only they are aimed for.

M: [But] it is not [full] patta?

C: It is not patta. But the NOCs are enough to prove they are the owners for the time being, as no one is [being] allotted patta [due to intra-agency conflicts in the State Government].

Reference 2 - 6.20% Coverage

M: Can they get patta using the NOC? What is the duty of the SCB then?

C: How can they get patta using the NOC?

R: They cannot get patta with NOC. But only if they have NOC they can get E.B. [Electricity Board] connection and drainage connection!
C: That is the rule of the S.B. [Sewerage Board] Department, that they should have NOC.

R: They can even get a loan [mortgaging the house], if they have a NOC.

C: He is saying that if they have NOC they can get electricity and drainage connections and even they can apply for loans [using the house as collateral].

M: What should one do to get proper patta?

R: Nothing can be done. They cannot do anything. The Central Government has to give [its own] NOC to the TNSCB [for changing the land usage].

C: He is saying that the Revenue Department [also] has to give [its own] NOC.

M: Who gives the patta? Who is the sponsor?

R: The Tamil Nadu State Government.

Reference 3 - 3.59% Coverage

M: How much time would it take to get the approval of the Panchayat for a community level water treatment system?

R: Our tenure [as the Panchayat] is coming to an end. We have after all two months left with. Hereafter it [Pallikaranai] is becoming part of the Corporation [of Chennai]. Rather it is going to become the Corporation. I doubt whether it is practically possible to do [a community level water treatment system]. It is going to be the Chennai Corporation for the next move. It may or may not be the Town Panchayat. We can’t say now.

Reference 4 - 3.53% Coverage

R: If it is the Corporation, there would be a delay...

M: Is Mylai Balaji Nagar not a part of Chennai Metro[politan Corporation]?

C: No, plans are going on for that. They are going to divide [Chennai Corporation] into three sectors. They are north, central and south sectors. This place would be covered under the south sector.

M: Is this going to happen in two months?

C: We don’t know yet. There is a plan [only].

R: The process is over. We think it would happen.

C: They are anticipating that it would happen.

Reference 1 - 8.03% Coverage
• Pallikaranai (and MBN with it) is in the process of becoming part of the Corporation of Chennai
  o When this will be complete, B cannot say
  o But it will change who is responsible for services to MBN
• In what way, B cannot say

M: Is there any chance for it [Balaji Nagar] to be brought under the Chennai Corporation?

R: The ward number is 188. They have divided Pallikaranai into 3 wards for us. 1 to 7 comes under one ward. 8 to 14 come under one ward. 15 is a separate ward. Its number is 188. Now days we have 15 wards. Now they have changed the ward 188 and merged with wards 2, 3 and 4 of the area Madippakkam. The 3 wards of village Panchayat and 15th ward of Pallikaranai were merged and formed a ward which is ward number 188. It is a proposal. But for us this is 15th ward. 80% of the Balaji Nagar falls under our control. Now the Madippakkam wards and the 15th ward of Balaji Nagar which is 188 together fall under Chennai Corporation. We are doing the proper works to impose and regulate the same.

C: What he is telling is, the Mylai Balaji Nagar’s 15th ward along with 3 wards of another area called as Madippakkam comes under Chennai Corporation. Madippakkam 2, 3 and 4 were merged with this 15.

Initially, if we had any issue, we used to go to the Slum Clearance Board along with their field worker and ask for our needs. But now the Slum Clearance Board has told us that we should approach the Panchayat, not the SCB. But the Panchayat is refusing us services, saying that we are not paying any taxes to the government.

Panchayat is now saying to residents that if they want an official electricity connection they have to obtain a NOC (No Objection Certificate) from the TNSCB. The TNSCB says they will not issue a NOC as they say that the MBN project/file is now closed (and their efforts are now at Chamenjeri)
  o (How Kafkaesque!)
  o Ashok says that one reason they may not want to give an NOC is so there is no permanence given to their residency there
  o Ashok feels that even if residents were somehow able to obtain an NOC, the Panchayat would not accept it to connect the power and legitimize a permanent claim to that land. He alleges that the Panchayat is trying its
utmost to keep the people at MBN informal so that they can be moved again whenever the gov’t decides

Reference 2 - 8.81% Coverage

- Some people are trying to pay it now in order to regularize their land tenure, but it seems the gov’t is not cooperating according to Ashok
  - TNSCB and Panchayat are both shifting the responsibility to the other and making it very difficult and unclear to residents on how to regularize themselves or access basic services
  - Ashok went to meet the head of TNSCB, Mr. Abuji Sharma, recently and was told that with interest accumulated, the residents owe Rs. 50,000 (instead of the Rs. 11,000 it was originally) to reach the target and normalize their plots
  - Ashok says many residents are ready to pay this even now (there has been a lot of economic development in the community, and they’ve really come up in recent years) but the Panchayat and the TNSCB are not ready to accept the payment he claims
    - Ashok feels that gov’t won’t accept the back-taxes as it would legitimize residents’ claims to their plots and normalize their tenure;
    - He feels that the gov’t is trying to keep them on an informal basis so that they can be moved again whenever they decide to use the land for other purposes

<Internals\Interviews\INT #6 - Panchayat - Notes> - § 4 references coded [60.70% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 18.08% Coverage

Who is responsible for providing basic services at MBN?

- TNSCB is responsible for MBN, they were the agency that re-settled the people to that location
  - Panchayat feels that TNSCB should do it, but they won’t
  - There is limited communications between the Panchayat and the TNSCB
- The Panchayat doesn’t collect any taxes from MBN
  - Though the Panchayat isn’t getting any revenue from there, they are still providing toilets, streetlights (electrical supply), public water supply
  - But they maintain they are not officially responsible for providing services
  - They are providing services out of concern and cos MBN falls under their area

Reference 2 - 18.31% Coverage

What’s happening with the water main being put in next to MBN from Chennai Metro water – any plans to connect MBN into the city’s water system?

- Once the city expands to include MBN and Pallikarnai, it would become the CoC’s responsibility to provide water and sewage services in its own area
- For now, the Panchayat feels that they are doing what they can (and beyond the call of duty) at MBN
- It would be the Metro Water Department that would be able to answer the question on which parts of Velacherry will get connected to the new Metro water line
  - Water/sewage works financing follows the formula: 50% Panchayat, 50% Centre/State Gov’t
What is the actual tenure situation at MBN?

- TNSCB is responsible for deciding on the \textit{patta} matter
- The land at MBN belongs to the TNSCB, not the Panchayat
- The tenure situation is additionally complicated by the fact that there are both original settlers there as well as new-comers amongst (who have informally purchased land there, but are not the intended residents of the re-settlement scheme)
- The residents are not paying any taxes (so how can they claim to own the land?)

Will the land tenure decision responsibility always remain with the TNSCB, or will it be transferred to the Panchayat if the TNSCB transfers the land (and responsibilities) to the Panchayat?

- This matter is not yet decided
- But if it does, Pallikarnai Panchayat will be amalgamated to the Corporation of Chennai which would entail a big shake-up of the responsibilities

Plot size = 15 x 18 ft.
- Totally empty land at time of re-settlement
- Only street lights at the time
- Plots marked by strings
- Families had to build their own homes

Families were entitled to a \textit{"Hire Purchase"} scheme to gain ownership of the land
- Rs. 70/mo. for 10 years and then it’s theirs
- Before MCS \textit{\rightarrow} Lease cum sale agreement (Temporary)
- After \textit{\rightarrow} Permanent patta (permanent)

But people didn’t pay owing to the disruption of employment and income ops \textit{\rightarrow} not a single family followed through with the scheme’s payments

Maintenance issues then arose:
- E.g. garbage etc.
- TNSCB had to scrounge for funds to support these on-going services \textit{\rightarrow} they didn’t have funds earmarked for these purposes (sh*t planning eh?)
- They say they transferred to Panchayat \textit{\rightarrow} but they also have no funds
  - They tried to collect ~5 Rs. To do sewage, waste management, etc.

The TNSCB now claims that it is the Panchayat that is now responsible for the land
- TNSCB says they have transferred ownership to the Panchayat
  - Panchayat is the legal owner of the land!
  - Talk to the EO for more on its legal status, normalization, and services
- TNSCB doesn’t anticipate that MBN will be moved again
  - But it’s under the control of the Panchayat, TNSCB is not involved in these decisions anymore
The Residents are now the ‘de facto’ owners of the land, he suggests

- But they have to go to the Panchayat to be fully recognized/formalized, not the TNSCB

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**Reference 1 - 7.02% Coverage**

C: *Amma…you said only 700 houses were burnt in the fire. But did they build houses for all the sectors?*

R: Yes, even though the total loss was only for this second sector, the fire had spread to all the other sectors. *Then they had laid pipeline of water for us.* The Slum Board gave Rs. 24 lakhs to the Panchayat Board [to build the public water standpipes] and we signed some papers.

C: *See... the Slum Clearance Board had given Rs. 24 lakhs to the Panchayat for water [supply improvements]. They had laid the water pipes [for the public standpipe system].*

R: Swaran Singh [IAS officer] was the Chairman of the Slum Board at that time.

C: *Did you also sign some papers?*

R: Yes, I did. He [Swaran Singh] took three of us. We paid the money. We also signed some papers.

C: *Three members from the committee went to the Panchayat with the Chairman. They paid Rs. 24 lakhs and signed some papers. They [the TNSCB] did not give the money to these people [from the community]. They took the money [to the Panchayat] and took three of them [community-members] with them [TNSCB]. These three were the representatives of the area and committee.***

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**Reference 2 - 4.78% Coverage**

: *They [the Panchayat] pay the electricity bill too.* The entire arrangement was by the Central Government because the Metro Railway was [a project] of the Central Government! So the Railway Department [central government body] assured [us] this location and a school for the children.

C: *What she is telling: they were shifted under the MRTS plan. The Railway Department has promised that they will come and then they will construct park, schools and everything [here in Mylai Balaji Nagar]… That is how they had been re-settled here.*

C: *When did they tell you all these things?*

R: They told in '93 itself. We sued a case against them. They [Railway Department] said that they had handed over everything to the Slum Clearance Board and so they would do everything for us.

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**Reference 3 - 2.62% Coverage**

M: *Who is responsible now for the lights, etc. [here at MBN]?
The Slum Clearance Board has [been] paid money for everything in advance. The Railway Department had given the entire amount to the Slum Board. They [the Slum Board] are benefited by us. We were not benefited by them. We said there is no school. Sriram [a private charity] built this house.
Name: Nodes\Analytical I\Relationships with Local Gov't\Community-Gov't

Description: - Points discussing how the community has gotten on with various govt agencies in the past (e.g. Panchayat, TNSCB, Railway, etc.)

<Internals\Exploratory Work\PK - Prabha's Mtg w. Dr. Buvana (TNSCB)> - § 7 references coded [77.57% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 8.06% Coverage

- Apparently, the folks who were moved from Mylapour were pavement dwellers and not slum dwellers per se. She [Dr. Buvana] said that 2,700 families were moved to what is today MB Nagar. [Perhaps not all of them?] She acknowledged that they were just dumped there and abandoned by the Slum Board. And she feels that even today they are just forgotten by the Board. There were no rehabilitation processes nor any other infrastructure provided to them then or since.

Reference 2 - 8.50% Coverage

- The land is owned by the Slum Board. She says when people were moved here this was treated as a sites and services project. The only thing that people were provided was water and sites. She acknowledges that even toilets were not provided, but they should have been. [At some point World Vision built the one toilet block which is in Sector 4. (Is this correct?) People are still using this toilet even though there is no water in the block. They use the toilets with their own water.]

Reference 3 - 15.05% Coverage

- According to the Slum Board, this re-settlement is a 20 year lease arrangement. Residents who were given the original piece of paper and land allocation are expected to pay Rs. 90/month for the land and services. After 20 years they would be owners of their plots. She insisted that the collection staff of the Slum Board was collecting money and that that was all the Slum Board had to do with the residents. The town panchayat is responsible for the maintenance of all services. [I did some investigation about the Rs. 90 payment. Apparently, no one is paying this amount and the people I spoke with in MB Nagar have not seen the slum board in either a year or two years. It seems they would have last gone to MB Nagar when there was the discussion about upgrading via the JNNURM scheme. According to the town panchayat council this was more than a year ago.]

Reference 4 - 4.16% Coverage

- Further, she says that people who have been re-allocated always sell and move back or away. She says this is a constant problem for the Slum Board. Today, the property values in MB Nagar are high, so she does not expect residents to stay.
‘Apparently the land status has not come down from the government.’ [By this she means that what is to be done with the land tenure situation of MB Nagar has not yet been decided by the government.]

[If people had being paying their Rs. 90/month for all these years or as a lump sum as was suggested during the JNNURM discussions, the residents would be owners of the land. However, Dr. Buvana made it very clear that only the original residents could own this land and not any of the new people who have since bought from the original residents. Thus, according to her, all the new people who are now living in MB Nagar do not have any rights to the land and the government has the right to evict them whenever they want. Since, and if, the residents with the legal right to be there are not paying their Rs. 90/month they too can be evicted without any compensation. If they had been paying then the government would have to give them some compensation if they decided to evict them again. However, I did not get any sense from her that eviction was on the agenda nor does she know about any future development plans for the area.]

An unrelated note [contextual information].

Apparently, slum dwellers in metropolitan Chennai number about 12 lakhs. They are a third of the total population of about 7.5 or so million inhabitants. Eviction of slum dwellers from the city to the periphery is still an on-going activity of the Slum Clearance Board. When we arrived to meet Dr. Buvana we had to wait for over an hour while she negotiated with 2 men from the government about where 500 people could be moved. They had to identify a site fast and clean it up as the Japanese who are financing Chennai’s Metro Rail wanted to see where the people would be moved to. Most of the current evictions are development-related evictions, related to the expansion of the Chennai Metro Rail. 15,000 families are and will be moved to the South of the city off the road to Mahabalipuram. She tells us that they have much better schemes for the evicted these days and that they now only move them once the infrastructure is in place including schools, post office, police post, hospital, water, toilets, houses, etc...

Under the JNNURM 35,000 houses will be built for the urban poor in metropolitan Chennai. However, these homes are going to be very tiny – from 250 – 320 sq. ft. only depending on family size.

<Internals\Exploratory Work\PK - Prabha's Report on MBN Women's household water management> - § 3 references coded [23.71% Coverage]
Mylai Balaji Nagar is a re-settlement colony of about 10,000 low-income residents. In 1995, about 2700 families of mostly pavement dwellers were evicted from Mylapore (Central) Chennai to a wetland in the southern periphery of the city. They were evicted for the construction of a railway station and left on the wetland without any services or infrastructure except a plot per family measuring 15ft x 18ft. While access to safe and sufficient water was not a problem in the early years of the resettlement; today, there is a severe problem of both water quantity and quality. The supply of water via standpipes and water tankers is sporadic, arrives without warning, and sometimes at intervals of 5-10 days. The limited water supply is also a reflection of the reality of Chennai as a whole which is heavily dependent on ground water extraction and does not have sufficient water to satisfy the demands of a metropolitan region of 7.5 (2007) million inhabitants.

The water in the early years was clean and free of insects. For about six months in the early years, water was only available at night, at midnight or later. This meant that the women could not sleep as they had to stay awake for the water. They successfully lobbied the town panchayat (council) of Pallikaranai to change this schedule. Today, residents get water once in 5-10 days depending on the season. In the dry season it is more difficult to get water from the standpipes and the town panchayat sends in water tankers. During the rest of the year, they get water via the standpipes, the water tankers, and they also purchase water from private water vendors in the slum.

Mannammmai says when they were first re-located to this wetland, there was no provision of water and they had to go elsewhere to fetch water in their pots. They complained about this and then the town panchayat started to send water tankers. They then had to take their pots to the water tanker and usually managed to get 4-5 pots of water. Each pot holds 12 litres. She says it has been difficult to get water for a few years now, but she cannot remember for how many years exactly. If there is water in the lake then they get water. She does not pay for any water from the panchayat and she thinks they pay Rs. 650/tanker. These days the water problem is worse because the water pipe is broken and they only get water once in 5-10 days. She says there is no schedule for when the water will come from either the standpipes or the water tankers. Mannammmai lives in sector 2 of MB Nagar. She says they know they will get water when they find out that sector 1 got water that day. Then they wait around until the water come through their standpipes, which can mean waiting for more than one day. She says when the water arrives people inform each other and that is how they find out it has come and so they go and get their pots and line-up.

Initially about 1066 families were accommodated in the scheme. However on the request of the Vice –Chairman MMDA in the meeting held on 02-05-1995, all the plots in the scheme
was to be reserved for the allotment of families dislocated by the MRTS alignment in future too. In addition homeless slum dwellers were also to be considered for the settlement when ever found convincing. The settlement therefore houses all displaced in Phase –II of MRTS from Tirumailai to Taramani also. Phase – I was from Beach to Tirumailai. Currently therefore “Mylai Balaji Nagar” can be broadly divided into 4 sectors with 2188 approved relocated families. Under the Sites and Services scheme, free electricity has been provided, but this 15 year old settlement is yet to receive all the other infrastructure that was promised at the time of re-location.

Reference 2 - 8.27% Coverage

In this context when enquired about the promises of the services during the initial settlement, they were unanimous in mentioning that all amenities such as good roads, free electricity, workable and well maintained toilets with sufficient supply of water having been assured. After 15 years, what they have is only free electricity and rest is yet to reach them. They were again unison in saying that they expect all these facilities to be provided by the Government. From the settlement and the neighbours they seek cooperation to lobby for these facilities which are overdue.

Reference 1 - 4.11% Coverage

C: You have said before that people have cooperated in times of crisis or calamity or disaster such as the fire accident in the community some years back. And the main problem in Balaji Nagar [today] is centred on water... Is there any joint effort from your end, from the people of Balaji Nagar, to collectively solve it? Is there any efforts from your side to address it?

P5: No effort from our end...

P4: When there was no water in our street, people in our street once went to the Panchayat Board reporting to them about the non-availability of water. And on another occasion, when the water was muddy and dirty and was red in colour, we went to the authorities [again]. We collected the [dirty] water in a bottle and asked them how can we drink such red-coloured water! We also took the water available in [the rest of the Panchayat of] Pallikaranai to show them the difference in the colour of the waters! We asked them why the water in [the rest of] Pallikaranai is clean and ours in such a red colour! There were sources of water and they themselves admitted the water to be muddy because of the death of a dog [in the well].

During the rainy season, the water in the canals and the well-source gets mixed together, and then the water completely looks similar to the water in the canals. We also took photos of our water and asked [the Panchayat] can we still drink the water? The authorities said that the water that we get is
only after purification and there is nothing to worry about and that we will look into the problem and ensure that it doesn’t occur again... but [in the meanwhile], use can water for two months for drinking purposes!

Reference 2 - 2.16% Coverage

C: Have you done any other thing water to solve the water crisis besides taking this water and the photos of it [to the Panchayat]? Has any other organisations or groups supported your cause of reporting to the authorities of the water problem?

P4: The women’s groups cooperated with us. Especially World Vision conducted a meeting of its women’s group members and asked the Councillor about the water problems. The Councillor promised that the [tap] water will be more regular, instead of every 20 days. Since then, the [tap] water came regularly, within every 5 or 6 days, as the Councillor had promised, and then after that, [it has gone back to the] water occasionally coming [after up to] 20 days. Water comes regularly in the first few weeks of the Councillor’s promise, every 5 or 6 days, but nowadays water comes in 10 days or a week or even after 20 days!

Reference 3 - 0.82% Coverage

C: What are the problems or hindrances you faced when you went to report to the authorities about the water problem and about the non-availability of water?

P4: People both in the sector and in the Panchayat Board office said: "Why are you bringing this up as an issue when everybody in the sectors are drinking [the tap water]?

Reference 4 - 3.02% Coverage

C: What are the other kinds of problems or hindrances you faced when you went to report to the authorities about the non-availability of water and of its poor quality? Did you face any problems from anybody on this as to why you are bringing this and who are you to report such issues?

P4: No problems faced.

C: Did you see any change in the quantity and quality of water after you reported the poor quality of water, of its colour, odour and of its non-availability?

P4: Yes, there were significant changes since then. The colour level was not bad as it [used to be]. Now it is okay. They [the Panchayat] took water in a bottle to test for the mineral and salt content in it. They also tested for the groundwater and for having bore wells and they said that [the groundwater] contains 76% contains salt and the [groundwater] cannot be used for any purposes except for cleaning the houses. It cannot even be used for washing faces, such was the level of salt content in the [groundwater]. There were bore well pipes near the public toilet blocks in the four sectors, and even the bore well pipes and the iron rods [had to be] repaired because of the high level of salt content in the [groundwater] within a year.
M: You asked them about the positive effect. Now ask them if there have been any negative effects? Were there any negative consequences of such reporting?

C: Were there any negative effects, besides the other assurances given, when you reported this matter to the authorities... you should not have come to tell us this and we will not do anything?

P4: When we reported to them [the Panchayat] about the problem of water and the non-availability of water for 20 days... 30 houses or 25 households get [tap] water from a single standpipe. We asked for more standpipes... we asked for standpipes on every street and they put standpipes close to the people who were outspoken and aggressive, but not near the soft-mannered households and asked them to get water from the common standpipes [that were already] available.

C: So standpipes were put near the homes of people who assert their rights and not near other homes in order to avoid such problematic people? So pipes were put near the homes [of people] who will question more?

P5: In order to avoid problems, [the Panchayat] put standpipes near the homes [of outspoken, self-advocating households].

C: You said that you reported these both, [first] to the Councillor, and then to the President of the Pallikaranai Panchayat... what did they say about your complaints and about your general requests?

P4: The only answer that the officials say when we go there [the Panchayat office] to report our general problems is that they are asking us to pay the taxes! Pay the land taxes, as you have been here for more than 15 years to 20 years, and unless you pay the taxes we cannot do anything to address your general problems.

C: They were not doing anything...

P4: They keep asking us to pay land taxes. We [the Panchayat] cannot do anything [in Balaji Nagar] as you are temporary residents and not the permanent ones and hence nothing can be done here. Even in the past 20 days, there were posters posted on [each and] every of our homes from the Panchayat Board asking us to pay the land taxes.

Q: During FGD #1, you had said that you were trying to organize an agitation for improving the water service in MB Nagar against the Panchayat, but were stopped from doing so – told not to make it an issue. Why was this? Who stopped you?

That wasn’t quite the story, it goes longer.
About 2 years ago, the water quality in the taps got really bad. It started coming out “red”. This was the time that many people abandoned drinking tap-water (TWU) and began to purchase water (BWU/LWU).

Archana mobilized an 10 people in each sector to go to the Panchayat office with bottles of the red water to show what they were being supplied with. They showed this to the Panchayat officials who responded that this was the same water that was being supplied to other areas in Pallikarnai (i.e. think of the several infiltration well/pump inlets in the lake – these go to supply other areas) – so why are you complaining about it? The Panchayat refused to do anything about it.

Archana then later on tried to re-mobilize people for another agitation on water quality issues to the Panchayat office, but this was not successful as people didn’t believe the Panchayat would do anything about it – so why bother?

There was a big shift to BWU/LWU from TWU at this time. The government’s refusal essentially forced the cost of clean water onto households; created a large “market opportunity” for firms to profit from.

Reference 1 - 1.77% Coverage

M: Are there any groups who work on waste management?

R: No one takes care [of waste]. The wastewater is overflowing!

R: No one comes here like that. If we ask anyone [the government] about it - it ends up in a quarrel.

C: Do you remember Exnora worked here some time before? Is there any organization like that now?

R: Once a year, they [the Panchayat] come and clear [the garbage]...

C: Once a year! Who does it?

R: They come from municipality [the Panchayat Board].

Reference 2 - 1.35% Coverage

M: Any other examples in which people here worked together?

R: If there is no power supply, we would all go and complain.

R: If there is no water supply, we would all go and complain.

R: Yes... we would go to municipality [Panchayat Board] and tell them.
R: There was no power for one full week. Half of us went [to the Panchayat] and the other half didn’t come.

Reference 3 - 0.30% Coverage

R: We were not getting even the tap water [at first]. We fought for it and got it!

Reference 4 - 1.46% Coverage

M: Any other examples?

R: We all went and tried to get relief from the land tax. But it was not successful.

M: What were you fighting for regarding the land tax?

R: So that our houses will become our own. They say they wouldn’t give us the slip. We are not able to get patta.

I: Why?

R: We want the slip [land tax clearance in order to get patta] for lower amount than what they demanded.

Reference 5 - 0.58% Coverage

M: What was the biggest obstacle for getting these things?

R: They say they would give the patta only if we had cleared the electricity bill and the land tax.

Reference 6 - 1.51% Coverage

I: If you do not pay land tax and electricity bill, the government can send you out at any time. Is it not so?

R: Yes. Yes. You are right.

M: Are you worried about it that there is a possibility for this?

R: Yes. Of course.

R: Yes. Definitely we are.

R: Those who have purchased the land and settled here will not have any worry. But we [people who were re-settled] are extremely worried about it.

Reference 7 - 1.59% Coverage

M: Do you think that the government will introduce any water project here?

R: They have not done anything.

R: They have not done anything.
R: We don’t know if they would do so in future.
R: Definitely they will not do anything.
R: They will just say so for eyewash. They will not do it.
R: They will come here to ask for us to vote. That is all. They will never turn here after that.

Reference 8 - 0.59% Coverage

M: You mentioned about waste management in the beginning. What did you say?
R: They [the Panchayat] don’t come and clear the wastewater and it is all over here.

Reference 1 - 3.51% Coverage

M: Can you elaborate more on how you fought for water together?
R: When there is a crisis we need not call them [the Panchayat]. They come voluntarily. If there is a stoppage in the water supply, automatically we all unite. We just pass on the information. That is all.

C: Whom did you approach up to now [about water supply interruptions]?
R: We usually approach the Councillor.
C: Where would you meet him?
R: We meet him in the Panchayat office of Pallikaranai.
C: Was there any response for that?
R: Yes. They [the Panchayat] responded within one or two days.
R: If there was any fault in the [standpipe] taps, they [the Panchayat] used to come and rectify.

Reference 2 - 1.06% Coverage

M: How did you get the panchayat to put in the pipes for the public standpipes?
R: When there were more number of houses, gradually ...they [the Panchayat] had installed and connected the pipes themselves.

Reference 3 - 0.51% Coverage

R: There is a power cut every day here. But they [the gov’t workers] come and rectify immediately.

Reference 4 - 1.36% Coverage
M: The examples you gave were the ones which you went to the Panchayat Board and got them solved. Are there any examples of a common issue solved by yourselves?

R: No. Everything would be taken to the Panchayat Board!

R: No, we don’t do them by ourselves.

Reference 5 - 1.11% Coverage

M: When you go to the Panchayat or the Council Person for the issues of water or something else, what kind of response would you get?

R: They would say that they would send a man [worker] to look into the matter.

Reference 6 - 1.25% Coverage

M: Did any effort fail when you tried together? Is there any example for such an incident?

I: Were you disappointed that your effort was not answered?

R: They were responsive whenever we approached them.

R: No disappointments were there.

<Internals\FGD I\FGD #4 - Transcript> - § 13 references coded [23.53% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.65% Coverage

P: There was no water facility [then as there is now]. It has been [installed] since then.

P: There was no [tap] water then, only sand and [dirt] everywhere. People tried to quench the fire using sand and not water!

P: There were no facilities [then] and there were lots of shrubs.

P: We were from Mylapore and then we were brought here. There was no current water facility. It is the same since then.

P: [This] was a scorching place and very horrible indeed, as [there was] no place even to rest for a while.

P: There were snakes, tortoises and so on [here] and it was indeed frightening to be here at the night [when we first moved here].

P: People use to take shelter in the shadow of the doors.

Reference 2 - 1.49% Coverage

P: A flood came when there was heavy rains and there was no place to take rest. [There was] water everywhere. Water came into our houses. Water everywhere...

C: When did that occur?"
P: Water came and there was no way [drainage] for water to be released outside.

P: It was six or seven years back, there was water in every home during the reign of Amma. The whole village was filled with water.

**Reference 3 - 5.58% Coverage**

C: Did you go after people to get some help or were they helped on their own?

P: People here only helped out here. People gave rice and they also cooked the food and gave [it out] at every night. People themselves collected the money and provided rice to all. They gave rice to every home, nearly 2 kgs to 5 kgs of rice to every home.

C: Did people collect money for helping and did they provide rice?

P: People collected money to get rice.

P: People gave food in packets.

P: The government gave two thousand rupees per household, especially to those living in huts.

P: That was the only help we received and nothing else.

P: That was only after the coming of water, because of the flood.

**M:** When they say people collected money and gave five kilos of rice -- was it for everyone in the community or only for those who were affected by the flood?

C: Who were the beneficiaries of the collected money? They gave to everyone?

P: Yes, for everyone.

C: From whom did they collect the money? From the people? Or from the government?

P: People who serve as leaders in the community collected the money from the government and gave it to people.

P: Whoever had the ration card, they got the money only. Rice was given to everyone.

P: Everyone got the rice, and the money only to those who had their ration card.

C: Rice, everyone got it. But the amount of Rs. 2000 was given to those who had the ration card?

P: I did not get the money as I did not have ration card.

**Reference 4 - 2.39% Coverage**

**Are people from the beginning like this, since when you were resettled for the first time in Balaji Nagar? How were the people behaving [then]? Is there any change in their behaviour?**
P: People will come together if there is a water problem. They will go in to the streets and do a road blockage!

P: If there is a problem, then people will come together and go to the office in Panchayat board and complain there.

P: They are united if there is a crisis or a problem.

P: When water does not come, people go into the streets.

P: During crisis or issues, people come together.

P: Water came to our area after we did a roadblock!  

Reference 5 - 1.05% Coverage

P: There were notice boards kept in the women’s [self-help] group that asked everybody to participate in the agitations and the request letter was written then stating the lack of basic amenities here and presented to the World Vision office to be sent to the government [Panchayat].

Reference 6 - 1.45% Coverage

P: There used to be accidents once a week [along the nearby main road]. A demand requesting the appointment of traffic police - a police station - and the request was placed before the District Collectorate. [There were a] lot of thefts [then]. There was no security for us. A wine shop has also opened up close by. So we have placed our complaints to the District Collector’s office here.  

Reference 7 - 0.28% Coverage

P: There was no patta, so there was no electricity no water facility here.

Reference 8 - 0.47% Coverage

P: There is no government hospital close by. For everything we are going to the Kamakshi hospital which is a private hospital.

Reference 9 - 3.06% Coverage

C: People agitated three or four years back protesting against the wine shop.

M: Three or four years ago?

P: People from all four sectors took part in the roadblock to remove the wine shop.

M: What happened with the wine shop being open now? Why is it still open now and what happened?

C: Why is the wine shop still open now?
P: People protested against it, but it was all in vain. People did not protest enough.

P: People even damaged the wine shop, but the wine shop has not closed!

P: They have even relocated the ration shop from here because of the wine shop and put the wine shop here and the ration shop in Kaivelli!

P: The wine shop is run by the members of the political parties. It was hard time getting things from the ration shop because of the wine shop. People were not able to buy anything.

Reference 10 - 1.41% Coverage

C: You went to the Panchayat office and petitioned for things. Are they listening to you? Were you able to get things done from the government officials?

P: They are not doing anything now. People are saying that after the elections things will be done.

C: People are saying that when next government comes, they will look to their petitions and get things done for them.

Reference 11 - 1.42% Coverage

C: In Balaji Nagar, there are issues of patta for the people. Does the non-possession of patta prevent you from working together collectively? Do people feel that since I don’t have patta why should I work with others collectively and waste my money when I don’t have patta? Are there any issues like that?

P: People are saying that they [the government] are going to give patta.

Reference 12 - 0.69% Coverage

P: We are not going to leave [this place]. If the present government [DMK] is elected then they might give us patta. If the woman Jayalalitha [ADMK] is elected then we might not get it.

Reference 13 - 1.58% Coverage

C: Does the lack of patta prevent you from doing something like building a park or planting trees in the public areas?

P: It is not a hurdle. People [the government officers] are promising to give us patta after we give money [back taxes and fees]. People who can afford it can pay for it and can get patta. What about the people who don’t have money and are not able to pay anything to them [the government] to get patta?
M: So, can you tell me a bit about, over the course of 15 years in MBN, what kind of projects did you work on?

R: MBN is a re-settlement area. There were [inaudible]in the city. The SCB asked us to [inaudible]. They called all the Chennai-based NGOs to do that. So we started in 1993 and [became] full-fledged in 1996.

Because the land is allotted by the government, most of the families are not settled there because of lack of basic amenities - water sanitation, EB connection, this and all, so they stay back in same place or nearby places, like that. So only the huts is available, so in the hot summer season, the fire easily came. How it came is social evils, some leaders, some goondas. Each will get Rs. 1000 when the fire broke out. So there are a few houses are not peopled, there are few houses in which people are living, but those that are living are affected. But they are all affected, only the huts are broken, so they get the Rs. 1000.

R: So, the beginning they would sit and they would fight for everything because there were pukka houses, they had good employment opportunities, good water, they had good water.

M: Before coming here?

R: Yeah, before coming here. Then they lost everything. So here they are fighting for everything. Employment opportunity... but there is no bus stop. So they had a more than to times roadblock, we also participated. Then we build bus shelter, then we approach MTBC, the transit MD. Then one person from Mylapore to here, so like that, changes. People at that time is outlook also, respect. And speaking to the people, so communication. And they are sending, they are after they are joining the SHG, they are going to the bank, and living conditions improve, so children going to school, friends are coming to house, so the house is improving, so like that lots of things. The previous time, the crime rate is very high, now not much different, but there is a reduction.

R: So that is the, I didn’t sleep 2-3 months. One reason is the problem is the fire, every 10 days, every 15 days, in a week 2-3 times, like that. Many times people fighted me, they don’t know who I am. So they thought that I am also government officer, so they will come and whatever they want, they will explore, this and that, like that. And this incident is big turning point for this community. I took it as a positive way. When he came with two three persons I know he will not kill me, but he wanted to, how you say that...

M: Ah ok. What issues? What is it about an issue that makes it successful?

R: So for example, they have recently a liquor shop there. Wine shop.

C: Second sector.

R: Yeah, second sector. This is issue, they wanted to have a roadblock. But the liquor shop owner already covered the leaders, with financially as well as liquor. They confused the particular
womens, those who are going to lead things. So, today, tomorrow, morning, or afternoon, so like that. So one person came with 15 members, police man came and went. Another day another political party they put all the flags, but nobody stand there. So one person is those who are leading the government, that person, no no don't fight. Like that, they divided. But there is no proper communication to everybody, so that is the negative, the learning.

Reference 6 - 5.54% Coverage

M: Ok, so what were, what else, what other kinds of obstacles did you encounter?

R: Then government also once they put [the people] there, they not care about anything. If we approach Panchayat, Panchayat says it is the government - Slum Clearance Board. If we go Slum Clearance Board, no, no no! like that. I want to ask them, you say there is no review written, or you give written. So the people went to them, they asked, so whenever they need, government need, that time they go and everything like that, then they sat that, like that. So government also, after Mr. G.G. Paul, so when we took that time was very good cooperation from the government. When they say the project is not yet over, that project is started good they went back closed. So that is also another thing.

And also there is, in Chennai, we have so many NGOs, nobody came there. Very few came. But they came with some objectives, whether we can do with the help of government funding, like that. So there is a potential but no one. For example, you take it Kannagi Nagar, there are 200 NGOs are working there! If we ask the NGO, each NGO say, I went there first! I was there before! I was... Okay, what have you done? Nothing. Only for your record you are there. So here is the lack of NGOs not came there. Two NGOs came, lack of funds they went back - New Life and Kuupa.

Reference 7 - 1.12% Coverage

M: So they lobbied the government to ask for...

R: Yeah. Another one is for the water. So previously, not at all they provided water. So they fight and they got Sintex tank with water, they provided water, but not pure water. But anyway. That work with the government.

Reference 8 - 2.00% Coverage

M: For example?

R: For example, the government itself! We say there is no <inaudible>. They will say, yeah, we are providing water daily. See for example, that day the water this and that. They will say.... For that reason, we provide Sintex tanks. So when the extra water comes and you store and use for some other purpose. So government is the challenge you are going to face. Community, how you take it to the community, depends. But it is a very needed work, you can go ahead.
R: They do not do anything. Who does anything for us?

M: Do they have associations?

R: They mind their own income! <laughs> They want to earn. They don’t help poor people like us. There is no street light or anything [here]. Only now they have slowly started [to provide basic amenities]. Just now they have stepped into our area! It was there in the beginning. It is not there now!

M: DMK...ADMK....?

R: Only now they have started the work regarding the drainage. They have laid the cement road only now. The Panchayat does something when some political parties celebrate the birthday of their leaders, they do a service here and a service there! Otherwise they [the Panchayat and the political parties] don’t do anything!

R: We came here in the year ‘99. Water was not like this at that time. Water used to be very good then. It was good to drink too. It was also good for cooking rice. It was so for about 5 years. But now...if we cook the rice in the morning it is not at all good by 12 noon or 1 PM. However costly the rice is...the cooked rice is not good if we don’t pay for the water [lorry or bottled water]! The cooked rice gets spoiled. The salinity of water is high here. The water as well as the cooked rice has a bad smell. World Vision told us that they would build a [water storage] tank for us. But the Panchayat wouldn’t agree to that! Our NGO was ready to take up the responsibility and complete the job. They [World Vision] said that they would build an overhead [water supply] tank so that the entire area [of Mylai Balaji Nagar] can get water every day [24 hour supply]. But the Panchayat said that World Vision should hand over the money to them and they said only they will build it and World Vision would not be allowed to do it! The work could not be completed just because it was not agreeable for World Vision. That is why the [Syntex water storage] tanks were bought. Ten or twenty people join together to buy good [lorry] water and we are using it. We need not pay Rs. 2.50 each and every time. The major problem is that the government does not help us at all sir... till date! Then three or two [self help] groups join together to buy bigger [Syntex water storage] tank. Even that was done by the World Vision and not the government.

R: The water problem is a major issue here. We also heard that the entire good water [supply] is supplied to the Kamakshi Hospital.

R: Many flats [apartment buildings] have started developing here. They are given importance since then and we are ignored. Water is not good at all here and diseases develop. <she says to Srini:> You tell all things to this sir.
M: What did the Panchayat say about this?

R: We took them [Panchayat officers] to the place where it [the water supply line] was broken. There is lake water and the pipeline comes from that way. We showed it to them. They dig and try frequently. But no one is able to locate where the problem is. We also tried to find out. But it is tough.

R: Once there was an intolerable smell and we found out a dog was dead in the well [intake]. They said it cannot happen as they have closed it with a net. It is not at all possible to drink as the smell of the water was horrible. Sometimes it used to have the smell of dead rat...

Reference 4 - 3.10% Coverage

M: So what I wanted to know is… did the sangam, or the federation, or the self help groups try to solve the water problem by itself or jointly? Or did the sangam, or federation or the self help group together go to the Panchayat to ask them to solve the [water quality] problem?

C: Did the sangam, or the federation, or the self help groups try to solve the problem by their own efforts or did you approach the Panchayat to solve it?

R: Do you know how many times we approached the Panchayat? We also used to approach our Ward Member and asked him to solve the [water quality] problem.

C: He is asking if you took any action through the SHG or federation or sangam...

R: No, we didn’t sir! When we approach them they ignore us. They would say “Okay we will do the needful. You go!” but they never do it...

R: The [tap water] supply time is indefinite. Sometimes I have to take a leave from my household [maid] job to fetch water! At least they should tell us on which day which sector would get the [tap] supply!! Sometimes the [tap] water used to run [on and be] wasted without being helpful to anyone!

C: She says that when she approaches proper persons [at the Panchayat] they will say “Okay. We will do.” ...but they won’t. They also say that the [tap water] supply time is not scheduled. There is no regulation. They don’t know when the [tap] water will come.

M: There is no system...

R: Yes, there is no system! Should there be any solution for the problem all the persons in charge should assemble in a place, which becomes impossible. The Panchayat President and the Ward Member along with the Councillor should listen to us together. They should involve themselves. But they don’t.

Reference 5 - 3.19% Coverage
Yeah. A [sewage] pumping station is going to be built in the government school. They [the women] did not want it to happen. They tried to stop it [by going to the government]. They [the men in the community] asked "Who are you to do this??"

R: We even approached the Collector. But the gents were a hindrance. We sent a letter to the Panchayat board. We sent a letter to the C.M. [Chief Minister] cell. We sent a letter to the Collector’s office. We told them that we didn’t want it [the sewage pumping station] to be in our area -- especially in the [grounds of the] government school. It is said that the drainage water from all over [the Panchayat] would accumulate here and then be pumped out. They take [the sewage] to Perungudi it seems. We gave a letter to the M.L.A. too. He says that it is too late as it was approved before three years. He says it should only be built there and that is the right place. This area is already treated as garbage dumping area. It may lead to kidney problem to many people here... In addition to that problems would be severe if this also is established. The diseases would spread more. That is the reason why we gave a letter to all these officers. But everything was in vain.

C: They gave letter to Panchayat, M.L.A., Collector... they even gave a letter to the Collector’s office. But nothing was fruitful. They said it was already too late. They said it was approved three years ago. We cannot do anything. They said we are doing it for the benefit of so many people. They said that so many people opposed many matters. They could not be stopped. Likewise this would also happen. These people say that this is a government school. Building a drainage pumping station would damage the health of so many people.

Reference 6 - 14.40% Coverage

The government never gives even an iota of importance for these issues. We went even to the Slum Board. The Ward Members went and asked them to give us importance. There is no permanent patta. There is no permanent water supply. There is no permanent electricity. This place is not fit to live in. We don’t lead a permanent life here. It resembles the life of roadside dwelling which has to be vacated as and when ordered to quit!

We went and asked the M.D. [of the Slum Clearance Board]. He is asking us whether it is Naththam wasteland or canal wasteland or lake wasteland [Mylai Balaji Nagar is on]. He is asking us! Is he not supposed to know all these details?? All the details are available in the file. Even if he is new to the chair, he is there for two years! The previous officers have left all the details for him to refer to! We are here for many years! Still he doesn’t have any knowledge about this area! He is telling us this area is not permanent for us as Slum Board has sanctioned us this place which does not belong to them! No one claimed it permanently! The allotment itself says that the place is allotted to the pavement dwellers. They ask us to pay the filling charge. We have to pay only Rs. 5000 per house [plot] which measures 15 ft. by 18 ft. The five thousand has grown into 40 thousand!!

C: What is the filling charge?

R: The area was very low. They had fill mud to raise it [reclaim the land]. They ask us to pay the filling charge. The Rs. 5000 is only the filling charge! If we pay they would hand over the land
to the Panchayat board! Then they [the Panchayat] would give us patta. When we vacated the house they said it is a free place for us.

C: Wait, I have to tell all these things to this gentleman. She is telling that water is a problem. Electricity is a problem. They went and met the M.D. [of the TNSCB] one month back. He listed various types of wastelands and asked them which one does this place belong to. They [the TNSCB] are demanding these people pay Rs. 5000. Now it is Rs. 40 thousand [with interest]! But that amount is only [land] filling charge. This area was low [lying wetland]. To bring it up, they have to pay. In such a case, the area would then be given patta. That too... the Panchayat will give the patta and not the Slum Clearance Board. After paying this money they will send the documents to the Panchayat. Then the Panchayat will charge something else and [then finally] give patta.

M: Does the slum clearance board ask money for this [the land filling]?!

R: Yes. The M.D. [TNSCB] says so. He says “Pay the entire amount. I will give you a receipt. We will give patta [certificate] and allot the land to you.” The certificate will only confirm that the filling charge has been paid by us. There are 2500 houses here. They expect all the 2500 houses to pay the filling charge! Unless it is [all] completed, we can't expect [to get] the patta!

C: She says that even if one house does not pay the [filling] money, they will not give patta to anyone. Only if everybody pays the money they [the TNSCB] will hand over the place to the Panchayat.

M: Will it happen? Is it possible?

C: He is asking if it is possible and would it happen?

R: It does not seem to be possible. It seems it is impossible. It cannot be possible. This place is not permanent for us. Somewhat poor people may not pay and clear the amount. We told them [the TNSCB] to establish an office here and let him [the M.D.] sit here. We will collect installments though the [self help] groups and pay the amount to them. We will ask the residents to come to their office and let them collect the money and give them receipt. These days they send a person periodically. They will just come and talk to few residents here. They would collect if someone gives money and they would go just like that.

C: Does he give receipt?

R: Yes. He gives a perfect receipt.

C: How much does he collect?

R: The person gives just Rs. 300. How long will it take to reach 40,000? Moreover the delay will also cumulate [interest] penalty. There is confusion now due to another matter. Most of them [the re-settled evictees from Mylapore] who were brought here in the beginning have sold [their plots] to somebody else. Now most of the houses are in the third hand! To avoid
this confusion they [the TNSCB] have segregated the houses into two groups namely the first-hand holders [original settlers] and the second-hand holders [newcomers].

C: *Those who came first should pay...?*

R: At first, it was said that they have to pay only Rs. 5000. Then the persons got from them [the TNSCB] that they should pay Rs. 12,000. If you are allotted... it is Rs. 32,000. They also collect from the person who was allotted at first. So it is Rs. 32k + Rs. 5k equals Rs. 37k. They say that 100 months have gone [by]. They collect Rs. 300 per month. Many people have paid that money. But they were not given any proof for that! They collect interest on interest! Just imagine... 9% per Rs. 100!

C: *How much money was paid?*

R: At first, Rs. 7500 was collected. Then they collected Rs. 17k. Then they collected Rs. 21k. Then 32k! Now it is 38k which would come to Rs. 40k along with interest. There are people who got filled [the landfilling mud] in their lands - even when they were asked to pay Rs. 17k. But they were not given any receipt. These days whenever we go [to the TNSCB] and approach they say “Oh...Balaji Nagar...?” and they hesitate to do anything for us. They look down at us. We were happy that we have bought land which we could give to our children. After my demise, it should become permanent property for our children. What will that happen if the authorities are indecisive like this at this time? Nothing is clear. Everything is confusing. They don’t give a responsible response when we approach them. Will we get patta?

C: *When we approached the TNSCB, they say that only the Panchayat is responsible to allot the patta. When we approached the Panchayat they say that only the TNSCB is responsible to allot the same!!*

R: Yes. They repeatedly say the same thing to us.

C: *She is saying that those who originally bought it [the plots] should pay almost like Rs. 32k. People who bought from them have to pay an extra amount of Rs. 5000 as a penalty. Some of them have paid the full amount. They didn’t even get the receipt for it. She also says whoever the authority may be, they are not responding properly.*

R: Our Councillor, President, along with two or three important persons from this area [the community] and three of our members of [self help] groups went there [the TNSCB] and asked. We requested to them that we would pay Rs. 25k and asked them to give [us the] allotment. We would show it to Panchayat Board and make it ready. [Then] they asked for land/property tax too!! They see if the house has a mud floor or a cement floor or a mosaic floor or a marble floor! The tax differs according to the flooring of the house. The entire Palikkaranai area is full of patta lands. They collect the property tax according to the floor and roof of the house. OK... let them collect. No problem! But we should be allowed to live here [legally]. They are not amicable either way. They talk in a very strict way. They say that we should pay the entire amount immediately. They talk in a commanding voice. Those who have money would pay. How about the ones who don’t have money? OK. They ask us to pay
only Rs. 300. But they calculate the interest for the balance amount as well as the interest on the balance interest! The payments would continue up to our next generation too!

C: She is telling that they are paying Rs. 300 per month. But [for] how long? Again and again they are putting penalty [interest]. They are again putting the interest for the lack of money. If they pay Rs. 300 it will continue life long. They have to pay and the next generation has to pay!

Reference 7 - 1.64% Coverage

R: The M.D. of the TNSCB once came here to inspect. There were eleven fire accidents here. One of the houses here is a three storey building. A new M.D. was appointed in TNSCB and he came here to supervise the filling. The M.D. is asking “You don’t have proper income... you get only Rs. 1000 per month. How could you build such a big house?? The C.M. has ordered to demolish this!” He also asked “Who sanctioned you permission to build a floor upon a floor? How did you get [building permit] approval?” She said he got approval. But he went to his office and sent a letter saying that the house should be sealed. But the officer got transferred [out] immediately.

C: She says that the Managing Director is asking Mylai Balaji Nagar people “How come you are able to construct a concrete house here when you don’t have sufficient income?”

M: When did this happen?

R: It happened four years ago.

Reference 8 - 2.77% Coverage

R: This place was given to us by the central government. One Mr. Swaran Singh made this area clear for us. When we came here they said that the area was freely allotted for us. “Go and live in your own house, why do you suffer in this slum [at Mylapore]”. So we came here. First they said the land was free. They filled [the wetland in with] mud. They asked us to pay the filling charge. We came here from Luz Corner in Mylapore. It was near the railway station. The place called Flower Garden was near our slum [there]. They said that the place belongs to Public Works Department. We all hesitated to vacate that place and were adamant not to vacate. I overstayed there for one more year. They asked us why we should have any fear when government allots free land and so we came here. There was no electricity here for so many years.

C: She says they lived in Mylapore. The place belonged to Public Works Department. They asked why they should hesitate when the government allots free land to you and so they came here at last half heartedly.

R: Ten years back Karunanidhi (the then Chief Minister) said he would give free patta for lands occupied by pavement dwellers. We went and gave request to the CM’s cell straight in the hands of M.K. Stalin (Deputy Minister and son of Karunanidhi). They said they would look into the matter and just collected the requisition papers. No progress was there! We have
approached almost all the places. We have even approached the Fort and Collector [state government officials]!

Reference 9 - 1.27% Coverage

R: I only had three sons when I vacated Mylapore. Now they are married and have a girl child each. Can we live in the same old small house? We borrow money and extend the house by adding a floor. They ask us "When you can’t pay the penalty, why should you extend the house? You are able to mobilize lakhs of rupees for building the house."

M: You said you got receipt for the amount paid?

R: They gave a receipt but they did not give any proof - that is the clearance certificate as we have not paid the full amount. It is only allotment paper. It is not a perfect patta.

M: How much more they have to pay? Is it not clear?

R: That is not clear because they are paying interest on penalty.

Reference 10 - 4.27% Coverage

M: Will they be removed from this place?

C: That is what she is asking us! She asked whether they would be asked to move from this place! I said I would talk to Panchayat and tell.

R: You please tell them I would thank them 1 lakh times if they make this place permanent for us. If you ask them about that I would thank you so much.

C: A new E.O. has come. We will go and ask them.

R: We sent a letter to the E.O. too. He also didn’t respond.

C: If we ask he says they didn’t receive even a single paisa from Balaji Nagar. The electricity bill was something like more than a crore it seems.

R: Should they not take action for that?

C: If they cut the electricity connection people come and quarrel from this area.

R: Even a poor family here has a fridge, washing machine and rice cooker! Let them cut the power and talk to us. In a way they are correct as some people here are arrogant and create problems. Let them come and ask. We will pay.

Even for the SCB we tell them the same thing, if they establish an office here we will regularly pay the amount. [Self Help] Group people are ready to collect it and give. At least let them sit till the 10th of every month. We are sure that we should pay the devil its due. Let them take the step. They should not cut [electricity] for the entire area. They should cut only for those who don’t pay. They should take the step. When there is power in one house
and no power in the other house they will have an urge to pay. We filled a form of Rs. 150 and sent a request to the E.B. [Electricity Board]. They are adamant not to give us. They say the SCB has not given approval for the same. The E.B. didn’t give sanction as there is no patta.

C: I was talking to Panchayat Officer the other day. He said there is no revenue from Mylai Balaji Nagar. Even the E.B. bill was for more than a crore. These people are telling that they want sanction for houses. But they are not sanctioned as they don’t have patta. This area still belongs to SCB. The E.B. bill is not the prime issue. The problem is the Panchayat is confused about who has to issue patta. They say unless they pay the arrears they would not get allotment. Without an allotment they cannot get patta. Even that letter is a temporary allotment. Only when there is a registered approval everything is possible.

Reference 11 - 1.44% Coverage

R: They come and collect regularly. At first they said it is free for us. After a long time, in the year 2000, they asked us to pay Rs. 7,500. Then they asked for Rs. 11,500. Then it became Rs. 32,000. They say that the penalty is Rs. 5000 rupees per year per every house.

M: Penalty! Every year!!

R: Yes. Then there was a scheme from the Panchayat that if you have land they would build a house for you for Rs. 80,000. But they asked us to give a bribe of Rs. 20,000. But the scheme was helpful for this area, as it needs patta. They said to the federation that the allotment should be in our name. There was full rush for it! 100 persons are in the federation. Some of them are very poor. They don’t have house. They said that unless the full amount is settled the Panchayath can’t help.

Reference 1 - 6.26% Coverage

C: Tell us what should be done to get the approval of the Revenue Department?

R: They have to get the entire value [of all the land] from the residents. In 2001, they did a survey of verification of lands to know who has got confirmed allotment and how many vacant lands are there. They listed out who were allotted and who had purchased [plots] from the allotted persons. It was finalized in the year 2003. According to the survey it was announced that those who were directly allotted [i.e. the resettled evictees from Mylapore] should pay Rs. 17,040 and the persons who bought from them had to give an additional amount of Rs. 5000 as penalty. But even after paying they were given only NOC and not patta. Even now the records say that these lands belong to the Revenue Department [of the TN State Government]. They also allowed them to give Rs. 2000 or Rs. 3000 [as a down payment] and [then] to give the rest of the amount as installments of Rs. 300.

Reference 2 - 1.50% Coverage
M: You said the Panchayat is responsible for providing maintenance of services here. Is the Panchayat getting any revenue for this service?
C: Do they collect any money to give the maintenance service?
R: No. Not at all.

Reference 3 - 3.78% Coverage

M: Okay. Will the Panchayat cooperate with an NGO for the improvement of water quality?
R: If they do it in a single place [i.e. community level treatment], they can do.
C: He says it is possible [only] at the community level [for the Panchayat to be involved].
R: The Panchayat will cooperate in every aspect. As a Ward Member I will also contribute whatever I can.
C: He says the Panchayat will cooperate and he would also contribute whatever he could.
R: I am ready to do anything at the political level.
C: He says he is ready to cooperate in this.

Reference 4 - 4.69% Coverage

M: Would they [the Panchayat] provide financing?
C: If an NGO contributes money will the Panchayat [also] contribute [money]?
R: Yes, they would. They [the NGO] should follow the proper method and give a written request saying that they want to do water purification and that they need the cooperation of the Panchayat. The cost should be mentioned. It would be discussed [at the Panchayat’s council] and [if accepted] the sanction would be passed.
C: He says there is a proper process. They should ask by writing a letter. Then the Panchayat would co operate and do whatever is needed, they should mention the cost in the letter. The Panchayat would decide it in a meeting of a body and pass a resolution.

Reference 5 - 2.38% Coverage

M: If the NGO is financing it, how about [the Panchayat] managing the system?
C: He is asking, if an NGO contributes the money and builds a system at the community level, will the Panchayat do the maintenance?
R: Yes, the Town Panchayat always does the maintenance. Definitely.
C: They will discuss everything in a Panchayat meeting and decide things.

Reference 6 - 1.69% Coverage

C: How much time would it take [to approve] if it is Town Panchayat?
R: We can make things ready within a month. There is no problem. We will immediately convene the assembly meeting. The letter of request from the NGO would be shown and discussed there.

Reference 1 - 14.73% Coverage

- On the matter of whether MBN would get water specifically, B says that because it is a "slum packet" it functions as a vote bank which will be valuable for political parties in the next election → the people living at MBN can use political pressure to ensure that they will become connected (MBN will be covered so there will not be any need for political pressure to ensure them with metro water connection)

Reference 2 - 11.04% Coverage

- CMWSSB has no experience of cooperating with NGOs
- CMWSSB only handles construction and management of the water systems they create
  - They are not involved in areas outside their service zone
  - Would not become involved in an NGOs efforts in MBN or any other community outside their gov’t-mandated service zone

Reference 3 - 8.03% Coverage

- Pallikaranai (and MBN with it) is in the process of becoming part of the Corporation of Chennai
  - When this will be complete, B cannot say
  - But it will change who is responsible for services to MBN
    - In what way, B cannot say

Reference 1 - 1.16% Coverage

R: Yeah, Balasundar... he is aware of our municipal work and all things. Balasubramaniam. He was not hesitant to give any, you told that it was for the project purpose, isn't it? Once it is project, he won't tell anything for IIT project, and...

M: Yeah, good relationship there.

R: Yeah, otherwise they'll create lots of problems.

Reference 2 - 7.65% Coverage

M: Ok, so right now, we also met with the Panchayat, and they have a plan. They put the tender out already, in fact, to build the overhead tank there.

R: Overhead tank there?

M: Yeah. In this case they would probably have storage there all the time.
R: But overhead tank also, because, if you go to other parts of Tamil Nadu, ok, because everywhere they have the infrastructure, it's not that Tamil Nadu government didn't spend anything on the infrastructure for water supply, any village you go they have the overhead tank and the water supply line. Only thing is pumping! They won't do the pumping, not even, every day! Ok, and that also, once in a week, they will be getting one hour, two hour.

M: So, they'll pump the water into the tank for one or two hours?

R: Yeah, that's all!

M: ...and it'll run down again?

R: Ah yea! After that one, nothing will be available.

M: So, why do they... why does that happen?

R: Why's that happen? Sometimes they tell that electricity problem. Sometimes the workers will not even go because the government will not be paying them on time and the various <incomprehensible> and all the things. And no proper monitoring...

M: Quality control...

R: Yeah, yeah. Ok, and sometimes they'll that the sources are not sufficient. But the—

M: So it's a combination of factors?

R: Yea, so many things are there.

M: So, in this particular community, we would definitely see a source problem—

R: Yea, the source problem. And these people are not paying anything, so how can any governmental agency sustain the problem. They are not ready to pay a single penny. How long the government can give free?

M: I see. So for these reasons, even the water tank that's gonna go there, probably is not going to change—

R: No, because if water is not there, because if somebody is paying for the water, and if they have a limited supply, where will they supply it first?

M: First to people who are paying...

R: That is the, yeah. Otherwise the people who is paying for the water will be going and shouting at the Panchayat authorities "we are paying and why are you not giving the water?".

M: Ok.

R: Unless the water supply is proper...
R: No, because, this Pallikaranai Panchayat people were telling that they are going to put up this one, and they are going to put up the solid waste management bins, three years back? Two years back also, isn't it, to us? But nothing happen so far. And that Exnora vehicle is not coming or is it coming nowadays?

M: No, it's not.

R: That time they promise it will start coming in the next week! So that's what I'm telling, all these things will just be promises because their priority will be who is paying it, we'll service them.

M: I see. So this is—

R: Otherwise during election time, they'll get the votes. So, now election will come only after four years, so nothing will happen!

M: Nothing will happen there... I see. Ok. So, really, the basic problem is a legal, institutional one?

R: Yeah! Legal sense - yeah.

M: Because people need to have the patta and then they can have the—

R: Once they have all the rights, ok, people there... then all these things are automatically come isn't it?

M: Ok.

Reference 4 - 12.23% Coverage

R: Unless that is done, how it will be? And the government thinks that, see, the land value is increasing so much, so these people will slowly be moving away from that place. Not a single slum people will be there. That's what they are... At that time, somebody was talking, when they, because the land value is going on, so they'll sell this one and go to some other slums or... Big people, or industry people, or economically affluent people will come to that area so all these problems will automatically solve.

M: Uh... how so?

R: See, you'll be getting 25 lakhs for that small plot here. And that 25 lakhs you can buy much bigger plot in some other village. So what these people will do, as the land prices increase in that area, slowly, slowly, whoever is staying there, they'll be leaving the place and giving it somebody so if some highly influential people, political people or this one, somehow they manage to get the patta and the things...

M: Oh, I see. So the wealthier people will be able to use personal connections to normalize themselves—

R: Yeah, personal connections. I don't know what is the legal way for that one, but somehow they will... because so many... that Hyundai, I mean, some automobile companies all are there, isn't it?

M: Yeah, and the IT companies are there too.
R: Yeah, so they will not be putting the IT firms without any proper patta or proper documents, isn’t it?

M: Right, right. So you’re saying that that whole land will be converted to commercial, industrial use?

R: Yeah, within a few years, that may happen. Because the city is spending so much, and the land prices or real estate prices are going up. So that’s what somebody was telling - "ok, we don't have to do anything, the problem will be automatically solved, these people"—

M: Who was saying? The government people were saying?

R: Some government people... not officially... unofficially they were telling that this is what is going to happen. And even Prema was telling, you talk to Prema, she also tell the same thing, so naturally, this people will be going to some village areas later. Get the money and go away.

M: Retire... retire to the countryside.

R: Ah yeah.

M: I see. So there's a possibility that this is kind of... this place isn’t—

R: Yeah, because you see the history, whoever actually was there... even half the people are not there.

M: Have of them have left, yeah.

R: Ok, so the other people will also be moving away.

M: So it’s kind of like in limbo, you could say...

R: Yeah! Yeah.

M: It's kinda caught between two worlds.

R: So now, whoever is there they are not even the people who is rehabilitated, so they don’t have to get any free... meals, isn’t it? Because no water, no electricity should be given free to them, because they are not the actual sufferers. So the government may take that type of a stand - "unless you are the original people, why should we give you?"

M: We talked to the Panchayat, the Ward Member, he says there’s a certain fee - Rs. 35,000 - to normalize the land. And if you bought the land and moved in - you're not the original allottee - then you pay an extra penalty of Rs. 5000. But then you still get it. 5000 rupees more and then you still get it.

R: Yeah.

M: So he said they, the Panchayat, are ready to normalize everybody if you pay it.
R: Yea, but if they are not willing to do even that one, ok, so, what anybody can do? Because when they expect something... ummm... they should have responsibility to you, isn’t it?

M: Who is responsible for providing water and other facilities?

C: Sir, is it the Panchayat [that is] responsible to provide water and other facilities?

R: Yes. We are doing it. Already UGD - underground drainage - is going on. We have already provided CC road and BT road. The roads might have been damaged due to the work of UGD underground drainage which is going on now. It would be rectified after the work is finished. If it is CC road, they would be [re]built as CC road, and if it is BT road, they would be [re]built as BT road. Water supply is only own source. We have built a well in the lake. Water is supplied through a pump. Street lights, roads, underground drainage, and public health are looked after by us. We are doing these five aspects.

C: He says they are only checking water, street lights, roads, underground drainage, and public health. They are responsible for these things.

M: Does the Panchayat get revenue from all these things?

R: No, no revenue. Not even a single paisa returns as revenue. We are spending lakhs and lakhs of rupees which we get as revenue from other sources.

C: He says that they are not getting even a single paisa of revenue from Mylai Balaji Nagar and they are getting revenue from other areas... they are spending money from that. They are investing lakhs and lakhs of money for Mylai Balaji Nagar.

M: Is there any long term plan to collect the money from them [Mylai Balaji Nagar]?

R: The very problem lies there! The major problem is only that. See, we have to find out and identify who was originally allotted and we have to get the [land] tax only from them. That task is still pending.

C: Is that the biggest problem for you?

R: Yes, of course. That is what ...we enquired there [Mylai Balaji Nagar] so many times. We have not received any details from them. Without those details we can’t do anything. If you are allotted, we should know this plot in this street with this number is allotted to you! It would be easy for us to collect tax from that particular person. When you don’t even know who is allotted - from whom we will go and collect the tax? Moreover they say that so many dues are pending from many persons who were allotted! Some dispute is going on between the Slum Board and the residents. I don’t know what it is. For the time being we can’t even collect the tax.
C: He is telling it is tough to collect the taxes. It is difficult because the originally allotted persons do not live in most of the houses. Unless they find out the original people who were allotted they can’t collect taxes. That itself is difficult. So they don’t get any revenue. But they are spending lakhs of rupees.

Reference 4 - 5.01% Coverage

Q: What kind of support can be counted upon from the Panchayat for a HH or COMM system?
   Panchayat will not work at the HH level
   - Only COMM level is possible for support the Panchayat
   Presently, the Panchayat is chlorinating the overhead tanks and wells in their jurisdiction
   - This works for some time (several years) but then fails and poor quality water becomes more likely
   However, there are no examples of the Panchayat working with an NGO directly
   - It’s just never been tried before

Reference 5 - 11.31% Coverage

Q: Even if there is no revenue being drawn from MBN, would they still support?
   He says he is very interested to support (i.e. take money from) an external NGO or individual who wanted to do something in MBN
   But on the question of the Panchayat actually contributing new funds for a start-up project (even matching what an NGO contributes):
   - The process is very long to approve discretionary funds for the Panchayat
     - EO - District Collector - Director - DC - EO
   - There are also no examples of the Panchayat undertaking a cost-sharing agreement with an NGO doing developmental activities
   - Thus, there is little possibility of the Panchayat being involved in financing
   However, the Panchayat is prepared to support a project by taking on operation and maintenance tasks
   - If the capital costs are taken care of, they can mobilize limited funds within their own budget (the local committee can approve up to 4 lakhs; anything higher must go up to the DC for approval)
   - All that would need to happen is a local body resolution to take up the maintenance and operation of the system and then to take it over

Reference 1 - 8.50% Coverage

M: What are the projects [you] have been involved with?

R: Initially we have been involved with World Vision under their ADP [Area Development Project] project. We joined Self-Help Groups and have been involved in various activities through the SHGs. Then [we also worked] with Kuupa, [which is] another organization that has worked with us [here]. They [Kuupa] have constructed permanent shelters under a 20 years loan scheme. And then we [have also] worked with Exnora for the collection of garbage from Mylai Balaji Nagar.

Later Pallikaranai Panchayat selected us for a solid waste management project. Under this we collected the garbage from [around] Balaji Nagar, as well as in and around Pallikaranai. In this [project], we segregated the garbage into biodegradable and non-biodegradable wastes. We
constructed a compost shelter at the Panchayat and then we left it to Exnora since we did not have cooperation or a good relationship with the Panchayat. I am still working with Exnora. Exnora is not working in Balaji Nagar now however since there is no cooperation from the people in the community. In the initial phase, they were planting trees across the community and had done solid waste management activities. Reference 2 - 4.26% Coverage

<Rehman Bibi shows the research time some pictures of herself with Mr. Srinivasan and Mr. Balaji from Exnora. In the images, they have distributed a garbage-collecting tricycle for the waste management team at the Saratha School located at T. Nagar @ 1:06 – 3:50>

R: Exnora planted trees in the school located at Sector 2 [the Lion's Club School]. I have put a compost shed in Sector 2 near the Councillor’s house. But it is been removed now because there was no cooperation from people as well as from the Councillor. This [compost program] was done in collaboration with the government and Exnora International. Reference 3 - 6.55% Coverage

M: Why did they not cooperate?

R: Income generation [for the workers] out of this solid waste management program was very important, however, in Balaji Nagar, there was no income [being generated]. The Panchayat has done nothing to support the program and even the people did not contribute anything. We wanted to collect a small contribution from every household to support our workers. We used to collect garbage door-to-door. But people refused to pay even the small contribution saying “we are not putting any garbage here, we are dumping somewhere else, not here,” and so on.

I will give an example. Suppose a water pipeline has been broken and somebody comes to repair it. At least we should pay him something, or at least, we should offer him some tea, so that he will be happy to continue working on it. In the same way, people should have contributed some money to the people who were taking care of the waste management project. Reference 4 - 5.01% Coverage

M: I wanted to discuss with you an important aspect about a water treatment system - whether community level or household level system would be appropriate [for Balaji Nagar]? As you told us about the Exnora project, people did not want to pay to run the project. Do you think people would contribute some money to maintain a community level system or do they want to take care of it at the household level?
R: Yes, people can contribute money and also they can cooperate to run the system at the community level. But it needs cooperation from the Panchayat, at the very least, cooperation from the local Ward Member to encourage people to cooperate. However, the Panchayat here is not cooperating for any of the projects.

Reference 5 - 4.82% Coverage

M: Do you think that if Panchayat cooperates, it [a community level system] is possible?
R: Yes, if the Panchayat cooperates it will be possible. In Balaji Nagar, the Slum Clearance Board constructed the public toilets. Initially, the [World Vision] ADP helped in running the public toilets then they left it to people to take care of it. Now, the condition of the public toilets is so [terrible] in all of the sectors! If the Panchayat took [the] initiative to cooperate to run the public toilets, then people can take care of it. In our original settlement, everyone had their own personal toilets, whereas here we are really running short of infrastructure. We need the Panchayat’s support.

Reference 6 - 5.89% Coverage

M: Do people [in Balaji Nagar] take initiative to clean the latrines or do they not?
R: People [here] are not taking any initiative for a common cause. People's attitude is becoming like taking loans and repaying loans from the SHGs. Even the [World Vision] ADP also does the same. From the beginning I [have] always had a tendency to work for the people. Even now I can take initiative to look after the public toilets, but the Panchayat is not doing anything to support us. People want to take care of their own self.

Initially, if we had any issue, we used to go to the Slum Clearance Board along with their field worker and ask for our needs. But now the Slum Clearance Board has told us that we should approach the Panchayat, not the SCB. But the Panchayat is refusing us services, saying that we are not paying any taxes to the government.

Reference 7 - 1.06% Coverage

I am eagerly looking forward for the next government. I am expecting that the forthcoming government may help this [waste management] project further.

Reference 8 - 2.55% Coverage

If you wanted to do something for us please do something for this waste management project. The Councillor in this place is not cooperative and she is not taking any initiative to run this project. People asked me to take leadership but I did not want to take leadership. If I become a leader I cannot put a question to others and I will be under somebody’s control!
Q: What are the activities that SHGs are involved in at MBN?

The SHGs were started in 1998 and today there are some 50 groups active in MBN. They are mostly involved in offering small loans to their members. In 2000, a Federation of SHGs was started that helps SHGs to better link to banks. The Federation was also linked to the government of the District of Kancheepuram. The Federation was made up by bringing 2 members from each SHG to about 12 members or so, who then all join together and form a Federation. It is very common practice for SHGs in many communities.

WV had also spent some Rs. 2 lakh to place overhead water tanks on the public latrines, drill boreholes, install motorized pumps to move water to the tanks and have it available for washing and cleaning in the public latrines. Around the time that the cleaning programme began to fall apart, the motors were stolen from the pumps. The community’s response to this was mixed at this point. WV attempted to mobilize women in the community to approach the police to file a report and they were ready to do this WV says, but WV claims that the menfolk were not supportive of this and prevented this from happening. At a loss, WV then approached the Panchayat to take over the responsibility of managing and cleaning the latrines, as WV would have to be leaving shortly anyway at the end of their ADP (Area Development Program). The Panchayat accepted the responsibility, but then did not do anything.

THE ASSOCIATION HAS BEEN FORMED only 6 months back
- Arose organically as a reaction to the total inaction of the government to provide these basic services with any semblance of quality after all these years, to make up for the lack of responsibility in the Councillors
- There are 25 members of the Association, 3 per street in Sector 4
- All are male
- Structure is: President > Vice-President > 3 Secretaries + 2 Treasurers > General Members (3 reps from each street)

MANY REASONS for forming the Voluntary Association in MBN:
1. Water Supply
   - Gov’t is not providing water or sanitation services in any meaningful way here
One of the biggest issues is insufficient water supply
- 10-12 days waiting between having the public water supply come on
- They also do not repair leakages/breakages in the pipelines due to the roadside construction (ironically, for the water main to go past MBN)
  - Much water is wasted, made worse by the fact that there is such water scarcity here
- Ashok says that the government often promises, but doesn’t ever do
  - They placed some 40 large Syntex water tanks across all the sectors, but no water was ever given! (beyond the intermittent, low volume supply of tap water)

2. Electricity supply situation:
- 3 transformers in MBN à supply is not good (one of the transformers went out with a loud ‘BANG!’ in the midst of this very conversation, knocking out power in the sector)
- Only streetlight connections and three transformers were installed by the gov’t à these are the only source of power
  - Streetlights were seen as the most basic necessity as it was the edge of the city, a vacant field, with nothing in it, so the gov’t at least gave streetlights...
- No connections for any households officially
  - All households connect illegally to the streetlight circuits to access electricity
- In 2006-7, the Ward Member in MBN, Jayaprakash, collected Rs. 500 from 300 households in Sector 2 in order to get their papers processed so they could get official electrical connections à but no connections came. Ashok seems to be suggesting there was something very irregular going on here.
- Panchayat is now saying to residents that if they want an official electricity connection they have to obtain a NOC (No Objection Certificate) from the TNSCB à the TNSCB says they will not issue a NOC as they say that the MBN project/file is now closed (and their efforts are now at Chamenjeri)
  - (How Kafkaesque!)
  - Ashok says that one reason they may not want to give an NOC is so there is no permanence given to their residency there
  - Ashok feels that even if residents were somehow able to obtain an NOC, the Panchayat would not accept it to connect the power and legitimize a permanent claim to that land à he alleges that the Panchayat is trying its utmost to keep the people at MBN informal so that they can be moved again whenever the gov’t decides

Reference 3 - 38.82% Coverage

- ON THEIR RE-SETTLEMENT and current legal status at MBN:
  - When they were shifted they were given a lorry ride to move their things and their families and just Rs. 1000 to get by; they were dropped off in a vacant field at the edge of the city
  - Residents are not paying land taxes at all since the beginning
    - The original “deal” of the re-settlement was that residents at MBN would pay at least Rs. 200/mo. until they reached a total of Rs. 11,000 (could retire the debt faster if they wanted), and then they would have full title to their plot
    - But the residents could not afford to do this as after they were forcibly re-settled they lost all sources of employment income from their previous location at Mylapore
• Many households were involved in retailing, driving, cycle-rickshaws, cleaning in the old Mylapore neighbourhood
• They couldn’t get transport back to these old work places as at that time there was no bus-stand at MBN, and had to walk 3 km to Vijay Nagar to catch a bus à so they lost their only source of income!!
• The households obviously had no money to pay the land fees in the beginning; in fact, Ashok says in those early days there wasn’t enough money to feed the children
• Moreover, they had to walk kilometres to get water at Pallikarnai cos there was not even the tap water system there then; no educational facilities for kids – nothing
• Development has only really accelerated in the community in the past three years says Ashok
• Ashok tells us though he had a house and basic services at Mylapore (albeit informal encroachment as much of that displaced was), his ‘allotment paper’ (which he showed to us, and of which I have photographs) indicates that he was a street-dweller, and should be rehabilitated accordingly
  o The language of ‘allotment’ is important as it is clearly not patta
  • the people still have no legal right to the land, they have just been given permission by the owner – the gov’t – to use it for the time being
  • this can be withdrawn at any time should the gov’t decide to seize the land for development purposes, setting off another cycle of displacement for the people of MBN (Ashok says he had been moved before from several places before Mylapore)
• Ashok feels that there is no security for their land à software companies coming up to the south, to the west the plots in the wetland that measure 2400 sq. ft. (“1 ground”) are valued at 40-50 lakh each
  o “And in the middle of all this is a slum”
• The value of the land at MBN is going up and up à this land is becoming extremely valuable and possibly lucrative for the gov’t so Ashok fears they may be displaced again
• Again, the issue of allotment is important as it means that residents may live there but they do not have the legal right to sell the land at the market price to other private actors
  • (If they gov’t is going to ‘buy’ it back (if they pay anything at all should they decide to seize the land) they will severely undervalue it (<50%) says Siva)
  • The plots in MBN are 370 sq. ft., there are some 300 households in Sector 4 totalling some 46250 sq. ft. (i.e. some 10 crore of value at surrounding land values!)
• Ashok says that according to a law that the previous DMK gov’t passed people should get patta after 10 years of residence at a place
  o However, they’ve been there for 16 years and nothing has happened
• Other places that were informal have been formalized this way
• Ashok is in fact a DMK “ward member” in the “party alliance” (i.e. a grassroots worker for the party)
• Some twenty petitions and letters have gone to the Collector, to the Deputy CM (formerly Stalin) to get patta through this law (even 5 to the “CM cell” which typically responds strongly within 24 hours) à but all to no avail
• Some people are trying to pay it now in order to regularize their land tenure, but it seems the gov’t is not cooperating according to Ashok
  o TNSCB and Panchayat are both shifting the responsibility to the other and making it very difficult and unclear to residents on how to regularize themselves or access basic services
• Ashok went to meet the head of TNSCB, Mr. Abuji Sharma, recently and was told that with interest accumulated, the residents owe Rs. 50,000 (instead of the Rs. 11,000 it was originally) to reach the target and normalize their plots
• Ashok says many residents are ready to pay this even now (there has been a lot of economic development in the community, and they’ve really come up in recent years) à but the Panchayat and the TNSCB are not ready to accept the payment he claims
  • Ashok feels that gov’t won’t accept the back-taxes as it would legitimize residents’ claims to their plots and normalize their tenure;
  • He feels that the gov’t is trying to keep them on an informal basis so that they can be moved again whenever they decide to use the land for other purposes

Reference 4 - 7.75% Coverage

• There were some cases of political organizing however, one that he mentions is the effort to have the Wine Shop removed from MBN (Sector 2)
  • This effort failed cos for political reasons à the owner of the Wine Shop was well-connected and scuttled their efforts by keeping the authorities on his own side (I heard AIADMK mentioned, but not clear)
  • Also, spouses of drinkers preferred that the Wine Shop remain in MBN ironically
    • Otherwise, the men had to travel to either Vijay Nagar or somewhere to the south (Tambaram?) to the closest Wine Shop à pay for travel both ways
    o They would go to these other places and there would be fights and violence, drinkers passing out on the streets far from home
    o Hence, the wives of drinkers preferred that at least the drinkers were still in the community and could stumble home instead of being lost somewhere else
    o Of course the drinkers too preferred having the Wine Shop close by and resisted efforts to have it closed

Reference 1 - 30.05% Coverage

M: Can you tell me something about the times when people living in Balaji Nagar itself worked together? Did NGOs make them unite together?

R: Once we tried. Before it could run in full swing, the "small savings scheme" [Self-Help Groups] was developed. So people split among many groups. Then 20 ladies were given training by the Pallikaranai Panchayat on preparing compost fertilizers using biodegradable and non-biodegradable garbage.21
M: Who gave the training?

R: The Pallikaranai Panchayat gave the training.

M: Were you given training? Was the self help group given training? What sort of training did you take?

R: We prepared compost fertilizers. We supplied them to many places. We have given [it] to IIT too. One Srinivasan from IIT came here to collect it.

M: What sort of training were you given? What did you do with the garbage?

R: We have to collect biodegradable garbage and dump them in a tub, we have to make them into natural compost, natural fertilizer. We sold the non-biodegradable garbage to particular shops. They have fixed rates for each item. We have to separate them first.

M: Oh...did you!

R: Among them we used to separate coconut shell, peel of orange, lemon and sweet lime to dry them and grind with a thing called shikai kai. It is used to wash hair in India. It was tested in laboratories and they said it is good. It cools down the head. We sold the shikai kai powdered.

M: When did this training happen?

R: It was given in 2004. We stated doing it. It continued until 2007. The Government allotted an amount of Rs 3 lakhs 20 thousand. But they neither showed us the accounts nor paid any salary or the same! So we left the job.

M: Were you supposed to be paid?

R: Yes. They [the Panchayat] should have given but they didn’t. We were even asked to open a bank account. They didn’t credit any amount except Rs. 20 per house. We were not able to run the show. Even that was irregular. For such jobs one should be paid at least 5 or 6k [per month] for the then-cost of living. The Panchayat didn’t pay even 10 paisa [penny] to us for collecting the garbage. We collected money from the residents along the lanes where we collected the garbage.

M: Did they take the money from the households where they sold the products?

I: Didn’t the Panchayat pay you anything?

R: No. They paid nothing. Even if the garbage cart [tricycle] had to be repaired they refused to do it and we had to do it. But we had to manage with the money by selling the products.

M: How many people were doing this?

R: Twenty women worked in that job.

M: Also Rahman Bibi worked with you?
**R:** Yes. She also jointly worked with us.

**M:** *Was it the same training which she took?*

**R:** Yes.

**M:** *How much did they promise to make and how much did they make?*

**R:** At first they [the Panchayat] did not commit anything. But they said - “You do it, we will give [pay] you”. The DRO [District Revenue Officer] came and talked to us. He was the Sub-collector. He said that we run the [waste management] group well. He asked us to open an account in the bank so that the amount could be credited into it. They said Rs. 20k would be sent to the bank for the twenty women [who were working]. They asked us to take the salary according to the [garbage] collection. But they didn’t give anything up to 2007. So [then] we stopped working for them. I still have the [bank] passbook with me.

**I:** *Did they pay the 20 thousand?*

**R:** They never deposited any amount.

**I:** *Do you know the name of the DRO?*

**R:** I forgot. He belongs to Kerala. He is a ‘Nair’ [caste name]. There was a M.D. [Managing Director], I remember her name. She is Nirmala.

**I:** *What do you mean by M.D.?*

**R:** I don’t remember. Her rank was under the Collector.

**I:** *Do you mean from the Slum Clearance Board?*

**R:** No. She was not from the Slum Clearance Board, it was during Jayalalitha’s period, during their previous tenure. The scheme was introduced at that time.

**M:** *Is this a [government] waste management scheme? Does this scheme has any name?*

**R:** Yes. It was a [government] scheme. It was adjudged in the Supreme Court.

**I:** *What is the name of the scheme?*

**R:** It is about cleaning the water. The plastic papers block the mud at the bottom which in turn spoils the water as well as arrests the flow. This does not allow the water to be absorbed by the ground. The underground water is gradually under threat! Thus this scheme was introduced by the government to protect the water and the underground water.

Reference 2 - 2.96% Coverage

**M:** *Given this experience would you think that working with the Panchayat or other government agencies would give a good outcome? Would you say that you would want to work with the*
government in future? Would you trust the government that they would give what they promise?

R: No. I would not want to. Government is eyewash. At first they would convince us and take us to their side. They would make us work hard. But finally we would not be paid.

Reference 3 - 3.62% Coverage

M: We were talking about the potential treatment where everyone shares one community unit...if the government is involved for some help, how would you react?

R: None of us would get involved in that. We would keep away from that. Why should we do when they do it?

M: What would others say?

R: What would they say? They would welcome the water!

M: What would they do if their cooperation is needed? If government provides fund and you have to arrange the laborers how would the people react?

R: They would say yes and do the needful.

Reference 4 - 12.84% Coverage

M: Given the previous experience in the waste management project how far would you be ready to work for the government?

R: Government dug deep bore-wells in many places to convert the saline water into better one. They gave us training for that. They taught us. We cannot bring mechanics from outside if there is any fault in the bore. Sometimes the chain may get cut. They made things ready; but they never turned back to repair things. Even after we reported to them that the pump broke down they did not bother to come and see what is wrong with that. There was no one to repair that. We tried our level best to repair it by ourselves as we were given a set of tools. The metal became a waste as it was corroded by the salinity of water. Another point is that the government did not pay any attention about it. They would bring a scheme and would never continue any follow up. They will not monitor them. The government built toilets here. They didn’t maintain them. We tried our level best to maintain. We collected Rs. 5 or 10 from the houses here to clean it and maintain. We couldn’t do it. It is useless now. It is unhygienic now.

M: When the government started something can’t you continue to fill up the gaps?

R: No. We are not able to do. It would stop at a level.

M: Is there any example like this?

R: They built canals. It was to take away the drainage water from the house. But it is not at all used or maintained. It is just not silted [dredged]. There is no outlet for the household drainage. Likewise the wastewater from the septic tank would also be left overflowing and unless we go and tell them they would not bother to clear it out.
M: So even in the situation when there is a big need, the government has moved away, service is collapsing, what you do to make it better again. Would you join together? Is there any example for this?

R: No. People have a tendency of thinking 'Why should I bother!'

Reference 1 - 10.10% Coverage

- The Panchayat doesn’t collect any taxes from MBN
  - Though the Panchayat isn’t getting any revenue from there, they are still providing toilets, streetlights (electrical supply), public water supply
  - But they maintain they are not officially responsible for providing services
  - They are providing services out of concern and cos MBN falls under their area

Reference 2 - 18.31% Coverage

What’s happening with the water main being put in next to MBN from Chennai Metro water – any plans to connect MBN into the city’s water system?

- Once the city expands to include MBN and Pallikarnai, it would become the CoC’s responsibility to provide water and sewage services in its own area
- For now, the Panchayat feels that they are doing what they can (and beyond the call of duty) at MBN
- It would be the Metro Water Department that would be able to answer the question on which parts of Velacherry will get connected to the new Metro water line
  - Water/sewage works financing follows the formula: 50% Panchayat, 50% Centre/State Gov’t

Reference 3 - 13.70% Coverage

What is the actual tenure situation at MBN?

- TNSCB is responsible for deciding on the patta matter
- The land at MBN belongs to the TNSCB, not the Panchayat
- The tenure situation is additionally complicated by the fact that there are both original settlers there as well as new-comers amongst (who have informally purchased land there, but are not the intended residents of the re-settlement scheme)
- The residents are not paying any taxes (so how can they claim to own the land?)

Reference 4 - 10.04% Coverage

What are the development plans on the part of the Panchayat for MBN?

- Cement roads are now being built in MBN
- Overhead water tanks (same water supply though – untreated lake water) have been planned and it has been approved already
  - But, no one has accepted the tender yet!
- Underground sewage lines and drainage are planned within the next 2½ years

Reference 5 - 15.73% Coverage

What are the barriers to the development of the community?

- There are no barriers per se → “If people demand it, we will do it”
• She feels that the people at MBN are irresponsible and are misusing the facilities that the Panchayat has provided there
  o E.g. breaking the water taps (but we know well why they feel they had to do this)
• She feels that people at MBN are not responsible people and don’t care for their place (she says this with disrespect and dismissal)
  o It is not due to lack of land tenure she says, but something due to their nature

Reference 6 - 10.41% Coverage

Would the Panchayat be willing to implement our household filter in the households of MBN?
• Panchayat cannot do anything for individual households
• “We can render the services that we already do”
• “We are already chlorinating the infiltration well intake 1-2 times a week” \(\rightarrow\) there is no water quality problem, they say…
  • The Panchayat is satisfied with their work\(^{25}\)

Reference 1 - 16.52% Coverage

• 3400 families re-settled to MBN in 1995
  o Into 4 sectors: Phase I – IV
    o Most people moved were informal dwellers at Mylapore\(^{26}\)
    o TNSCB gave the families Rs. 1000 at the time as re-habilitation
  • Education and employment were disrupted due to re-settlement
    o Many of the women were domestic help in their original area of Mylapore
    o “People have to accept, it’s a central government project.”
  • TNSCB conducted a socio-economic survey on the people who were to be displaced
    \(\rightarrow\) education, income levels, occupation, demographics
  • World Bank + Central Gov’t + “Land-owning Department”\(^{27}\) gave money for the MRTS development as well as the resettlements
    o He suggests going to speak to the Chief Engineer at the TNSCB for more info on the World Bank link
      • The TNSCB Planning Engineer says it’s not the case that the WB was involved in this project
      • Must look into WB Project directory\(^{28}\) to see if there was involvement at MRTS Chennai Mylapore and sort out this confusion

Reference 2 - 24.02% Coverage

• Plot size = 15 x 18 ft.
  o Totally empty land at time of re-settlement
  o Only street lights at the time
  o Plots marked by strings
  o Families had to build their own homes
• Families were entitled to a “Hire Purchase”\(^{29}\) scheme to gain ownership of the land
  o Rs. 70/mo. for 10 years and then it’s theirs\(^{30}\)
  o Before MCS\(^{31}\) \(\rightarrow\) Lease cum sale agreement (Temporary)
After Permanent patta (permanent)

- But people didn’t pay owing to the disruption of employment and income ops → not a single family followed through with the scheme’s payments
- Maintenance issues then arose:
  - E.g. garbage etc.
  - TNSCB had to scrounge for funds to support these on-going services → they didn’t have funds earmarked for these purposes (shit planning eh?)
  - They say they transferred to Panchayat but they also have no funds
    - They tried to collect ~5 Rs. To do sewage, waste management, etc.
- The Community Development Team at TNSCB did look after the following, after the re-settlement, from 1995-1997:
  - Schools in nearby areas for kids to attend; helped families to enrol their children
  - Arranged w/ NGOs to build two schools in MBN itself
  - Built ration shops
  - w/ NGOs did more educational support type works
  - Established a health clinic for which the TNSCB built the physical facility
- TNSCB looked after maintenance for 3-5 years → but then had to focus its attention on new re-settlement colonies that were coming up

Reference 3 - 17.80% Coverage

- Typically, TNSCB works in a re-settlement community for 7-8 years to help it get back on its feet
  - Usually it finds NGOs to do the work itself
  - They put out the ‘tender’ or the ‘right to work’ in a particular re-settlement community, on its development priorities
  - But there is no money given for these services to the NGOs!!
    - The TNSCB basically plays the role of outsourcing the government’s responsibilities to NGOs
      - It’s own role is limited to networking, connecting NGOs, other gov’t agencies to the community of interest
  - For services, the TNSCB focuses on getting (into the new community):
    - Police
    - Hospital
    - Ration supply
    - Water supply
- Wrt water supply, for the short-term, TNSCB will arrange for water lorries to come to the re-settlement community if there is no other water source, but only as a temporary measure → they don’t typically handle water supply
- Wrt electrical supply, TNSCB installed street lights, but not household connections
  - (The street lights have now been spliced to provide electricity to homes!)

Reference 4 - 9.38% Coverage

- It turns out, MBN was an experiment in re-settlement → give people nothing and drop them off on the edge of the city…
  - It was the 2nd re-settlement in Chennai that the TNSCB had ever undertaken
  - The first was another site in Velachery
Both of these “re-settlement” schemes involved the TNSCB not providing any form of housing (even tenement blocks) at the new site of re-settlement.

- TNSCB will not do any more of these MBN-style re-settlements → obviously it was a big fucking disaster (the interviewee says this with some regret and guilt)

<Internals\Interviews\INT #8 - CMWSSB - Notes> - § 1 reference coded [20.39% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 20.39% Coverage

- No history of working collaboratively with NGOs in water delivery
- CMWSSB also acts as a consultant for Panchayats outside of Chennai proper, but does not administer projects outside of its own zone

<Internals\Interviews\INT #9 - Rehman Bibi - Transcript> - § 4 references coded [65.72% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 6.30% Coverage

M: Hi...having a chat with Rehman Bibi. Hi...I just want to ask you about the history of housing in this area?

C: We are all building houses ...is it not? He wants to know who funded the construction and all details about it. It is growing from the starting time when you came to Mylai Balaji Nagar...till now. Can you please tell me about it?

R: We came here in '95 in the beginning. At first, the Slum Clearance Board vacated us and gave this place for us. When we came here we were given a house measuring [9 ft x 15 ft]. They gave us a flat [amount] of Rs. 500 Rs. for [reconstruction]. We built thatched houses here and started living here.

C: Was the Rs. 500 enough for you to construct a thatched house?

R: How will it be enough? We had to adjust and build!

C: Did all of you build houses?

R: Yes. We all spent around Rs. 5000 to 6000 each and built houses. They gave us a lorry which is usually used to transport garbage. Our belongings were filled in it and brought here [to Mylai Balaji Nagar from Mylapore].

Reference 2 - 25.54% Coverage

M: At that time [of the major fire in June 1998] were all the houses thatched?

R: Yes, all of them were thatched houses. Then they built us houses with the measurement of 9 feet breadth and 15 feet length. The roof was made of 3 layers of [asbestos] tiles.35

C: Who built it for you?

R: The Slum Board. We asked them to give us a jute cloth and 4 nails. We were defined as roadside [pavement] dwellers. The allotment mentioned us as Balaji Nagar roadside dwellers. That is why I used to ask every officer to give us all jute cloth and 4 nails. We can make a shelter and can sit under that!36 So they built us houses with seven pipes and a roof of tiles!
C: *Was it given for every family here?*

R: Yes. It was given for every family. At first they issued a token of allotment. They allotted houses for everyone according to their token priority.

C: *After the fire incident, initially they did not allot any houses. They just issued tokens. Then they installed seven [vertical support beam] pipes like this and then put a sheet...these kinds of sheets...* *<asking Rehman Bibi> Is it this kind of sheet? <Pointing to asbestos tile of a nearby concrete block home.>*

R: Yes.

M: *Was it after the fire? Were you first issued the tokens?*

R: Yes.

C: *Only roof and not the walls.*

R: It was not for the [whole] 15 ft. x 18 ft. area. It was only for the area of 9 ft. x 15 ft.

M: *Is it for a part of the house? Is it not for the full house?*

R: Yes. It is not for the full house. Some of the houses look the same even now.

C: She is telling some of the houses are left as it is.

R: *<She points out a nearby abandoned concrete block house> See here... This is the pipe laid by them and this is the roof they had put!*

C: *Is it! Did they make all the houses like this?*

R: Exactly the same.

C: *But there are walls!*

R: Yes. We went and quarreled. So they built walls too for the houses.

C: *This is what the Slum Clearance Board has built for them.*

M: *That is why they are so small. I see. Did they do it for free of cost?*

C: *Did they do it free-of-cost for you?*

R: Yes. They didn’t collect any money from us for the same.

M: *And then, how many people got that?*

C: He is asking how many of you got that...
R: All of us, everybody got that. All of us were issued a token and all of us were built these types of houses. All the 2000 families got it.

C: Whoever was residing here got the concrete block house.

M: What happened to those who were not issued the token?

R: There was no one who did not get a token! All of us were issued token and all of us got these built houses.

C: There were no people without token.

M: So 700 huts were burnt and...

R: As the huts were burnt [down], we couldn’t live here and that was the reason why the Slum Clearance Board built us houses with [asbestos] roof sheets and [concrete block] walls. Some [people] have 2 places [homes] here [in the community]. They can sell one and build a house using that money in future.

C: Amma...you said only 700 houses were burnt in the fire. But did they build houses for all the sectors?

R: Yes, even though the total loss was only for this second sector, the fire had spread to all the other sectors. Then they had laid pipeline of water for us. The Slum Board gave Rs. 24 lakhs to the Panchayat Board [to build the public water standpipes] and we signed some papers.

C: See... the Slum Clearance Board had given Rs. 24 lakhs to the Panchayat for water [supply improvements]. They had laid the water pipes [for the public standpipe system].

R: Swaran Singh [IAS officer] was the Chairman of the Slum Board at that time.

C: Did you also sign some papers?

R: Yes, I did. He [Swaran Singh] took three of us. We paid the money. We also signed some papers.

C: Three members from the committee went to the Panchayat with the Chairman. They paid Rs. 24 lakhs and signed some papers. They [the TNSCB] did not give the money to these people [from the community]. They took the money [to the Panchayat] and took three of them [community-members] with them [TNSCB]. These three were the representatives of the area and committee.

Reference 3 - 15.71% Coverage

: They [the Panchayat] pay the electricity bill too. The entire arrangement was by the Central Government because the Metro Railway was [a project] of the Central Government! So the Railway Department [central government body] assured [us] this location and a school for the children.
C: What she is telling: they were shifted under the MRTS plan. The Railway Department has promised that they will come and then they will construct park, schools and everything [here in Mylai Balaji Nagar]... That is how they had been re-settled here.

C: When did they tell you all these things?

R: They told in '93 itself. We sued a case against them. They [Railway Department] said that they had handed over everything to the Slum Clearance Board and so they would do everything for us.

C: Whom did you file a case against?

R: We sued against the Railway Department saying that we were residing in that area for 70 years and so we would not vacate.41

C: Who filed a case?

R: We, the public.

M: When was this case...?

R: It was in 1993. We were near Sai Baba Temple [in Mylapore]42. We were asked to vacate in the year 1993. I was the last one to vacate. I came out [here] in the year 1995. They said they are spending 11 crore for this project of railways [MRTS expansion] and so they brought us here.

C: They were asked to vacate in '93 and they vacated in '95.

R: Swaraj Patil was the judge in the [Madras] High Court. It was due to his judgment we all came here [to Balaji Nagar]. We were told that even if we lived there for many years and even if we have any number of pattas we have to give up because the land belongs to the Government of India. He said we had to vacate and [be] assured that all [re-settlement and rehabilitation] facilities would be done by them.

C: The judge told them that they had to obey his ruling. The Slum Clearance Board was entrusted with the responsibility [for their re-settlement and rehabilitation] and the SCB would do the facilities properly.

M: Did anyone try to fight back in the court that the slum clearance board did not do the facilities for you?

R: We don’t have any chance to talk because we were told that we have to give back the government’s land. We could not talk back because we were there without any patta in the government’s land. We had come just like that, it is not correct to encroach on the government’s land.

C: They had just encroached to the streets and they lived there. It is the government’s land. We encroached onto it. So we cannot claim any more. That is how people came out.
M: Who is responsible now for the lights, etc. [here at MBN]?

<R: The Slum Clearance Board has [been] paid money for everything in advance. The Railway Department had given the entire amount to the Slum Board. They [the Slum Board] are benefited by us. We were not benefited by them. We said there is no school. Sriram [a private charity] built this house.

C: Who is Sriram?

R: Don’t you know Sriram? He is the one who runs Sriram Chit Funds. Their charity club built this school. The Lions Club built the bigger school. They gave us a government teacher too. One Lord Mr. Akbar Ali of London [from the Lions Club] donated Rs. 40 lakhs for the school. The Lions Club had arranged to plant flower plants here near the school [as well].

C: She is saying that the Slum Clearance Board has paid the amount to the Panchayat.

M: Was it in the year 1998?

C: Yeah, that is what she is saying. This school was constructed by Sriram Chits [Charity Club] Finance Co. With the support of another NGO, they have constructed this school. And then the Lions Club had promised to do a tree plantation and other things. There is a person called Akbar Ali of the Lions Club. He had promised to donate Rs. 40 lakhs.

R: Sriram did not invite the Panchayat for the inaugural celebrations [for the schoolhouse]. They [Sriram] arranged everything by themselves. Sriram wanted to make it as a convent [private] school and to collect fees for the same [for enrolment]. But the Panchayat didn’t want to give up as the land owner was the Panchayat! They argued that only the building belongs to Sriram and if possible he could take it and go away [off the Panchayat's land]! I said Sriram is like the Lord Rama and he is capable of lifting the building! I shouted at the Panchayat Officer saying that he should not talk about it there inside the building. I said I have a CD of the speech delivered by the London Lord Akbar Ali. I told I would play it in front of the Madam. I said let this be a free English medium convent school. We were there for three hours quarrelling. We didn’t allow it. I asked if the Panchayat Officer if he was invited for the inaugural function at all. Now they have placed the discarded pumping station inside the building.

C: See... The school was constructed by the Sriram Chits and Finance [Company]. The BDO (Block Development Officer) and the Panchayat came here and told [Sriram] that the land is under the Slum Clearance Board. It belongs to the government. They [Sriram] wanted to make it into a private convent school.

M: Who?

R: Sriram wanted to make it into a private convent school. These people said no to the private schools. They wanted it to be a free [government] school. Sriram was running a free midday meals scheme here. They [Sriram] had also appointed a watchman. All these things were withdrawn. Sriram then handed over this place to the government and went away.
- Some 26 people seemed to have been involved in the waste management program that was implemented in MBN some years ago (the one started-up b/w EXNORA and the Panchayat)
- Only 3 people are still working on it (incl. Rehman Bibi), and not even at MBN (but at the nearby NIOT campus)

- This program has fallen apart for the following reasons:
  1. Ward allotment
  2. No tricycle
  3. No proper facility
  4. Salary problems

- When asked what needs to happen to make it successful, respondents say:
  1. They want a 5-year contract
  2. Permanent job facilities
  3. Minimum salary of Rs. 3000/-
  4. They want a job from the Kancheepuram District [gov't].

Annotations

1. Who is the Councillor specifically? Should do an interview with this person. JJ: members of Corp of Chennai are ‘councillors’ and the people from the municipality of Pallirkanai are the ‘ward person’
Srini: ward is a part of a panchayat, every ward has a representative member, and then the panchayt has a leader for the whole; in the city (corp of Chennai) the reps of wards are called counncillors

Councillor/Ward member for MB Nagar is: Manjula Jayaprakash (wife of Mr. Jayaprakash who is really running things behind the scene - he had been councillor before, but due to gender reservations, she ran in his place and he pulls the strings)

2. ***What does this mean? People in other sectors? Why would they try to stop them? JJ: indeed, the neighbours were criticizing her for taking the issue to the panchayat; this may be for the reason that some residents are afraid to engender enmity with the panchayat; alternatively, it could be gendered differences, men telling women to clean it at home, why make a fuss - need to follow up with Archana

3. What does this mean - contains 76% salt? or 76% of the groundwater contains salt? Either way though, the point is the same - the groundwater is brackish or saline and cannot be used for domestic purposes.

4. Can't decide if this is a failure or a success! I guess a little of both in a way.

5. JJ: the tamil word is ‘manvari’, it means land à there is one land tax only.

6. My notes indicate also 2005.

From notes:
people’s homes were flooded and they had to stay in the community hall; the gov’t provided food aid, but it was poor in quality

- In the face of this, people lobbied the gov’t to give 5 kg of rice to everyone
- Gov’t wound up giving Rs. 2000 to all the hutments

7. My notes say: 2-300 households came together for this agitiation (but there may be some issue with the veracity of the note, be warned).

8. SHGs have written to the DC with these needs some five months back.

- Need traffic police on Velachery Main Rd. as there are many accidents, at least one a week
- Want to shut down the Wine Shop
- Want a police station in the area as there too much crime and theft occurring
There is discussion elsewhere in another interview (I think it was with the TNSCB) where the process by which the government outsources the delivery of basic services to NGOs (with and without funding). This is important for the larger theme of privatization of governmental responsibilities.

Like what Ashok was talking about.

Rehman Bibi told us this name - Swaran Singh [IAS officer] was the Chairman of the Slum Board at that time [of resettlement].

CC = cement/concrete
BT = tar (i.e. asphalt?)

Rehman Bibi says they had a bad relationship with the Panchayat even though it was them instituted the waste management program...

To clarify - Did the Panchayat promise then not deliver? What’s the story here?

Srini says: Pallikaranai Panchayat didn’t give any income to the waste management workers, Nor did the people in MBN either. The Panchayat only built the waste-sorting shed and said that the community members should pay for the service itself. So in the end, the Panchayat didn’t pay the workers and then the MBN folk didn’t pay either -- so the whole program fell apart.

Was there some sort of formal agreement that was developed and then reneged on? Or was it informal, "word-of-mouth"?

Panchayat won’t support those who have the initiative either. A very limiting environment it seems.

***Battle b/w SCB and Panchayat on who is responsible, both are shirking.

Rehman Bibi is pushing for waste management, but saying the Councillor (lady) is not supporting it.

Rehman Bibi is so awesome.

FROM ON:
She wanted to start a large community group
But this was the same time the SHGs (by World Vision) were started
So people atomized to smaller groups, instead of a large collective
Also, the SHGs focused on microfinance activities, not community development efforts

This is interesting – the external creation of a certain kind of group forestalled the self-emergence of a possibly cohesive community collective!

This must be what Rehman Bibi was talking about, the failed waste management program.

From ON, to clarify:
The waste management program lasted until 2007 but then fell apart
Panchayat was supposed to pay the workers, but they never did
Panchayat was also supposed to collect fees for waste collection (Rs. 20/mo.) from each household to supplement the revenues
But gov’t never paid their share

From ON: Gov’t would pay 20k into that account à this along with the user fees and sales of products would sustain the work of the waste management program
But it never came! Group feel apart cos the lack of promised gov’t support

From ON: She says though the Supreme Court had ordered national waste management improvements in order to facilitate rainwater infiltration

ON: So this might be a rock and hard place situation – COMM might have benefits but the gov’t is too incompetent previous experience shows; HH would not be supported by the gov’t so it’d have to be independently done through the markets/NGO

ON: “Most” means that some formalized people were also swept up in the eviction

ON: What is that exactly?

ON: Do it; Ask Shafi for guidance on where to find project listings

i.e. lease to own agreement

This sums to Rs. 8400

What does this refer to? I think it refers to the land ownership scheme.
Transferred what exactly?
Helped financially? Or helped with referrals, paperwork?
ON: This is important.
So after the fire in 1998, when many thatched houses were destroyed, the TNSCB started to build the concrete block shacks with the asbestos tile roofs.
I think she's being sarcastic...! Oh Rehman Bibi... what a lady!
That is why these houses are a little set back from where the road ends.
Public standpipe network built in 1998 after the big fire.
Ok, so the TNSCB got a community committee of three people to go with the TNSCB Chairman to the Panchayat, hand over 24 lakhs in funds, and agreed and signed a plan to build the public water standpipe network. (In the wake of the fire, water supply must've been demanded!!)
It's not clear here who 'they' is that pay the elec bill, but from previous explorations, I take it that it is the Panchayat.
This seems to have been an act of judicial resistance against their initial displacement from Mylapore.
This is just southeast of the current Mylapore (Thirumaylai) MRTS station, along the path of the tracks.
This is a major Indian savings and investment corporation.
I believe she is referring to the small school house that is now at the side of the Lions Club School grounds.
This guy seems to be an MBE who does philanthropic work around the world.
This is fascinating... something here about entrepreneurship, charity, and the state. The entrepreneur wanted to bring education to the dispossessed, so he paid to have a school built on public lands that didn't belong to him, and then wanted to charge to make it a private school. Amazing....

See Also Links
1 Internals\FGD \FGD #1A - Archana Follow-up - Notes
ii Internals\Interviews\INT #9 - Rehman Bibi - Transcript
Name: Nodes\Analytical I\Relationships with NGOs & Private Sector

Description: - Description of works that NGOs/private have done in MBN
- What are the positive experiences and the negative ones?
- General Bin
- DO NOT AGGREGATE
**Name:** Nodes\Analytical I\Relationships with NGOs & Private Sector\Businesses

**Description:** - Instances where businesses are discussed

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**Reference 1 - 6.66% Coverage**

R: Yea, community level is since we got some knowledge we know the truth there, so the community level is going to help. The people also think like that, then they will come forward. So the families, they are very concerned about their own families. So this is a good thing. So we can do it. If we boil your water, our children will be health, we will be health, like that. If it is community, so they will be 'ohhh... nobody... who is going to come do?' like that they will think. So many exploitation happened.

M: *What do you mean exploitation?*

R: Yeah, the government says, and some few NGOs came. Their only purpose is... they will say microfinance and this that. So their only purpose is paying interest.

M: *Like a bank?*

R: Yeah, so they will came and give money and get things then some times extra money, in between people, so you have to take care of 10, then 10 repay, that is your responsibility, one is not repay, then fight will be there. Another will not give, a fight will be. So their only motive is the interest, not for the community, not for the family, not for the individual. So whatever we do, World Vision thinks about building the family, not the house, the family, so family relationship.

M: *When you say there’s been exploitation, you mean that it prevents people, it makes people want to stay in their house and take care of their own family first. Cos there’s not some trust - is this the issue?*

R: So if going for community level, you should have pukka cooperation from the community, then only you can go ahead. Otherwise... you can take your time and explain everything.

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**Reference 1 - 5.59% Coverage**

M: *What would they [the recipients] use it [the loan] for?*

R: If we have to get a loan from outside private parties [commercial banks] it would be 5 paisa per one rupee. Instead we can get loan here! We can use it for the education of our children. We also use it for emergency purpose for our household.

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**Reference 2 - 8.38% Coverage**

M: *What is L&T?*

R: It is in Saidapet. They also do the same thing [provide loans]. They also formed women’s groups.
C: There are lots of organizations [working] in this way [providing loans]. The rate of interest would be less than other outside private parties [banks]. That is why they give loans to the entire group. If they do so, the entire group would be held responsible to repay it, this is why lot of organizations are doing this microfinancing.

Reference 1 - 2.14% Coverage

C: As a [self help] group they take loans and divide that amount. With the help of that amount they can make use of it for a business opportunity.

R: The benefit in this is if we take a loan from an outside [moneylender], we have to pay interest of 10 paisa [per rupee per month], we have to pay interest of Rs. 10 for Rs. 100 per month. This is the interest rate of the bank!

C: She says that the interest is very high if she goes for a bank. It is 12% per annum [in the self help group]. Whereas the outside [moneylenders] can even charge up 30 to 40%!

M: Is it a national bank, a government bank?

R: Yes.

M: The private banks charge very high rate of interest?

R: No no, it is not bank. Please tell him we are not taking any loans from the bank. It is like a private individual who charges high interest. We are not getting it from the private parties.

R: We are getting loans from the bank through the [self help] group association. We are allocating that too [to community-members]. If we lend them [community-members] Rs. 10,000, they have to repay Rs. 500 every 15 days. They are repaying 24 installments in one year, that is in 12 months. This is also...

Reference 2 - 1.19% Coverage

M: What is the sangam?

R: The sangam is formed by those who are in these [self help] groups. At the same time, those who are not in the [self help] groups can also be in this [the sangam]. Public people can [also] be in a sangam. They can do social service. They built this school as a private school. But as far as our area is concerned, we don’t have that much money to afford the [private school] fees. We wrote is [a protest letter] through the group [the sangam] and sent it to the Collector’s office. We wrote that what we need is a free government school. Now it [the private school] has become a government school. People make use of it very well.

Reference 1 - 15.98% Coverage

We said there is no school. Sriram [a private charity] built this house.
C: Who is Sriram?

R: Don’t you know Sriram? He is the one who runs Sriram Chit Funds. Their charity club built this school. The Lions Club built the bigger school. They gave us a government teacher too. One Lord Mr. Akbar Ali of London [from the Lions Club] donated Rs. 40 lakhs for the school. The Lions Club had arranged to plant flower plants here near the school [as well].

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M: Was it in the year 1998?

C: Yeah, that is what she is saying. This school was constructed by Sriram Chits [Charity Club] Finance Co. With the support of another NGO, they have constructed this school. And then the Lions Club had promised to do a tree plantation and other things. There is a person called Akbar Ali of the Lions Club. He had promised to donate Rs. 40 lakhs.

R: Sriram did not invite the Panchayat for the inaugural celebrations [for the schoolhouse]. They [Sriram] arranged everything by themselves. Sriram wanted to make it as a convent [private] school and to collect fees for the same [for enrolment]. But the Panchayat didn’t want to give up as the land owner was the Panchayat! They argued that only the building belongs to Sriram and if possible he could take it and go away [off the Panchayat's land]! I said Sriram is like the Lord Rama and he is capable of lifting the building! I shouted at the Panchayat Officer saying that he should not talk about it there inside the building. I said I have a CD of the speech delivered by the London Lord Akbar Ali. I told I would play it in front of the Madam. I said let this be a free English medium convent school. We were there for three hours quarrelling. We didn’t allow it. I asked if the Panchayat Officer if he was invited for the inaugural function at all. Now they have placed the discarded pumping station inside the building.

C: See... The school was constructed by the Sriram Chits and Finance [Company]. The BDO (Block Development Officer) and the Panchayat came here and told [Sriram] that the land is under the Slum Clearance Board. It belongs to the government. They [Sriram] wanted to make it into a private convent school.

M: Who?

R: Sriram wanted to make it into a private convent school. These people said no to the private schools. They wanted it to be a free [government] school. Sriram was running a free midday meals scheme here. They [Sriram] had also appointed a watchman. All these things were withdrawn. Sriram then handed over this place to the government and went away.

Annotations
1 So what I understand is that the FEDERATION is the collective representative body of the SELF HELP GROUPS. Only SHG members can join the federation. On the other hand, there are many people (women only?) who are not in the SHGs and thus can’t join the Federation. For them, there is also the SANGAM which is open to all (women?) irrespective of whether one belongs to a SHG or not.
2 This must be the Sriram Chits Charity story that Rehman Bibi talked about.
3 This is a major Indian savings and investment corporation.
4 I believe she is referring to the small school house that is now at the side of the Lions Club School grounds.

5 This guy seems to be an MBE who does philanthropic work around the world.

6 This is fascinating.... something here about entrepreneurship, charity, and the state. The entrepreneur wanted to bring education to the dispossessed, so he paid to have a school built on public lands that didn't belong to him, and then wanted to charge to make it a private school. Amazing....
The land is owned by the Slum Board. She says when people were moved here this was treated as a sites and services project. The only thing that people were provided was water and sites. She acknowledges that even toilets were not provided, but they should have been. [At some point World Vision built the one toilet block which is in Sector 4. (Is this correct?) People are still using this toilet even though there is no water in the block. They use the toilets with their own water.]

Francis has an NGO called Community Research and Development Trust and apparently they have been engaged with MB Nagar for the last 4 years. His involvement with MB Nagar started in 2003 when he visited MB Nagar as part of a church project with the Peniel Mission Trust. The church was already active in Sector 1. The Peniel Mission Trust received funding from the Geneva Global Network which is a coalition in Geneva that funds initiatives for the economic empowerment of the poor. Through this they were supporting women’s self-help groups, (which were originally set-up by World Vision) in a number of activities such as: sewing, and the making of candles, pickles, papadams, toiletries, etc. Women also got loans of Rs.1000/each to facilitate the abovementioned activities. None of these activities are taking place through that Mission Trust any longer or through any other process or NGO. Francis says he left the Mission Trust due to financial irregularities as he did not think the money was being spent as it should be. Soon after, he formed his own NGO and somehow got involved in teaching women sewing. The NGO has been getting financial support from a retired German woman who visits India on and off. The NGO has 7 members and apparently also has sewing projects in some rural areas in Tamil Nadu (TN).
Which is from Pallikaranai [but] is also helping here. [Another is] Growing Opportunity. Should it be water related? <13:40>

C: Everything!

P4: Gramavidiyal, Mahasemam.

P3: All these are women’s group movements.

P4: World Vision has organized and provided 200 tanks for the collection and storage of water in all four sectors for its members. And there are proposal to provide 300 more in April – May [2011].

C: Are there any more NGOs [active here]?

P4: Janalakshmi, LNT...

C: You have identified the [outside] organisations working here, but are there any [community-based] associations found in Balaji Nagar itself?

P4: Yes, there are resident welfare associations such as "Five Star Welfare Resident Associations." [There are] some training associations in the second sector and there are many youth associations in the different sectors [that are] not necessarily associated with political parties.

Reference 2 - 3.02% Coverage

C: You have identified many service-based organizations and associations here in Mylai Balaji Nagar. Can you tell us what are some of the activities of such organizations?

P4: World Vision has done many such works. We came here in 1995 and there were many huts here then and there [were] no facilities for education for our children. World Vision sponsored education for our children by adopting 400 of our children, organized 50 women’s group movements [SHGs] and provided loans of various kinds such as housing loans and loans for doing other business and also helped in providing driving licenses. Many such helps were provided by World Vision.

C: What are the works done by other organizations?

P4: Hand in Hand India had helped in the following ways. For the 8th-class failed students, they helped them to continue their education and to pass the 8th-class. And for the 9th-class failed candidates to complete the SSLC [Secondary School Leaving Certificate] or the 10th-class. Education to illiterate ones and non-schoolgoers was [also] helped with education [by] helping them to enrol in schools. [Other organizations] also formed many women’s group movements [SHGs] and provided [them] with many loans.

Reference 3 - 0.39% Coverage

P4: They are also getting many tailoring machines in the second sector and there are also attempts to provide free tuition to the students in Balaji Nagar.

Reference 4 - 0.77% Coverage
C: What happened after extinguishing the fire?

P4: Everybody helped in that act.

C: Everyone from the four sectors came forward to help [with] it?

P4: Yes, everyone came forward to help. World Vision also helped, they provided whatever was needed in the homes for the families [that lost their homes].

Reference 5 - 2.15% Coverage

C: Have you done any other thing water to solve the water crisis besides taking this water and the photos of it [to the Panchayat]? Has any other organisations or groups supported your cause of reporting to the authorities of the water problem?

P4: The women’s groups cooperated with us. Especially World Vision conducted a meeting of its women's group members and asked the Councillor about the water problems. The Councillor promised that the [tap] water will be more regular, instead of every 20 days. Since then, the [tap] water came regularly, within every 5 or 6 days, as the Councillor had promised, and then after that, [it has gone back to the] water occasionally coming [after up to] 20 days. Water comes regularly in the first few weeks of the Councillor's promise, every 5 or 6 days, but nowadays water comes in 10 days or a week or even after 20 days!

Reference 6 - 1.45% Coverage

C: So you have identified doing water treatment at the community level and you have also rightfully identified the working of many organisations and associations working here. What are the ways by which these organisations can contribute in bringing this community level water treatment [to be], [to make it] more beneficial and accessible to more people in the community?

P4: World Vision has provided bigger tanks (one lorry capacity water tanks) in all the four sectors for water storage so water can be made available to all people making use of group-wise distribution.

Reference 1 - 0.62% Coverage

M: What are the formal and informal associations that work for you in Mylai Balaji Nagar?

R: Only two organizations are here - they are Magalir Kuzhu and World Vision.

Reference 1 - 1.48% Coverage
C: What are the welfare groups or associations here that have done some welfare things here in Mylai Balaji Nagar that have worked here?

P: World Vision. World Vision has helped us lot. Since we did not have any storage facility to store water, World Vision has provided us with Sintex tanks of 500 litre capacity. They have also provided us with bleaching powder to clean the water storage tanks.

Reference 2 - 0.95% Coverage

P: They [World Vision] have given us the [water] tanks. They have not given it free but gave it for Rs. 2000. They are giving it for the third time. Hence, [they set] such price of Rs. 2000.

Reference 3 - 1.05% Coverage

P: There were notice boards kept in the women’s [self-help] group that asked everybody to participate in the agitations and the request letter was written then stating the lack of basic amenities here and presented to the World Vision office to be sent to the government [Panchayat].

M: So, can you tell me a bit about, over the course of 15 years in MBN, what kind of projects did you work on?

R: MBN is a re-settlement area. There were inaudiblein the city. The SCB asked us to inaudible. They called all the Chennai-based NGOs to do that. So we started in 1993 and became full-fledged in 1996. So based on that, at that time, what are the needs? According to need we start that. That time we built this centre, the government provide only the land. So they need a centre. So we provide thatches for 300 houses, families, then another need was children. So they were in the part of the city, they were in the different schools, after they came here, so they were in the street and roaming, so the government approach us to start the education-related program. So we started a daycare centre, irrespective of age, first year. Then another NGO, New Life Development, started a school with the help of World Vision, then we restricted our daycare centre to it.

Reference 1 - 11.85% Coverage

R: So based on that we started. Then schools. We are not started school. With the help of other NGOs, New Life. We provided school building, we build the school building.

M: This is the one in Sector 3?

R: New Life, yes, third sector. Then we started tuition centres for school-going children, then slowly we started SHGs, then we post SHGs, then we started community-based organization, women’s association. Then we used to have 12 projects. Health, education, economic development,
leadership, moral education, community facilities, then [inaudible], then [inaudible]-based programs, street children, then all ... likewise we had a program in our New Hope ADP. So based on that we have started slowly programs... the major program is housing program. Twelve times in a year, fire broke out. Because the land is allotted by the government, most of the families are not settled there because of lack of basic amenities - water sanitation, EB connection, this and all, so they stay back in same place or nearby places, like that. So only the huts is available, so in the hot summer season, the fire easily came. How it came is social evils, some leaders, some goondas. Each will get Rs. 1000 when the fire broke out. So there are a few houses are not peopled, there are few houses in which people are living, but those that are living are affected. But they are all affected, only the huts are broken, so they get the Rs. 1000. So I discussed with my Team Leader, so why don’t you start something for housing? Initially we started 100 houses, then 200, we increased it. Later on, the prices is raised, the rate. So we collaborate with Habitat. Then all the programs did through CBO. So the amount will be repaid to CBO, not World Vision, the purpose is the another person will get the house or benefits. So through them also they gave more than 100 houses.

Reference 2 - 2.00% Coverage

M: Let me ask you about these community-based organizations. These were started by World Vision, or did they emerge by themselves? Did people organize themselves?

R: This was started by World Vision.

M: Also, the women’s SHGs, also started by World Vision?

R: Yeah, this is purely started by World Vision. Later on its their own, they stand on their own.

M: They became independent later on?

R: Yes.

M: And then in the initial phases, they were helped along. I see.

Reference 3 - 0.18% Coverage

No single tree. So we provide so many trees,

Reference 4 - 1.24% Coverage

Almost all the families we have touched. Any program, housing, tuition, daycare, SHG, women also, youth association, any one of the program, the family benefits. So those that are older, I vote that they become a leader of the SHGs. So they told us, World Vision is a good thing. They are coming for us.

Reference 5 - 2.31% Coverage

And also there is, in Chennai, we have so many NGOs, nobody came there. Very few came. But they came with some objectives, whether we can do with the help of government funding, like that. So there is a potential but no one. For example, you take it Kannagi Nagar, there are 200 NGOs are working there! If we ask the NGO, each NGO say, I went there first! I was there before! I was... Okay, what have you done? Nothing. Only for your record you are there. So here is the lack of NGOs not came there. Two NGOs came, lack of funds they went back - New Life and Kuupa.

Reference 6 - 6.66% Coverage
R: Yea, community level is since we got some knowledge we know the truth there, so the community level is going to help. The people also think like that, then they will come forward. So the families, they are very concerned about their own families. So this is a good thing. So we can do it. If we boil your water, our children will be health, we will be health, like that. If it is community, so they will be ‘ohhh... nobody... who is going to come do?’ like that they will think. So many exploitation happened.

M: What do you mean exploitation?

R: Yeah, the government says, and some few NGOs came. Their only purpose is... they will say microfinance and this that. So their only purpose is paying interest.

M: Like a bank?

R: Yeah, so they will came and give money and get things then some times extra money, in between people, so you have to take care of 10, then 10 repay, that is your responsibility, one is not repay, then fight will be there. Another will not give, a fight will be. So their only motive is the interest, not for the community, not for the family, not for the individual. So whatever we do, World Vision thinks about building the family, not the house, the family, so family relationship.

M: When you say there's been exploitation, you mean that it prevents people, it makes people want to stay in their house and take care of their own family first. Cos there's not some trust - is this the issue?

R: So if going for community level, you should have pukka cooperation from the community, then only you can go ahead. Otherwise... you can take your time and explain everything.

Reference 7 - 6.44% Coverage

C: Do you have incidence of doing something with the community's cooperation, and failing, because by knowing MBN is saying household-level is best. Do you have any examples saying that why are you saying community-level, do you have some experiences?

R: Yeah you are going to community level nah, who are the partners? So that is depends. Who is going to take responsibility? So who is going to go do? Even now you are doing research. You are, you have, IIT have power. So there is no help for the people, so they are looking you. So they are coming for 2 years, so nothing happened. People is thinking like that. So they want to do something. And also whatever you are doing you have to tell the people, so we are doing this and this, it will take time, this time that time. So you are approaching very few people and they are not, they are closing. Usually people will not explore good things. Sometimes they want, if the benefit for her, they will tell if it is not going to benefit anything, they will tell. For example, if I give so many schemes on the meeting, they will not tell everybody. It depends on the individual persons. Is there any person to help, that particular person they should listen to get to the ... like that. You are doing it, yes, you have to tell everything to the whole community so they can be aware. This is my suggestion. Whatever you are going to do, we will cooperate, whether we are working there or not. So I will cooperate. Because that is my lab, that is my heart, so I can help, and also I can help instruct my people to cooperate.
M: *Tell me about Grama Vidiyal?*

R: It is almost the same. They give education loans and festival loans.

M: *What is the percentage rate of interest?*

R: It is one and half paisa per rupee per month for Mahalsa <audio unclear here>.

C: *It is 18% per year.*

Reference 2 - 18.56% Coverage

M: *How about Growing Opportunity?*

R: It is the same in Growing Opportunity too. The interest is 1.20 paisa per rupee per month. The office is in Tambaram. They will help us if we have to do self-help business like handicrafts. The meeting would be held once a month. They also help in the education of children. These things would be discussed in the meetings. They also give awards for the group which has achieved the maximum [output] on [International] Women’s Day.

M: *Will they form a central group or do they meet one and one basis?*

R: They will always from groups. They will never meet anyone individually. The loan is also given only to groups and not to individuals [i.e. microfinance model].

M: *What would they [the recipients] use it [the loan] for?*

R: If we have to get a loan from outside private parties [commercial banks] it would be 5 paisa per one rupee. Instead we can get loan here! We can use it for the education of our children. We also use it for emergency purpose for our household.

Reference 3 - 11.79% Coverage

M: *What about Hand in Hand?*

R: It is focusing especially on children. It is for informal education. It is helpful for informal education -- especially for the drop-outs from the schools. They have separate hostels for boys and girls. Everything would be provided freely for them including dress and food. They give education up to the 10th standard. They also help if the child wants to study further -- [up to] 12th standard or college education. They help in getting admission in schools and colleges. They also visit the houses of Balaji Nagar. Anyways they didn’t visit mine. They [also] help in toilet cleaning and [standpipe] tap-replacing.

Reference 4 - 4.16% Coverage

M: *How about Janalakshmi?*

R: They also provide us loans. It is a monthly loan. They give loans of six or seven types. They give normal loans, jewel loans, housing loans etc. Even these are given for lower rates of interest.

Reference 5 - 8.38% Coverage
M: What is L&T?

R: It is in Saidapet. They also do the same thing [provide loans]. They also formed women’s groups.

C: There are lots of organizations [working] in this way [providing loans]. The rate of interest would be less than other outside private parties [banks]. That is why they give loans to the entire group. If they do so, the entire group would be held responsible to repay it, this is why lot of organizations are doing this microfinancing.

Reference 6 - 2.06% Coverage

M: Tell me about 5 Star Welfare…?

R: They are only in the second sector. I don’t know what they actually do.

R: World Vision made arrangements [for cleaning the public toilet blocks]. There was one person appointed for it. He withdrew as he didn’t receive any salary. [Now] they don’t wash it every day. It was very dirty. It was not hygienic. So we built an individual toilet.

<Internals\Interviews\INT #15 - World Vision - Transcript> - § 6 references coded [11.83% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.56% Coverage

M: They have joined together to work on their own business opportunities and to take loans as a group?

C: After joining to form a group, you all do separate works. Is it not?

R: Yes. They [World Vision] have given us opportunity to enhance our economic condition using whatever business talent we have.

Reference 2 - 0.53% Coverage

R: We also discuss about the lack of water supply and water tanks [at the federation meetings]. The rate of the tank is Rs. 2000. But we said we [World Vision] would give only Rs. 500. If we pay Rs. 500 the tank becomes ours. We come to a solution for many problems during these discussions!

Reference 3 - 1.07% Coverage

R: World Vision says the people who are very poor are classified as "BPL". How can we select them among the 10,000 people [living in Balaji Nagar]? First, we took census and we divided them into categories. We classified them into rich, middle, poor and very poor [socioeconomic groups]. We allotted marks accordingly. They get loans to do businesses. Those who had not much property [of their own] got more marks and thus [were eligible
for] got more loans. They were given more housing loans too. Even now people do many businesses through this World Vision [facility]. Rice business etc…

Reference 4 - 1.85% Coverage

R: We do social services for the public. At first, World Vision was giving aid to the college-going poor people. These days almost every one studies in the colleges. So they give preference for those who go for technical education. World Vision has started giving importance to technical education.

C: What do you mean by technical education?

R: Diploma.

R: Training. As soon as they complete the 10th standard they go for it. They go for nursing, computer, etc.

C: Will they [World Vision] help to pay the fees?

R: Yes, they would. But they will not help for engineering education because it is a college education. If the training is regarding a skill they would help. Electrician, plumbing, driving, nursing, polytechnic… they help for all these things. They pay the fees.

C: Previously they were giving support for children’s school education and college education. Now they are focusing more on skilled education. Electrician, plumbing, driving, nursing courses means they give money. They pay the fees.

Reference 5 - 4.11% Coverage

R: We came here in the year ’99. Water was not like this at that time. Water used to be very good then. It was good to drink too. It was also good for cooking rice. It was so for about 5 years. But now…if we cook the rice in the morning it is not at all good by 12 noon or 1 PM. However costly the rice is…the cooked rice is not good if we don’t pay for the water [lorry or bottled water]! The cooked rice gets spoiled. The salinity of water is high here. The water as well as the cooked rice has a bad smell. World Vision told us that they would build a [water storage] tank for us. But the Panchayat wouldn’t agree to that! Our NGO was ready to take up the responsibility and complete the job. They [World Vision] said that they would build an overhead [water supply] tank so that the entire area [of Mylai Balaji Nagar] can get water every day [24 hour supply]. But the Panchayat said that World Vision should hand over the money to them and they said only they will build it and World Vision would not be allowed to do it! The work could not be completed just because it was not agreeable for World Vision. That is why the [Syntex water storage] tanks were bought. Ten or twenty people join together to buy good [lorry] water and we are using it. We need not pay Rs. 2.50 each and every time. The major problem is that the government does not help us at all sir… till date! Then three or two [self help] groups join together to buy bigger [Syntex water storage] tank. Even that was done by the World Vision and not the government.
C: See -- if the water is not coming they will write to the Panchayat. So that is what they will do [what is required to rectify the water supply]. What World Vision did was, they gave Syntex [water storage tanks].

R: The capacity of the Syntex [tanks] is 500 liters.

C: They [the self help groups] bought [lorry] water and filled it [the Syntex tanks]. They paid for that [lorry] water. And then World Vision also wanted to construct an overhead tank so that they can store the water and they can supply regularly. But the Panchayat asked for the money to be paid to the Panchayath. But World Vision --

R: <jumps in> As far as World Vision is concerned, it would give materials and it would not give money as such.

Reference 6 - 3.71% Coverage

M: Many of you have got filters already. Would World Vision support implementing and maintaining such a device if it is supplied at the household level?

R: Certainly. We will arrange for a meeting [with the World Vision officers]. You come and talk in the meeting. They will be ready for it. In fact they wanted to get a branded water filter called "PureIt". But it was not possible due to the budget. You give your device. We will tell our people. Will the device be suitable for our water? Do you mean to say you need funds? Our contract ends in October as far as this area is concerned. That is why they wanted to supply the water filter "PureIt". But the cost [per unit] was Rs. 1500. They couldn’t buy it. Instead they got us [Syntex] tanks. We have applied for 100 more tanks. Most of them [residents] have Syntex at home [now].

M: She says that World Vision wanted to get them a costly water purifier. It was beyond the budget. So they got Syntex tanks for them.

R: In fact they have extended the [ADP] contract for one more year. They want to find out how we do things.

M: So after September World Vision will not support them, is it?

C: Yeah. Even now fresh funding is impossible. They just continue the prevailing services. Now they are observing how these [self help] groups do their various activities.

R: Even a few days back, World Vision conducted an awareness program in the nearby school. The Head Master was also there. If you want to find out if they would provide funds you have to talk to them. We can’t. You should have informed earlier.

R: Please talk to them. Even during the last meeting the [World Vision] manager asked if there is any possibility to make the prevailing water drinkable in our area. Even the madam [Ms. Sarela, Director at World Vision] mentioned that they want to do some help to build the overhead tank here.
R: We liked her way of talking. She has understood our needs.

C: Yeah, I too talked to her once.

R: I remember that.

C: Her name is Sarala.

R: Yes. She is Sarala.

M: What are the projects [you] have been involved with?

R: Initially we have been involved with World Vision under their ADP [Area Development Project] project. We joined Self-Help Groups and have been involved in various activities through the SHGs. Then [we also worked] with Kuupa, [which is] another organization that has worked with us [here]. They [Kuupa] have constructed permanent shelters under a 20 years loan scheme. And then we [have also] worked with Exnora for the collection of garbage from Mylai Balaji Nagar.

Later Pallikaranai Panchayat selected us for a solid waste management project. Under this we collected the garbage from [around] Balaji Nagar, as well as in and around Pallikaranai. In this [project], we segregated the garbage into biodegradable and non-biodegradable wastes. We constructed a compost shelter at the Panchayat and then we left it to Exnora since we did not have cooperation or a good relationship with the Panchayat.11

I am still working with Exnora. Exnora is not working in Balaji Nagar now however since there is no cooperation from the people in the community. In the initial phase, they were planting trees across the community and had done solid waste management activities.

R: Exnora planted trees in the school located at Sector 2 [the Lion's Club School]. I have put a compost shed in Sector 2 near the Councillor's house. But it is been removed now because there was no cooperation from people as well as from the Councillor. This [compost program] was done in collaboration with the government and Exnora International.
R: I left the ADP project of World Vision because they provided subsidized loans only to Scheduled Caste SHGs, but not to Muslim and Backward Class community groups. So I left the ADP project along with 4 SHGs. I also asked for subsidized loan for the Backward [Class] community as well as to Muslim SHGs, but they refused to do it so.

Reference 4 - 3.07% Coverage

I was able to meet many people to raise funds to construct this hospital. Social work students from Stella Maris College helped us a lot. Mr. Mathews only brought these Stella Maris students here. Along with the Stella Maris students, we used to visit the Rekha Hospital to help us in setting up of this hospital. There were [volunteer] doctors from the Rekha Hospital that used to visit this place before the construction of this hospital.

Reference 5 - 1.81% Coverage

R: Mr. Francis who worked here also conducted entrepreneurship trainings such as tailoring training and I asked him not to give them a loan and knock on their doors. So he has distributed 35 tailoring machines to households and they have benefited out of this.

Reference 6 - 4.86% Coverage

M: Do you know of many projects running in Mylai Balaji Nagar? Are there any examples of people working together?

R: Yes, there are several projects where people are working together. Even the ADP project [World Vision] is the best example of people working together. In the ADP project, they formed Self-Help Groups and they conducted several programs. They have conducted many awareness [raising] programs and they only encouraged us to be bold and brave and to come out of our homes and ask for our needs. Through the ADP project they have conducted many entrepreneurship trainings and with the initiative of this project they constructed permanent houses. ADP has been working for 15 years here!

Reference 7 - 1.59% Coverage

Initially, Mr. Darwin [officer from World Vision] took the initiative, but nowadays it has become harder to see him in the community. Even the [World Vision] ADP has left saying that their projects are over now [in Balaji Nagar].

Reference 8 - 1.56% Coverage
Initially, people were together for joint action. Now they are focused on individual satisfaction. In the beginning, the [World Vision] ADP focused on community-building, but now they [have] just turned to giving loans alone.\(^{16,17}\)

Reference 9 - 2.11% Coverage

R: In the [World Vision] ADP, they allotted 2.50 lakhs loans in which 1.25 was subsidy and 1.25 lakh was loan. There were two groups. One group was Scheduled Caste and another group was Backward Class. They said subsidized loans were for SC only and not for BC. So I did not sign it and I left the group.

Q: Can you tell us about the work of WV in MBN over its history?

World Vision (WV) began to work in Mylai Balaji Nagar (MBN) in 1996. Its first task it undertook was the creation of crèches for childcare in each of the four sectors. In 1998, WV started a sangam (a community-based organization) in MBN, from which self-help groups (SHGs) were spawned.

1998 was a trying year in MBN. There were some 10 fires in the community in 1998 as the primary housing there at that time were [thatch] hutsments which were very risky for fires. There was a big one in which one old woman and one child who used to attended the crèche lost their lives and "thousands" of huts were destroyed. This was the context into which the SHGs grew in order to help the community get back on its feet.\(^{18}\)

WV bought housing materials worth Rs. 10, 000 including sand, bricks, cement, etc. and made it available to people in MBN so they could rebuild their homes. After this, WV also initiated noon meals in the crèches, offered night classes and after-school programmes to offer kids opportunities in the evenings, and also set up a hospital with a doctor in the community initially (which is now run by St. John’s Ambulance).

Reference 2 - 8.02% Coverage

WV had also spent some Rs. 2 lakh to place overhead water tanks on the public latrines, drill boreholes, install motorized pumps to move water to the tanks and have it available for washing and cleaning in the public latrines. Around the time that the cleaning programme began to fall apart, the motors were stolen from the pumps. The community’s response to this was mixed at this point. WV
attempted to mobilize women in the community to approach the police to file a report and they were ready to do this WV says, but WV claims that the menfolk were not supportive of this and prevented this from happening. At a loss, WV then approached the Panchayat to take over the responsibility of managing and cleaning the latrines, as WV would have to be leaving shortly anyway at the end of their ADP (Area Development Program). The Panchayat accepted the responsibility, but then did not do anything.

Reference 3 - 7.79% Coverage

Q: What are other works that WV has done or that they are planning for the near future?

WV has largely stopped giving out money for skills development training and other activities such as this and is now asking debtors to repay to the Sangam, so that it can carry on work in MBN. WV is at the end of its 15-year ADP at MBN and looking to transition out now.

WV also looked into a RO plant as a community-level water treatment system at MBN to utilize the GW and augment the supply. They drilled several boreholes and sent it for testing at PWD (near to the IIT). The analyses indicated that the water is way too saline to be effectively treated at this location. The reports are no longer here at the WV office at MBN, but at the office at Purasaiwalkam. The boreholes they drilled have also been unutilized as the water is too brackish for people to use directly.

Reference 4 - 3.88% Coverage

Q: If WV was to do a water treatment project in MBN, which way would it go: household or community level?

Initially, WV has always had the preference to do community level interventions, even with challenges. But with many bad experiences, this is changing. WV are increasingly focusing on household level initiatives after these failures. For instance, WV is shortly going to be distributing 500 L tanks for each household in MBN.

M: Do you remember any incidents where the community here joined together and worked together ....cumulatively...for some cause here in this area? For what have you joined and worked together?

R: Yes. We have worked here... We all joined to form the "Mother Teresa Women’s Progress [Improvement] Association". World Vision of India invited us to join as members. I got loans from 10 to 25k each and built houses here. The houses had thatched roofs here [before].
They caught fire and burnt. People joined together. They belonged to 250 households. They trusted me and gave Rs. 38 lakhs to build houses [to replace those lost in the fire].

Then we told them that we didn’t have hospitals. There was one doctor Beulah. She used to come only twice a week. There was another organization called YWAM. There was one more association called as Grace Founders [this was interpreted as “Christ Foundation” by Srinivasan. Raniamma’s pronunciation is likely to have been wrong]. They all helped to some extent. They came here 3 times a week. There was no facility of doctors here at that time. They used to come and sit here. They used to give tablets and medicine. There were no doctors to give immediate attention here at that time.

Reference 2 - 3.81% Coverage

M: Do people have to pay back the loan given for constructing the houses?

R: We had to return 50% of it, it was subsidized. There are some helpless senior citizens here who were abandoned by their sons and daughters-in-law. We also provided lunch for 35 elderly people every noon. [This scheme was interpreted as ‘day care center’ for elderly people.]

I: Does it happen even now?

R: No. It is not going on now. It was stopped.

I: How long did it happen?

R: We provided for around 8 to 9 years.

I: Who supported it?

R: It was supported by World Vision.

Reference 1 - 9.11% Coverage

Typically, TNSCB works in a re-settlement community for 7-8 years to help it get back on its feet

- Usually it finds NGOs to do the work itself
- They put out the ‘tender’ or the ‘right to work’ in a particular re-settlement community, on its development priorities
- But there is no money given for these services to the NGOs!!
  - The TNSCB basically plays the role of outsourcing the government’s responsibilities to NGOs

Reference 1 - 15.98% Coverage

We said there is no school. Sriram [a private charity] built this house.
C: Who is Sriram?

R: Don’t you know Sriram? He is the one who runs Sriram Chit Funds. Their charity club built this school. The Lions Club built the bigger school. They gave us a government teacher too. One Lord Mr. Akbar Ali of London [from the Lions Club] donated Rs. 40 lakhs for the school. The Lions Club had arranged to plant flower plants here near the school [as well].

C: She is saying that the Slum Clearance Board has paid the amount to the Panchayat.

M: Was it in the year 1998?

C: Yeah, that is what she is saying. This school was constructed by Sriram Chits [Charity Club] Finance Co. With the support of another NGO, they have constructed this school. And then the Lions Club had promised to do a tree plantation and other things. There is a person called Akbar Ali of the Lions Club. He had promised to donate Rs. 40 lakhs.

R: Sriram did not invite the Panchayat for the inaugural celebrations [for the schoolhouse]. They [Sriram] arranged everything by themselves. Sriram wanted to make it as a convent [private] school and to collect fees for the same [for enrolment]. But the Panchayat didn’t want to give up as the land owner was the Panchayat! They argued that only the building belongs to Sriram and if possible he could take it and go away [off the Panchayat’s land]! I said Sriram is like the Lord Rama and he is capable of lifting the building! I shouted at the Panchayat Officer saying that he should not talk about it there inside the building. I said I have a CD of the speech delivered by the London Lord Akbar Ali. I told I would play it in front of the Madam. I said let this be a free English medium convent school. We were there for three hours quarrelling. We didn’t allow it. I asked if the Panchayat Officer if he was invited for the inaugural function at all. Now they have placed the discarded pumping station inside the building.

C: See... The school was constructed by the Sriram Chits and Finance [Company]. The BDO (Block Development Officer) and the Panchayat came here and told [Sriram] that the land is under the Slum Clearance Board. It belongs to the government. They [Sriram] wanted to make it into a private convent school.

M: Who?

R: Sriram wanted to make it into a private convent school. These people said no to the private schools. They wanted it to be a free [government] school. Sriram was running a free midday meals scheme here. They [Sriram] had also appointed a watchman. All these things were withdrawn. Sriram then handed over this place to the government and went away.

Reference 2 - 8.73% Coverage

C: Amma, please tell me about the World Vision and the housing facilities here.

R: World Vision paid money and constructed [houses] in 1996. They paid a part and we paid the rest of the amount. They paid [for] good houses. A service organization called "Keep All" built us eight terraced houses here.

C: Where are those houses?
R: They are there on that side of the street. They got a loan from HDFC [commercial bank] for 20 years and built houses on a loan. Around 20 families got those houses.

C: How many houses were built by World Vision?

R: 50 to 60 houses were built by them.

C: Didn’t they get the house at first?

R: Everyone got. World Vision built that house that is of Raniamma. Go and see.24

C: They demolished their original houses and built pucca houses.

M: So…basically whoever has got a [pucca] house now has done it with loans from a bank or NGO?

R: Now people also spend some [of their own] money to build.

C: She is saying that now people are putting some money these days [and building without loans].

R: There are houses built with the help of "Keep All". They have finished the loan in 10 years. The EMI was Rs. 350 or something.26 But the bank waives Rs. 17,000 saying that it is waiving the interest.

M: OK, that was everything I wanted to know about.

R: The allotment papers were collected from them and handed over to the owners of the houses.

Annotations

1 Not only Hand in Hand India does loans, but the loans were also provided by other organisations.
2 Who is the Councillor specifically? Should do an interview with this person. JJ: members of Corp of Chennai are ‘councillors’ and the people from the municipality of Pallirkkanai are the ‘ward person’

Councillor/Ward member for MB Nagar is: Manjula Jayaprakash (wife of Mr. Jayaprakash who is really running things behind the scene - he had been councillor before, but due to gender reservations, she ran in his place and he pulls the strings)

3 i.e 4-5000 L tanks!

4 These is the Tamil name for women’s SHGs

5 They is... World Vision, I presume? So the big tanks weren’t given out for free by World Vision but offered for Rs. 2000? I’m unclear on this. But it’s not really so important.

6 Gaming for development goods - NGOs have to set prices to control over subscription.

7 Who is ‘Habitat’? Habitat for Humanity? What exactly was the collaboration here?

8 There is discussion elsewhere in another interview (I think it was with the TNSCB) where the process by which the government outsources the delivery of basic services to NGOs (with and without funding). This is important for the larger theme of privatization of governmental responsibilities.

9 Equivalent to 14.4% per annum.
“Below Poverty Line” people says Srini. Was originally entered as "POP" by Vedha, but Srini clarified the actual meaning.

Rehman Bibi says they had a bad relationship with the Panchayat even though it was them instituted the waste management program...

Srini: Sudras = labourers = low-caste people à reservations and welfare schemes to uplift them

Also, Scheduled Tribes (ST) have many benefits as SC, but also some additional ones, as they are more disadvantaged.

Muslim and Christian converts from the SCs, lose their SC benefits as they are re-classified to Muslim/Christian BCs (BCs have less benefits compared to SC)

Disadvantaged groups but not so much as Shudras i.e. Vaishyas.

Curious to know more about this, but not a pressing concern wrt research.

I sometimes talk about how HWTS may lead to the degradation of social cohesion... though obviously a causative relationship is impossible to establish here, it may be the case that the focus at MBN of SHGs on individual loan-giving (i.e. micro-capitalism) has encouraged individualism and the break-down of community cohesion and cooperation.

World Vision too retreated its mandate from comm.-development to loan-giving.

This must be the context of the 'fires-for-profit' that Darwin Moses talked about! It seems to have been early on in the settlement's history (1998) when there was inadequate kachha housing and volatility in terms of crime and power-brokers in the community

ON: This is important.

This is a major Indian savings and investment corporation.

I believe she is refering to the small school house that is now at the side of the Lions Club School grounds.

This guy seems to be an MBE who does philanthropic work around the world.

This is fascinating.... something here about entrepreneurship, charity, and the state. The entrepreneur wanted to bring education to the dispossessed, so he paid to have a school built on public lands that didn't belong to him, and then wanted to charge to make it a private school. Amazing....

Indeed, Raniyamma's house in the 4th sector is one of the pucca concrete, whitewashed, single levels homes that most people live in. So these homes arose out of a financing scheme involving the banks and World Vision.

Indeed, World Vision has had a huge role in building this community up to its present state.

Srini sez EMI: Equated monthly installment

This sums to Rs. 42,000
**Name:** Nodes\Analytical I\Relationships with NGOs & Private Sector\Political Parties

**Description:**
- Instances where local political parties and action groups and their roles are discussed
- Role of partisan politics

**Reference 1 - 0.62% Coverage**

C: *Are there any associations of the political parties?*

P4: Yes, there are also organizations and activities associated with various political parties such as DMK, AIADMK, Viduthalai Chirathigal Katchi (VCK), Congress and other political parties.

**Reference 2 - 1.97% Coverage**

C: *When did that occur?*

P: A flood came when there was heavy rains and there was no place to take rest. [There was] water everywhere. Water came into our houses. Water everywhere...

C: *Why is the wine shop still open now?*

P: People protested against it, but it was all in vain. People did not protest enough.

P: People even damaged the wine shop, but the wine shop has not closed!

P: They have even relocated the ration shop from here because of the wine shop and put the wine shop here and the ration shop in Kaivelli!

P: The wine shop is run by the members of the political parties. It was hard time getting things from the ration shop because of the wine shop. People were not able to buy anything.

**Reference 3 - 0.69% Coverage**

P: We are not going to leave [this place]. If the present government [DMK] is elected then they might give us patta. If the woman Jayalalitha [ADMK] is elected then we might not get it.
R: Yeah, second sector. This is issue, they wanted to have a roadblock. But the liquor shop owner already covered the leaders, with financially as well as liquor. They confused the particular women, those who are going to lead things. So, today, tomorrow, morning, or afternoon, so like that. So one person came with 15 members, policeman came and went. Another day another political party they put all the flags, but nobody stand there.

Reference 1 - 1.80% Coverage

I: How about the wine shop issue? Who did that?

M: It is politics! The Viduthalai Siruthai party men started [the wine shop] and a few women from the second sector joined to support them. It is the party of Thirumavalavan.

Reference 1 - 3.07% Coverage

M: How are the different political parties present here in Balaji Nagar? Do they have associations? What do they do for you?

R: They do not do anything. Who does anything for us?

M: Do they have associations?

R: They mind their own income! <Laughs> They want to earn. They don’t help poor people like us. There is no street light or anything [here]. Only now they have slowly started [to provide basic amenities]. Just now they have stepped into our area! It was there in the beginning. It is not there now!

M: DMK...ADMK....?

R: Only now they have started the work regarding the drainage. They have laid the cement road only now. The Panchayat does something when some political parties celebrate the birthday of their leaders, they do a service here and a service there! Otherwise they [the Panchayat and the political parties] don’t do anything!

M: Do the men here involve themselves in political parties?

R: A lot of them! Almost everyone is involved. Even women are involved in the first and second sectors. Every male in almost all sectors are involved. There is a section called “Ilaignar Pasarai” [youth wing] for ADMK.

M: Which party is the most popular in this area?

R: Overall ADMK is the most popular party. ADMK always wins here.

M: DMK is less...?
R: Yes.

Reference 1 - 0.86% Coverage

R: Ten years back Karunanidhi (the then Chief Minister) said he would give free patta for lands occupied by pavement dwellers. We went and gave request to the CM’s cell straight in the hands of M.K. Stalin (Deputy Minister and son of Karunanidhi). They said they would look into the matter and just collected the requisition papers. No progress was there! We have approached almost all the places. We have even approached the Fort and Collector [state government officials]!

Reference 1 - 1.06% Coverage

I am eagerly looking forward for the next government. I am expecting that the forthcoming government may help this [waste management] project further.

Reference 1 - 4.78% Coverage

- Ashok says that according to a law that the previous DMK gov’t passed people should get *patta* after 10 years of residence at a place
  - However, they’ve been there for 16 years and nothing has happened
  - Other places that were informal have been formalized this way
  - Ashok is in fact a DMK “ward member” in the “party alliance” (i.e. a grassroots worker for the party)
    - Some twenty petitions and letters have gone to the Collector, to the Deputy CM (formerly Stalin) to get *patta* through this law (even 5 to the “CM cell” which typically responds strongly within 24 hours) à but all to no avail

Reference 2 - 2.79% Coverage

- There were some cases of political organizing however, one that he mentions is the effort to have the Wine Shop removed from MBN (Sector 2)
  - This effort failed cos for political reasons à the owner of the Wine Shop was well-connected and scuttled their efforts by keeping the authorities on his own side (I heard AIADMK mentioned, but not clear)

Annotations

1 My notes indicate also 2005.

From notes: people’s homes were flooded and they had to stay in the community hall; the gov’t provided food aid, but it was poor in quality
In the face of this, people lobbied the gov’t to give 5 kg of rice to everyone
Gov’t wound up giving Rs. 2000 to all the hutments
C: You have identified many service-based organizations and associations here in Mylai Balaji Nagar. Can you tell us what are some of the activities of such organizations?

P4: World Vision has done many such works. We came here in 1995 and there were many huts here then and there [were] no facilities for education for our children. World Vision sponsored education for our children by adopting 400 of our children, organized 50 women’s group movements [SHGs] and provided loans of various kinds such as housing loans and loans for doing other business and also helped in providing driving licenses. Many such helps were provided by World Vision.

C: What are the works done by other organizations?

P4: Hand in Hand India had helped in the following ways. For the 8th-class failed students, they helped them to continue their education and to pass the 8th-class. And for the 9th-class failed candidates to complete the SSLC [Secondary School Leaving Certificate] or the 10th-class. Education to illiterate ones and non-schoolgoers was [also] helped with education [by] helping them to enrol in schools. [Other organizations] also formed many women’s group movements [SHGs] and provided [them] with many loans.

C: You said that you had worked collectively with World Vision to address the water problems and even met with the Councillor collectively. What was the response or cooperation or help of other people in other sectors in Balaji Nagar?

P4: When we asked the [Self Help] groups, the group members came along to address the water problems. If there was no water in the plot or sector or in the street, then the people in that particular sector or plot or street came together to address the water problems.
R: The Magalir Kuzhu helps with a lot of things... they give Rs. 10-20k loans which we should reimburse within one year.

R: They buy us sarees... one saree per year.

R: They conduct meetings then and there.

I: *Do they do any other society-related services? Is there an ADP?*

R: No. Not like that

R: They help us to pay school fees. I didn’t get it. Many people got here.

R: They didn’t give us any.

R: But still it is going on.

M: *Do they focus on financial help?*

R: We pay 100 rupees per month. They collect it and give us Rs. 5-10k [loans] when we are in need. Our own money is rotated.

Reference 2 - 2.14% Coverage

M: *Are there any groups which work on water issues?*

R: The women’s self help groups give water for Rs. 3 per pot. They also gave water storage tanks. The cost of the tanks is Rs. 1300. We can reimburse the amount as a lump sum or pay it monthly, as per our convenience.

R: Anyways, we have to pay and get it.

R: There is a lady called ‘Vijayakka’. We asked her. She arranged for this water through World Vision. They give us a can of water if we give a written request bearing the name of the group and our name with a seal of the [self help] group.

R: They give it in whole lot.

Reference 1 - 0.54% Coverage

C: *Are there any other groups or women’s groups?*

P: There are lots of women’s [self-help] groups - [there are] 40 in number in the four sectors.

Reference 2 - 1.05% Coverage

P: There were notice boards kept in the women’s [self-help] group that asked everybody to participate in the agitations and the request letter was written then stating the lack of basic amenities here and presented to the World Vision office to be sent to the government [Panchayat].
Reference 1 - 2.25% Coverage

R: New Life, yes, third sector. Then we started tuition centres for school-going children, then slowly we started SHGs, then we post SHGs, then we started community-based organization, women’s association. Then we used to have 12 projects. Health, education, economic development, leadership, moral education, community facilities, then [inaudible], then [inaudible]-based programs, street children, then all ... likewise we had a program in our New Hope ADP. So based on that we have started slowly programs... the major program is housing program.

Reference 2 - 2.00% Coverage

M: Let me ask you about these community-based organizations. These were started by World Vision, or did they emerge by themselves? Did people organize themselves?

R: This was started by World Vision.

M: Also, the women’s SHGs, also started by World Vision?

R: Yeah, this is purely started by World Vision. Later on its their own, they stand on their own.

M: They became independent later on?

R: Yes.

M: And then in the initial phases, they were helped along. I see.

Reference 3 - 5.66% Coverage

M: So, building on this point, as you develop SHGs, CBOs, and did all these different kinds of projects in MBN, what were some of the obstacles you encountered mobilizing people, some of the difficulties you had... what were they?

<Marker 25:45>

R: Yeah, forming two groups. I took it one year to form just two group. And the next year, I formed 20 groups.

M: Why was that?

R: Yeah. Two groups there are so many struggles. All the people they themselves say we are not good people, each person is blaming others not themselves. Our womens are not like this. They will not give money. They will not come for meeting. Then I gave so many trainings and this and that, first you come. Don't worry about others. Like that they came and they joined. So few people came, few people are middle, few people are behind, so the middle people, if it is good, we will join, otherwise we'll go back. And that people is ok, we'll see, what will happen, like that. Then this people, function, meeting, and everything then it's become mandatory, you should become one of the groups or one of the CBOs like that we come. At the same time, the government also introduced the self-help groups. Before the government, we started, because we are an international
organization. We had Bangladesh, so we started at that time. Then we re-arranged everything according to the government needs.

Reference 4 - 4.35% Coverage

M: So these are examples of the people petitioning or lobbying the government. Are there any examples of people doing the service themselves?

R: That is for nearby houses in that, so they are helping with the money with the [inaudible] and for [inaudible] at the time, the houses are free. Somebody came with nothing, so they give one house, you can stay there like that. Then each projects, our projects, they contributed 10%, 15% like that. Each and every projects. And the SHGs also, they are helping themselves for the things. Then we gave so many things as assistance. That money came back to the groups and the CBOs the helped so many people. Personally they are helping for sick persons, this person, and they took it to the hospital, TB person was there, and they took care. Even HIV/AIDS person is there. Old age person is there, they took it to the hospital, and they provide some foods and all like that.

M: So people support one another, when there are times of difficulty?

R: Yeah, yeah. But not that much. But they have their <inaudible>.

Reference 1 - 7.54% Coverage

C: Can you explain about those organizations [that have worked in Balaji Nagar]?

R: <Inaudible> ...at first they [SHGs] gave loans for Rs. 5000. We have to give Rs. 131 every week. From that amount, Rs. 11 would be taken as savings. In case something happens in the middle, it would be used as insurance and for the education of our children. They are having a [partnership] with Bajaj Alliance [a savings bank].

Reference 1 - 0.92% Coverage

M: How many women are in this ‘self help group’?

R: Fifteen members are there [in that specific group]. [Generally], twelve to twenty members are allowed to be in a group. We have fifteen [here].

M: What is the average size?

C: Twenty.

M: Twenty is the average size?

C: Yes. Maximum [actually].

M: How many self help groups are there [in Balaji Nagar currently]?

R: 45 groups are here.
C: 45 groups are here.

M: OK, that means 900 people! And only women...

R: Yes. All are only women.

Reference 2 - 2.46% Coverage

C: As a [self help] group they take loans and divide that amount. With the help of that amount they can make use of it for a business opportunity.

R: The benefit in this is if we take a loan from an outside [moneylender], we have to pay interest of 10 paisa [per rupee per month], we have to pay interest of Rs. 10 for Rs. 100 per month. This is the interest rate of the bank!

C: She says that the interest is very high if she goes for a bank. It is 12% per annum [in the self help group]. Whereas the outside [moneylenders] can even charge up 30 to 40%!

M: Is it a national bank, a government bank?

R: Yes.

M: The private banks charge very high rate of interest?

R: No no, it is not bank. Please tell him we are not taking any loans from the bank. It is like a private individual who charges high interest. We are not getting it from the private parties.

R: We are getting loans from the bank through the [self help] group association. We are allocating that too [to community-members]. If we lend them [community-members] Rs. 10,000, they have to repay Rs. 500 every 15 days. They are repaying 24 installments in one year, that is in 12 months. This is also...

C: So if you take a loan of Rs. 10,000 you have to repay Rs. 12,000 [via the self help groups]. Is it so?

R: Yes. We have to. The sangam and the federation do it together.

Reference 3 - 0.63% Coverage

M: How does the federation differ from the sangam?

C: There would be two representatives from each self-help group in the federation.

R: There would be a meeting once in a month.

C: Whoever is selected from the self-help groups will form the federation.

M: One federation for the entire Balaji Nagar?

R: Yes, yes. We meet once in a month.
M: What is the name of the federation?

R: In Tamil it is "Magalir Kuzu Koottamaippu".


M: What does the federation do?

R: The federation does social works. It also arranges for loans. A meeting would be conducted at the end of every month. The maintenance of the group would be looked after. We would give them trainings to write the [loan] notebooks. See this. The notebook would be like this. 
<shows us a loan listing with names of recipients etc.>

R: There are also instructions on how business should be done. We give a methodical training of how to manufacture certain items. Work is taught. I am not able to tell the appropriate word...

M: Oh! Is it work-shop training?

R: Yes, yes! We give training for them to make acid, phenol, detergent powders. <she identifies it as SURF which is a brand name of detergent powder>

R: The notebook contains the instructions of the items to be made in the workshop. It is a coaching system.

C: It is training for self employment.

R: Even if someone suggests a job opportunity we would announce it to our members. Just if they talk to those two members [from each SHG in the federation] it would reach all the twenty [in each of the SHGs].

R: We also discuss about the lack of water supply and water tanks [at the federation meetings]. The rate of the tank is Rs. 2000. But we said we [World Vision] would give only Rs. 500. If we pay Rs. 500 the tank becomes ours. We come to a solution for many problems during these discussions!

R: We update many news to them [also].
C: See -- they meet and discuss every month. They give some training, some news and awareness. Two members represent each [self help] group at the federation.

R: Only if we tell [the representatives then] the [self help] group members would know about it!

Reference 8 - 1.26% Coverage

R: We solve health problems too!

M: What sort of health problems do you solve?

C: He is asking what sort of health problems do you solve?

R: We help those who have TB and wheezing [asthma]. We give them a card. They can take it to the hospital and get free medicine. They can get weekly medicines for many months. The nearby hospital representatives come and supply us with the medicines. The sisters would give instructions about the dosage. The patients would collect it from us. If they don’t [come to] collect it we go and call them to [come] collect it and then supply the same to them. Even that is one of the achievements of our self help groups. Many people were cured by this method!

Reference 9 - 0.19% Coverage

R: If there are no self help groups, there is no federation. If there is no federation there is no sangam!

Reference 10 - 0.47% Coverage

M: What is the sangam?

R: The sangam is formed by those who are in these [self help] groups. At the same time, those who are not in the [self help] groups can also be in this [the sangam]. Public people can [also] be in a sangam. They can do social service.

Reference 11 - 1.06% Coverage

M: I want to know more about the sangam. How many people are there in the sangam?

R: There are 800 people in the group. The total would be more than 1000 anyways. We celebrate International Women’s Day, is it not? The sangam, [self help] groups and the federation are involved in that.

M: So the sangam also has only women or --

C: He is asking is the sangam having only women or are there men too?

R: Yes [men are also present in the sangam].
R: Yes.

C: It is named as Mylai Balaji Nagar Women’s Sangam, no?

R: The sangam is a registered body. Everything comes under sangam.

Reference 12 - 1.01% Coverage

M: Will the federation and the sangam continue after World Vision leaves?

R: Definitely we will continue. There is no doubt in it. For the past three years we take our salary from this. There is no separate salary for us. We had servants even for sweeping this place. But we have stopped her and we do it ourselves. We are able to run for three years. We will not waste money.

C: She says they will continue. They have been running this [the World Vision office in Balaji Nagar] for three years.

M: Will they continue after September?

C: Yes, yes.

Reference 1 - 4.86% Coverage

M: Do you know of many projects running in Mylai Balaji Nagar? Are there any examples of people working together?

R: Yes, there are several projects where people are working together. Even the ADP project [World Vision] is the best example of people working together. In the ADP project, they formed Self-Help Groups and they conducted several programs. They have conducted many awareness [raising] programs and they only encouraged us to be bold and brave and to come out of our homes and ask for our needs. Through the ADP project they have conducted many entrepreneurship trainings and with the initiative of this project they constructed permanent houses. ADP has been working for 15 years here!

Reference 2 - 2.20% Coverage

M: The ADP project has helped people to work together?

R: Yes, the ADP Project has established 42 Self-Help Groups and even in the last week they observed International Women’s Day. I have become aged so I have not been involved in many projects [of late] and I have asked some others to take the responsibility on.
Q: Can you tell us about the work of WV in MBN over its history?

World Vision (WV) began to work in Mylai Balaji Nagar (MBN) in 1996. Its first task it undertook was the creation of crèches for childcare in each of the four sectors. In 1998, WV started a *sangam* (a community-based organization) in MBN, from which self-help groups (SHGs) were spawned.

1998 was a trying year in MBN. There were some 10 fires in the community in 1998 as the primary housing there at that time were [thatch] hutments which were very risky for fires. There was a big one in which one old woman and one child who used to attended the crèche lost their lives and “thousands” of huts were destroyed. This was the context into which the SHGs grew in order to help the community get back on its feet. 4

Q: What are the activities that SHGs are involved in at MBN?

The SHGs were started in 1998 and today there are some 50 groups active in MBN. They are mostly involved in offering small loans to their members. In 2000, a Federation of SHGs was started that helps SHGs to better link to banks. The Federation was also linked to the government of the District of Kancheepuram. The Federation was made up by bringing 2 members from each SHG to about 12 members or so, who then all join together and form a Federation. It is very common practice for SHGs in many communities.

SHGs have also been the entry-point into MBN for other activities initiated by WV. WV has facilitated the installation of 5000 L water tanks in each sector, which are managed by SHGs. Each tank costs Rs. 20,000, of which WV contributed half as a subsidy. The remaining Rs. 10,000 for each tank was paid for by a SHG, that then was responsible for maintaining it and then collecting payment for water disbursed, in order to recover their investment. Chennai Metro Water lorries come to MBN and sell their 5000 L cargo for Rs. 600 to the SHGs who fill the tanks with this water, and then over the course of the next while sell relatively clean water to households at Rs. 2 per 15 to 20 L container. This has the benefit of extending the availability of water in MBN for when the taps are not turned on for some time, and also providing an ostensibly better source of water than that which comes out of the taps. Private households in MBN who have sumps or other forms of bulk water storage also purchase water in the same way and sell it Rs. 2.50 or 3.00 per 15 to 20 L pot (the pots vary in size, but are typically around 15 L according to Srinivasa Ramakrishnan).
At the given rates – the SHG sells 5000 L of water purchased at Rs. 600 at Rs. 2 per 15 L pot – they earn Rs. 666.67, which is a Rs. 66 profit from their initial investment of Rs. 600. If it is sold at Rs. 2.50 or Rs. 3 per 15 L, as private households with sumps do, they make a Rs. 833 and Rs. 1000 respectively. These are profitable margins of Rs. 233 and Rs. 400 respectively. It seems selling the water at around Rs. 2.5 per 15 L is highly profitable – hence the SHGs offer a more accessible alternative for extra water supply than private actors.

Since water is one of the primary problems at MBN, the SHGs have had a big role in trying to improve this situation. WV requests that we also do some more works to improve this situation. WV says the water quality is so bad here that a snake even came out of the public tap recently!

SHGs have also been involved in trying to manage and improve the sanitation facilities at MBN (i.e. the public latrines that were initially built by the TNSCB). They were trying to organize a sustainable latrine cleaning initiative but it has ultimately failed. They asked households to provide Rs. 10 per month to hire an attendant (from outside of the community) who would come and regularly clean the public latrines, but this effort failed.

Reference 3 - 3.21% Coverage

Q: What are other works that WV has done or that they are planning for the near future?

WV has largely stopped giving out money for skills development training and other activities such as this and is now asking debtors to repay to the Sangam, so that it can carry on work in MBN. WV is at the end of its 15-year ADP at MBN and looking to transition out now.

Reference 1 - 1.92% Coverage

M: Can you tell me something about the times when people living in Balaji Nagar itself worked together? Did NGOs make them unite together?

R: Once we tried. Before it could run in full swing, the "small savings scheme" [Self-Help Groups] was developed. So people split among many groups.  

Annotations

1 Not only Hand in Hand India does loans, but the loans were also provided by other organisations.

2 Who is ‘they’? I assume they mean the government. ... Actually, on second thought, it seems to me that he is referring to people themselves living in the community. I’ll code as such now, but will follow up with Srini on this (this afternoon)

> Srini says that this is likely to do with the major post-fire rebuilding event in MBN in 1998. At this time, WV provided loans and financing for people to build their homes. This may have been a small grant or subsidized loan to cover part of the prices of building a whole house.
So what I understand is that the FEDERATION is the collective representative body of the SELF HELP GROUPS. Only SHG members can join the federation. On the other hand, there are many people (women only?) who are not in the SHGs and thus can't join the Federation. For them, there is also the SANGAM which is open to all (women?) irrespective of whether one belongs to a SHG or not.

This must be the context of the 'fires-for-profit' that Darwin Moses talked about! It seems to have been early on in the settlement's history (1998) when there was inadequate kachha housing and volatility in terms of crime and power-brokers in the community.

FROM ON:
She wanted to start a large community group
But this was the same time the SHGs (by World Vision) were started
So people atomized to smaller groups, instead of a large collective
Also, the SHGs focused on microfinance activities, not community development efforts

>>> This is interesting – the external creation of a certain kind of group forestalled the self-emergence of a possibly cohesive community collective!
Reference 1 - 8.06% Coverage

Apparently, the folks who were moved from Mylapour were pavement dwellers and not slum dwellers per se. She [Dr. Buvana] said that 2,700 families were moved to what is today MB Nagar. [Perhaps not all of them?] She acknowledged that they were just dumped there and abandoned by the Slum Board. And she feels that even today they are just forgotten by the Board. There were no rehabilitation processes nor any other infrastructure provided to them then or since.

Reference 2 - 8.50% Coverage

The land is owned by the Slum Board. She says when people were moved here this was treated as a sites and services project. The only thing that people were provided was water and sites. She acknowledges that even toilets were not provided, but they should have been. [At some point World Vision built the one toilet block which is in Sector 4. (Is this correct?) People are still using this toilet even though there is no water in the block. They use the toilets with their own water.]

Reference 3 - 15.05% Coverage

According to the Slum Board, this re-settlement is a 20 year lease arrangement. Residents who were given the original piece of paper and land allocation are expected to pay Rs. 90/month for the land and services. After 20 years they would be owners of their plots. She insisted that the collection staff of the Slum Board was collecting money and that that was all the Slum Board had to do with the residents. The town panchayat is responsible for the maintenance of all services. [I did some investigation about the Rs. 90 payment. Apparently, no one is paying this amount and the people I spoke with in MB Nagar have not seen the slum board in either a year or two years. It seems they would have last gone to MB Nagar when there was the discussion about upgrading via the JNNURM scheme. According to the town panchayat council this was more than a year ago.]

Reference 4 - 22.02% Coverage

An unrelated note [contextual information].
Apparently, slum dwellers in metropolitan Chennai number about 12 lakhs. They are a third of the total population of about 7.5 or so million inhabitants. Eviction of slum dwellers from the city to the periphery is still an on-going activity of the Slum Clearance Board. When we arrived to meet Dr. Buvana we had to wait for over an hour while she negotiated with 2 men from the government about where 500 people could be moved. They had to identify a site fast and clean it up as the Japanese who are financing Chennai’s Metro Rail wanted to see where the people would be moved to. Most of the current evictions are development-related evictions, related to the expansion of the Chennai Metro Rail. 15,000 families are and will be moved to the South of the city off the road to Mahabalipuram. She tells us that they have much better schemes for the evicted these days and that they now only move them once the infrastructure is in place including schools, post office, police post, hospital, water, toilets, houses, etc...

Under the JNURM 35,000 houses will be built for the urban poor in metropolitan Chennai. However, these homes are going to be very tiny – from 250 – 320 sq. ft. only depending on family size.

Mylai Balaji Nagar is a re-settlement colony of about 10,000 low-income residents. In 1995, about 2700 families of mostly pavement dwellers were evicted from Mylapore (Central) Chennai to a wetland in the southern periphery of the city. They were evicted for the construction of a railway station and left on the wetland without any services or infrastructure except a plot per family measuring 15ft x 18ft. While access to safe and sufficient water was not a problem in the early years of the resettlement; today, there is a severe problem of both water quantity and quality. The supply of water via standpipes and water tankers is sporadic, arrives without warning, and sometimes at intervals of 5-10 days. The limited water supply is also a reflection of the reality of Chennai as a whole which is heavily dependent on ground water extraction and does not have sufficient water to satisfy the demands of a metropolitan region of 7.5 (2007) million inhabitants.

Mannammai says when they were first re-located to this wetland, there was no provision of water and they had to go elsewhere to fetch water in their pots. They complained about this and then the town panchayat started to send water tankers. They then had to take their pots to the water tanker and usually managed to get 4-5 pots of water. Each pot holds 12 litres. She says it has been difficult to get water for a few years now, but she cannot remember for how many years exactly. If there is water in the lake then they get water. She does not pay for any water from the panchayat and she thinks they pay Rs. 650/tanker. These days the water problem is worse because the water pipe is broken and they only get water once in 5-10 days. She says there is no schedule for when the water will come from either the standpipes or the water tankers, Mannammai lives in sector 2 of MB Nagar. She says they know they will get water when they find out that sector 1 got water that day. Then they wait around until the water come through their standpipes, which can mean waiting for more than one day. She says
when the water arrives people inform each other and that is how they find out it has come and so they go and get their pots and line-up.

Initially about 1066 families were accommodated in the scheme. However on the request of the Vice –Chairman MMDA in the meeting held on 02-05-1995, all the plots in the scheme was to be reserved for the allotment of families dislocated by the MRTS alignment in future too. In addition homeless slum dwellers were also to be considered for the settlement when ever found convincing. The settlement therefore houses all displaced in Phase –II of MRTS from Tirumailai to Taramani also. Phase – I was from Beach to Tirumailai. Currently therefore “Mylai Balaji Nagar” can be broadly divided into 4 sectors with 2188 approved relocated families. Under the Sites and Services scheme, free electricity has been provided, but this 15 year old settlement is yet to receive all the other infrastructure that was promised at the time of re-location.

In this context when enquired about the promises of the services during the initial settlement, they were unanimous in mentioning that all amenities such as good roads, free electricity, workable and well maintained toilets with sufficient supply of water having been assured. After 15 years, what they have is only free electricity and rest is yet to reach them. They were again unison in saying that they expect all these facilities to be provided by the Government. From the settlement and the neighbours they seek cooperation to lobby for these facilities which are overdue.

C: You have identified many service-based organizations and associations here in Mylai Balaji Nagar. Can you tell us what are some of the activities of such organizations?

P4: World Vision has done many such works. We came here in 1995 and there were many huts here then and there were no facilities for education for our children. World Vision sponsored education for our children by adopting 400 of our children, organized 50 women’s group movements [SHGs] and provided loans of various kinds such as housing loans and loans for doing other business and also helped in providing driving licenses. Many such helps were provided by World Vision.
I was comfortable when I was in Chennai city. Now I suffer a lot for water and everything here.

People from Nungambakkam and Mylapore came and settled here.

There is not even a little space in the city.

This place is far better for us.

When you first came and settled here from Mylapore, was everyone united?

Was there any difference of opinion?

The entire space was empty that time. We had [only] our own things [we brought with us from Mylapore]. Then thatched houses were built.

When you first came here there was no [public standpipe tap] water here. Where did the water come from at that time?

You built houses. How did you get water for that?

From the road...in tankers.

When we were in Mylapore, the water was clean and we were eager to drink that. That was the [Metro] Corporation water. It would [always] be clean. We never know what source of water is being brought over here. Maybe from a well or a muddy pond...it is not clear!

Fire accident occurred in the year when we came here. It was around 2003 or 2004.

Which year did it happened?

Not in 2003 or 2004. Even earlier...
C: What did you do? How did the people react?

P: 300 houses were gutted. From one house it spread to too many houses up to the last Sector!

P: Fire came from afar and burnt the houses.

C: What did you do then collectively?

P: We called up the fire service and they came.

P: [At the time] there were only huts and hence [there was] such damage.

P: [After the fire], people got loans and tried to move [out of their] huts to other forms of housing. Three times fire has caused great disaster.\(^2\)

P: Some of us used water to quench the fire.

P: There was no water facility [then as there is now]. It has been [installed] since then.

P: There was no [tap] water then, only sand and [dirt] everywhere. People tried to quench the fire using sand and not water!

P: There were no facilities [then] and there were lots of shrubs.

P: We were from Mylapore and then we were brought here. There was no current water facility. It is the same since then.

P: [This] was a scorching place and very horrible indeed, as [there was] no place even to rest for a while.

P: There were snakes, tortoises and so on [here] and it was indeed frightening to be here at the night [when we first moved here].

P: People use to take shelter in the shadow of the doors.

Reference 3 - 0.17% Coverage

P: There was no bus facility [at first here].

Reference 4 - 1.40% Coverage

M: When was this agitation to get the [tap] water, when you blocked the road? When did that take place?

C: When did you block the road for getting the [tap] water [supply]?

P: It was immediately after we came here from our Mylapore. Say, after two or three months, when we did not get water. And the last time was a couple of months back, when they had put in the wine shop.
Reference 5 - 0.33% Coverage

P: People have been living here since 1995.

C: They have been living here since 1995.

Reference 1 - 4.04% Coverage

M: So, can you tell me a bit about, over the course of 15 years in MBN, what kind of projects did you work on?

R: MBN is a re-settlement area. There were [inaudible]in the city. The SCB asked us to [inaudible]. They called all the Chennai-based NGOs to do that. So we started in 1993 and [became] full-fledged in 1996. So based on that, at that time, what are the needs? According to need we start that. That time we built this centre, the government provide only the land. So they need a centre. So we provide thatches for 300 houses, families, then another need was children. So they were in the part of the city, they were in the different schools, after they came here, so they were in the street and roaming, so the government approach us to start the education-related program. So we started a daycare centre, irrespective of age, first year. Then another NGO, New Life Development, started a school with the help of World Vision, then we restricted our daycare centre to it.

Reference 2 - 4.51% Coverage

Twelve times in a year, fire broke out. Because the land is allotted by the government, most of the families are not settled there because of lack of basic amenities - water sanitation, EB connection, this and all, so they stay back in same place or nearby places, like that. So only the huts is available, so in the hot summer season, the fire easily came. How it came is social evils, some leaders, some goondas. Each will get Rs. 1000 when the fire broke out. So there are a few houses are not peopled, there are few houses in which people are living, but those that are living are affected. But they are all affected, only the huts are broken, so they get the Rs. 1000. So I discussed with my Team Leader, so why don’t you start something for housing? Initially we started 100 houses, then 200, we increased it. Later on, the prices is raised, the rate. So we collaborate with Habitat. Then all the programs did through CBO. So the amount will be repaid to CBO, not World Vision, the purpose is the another person will get the house or benefits. So through them also they gave more than 100 houses.

Reference 3 - 4.03% Coverage

R: So, the beginning they would sit and they would fight for everything because there were pukka houses, they had good employment opportunities, good water, they had good water.

M: Before coming here?

R: Yeah, before coming here. Then they lost everything. So here they are fighting for everything. Employment opportunity... but there is no bus stop. So they had a more than to times roadblock, we also participated. Then we build bus shelter, then we approach MTBC, the transit MD. Then one person from Mylapore to here, so like that, changes. People at that time is outlooking also, respect. And speaking to the people, so communication. And they are sending, they are after they are joining the SHG, they are going to the bank, and living conditions improve, so children going to
school, friends are coming to house, so the house is improving, so like that lots of things. The previous time, the crime rate is very high, now not much different, but there is a reduction.

R: There used to be so many fires! She uses more English words so that the moderator is able to understand without the help of the interpreter.

M: Oh...! Fire?

R: Yes. This was the reason why we give more loans to those who wanted to have well-built houses. These [pucca] houses can withstand the fire. Stone wall and tiled roof can be built with the loan. We called them and talked to them about what they want.

R: This place was given to us by the central government. One Mr. Swaran Singh made this area clear for us. When we came here they said that the area was freely allotted for us. “Go and live in your own house, why do you suffer in this slum [at Mylapore]”. So we came here. First they said the land was free. They filled [the wetland in with] mud. They asked us to pay the filling charge. We came here from Luz Corner in Mylapore. It was near the railway station. The place called Flower Garden was near our slum [there]. They said that the place belongs to Public Works Department. We all hesitated to vacate that place and were adamant not to vacate. I overstayed there for one more year. They asked us why we should have any fear when government allots free land and so we came here. There was no electricity here for so many years.

C: She says they lived in Mylapore. The place belonged to Public Works Department. They asked why they should hesitate when the government allots free land to you and so they came here at last half heartedly.

Q: Can you tell us about the work of WV in MBN over its history?
World Vision (WV) began to work in Mylai Balaji Nagar (MBN) in 1996. Its first task it undertook was the creation of crèches for childcare in each of the four sectors. In 1998, WV started a *sangam* (a community-based organization) in MBN, from which self-help groups (SHGs) were spawned.

1998 was a trying year in MBN. There were some 10 fires in the community in 1998 as the primary housing there at that time were [thatch] hutments which were very risky for fires. There was a big one in which one old woman and one child who used to attended the crèche lost their lives and “thousands” of huts were destroyed. This was the context into which the SHGs grew in order to help the community get back on its feet.5

WV bought housing materials worth Rs. 10,000 including sand, bricks, cement, etc. and made it available to people in MBN so they could rebuild their homes. After this, WV also initiated noon meals in the crèches, offered night classes and after-school programmes to offer kids opportunities in the evenings, and also set up a hospital with a doctor in the community initially (which is now run by St. John’s Ambulance).

Reference 1 - 0.31% Coverage

- MBN has 2500 families, and 6000 people

Reference 2 - 2.24% Coverage

- Only streetlight connections and three transformers were installed by the gov’t; these are the only source of power
  - Streetlights were seen as the most basic necessity as it was the edge of the city, a vacant field, with nothing in it, so the gov’t at least gave streetlights...

Reference 3 - 17.72% Coverage

- ON THEIR RE-SETTLEMENT and current legal status at MBN:
  - When they were shifted they were given a lorry ride to move their things and their families and just Rs. 1000 to get by; they were dropped off in a vacant field at the edge of the city
  - Residents are not paying land taxes at all since the beginning
    - The original “deal” of the re-settlement was that residents at MBN would pay at least Rs. 200/mo. until they reached a total of Rs. 11,000 (could retire the debt faster if they wanted), and then they would have full title to their plot
    - But the residents could not afford to do this as after they were forcibly re-settled they lost all sources of employment income from their previous location at Mylapore
      - Many households were involved in retailing, driving,
• They couldn’t get transport back to these old work places as at that time there was no bus-stand at MBN, and had to walk 3 km to Vijay Nagar to catch a bus so they lost their only source of income!!
• The households obviously had no money to pay the land fees in the beginning; in fact, Ashok says in those early days there wasn’t enough money to feed the children
• Moreover, they had to walk kilometres to get water at Pallikarnai cos there was not even the tap water system there then; no educational facilities for kids – nothing
• Development has only really accelerated in the community in the past three years says Ashok
  o Ashok tells us though he had a house and basic services at Mylapore (albeit informal encroachment as much of that displaced was), his ‘allotment paper’ (which he showed to us, and of which I have photographs) indicates that he was a street-dweller, and should be rehabilitated accordingly
    o The language of ‘allotment’ is important as it is clearly not patta
• the people still have no legal right to the land, they have just been given permission by the owner – the gov’t – to use it for the time being
• this can be withdrawn at any time should the gov’t decide to seize the land for development purposes, setting off another cycle of displacement for the people of MBN (Ashok says he had been moved before from several places before Mylapore)

Reference 1 - 4.21% Coverage

M: Do you remember any incidents where the community here joined together and worked together ....cumulatively...for some cause here in this area? For what have you joined and worked together?

R: Yes. We have worked here... We all joined to form the "Mother Teresa Women’s Progress [/improvement] Association". World Vision of India invited us to join as members. I got loans from 10 to 25k each and built houses here. The houses had thatched roofs here [before]. They caught fire and burnt. People joined together. They belonged to 250 households. They trusted me and gave Rs. 38 lakhs to build houses [to replace those lost in the fire].

Reference 2 - 0.83% Coverage

M: Do people have to pay back the loan given for constructing the houses?

R: We had to return 50% of it, it was subsidized.

Reference 1 - 16.52% Coverage

• 3400 families re-settled to MBN in 1995
  • Into 4 sectors: Phase I – IV
    o Most people moved were informal dwellers at Mylapore
    o TNSCB gave the families Rs. 1000 at the time as re-habilitation
    o Education and employment were disrupted due to re-settlement
• Many of the women were domestic help in their original area of Mylapore
  o “People have to accept, it’s a central government project.”

• TNSCB conducted a socio-economic survey on the people who were to be displaced
  → education, income levels, occupation, demographics

• World Bank + Central Gov’t + “Land-owning Department” gave money for the
  MRTS development as well as the resettlements
  o He suggests going to speak to the Chief Engineer at the TNSCB for more info
    on the World Bank link
    o The TNSCB Planning Engineer says it’s not the case that the WB was
      involved in this project
  o Must look into WB Project directory to see if there was involvement at
    MRTS Chennai Mylapore and sort out this confusion

Reference 2 - 23.99% Coverage

• Plot size = 15 x 18 ft.
  • Totally empty land at time of re-settlement
    o Only street lights at the time
    o Plots marked by strings
    o Families had to build their own homes
  o Families were entitled to a “Hire Purchase” scheme to gain ownership of the land
    • Rs. 70/mo. for 10 years and then it’s theirs
  o Before MCS Lease cum sale agreement (Temporary)
  o After Permanent patta (permanent)
  o But people didn’t pay owing to the disruption of employment and income ops → not a
    single family followed through with the scheme’s payments

• Maintenance issues then arose:
  • E.g. garbage etc.
  o TNSCB had to scrounge for funds to support these on-going services → they
    didn’t have funds earmarked for these purposes (shit planning eh?)
  o They say they transferred to Panchayat but they also have no funds
    o They tried to collect ~5 Rs. To do sewage, waste management, etc.

• The Community Development Team at TNSCB did look after the following, after the
  re-settlement, from 1995-1997:
  • Schools in nearby areas for kids to attend; helped families to enrol their children
    o Arranged w/ NGOs to build two schools in MBN itself
    o Built ration shops
    o w/ NGOs did more educational support type works
    o Established a health clinic for which the TNSCB built the physical facility
  o TNSCB looked after maintenance for 3-5 years → but then had to focus its attention
    on new re-settlement colonies that were coming up

Reference 3 - 17.80% Coverage

• Typically, TNSCB works in a re-settlement community for 7-8 years to help it get
  back on its feet
  • Usually it finds NGOs to do the work itself
They put out the ‘tender’ or the ‘right to work’ in a particular re-settlement community, on its development priorities. But there is no money given for these services to the NGOs!!

The TNSCB basically plays the role of outsourcing the government’s responsibilities to NGOs. It’s own role is limited to networking, connecting NGOs, other gov’t agencies to the community of interest.

For services, the TNSCB focuses on getting (into the new community):

- Police
- Hospital
- Ration supply
- Water supply

Wrt water supply, for the short-term, TNSCB will arrange for water lorries to come to the re-settlement community if there is no other water source, but only as a temporary measure they don’t typically handle water supply.

Wrt electrical supply, TNSCB installed street lights, but not household connections.

(The street lights have now been spliced to provide electricity to homes!)

Reference 4 - 9.38% Coverage

It turns out, MBN was an experiment in re-settlement give people nothing and drop them off on the edge of the city…

- It was the 2nd re-settlement in Chennai that the TNSCB had ever undertaken
- The first was another site in Velachery
- Both of these “re-settlement” schemes involved the TNSCB not providing any form of housing (even tenement blocks) at the new site of re-settlement
- TNSCB will not do any more of these MBN-style re-settlements obviously it was a big fucking disaster (the interviewee says this with some regret and guilt)

Reference 1 - 9.43% Coverage

M: Hi...having a chat with Rehman Bibi. Hi...I just want to ask you about the history of housing in this area?

C: We are all building houses ...is it not? He wants to know who funded the construction and all details about it. It is growing from the starting time when you came to Mylai Balaji Nagar...till now. Can you please tell me about it?

R: We came here in '95 in the beginning. At first, the Slum Clearance Board vacated us and gave this place for us. When we came here we were given a house measuring [9 ft x 15 ft]. They gave us a flat [amount] of Rs. 500 Rs. for [reconstruction]. We built thatched houses here and started living here.

C: Was the Rs. 500 enough for you to construct a thatched house?

R: How will it be enough? We had to adjust and build!

C: Did all of you build houses?
R: Yes. We all spent around Rs. 5000 to 6000 each and built houses. They gave us a lorry which is usually used to transport garbage. Our belongings were filled in it and brought here [to Mylai Balaji Nagar from Mylapore].

M: Ask how did they afford to build?

C: He is asking how you could manage with amount given for building a house?

R: What to do? We had to borrow from money-lenders.

M: Everyone?

C: Did everyone build their house in the same way?

R: Yes, of course. Otherwise, somebody else may encroach [on our plot if we do not build quickly]. We all had that sort of fear and thus all of us built.

C: They had a fear that somebody may encroach [on their plot]. So they built the houses immediately.

Reference 2 - 3.02% Coverage

R: We started living there immediately after building the houses. The Slum Board used to bring and supply water at that time. They gave us 3 pots of water per house. They [also] kept syntex tanks [here to store the lorry water].

C: After building the thatched houses, they started living here. The Slum Clearance Board arranged for Metro Water and they arranged a syntex tank. They allowed these people to take 3 pots of water.

M: How frequently [was the water supplied]?

C: Everyday.

Reference 3 - 8.84% Coverage

R: In the 6th month of '98 almost all the huts were burnt. All the families suffered.

C: In June '98, totally 700 hundred houses caught fire.

M: How did it start?

C: He is asking you how the fire first started.

R: If we asked they would say that a woman was cooking and it caught fire. I still have the newspaper with me. A child and an adult died in that fire accident.

C: When the fire happened, a child and a lady died.

M: In the same fire of 1998?

C: Yes, in the same fire both of them died.
R: I have the *Thanthi newspaper* [of that incident].

M: *At that time [of the major fire in June 1998] were all the houses thatched?*

R: Yes, all of them were thatched houses. Then they built us houses with the measurement of 9 feet breadth and 15 feet length. The roof was made of 3 layers of [asbestos] tiles.

C: *Who built it for you?*

R: The Slum Board. We asked them to give us a jute cloth and 4 nails. We were defined as roadside [pavement] dwellers. The allotment mentioned us as Balaji Nagar roadside dwellers. That is why I used to ask every officer to give us all jute cloth and 4 nails. We can make a shelter and can sit under that! So they built us houses with seven pipes and a roof of tiles!

C: *Was it given for every family here?*

R: Yes. It was given for every family. At first they issued a token of allotment. They allotted houses for everyone according to their token priority.

Reference 4 - 1.50% Coverage

C: *Is it! Did they make all the houses like this?*

R: Exactly the same.

C: *But there are walls!*

R: Yes. We went and quarreled. So they built walls too for the houses.

C: *This is what the Slum Clearance Board has built for them.*

Reference 5 - 2.06% Coverage

M: *So 700 huts were burnt and...*

R: As the huts were burnt [down], we couldn’t live here and that was the reason why the Slum Clearance Board built us houses with [asbestos] roof sheets and [concrete block] walls. Some [people] have 2 places [homes] here [in the community]. They can sell one and build a house using that money in future.

Reference 6 - 15.71% Coverage

: *They [the Panchayat] pay the electricity bill too*. The entire arrangement was by the Central Government because the Metro Railway was [a project] of the Central Government! So the Railway Department [central government body] assured [us] this location and a school for the children.
C: What she is telling: they were shifted under the MRTS plan. The Railway Department has promised that they will come and then they will construct park, schools and everything [here in Mylai Balaji Nagar]... That is how they had been re-settled here.

C: When did they tell you all these things?

R: They told in '93 itself. We sued a case against them. They [Railway Department] said that they had handed over everything to the Slum Clearance Board and so they would do everything for us.

C: Whom did you file a case against?

R: We sued against the Railway Department saying that we were residing in that area for 70 years and so we would not vacate.19

C: Who filed a case?

R: We, the public.

M: When was this case...?

R: It was in 1993. We were near Sai Baba Temple [in Mylapore]20. We were asked to vacate in the year 1993. I was the last one to vacate. I came out [here] in the year 1995. They said they are spending 11 crore for this project of railways [MRTS expansion] and so they brought us here.

C: They were asked to vacate in '93 and they vacated in '95.

R: Swaraj Patil was the judge in the [Madras] High Court. It was due to his judgment we all came here [to Balaji Nagar]. We were told that even if we lived there for many years and even if we have any number of pattas we have to give up because the land belongs to the Government of India. He said we had to vacate and [be] assured that all [re-settlement and rehabilitation] facilities would be done by them.

C: The judge told them that they had to obey his ruling. The Slum Clearance Board was entrusted with the responsibility [for their re-settlement and rehabilitation] and the SCB would do the facilities properly.

M: Did anyone try to fight back in the court that the slum clearance board did not do the facilities for you?

R: We don’t have any chance to talk because we were told that we have to give back the government’s land. We could not talk back because we were there without any patta in the government’s land. We had come just like that, it is not correct to encroach on the government’s land.

C: They had just encroached to the streets and they lived there. It is the government’s land. We encroached onto it. So we cannot claim any more. That is how people came out.
C: Amma, please tell me about the World Vision and the housing facilities here.

R: World Vision paid money and constructed [houses] in 1996. They paid a part and we paid the rest of the amount. They paid [for] good houses. A service organization called "Keep All" built us eight terraced houses here.

C: Where are those houses?

R: They are there on that side of the street. They got a loan from HDFC [commercial bank] for 20 years and built houses on a loan. Around 20 families got those houses.

C: How many houses were built by World Vision?

R: 50 to 60 houses were built by them.

Reference 8 - 2.02% Coverage

C: They demolished their original houses and built pucca houses.

M: So...basically whoever has got a [pucca] house now has done it with loans from a bank or NGO?

R: Now people also spend some [of their own] money to build.

C: She is saying that now people are putting some money these days [and building without loans].

Annotations
1 From ON: "Vijaya: We were staying in nugambakam and thainapet but Admk leadership transferred us to here"
ADMK were the instigators!
From Wikipedia: 1991 Tenth Assembly Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam J. Jayalalithaa ****Amma won the state with ADMK and in 1993-5 presided over MBN being resettled!! Now she has come back (the party is also called AIADMK) to power in 2011, so people are not hopeful for their prospects.
2 There is ambiguity about the dates. Here it is 2003-4 or even earlier others suggest. In my notes I have 2005 written. It is likely indicative that there are many fires in the community.

This was the major fire event after which the households were given loans to build pukka structures instead of thatch homes.
3 Who is ‘Habitat’? Habitat for Humanity? What exactly was the collaboration here?
4 Rehman Bibi told us this name - Swaran Singh [IAS officer] was the Chairman of the Slum Board at that time [of resettlement].
5 This must be the context of the ‘fires-for-profit’ that Darwin Moses talked about! It seems to have been early on in the settlement's history (1998) when there was inadequate kachha housing and volatility in terms of crime and power-brokers in the community
6 ON: “Most” means that some formalized people were also swept up in the eviction
7 ON: What is that exactly?
8 ON: Do it; Ask Shafi for guidance on where to find project listings
9 i.e. lease to own agreement
10 This sums to Rs. 8400
What does this refer to? I think it refers to the land ownership scheme.

Transferred what exactly?

Helped financially? Or helped with referrals, paperwork?

ON: This is important.

this is a famous local newspaper

- Vedha

So after the fire in 1998, when many thatched houses were destroyed, the TNSCB started to build the concrete block shacks with the asbestos tile roofs.

I think she's being sarcastic...! Oh Rehman Bibi... what a lady!

It's not clear here who 'they' is that pay the elc bill, but from previous explorations, I take it that it is the Panchayat.

This seems to have been an act of judicial resistance against their initial displacement from Mylapore.

This is just southeast of the current Mylapore (Thirumaylai) MRTS station, along the path of the tracks.
Name: Nodes\Analytical I\Sanitation

Description: - History and evolution of sanitary arrangements at MBN
- Description of sanitation and environmental situation at MBN
- Includes solid waste management as these two are inexorably linked as you've seen!!

<Internals\Exploratory Work\PK - Prabha's Mtg w. Dr. Buvana (TNSCB)> - § 1 reference coded [8.50% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 8.50% Coverage

- The land is owned by the Slum Board. She says when people were moved here this was treated as a sites and services project. The only thing that people were provided was water and sites. She acknowledges that even toilets were not provided, but they should have been. [At some point World Vision built the one toilet block which is in Sector 4. (Is this correct?) People are still using this toilet even though there is no water in the block. They use the toilets with their own water.]

<Internals\Exploratory Work\PK - Prabha's Report on MBN Women's household water management> - § 2 references coded [2.94% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.24% Coverage

Mannammamai has built a cement tank outside her house along the wall. Half of this tank is for portable water storage and the other half for waste water.

Reference 2 - 1.70% Coverage

Radha and her family also have a cement tank along the outside wall of their house. Half the tank is for portable water and the other half for waste water which is dumped in the canal when the tank is full.

<Internals\Exploratory Work\PK - Prabha's Scoping Report 2009> - § 1 reference coded [2.76% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.76% Coverage

Needless, we all know that the canals which demark the sectors of MB Nagar are being used as drainage, sewerage and waste water canals. And also as solid waste dumps. These canals are tied into the wetland on the East of the highway that borders MB Nagar. Furthermore, despite the recognition that this is a wetland of great importance, the highway and the IT buildings have all come up in the last 1-2 years with severe impacts on the wetland.

<Internals\Exploratory Work\PR - Prema's MBN Report- A Case of Urban Development Displaced 2009> - § 1 reference coded [3.75% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.75% Coverage
Individual houses rarely have toilets and the public toilets are badly maintained due to poor access to water availability. In general one can observe that roads are very badly laid; it has no drainage system, there exists no semblance of solid waste management.

Why they were throwing the wastages into the canal? The panchayat had initial kept a bin from which the wastages can be removed but someone had looted the bin. Since there was no place to dump their garbage eventually they ended up throwing in the canal. The panchayat van comes every fifteen days and sometimes every thirty days to pick up the garbage in this area. There is no proper land available in this sector for throwing the garbage. But in case there is a bin provided there were concerned about cleaning the bin in possible interval.

Are there any groups who work on waste management?

No one takes care [of waste]. The wastewater is overflowing!

No one comes here like that. If we ask anyone [the government] about it - it ends up in a quarrel.

Do you remember Exnora worked here some time before? Is there any organization like that now?

Once a year, they [the Panchayat] come and clear [the garbage]...

Once a year! Who does it?

They come from municipality [the Panchayat Board].

You better come and see near our house. .. Because of the garbage smell, we aren’t able to eat well.

Now we are recording the discussion. We will come and see afterwards.

You mentioned about waste management in the beginning. What did you say?

They [the Panchayat] don’t come and clear the wastewater and it is all over here.
R2: It [the public toilet block] was not maintained properly. They didn’t wash it properly.

R: World Vision made arrangements [for cleaning the public toilet blocks]. There was one person appointed for it. He withdrew as he didn’t receive any salary. [Now] they don’t wash it every day. It was very dirty. It was not hygienic. So we built an individual toilet.

M: *When World Vision stopped doing the cleaning and all, did you not start doing [it yourselves] at the community level?*

R2: No, we did not.

R: There was not sufficient water [for cleaning]. The water was supplied only once in fifteen days. We also tried to hire two or three persons to learn it. It didn’t work out.

R2: Some times the water would be supplied even after 20 days!

M: Is your family using this? <pointing at makeshift latrine by canal>

R: Yes, my family uses this.

M: Is any other family using this?

R: Only my family uses this.

M: Why does your family prefer to use this and not the community level latrine?

R: We have built another lavatory [inside our home] and use this [makeshift outdoor latrine] to store water. We are not using this for ‘that’ purpose. We use some other bathroom.

M: Were you using this before [for ‘that’ purpose]?

R: Yes. After we constructed the house we have built the lavatory inside the house.

M: Before were you using this toilet? Why don’t you use this? Why do you use the other one?

R: That is more comfortable for us. For urgency why should we go around? We use it [the makeshift latrine] only for bathing purposes.

C: Do you use this even now for bathing purpose?

R: Yes. But even now we use public toilet.
But the Slum Clearance Board occupied this place and got CMDA approval. They divided [the land] into plots. They [the TNSCB] only got the 2nd phase, 3rd phase electricity approvals and they also got the approvals for the roads such as 10 feet road, 20 feet road and 30 feet road [from the CMDA]. They also arranged for public toilets in the ratio of one toilet for ten families.

Who is responsible for providing water and other facilities?

Sir, is it the Panchayat [that is] responsible to provide water and other facilities?

Yes. We are doing it. Already UGD - underground drainage - is going on. We have already provided CC road and BT road. The roads might have been damaged due to the work of UGD underground drainage which is going on now. It would be rectified after the work is finished. If it is CC road, they would be [re]built as CC road, and if it is BT road, they would be [re]built as BT road. Water supply is only own source. We have built a well in the lake. Water is supplied through a pump. Street lights, roads, underground drainage, and public health are looked after by us. We are doing these five aspects.

He says they are only checking water, street lights, roads, underground drainage, and public health. They are responsible for these things.

Later Pallikaranai Panchayat selected us for a solid waste management project. Under this we collected the garbage from [around] Balaji Nagar, as well as in and around Pallikaranai. In this [project], we segregated the garbage into biodegradable and non-biodegradable wastes. We constructed a compost shelter at the Panchayat and then we left it to Exnora since we did not have cooperation or a good relationship with the Panchayat. I am still working with Exnora. Exnora is not working in Balaji Nagar now however since there is no cooperation from the people in the community. In the initial phase, they were planting trees across the community and had done solid waste management activities.

Still the project is functioning?

Yes, the project is still functioning at NIOT [National Institute of Ocean Technology] near Pallikaranai. It is not functioning in Balaji Nagar because of poor cooperation from the people. People have not even contributed to support the staff salary.
R: Exnora planted trees in the school located at Sector 2 [the Lion's Club School]. I have put a compost shed in Sector 2 near the Councillor's house. But it is been removed now because there was no cooperation from people as well as from the Councillor. This compost program was done in collaboration with the government and Exnora International.

Reference 4 - 6.56% Coverage

M: Why did they not cooperate?
R: Income generation [for the workers] out of this solid waste management program was very important, however, in Balaji Nagar, there was no income [being generated]. The Panchayat has done nothing to support the program and even the people did not contribute anything. We wanted to collect a small contribution from every household to support our workers. We used to collect garbage door-to-door. But people refused to pay even the small contribution saying "we are not putting any garbage here, we are dumping somewhere else, not here," and so on.

I will give an example. Suppose a water pipeline has been broken and somebody comes to repair it. At least we should pay him something, or at least, we should offer him some tea, so that he will be happy to continue working on it. In the same way, people should have contributed some money to the people who were taking care of the waste management project.

Reference 5 - 3.20% Coverage

R: There are examples where people have worked together for joint action. There was one such event. There is a garbage dumping site next to sector 1, but they [the garbage workers] used to dump the garbage even outside the site and along the roadside, which was a big threat [to people in sector 1]. Then we [collectively] staged a road-blocking demonstration, along with the cooperation of Exnora International. Then they stopped it [the dumping near sector 1].

Reference 6 - 7.95% Coverage

R: People were not cooperating well [in the waste management program], so I employed 10 people [of the original workers] for the NIOT [project] and left [the Balaji Nagar project] with them. I have employed so many elders in this project. They did not want elders to work but I lobbied with them and employed elders. Now they are earning Rs. 7000 per month. They were not being cared for by even their own children.

I am eagerly looking forward for the next government. I am expecting that the forthcoming government may help this waste management project further.
If you wanted to do something for us please do something for this waste management project. The Councillor in this place is not cooperative and she is not taking any initiative to run this project.9

People asked me to take leadership but I did not want to take leadership. If I become a leader I cannot put a question to others and I will be under somebody’s control10!

In the [World Vision] ADP they have given me the responsibility of taking care of this hospital; I have developed it to my caliber. But people in the SHGs have become concentrated on money and loans only.

Reference 7 - 0.77% Coverage

There are tribals from Andhra living nearby, we can give them the responsibility to take care of the latrine.11

<Internals\Interviews\INT #3 - Vijaya (World Vision) - Notes> - § 4 references coded [22.22% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.96% Coverage

SHGs have also been involved in trying to manage and improve the sanitation facilities at MBN (i.e. the public latrines that were initially built by the TNSCB). They were trying to organize a sustainable latrine cleaning initiative but it has ultimately failed. They asked households to provide Rs. 10 per month to hire an attendant (from outside of the community) who would come and regularly clean the public latrines, but this effort failed.

Reference 2 - 9.11% Coverage

Q: Why did the latrine-cleaning effort fail?

Vijaya can’t say ultimately what led to the failure of the programme, but she suggests that it was poor cooperation from people that contributed to its downfall. WV also offered small loans to households in MBN to construct their own toilets, but this programme had low enrolment (suggesting that people are not interested in sanitation investments). WV also tried to hire volunteers from MBN itself who use the toilets themselves as cleaning staff under the auspices of WV, but this too failed in the end.

The cleaner’s wage was Rs. 900 per month and there was one cleaner per sector. This was initially paid for by WV fully. Later on, WV tried to involve local beneficiaries to contribute at first Rs. 5 per month, and then later on Rs. 10 (to make the cleaning programme sustainable). However, this effort
ultimately failed because local beneficiaries didn’t want to pay for the latrines to be cleaned regularly and refused to take on the financial burden from WV.

Reference 3 - 2.95% Coverage

WV had also spent some Rs. 2 lakh to place overhead water tanks on the public latrines, drill boreholes, install motorized pumps to move water to the tanks and have it available for washing and cleaning in the public latrines. Around the time that the cleaning programme began to fall apart, the motors were stolen from the pumps.

Reference 4 - 6.19% Coverage

Thus, since 2005/6, the latrines have been in a very unhygienic and unclean condition. There has been no regular cleaning and there is quite a bit of material that creates risk of waterborne disease. Also the tanks are no longer able to pump groundwater as the pumps were stolen, so there is no water available there for washing and cleaning (instead now, you see people carrying their own water with in a 5 L pail as they go to visit the loo). From 2007 onwards it has been consistently in the worst shape. When people get totally desperate and disgusted with the condition, they will attempt to collect money from their neighbours in the sector and pay someone to clean it on a one-off basis.

Reference 1 - 1.37% Coverage

1. Sanitation situation
   - Toilet blocks have been built but are very poorly maintained à hygiene issues make them difficult to use and people are forced to find alternatives

Reference 2 - 0.59% Coverage

2. Sanitation Improvements
   - Hire someone to come and keep the toilets clean

Reference 1 - 30.06% Coverage

M: Can you tell me something about the times when people living in Balaji Nagar itself worked together? Did NGOs make them unite together?

R: Once we tried. Before it could run in full swing, the "small savings scheme" [Self-Help Groups] was developed. So people split among many groups. Then 20 ladies were given training by the Pallikaranai Panchayat on preparing compost fertilizers using biodegradable and non-biodegradable garbage.

M: Who gave the training?
R: The Pallikaranai Panchayat gave the training.

M: Were you given training? Was the self help group given training? What sort of training did you take?

R: We prepared compost fertilizers. We supplied them to many places. We have given [it] to IIT too. One Srinivasan from IIT came here to collect it.

M: What sort of training were you given? What did you do with the garbage?

R: We have to collect biodegradable garbage and dump them in a tub, we have to make them into natural compost, natural fertilizer. We sold the non-biodegradable garbage to particular shops. They have fixed rates for each item. We have to separate them first.

M: Oh...did you!

R: Among them we used to separate coconut shell, peel of orange, lemon and sweet lime to dry them and grind with a thing called shikai kai. It is used to wash hair in India. It was tested in laboratories and they said it is good. It cools down the head. We sold the shikai kai powdered.

M: When did this training happen?

R: It was given in 2004. We stated doing it. It continued until 2007. The Government allotted an amount of Rs 3 lakhs 20 thousand. But they neither showed us the accounts nor paid any salary or the same! So we left the job.

M: Were you supposed to be paid?

R: Yes. They [the Panchayat] should have given but they didn’t. We were even asked to open a bank account. They didn’t credit any amount except Rs. 20 per house. We were not able to run the show. Even that was irregular. For such jobs one should be paid at least 5 or 6k [per month] for the then-cost of living. The Panchayat didn’t pay even 10 paisa [penny] to us for collecting the garbage. We collected money from the residents along the lanes where we collected the garbage.

M: Did they take the money from the households where they sold the products?

I: Didn’t the Panchayat pay you anything?

R: No. They paid nothing. Even if the garbage cart [tricycle] had to be repaired they refused to do it and we had to do it. But we had to manage with the money by selling the products.

M: How many people were doing this?

R: Twenty women worked in that job.

M: Also Rahman Bibi worked with you?

R: Yes. She also jointly worked with us.
M: Was it the same training which she took?

R: Yes.

M: How much did they promise to make and how much did they make?

R: At first they [the Panchayat] did not commit anything. But they said - “You do it, we will give [pay] you”. The DRO [District Revenue Officer] came and talked to us. He was the Sub-collector. He said that we run the [waste management] group well. He asked us to open an account in the bank so that the amount could be credited into it. They said Rs. 20k would be sent to the bank for the twenty women [who were working]. They asked us to take the salary according to the [garbage] collection. But they didn’t give anything up to 2007. So [then] we stopped working for them. I still have the [bank] passbook with me.

I: Did they pay the 20 thousand?

R: They never deposited any amount.

I: Do you know the name of the DRO?

R: I forgot. He belongs to Kerala. He is a ‘Nair’ [caste name]. There was a M.D. [Managing Director], I remember her name. She is Nirmala.

I: What do you mean by M.D.?

R: I don’t remember. Her rank was under the Collector.

I: Do you mean from the Slum Clearance Board?

R: No. She was not from the Slum Clearance Board, it was during Jayalalitha’s period, during their previous tenure. The scheme was introduced at that time.

M: Is this a [governen]t waste management scheme? Does this scheme has any name?

R: Yes. It was a [government] scheme. It was adjudged in the Supreme Court.

I: What is the name of the scheme?

R: It is about cleaning the water. The plastic papers block the mud at the bottom which in turn spoils the water as well as arrests the flow. This does not allow the water to be absorbed by the ground. The underground water is gradually under threat! Thus this scheme was introduced by the government to protect the water and the underground water.

Reference 2 - 2.26% Coverage

R: They built canals. It was to take away the drainage water from the house. But it is not at all used or maintained. It is just not silted [dredged]. There is no outlet for the household drainage. Likewise the wastewater from the septic tank would also be left overflowing and unless we go and tell them they would not bother to clear it out.

<Internals\Interviews\INT #6 - Panchayat - Notes> - § 2 references coded [12.53% Coverage]
Water/sewage works financing follows the formula: 50% Panchayat, 50% Centre/State Gov’t

What are the development plans on the part of the Panchayat for MBN?

- Cement roads are now being built in MBN
- Overhead water tanks (same water supply though – untreated lake water) have been planned and it has been approved already
  - But, no one has accepted the tender yet!
- Underground sewage lines and drainage are planned within the next 2½ years

Some 26 people seemed to have been involved in the waste management program that was implemented in MBN some years ago (the one started-up b/w EXNORA and the Panchayat)

- Only 3 people are still working on it (incl. Rehman Bibi), and not even at MBN (but at the nearby NIOT campus)

- This program has fallen apart for the following reasons:
  1. Ward allotment
  2. No tricycle
  3. No proper facility
  4. Salary problems

- When asked what needs to happen to make it successful, respondents say:
  1. They want a 5-year contract
  2. Permanent job facilities
  3. Minimum salary of Rs. 3000/-
  4. They want a job from the Kancheepuram District [gov't].

- On Jan 2, 2010 we organized a clean-up day. Faridha's feedback of that is:
  "If a dustbin facility is provided and maintained weekly, all the peoples assure that they will use that. But the Panchayat officer has said that a dustbin should not be used in that area.

Then on 2nd we did a clean-up program in this area [4th sector] with the help of a JCB. In this program, the people's participation was very [minimal]. The reasons that were given by people as to why they did not participate were:
  1. Went out
  2. Personel reasons
  3. Had to take care of our children
  4. Went to work (as it was a working day for me)."

Annotations

1 The CMDA is part of the COC and it handles electricity and roads in the city and its environs.
2 CC = cement/concrete
BT = tar (i.e. asphalt?)

3 Rehman Bibi says they had a bad relationship with the Panchayat even though it was them instituted the waste management program...

4 Waste management program failed due to lack of support and funding from community-members

5 To clarify - Did the Panchayat promise then not deliver? What’s the story here?
Sri says: Pallikaranai Panchayat didn’t give any income to the waste management workers, Nor did the people in MBN either. The Panchayat only built the waste-sorting shed and said that the community members should pay for the service itself. So in the end, the Panchayat didn’t pay the workers and then the MBN folk didn’t pay either -- so the whole program fell apart.

6 Was there some sort of formal agreement that was developed and then reneged on? Or was it informal, "word-of-mouth"?

7 People can political organize and agitate for immediately pressing issues.

8 Substantial earnings!

9 Rehman Bibi is pushing for waste management, but saying the Councillor (lady) is not supporting it.

10 Rehman Bibi is so awesome.

11 Tribals place is to clean the bathroom?
***What does she mean nearby? In MB Nagar?

12 FROM ON:
She wanted to start a large community group
But this was the same time the SHGs (by World Vision) were started
So people atomized to smaller groups, instead of a large collective
Also, the SHGs focused on microfinance activities, not community development efforts
>>>> This is interesting – the external creation of a certain kind of group forestalled the self-emergence of a possibly cohesive community collective!

13 This must be what Rehman Bibi was talking about, the failed waste management program.

14 From ON, to clarify:
The waste management program lasted until 2007 but then fell apart
Panchayat was supposed to pay the workers, but they never did
Panchayat was also supposed to collect fees for waste collection (Rs. 20/mo.) from each household to supplement the revenues
But gov’t never paid their share

15 From ON: Gov’t would pay 20k into that account à this along with the user fees and sales of products would sustain the work of the waste management program
But it never came! Group feel apartcos the lack of promised gov’t support

16 From ON: She says though the Supreme Court had ordered national waste management improvements in order to facilitate rainwater infiltration
1) Wetland eco-system

A better understanding is needed of the wetland ecosystem that is hosting Mylai Balaji Nagar and their implication on each other along with the other social/economic/political forces sharing this eco-system; i.e. the IT sector, hospital, etc and its future.

I did not have sufficient time to get a sense of the environmental management framework of Chennai. What I have been able to figure out is that the wetland is under the TN government and not the government of metro Chennai or the town panchayat. It seems that there is consensus at a senior level in government that the wetland should not be developed and in fact protected. Apparently it was designated as a bird sanctuary. According to Ligy, the TN government appointed a high level committee to ‘deal’ with the wetland. It was chaired by a woman IAS officer. However, she has no idea what happened or is happening with this initiative.

Needless, we all know that the canals which demark the sectors of MB Nagar are being used as drainage, sewerage and waste water canals. And also as solid waste dumps. These canals are tied into the wetland on the East of the highway that borders MB Nagar. Furthermore, despite the recognition that this is a wetland of great importance, the highway and the IT buildings have all come up in the last 1-2 years with severe impacts on the wetland.

This settlement is close to a marsh and therefore a “low lying area”. It is often surrounded by stagnating water and the ground water is not fit for “all purposes”. The land was not filled or raised to facilitate the settlers.
Name: Nodes\Analytical I\Social Capital

Description: - General bin for the many features of social capital
- DO NOT AGGREGATE
For the women of Mylai Balaji (MB) Nagar and their families, the lack of sufficient and safe water is a problem and occupies much of their time and energy as does the management of waste water.

Parameswari, lives in sector 2 of MB Nagar. The standpipe in her area is shared by 17 families. She says they have more people sharing the standpipe than others. In her area, the water in the standpipes often arrives in the morning between 6-8 am. Every time that the water arrives, the women of the 17 families draw lots to determine the sequence in which they will collect water. Then they line up their pots. On average each woman is able to fill 20 pots of 12 litres each and they fill up all the large plastic containers that they all have in their homes. All together, her family uses 3 pots a day to bath, drink and cook. She and her two sons bath with 1 pot of water. They wash clothes every 2-3 days. Washing clothes utilizes about 8 pots of water. Her mother and her are responsible for the provision of water for the family. However, since she lives on the 1st floor she has to carry water upstairs to her place. This is added work for her. Her husband does not help with fetching water.

R: Yeah, forming two groups. I took it one year to form just two group. And the next year, I formed 20 groups.

M: Why was that?

R: Yeah. Two groups there are so many struggles. All the people they themselves say we are not good people, each person is blaming others not themselves. Our womens are not like this. They will not give money. They will not come for meeting. Then I gave so many trainings and this and that, first you come. Don't worry about others. Like that they came and they joined. So few people came, few people are middle, few people are behind, so the middle people, if it is good, we will join, otherwise we'll go back. And that people is ok, we'll see, what will happen, like that. Then this people, function, meeting, and everything then it's become mandatory, you should become one of the groups or one of the CBOs like that we come. At the same time, the government also introduced the self-help groups. Before the government, we started, because we are an international organization. We had Bangladesh, so we started at that time. Then we re-arranged everything according to the government needs.

M: No problem. I want to ask you a question that has to do with...
D: One of the major struggle are men.

M: Men?

R: Yeah.

M: Why?

R: These women what, when, why they are going to do?

M: So, you’re saying that men prevent women from participating?

R: Yeah, like that. But indirectly are supporting. Those that are coming, those husbands are supporting. If they are not coming, then those husbands are saying "you and me friend, your wife is going to attend the meeting, she is not good, she is going for in and around that way, take her out back," like that. Then next time I would cover this person going. So ok, both go. Then it become a competition - which group is good? Your group or your group. So in the beginning we set our strategy to that and everything.

I: Hi. I am having a chat with Mani and Farida. Srini is translating in my office on Wednesday, August 17, 2011. OK. What I want to talk to you about today is how men interact with women in community [collective] works. We’ve talked about it before today. The question is -- how do the men react when they are asked to come to the focus groups?

F: They will feel it is a waste of time. They would also ask “what are you going to discuss about? Don’t I know? It is about water only”. They also say “they come without any work. But we have lot of work.”

M: They would also ask how much money we would give [them] to participate.

F: They would say, “We will get money if we go to work. We won't get anything [if we participate in collective action]. Will they give money to compensate for it?” They want to know what the [monetary] benefit is!

I: What about on the weekends?

M: They [the men] have many more work [things to do] on the weekends. They [also] drink [alcohol] on the weekends...

I: Is it everybody, some men or a few men?

M: No, not everybody. A few men...

F: But most of the men will answer like this... 95% of them drink.
M: 95% of them drink and then they work! <laughs> Even if you ask them to come on holidays, they would say that they want to take rest on that day.

C: They will say that they work for the entire week and they have only one weekend to take rest. They also have a lot of responsibilities in their homes.

I: I know there is a difference with the women. They have their families, they have their kids. They have to take care of many things. But they are ready to come when we call them for focus groups!

M: Men are not interested - they want to sit at home and watch TV. They want to sleep, drink and quarrel!

Reference 3 - 12.68% Coverage

I: Why are women interested?

M: She is interested because she is maintaining the family. They need some help. When five women go, the sixth one follows. She thinks that things would be fruitful if they go as a group so that they can get some help. She also feels that she can learn something. They feel they can get some kind of benefit.

I: Why don’t the men feel like that? Why don’t they want to benefit the family?

M: They think and stop with that level! They will not be ready to come out of their houses. We don’t understand the reason...

F: Sometimes they even come near the venue [of the focus group meeting]. But they will just go back thinking that it is a waste of time and there will not be any benefit out if it.

I: How about the working women? Would they say the same things?

F: Till today, only two or three working women have come for our focus groups. Most of the participants are only housewives.

Reference 4 - 13.79% Coverage

I: What do the men say about the women who go for the focus groups? Will they support it?

M: A little bit of support would be there.

F: Most of them stop the women by saying “don’t go”!

M: But women would argue [back] saying that the focus groups are leading to something positive about the drinking water. They would obtain the [men’s] permission and then come after five or ten minutes after the scheduled time of starting.

F: Some men say “go”. Some men say “don’t go”.

I: What percentage of men allow the women to go?

F: 90% of them don’t allow [the women to go]!
I: Seriously?

F: Yeah. Seriously... you don’t know I... we... struggle to get them for focus groups. It is very difficult. Sometimes we force them to come for focus group! We have to compel them and call them to come by saying “please come... please come”.

M: 70% men will not allow [women to go] and 30% allows.

C: Since Farida is a girl, she says its 90%. But really [Mani, as a man, says] it is 70% who say no.

Reference 5 - 7.59% Coverage

I: What would happen for the women who participate even when the men are not supporting them? How would they react?

M: They [the men] would start scolding from the very minute they go back home. Or they would say “she has gone. She is not to be seen yet”. Some of them [the men] would even come to the venue of the meeting!

F: Sometimes they call her and take her [home] with him! It has happened [before].

M: They will say “why are you sitting here when there is work at home?”!

F: He has even asked “is it going to feed your bread?”. <laughs>

Reference 6 - 6.02% Coverage

I: Women have participated in other NGO groups too. How did men react after they achieved [benefits with] them?

M: At first they [the men] were quarrelling [with the women]. After they saw the benefits of money and loans they became silent. Now they are supporting!

F: Now they started believing them, as a tax [to the men] is also paid, but they don’t believe... <laughs>

I: But they don’t believe us! eh... <laughs>

F: Yes! <laughs>

Reference 7 - 3.07% Coverage

I: When other NGOs come, will they work with the women here or men?

M: Mostly they work with women.

I: Has any other NGO worked with men?

M: No.

I: Why?
F: For the same reasons which we told you just now!

Reference 8 - 11.42% Coverage

I: Anything to add about men and women regarding community level work?

F: They said that they have worked together to get compensation when there was flood in the area. They conducted demonstrations to get it.

M: They have conducted a strike to get the water [supply] too.

F: They did road blocks in the main road!

M: For electricity too!

I: Who leads these road blocks?

M: As far as our sector [4] is concerned, it was the then head man Manohar. He is no more now [passed away]. But anyways we don’t do anything these days.

F: One or two men start it and then the others join...

I: Did women also go for mobilization in the roadblocks?

F: No, they were discussing about it with neighbors. They gave their support. They asked to them to come.

I: But the men took the leadership. Right?

F: Yes.

Reference 1 - 0.54% Coverage

M: So the sangam also has only women or --

C: He is asking is the sangam having only women or are there men too?

R: Yes [men are also present in the sangam].

R: Yes.

C: It is named as Mylai Balaji Nagar Women’s Sangam, no?

R: The sangam is a registered body. Everything comes under sangam.

Reference 2 - 1.73% Coverage

M: So approximately what percentage of the women in this community goes for jobs?
R: No woman stays at home these days in any house! If they are well off they stay at home. As far as this area is concerned this is the position.

C: Most of the women are going for job.

M: Is it!

R: At times even the gents sit at home -- but not the ladies!

C: See -- even some men are at home. But women are going for jobs.

R: Hope you won't mistake me. These days women are keener. If you make your son an engineer, I will want my son to study more than yours! This is the mentality of women these days. We have to earn to give good education for our son [which] means we have to earn more money. Only women go for jobs!

C: See -- what she is telling is that more than men, women are more responsible for raising up their families, educating their children, they really want their children to study. So they go for jobs to earn [to pay for education].

Reference 3 - 3.86% Coverage

M: Do you think that the men would take part in community level system?

R: No. Why participation... they would not even care for it. They won't give importance for it. They won't even allow our [women's] progress! That is the biggest hurdle for us. So we are scared to take effort and do things. The first opposition is from the gents to us. We took efforts and steps for building the toilet. The [sewage] pumping station... But those who were deeply involved could finish it. They did it! Now they are building underground drainage. They built it for 20,000 people. We thought that the smell would be horrible. We tried our level best to cancel it. But the first opposition arose from the gents of our own community! They ask me “Who are you to do it? Why should you poke your nose in this matter! Etc...”

C: See -- men are becoming hindrances if women want to do something.

M: Hindrance!?

C: Yeah. A [sewage] pumping station is going to be built in the government school. They [the women] did not want it to happen. They tried to stop it [by going to the government]. They [the men in the community] asked "Who are you to do this??"

R: We even approached the Collector. But the gents were a hindrance. We sent a letter to the Panchayat board. We sent a letter to the C.M. [Chief Minister] cell. We sent a letter to the Collector's office. We told them that we didn’t want it [the sewage pumping station] to be in our area -- especially in the [grounds of the] government school. It is said that the drainage water from all over [the Panchayat] would accumulate here and then be pumped out. They take [the sewage] to Perungudi it seems. We gave a letter to the M.L.A. too. He says that it is too late as it was approved before three years. He says it should only be built there and that is the right place. This area is already treated as garbage dumping area. It may lead to kidney
problem to many people here... In addition to that problems would be severe if this also is established. The diseases would spread more. That is the reason why we gave a letter to all these officers. But everything was in vain.

WV had also spent some Rs. 2 lakh to place overhead water tanks on the public latrines, drill boreholes, install motorized pumps to move water to the tanks and have it available for washing and cleaning in the public latrines. Around the time that the cleaning programme began to fall apart, the motors were stolen from the pumps. The community’s response to this was mixed at this point. WV attempted to mobilize women in the community to approach the police to file a report and they were ready to do this WV says, but WV claims that the menfolk were not supportive of this and prevented this from happening. At a loss, WV then approached the Panchayat to take over the responsibility of managing and cleaning the latrines, as WV would have to be leaving shortly anyway at the end of their ADP (Area Development Program). The Panchayat accepted the responsibility, but then did not do anything.

THE ASSOCIATION HAS BEEN FORMED only 6 months back
- Arose organically as a reaction to the total inaction of the government to provide these basic services with any semblance of quality after all these years, to make up for the lack of responsibility in the Councillors
- There are 25 members of the Association, 3 per street in Sector 4
- All are male
- Structure is: President > Vice-President > 3 Secretaries + 2 Treasurers > General Members (3 reps from each street)

Annotations
1 Like what Ashok was talking about.
Name: Nodes\Analytical I\Social Capital\History of Collective Action

Description: - Content on the specific experiences of collective action in MBN
- Contains both successes and failures
- OK to AGGREGATE
Why people participation was less on the cleaning day?
We tried to figure out why there was no participation from the community on the cleaning day. There were so many reasons for why they didn't join during the cleaning like some were busy. Others had some guest while few did not know that the cleaning was happening. Some had personal problems due to which they couldn't participate on that day. However a social worker named Rani (head of semparati group) said that people dint come because they know they won't be paid if they were cleaning. It was clear that the people were interested to clean their community but them selves dint know what they actually needed.

findings from the head of semparati (Mrs. Rani)
She was an active social worker in the group and their duty was to clean the public toilets. They were supposed to collect fifteen rupees from each house and pay the workers who were cleaning. The people of balaji nagar refused to do this so there is no cleaning happening now.
The exneora was also dint work out because of salary issues. She was ready to help during the cleaning by organizing her group to get involved.

C: What are the problems or hindrances you faced when you went to report to the authorities about the water problem and about the non-availability of water?
P4: People both in the sector and in the Panchayat Board office said: "Why are you bringing this up as an issue when everybody in the sectors are drinking [the tap water]?"

C: You want to do many things... but fear of displacement prevents you from undertaking such tasks, like overheard tank back in your villages. You are not ready to do it for fear of displacement?
P5/P1/P3: What is the use of such efforts? People say, even if we come together, we have the fear of displacement! We are even ready to do something about the dumping of garbage near Balaji Nagar, but the lack of patta prevents us from undertaking any collective efforts! Hence, people fear contributing anything towards the common cause...
Q: During FGD #1, you had said that you were trying to organize an agitation for improving the water service in MB Nagar against the Panchayat, but were stopped from doing so – told not to make it an issue. Why was this? Who stopped you?

That wasn’t quite the story, it goes longer.

About 2 years ago, the water quality in the taps got really bad. It started coming out “red”. This was the time that many people abandoned drinking tap-water (TWU) and began to purchase water (BWU/LWU).

Archana mobilized an 10 people in each sector to go to the Panchayat office with bottles of the red water to show what they were being supplied with. They showed this to the Panchayat officials who responded that this was the same water that was being supplied to other areas in Pallikarnai (i.e. think of the several infiltration well/pump inlets in the lake – these go to supply other areas) – so why are you complaining about it? The Panchayat refused to do anything about it.

Archana then later on tried to re-mobilize people for another agitation on water quality issues to the Panchayat office, but this was not successful as people didn’t believe the Panchayat would do anything about it – so why bother?

There was a big shift to BWU/LWU from TWU at this time. The government’s refusal essentially forced the cost of clean water onto households; created a large “market opportunity” for firms to profit from.

Reference 1 - 1.27% Coverage

M: So let me ask then -- what are some of the things that people in Mylai Balaji Nagar have done to improve the water situation?

C: Are there any efforts or steps taken in Mylai Balaji Nagar to improve the water conditions after knowing that the water is not good over here?

P: Nobody has taken any steps. There were no steps taken here.

Reference 2 - 3.07% Coverage

C: People agitated three or four years back protesting against the wine shop.

M: Three or four years ago?

P: People from all four sectors took part in the roadblock to remove the wine shop.

M: What happened with the wine shop being open now? Why is it still open now and what happened?

C: Why is the wine shop still open now?
P: People protested against it, but it was all in vain. People did not protest enough.

P: People even damaged the wine shop, but the wine shop has not closed!

P: They have even relocated the ration shop from here because of the wine shop and put the wine shop here and the ration shop in Kaivelli!

P: The wine shop is run by the members of the political parties. It was hard time getting things from the ration shop because of the wine shop. People were not able to buy anything.

M: Ah ok. What issues? What is it about an issue that makes it successful?

R: So for example, they have recently a liquor shop there. Wine shop.

C: Second sector.

R: Yeah, second sector. This is issue, they wanted to have a roadblock. But the liquor shop owner already covered the leaders, with financially as well as liquor. They confused the particular womens, those who are going to lead things. So, today, tomorrow, morning, or afternoon, so like that. So one person came with 15 members, police man came and went. Another day another political party they put all the flags, but nobody stand there. So one person is those who are leading the government, that person, no no don't fight. Like that, they divided. But there is no proper communication to everybody, so that is the negative, the learning.

M: Why was that?

R: Yeah. Two groups there are so many struggles. All the people they themselves say we are not good people, each person is blaming others not themselves. Our womens are not like this. They will not give money. They will not come for meeting.

I: Do you want to say anything more about their involvement in community level?

M: No one will get involved. If you observe during the Temple Festival in the local area, [only] ten men would involve themselves. Married men will not come for collection of money. Young boys and bachelors like me would go.
M: Your family has constructed a toilet here. Is it made of concrete?

R: Yes, it is.

M: When did your family construct this one?

R: About four years back.

M: Before that, were you using the community toilet?

C: Before this, were you using the public toilet?

R: Yes.

M: Why did you prefer this one [the household latrine]?

R: There were no facilities...

R2: It [the public toilet block] was not maintained properly. They didn’t wash it properly.

R: World Vision made arrangements [for cleaning the public toilet blocks]. There was one person appointed for it. He withdrew as he didn’t receive any salary. [Now] they don’t wash it every day. It was very dirty. It was not hygienic. So we built an individual toilet.

M: When World Vision stopped doing the cleaning and all, did you not start doing [it yourselves] at the community level?

R2: No, we did not.

R: There was not sufficient water [for cleaning]. The water was supplied only once in fifteen days. We also tried to hire two or three persons to learn it. It didn’t work out.

R2: Some times the water would be supplied even after 20 days!

M: Before were you using this toilet? Why don’t you use this? Why do you use the other one?

R: That is more comfortable for us. For urgency why should we go around? We use it [the makeshift latrine] only for bathing purposes.

M: Can’t your self help group or federation solve the problem?

R: We don’t know if there is any possibility.
M: Why not?
C: He is asking why you can’t solve the problem yourselves.
R: We can’t take the initiative when our [community] heads are there. We don’t know what we should do to make the [intake] well [tap] water clean at the source level!
M: Will World Vision help you to solve the problem?
R: Certainly. Definitely...by all means. If that well is here we would have solved the problem years back. There should be a lid to the well. A security person should be there. They can use a machine to purify it. They [World Vision] even brought a machine for water purification here. They took groundwater samples and it was tested in Tharamani. But they said it [the water treatment unit] would not be suitable for our [groundwater]. If the groundwater is good we can get at least daily supply. [but] that is also not good. Our NGO [World Vision] arranged for it and the machine too came here. And now it has been taken to Thuraippakkam.
C: If the well intake was in this community, they would have done something. Even World Vision would have taken some action. They even brought a machine for water purification here. They took groundwater samples and it was tested in Tharamani. But they said it would not be suitable for this water. If that well was here they would have solved the problem by putting a lid on it and a security person.
M: They wanted to have their own source for pumping here but they couldn’t...right?
C: Yeah.

Reference 1 - 4.47% Coverage
M: Before the Metro Water is given, the quality of water coming in the pipes [currently] is quite bad. We have given some filters to some households. There are two ways to do water treatment -- one is community level (RO) treatment and the other is at the household level.
C: The water [that is] now supplied, is it not that good is it not? We have given filters to [some of] the households. There are two ways to do the water treatment. One is community level RO treatment and other is in household level.
R: The RO plants [in other community-based treatment projects] are not maintained well.
C: Is there any [RO] plant in this area!
R: No, I saw it somewhere else...
M: What are the projects [you] have been involved with?

R: Initially we have been involved with World Vision under their ADP [Area Development Project] project. We joined Self-Help Groups and have been involved in various activities through the SHGs. Then [we also worked] with Kuupa, [which is] another organization that has worked with us [here]. They [Kuupa] have constructed permanent shelters under a 20 years loan scheme. And then we [have also] worked with Exnora for the collection of garbage from Mylai Balaji Nagar.

Later Pallikaranai Panchayat selected us for a solid waste management project. Under this we collected the garbage from [around] Balaji Nagar, as well as in and around Pallikaranai. In this [project], we segregated the garbage into biodegradable and non-biodegradable wastes. We constructed a compost shelter at the Panchayat and then we left it to Exnora since we did not have cooperation or a good relationship with the Panchayat.²

I am still working with Exnora. Exnora is not working in Balaji Nagar now however since there is no cooperation from the people in the community. In the initial phase, they were planting trees across the community and had done solid waste management activities.

Reference 2 - 2.02% Coverage

M: Still the project is functioning?

R: Yes, the project is still functioning at NIOT [National Institute of Ocean Technology] near Pallikaranai. It is not functioning in Balaji Nagar because of poor cooperation from the people. People have not even contributed to support the staff salary.³

Reference 3 - 4.26% Coverage

<Rehman Bibi shows the research time some pictures of herself with Mr. Srinivasan and Mr. Balaji from Exnora. In the images, they have distributed a garbage-collecting tricycle for the waste management team at the Saratha School located at T. Nagar @ 1:06 – 3:50>

R: Exnora planted trees in the school located at Sector 2 [the Lion's Club School]. I have put a compost shed in Sector 2 near the Councillor's house. But it is been removed now because there was no cooperation from people as well as from the Councillor. This [compost program] was done in collaboration with the government and Exnora International.

Reference 4 - 6.55% Coverage

M: Why did they not cooperate?
R: Income generation [for the workers] out of this solid waste management program was very important, however, in Balaji Nagar, there was no income [being generated]. The Panchayat has done nothing to support the program and even the people did not contribute anything.

We wanted to collect a small contribution from every household to support our workers. We used to collect garbage door-to-door. But people refused to pay even the small contribution saying "we are not putting any garbage here, we are dumping somewhere else, not here," and so on.

I will give an example. Suppose a water pipeline has been broken and somebody comes to repair it. At least we should pay him something, or at least, we should offer him some tea, so that he will be happy to continue working on it. In the same way, people should have contributed some money to the people who were taking care of the waste management project.

Reference 5 - 4.82% Coverage

M: Do you think that if Panchayat cooperates, it [a community level system] is possible?
R: Yes, if the Panchayat cooperates it will be possible. In Balaji Nagar, the Slum Clearance Board constructed the public toilets. Initially, the [World Vision] ADP helped in running the public toilets then they left it to people to take care of it. Now, the condition of the public toilets is so [terrible] in all of the sectors! If the Panchayat took [the] initiative to cooperate to run the public toilets, then people can take care of it. In our original settlement, everyone had their own personal toilets, whereas here we are really running short of infrastructure. We need the Panchayat's support.

Reference 1 - 3.96% Coverage

SHGs have also been involved in trying to manage and improve the sanitation facilities at MBN (i.e. the public latrines that were initially built by the TNSCB). They were trying to organize a sustainable latrine cleaning initiative but it has ultimately failed. They asked households to provide Rs. 10 per month to hire an attendant (from outside of the community) who would come and regularly clean the public latrines, but this effort failed.

Reference 2 - 9.09% Coverage

Q: Why did the latrine-cleaning effort fail?
Vijaya can’t say ultimately what led to the failure of the programme, but she suggests that it was poor cooperation from people that contributed to its downfall. WV also offered small loans to households in MBN to construct their own toilets, but this programme had low enrolment.
(suggesting that people are not interested in sanitation investments). WV also tried to hire volunteers from MBN itself who use the toilets themselves as cleaning staff under the auspices of WV, but this too failed in the end.

The cleaner’s wage was Rs. 900 per month and there was one cleaner per sector. This was initially paid for by WV fully. Later on, WV tried to involve local beneficiaries to contribute at first Rs. 5 per month, and then later on Rs. 10 (to make the cleaning programme sustainable). However, this effort ultimately failed because local beneficiaries didn’t want to pay for the latrines to be cleaned regularly and refused to take on the financial burden from WV.

Reference 3 - 5.73% Coverage

Q: What did people in MBN say when asked for Rs. 10/mo. to pay for the cleaning? And what was the timeline of this affair?

In 1997, when the programme was started, people were very enthusiastic. All households were paying a part of the fee (initially Rs. 5), and along with the support of WV, they were hiring cleaners and keeping the latrines in good condition. It ran for some time, and then around 2005/6, the people who were collecting the money from all of the households and then paying the cleaners may have started to skim some of the money, as money was going missing. People stopped paying and the programme began to fall apart.

Reference 4 - 14.23% Coverage

WV had also spent some Rs. 2 lakh to place overhead water tanks on the public latrines, drill boreholes, install motorized pumps to move water to the tanks and have it available for washing and cleaning in the public latrines. Around the time that the cleaning programme began to fall apart, the motors were stolen from the pumps. The community’s response to this was mixed at this point. WV attempted to mobilize women in the community to approach the police to file a report and they were ready to do this WV says, but WV claims that the menfolk were not supportive of this and prevented this from happening. At a loss, WV then approached the Panchayat to take over the responsibility of managing and cleaning the latrines, as WV would have to be leaving shortly anyway at the end of their ADP (Area Development Program). The Panchayat accepted the responsibility, but then did not do anything.

Thus, since 2005/6, the latrines have been in a very unhygienic and unclean condition. There has been no regular cleaning and there is quite a bit of material that creates risk of waterborne disease. Also the tanks are no longer able to pump groundwater as the pumps were stolen, so there is no
water available there for washing and cleaning (instead now, you see people carrying their own water with in a 5 L pail as they go to visit the loo). From 2007 onwards it has been consistently in the worst shape. When people get totally desperate and disgusted with the condition, they will attempt to collect money from their neighbours in the sector and pay someone to clean it on a one-off basis.

Reference 5 - 6.47% Coverage

Q: If WV was to do a water treatment project in MBN, which way would it go: household or community level?

Initially, WV has always had the preference to do community level interventions, even with challenges. But with many bad experiences, this is changing. WV are increasingly focusing on household level initiatives after these failures. For instance, WV is shortly going to be distributing 500 L tanks for each household in MBN.

Again, at the HH-level, people will take care of the good. And they can also control the quantity of water they have and manage its consumption wisely according to the home’s needs. At the COMM-level, WV anticipates conflict over responsibilities that would ultimately derail the effort.

Reference 1 - 10.23% Coverage

He does acknowledge that prior to the start of the Association, there was no history of collective action for providing basic services for themselves in MBN

- The only case of people contributing collectively were festivals when each house would contribute Rs. 100 and all would join together to celebrate
- There were some cases of political organizing however, one that he mentions is the effort to have the Wine Shop removed from MBN (Sector 2)
  - This effort failed cos for political reasons à the owner of the Wine Shop was well-connected and scuttled their efforts by keeping the authorities on his own side (I heard AIADMK mentioned, but not clear)
  - Also, spouses of drinkers preferred that the Wine Shop remain in MBN ironically
    - Otherwise, the men had to travel to either Vijay Nagar or somewhere to the south (Tambaram?) to the closest Wine Shop à pay for travel both ways
    - They would go to these other places and there would be fights and violence, drinkers passing out on the streets far from home
    - Hence, the wives of drinkers preferred that at least the drinkers were still in the community and could stumble home instead of being lost somewhere else
    - Of course the drinkers too preferred having the Wine Shop close by and resisted efforts to have it closed
M: Can you tell me something about the times when people living in Balaji Nagar itself worked together? Did NGOs make them unite together?

R: Once we tried. Before it could run in full swing, the "small savings scheme" [Self-Help Groups] was developed. So people split among many groups.

M: Do you mean today people work together as [small] individual groups? Won’t they work with people of other groups or would they work only with the people of their own self-help group?

R: You are right. They will not work together with other groups.

M: Are there any examples where people tried to organize something to merge the smaller [self-help] groups into a larger one?

R: If they are encouraged they would surely do it. They were separate committees and groups. They started it, the Christ [/Grace] Foundation. It was known as circulatory justice. The important officeholders started looting money. So the money did not reach the deserving persons. The members suffer a lot to get things done in every aspect. So I will not interfere with them as far as possible. I feel there is no connection between that group and me.

Reference 1 - 1.92% Coverage

Reference 2 - 8.92% Coverage

I: From the day Balaji Nagar was formed until now, can you say if there is any difference? Can you say if they united better in the past and not so often in the present or something like that?

R: Not so. The difference is [that] they have separated into groups. They are divided into groups. The government is giving loan is it not? The grouping is due to that. It is self-help group. One has 10 or 5 or 4 groups. They get loans from government agencies outside. They get the money and run their groups.

M: Are there any examples where people tried to organize something to merge the smaller [self-help] groups into a larger one?

R: If they are encouraged they would surely do it. They were separate committees and groups. They started it, the Christ [/Grace] Foundation. It was known as circulatory justice. The important officeholders started looting money. So the money did not reach the deserving persons. The members suffer a lot to get things done in every aspect. So I will not interfere with them as far as possible. I feel there is no connection between that group and me.

Reference 1 - 50.08% Coverage

Reference 2 - 97.64% Coverage

- Some 26 people seemed to have been involved in the waste management program that was implemented in MBN some years ago (the one started-up b/w EXNORA and the Panchayat)
- Only 3 people are still working on it (incl. Rehman Bibi), and not even at MBN (but at the nearby NIOT campus)

- This program has fallen apart for the following reasons:
  1. Ward allotment
  2. No tricycle
  3. No proper facility
  4. Salary problems
- When asked what needs to happen to make it successful, respondents say:
1. They want a 5-year contract
2. Permanent job facilities
3. Minimum salary of Rs. 3000/-
4. They want a job from the Kancheepuram District [gov't].

Reference 2 - 47.56% Coverage

- On Jan 2, 2010 we organized a clean-up day. Faridha's feedback of that is:
"If a dustbin facility is provided and maintained weekly, all the peoples assure that they will use that. But the Panchayat officer has said that a dustbin should not be used in that area."

Then on 2nd we did a clean-up program in this area [4th sector] with the help of a JCB. In this program, the people's participation was very [minimal]. The reasons that were given by people as to why they did not participate were:
1. Went out
2. Personnel reasons
3. Had to take care of our children
4. Went to work (as it was a working day for me)."

Annotations

1. ***What does this mean? People in other sectors? Why would they try to stop them? JJ: indeed, the neighbours were criticizing her for taking the issue to the panchayat; this may be for the reason that some residents are afraid to engender enmity with the panchayat; alternatively, it could be gendered differences, men telling women to clean it at home, why make a fuss -> need to follow up with Archana

2. Rehman Bibi says they had a bad relationship with the Panchayat even though it was them instituted the waste management program...

3. Waste management program failed due to lack of support and funding from community-members

4. To clarify - Did the Panchayat promise then not deliver? What’s the story here?
Srini says: Pallikaranai Panchayat didn’t give any income to the waste management workers, Nor did the people in MBN either. The Panchayat only built the waste-sorting shed and said that the community members should pay for the service itself. So in the end, the Panchayat didn’t pay the workers and then the MBN folk didn’t pay either -- so the whole program fell apart.

5. Was there some sort of formal agreement that was developed and then reneged on? Or was it informal, "word-of-mouth"?

6. FROM ON:
She wanted to start a large community group
But this was the same time the SHGs (by World Vision) were started
So people atomized to smaller groups, instead of a large collective
Also, the SHGs focused on microfinance activities, not community development efforts

>>> This is interesting – the external creation of a certain kind of group forestalled the self-emergence of a possibly cohesive community collective!

7. ON: If it is very important – a problem in its critical stages for many people in the community – then people band together and work on it collectively
If it is not such a desperate issue, or if not so many households are affected by it, than people will undertake action themselves, individually

8. TO elaborate from ON: Raniyamma feels that the people are divided by the SHGs!
Gov’t is giving these groups loans, so people are really focused on these
"Revolving Funds" in SHGs by gov’t, but people are embezzling the funds now
People will only work with the same group, their own SHG
No examples of this per se, but this is the sense that Raniyamma has of the situation (I think)
She feels if that the SHGs could be brought together more and in a better way, they would be able to work
together on larger community activities

9 This resonates with what was said by Rehman Bibi in INT #2 that SHGs have become too focused on loan-giving and not on anything else. (“People are not taking any initiative for a common cause. People's attitude is becoming like taking loans and repaying loans from the SHGs. Even the ADP also does the same.”)

10 (she says ‘the important persons of that formation’)

See Also Links

i Internals\FGD I\FGD #1A - Archana Follow-up - Notes

ii Internals\Interviews\INT #9 - Rehman Bibi - Transcript
The water in the early years was clean and free of insects. For about six months in the early years, water was only available at night, at midnight or later. This meant that the women could not sleep as they had to stay awake for the water. They successfully lobbied the town panchayat (council) of Pallikaranai to change this schedule. Today, residents get water once in 5-10 days depending on the season. In the dry season it is more difficult to get water from the standpipes and the town panchayat sends in water tankers. During the rest of the year, they get water via the standpipes, the water tankers, and they also purchase water from private water vendors in the slum.

Mannammai says when they were first re-located to this wetland, there was no provision of water and they had to go elsewhere to fetch water in their pots. They complained about this and then the town panchayat started to send water tankers. They then had to take their pots to the water tanker and usually managed to get 4-5 pots of water. Each pot holds 12 litres. She says it has been difficult to get water for a few years now, but she cannot remember for how many years exactly. If there is water in the lake then they get water. She does not pay for any water from the panchayat and she thinks they pay Rs. 650/tanker. These days the water problem is worse because the water pipe is broken and they only get water once in 5-10 days. She says there is no schedule for when the water will come from either the standpipes or the water tankers. Mannammai lives in sector 2 of MB Nagar. She says they know they will get water when they find out that sector 1 got water that day. Then they wait around until the water come through their standpipes, which can mean waiting for more than one day. She says when the water arrives people inform each other and that is how they find out it has come and so they go and get their pots and line-up.

In Mannammai’s part of sector 2, water usually comes for 2 hours and all the standpipes in the area get the water at the same time. Currently, the standpipe that Mannammai uses is shared by 10 households. She says originally they were 20 families sharing the same standpipe. The residents complained that they were not all able to get water in the limited time it was available. They were told that if they got organized, dug a hole and prepare the ground then they would get another standpipe. Mannammai and her neighbours got together and did so. Thus, they got another standpipe. She has other neighbours who did not organize themselves for an additional standpipe so they are still 20 households sharing one standpipe and suffer due to lack of sufficient water. However, she also has neighbours who are 5 households to a standpipe.
In the fourth sector, there is a youth voluntary association who have organised to provide electricity to homes by collecting Rs. 20 per month from the homes which don’t have electricity in their houses and are seeking to have [a connection]. They also provide water to homes, provided by the Panchayat Board, by collecting Rs. 2 per can from every home and then provide water to everyone.

C:  
Is it started by the people themselves in the fourth sector?

O:  
Who does it? Is it done by Hand in Hand?

P4:  
It is done by the youths in the fourth sector themselves!

C:  
[Next question:] If there are any natural calamities or disasters or problems in Balaji Nagar similar to the one faced by Japan due to earthquake, what would be the community’s response in the wake of such a disaster? Will there be cooperation among the community in the wake of such a disaster? [How about] in the case of a fire accident, what will be the response?

P4:  
Six years back, a fire broke out in a house in the second sector [and] because of heavy winds, the fire spread to all the four Sectors and many houses were burnt and everyone from the four sectors came forward to extinguish the fire and to provide needed assistance at that hour.

C:  
What happened after extinguishing the fire?

P4:  
Everybody helped in that act.

C:  
Everyone from the four sectors came forward to help [with] it?

P4:  
Yes, everyone came forward to help. World Vision also helped, they provided whatever was needed in the homes for the families [that lost their homes].

On December 4th, sir. On December 4th, opposite to our home, it was very close to our home. Even our home is a thatched one and ours was lucky to escape [the fire].

C:  
How did the people behave then?

P5/P2/P4:  
Everybody came forward to help [with] it. People from all sectors came forward to pour water to extinguish the fire. People were very helpful and cooperative.

C:  
You have said before that people have cooperated in times of crisis or calamity or disaster such as the fire accident in the community some years back. And the main problem in Balaji Nagar
[today] is centred on water... Is there any joint effort from your end, from the people of Balaji Nagar, to collectively solve it? Is there any efforts from your side to address it?

P5:  No effort from our end...

P4:  When there was no water in our street, people in our street once went to the Panchayat Board reporting to them about the non-availability of water. And on another occasion, when the water was muddy and dirty and was red in colour, we went to the authorities [again]. We collected the [dirty] water in a bottle and asked them how can we drink such red-coloured water! We also took the water available in [the rest of the Panchayat of] Pallikaranai to show them the difference in the colour of the waters! We asked them why the water in [the rest of] Pallikaranai is clean and ours in such a red colour! There were sources of water and they themselves admitted the water to be muddy because of the death of a dog [in the well].

During the rainy season, the water in the canals and the well-source gets mixed together, and then the water completely looks similar to the water in the canals. We also took photos of our water and asked [the Panchayat] can we still drink the water? The authorities said that the water that we get is only after purification and there is nothing to worry about and that we will look into the problem and ensure that it doesn’t occur again... but [in the meanwhile], use can water for two months for drinking purposes!

Reference 5 - 1.25% Coverage

C:  You said that you had worked collectively with World Vision to address the water problems and even met with the Councillor collectively. What was the response or cooperation or help of other people in other sectors in Balaji Nagar?

P4:  When we asked the [Self Help] groups, the group members came along to address the water problems. If there was no water in the plot or sector or in the street, then the people in that particular sector or plot or street came together to address the water problems.

Reference 6 - 3.02% Coverage

C:  What are the other kinds of problems or hindrances you faced when you went to report to the authorities about the non-availability of water and of its poor quality? Did you face any problems from anybody on this as to why you are bringing this and who are you to report such issues?

P4:  No problems faced.

C:  Did you see any change in the quantity and quality of water after you reported the poor quality of water, of its colour, odour and of its non-availability?

P4:  Yes, there were significant changes since then. The colour level was not bad as it [used to be]. Now it is okay. They [the Panchayat] took water in a bottle to test for the mineral and salt content in it. They also tested for the groundwater and for having bore wells and they said that [the groundwater] contains 76% contains salt and the [groundwater] cannot be used for any purposes except for cleaning the houses. It cannot even be used for washing faces, such was the level of salt
content in the [groundwater]. There were bore well pipes near the public toilet blocks in the four sectors, and even the bore well pipes and the iron rods [had to be] repaired because of the high level of salt content in the [groundwater] within a year.

Reference 7 - 0.96% Coverage

C: Who are the beneficiaries of such a reporting of the issue? Is it the people from one sector or from all sectors? Was this reporting beneficial to only the sector that reported it or to the entire sectors?

P4: People in the second sector took this issue [up], but they took it as an issue and problem of the entire Balaji Nagar community and not of the individual sectors alone.

Reference 1 - 0.70% Coverage

R: For the electricity problem, people in the 4th sector do the repairs and rectifications [themselves], as they have got a 'pass'² for it.

R: Yes, Rs. 20 are collected every month for it.

Reference 2 - 3.69% Coverage

M: I want to move on to the next question. The next question has to do with how well the community works together at times of stress or crisis. The question is -- If there is a fire in this community how would the people react? Would they look after their own house first or would they put off the fire together?

ALL: We will put of the fire together!

R: We will act united.

M: Are there any recent examples of it?

R: It happened 4 or 5 years back. There was a fire and all of us put it out together.

I: Apart from that fire accident, was there any other accident in this area?

C: Even if it is not accident, it may even be a common problem or crisis.

M: Can you elaborate and tell me about the fire accident which happened 4 or 5 years ago?

R: Only one house caught fire and all people came running and put it out. The people of this area as well as the other areas came to put it out.

R: The fire service was not called. We went to the open terrace of the adjacent building and poured water.

Reference 3 - 2.14% Coverage
**M:** We will move on to the next question. This is about collective action. I want to know about a service which you people in Mylai Balaji Nagar got in the past by your own collective effort?

**I:** It may be regarding water purification or wastewater removal or whatever.

**R:** The bus did not used to stop in our area before. We all fought for it to stop here and that is how we got a stop here after that.

**R:** Actually it was long ago. I didn’t come to this area then. It's just hearsay [to me]. These people were living [here then]. Is it not?

**R:** Yes. We were here. We did a strike.

Reference 4 - 3.76% Coverage

**M:** You all fought together to bring a bus stop here. It is a basically a political action. What else did you achieve in the same way?

**R:** We were not getting even the tap water [at first]. We fought for it and got it!

**C:** What would you say to unite them [the community] for such a cause?

**R:** We will simply tell them that there is no supply of water and ask them to join us to get it.

**R:** We would say one person from one family should come and join.

**C:** Did people come when you invited them like that?

**R:** Why not! When it is a common cause they should unite and they did!

**C:** Was there anyone who led the cause? Was anyone leading the show?

**R:** Someone will start. Others would join. And somebody else would kindle the others.

**R:** Generally 2 or 3 persons are here who would readily take up the leadership for any common cause.

**C:** Is it someone [a resident] from the sector or is it a political leader?

**R:** It is someone [a resident] from within the sectors.

**R:** They would volunteer and we would join.

Reference 5 - 1.96% Coverage

**R:** All may not join. But Ashok Annachi may gather some boys together.

**R:** He took the initiative to trim the trees.

**R:** He generally takes initiative for many common causes.

**M:** Why do people listen to him?
R: He generally comes forward. He took effort to rectify [the problem] when there was a power cut. He took effort even to bring [more] water [supply].

M: Is he an old man? Has he lived here for a long time?

R: He is young. He also migrated with us.

R: He is also in a political party.

I: Which party?

R: DMK.

M: I want to move on to the next question. The next question has to do with how well the people in the community work together at times of stress or crisis. The question is -- if there is a fire in this community, how would the people react? Would they take care of their own house first or put off the fire together?

ALL: We will put the fire out together!

R: We will act united.

R: If anyone gets affected it affects us too! Is it not?

M: Are there any recent examples of it in your memory?

R: When we came and settled here 12 years ago from Mylapore, around 12 houses caught fire. It happened here in this place!

I: Can you elaborate and tell me about the fire accident?

R: My mother-in-law was here. The fire started in the last house [on the street]. It started spreading to all of the houses. There was not even a single thing left not burnt in my house. Everyone joined together and stopped the fire from all around.

C: Was everyone united at that time?

R: Yes. We were united to get water.

R: We requested everything [from the government] in a united manner.

R: There would not be any problem between us.

R: ‘Baiamma’ [Rehman Bibi] used to lead us. We would cooperate with her. We all used to go together [to the Panchayat].
R: Still we work together to get water supply.

Reference 3 - 10.95% Coverage

M: We will move on to the next question. This is about the history of collective action here. I want to know about the collective benefits of some kind of service which you people in Mylai Balaji Nagar got in the past by you own collective efforts?

I: It may be for their right or need.

R: There would be frequent power cuts [before]. If it is 2 or 3 days of power cuts we take collective action.

R: There is a power cut every day here. But they [the gov't workers] come and rectify immediately.

M: The examples you gave were the ones which you went to the Panchayat Board and got them solved. Are there any examples of a common issue solved by you yourselves?

R: No. Everything would be taken to the Panchayat Board!

R: No, we don’t do them by ourselves.

M: Who would take responsibility when a common task is undertaken?

R: Our head ‘Balaji’ would lead us.

M: When you go to the Panchayat or the Council Person for the issues of water or something else, what kind of response would you get?

R: They would say that they would send a man [worker] to look into the matter.

R: We have not gone. Only the people who lead us go [to advocate]. The big shots go.

I: How would they treat you if you go?

R: We don’t know as we have never gone there [to the Panchayat]. Only the community leaders go.

M: Who would usually go there?

R: Some respected elderly persons used to go. My mother-in-law used to accompany them.

M: When you are doing these projects what would be the obstacles you would face?

I: What would be the hurdles in this sector? Would anyone stop you from doing so? Would any one discourage you saying “don’t you have any other work?”

R: No such hurdles would be there. Everyone cooperates here.
R: They support such efforts.

M: Did any effort fail when you tried together? Is there any example for such an incident?

I: Were you disappointed that your effort was not answered?

R: They were responsive whenever we approached them.

R: No disappointments were there.

R: I came here just a year back. I don’t have much of knowledge or experience about it.

Reference 4 - 2.83% Coverage

M: Are there any examples in which people joined and collected money for a joint effort?

C: For example in sector four they have formed a neighbourhood association. They collect money to spend on repairs when there is a power failure, whether it is in house or in a public place.

R: There was a power failure. A person climbed the post. He fell down. We all took him to hospital. We collected money and spent it for his hospital expenses.

R: Yeah. His hand [bones] was broken. We [each] contributed whatever we could...like Rs. 50 or 100.

Reference 1 - 4.65% Coverage

C: After you had moved to Balaji Nagar, were there any common disasters or collective problems where people came together and worked collectively on, such as a fire accident?

P: Fire accident, sir.

C: Fire accident - when [did] it happened?

P: Fire accident occurred in the year when we came here. It was around 2003 or 2004.

P: Which year did it happened?

P: Not in 2003 or 2004. Even earlier...

C: What did you do? How did the people react?

P: 300 houses were gutted. From one house it spread to too many houses up to the last Sector!

P: Fire came from afar and burnt the houses.

C: What did you do then collectively?

P: We called up the fire service and they came.
At the time there were only huts and hence there was such damage.

After the fire, people got loans and tried to move out of their huts to other forms of housing. Three times fire has caused great disaster.

Some of us used water to quench the fire.

There was no water facility then as there is now. It has been installed since then.

There was no tap water then, only sand and dirt everywhere. People tried to quench the fire using sand and not water!

There were no facilities then and there were lots of shrubs.

A flood also happened here.

People, in the face of fire, worked together to put it out?

Yes, people worked together in the face of fire.

A flood came when there was heavy rains and there was no place to take rest. There was water everywhere. Water came into our houses. Water everywhere...

When did that occur?

Water came and there was no way for water to be released outside.

It was six or seven years back, there was water in every home during the reign of Amma. The whole village was filled with water.

Did people during the time collect money and do anything to help one another?

No money. All people brought food for us in the nights, but it was still bad. We had a lot of difficulties during that time for a week.

What did you do to help as a group?

Did people help one another at this time? Did people stay with other people? What happened?

Did you go after people to get some help or were they helped on their own?

People here only helped out here. People gave rice and they also cooked the food and gave it out at every night. People themselves collected the money and provided rice to all. They gave rice to every home, nearly 2 kgs to 5 kgs of rice to every home.

Did people collect money for helping and did they provide rice?
P: People collected money to get rice.
P: People gave food in packets.
P: The government gave two thousand rupees per household, especially to those living in huts.
P: That was the only help we received and nothing else.
P: That was only after the coming of water, because of the flood.

M: When they say people collected money and gave five kilos of rice -- was it for everyone in the community or only for those who were affected by the flood?

C: Who were the beneficiaries of the collected money? They gave to everyone?
P: Yes, for everyone.

C: From whom did they collect the money? From the people? Or from the government?
P: People who serve as leaders in the community collected the money from the government and gave it to people.
P: Whoever had the ration card, they got the money only. Rice was given to everyone.
P: Everyone got the rice, and the money only to those who had their ration card.

C: Rice, everyone got it. But the amount of Rs. 2000 was given to those who had the ration card?

Reference 3 - 3.42% Coverage

C: Are people from the beginning like this, since when you were resettled for the first time in Balaji Nagar? How were the people behaving [then]? Is there any change in their behaviour?
P: People will come together if there is a water problem. They will go in to the streets and do a road blockage!
P: If there is a problem, then people will come together and go to the office in Panchayat board and complain there.
P: They are united if there is a crisis or a problem.
P: When water does not come, people go into the streets.
P: During crisis or issues, people come together.
P: Water came to our area after we did a roadblock!
P: That’s what they are asking! If during crisis will people come together is what they were asking.
P: People will stand together.

P: People will work together for the crisis arising out of water and electricity. But they will not come together for any other cause.\(^7\)

Reference 4 - 1.05% Coverage

P: There were notice boards kept in the women’s [self-help] group that asked everybody to participate in the agitations and the request letter was written then stating the lack of basic amenities here and presented to the World Vision office to be sent to the government [Panchayat].

Reference 5 - 0.56% Coverage

P: The last time we took the streets was when the wine shop came to this place sometime before two years.

M: When was that?

P: Five months back.

Reference 6 - 1.41% Coverage

M: When was this agitation to get the [tap] water, when you blocked the road? When did that take place?

C: When did you block the road for getting the [tap] water [supply]?

P: It was immediately after we came here from our Mylapore. Say, after two or three months, when we did not get water. And the last time was a couple of months back, when they had put in the wine shop.

Reference 7 - 0.73% Coverage

C: People agitated three or four years back protesting against the wine shop.

M: Three or four years ago?

P: People from all four sectors took part in the roadblock to remove the wine shop.

Reference 8 - 1.74% Coverage

C: When did you go for the roadblock for having the ration shop?

P: We have not done a roadblock [for the ration shop]. We went to the ration shops with our petitions. We did the roadblock only for getting water and not for any other issue!

C: You have said just now before, no?
P: No sir, we did not do a roadblock for getting the ration shop, but only for getting water. We went to the ration shops with our petitions directly and asked them [to relocate].

Reference 1 - 4.03% Coverage

R: So, the beginning they would sit and they would fight for everything because there were pukka houses, they had good employment opportunities, good water, they had good water.

M: Before coming here?

R: Yeah, before coming here. Then they lost everything. So here they are fighting for everything. Employment opportunity... but there is no bus stop. So they had a more than to times roadblock, we also participated. Then we build bus shelter, then we approach MTBC, the transit MD. Then one person from Mylapore to here, so like that, changes. People at that time is outlook also, respect. And speaking to the people, so communication. And they are sending, they are after they are joining the SHG, they are going to the bank, and living conditions improve, so children going to school, friends are coming to house, so the house is improving, so like that lots of things. The previous time, the crime rate is very high, now not much different, but there is a reduction.

Reference 2 - 4.62% Coverage

R: Yeah, forming two groups. I took it one year to form just two group. And the next year, I formed 20 groups.

M: Why was that?

R: Yeah. Two groups there are so many struggles. All the people they themselves say we are not good people, each person is blaming others not themselves. Our womens are not like this. They will not give money. They will not come for meeting. Then I gave so many trainings and this and that, first you come. Don't worry about others. Like that they came and they joined. So few people came, few people are middle, few people are behind, so the middle people, if it is good, we will join, otherwise we'll go back. And that people is ok, we'll see, what will happen, like that. Then this people, function, meeting, and everything then it's become mandatory, you should become one of the groups or one of the CBOs like that we come. At the same time, the government also introduced the self-help groups. Before the government, we started, because we are an international organization. We had Bangladesh, so we started at that time. Then we re-arranged everything according to the government needs.

Reference 3 - 2.45% Coverage

M: In your experience in MBN, did you see any examples of people banding together to get some kind of service for themselves, be it like waste management or lobbying the gov't to pave the roads, or anything, did you observe examples like this?

Reference 32:34

R: One is for the bus stop. Bus stop and <bice (?)>.

M: So they lobbied the government to ask for...
R: Yeah. Another one is for the water. So previously, not at all they provided water. So they fight and they got Sintex tank with water, they provided water, but not pure water. But anyway. That work with the government.

Reference 4 - 4.35% Coverage

M: So these are examples of the people petitioning or lobbying the government. Are there any examples of people doing the service themselves?

R: That is for nearby houses in that, so they are helping with the money with the [inaudible] and for [inaudible] at the time, the houses are free. Somebody came with nothing, so they give one house, you can stay there like that. Then each projects, our projects, they contributed 10%, 15% like that. Each and every projects. And the SHGs also, they are helping themselves for the things. Then we gave so many things as assistance. That money came back to the groups and the CBOs the helped so many people. Personally they are helping for sick persons, this person, and they took it to the hospital, TB person was there, and they took care. Even HIV/AIDS person is there. Old age person is there, they took it to the hospital, and they provide some foods and all like that.

M: So people support one another, when there are times of difficulty?

R: Yeah, yeah. But not that much. But they have their <inaudible>.

Reference 1 - 4.87% Coverage

I: Anything to add about men and women regarding community level work?

F: They said that they have worked together to get compensation when there was flood in the area. They conducted demonstrations to get it.

M: They have conducted a strike to get the water [supply] too.

F: They did road blocks in the main road!

M: For electricity too!

Reference 1 - 2.00% Coverage

M: What does the federation do?

R: The federation does social works. It also arranges for loans. A meeting would be conducted at the end of every month. The maintenance of the group would be looked after. We would give them trainings to write the [loan] notebooks. See this. The notebook would be like this. <shows us a loan listing with names of recipients etc.>
R: There are also instructions on how business should be done. We give a methodical training of how to manufacture certain items. Work is taught. I am not able to tell the appropriate word...

M: Oh! Is it work-shop training?

R: Yes, yes! We give training for them to make acid, phenol, detergent powders. <she identifies it as SURF which is a brand name of detergent powder>

R: The notebook contains the instructions of the items to be made in the workshop. It is a coaching system.

C: It is training for self employment.

R: Even if someone suggests a job opportunity we would announce it to our members. Just if they talk to those two members [from each SHG in the federation] it would reach all the twenty [in each of the SHGs].

Reference 2 - 0.53% Coverage

R: We also discuss about the lack of water supply and water tanks [at the federation meetings]. The rate of the tank is Rs. 2000. But we said we [World Vision] would give only Rs. 500. If we pay Rs. 500 the tank becomes ours. We come to a solution for many problems during these discussions!

Reference 3 - 3.97% Coverage

M: So do you discuss [in the federation] all the problems women have in this community?

C: He asks if you would discuss every problem?

R: Yes boy. We do so. This community is divided into four parts. We know every problem of all the four parts. We take censuses and classes for the same. We discuss about pension for old age people. Even for that we do a survey census. We get them pension [from government schemes].

C: Is it within this area?

R: Yes, of course. But these days, the teachers themselves take the census.

C: What details are collected through the census?

R: We collect details regarding how many members are there in a family, how many of them are [income] earning members, what is their age, how many males are there and how many females are there, what the family income is... etc.

R: We also take details [about] whether it is a thatched house or a tiled house or a terraced house.
R: This would give us a clear picture about the socio economic condition of the family. This would enable us to help them. Our NGO is World Vision. We can get help [for everyone] though the federation from World Vision. They give us money. We collectively take it and distribute it to the members according to their needs.

R: We will perfectly do whatever we feel is good!

C: They say that they would collect all the details about every family like their income, age group, gender, how many members are there in a family, how many of them are income earning members and all that. They collect money from World Vision and distribute it among the families as per their needs.

R: World Vision says the people who are very poor are classified as "BPL". How can we select them among the 10,000 people [living in Balaji Nagar]? First, we took census and we divided them into categories. We classified them into rich, middle, poor and very poor [socioeconomic groups]. We allotted marks accordingly. They get loans to do businesses. Those who had not much property [of their own] got more marks and thus [were eligible for] got more loans. They were given more housing loans too. Even now people do many businesses through this World Vision [facility]. Rice business etc...

Reference 4 - 1.72% Coverage

R: There used to be so many fires! <She uses more English words so that the moderator is able to understand without the help of the interpreter.>

M: Oh...! Fire?

R: Yes. This was the reason why we give more loans to those who wanted to have well-built houses. These [pucca] houses can withstand the fire. Stone wall and tiled roof can be built with the loan. We called them and talked to them about what they want. We also talk to those who had diseases. We find out what businesses were possible for them. We give loans for the same. Everything is possible because of the federation! The group is the tool to help us meet the people. We are able to meet their needs and also able to elevate them [their socioeconomic standing].

C: The [self help] groups are able to meet people [from other self help groups] and are able to convey whatever they want to say or complaints [they have]. They solve their problems [through the federation]!

Reference 5 - 3.32% Coverage

: We solve health problems too!

M: What sort of health problems do you solve?

C: He is asking what sort of health problems do you solve?
R: We help those who have TB and wheezing [asthma]. We give them a card. They can take it to the hospital and get free medicine. They can get weekly medicines for many months. The nearby hospital representatives come and supply us with the medicines. The sisters would give instructions about the dosage. The patients would collect it from us. If they don’t [come to] collect it we go and call them to [come] collect it and then supply the same to them. Even that is one of the achievements of our self help groups. Many people were cured by this method!

C: They help with tuberculosis and wheezing, that is, asthma patients too. They will give cards to them. Everybody will come here and take it. Lot of people got cured this way.

R: Even for that [the TB DOTS\textsuperscript{12}], a verification team came from Delhi. They came and enquired. They verified the names. They went and met with the patients. They did not allow us to talk to the patients. They enquired with the patients about how we gave them medicines and how they were consumed. They also asked how they got cured. Lot of people got cured! Now they are healthy too. Now the medicines were even stopped. They have become normal. Many people made use of it. Everything was possible only through this. Only then we can form federation.

R: If there are no self help groups, there is no federation. If there is no federation there is no sangam!

C: You know what she is telling? Even people from Delhi came to check what they are doing [with the TB DOTS campaign]. They even met with the people and talked to them. She is saying that without the self help groups there is no federation and without the federation there is no sangam.

Reference 6 - 3.14% Coverage

M: What is the sangam?

R: The sangam is formed by those who are in these [self help] groups. At the same time, those who are not in the [self help] groups can also be in this [the sangam]\textsuperscript{13}. Public people can [also] be in a sangam. They can do social service. They built this school as a private school.\textsuperscript{14} But as far as our area is concerned, we don’t have that much money to afford the [private school] fees. We wrote is [a protest letter] through the group [the sangam] and sent it to the Collector’s office. We wrote that what we need is a free government school. Now it [the private school] has become a government school. People make use of it very well. At first there was only up to the 5\textsuperscript{th} standard. Now there is up to the 8\textsuperscript{th} standard. We welcome all. All are welcome. We tell them that they can be in the sangam even if they are not in the [self help] groups. But all the [self help] groups should have representatives in the sangam.

C: Basically the sangam is a kind of association for Balaji Nagar. Everybody can be a part of the sangam. But as far as the federation is concerned, the members of self help group alone can form the federation. But in the sangam everybody can be there. Actually somebody [Sriram] built this school and they wanted it to be a private school. They approached the District
Collector and [asked to] make it into a government school...because these people have loans and all... They cannot afford to pay the [private school] fees. They cannot give fees to private education. So they approached the District Collector.

M: Was it [the letter writing campaign] done by the self help group or the sangam?
C: He is asking what things do you all do through the sangam?
R: We worked together.

Reference 7 - 1.32% Coverage

M: What are the other services [provided] by the sangam?
R: The sangam does public services. It meets the needs of the public. People express their grievances to the sangam. For example, if the ration shop is not proper we approach them to rectify. We have helped a lot of helpless widows to get their pensions. Government gives money to the family if the head of the family expires.
C: See -- if the ration shop is not OK they help to report it. They also [help to] get the [pension] amount for the widows if the head of the family expires. They discuss all the problems in the monthly meetings.
R: The government gives money even for pregnant women.
C: Maternity benefit is also given. So they do a lot of services.

Reference 8 - 1.52% Coverage

M: So even if you are not in the self help groups you can join the sangam. But only if you are in self help groups you can join the federation ...right? I want to know more about the federation and the sangam have done for water.
C: He is asking what the sangam and federation have done for water in this area.
R: If the water supply is not proper, we would go and give a letter [of complaint] to the Panchayat board. They would do the needful. But we will mainly go only if the water supply is totally stopped. But we don’t have any other source of water except this single source. Do you know that they send water from Palikkaranai? We get only that. Even that is supplied once in 10 or 15 days or once in a week. Did you see that water? It is not good at all. Just if you keep it a day, it would change the colour. Worms develop.

Reference 9 - 3.21% Coverage

C: Yeah. A [sewage] pumping station is going to be built in the government school. They [the women] did not want it to happen. They tried to stop it [by going to the government]. They [the men in the community] asked "Who are you to do this??"
R: We even approached the Collector. But the gents were a hindrance. We sent a letter to the Panchayat board. We sent a letter to the C.M. [Chief Minister] cell. We sent a letter to the Collector’s office. We told them that we didn’t want it [the sewage pumping station] to be in our area -- especially in the [grounds of the] government school. It is said that the drainage water from all over [the Panchayat] would accumulate here and then be pumped out. They take [the sewage] to Perungudi it seems. We gave a letter to the M.L.A. too. He says that it is too late as it was approved before three years. He says it should only be built there and that is the right place. This area is already treated as garbage dumping area. It may lead to kidney problem to many people here... In addition to that problems would be severe if this also is established. The diseases would spread more. That is the reason why we gave a letter to all these officers. But everything was in vain.

C: They gave letter to Panchayat, M.L.A., Collector... they even gave a letter to the Collector’s office. But nothing was fruitful. They said it was already too late. They said it was approved three years ago. We cannot do anything. They said we are doing it for the benefit of so many people. They said that so many people opposed many matters. They could not be stopped. Likewise this would also happen. These people say that this is a government school. Building a drainage pumping station would damage the health of so many people.

R: There are examples where people have worked together for joint action. There was one such event. There is a garbage dumping site next to sector 1, but they [the garbage workers] used to dump the garbage even outside the site and along the roadside, which was a big threat [to people in sector 1]. Then we [collectively] staged a road-blocking demonstration, along with the cooperation of Exnora International. Then they stopped it [the dumping near sector 1].

Q: What did people in MBN say when asked for Rs. 10/mo. to pay for the cleaning? And what was the timeline of this affair?

In 1997, when the programme was started, people were very enthusiastic. All households were paying a part of the fee (initially Rs. 5), and along with the support of WV, they were hiring cleaners and keeping the latrines in good condition. It ran for some time, and then around 2005/6, the people who were collecting the money from all of the households and then paying the cleaners may have started to skim some of the money, as money was going missing. People stopped paying and the programme began to fall apart.
Thus, since 2005/6, the latrines have been in a very unhygienic and unclean condition. There has been no regular cleaning and there is quite a bit of material that creates risk of waterborne disease. Also the tanks are no longer able to pump groundwater as the pumps were stolen, so there is no water available there for washing and cleaning (instead now, you see people carrying their own water with in a 5 L pail as they go to visit the loo). From 2007 onwards it has been consistently in the worst shape. When people get totally desperate and disgusted with the condition, they will attempt to collect money from their neighbours in the sector and pay someone to clean it on a one-off basis.

THE ASSOCIATION HAS BEEN FORMED only 6 months back
- Arise organically as a reaction to the total inaction of the government to provide these basic services with any semblance of quality after all these years, to make up for the lack of responsibility in the Councillors
- There are 25 members of the Association, 3 per street in Sector 4
- All are male
- Structure is: President > Vice-President > 3 Secretaries + 2 Treasurers > General Members (3 reps from each street)

IN RESPONSE to these gaps, Ashok’s association has undertaken the following activities. These are supported by the Association collecting a voluntary fee of Rs. 20 per month from each of the households in Sector 4.

1. Water Supply Improvements
   - Association pays Rs. 1500 – 2000 to have a Chennai Metro Water lorry(-ies) come to the Sector 4 and fill the 4 tanks stationed here (5000 L each)
   - The Association then sells this water for ~Rs. 2 per 12-15 L pot to households who want more water
   - Every 2 days they are able to call the tanker to augment the inadequate supply that comes on every 12-15 days in the public taps
   - Association has paid Rs. 1000 to fix up each of the tanks (i.e. taps, leaks, etc.)

2. Electricity Improvements
   - When there is a power outage caused by some local wiring or technical problem, the Association calls someone from the EB (Electricity Board) to come fix it
   - Also help people make connections to the streetlight circuits for household power supply

3. Sanitation Improvements
   - Hire someone to come and keep the toilets clean
He does acknowledge that prior to the start of the Association, there was no history of collective action for providing basic services for themselves in MBN.

- The only case of people contributing collectively were festivals when each house would contribute Rs. 100 and all would join together to celebrate.
- There were some cases of political organizing however, one that he mentions is the effort to have the Wine Shop removed from MBN (Sector 2).

Reference 1 - 6.21% Coverage

M: *Do you know any other example in which people of Balaji Nagar worked together?*

R: People fought together for the sake of water supply. We conducted strikes in order to get drinking water. *Water is the scarcest thing for us here. We don’t get water in the summer season.* [At that time], we are united together. We collected money and bought water in trucks. We got 5 pots per house. It was Metro Water. The water per [tanker] load costs Rs. 1200. We bought the water and distributed it among us.

M: *Any other examples in which people here worked together?*

R: There was no bus stop here. We joined together to fight for buses to stop [a bus stand] here in our area.

M: *Any other examples?*

R: The government gives grants for widows. Money is also given for last rites of the dead. We try to get [these schemes] for the deserving persons. We collectively try to get the schemes to be put into practice by the government.

Annotations

1. What does this mean - contains 76% salt? or 76% of the groundwater contains salt? Either way though, the point is the same - the groundwater is brackish or saline and cannot be used for domestic purposes.

2. What does this mean?

3. This passage is very telling about the mode of collective action - primarily focused on lobbying the govt for services. Also, the advocates are few in number. so such lobbying does not entail a mass mobilization.

4. From ON: “Hasina : In our sector Mr.Balaji and Mrs.bai amma, they are well known person about our sector. Mostly they were engaged to overcome our problem”

5. There is ambiguity about the dates. Here it is 2003-4 or even earlier others suggest. In my notes I have 2005 written. It is likely indicative that there are many fires in the community.

This was the major fire event after which the households were given loans to build pukka structures instead of thatch homes.

6. My notes indicate also 2005.

From notes:

people’s homes were flooded and they had to stay in the community hall; the govt’ provided food aid, but it was poor in quality

- In the face of this, people lobbied the govt’ to give 5 kg of rice to everyone

- Gov’t wound up giving Rs. 2000 to all the hutments
My notes say: 2-300 households came together for this agitation (but there may be some issue with the veracity of the note, be warned).

The ration shop is in Tay Nagar.

Who is 'they'? I assume they mean the government. ... Actually, on second thought, it seems to me that he is referring to people themselves living in the community. I'll code as such now, but will follow up with Srini on this (this afternoon)

Srini says that this is likely to do with the major post-fire rebuilding event in MBN in 1998. At this time, WV provided loans and financing for people to build their homes. This may have been a small grant or subsidized loan to cover part of the prices of building a whole house.

According to later conversations, this is how the govt assesses the level of property tax that should be levied against homeowners. It seems also to be how welfare benefits are determined. This is a very interesting method for assessing economic well-being, quite appropriate for the indian context and impressive that it has been mainstreamed as such.

"Below Poverty Line" people says Srini. Was originally entered as "POP" by Vedha, but Srini clarified the actual meaning.

I think so at least! -- Indeed, checked with Srini and he agrees that the TB DOTS program is what they are referring to here.

So what I understand is that the FEDERATION is the collective representative body of the SELF HELP GROUPS. Only SHG members can join the federation. On the other hand, there are many people (women only?) who are not in the SHGs and thus can't join the Federation. For them, there is also the SANGAM which is open to all (women?) irrespective of whether one belongs to a SHG or not.

This must be the Sriram Chits Charity story that Rehman Bibi talked about.

Like what Ashok was talking about.

People can political organize and agitate for immediately pressing issues.

Community did protests and demonstrations, including roadblocks on Velacherry Main Road, to get access to water à this is what led to the installation of the water standpipes

She's suggesting that the government has to be forced to implement its own schemes!
**Name:** Nodes\Analytical I\Social Capital\Negative Perceptions

**Description:** - How local people perceive how well the community works together or doesn't -- explanations only

(This bin acts as a counter for the 'egalitarianism' bin and functions as a deposit for instances of individualistic statements)

*<Internals\FGD I\FGD #1 - Transcript> - § 2 references coded [2.34% Coverage]*

Reference 1 - 2.10% Coverage

C: We were talking about water treatment, let’s go back to that. Is it best at the community level or at the household level [here]? If we are doing at the community level, then cost will be lower as everybody is going to share it and it is done in a big batch, but it needs everybody’s cooperation and participation and the work is shared. Whereas if we do the water treatment at the household level, then everyone ought to do it themselves at the individual level, but the cost involved will be bit higher. Which does the community prefer for water treatment?

P1: If it is common and public, there will be a clash as to who will do it and everybody will try to shift [the responsibility] and point to others to do the task. If it [is at] the individual-level, everybody ought to do it and they will not like to shift from their responsibility.

Reference 2 - 0.24% Coverage

P4: During times of water shortage, we prefer doing the water treatment at the household level.

*<Internals\FGD I\FGD #2 - Transcript> - § 3 references coded [6.29% Coverage]*

Reference 1 - 2.40% Coverage

M: Would you all be ready to spend money for such a common task?

R: Yes, all of us will give.

R: No. Some of them may refuse to give.

R: They will give.

R: They will not give.

R: They will not.

I: Will there be confusion and problems in Sector 4 if it is done at the community level? Do you think if there would be conflict or there would not be conflict?

C: Why do you hesitate? Please tell us. In other sectors they frankly expressed their problems.
R: Generally when there is something in common, some people may not care about it as someone is there to look after. They will think "...let them look after it. Why should I bother!"

Reference 2 - 2.38% Coverage

C: Will there be any problems? Other sector people told us that there would be problems.

R: Yes. Problems will arise. They will suspect that the entire amount would not be spent for the cause. They will question them.

R: We cannot say everyone would come forward to give.

R: Some will be ready and some will not be ready.

C: Will there be any problems if some come forward [to contribute] and some do not?

R: Yes. The one who would be ready would start scolding the others who do not.

R: At the same time, those who do not like this would say "...if you want to, you go [ahead], don't compel us!"

R: This would end up in a quarrel...

Reference 3 - 1.52% Coverage

M: Is the community system of treating water easy to do or difficult to do? Is it easy to get the time and effort of all the people?

R: If we ask everyone, they would come forward.

R: It is doubtful [that] everyone would join.

R: Some of them will join and some of them may not.

M: Will this cause friction and conflict between you?

R: All may not join. But Ashok Annachi may gather some boys together.

Reference 1 - 4.07% Coverage

M: You said you prefer it if someone does it in the community level. How would it be if you have to take up the responsibility?

I: Would you cooperate by spending your money or effort [on the community system]?

R: We too would join if all of them cooperate.

C: Do you think that others would cooperate?

R: I doubt it...
R: Yes. It is difficult [to imagine].

R: We can't say for sure!

C: You can say it based on the previous experiences!

R: If they feel that everyone would be benefited, people may come forward.

M: Would it be possible for you to cooperate if a few of them refuse to cooperate?

C: For example, if 2 out of 10 people refuse to cooperate, what would you do?

R: If it is only 2 out of 10, we would leave them aside and start doing [it ourselves]!

R: We collect money when there is a big common problem. But when there is a small problem we just spend from our own pockets and get it done [ourselves].

M: You feel that the quality of water we were talking about is coloured and it causes loose motions. Is this what the issue is or is there anything more?

R: As far as we know there is nothing else. This is the problem.

M: Are these [water quality] problems acute enough that every one of you would cooperate for it?

I: Will everyone spend time, money and effort for it [water quality]?

R: Yes.

R: Yes... they will.

P: They [World Vision] have given us the [water] tanks. They have not given it free but gave it for Rs. 2000. They are giving it for the third time.

P: Had they given it [for] free, everybody would have come! Hence. [they set] such price of Rs. 2000.

M: Oftentimes people in the community get together and work for some common benefit. Do you know of any other instances like that in your recent memory in Mylai Balaji Nagar?
C: Are there any other incidents where people collectively worked together in Mylai Balaji Nagar like that?

P: People will do together.

P: People are minding their own business only.

P: People will not care for others, everyone is minding their own business.

M: Do you feel that things have changed over time? In the beginning, were people willing to work together and then, after you have been settled here for some time, have now become individualistic? Or has that been the case from the beginning?

C: Has there been any change? Have people changed now from what they were in the past? When they had first come here from Mylapore, were they more concerned about the community in the beginning or is there any other change or people minding their own works from the beginning?

P: People are minding their own business from the beginning.

C: Are people from the beginning like this, since when you were resettled for the first time in Balaji Nagar? How were the people behaving [then]? Is there any change in their behaviour?

P: People will come together if there is a water problem. They will go in to the streets and do a road blockage!

P: If there is a problem, then people will come together and go to the office in Panchayat board and complain there.

P: They are united if there is a crisis or a problem.

P: When water does not come, people go into the streets.

P: During crisis or issues, people come together.

P: Water came to our area after we did a roadblock!

P: That’s what they are asking! If during crisis will people come together is what they were asking.

P: People will stand together.

P: People will work together for the crisis arising out of water and electricity. But they will not come together for any other cause!

Reference 3 - 8.55% Coverage

M: Do you think any conflict will arise if people shared responsibilities and some people were doing more and some others were not doing as much in the community?

C: Will there be any problem if the water treatment is done at the community level as it might involve some working more and some others working less? If it is done at the community level, it
means everybody’s cooperation is required and some have got to do more work and some others may end up doing less work.

P: Yes, definitely problems of this sort might come.

P: Definitely things might come like that.

C: He is asking the same thing will there be any problem because of some working a lot and other’s doing less work.

P: Problems will come definitely sir; if I am going one hour earlier and doing things and someone else comes later, I might definitely ask them why they came late and so on. Don’t I have work at home? So problems will definitely come because of this. Definitely problems will come on this account, sir.

C: She is saying that if I come one hour earlier and doing work and somebody else is coming late and doing work, then I might ask them don’t I have work at home? Still I come early and work. Why do you come late and do less work than me. Definitely problems will come on this account.

M: Do you think this conflict can be managed? Can people be encouraged to work together or is it too difficult? Some people always say that no... no... You do the work I will not do it.

C: He is asking whether the conflicts can be managed or is it beyond anyone’s control? Will more people be giving troubles like this?

P: Problems will be coming. It is difficult to adjust [the attitudes of] people at all times.

C: Can we manage [such] troubles or will it be a recurrent issue?

P: Problems will be coming. It is difficult to adjust [the attitude of] people at all times. Even sometimes I might fall ill and others might say why you are not coming, expecting us to work always instead! I have BP [high blood pressure] and sugar [diabetes], and people might accuse me of not working and themselves of doing more work.

C: You are telling the truth!

P: Yes, very much sir!

C: She is having sugar [diabetes] and other health illnesses, and some might accuse her of not working [enough] and so on.

Reference 4 - 2.41% Coverage

C: What should be done so that it works for the whole community? You know about the community better and you also know which one would work better for everyone and so on.

P: We should allot four persons each day [to operate the community system] and there will not be any problems.
C: What she is saying that we have to allot four people each day so that there will not be any problems. What you are saying is good. If people are allotted on a group basis then there will not be any problems.

P: If you allot people to work respectively each day, then there will not be any problem. It is difficult to make everybody work together [however].

Reference 1 - 2.75% Coverage

Twelve times in a year, fire broke out. Because the land is allotted by the government, most of the families are not settled there because of lack of basic amenities - water sanitation, EB connection, this and all, so they stay back in same place or nearby places, like that. So only the huts is available, so in the hot summer season, the fire easily came. How it came is social evils, some leaders, some goondas. Each will get Rs. 1000 when the fire broke out. So there are a few houses are not peopled, there are few houses in which people are living, but those that are living are affected. But they are all affected, only the huts are broken, so they get the Rs. 1000.

Reference 2 - 2.16% Coverage

R: So that is the, I didn't sleep 2-3 months. One reason is the problem is the fire, every 10 days, every 15 days, in a week 2-3 times, like that. Many times people fighted me, they don't know who I am. So they thought that I am also government officer, so they will come and whatever they want, they will explore, this and that, like that. And this incident is big turning point for this community. I took it as a positive way. When he came with two three persons I know he will not kill me, but he wanted to, how you say that...

Reference 3 - 4.63% Coverage

R: Yeah, forming two groups. I took it one year to form just two group. And the next year, I formed 20 groups.

M: Why was that?

R: Yeah. Two groups there are so many struggles. All the people they themselves say we are not good people, each person is blaming others not themselves. Our womens are not like this. They will not give money. They will not come for meeting. Then I gave so many trainings and this and that, first you come. Don't worry about others. Like that they came and they joined. So few people came, few people are middle, few people are behind, so the middle people, if it is good, we will join, otherwise we'll go back. And that people is ok, we'll see, what will happen, like that. Then this people, function, meeting, and everything then it's become mandatory, you should become one of the groups or one of the CBOs like that we come. At the same time, the government also introduced the self-help groups. Before the government, we started, because we are an international organization. We had Bangladesh, so we started at that time. Then we re-arranged everything according to the government needs.

Reference 4 - 3.25% Coverage

M: No problem. I want to ask you a question that has to do with...
D: One of the major struggles are men.

M: Men?

R: Yeah.

M: Why?

R: These women what, when, why they are going to do?

M: So, you're saying that men prevent women from participating?

R: Yeah, like that. But indirectly are supporting. Those that are coming, those husbands are supporting. If they are not coming, then those husbands are saying "you and me friend, your wife is going to attend the meeting, she is not good, she is going for in and around that way, take her out back," like that. Then next time I would cover this person going. So ok, both go. Then it becomes a competition - which group is good? Your group or your group. So in the beginning we set our strategy to that and everything.

Reference 5 - 6.45% Coverage

C: Do you have incidence of doing something with the community’s cooperation, and failing, because by knowing MBN is saying household-level is best. Do you have any examples saying that why are you saying community-level, do you have some experiences?

R: Yeah you are going to community level nah, who are the partners? So that is depends. Who is going to take responsibility? So who is going to go do? Even now you are doing research. You are, you have, IIT have power. So there is no help for the people, so they are looking you. So they are coming for 2 years, so nothing happened. People is thinking like that. So they want to do something. And also whatever you are doing you have to tell the people, so we are doing this and this, it will take time, this time that time. So you are approaching very few people and they are not, they are closing. Usually people will not explore good things. Sometimes they want, if the benefit for her, they will tell if it is not going to benefit anything, they will tell. For example, if I give so many schemes on the meeting, they will not tell everybody. It depends on the individual persons. Is there any person to help, that particular person they should listen to get to the ... like that. You are doing it, yes, you have to tell everything to the whole community so they can be aware. This is my suggestion. Whatever you are going to do, we will cooperate, whether we are working there or not. So I will cooperate. Because that is my lab, that is my heart, so I can help, and also I can help instruct my people to cooperate.

Reference 1 - 11.52% Coverage

I: Hi. I am having a chat with Mani and Farida. Srini is translating in my office on Wednesday, August 17, 2011. OK. What I want to talk to you about today is how men interact with women in community [collective] works. We’ve talked about it before today. The question is -- how do the men react when they are asked to come to the focus groups?

F: They will feel it is a waste of time. They would also ask “what are you going to discuss about? Don’t I know? It is about water only”. They also say “they come without any work. But we have lot of work.”
M: They would also ask how much money we would give [them] to participate.

F: They would say, “We will get money if we go to work. We won’t get anything [if we participate in collective action]. Will they give money to compensate for it?” They want to know what the [monetary] benefit is!

Reference 2 - 12.65% Coverage

I: What about on the weekends?

M: They [the men] have many more work [things to do] on the weekends. They [also] drink [alcohol] on the weekends...

I: Is it everybody, some men or a few men?

M: No, not everybody. A few men...

F: But most of the men will answer like this... 95% of them drink.

M: 95% of them drink and then they work! <laughs> Even if you ask them to come on holidays, they would say that they want to take rest on that day.

C: They will say that they work for the entire week and they have only one weekend to take rest. They also have a lot of responsibilities in their homes.

I: I know there is a difference with the women. They have their families, they have their kids. They have to take care of many things. But they are ready to come when we call them for focus groups!

M: Men are not interested - they want to sit at home and watch TV. They want to sleep, drink and quarrel!

Reference 3 - 8.01% Coverage

I: Why don’t the men feel like that? Why don’t they want to benefit the family?

M: They think and stop with that level! They will not be ready to come out of their houses. We don’t understand the reason...

F: Sometimes they even come near the venue [of the focus group meeting]. But they will just go back thinking that it is a waste of time and there will not be any benefit out if it.

I: How about the working women? Would they say the same things?

F: Till today, only two or three working women have come for our focus groups. Most of the participants are only housewives.

Reference 4 - 13.81% Coverage

I: What do the men say about the women who go for the focus groups? Will they support it?

M: A little bit of support would be there.
F: Most of them stop the women by saying “don’t go”!

M: But women would argue [back] saying that the focus groups are leading to something positive about the drinking water. They would obtain the [men’s] permission and then come after five or ten minutes after the scheduled time of starting.

F: Some men say “go”. Some men say “don’t go”.

I: What percentage of men allow the women to go?

F: 90% of them don’t allow [the women to go]!

I: Seriously?

F: Yeah. Seriously... you don’t know I... we... struggle to get them for focus groups. It is very difficult. Sometimes we force them to come for focus group! We have to compel them and call them to come by saying “please come... please come”.

M: 70% men will not allow [women to go] and 30% allows.

C: Since Farida is a girl, she says its 90%. But really [Mani, as a man, says] it is 70% who say no.

Reference 5 - 11.82% Coverage

I: Do you want to say anything more about their involvement in community level?

M: No one will get involved. If you observe during the Temple Festival in the local area, [only] ten men would involve themselves. Married men will not come for collection of money. Young boys and bachelors like me would go.

I: What would happen for the women who participate even when the men are not supporting them? How would they react?

M: They [the men] would start scolding from the very minute they go back home. Or they would say “she has gone. She is not to be seen yet”. Some of them [the men] would even come to the venue of the meeting!

F: Sometimes they call her and take her [home] with him! It has happened [before].

M: They will say “why are you sitting here when there is work at home?”!

F: He has even asked “is it going to feed your bread?” <laughs>

Reference 6 - 3.07% Coverage

I: When other NGOs come, will they work with the women here or men?

M: Mostly they work with women.

I: Has any other NGO worked with men?
M: No.

I: Why?

F: For the same reasons which we told you just now!

R: At times even the gents sit at home -- but not the ladies!

C: See -- even some men are at home. But women are going for jobs.

M: Do you think that the men would take part in community level system?

R: No. Why participation... they would not even care for it. They won't give importance for it. They won't even allow our [women's] progress! That is the biggest hurdle for us. So we are scared to take effort and do things. The first opposition is from the gents to us. We took efforts and steps for building the toilet. The [sewage] pumping station... But those who were deeply involved could finish it. They did it! Now they are building underground drainage. They built it for 20,000 people. We thought that the smell would be horrible. We tried our level best to cancel it. But the first opposition arose from the gents of our own community! They ask me “Who are you to do it? Why should you poke your nose in this matter! Etc...”

C: See -- men are becoming hindrances if women want to do something.

M: Hindrance!?

C: Yeah. A [sewage] pumping station is going to be built in the government school. They [the women] did not want it to happen. They tried to stop it [by going to the government]. They [the men in the community] asked "Who are you to do this??"

R: We even approached the Collector. But the gents were a hindrance. We sent a letter to the Panchayat board. We sent a letter to the C.M. [Chief Minister] cell. We sent a letter to the Collector's office. We told them that we didn't want it [the sewage pumping station] to be in our area -- especially in the [grounds of the] government school. It is said that the drainage water from all over [the Panchayat] would accumulate here and then be pumped out. They take [the sewage] to Perungudi it seems. We gave a letter to the M.L.A. too. He says that it is too late as it was approved before three years. He says it should only be built there and that is the right place. This area is already treated as garbage dumping area. It may lead to kidney problem to many people here... In addition to that problems would be severe if this also is established. The diseases would spread more. That is the reason why we gave a letter to all these officers. But everything was in vain.
**R:** Even a poor family here has a fridge, washing machine and rice cooker! Let them cut the power and talk to us. In a way they are correct as some people here are arrogant and create problems. Let them come and ask. We will pay.

Even for the SCB we tell them the same thing, if they establish an office here we will regularly pay the amount. [Self Help] Group people are ready to collect it and give. At least let them sit till the 10th of every month. We are sure that we should pay the devil its due. Let them take the step. They should not cut [electricity] for the entire area. They should cut only for those who don’t pay. They should take the step. When there is power in one house and no power in the other house they will have an urge to pay. We filled a form of Rs. 150 and sent a request to the E.B. [Electricity Board]. They are adamant not to give us. They say the SCB has not given approval for the same. The E.B. didn’t give sanction as there is no patta.

**Reference 4 - 0.52% Coverage**

**R:** Let them give separate [electricity] connections individually for every house. See -- in villages if the water is supplied straight to your house, you have to pay water tax. In the same way let them give [power] connection and collect tax. Let them give patta and collect land tax.

**Reference 1 - 3.61% Coverage**

**M:** Do people [in Balaji Nagar] take initiative to clean the latrines or do they not?

**R:** People [here] are not taking any initiative for a common cause. People's attitude is becoming like taking loans and repaying loans from the SHGs. Even the [World Vision] ADP also does the same. From the beginning I [have] always had a tendency to work for the people. Even now I can take initiative to look after the public toilets, but the Panchayat is not doing anything to support us. People want to take care of their own self.

**Reference 2 - 1.35% Coverage**

In this community, you can always notice the electricity problem. There will be power shutdowns frequently because of some faults in the line. But nobody takes the initiative to look after this.

**Reference 3 - 1.22% Coverage**

The ADP project only allotted people to receive loans and collect the money back. But they did not given any responsibility to individuals to take care of community resources.

**Reference 4 - 4.79% Coverage**
R: There are examples where people have worked together for joint action. There was one such event. There is a garbage dumping site next to sector 1, but they [the garbage workers] used to dump the garbage even outside the site and along the roadside, which was a big threat [to people in sector 1]. Then we [collectively] staged a road-blocking demonstration, along with the cooperation of Exnora International. Then they stopped it [the dumping near sector 1].

Initially, people were together for joint action. Now they are focused on individual satisfaction. In the beginning, the [World Vision] ADP focused on community-building, but now they [have] just turned to giving loans alone.

Reference 5 - 2.87% Coverage

R: People were not cooperating well [in the waste management program], so I employed 10 people [of the original workers] for the NIOT [project] and left [the Balaji Nagar project] with them. I have employed so many elders in this project. They did not want elders to work but I lobbied with them and employed elders. Now they are earning Rs. 7000 per month. They were not being cared for by even their own children.

Reference 6 - 1.41% Coverage

In the [World Vision] ADP they have given me the responsibility of taking care of this hospital; I have developed it to my caliber. But people in the SHGs have become concentrated on money and loans only.

Reference 7 - 0.77% Coverage

There are tribals from Andhra living nearby, we can give them the responsibility to take care of the latrine.

Reference 1 - 10.76% Coverage

Q: So, based on your experience with WV’s activities at MBN, do you think household or community-level would be most feasible at MBN?

With household-level systems (HH), people will maintain their own systems and use it correctly. On the other hand, with community-level systems (COMM), there will inevitably be competition and conflict between people to pass on the responsibilities of its collective management and operations to others. In fact, there is an example of the failure of such a COMM system in a similar kind of community nearby. The RO plant that was investigated for implementation at MBN but was
ultimately not built because of unacceptable GW quality was ultimately installed at another slum in Kannagi Nagar, Thuraipakkam. It failed there because it was given to the community, but the people were not involved enough, so it fell apart eventually. Kannagi Nagar is a similar kind of slum resettlement place as MBN is. More than 12 to 15 slums were resettled at the same place. There are multi-storey buildings there built by the TNSCB. Srin indicates that an NGO called Monfort Community Development Society working there and he can connect me with the coordinator, one Mr. Arul.

Reference 2 - 4.27% Coverage

Q: Given the experience with the latrine cleaning programme, do you think people would contribute money to the collective construction of a community-level water treatment system?

It is difficult to envisage that people will contribute funds. In the case of water, people are willing to immediately pay Rs. 20 to get a bottle of water (20 L), but they would not be willing to put money into a collective project for good water, even if the returns would be better eventually.

Reference 3 - 6.49% Coverage

Q: If WV was to do a water treatment project in MBN, which way would it go: household or community level?

Initially, WV has always had the preference to do community level interventions, even with challenges. But with many bad experiences, this is changing. WV are increasingly focusing on household level initiatives after these failures. For instance, WV is shortly going to be distributing 500 L tanks for each household in MBN.

Again, at the HH-level, people will take care of the good. And they can also control the quantity of water they have and manage its consumption wisely according to the home’s needs. At the COMM-level, WV anticipates conflict over responsibilities that would ultimately derail the effort.

Reference 1 - 2.35% Coverage

- In 2006-7, the Ward Member in MBN, Jayaprakash, collected Rs. 500 from 300 households in Sector 2 in order to get their papers processed so they could get official electrical connections à but no connections came. Ashok seems to be suggesting there was something very irregular going on here.
M: From what you say I am able to understand that there is lot of activities here in Balaji Nagar. Do you feel that the people in this community would like to join together more [for common cause] in future?

I: Or do you think they would look after their own problems?

R: If there is any emergency or important need or primary requirement they would unite together. Otherwise people will mind their own business.

I: From the day Balaji Nagar was formed until now, can you say if here is any difference? Can you say if they united better in the past and not so often in the present or something like that?

R: Not so. The difference is [that] they have separated into groups. They are divided into groups. The government is giving loan is it not? The grouping is due to that. It is self-help group. One has 10 or 5 or 4 groups. They get loans from government agencies outside. They get the money and run their groups.

M: Do you mean today people work together as [small] individual groups? Won’t they work with people of other groups or would they work only with the people of their own self-help group?

R: You are right. They will not work together with other groups.

Reference 2 - 1.76% Coverage

M: So even in the situation when there is a big need, the government has moved away, service is collapsing, what you do to make it better again. Would you join together? Is there any example for this?

R: No. People have a tendency of thinking ‘Why should I bother!’

Annotations

1 What this suggests is that during times of great shortage when there is competition for scarce water resources, there is enough conflict that people would prefer to take care of their own first before the community as a whole. This may suggests weakening of social cohesion during times of water scarcity.

2 The matter of whether indviduals would contribute (financially, materially, labour) to a collective effort is certainly not uncontroversial.

3 From ON: Jeyanthi, nesib: About my knowledge, everybody wont give the amount. The naysayers are these two. The others seem to think it’d work just dandy fine.

4 So, if water quality is a big common problem, the community would work together to solve it. The question then is, is water quality a common problem [that warrants such a response]? It seems that water quality has already been devolved to the individual households and that is the status quo for water.

5 They is... World Vision, I presume? So the big tanks weren't given out for free by World Vision but offered for Rs. 2000? I'm unclear on this. But it's not really so important.

6 Gaming for development goods - NGOs have to set prices to control over subscription.

7 My notes say: 2-300 households came together for this agitiation (but there may be some issue with the veracity of the note, be warned).

8 From Notes:

S: It’ll fail if you make it voluntary; must force people to work!

9 Like what Ashok was talking about.
Panchayat won’t support those who have the initiative either. A very limiting environment it seems.

SHGs could have their role expanded.

People can political organize and agitate for immediately pressing issues.

I sometimes talk about how HWTS may lead to the degradation of social cohesion... though obviously a causative relationship is impossible to establish here, it may be the case that the focus at MBN of SHGs on individual loan-giving (i.e. micro-capitalism) has encouraged individualism and the break-down of community cohesion and cooperation.

World Vision too retreated its mandate from comm.-development to loan-giving.

Substantial earnings!

Tribals place is to clean the bathroom?

***What does she mean nearby? In MB Nagar?

She's suggesting that the government has to be forced to implement its own schemes!

ON: If it is very important – a problem in its critical stages for many people in the community – then people band together and work on it collectively

If it is not such a desperate issue, or if not so many households are affected by it, than people will undertake action themselves, individually

TO elaborate from ON: Raniyamma feels that the people are divided by the SHGs!

Gov’t is giving these groups loans, so people are really focused on these

“Revolving Funds” in SHGs by gov’t, but people are embezzling the funds now

People will only work with the same group, their own SHG

No examples of this per se, but this is the sense that Raniyamma has of the situation (I think)

She feels if that the SHGs could be brought together more and in a better way, they would be able to work together on larger community activities

This resonates with what was said by Rehman Bibi in INT #2 that SHGs have become too focused on loan-giving and not on anything else. (“People are not taking any initiative for a common cause. People’s attitude is becoming like taking loans and repaying loans from the SHGs. Even the ADP also does the same.”)
C: You said that people will do it if it is done at the individual level. Will there be such effort and cooperation if it is done at the community-level? Say, if we were to construct a common water treatment facility? If it requires ten people to play a part, will people be willing to play a part in it? Whereas if it is done at the individual level, people are ready to play their own part. How much will people play their part if the water treatment is done at the community-level? Will people opt for common or community level water treatment or water treatment at the individual or household level?

P4: It is not possible for everyone to do the water treatment at the individual or household level. There are 2500 households here and it is not possible for everyone to have this [treatment unit], and if it is done at the community level, then at least everybody will be benefitted even partially.

C: When you said that the if water treatment is done at the community level, there will have to be contribution from all people and everybody will provide their help and support for it, so as to get water for everyone, and at the individual household level wherein you said that everybody will do it as a matter of necessity and they will do it compulsorily. During times of change, during seasonal changes, such as during shortage of water and during seasons of excessive water, which treatment method will you prefer? At the community level or at the household level?

P4: Community level treatment is good... done at the sectoral level, as it is beneficial for everyone. We should do the water treatment collectively, in each sector preferably, or at the individual level, if the community level treatment is not possible or [situation] is not conducive [for it].

M: Did you ask the water system question? Ask them one by one the kind of water treatment system that they think is best and their preference for it and the main reasons for it. If it is at the community level, why it is done there, and why cannot be it at the household level and vice versa.

P3: If it is at the community level it is beneficial to everyone whereas if at the household level it serves only the household.
P2: If it is at the community level, it is useful and beneficial [for all], whereas if it is at the individual level, it is for household members only.

Reference 5 - 0.19% Coverage

C: What is your perception of it?

P5: There should be welfare for all!

Reference 6 - 0.84% Coverage

P1: We are getting lorry water [but] not everybody can afford paying for lorry water. For those people who cannot afford [it] and where a sump is not available, it will be good if water is available at the community level and is available at all times for the people.

I: So that is why they wanted the community level water treatment.

Reference 1 - 1.30% Coverage

I: [R] madam says she is ready. What do you say?

R: When it is good for the entire community and when it is good for me too I will surely cooperate with others for the common cause!

R: The result should be good. It is enough.

I: [R]... What do you say?

R: When it is for the welfare of the community we have to give. We happily give Rs. 20 for that.

Reference 1 - 1.49% Coverage

M: So the final question is... you prefer community level system - is it possible here to mobilize the people here to make it possible?

I: Do you feel that the people here would spend time, effort and money for that?

R: Yeah. Surely.

R: If it is common we will contribute for that.
C: In terms of community togetherness, how they live together, if there are some issues, how do they respond to those issues? Whether there is cooperation among the community or is there, I found in many places like this Sector clashes with the fourth Sector, in terms of this, how is the cooperation in the community? Because we are working for some cooperation for the development in the community. How do they respond to that?

R: Ah yeah. I never had a fight between the sectors, they had a fight within the Sectors and within the relatives only. But not between. And also depends upon the issue, so the previous and all, beginning they had so many groups. Because you know the slum, each street has a leader, each slum has a leader, so there are different level of leaders. So at that time there was no proper communication to the people. They want something to meet the need, so whoever says they follow.

M: I want to follow-up on a question, something you said earlier. You said when you first came to MBN you found people were very trusting, you found people had more trust in the beginning.

R: Yes, yes.

M: But now you are saying now that has changed. Are you saying there is more or less trust now?

R: Trust? Now they are more trust.

M: Of yourself?

R: Yeah.

M: Ok. How do they relate to one another? If they were going to work on something together, could they do it better now than they could before?

R: Yeah... better now. Depends upon the program, depends upon the issue.

I: Why are women interested?

M: She is interested because she is maintaining the family. They need some help. When five women go, the sixth one follows. She thinks that things would be fruitful if they go as a group so that they can get some help. She also feels that she can learn something. They feel they can get some kind of benefit.
I: What do the men say about the women who go for the focus groups? Will they support it?

M: A little bit of support would be there.

F: Most of them stop the women by saying “don’t go”!

M: But women would argue [back] saying that the focus groups are leading to something positive about the drinking water. They would obtain the [men’s] permission and then come after five or ten minutes after the scheduled time of starting.

Reference 1 - 0.73% Coverage

M: Do you think there would be good cooperation from everyone in the community for the community level treatment system? Will everyone cooperate?

R: <Firmly and aloud> Yes! Surely everyone will cooperate because it is about water!

R: Certainly. Why not?

C: What they say is that water is the basic necessity and so everyone would cooperate definitely. For water they will do [what is required].

Reference 2 - 1.09% Coverage

C: See -- even some men are at home. But women are going for jobs.

R: Hope you won't mistake me. These days women are keener. If you make your son an engineer, I will want my son to study more than yours! This is the mentality of women these days. We have to earn to give good education for our son [which] means we have to earn more money. Only women go for jobs!

C: See -- what she is telling is that more than men, women are more responsible for raising up their families, educating their children, they really want their children to study. So they go for jobs to earn [to pay for education]

Reference 1 - 3.97% Coverage

R: When you talk to World Vision, please mention [to them] about the latrine facilities. Ask them to take some initiative [for it]. They also placed 3 [Sintex water storage] tanks worth of Rs. 5000 [around the community] but they are no use without water [supply]! ADP should give responsibility to a suitable person, not to just anyone. Here [in Balaji Nagar], water comes once in 15 days, even sometimes once in 30 days. People who are wealthier are able to store [water] in a tank or a sump. But poor people suffer a lot [for lack of household water storage capacity].
Reference 1 - 1.92% Coverage

- Ashok feels the menfolk are ready to organize and work together for a COMM system were that pursued, at least those men involved in the Association. He suggests that such an undertaking would fit well and work well through the Association.

Reference 2 - 1.94% Coverage

M: The main question I want to ask you is about a water treatment system. You can do it in two ways. One is at the household level, like boiling the water, adding alum. The other is you can all join together and make it happen [at the community level] and then you pay money for that. Which one do you think as the most possible here? Is the second one the most possible?

I: Is it possible in Balaji Nagar?

R: It is possible. People here have awareness. Water is the major critical problem here. People would be ready to unite for the sake of water. They would be ready to do some work for that. Those who can afford will be ready to pay as they would get water which they wanted. So it is easy to do things in community-level system. The underground water is saline now. If someone would treat it as drinking water, it [a desalination facility] would cost some 20 or 25k rupees. If people can collect 10k someone can come forward to subsidize it.

Reference 3 - 1.94% Coverage

M: Which one do you think is better? Is it household water system or community water system?

R: It would be useful for everyone in the society if it is done bigger and at community level. That is better. We cannot be selfish. Everyone should be equally benefited. Everybody should get water.

Annotations

1. Link this to the Guatemala paper. MBN is like Ciudad Real -- land tenure is the biggest struggle, before any services.


3. TO elaborate from ON: She suggests that wealthier people in the community can contribute a bit more to the capital and operating costs of the system, a Rs. 10,000 investment may be possible.
**Name:** Nodes\Analytical I\Social Capital\Religion

**Description:** - Places where religion is discussed and its role in MBN

<Internals\Interviews\INT #2 - Rehman Bibi - Notes> - § 2 references coded [3.32% Coverage]

**Reference 1 - 2.33% Coverage**

R:  I left the ADP project of World Vision because they provided subsidized loans only to Scheduled Caste SHGs, but not to Muslim and Backward Class community groups. So I left the ADP project along with 4 SHGs. I also asked for subsidized loan for the Backward [Class] community as well as to Muslim SHGs, but they refused to do it so.

**Reference 2 - 0.99% Coverage**

R:  There are people who used to ask me. You are a Muslim, but why did you give a place to a Christians? I used to tell them everyone is equal.

**Annotations**

1 Srini: Sudras = labourers = low-caste people à reservations and welfare schemes to uplift them

Also, Scheduled Tribes (ST) have many benfits as SC, but also some additional ones, as they are more disadvantaged.

2 Muslim and Christian converts from the SCs, lose their SC benefits as they are re-classified to Muslim/Christian BCs (BCs have less benefits compared to SC)

3 Disadvantaged groups but not so much as Shudras i.e. Vaishyas.

4 Curious to know more about this, but not a pressing concern wrt research.
Name: Nodes\Analytical I\Water Quality

Description: - General statements and community-member’s perceptions of water quality.
- As it relates to whether HH or COMM is preferable given water quality considerations.

<Internals\Exploratory Work\PK - Prabha’s Report on MBN Women’s household water management> - § 1 reference coded [3.05% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.05% Coverage

She feels that using the tanker water for drinking has not been too hazardous for her and her family. Only when the children are not well and have fever and diarrhoea does she boil water. When the kids are sick and she takes them to the doctor and the doctor tells her that the problem is with the water. She does not go to a government clinic but to a private doctor.

<Internals\FGD I\FGD #1 - Transcript> - § 4

Reference 1 - 2.46% Coverage

M: The first question that we are going to ask you we are going to talk for three to five minutes is -- What do you think are the biggest problems relating to water supply in Mylai Balaiji Nagar?

C: What are the problems that you face in Balaji Nagar with respect to water? <10:31 to 10:36>

P5: Water is important for drinking, water is the most important problem here, getting drinking water is an important problem. The [tap] water here cannot be used for drinking purposes. People are buying [lorry] water in cans paying Rs. 2.50. [The tap water] can be used for washing, cleaning and other purposes but it cannot be used for drinking purposes. We don’t like to drink this [tap] water. (P4 @ 10:52: It is tasteless!) Fossils are formed after couple of days, even worms are forming in the stored [tap] water. How many can afford to buy [lorry] water for Rs. 2.50 for drinking purposes? Skin problems are coming so getting good drinking water is the main problem here. <10:37 to 11:09>

Reference 2 - 0.50% Coverage

P3: Lots of layers and deposits form and there is a lot of viscosity [in the tap water]. Even the colour of the [tap] water is not good - the water that comes now is yellow in colour. <11:24 to 11:31>

Reference 3 - 0.20% Coverage

P4: If you cook with that water, then the cooked food is also yellow in colour.

Reference 4 - 0.69% Coverage
C: Did you see any change in the quantity and quality of water after you reported the poor quality of water, of its colour, odour and of its non-availability?

P4: Yes, there were significant changes since then. The colour level was not bad as it [used to be]. Now it is okay.

M: As we are recording the discussion, please talk loudly and clearly. It would help us be able to write it down in future. Now the first question is -- What are the major problems with water at Mylai Balaji Nagar?

R: The tap water is yellow in colour. Within two days, worms develop in it. After we started using the filter it is good!

I: Is there any other problem regarding water?

R: The canal water mixes with the drinking water.

R: In the beginning [of running the tap], there is a bad smell. First there is the smell of gutter and then a soapy smell is there. The hospital water [also] gets mixed in. There are so many insects in the [stored tap] water after four days...

R: No, not four days. It is within two days.

R: Yes, she is correct. Within two days, the worms develop.

M: Now the first question is -- what are the major problems regarding water supply in Mylai Balaji Nagar?

R: There are many problems. Within two days, worms develop in the water. Children get fever frequently if we drink it. Children suffer from loose motions too. Water is yellow in colour. Mostly we use the [tap] water for washing feet, etc...

R: We don’t use it [the tap water] for drinking or cooking.

I: Are there any other problems regarding water?

R: It [the tap water] has the smell of rust.

R: If we use it [the tap water] for cooking, the rice would be yellow in colour.
M: So okay, with that I'll begin. I will ask the first question. My first question to you is -- What are the main problems with water in Mylai Balaji Nagar?

C: The first question is -- what are the problems connected with water in Mylai Balaji Nagar? What are the issues connected with water?

P: We are collecting the tap water. Worms are formed within a week.

P: Even within two days worms are formed [in the tap water]. Even when the [tap] water comes [through the standpipes], it smells bad.

P: I am drinking this [tap] water only. I am not drinking can water. You can come and test it for yourself.

P: The [tap] water smells when it first comes [through the standpipes].

P: We cannot cook with that [tap] water. It can [only] be used for washing and cleaning purposes and for cleaning the utensils.

P: Smell is coming [from the tap water].

Reference 2 - 0.56% Coverage

P: I have told this already! The [tap] water cannot be used for drinking... [It is] for washing and cleaning purposes and for bathroom purposes only.

Reference 3 - 0.27% Coverage

P: Smell is coming, [the tap] water is not drinkable, worms are formed.

Reference 4 - 2.15% Coverage

P: When we were in Mylapore, the water was clean and we were eager to drink that. That was the [Metro] Corporation water. It would [always] be clean. We never know what source of water is being brought over here. Maybe from a well or a muddy pond...it is not clear!

P: The water comes yellow in colour, it smells with a bad odour, and when it comes [through the standpipes] we use a cloth to purify [filter] it while collecting the water.

P: Even on the day the water comes, it is like this.

P: The food [rice] that is cooked from this water is [also] yellow in colour.

Reference 1 - 12.42% Coverage

R: We use Panchayat [lorry] water too. It [the tap water] may come even once in 15 to 20 days. This [tap] water does not agree with the health of some boys here. They are allergic to it...
The water is not good here. It causes a lot of health problems. They suffer with some or other problems or diseases.

M: So let me ask you, can you speak about why you felt that the rapid sand filter with the charcoal dual media was the best for this community.

R: Ah yeah, see when we analyzed the water quality, we could see that the major problems were bacteriological quality, then turbidity, and then this one, odour and taste. So if you want to remove these things, turbidity - filtration is the easiest method. Ok, and we have to have an economical unit, is it use, and the community should have the know-how to develop it, so if you go for any high-end technology, ok, finally when it goes from us to somebody else, the middleman will be taking all the profits, yeah, profits and all the things. Ok, so, finally it will be working as any filter which is available in the market. But this filter means, ok, sand and... everybody knows that what this media will do, because our grand-grand-parents were using this one in three pots -- that three-pot filter system was existing long, long, long time back. Ok, so, this is just a modification of that one, so.

Since water is one of the primary problems at MBN, the SHGs have had a big role in trying to improve this situation. WV requests that we also do some more works to improve this situation. WV says the water quality is so bad here that a snake even came out of the public tap recently!

Annotations
1 JJ says that this means that the water is without a ‘purified’ or ‘clean’ taste; neither salty nor clean – lacks that ‘sweet’ water taste
2 JJ: she means sediments layers collect at bottom
3 JJ: the water is very thick, it is not clear, it has a lot of cloudiness and layers and deposits
Mylai Balaji Nagar is a re-settlement colony of about 10,000 low-income residents. In 1995, about 2700 families of mostly pavement dwellers were evicted from Mylapore (Central) Chennai to a wetland in the southern periphery of the city. They were evicted for the construction of a railway station and left on the wetland without any services or infrastructure except a plot per family measuring 15ft x 18ft. While access to safe and sufficient water was not a problem in the early years of the resettlement; today, there is a severe problem of both water quantity and quality. The supply of water via standpipes and water tankers is sporadic, arrives without warning, and sometimes at intervals of 5-10 days. The limited water supply is also a reflection of the reality of Chennai as a whole which is heavily dependent on ground water extraction and does not have sufficient water to satisfy the demands of a metropolitan region of 7.5 (2007) million inhabitants.

Over the years standpipes were installed and with the increasing density of the settlement, as well as other factors, water supply was reduced to every other day, and then to twice a week.

The water in the early years was clean and free of insects. For about six months in the early years, water was only available at night, at midnight or later. This meant that the women could not sleep as they had to stay awake for the water. They successfully lobbied the town panchayat (council) of Pallikaranai to change this schedule. Today, residents get water once in 5-10 days depending on the season. In the dry season it is more difficult to get water from the standpipes and the town panchayat sends in water tankers. During the rest of the year, they get water via the standpipes, the water tankers, and they also purchase water from private water vendors in the slum. Parameswari says they do not pay for water provided by the town council; but she sometimes buys water from the private vendors. She pays Rs. 2.50 for a pot of 12 litres. She does not buy any bottled water for drinking and does not sterilize any of the other water for drinking. She keeps the tanker water for drinking and uses a sieve to filter it. The water from the standpipes is used for washing clothes, utensils, as well as bathing. During the rainy season, most of the residents harvest rain water, which they feel is the cleanest water they can get, aside from bottled water which they have to buy.

Parameswari, lives in sector 2 of MB Nagar. The standpipe in her area is shared by 17 families. She says they have more people sharing the standpipe than others. In her area, the water in the standpipes often arrives in the morning between 6-8 am. Every time that the
water arrives, the women of the 17 families draw lots to determine the sequence in which they will collect water. Then they line up their pots. On average each woman is able to fill 20 pots of 12 litres each and they fill up all the large plastic containers that they all have in their homes. All together, her family uses 3 pots a day to bath, drink and cook. She and her two sons bath with 1 pot of water. They wash clothes every 2-3 days. Washing clothes utilizes about 8 pots of water. Her mother and her are responsible for the provision of water for the family. However, since she lives on the 1st floor she has to carry water upstairs to her place. This is added work for her. Her husband does not help with fetching water.

Reference 5 - 2.47% Coverage

According to Parameswari getting water even every other day would make a big difference to her life, because then

Water storage on the veranda

she could get all her household responsibilities done early and then be able to do other things. She would not have to wait for water the whole day.

Reference 6 - 10.21% Coverage

Mannammai says when they were first re-located to this wetland, there was no provision of water and they had to go elsewhere to fetch water in their pots. They complained about this and then the town panchayat started to send water tankers. They then had to take their pots to the water tanker and usually managed to get 4-5 pots of water. Each pot holds 12 litres. She says it has been difficult to get water for a few years now, but she cannot remember for how many years exactly. If there is water in the lake then they get water. She does not pay for any water from the panchayat and she thinks they pay Rs. 650/tanker. These days the water problem is worse because the water pipe is broken and they only get water once in 5-10 days. She says there is no schedule for when the water will come from either the standpipes or the water tankers. Mannammai lives in sector 2 of MB Nagar. She says they know they will get water when they find out that sector 1 got water that day. Then they wait around until the water come through their standpipes, which can mean waiting for more than one day. She says when the water arrives people inform each other and that is how they find out it has come and so they go and get their pots and line-up.

Reference 7 - 12.40% Coverage
In Mannammai’s part of sector 2, water usually comes for 2 hours and all the standpipes in the area get the water at the same time. Currently, the standpipe that Mannammai uses is shared by 10 households. She says originally they were 20 families sharing the same standpipe. The residents complained that they were not all able to get water in the limited time it was available. They were told that if they got organized, dug a hole and prepare the ground then they would get another standpipe. Mannammai and her neighbours got together and did so. Thus, they got another standpipe. She has other neighbours who did not organize themselves for an additional standpipe so they are still 20 households sharing one standpipe and suffer due to lack of sufficient water. However, she also has neighbours who are 5 households to a standpipe. If there is sufficient pressure then she and the women who share the same standpipe can fill 15-18 pots each. They have a random lottery system for deciding who gets to fill her pots first. If for example, the water from the stand pipe stopped at number 5, then the next time the water came they would begin at number 5. Mannammai has built a cement tank outside her house along the wall. Half of this tank is for portable water storage and the other half for waste water. The portable water also includes rain water as Mannammai has connected a pipe from her roof to the tank. This water is used for cooking and washing clothes.

Reference 8 - 2.79% Coverage

Mannammai buys water for drinking. It comes in 20 litre bottles and costs Rs. 20/bottle. In her household they use about 15 bottles a month. It is only rarely that she will boil and drink tanker or rain water. She has sufficient water to bath and wash clothes everyday and does not have any health problems due to water-related issues.

Reference 9 - 6.96% Coverage

Radha shares the standpipe in her area with five other families. They get water from the standpipe once in 15 days. The water runs for about three hours. She is able to fill about 30 pots of 12 litres each, each time the water comes through the standpipe. Since she is a housewife she feels she has the time to wait for the water. They bath everyday and that requires about 4 pots of water. She washes clothes every other day and washing clothes uses about 5-6 pots of water. Radha and her family also have a cement tank along the outside wall of their house. Half the tank is for portable water and the other half for waste water which is dumped in the canal when the tank is full. They buy bottled water for drinking.
However, if the water from the standpipe is delayed for more than 15 days then they buy water from the private water vendors.

There is a major water expansion scheme in the works for this part of Chennai. I think it is the Veeranam Water Supply Project. Many are waiting for this to happen, but no one knows when the pipes will be extended. On the other hand, the sewerage pipe is a lot closer to being extended to this area, i.e. perhaps in the next 2-3 years. I have raised with many folks the notion that it makes no sense to expand the sewerage pipe and not the water pipe as we are talking about water-borne sewerage. Of course, everyone knows this and agrees, and I am sure someone has the full story on this. I was not able to meet with the Chennai Metropolitan Water Supply and Sewerage Board. Recognizing the general lack of water in Chennai and the rapid depletion of ground water, MB Nagar and the Pallikaranai town panchayat are also in the same stranded boat. In fact, I think that if there is not a better management strategy for Lake Narrayamapurram, which is where MB Nagar gets its water, there will soon be no lake. When the pavement dwellers were first dumped on this wetland, they used to get water daily, then every other day, then twice a week and now infrequently. This is a clear reflection of the increasing water supply crisis in this area over the last 14 years. Apparently, over the last few years, the Panchayat has let developers (or themselves) fill up one half of the lake and permitted ‘development’. The lake is now half its size and has a lot of wells drawing water. I did not hear any discussions about ground water recharge so that this lake can be sustained. And of course, if unmanaged ‘development’ continues in this area, i.e. the filling up of the wetland - there will soon be no lake.

I don’t think the idea of building another well for MB Nagar, (via this project) to get their own water supply should be entertained. Well, there should not be more wells developed for anyone else either.

And for example, my interviews with the women and walking around the slum taught me that there is a very healthy private market for the provision of water to the slum. So in fact, I think it might be the very poor who are feeling the scarcity of water the most rather than everyone uniformly.

Many of the women spend an entire day or days waiting for the water to arrive from the standpipes. There is a system for when the valves are turned on. For example, when the water comes on in Sector 1, then the next day it will come to sector 2, etc. The problem is that there is no schedule of any sort, so women have to hang around and waste a whole day or more waiting for water. It means they cannot do other things with their lives and time. So, I have
requested Ligy and Prema to confirm this and to approach the town Panchayat for a schedule for the women so that they know when the water is coming, even if only once in two weeks, so that they can have some peace of mind and life. For example, they could say the water will be in the Sector 1 every 2nd Thursday at 2 pm, or whatever the engineers decide...but not at midnight or 2 am. Hopefully, this can be done relatively easily and soon, and will be a great way to build relations with the community to continue working with them.

Paradoxically, the settlement suffers from acute water shortage and the inhabitants receive ‘piped water supply’ from the well directly once a week during normal times (2 to 3 hours) but once in 2 weeks during summer and water shortage season.

In terms of access to water sources for different purposes it was noted that by and large it was from the stand pipe tap from the natural tank and that supplied through tanker lorries. The following table provides the break – up.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Tap</th>
<th>Lorry</th>
<th>Bottle / Canned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Drinking</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cooking</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Other Purpose (washing, Cleaning)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to note that most of their supply is dependent on tap water which they get once a week for 2-3 hours at a time.

M: The first question that we are going to ask you we are going to talk for three to five minutes is -- What do you think are the biggest problems relating to water supply in Mylai Balaji Nagar?

C: What are the problems that you face in Balaji Nagar with respect to water? <10:31 to 10:36>

PS: Water is important for drinking, water is the most important problem here, getting drinking water is an important problem. The [tap] water here cannot be used for drinking purposes. People
are buying [lorry] water in cans paying Rs. 2.50. [The tap water] can be used for washing, cleaning
and other purposes but it cannot be used for drinking purposes. We don’t like to drink this [tap]
water. (P4 @ 10:52: It is tasteless! Fossils are formed after couple of days, even worms are
forming in the stored [tap] water. How many can afford to buy [lorry] water for Rs. 2.50 for drinking
purposes? Skin problems are coming so getting good drinking water is the main problem here.
<P4 to 11:09>

P4: It [the tap water] is not regular and it comes [on only] after 10 or 20 days. How can we use
this for children [as] if they use [the tap water they] are subject to so many problems? <11:10 to
11:23>

Reference 2 - 2.76% Coverage

P5: People who can afford to buy [lorry] water pay Rs. 2.50. [How} can it be for everyone[?] <11:43-12:00>

P1: Even today when we collected the [tap] water, the first few cans cannot be used for any
purpose! People smell it, smell the odour and then waste a couple of cans before taking it for
drinking purposes. <11:47>

P4: Fever comes quite frequently, and the drinking water is the biggest problem here. <11:59 to
12:16>

P3: The first [tap] water comes with a bad odour. The first few cans people will waste and it
cannot be used for any purpose. People will smell it and then only take it [when it smells better].
<12:17 to 12:27>

P4: The first water is full of bad smells... It cannot even be used for washing your mouth! <12:29
<12:45>

P1: Even for washing [the tap water] cannot be used immediately. Skin problem
comes...allergies comes from using this water! <12:48 to 12:50>

P3: People say that since [tap] water comes from [a distance], it is like this. <12:48 to 12:50>

P4: [The tap] water is not coming properly.

P5: Mosquitoes are formed on the stored [tap] water. Water is the biggest problem here.

Reference 3 - 0.49% Coverage

P4: World Vision has organized and provided 200 tanks for the collection and storage of water in
eall four sectors for its members. And there are proposal to provide 300 more in April – May [2011].

Reference 4 - 2.37% Coverage

C: What are the works done by other organizations?
Hand in Hand India had helped in the following ways. For the 8th-class failed students, they helped them to continue their education and to pass the 8th-class. And for the 9th-class failed candidates to complete the SSLC [Secondary School Leaving Certificate] or the 10th-class. Education to illiterate ones and non-schoolgoers was [also] helped with education [by] helping them to enrol in schools. [Other organizations] also formed many women’s group movements [SHGs] and provided [them] with many loans

In the fourth sector, there is a youth voluntary association who have organised to provide electricity to homes by collecting Rs. 20 per month from the homes which don’t have electricity in their houses and are seeking to have [a connection]. They also provide water to homes, provided by the Panchayat Board, by collecting Rs. 2 per can from every home and then provide water to everyone.

So people will do anything for water right since water is highly important and there is water problem here?

For a short time during April and May, [tap] water may come even once a month [only]. [Even if there is water available,] if something happens to the main pump - I mean, if the pipe is broken due to lorry [damage] - then the water will not come and we will stand near the [standpipes] at the middle of the night waiting for water!

Water may come in the pipes well after 12 and 1 a.m., and we will wait to collect the [tap] water. We have to wait for getting water. Getting water is the biggest problem here in Balaji Nagar. Otherwise there is no problem here.

During the rainy season, the water in the canals and the well-source gets mixed together, and then the water completely looks similar to the water in the canals. We also took photos of our water and asked [the Panchayat] can we still drink the water? The authorities said that the water that we get is only after purification and there is nothing to worry about and that we will look into the problem and ensure that it doesn’t occur again... but [in the meanwhile], use can water for two months for drinking purposes!

Have you done any other thing water to solve the water crisis besides taking this water and the photos of it [to the Panchayat]? Has any other organisations or groups supported your cause of reporting to the authorities of the water problem?

The women’s groups cooperated with us. Especially World Vision conducted a meeting of its women’s group members and asked the Councillor about the water problems. The Councillor promised that the [tap] water will be more regular, instead of every 20 days. Since then, the [tap] water came regularly, within every 5 or 6 days, as the Councillor had promised, and then after that, [it has gone back to the] water occasionally coming [after up to] 20 days. Water comes regularly in
the first few weeks of the Councillor’s promise, every 5 or 6 days, but nowadays water comes in 10 days or a week or even after 20 days!

Reference 8 - 2.89% Coverage

C: So far, we have spoken of many things. Let us summarize. We spoke of the organisations that have been serving here in Balaji Nagar; the problems associated with water at Balaji Nagar; the kind of demonstrations made by the people to the Panchayat and public officials and their response; and the kind of water treatment level that is possible here - that is, at the community level or at the household level. We have also discussed about the kind of community cooperation to solve the water problems and the kind of reporting made by people here to the associations and to the public authorities. Do you have anything more to add than what we have discussed?

P5: Nothing more. Getting water is [an] important problem and concern here.

P3: People are not going to faraway places, or even [going] for work, because of water. People forgo their work, leisure and travel in order to get water!

P5: People are even not going for work because of the [erratic] water supply. People are even forgoing family functions, or attending emergency situations, [because of it]!

M: So, what they need is storage capacities for water and water available for regular usage.

<Internals\FGD I\FGD #1A - Archana Follow-up - Notes> - § 1 reference coded [85.84% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 85.84% Coverage

Q: During FGD #1, you had said that you were trying to organize an agitation for improving the water service in MB Nagar against the Panchayat, but were stopped from doing so – told not to make it an issue. Why was this? Who stopped you?

That wasn’t quite the story, it goes longer.

About 2 years ago, the water quality in the taps got really bad. It started coming out “red”. This was the time that many people abandoned drinking tap-water (TWU) and began to purchase water (BWU/LWU).

Archana mobilized an 10 people in each sector to go to the Panchayat office with bottles of the red water to show what they were being supplied with. They showed this to the Panchayat officials who responded that this was the same water that was being supplied to other areas in Pallikarnai (i.e. think of the several infiltration well/pump inlets in the lake – these go to supply other areas) – so why are you complaining about it? The Panchayat refused to do anything about it.

Archana then later on tried to re-mobilize people for another agitation on water quality issues to the Panchayat office, but this was not successful as people didn’t believe the Panchayat would do anything about it – so why bother?
There was a big shift to BWU/LWU from TWU at this time. The government's refusal essentially forced the cost of clean water onto households; created a large "market opportunity" for firms to profit from.

I: Is there any other problem regarding water?
R: The canal water mixes with the drinking water.
R: In the beginning [of running the tap], there is a bad smell. First there is the smell of gutter and then a soapy smell is there. The hospital water [also] gets mixed in. There are so many insects in the [stored tap] water after four days...

M: Are there any groups which work on water issues?
R: The women’s self help groups give water for Rs. 3 per pot. They also gave water storage tanks. The cost of the tanks is Rs. 1300. We can reimburse the amount as a lump sum or pay it monthly, as per our convenience.
R: Anyways, we have to pay and get it.

R: There is no pump or bore or well here. We have to depend upon this tap for everything! If there is no tap, we are finished...

R: We need to pay Rs. 2 for water. What can we do when we don’t have those Rs. 2? Why don’t they [the government] provide us a bore well?
I: To whom do you give those Rs. 2 to?
R: For the truck... the lorry.
R: We cannot blame them [the water truck drivers]. They pay for the water and bring for us.
R: I was comfortable when I was in Chennai city. Now I suffer a lot for water and everything here.
M: Where does the water that you pay come from?
R: I think it is Metro Water.
I: How much do they [the water truck drivers] pay for it?
R: We don’t know all those things...
R: Something like Rs. 700 or Rs. 500.

Reference 5 - 0.30% Coverage

R: We were not getting even the tap water [at first]. We fought for it and got it!

Reference 6 - 1.40% Coverage

M: The government says it will bring Metro Water here and pipes will be laid for the water supply of Mylai Balaji Nagar. Do you think it will happen?

R: They have laid pipes [already].

R: If [Metro] water is brought here it would be nice.

R: They would not give [Metro] water.

R: They would give [Metro] water.

R: We have to wait and see.

R: We are not sure about it.

Reference 1 - 1.07% Coverage

M: When you first came here there was no [public standpipe tap] water here. Where did the water come from at that time?

I: You built houses. How did you get water for that?

R: From the road...in tankers.

Reference 2 - 1.05% Coverage

M: How did you get the panchayat to put in the pipes for the public standpipes?

R: When there were more number of houses, gradually ...they [the Panchayat] had installed and connected the pipes themselves.

Reference 3 - 1.04% Coverage

M: The government is planning to bring the Metro Water here and pipes would be laid for the water supply of Mylai Balaji Nagar. Do you think it will happen?

R: They say that it would happen in 2 years.

Reference 1 - 0.98% Coverage
P: When we were in Mylapore, the water was clean and we were eager to drink that. That was the [Metro] Corporation water. It would [always] be clean. We never know what source of water is being brought over here. Maybe from a well or a muddy pond...it is not clear!

Reference 2 - 1.53% Coverage

P: [The tap] water comes [once] in ten days. It is [now] nine days since [the] water came to our area. We have to use the same water for all purposes for cleaning, washing, and for other purposes. All of such household chores have to be done using the same water. There is no well or other source of water or [any] pumps.

P: Some people have put their [own] pumps but only salty [groundwater] comes there.

Reference 3 - 0.97% Coverage

P: World Vision. World Vision has helped us lot. Since we did not have any storage facility to store water, World Vision has provided us with Sintex tanks of 500 litre capacity. They have also provided us with bleaching powder to clean the water storage tanks.

Reference 4 - 4.36% Coverage

C: Fire accident - when [did] it happened?

P: Fire accident occurred in the year when we came here. It was around 2003 or 2004.

P: Which year did it happened?

P: Not in 2003 or 2004. Even earlier...

C: What did you do? How did the people react?

P: 300 houses were gutted. From one house it spread to too many houses up to the last Sector!

P: Fire came from afar and burnt the houses.

C: What did you then collectively?

P: We called up the fire service and they came.

P: [At the time] there were only huts and hence [there was] such damage.

P: [After the fire], people got loans and tried to move [out of their] huts to other forms of housing. Three times fire has caused great disaster. 7

P: Some of us used water to quench the fire.

P: There was no water facility [then as there is now]. It has been [installed] since then.
P: There was no [tap] water then, only sand and [dirt] everywhere. People tried to quench the fire using sand and not water!

P: There were no facilities [then] and there were lots of shrubs.

P: We were from Mylapore and then we were brought here. There was no current water facility. It is the same since then.

Reference 5 - 1.41% Coverage

M: When was this agitation to get the [tap] water, when you blocked the road? When did that take place?

C: When did you block the road for getting the [tap] water [supply]?

P: It was immediately after we came here from our Mylapore. Say, after two or three months, when we did not get water. And the last time was a couple of months back, when they had put in the wine shop.

Reference 1 - 1.12% Coverage

M: So they lobbied the government to ask for...

R: Yeah. Another one is for the water. So previously, not at all they provided water. So they fight and they got Sintex tank with water, they provided water, but not pure water. But anyway. That work with the government.

Reference 1 - 16.04% Coverage

M: When World Vision stopped doing the cleaning and all, did you not start doing [it yourselves] at the community level?

R2: No, we did not.

R: There was not sufficient water [for cleaning]. The water was supplied only once in fifteen days. We also tried to hire two or three persons to learn it. It didn’t work out.

R2: Some times the water would be supplied even after 20 days!

Reference 2 - 12.42% Coverage

R: We use Panchayat [lorry] water too. It [the tap water] may come even once in 15 to 20 days. This [tap] water does not agree with the health of some boys here. They are allergic to it... The water is not good here. It causes a lot of health problems. They suffer with some or other problems or diseases.
C: He is asking what the sangam and federation have done for water in this area.

R: If the water supply is not proper, we would go and give a letter [of complaint] to the Panchayat board. They would do the needful. But we will mainly go only if the water supply is totally stopped. But we don’t have any other source of water except this single source. Do you know that they send water from Palikkaranai? We get only that. Even that is supplied once in 10 or 15 days or once in a week. Did you see that water? It is not good at all. Just if you keep it a day, it would change the colour. Worms develop.

R: We came here in the year ’99. Water was not like this at that time. Water used to be very good then. It was good to drink too. It was also good for cooking rice. It was so for about 5 years. But now…if we cook the rice in the morning it is not at all good by 12 noon or 1 PM. However costly the rice is…the cooked rice is not good if we don’t pay for the water [lorry or bottled water]! The cooked rice gets spoiled. The salinity of water is high here. The water as well as the cooked rice has a bad smell. World Vision told us that they would build a [water storage] tank for us. But the Panchayat wouldn’t agree to that! Our NGO was ready to take up the responsibility and complete the job. They [World Vision] said that they would build an overhead [water supply] tank so that the entire area [of Mylai Balaji Nagar] can get water every day [24 hour supply]. But the Panchayat said that World Vision should hand over the money to them and they said only they will build it and World Vision would not be allowed to do it! The work could not be completed just because it was not agreeable for World Vision. That is why the [Syntex water storage] tanks were bought. Ten or twenty people join together to buy good [lorry] water and we are using it. We need not pay Rs. 2.50 each and every time. The major problem is that the government does not help us at all sir…till date! Then three or two [self help] groups join together to buy bigger [Syntex water storage] tank. Even that was done by the World Vision and not the government.

C: See -- if the water is not coming they will write to the Panchayat. So that is what they will do [what is required to rectify the water supply]. What World Vision did was, they gave Syntex [water storage tanks].

R: The capacity of the Syntex [tanks] is 500 liters.

Reference 2 - 1.12% Coverage

M: Where did the [tap] water come from at that time?

C: The other pipeline... She also says that she cannot store the [tap] water for a long time. The colour turns yellow.

M: What did they do when the source of [tap] water changed?

C: You said that the [tap] water was good in the first four or five years and then it changed, is it not? What did the public do...what did you all do at that time?
R: We all asked them [the Panchayat]. See, when we came here the [tap] water was not only good [quality], but the regularity in supply was also there! The problem started when the Kamakshi Hospital was started here.

Reference 3 - 6.26% Coverage

R: After the [Kamakshi] hospital's entry in this area the wastewater started mixing with the drinking water source. The pipes joined. For the first half hour there would be bad smell in the [tap] water [when the taps were turned on]. There would be a smell of gutter [sewage]. We would let the water [run] out for the first half hour. Then we would do all sorts of things like filtering and boiling. Some of them boil it and drink it and some of them consume it as such straight away. Many of them use can water because of the same reason. They use the can water for drinking purpose. They use only [Metro] corporation [lorry] water for cooking. Some get it for Rs. 3 and some get it for Rs. 2 [per pot]. It depends upon the sellers. The persons selling to us charges only Rs. 2.

R: But now it [the water price] has increased!

R: Yes, they say there is a demand for water from the source where they get. So they have increased it from Rs. 2 to Rs. 2.50, but definitely we are supplied worse [quality] water than before...

C: Did you ask them [the water lorry drivers] about it?

R: Yes, we asked. But they say that it is only possible for them to supply whatever is available.

R: The water problem is a major issue here. We also heard that the entire good water [supply] is supplied to the Kamakshi Hospital.

R: Many flats [apartment buildings] have started developing here. They are given importance since then and we are ignored. Water is not good at all here and diseases develop. <She says to Srini:> You tell all things to this sir.

C: After the Kamakshi Hospital and many flats have come here they don’t get good water. Then only the problems started...

M: Was the water supply through the standpipe?

R: Yes, yes. Everything was through the standpipes. Then it was the standpipe and now also it is though the standpipe.

M: The same supply pipe?

R: Yes. The same pipe.

M: Till what year was good [tap] water supplied?

C: Till which year?
The water was good for five or six years.

R: No, it would [have been] only good for four years. All within five years...

R: The Kamakshi Hospital and Cancer Hospital were built here... the [supply] pipes used to break. It was not known where the pipe was broken. They even took photographs from your people, your team. The gutter water and the drinking water got mixed at a stage. How do we know all these things? We just drank that too [in the tap water]! People don’t use it [the tap water] because the taste is not good. For drinking and cooking we buy [Metro lorry] corporation water. But we can’t buy water for all the other [household] uses. For the sake of the other uses we collect and store this [tap] water. It is inevitable. Otherwise we don’t have any liking for it.

R: We use it only to take bath and to wash clothes...

C: She is telling they were using only [the tap water] for other [household] uses and not for drinking. Sometimes the [supply] pipe would be broken and the gutter water used to get mixed. Even that was consumed by these people. For cooking and drinking they pay Rs. 2 and buy [lorry water]. She says after the coming of Kamakshi Hospital the water got spoil. For drinking and cooking they used [Metro lorry] corporation water and for other uses they use this [tap] water. After the coming of Kamakshi Hospital the water is not good.

M: Does the [waste water] pipe come from Kamakshi Hospital?
R: Yes, yes, It comes from there only.

Reference 4 - 1.14% Coverage

M: What did the Panchayat say about this?
R: We took them [Panchayat officers] to the place where it [the water supply line] was broken. There is lake water and the pipeline comes from that way. We showed it to them. They dig and try frequently. But no one is able to locate where the problem is. We also tried to find out. But it is tough.

R: Once there was an intolerable smell and we found out a dog was dead in the well [intake]. They said it cannot happen as they have closed it with a net. It is not at all possible to drink as the smell of the water was horrible. Sometimes it used to have the smell of dead rat...

Reference 5 - 1.62% Coverage

R: The [tap water] supply time is indefinite. Sometimes I have to take a leave from my household [maid] job to fetch water! At least they should tell us on which day which sector would get the [tap] supply!! Sometimes the [tap] water used to run [on and be] wasted without being helpful to anyone!
C: She says that when she approaches proper persons [at the Panchayat] they will say "Okay. We will do."...but they won't. They also say that the [tap water] supply time is not scheduled. There is no regulation. They don't know when the [tap] water will come.

M: There is no system...

R: Yes, there is no system! Should there be any solution for the problem all the persons in charge should assemble in a place, which becomes impossible. The Panchayat President and the Ward Member along with the Councillor should listen to us together. They should involve themselves. But they don't.

M: Who is responsible for providing water and other facilities?

C: Sir, is it the Panchayat [that is] responsible to provide water and other facilities?

R: Yes. We are doing it. Already UGD - underground drainage - is going on. We have already provided CC road and BT road. The roads might have been damaged due to the work of UGD underground drainage which is going on now. It would be rectified after the work is finished. If it is CC road, they would be [re]built as CC road, and if it is BT road, they would be [re]built as BT road. Water supply is only own source. We have built a well in the lake. Water is supplied through a pump. Street lights, roads, underground drainage, and public health are looked after by us. We are doing these five aspects.

C: He says they are only checking water, street lights, roads, underground drainage, and public health. They are responsible for these things.

R: When you talk to World Vision, please mention [to them] about the latrine facilities. Ask them to take some initiative [for it]. They also placed 3 [Sintex water storage] tanks worth of Rs. 5000 [around the community] but they are no use without water [supply]! ADP should give responsibility to a suitable person, not to just anyone. Here [in Balaji Nagar], water comes once in 15 days, even sometimes once in 30 days. People who are wealthier are able to store [water] in a tank or a sump. But poor people suffer a lot [for lack of household water storage capacity]. At the hospital, we are rendering services to the poor and the doctor here is so generous in helping people.

When Balaji Nagar was resettled here, it looked like a desert. There was nothing in Balaji Nagar. The Slum Clearance Board used to provide water in a [tanker] truck. We struggled a lot here.
SHGs have also been the entry-point into MBN for other activities initiated by WV. WV has facilitated the installation of 5000 L water tanks in each sector, which are managed by SHGs. Each tank costs Rs. 20,000, of which WV contributed half as a subsidy. The remaining Rs. 10,000 for each tank was paid for by a SHG, that then was responsible for maintaining it and then collecting payment for water disbursed, in order to recover their investment. Chennai Metro Water lorries come to MBN and sell their 5000 L cargo for Rs. 600 to the SHGs who fill the tanks with this water, and then over the course of the next while sell relatively clean water to households at Rs. 2 per 15 to 20 L container. This has the benefit of extending the availability of water in MBN for when the taps are not turned on for some time, and also providing an ostensibly better source of water than that which comes out of the taps. Private households in MBN who have sumps or other forms of bulk water storage also purchase water in the same way and sell it Rs. 2.50 or 3.00 per 15 to 20 L pot (the pots vary in size, but are typically around 15 L according to Srin). At the given rates – the SHG sells 5000 L of water purchased at Rs. 600 at Rs. 2 per 15 L pot – they earn Rs. 666.67, which is a Rs. 66 profit from their initial investment of Rs. 600. If it is sold at Rs. 2.50 or Rs. 3 per 15 L, as private households with sumps do, they make a Rs. 833 and Rs. 1000 respectively. These are profitable margins of Rs. 233 and Rs. 400 respectively. It seems selling the water at around Rs. 2.5 per 15 L is highly profitable – hence the SHGs offer a more accessible alternative for extra water supply than private actors.

WV also looked into a RO plant as a community-level water treatment system at MBN to utilize the GW and augment the supply. They drilled several boreholes and sent it for testing at PWD (near to the IIT). The analyses indicated that the water is way too saline to be effectively treated at this location. The reports are no longer here at the WV office at MBN, but at the office at Purasaiwalkam. The boreholes they drilled have also been unutilized as the water is too brackish for people to use directly.
• 10-12 days waiting between having the public water supply come on
  o They also do not repair leakages/breakages in the pipelines due to the roadside construction (ironically, for the water main to go past MBN)
• Much water is wasted, made worse by the fact that there is such water scarcity here
• Ashok says that the government often promises, but doesn’t ever do
  o They placed some 40 large Syntex water tanks across all the sectors, but no water was ever given! (beyond the intermittent, low volume supply of tap water)

Reference 2 - 3.92% Coverage

2. Water Supply Improvements
• Association pays Rs. 1500 – 2000 to have a Chennai Metro Water lorry(-ies) come to the Sector 4 and fill the 4 tanks stationed here (5000 L each)
  • The Association then sells this water for ~Rs. 2 per 12-15 L pot to households who want more water
  • Every 2 days they are able to call the tanker to augment the inadequate supply that comes on every 12-15 days in the public taps
  • Association has paid Rs. 1000 to fix up each of the tanks (i.e. taps, leaks, etc.)

Reference 3 - 1.34% Coverage

• Moreover, they had to walk kilometres to get water at Pallikarnai cos there was not even the tap water system there then; no educational facilities for kids – nothing

Reference 4 - 1.11% Coverage

  o About 10% of people in the Sector are not able to purchase bottled water (Neela brand available locally, manufactured at a plant nearby)

<internals\Interviews\INT #5 - Raniyamma - Transcript> - § 1 reference coded [3.31% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.31% Coverage

M: Do you know any other example in which people of Balaji Nagar worked together?

R: People fought together for the sake of water supply. We conducted strikes in order to get drinking water. Water is the scarcest thing for us here. We don’t get water in the summer season. [At that time], we are united together. We collected money and bought water in trucks. We got 5 pots per house. It was Metro Water. The water per [tanker] load costs Rs. 1200. We bought the water and distributed it among us.

<internals\Interviews\INT #6 - Panchayat - Notes> - § 2 references coded [12.53% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.49% Coverage

  o Water/sewage works financing follows the formula: 50% Panchayat, 50% Centre/State Gov’t

Reference 2 - 10.04% Coverage
What are the development plans on the part of the Panchayat for MBN?

- Cement roads are now being built in MBN
- Overhead water tanks (same water supply though – untreated lake water) have been planned and it has been approved already
  - But, no one has accepted the tender yet!
- Underground sewage lines and drainage are planned within the next 2½ years

Wrt water supply, for the short-term, TNSCB will arrange for water lorries to come to the re-settlement community if there is no other water source, but only as a temporary measure → they don’t typically handle water supply

R: We started living there immediately after building the houses. The Slum Board used to bring and supply water at that time. They gave us 3 pots of water per house. They [also] kept syntex tanks [here to store the lorry water].

C: After building the thatched houses, they started living here. The Slum Clearance Board arranged for Metro Water and they arranged a syntex tank. They allowed these people to take 3 pots of water.

M: How frequently [was the water supplied]?

C: Everyday.

R: We used the lorry water stored in syntex tanks from '95 to '98.

C: From '95 to '98, it was only through the syntex tank storage [of lorry water] that they got water.
R: Yes, I did. He [Swaran Singh] took three of us. We paid the money. We also signed some papers.

C: Three members from the committee went to the Panchayat with the Chairman. They paid Rs. 24 lakhs and signed some papers. They [the TNSCB] did not give the money to these people [from the community]. They took the money [to the Panchayat] and took three of them [community-members] with them [TNSCB]. These three were the representatives of the area and committee.

Reference 3 - 8.71% Coverage

M: You just ask her what source of water she is using?

C: For drinking purposes, what water do you use?

R: We buy can water and use it for drinking. We were using only this Panchayat water for drinking [before]. Only for the recent two years we have shifted to can water. This is too much of an atrocity! We sent the water for testing. We were drinking the water which passed the tests. But they had set up the unit for an apartment building called Sai Samithi Building in the Kamakoti Nagar of Thoraippakkam. Now they have taken another well far away from this place. It is near Natayanapuram. It is near Kolathur.

C: See -- initially the water [in MBN’s standpipe network] was not pumped from this pumping station [at the nearby lake]. The name of the place is Kolathur [which is where the water originally came from]. There was a well and from there only water was supplied to them.

M: Is it a bore well?

C: Yes. It is. Now that water is being distributed to another neighborhood. They started a new well here and the water in the standpipes at present is being distributed from that well.

R: <inaudible>

M: Why was this started?

R: The water was not enough [for both neighbourhoods].

C: The water will not be sufficient to supply [both] neighborhoods. She is saying that the water [from before] was very good and they miss it.

M: When did this happen?

R: Four years back.

M: OK. Thank you.

Annotations
1 JJ says that this means that the water is without a ‘purified’ or ‘clean’ taste; neither salty nor clean – lacks that ‘sweet’ water taste
2 JJ: she means sediments layers collect at bottom
From the observer's notes… Also consider the provenance of the 'bad smell' and the amount of water wasted when the taps are opened: "Now a day’s tap water is too bad, due to some pipe leakage the drainage water was mixed with drinking water. We are disposing first 10 or 20 pots water from the tap."

JJ: she's saying that the water comes from afar, so that is why it is muddy and unclear

Not only Hand in Hand India does loans, but the loans were also provided by other organisations.

Who is the Councillor specifically? Should do an interview with this person. JJ: members of Corp of Chennai are ‘councillors’ and the people from the municipality of Pallirkanai are the ‘ward person’

Srini: ward is a part of a panchayat, every ward has a representative member, and then the panchayt has a leader for the whole; in the city (corp of Chennai) the reps of wards are called counsellors

Councillor/Ward member for MB Nagar is: Manjula Jayaprakash (wife of Mr. Jayaprakash who is really running things behind the scene - he had been councillor before, but due to gender reservations, she ran in his place and he pulls the strings)

There is ambiguity about the dates. Here it is 2003-4 or even earlier others suggest. In my notes I have 2005 written. It is likely indicative that there are many fires in the community.

This was the major fire event after which the households were given loans to build pukka structures instead of thatch homes.

CC = cement/concrete
BT = tar (i.e. asphalt?)

Message for World Vision from Rehman Bibi: let’s work on the latrines.

Community did protests and demonstrations, including roadblocks on Velacherry Main Road, to get access to water and this is what led to the installation of the water standpipes

In the wake of the fire, water supply must've been demanded!!

See Also Links

Internals\Interviews\INT #9 - Rehman Bibi - Transcript
**Name:** Nodes\Analytical I\Water Supply\Groundwater

**Description:** - Specific mentions of the groundwater situation at MBN

Reference 1 - 1.84% Coverage

P4: Yes, there were significant changes since then. The colour level was not bad as it [used to be]. Now it is okay. They [the Panchayat] took water in a bottle to test for the mineral and salt content in it. They also tested for the groundwater and for having bore wells and they said that [the groundwater] contains 76% contains salt[^1] and the [groundwater] cannot be used for any purposes except for cleaning the houses. It cannot even be used for washing faces, such was the level of salt content in the [groundwater]. There were bore well pipes near the public toilet blocks in the four sectors, and even the bore well pipes and the iron rods [had to be] repaired because of the high level of salt content in the [groundwater] within a year.

Reference 1 - 0.31% Coverage

P: Some people have put their [own] pumps but only salty [groundwater] comes there.

Reference 1 - 1.16% Coverage

R: Certainly. Definitely...by all means. If that well is here we would have solved the problem years back. There should be a lid to the well. A security person should be there. They can use a machine to purify it. They [World Vision] even brought a machine for water purification here. They took groundwater samples and it was tested in Tharamani. But they said it [the water treatment unit] would not be suitable for our [groundwater]. If the groundwater is good we can get at least daily supply. [but] that is also not good. Our NGO [World Vision] arranged for it and the machine too came here. And now it has been taken to Thuraippakkam.

Reference 2 - 3.97% Coverage

WV had also spent some Rs. 2 lakh to place overhead water tanks on the public latrines, drill boreholes, install motorized pumps to move water to the tanks and have it available for washing and cleaning in the public latrines. Around the time that the cleaning programme began to fall apart, the motors were stolen from the pumps.
Thus, since 2005/6, the latrines have been in a very unhygienic and unclean condition. There has been no regular cleaning and there is quite a bit of material that creates risk of waterborne disease. Also the tanks are no longer able to pump groundwater as the pumps were stolen, so there is no water available there for washing and cleaning (instead now, you see people carrying their own water with a 5 L pail as they go to visit the loo).

Reference 3 - 4.54% Coverage

WV also looked into a RO plant as a community-level water treatment system at MBN to utilize the GW and augment the supply. They drilled several boreholes and sent it for testing at PWD (near to the IIT). The analyses indicated that the water is way too saline to be effectively treated at this location. The reports are no longer here at the WV office at MBN, but at the office at Purasaiwalkam. The boreholes they drilled have also been unutilized as the water is too brackish for people to use directly.

Reference 1 - 3.64% Coverage

M: Is this a government waste management scheme? Does this scheme has any name?

R: Yes. It was a government scheme. It was adjudged in the Supreme Court.

I: What is the name of the scheme?

R: It is about cleaning the water. The plastic papers block the mud at the bottom which in turn spoils the water as well as arrests the flow. This does not allow the water to be absorbed by the ground. The underground water is gradually under threat! Thus this scheme was introduced by the government to protect the water and the underground water.

Reference 2 - 6.00% Coverage

M: Given the previous experience in the waste management project how far would you be ready to work for the government?

R: Government dug deep bore-wells in many places to convert the saline water into better one. They gave us training for that. They taught us. We cannot bring mechanics from outside if there is any fault in the bore. Sometimes the chain may get cut. They made things ready; but they never turned back to repair things. Even after we reported to them that the pump broke down they did not bother to come and see what is wrong with that. There was no one to repair that. We tried our level best to repair it by ourselves as we were given a set of tools. The metal became a waste as it was corroded by the salinity of water. Another point is that the government did not pay any attention about it. They would bring a scheme and would never continue any follow up. They will not monitor them.
What does this mean - contains 76% salt? or 76% of the groundwater contains salt? Either way though, the point is the same - the groundwater is brackish or saline and cannot be used for domestic purposes.

From ON: She says though the Supreme Court had ordered national waste management improvements in order to facilitate rainwater infiltration.